LIBERTY UNIVERSITY

Changes in Colonial Perspectives on Native Americans and Native-Christian Hybridity

MASTER'S THESIS

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Abstract

The American West of the late nineteenth century is too often exhibited by scholars who study it from the point of view of the westward expansion of European settlers on to Native land. However, the nuance of this short period should be examined with careful consideration. With westward expansion came the proselytization of Christianity to the Native populations who retained their own religious ideology. Historians and anthropologists have studied extensively the viewpoints of Christians and practitioners of Native faiths on topics of faith, prayer, and spirituality. However, similar examinations have yet to examine the more accepting and permissive attitudes that Christian colonists developed since the New World received its first Europeans.

This thesis explores a new concept of an increasing permissiveness amongst Protestant settler groups within the United States. These changes in perception led to the development of Native-Christian hybridity and empathetic leanings towards practices that would have been considered intolerable in previous iterations. Religious hybrid models of the nineteenth century, such as the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Religion, would have been deemed witchcraft and punished as such when the first Christian settlers of North America were present in the seventeenth century but changes in perception led to more accepting attitudes amongst the group. This work will focus chiefly on primary source material to develop a narrative demonstrating the shifting perceptions of colonists in regard to Native populations even, and in spite of, the coming of Native systems of belief and those of the Christian faith.

Introduction

The image conjured up of the Old West, at least the one with which most Americans are familiar, is quite often that of gun-fighting cowboys on long dusty trails, Native Americans hunting herds of bison, and of freshly built community churches complete with congregations singing in-tune with their hymnal books. As wonderfully idealized as these images are, the truth of history is frequently more complex, nuanced, and practical. These images do not relate the difficulties experienced by those in the West, especially concerning the Native Americans who were recently moved to reservations.[1] In particular, the images do not convey the viewpoints of those settlers in Native populations who had been relocated and cannot adequately portray how settler perspectives affected the indigenous. In order to set the premise for an examination of the changing perceptions of Christian colonists in North America with regard to Native populations, the eras reviewed must first be placed within the context of their time.

Aside from the Catholics, the first colonists of North America were the Protestant English. However much the different groups disagreed on aspects of the church, the openness of the wilderness and the freedom that was in the seclusion of the Americas created an ideal place to practice fringe beliefs. More than one of the groups, having experienced discrimination for their religious practices, sought out seclusion and began a new life in British North America. Having found security in the isolation of the Americas, the groups were able to practice their faiths and flourish as the first English peoples to settle in the Northern reaches of what would be soon called the United States.[2] Their newly founded presence laid the groundwork for a new religious history in North America. While the Quakers settled the region with a more tolerant

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[1] "The Reservation System," University of Nebraska-Lincoln, http://netwagtaildev.unl.edu/nebstudies/en/1900-1924/native-american-citizenship/the-reservation-system/.
[2] "Religion and the Founding of the American Republic," Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel01.html.

viewpoint, the Puritans landed in Massachusetts Bay having established their first colony in the early seventeenth century.

The Puritans held a critical view of Catholicism, openly denouncing its dogma and practices.[3] Being heavily influenced by the works of John Calvin and having recently come out of the Protestant Reformation within the last 100 years, Puritans held strong beliefs about the Christian faith. In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where the land title was granted by King Charles I to the Puritans in 1629, the Puritan system of Protestantism was dominant, if one does not include the indigenous faiths that were practiced in the region.[4] Calling for further separation from the Catholic religion, Puritans believed Anglicans needed further reformation.[5] The region was known to some of the practitioners as "English Israel" and was intended to be an example to the world on how society and Christianity were to rule humankind.[6] Attitudes of the Puritan settlers, in regard to the indigenous, held that they should be converted to the one true faith: Christianity.[7] By examining the Puritans, a comparison can be made and a pattern ascertained to juxtapose the era when Native-Christian hybridity began to be accepted by colonists.

Thifault demonstrated that due to comparable criticisms by the Puritans of behavior by Catholics and by Natives, the two were often written about in a similar manner.[8] Many parallel tones and perceptions existed in the thoughts of the English settlers, such as in the works of John

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[3] John Cotton, "The powring out of the seven vials, or, An exposition of the 16 chapter of the Revelation with an application of it to our times: wherein is revealed Gods powring out the full vials of his fierce wrath: very fit and necessary for this present age: preached in sundry sermons at Boston in New-England", (London: Printed for R.S, 1642).
[4] Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*, (New York: Wiley, 1966), 46.
[5] Ibid, 34-38.
[6] Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England*, (St. Pauls Church-Yard: New England, 1676), 9-11.
[7] Ibid, 3-5.
[8] Paul Thifault, "Native Americans and the Catholic Phase in Puritan Missionary Writing," *Christianity & Literature*, 67(4), 605-628, https://doi.org/10.1177/0148333117753413.

Cotton where Muslims and Catholics were compared.[9] From these comparisons, it is implied that Puritans viewed many of the Native peoples as not being too far from being converted to Protestantism, and thus not far from being presented with salvation. Thifault's argument is that the comparison of Native beliefs with the principles of the Catholic Church meant that Natives only needed to be shown the truth of Christianity and they could be free from the oppressive bonds of heathenhood; even if it is partially an excuse for the colonists to reeducate the Native population.[10] While demonstrating a partial empathy on the part of the Puritans, the line of thinking exhibits how Puritans held themselves to be above the sea of ignorance that so infected the world. The strict attitude would slowly change and evolve as the country developed, shifted, and grew. After comparing the mindset of the seventeenth-century settlers with that of the nineteenth century, it becomes plain to see that the attitude of the Christian colonists would grow more open and slowly become one of acceptance.

It is much simpler to discuss the perspectives of the Puritans as a mono-religious group, on their own in the wilderness of New England, than it is to debate the highly complex and diverse religious environment of the latter part of the 1800s. This thesis will focus upon the unification of viewpoints when it comes to the nineteenth century by examining shared lines of communication between the European, and dominantly Christian, peoples of the region. Observing the mostly unified perspective will assist in understanding how perceptions and acceptance changed over time. An additional examination into the landscape of the era will help to expound upon the viewpoints of the colonists, provide an avenue for comparison, and pave the

[9] Cotton, "The powring out of the seven vials", 20.
[10] Paul Thifault, "Native Americans and the Catholic Phase in Puritan Missionary Writing," *Christianity & Literature*, 67(4), 605-628, https://doi.org/10.1177/0148333117753413.

way for the development of Native-Christian hybrid religions as the influences are not often from only two pure sources.[11]

As the mixture of separate cultural and social practices is important to the premise of the thesis, a definition of Hybridity should be included. Hybridity has been defined by social scientists as methods by which distinct social structures are combined and retained as part of a new practice.[12] Here, hybridity will be identified here as belief systems that comingled but kept their distinct influences. Two distinct examples will be provided of practitioners combining practices, beliefs, and symbology of Christianity with that of Native American indigenous belief systems.[13] To contextualize these examples within the religious landscape of the period will provide a basis for comparison and allow an argument to be made for the shifting perspectives of colonists.

Observing the landscape of belief in the nineteenth century is a consideration that will help to establish the predominant religious systems of the era, in contrast to the hybrid systems of belief that will be included here. As such, quantifying the number of religious adherents by sect will be useful, but there are some challenges to finding these numbers as the US Census Bureau did not ask about religion until 1960.[14] Fortunately, many faiths kept strict record of their congregants. By far the largest group of religious devotion in the nineteenth century United States was Christianity.[15] Between the efforts of the English, Spanish, and French to convert the Native populations, most in the period were familiar with the teachings of Jesus Christ. Those

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[11] Arun W. Jones, "Hybridity and Christian Identity," *Missiology* 50, no. 1 (2022): 7-16.
[12] N. Garcia-Canclini, "Hybridity," *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2001: 7095-7098, https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/00890-1.
[13] Later in the thesis, reference will be made to the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Religion on pages 11 & 13 respectfully.
[14] Gunnar Thorvaldsen, "Religion in the Census", *Social Science History* 38, no. 1-2 (2014): 203-220.
[15] John F. Wakefield, "The Second Great Awakening and American Educational Reform: Insights from the Biography of John Milton Gregory," *Vitae scholasticae.* 28, no. 1 (2011).

born in the US at the time were still mostly of the Protestant denomination of Christianity. One of the easiest ways to tell that Protestantism was dominant was that its philosophy was integrated into the national school system, even though the attempt was made to find common ground amongst the different Christian denominations.[16] Colonists, as well, brought their belief systems with them. Predominantly, Europeans brought Catholicism with them, as their numbers grew from 150,000 in 1815 to over 3,000,000 in 1860.[17] Over 50% of those that arrived, did so at the Port of New Orleans and dispersed throughout the West via the mighty Mississippi.[18]

Other religions slowly entered into the United States and would later influence the hybridity with Native Americans. In 1840, there were only a total of eighteen official religious centers for the practice of Judaism in the United States.[19] Often Jews attended, but were never really accepted as members of, Christian churches when synagogues and places of Jewish worship were not available.[20] But due to the number of Jewish European immigrants, in 1877 the number had risen from 18 to at least 200 different centers for the practice of Judaism.[21] Numbers for Islam are a bit scanter than that of the other Judeo-faiths. Aside from the few African slaves that retained their Islamic beliefs in the face of forced conversion, 292 Muslim-sounding last names were found amongst enlisted soldiers in the Union army and 10 in the Confederacy during the Civil War. Between 1869 and 1898, only 20,690 Muslims were permitted to enter the United States.[22] The group had mostly stopped immigrating to the United States for a time when Congress banned the migration of polygamists. The ban was not necessarily aimed at the

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[16] Luke Ritter, "The King James Bible as Nationalist School Curriculum Amid Immigration to the American West", *American Nineteenth Century History* 21, no. 1 (2020): 57-83
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Shari Rabin, "Jews in Church: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in Nineteenth-Century America", *Religions* 9, no. 8 (2018): 237.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Edward E. Curtis, *Encyclopedia of Muslim-American History*, (New York: Facts on File, 2010), xxii-xxv

Muslims. It was an attempt to suppress the growth of Mormonism.[23] These facts suggest that the impact of the other Abrahamic faiths was minimal and allows for the focus to remain on many adherents being Christian.

One newly formed religion called Spiritualism, though waning by the 1890s, proved to be of importance to the exploration of religious adherents in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[24] By the 1860s, the Fox Sisters were a commonly known name, but the phenomenon had been known to those in the newly forming spiritualist community since 1848. When the Fox family had moved to their new home in Hydesville, New York, something strange began to happen. At night, just as the family began to sleep, there was the sound of knocking coming from somewhere inside the bedroom that was shared by the household. Soon, the noises began to respond to the requests of relatives, producing the requested number of knocks and responding to questions like what ages were the sisters. Later groups of neighbors would attend inquisitorial sessions in which "the spirit" would respond to further questioning.[25] During the evening people would visit the Fox home and the sisters along with their guests would communicate with the spirits as the crowds watched in awe. The Fox Sisters would be asked to perform in front of large groups of spectators, of whom the sisters would allow to interpret the events for significance. An editor from a nearby paper in Canandaigua, New York would feature an article about the sisters and offer $50 to anyone who could solve the mystery.[26] Within the course of two years and after being featured in newspapers and pamphlets, the Fox Sisters would become a staple of popular culture.

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Christine Ferguson, "Recent Studies in Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism," *Literature Compass* 9, no. 6 (2012): 431-440.
[25] A Report of the Mysterious Noises Heard in the House of Mr. John D. Fox, in Hydesville, Arcadia, Wayne County, N.Y.: Authenticated by the Certificates, and Confirmed by the Statements of the Citizens of that Place and Vicinity, (Canandaigua, N.Y.: E.E. Lewis, 1848)
[26] David Chapin, "The Fox Sisters and the Performance of Mystery", New York History 81, no. 2 (2000): 162-164

Knowledge of the Fox Sisters and their communication with the "spirit world" took off like a wildfire and the spiritualist community was born. Others would create and assign whole systems of belief based upon the spiritual world and its mysterious apparitions. In the spirit of the era, the séance was born and took on a markedly scientific nature. As a cultural reflection of the scientific experiment, spiritualists would attempt to provide an environment which would lend itself to credibility and developed the ritualistic behaviors surrounding the séances practice.[27] The Fox Sisters would never espouse any beliefs, purport any findings, but still managed to inspire those who were to become the top minds and influencers of the spiritualist movement.[28] Belief in the ability to communicate with the spirits of the dead exploded in popularity and became a national phenomenon. Even though Maggie and Katie, two of the sisters, would eventually admit that the rapping noises were produced by tapping their toes, the movement had already developed far beyond them, their small home in upstate New York, and new correspondents with the departed had already manifested to take their place.[29]

A decade after the events in Hydesville occurred, there was estimated at least 100 mediums working professionally in New York City but by the early 1870s there were millions of believers.[30] Emma Hardinge Britten, one of the most vocal proponents of the spiritualist movements, estimated there were 11 million North Americans who were involved in the crusade.[31] Although, it should be noted that more conservative estimates place the numbers somewhere between 2 and 4 million North Americans.[32] These adherents to the newly formed

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[27] R. Lawrence Moore, In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977

[28] Chapin, "The Fox Sisters", 160

[29] Ruth Brandon, The Spiritualists: The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, (Weidenfeld and Nicolson: Michigan, 1983), 1-5

[30] Brandon, The Spiritualists, 42.

[31] Emma Hardinge, Modern American Spiritualism: A Twenty Years' Record of the Communion Between Earth and the World of Spirits, 1870, 13.

[32] The Philosophy of Spiritualism and the Pathology and Treatment of Mediomania: Two Lectures Read before the

faith saw the practice as scientific and progressive with many also being supporters of abolition, temperance, and women's suffrage.[33] The ideas were primarily progressive political philosophies of the period that became highly powerful speaking pieces. It has been noted that this movement of individuals who believed in communication with the dead, influenced society in a way that not only changed popular culture but impacted politics, fashion, etiquette and even language.[34] Native American spirits, as well, would manifest in these predominantly white colonist led rituals. Once summoned the spirit of the Native Americans often held ideologies to be communicated to their still living loved ones.[35]

Native religious practices were highly individualized by tribe and region, making the exact numbers of adherents to Native faiths, in the latter part of the nineteenth century especially challenging. It is especially true if one attempts to reconcile the Christian-Native hybrid belief systems. By 1868, the Bureau of Indian Affairs estimated a total of 300,000, "wild" Indians still practicing their traditions in the United States and mostly at war with the federal government.[36] The 300,000, however, does not include those who still practiced their Native traditions amongst European colonists, or those forcibly removed to reservations. These reservations would see the development of new Native systems of belief during the period, as will be included in the thesis. The sheer number of Native traditions and practices make the investigation and analysis difficult since most tribes had their own belief systems.[37] By 1878, at the behest of several Christian

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New York Liberal Club (New York: Asa K. Butts & Co., Publishers, 1874), 18.

[33] Molly McGarry, Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 13-1

[34] McGarry, Ghosts of Futures Past, 18

[35] For further reading into how Native spirits were a common part of séances in spiritualism see Kathryn Troy, *The Specter of the Indian: Race, Gender, and Ghosts in American Seances, 1848-1890*, (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 2017).

[36] Jennifer Graber, *The Gods of Indian Country: Religion and the Struggle for the American West*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 77-97.

[37] Sarah E. Dees, "Native American Religions," *Oxford University Press*, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.404

groups (notably the Quakers) and in an attempt to "civilize" Native groups, the first Indian boarding school was opened in Pennsylvania.[38] Learners were no longer taught in integrated or Native-run schools but were separated from their families and places of birth by the United States government. Students were transported East with the hope of re-educating children as young as four years old. By the early part of the 20th century, the US government had established 153 boarding schools for the re-education of Native youths.[39]

Apart from religion, the nineteenth century saw an explosion of scientific methods and the commonization of hard science. The period was marked by a vast increase in statistical reasoning applied to practical endeavors, implying an upsurge of reliance on mean-values derived from data sets to infer points of significance by those of the time.[40] Although in its elementary form, the calculations were being applied to the physical sciences such as mineralogy, forestry, hydraulics, zoology, and botany. There were many developments and breakthroughs of a scientific nature, but specific fields were growing quickly. Naturalists, by the early nineteenth century, had begun to develop a picture of universal stratigraphy, or how layers of dirt with their inlaid fossils denote a timeline to be studied.[41] These scientific developments would radically shift the religious landscape of the 1800s and pave the way for a new rise in atheistic systems of belief.[42]

Charles Darwin, the infamous naturalist and especially useful here, released his notoriously popular work *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859. It

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[38] Alexander S. Dawson, "Histories and Memories of the Indian Boarding Schools in Mexico, Canada, and the United States", *Latin American Perspectives* 39, no. 5 (2012): 80-99.
[39] Ibid; Graber, *The Gods of Indian Country*, 77-97.
[40] David Sepkoski and Marco Tamborini, "'An Image of Science': Cameralism, Statistics, and the Visual Language of Natural History in the Nineteenth Century", *Historical Studies in the Natural Science* 48, no. 1 (2018): 56-109, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26413673.
[41] Sepkoski and Tamborini, 'An Image of Science', 60-63.
[42] Stephen LeDrew, "The Evolution of Atheism: Scientific and Humanistic Approaches," *History of the Human Sciences* 25, no. 3 (2012): 70-87.

became hotly debated and discussed but was well known throughout the United States, leaving the long-standing religions of the day to find their place in a new world of scientific and technological progress. Many belief systems amongst Europeans arose in light of these breakthroughs in the scientific world in an attempt to reconcile faith and the physical world, but many still retained the religion of their homelands. More important than the development of new belief systems amongst Europeans, were the improvements and expansion of religious thought amongst those who did retain their Christianity.

In the turbulent landscape of the mid to late nineteenth century, recognizing the scientific progress of the century is essential, as it played a pivotal role in the rapidly developing spiritual and hybrid belief systems. Within the quickly changing world, European settlers and Native Americans alike would each hold and develop their own unique sets of beliefs outside the boundaries of the conventional, with many leaving behind the idea of a pure Christianity. It is worth noting that it is only 59 years after the United States discarded the Articles of Confederation in favor of the Constitution, highlighting how quickly the world had changed in less than one lifetime. A short period sees, the development of numerous technologies, scientific methods, and here the backdrop is developed for the thesis to move into the topic of the Native-Christian hybrid belief systems that were developed in the period.

Ghost Dance of the Paiute Tribe

While not as popularized as the European paranormal craze of communication with the dead, spiritualism, the dead began to communicate a message to the Native Americans in new ways through a man named Wovoka. In the Northern reaches of the newly added Western state of

Nevada, the Paiute tribe began to see Wovoka as a direct messenger from the other world.[43] The "Messiah" of the Walker Lake reservation, also known as Jack Wilson by his adopted white parents, reported that during a solar eclipse, he had fallen asleep and was taken to the other world where he saw the Judeo-Christian God and other people who had died throughout time.[44] While in the next world he talked with God and considered those back in the old life. It was then that he was commissioned with bringing back a message to his tribe still living in the world. They were to remain peaceful and put away the old practices of warring against each other. According to Wovoka, the living Native peoples were instructed to work, and not lie nor steal. If they obeyed his words and performed the ghost-dance five times consecutively they would be reunited with their loved ones in the other world. James Mooney in his research affirmatively confirmed with locals and tribesmen that Wovoka's message was one of peace, understanding and acceptance of all peoples.[45]

Unfortunately, Wovoka's message was not properly communicated, or was even perhaps deliberately altered so that tribes became to know the Ghost Dance as a symbol of hostility towards the European settlers.[46] For example, the Oglala Lakota became renowned for their understanding of the Ghost Dance and their interpretation of the movement.[47] The ghost-shirt for instance was worn by all Lakota who believed in the doctrine of the Ghost Dance and intended to revolt against the colonists.[48] During the dancing, as was the custom developed on the Pine Ridge Agency, the Sioux were to wear specially constructed white shirts, sewn together with sinew and adorned with feathers and fringe. These ritualistic garments often had spiritual

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[43] James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, as pt.2 of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 766.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 766-774.
[46] Ibid, 771-772.
[47] Marla N. Powers, *Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual, and Reality*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 23.
[48] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 789-791.

depictions on the front and were beautifully ornate. It was believed that if one performed the dance and then wore the shirt into battle against the white man, the shirt would protect its wearer from bullets or weapons of any kind.[49] Mooney, the ethnologist who studied the phenomenon after the massacre at Wounded Knee, was inclined that the belief was heavily influenced by the garments worn by adherents of Mormonism.[50] The interpretation of the Ghost Dance by the Sioux has been blamed for the events that took place on that fateful day in 1890 at Wounded Knee, although this has been refuted by Native American history scholars as a misunderstanding.[51] The Ghost Dance was almost entirely ended or performed in secret after the tragedy, for fear of retaliation from the United States government, but it should be noted that the Ghost Dance was a fringe belief to start.

The Peyote Religion

Parallel to the Ghost Dance, a new hybrid of belief systems was developing to the Southeast of the Walker Lake reservation. In 1891, while researching and writing the work mentioned previously about the Ghost Dance, James Mooney observed and participated in several rituals centered around the peyote cactus. He was amongst the Kiowa Indians, having been relocated to Oklahoma. Many tribes of the American Southwest had once prospered along the Texas border with Mexico, where the peyote cactus is found naturally.[52] After being resettled by the United States government on the newly formed Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation in the 1870s, the tribes continued to observe their tradition but had no access to their spiritual

[49] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 789-791.
[50] Ibid, 788-790.
[51] Ione Quigley, Interview by Thomas Hassani, Rosebud, Rosebud Sioux Reservation, South Dakota, March 23, 2023.
[52] Omer Call Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 34-45.

sacrament.[53] Once the reservation was established and many of the Southwestern tribes were relocated to Oklahoma, along with the tribes of the Southern states after the American Civil War, a new faith was developed. The "mescal" ritual was primarily developed by the Carrizo in Mexico and had likely spread to most of the bands of Native Americans in the American Southwest through the Lipan Apache tribe.[54] Once combined with the practices of Christianity, the Peyote Religion was born.

The Peyote Religion or the Native American Church, as it is now named, spread through tribes across the region. Notably, the Commanche believed heavily in the use of peyote buttons to provide a nearly supernatural power.[55] Native Comanches, in particular, had a highly individualized religious practice, where each man served as their own religious supervisor. A leader amongst their tribe, Quanah Parker, was an advocate of the use of peyote and would officiate other tribe members in its use.[56] The participants would eat the peyote and experience a trance state in which they claimed that they would receive divine revelation. Use of these "mescal beans" became quite popular on the reservation, to the point where government administrators attempted to ban it.[57] Newspapers as well held varying degrees of acceptance on the hybrid belief system that was held by the Native Americans regarding peyote.[58] Many were

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[53] Ibid, 57.
[54] Ibid, 60-61.
[55] William Thomas Hagan, *Quanah Parker, Comanche Chief*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 52.
[56] Ibid, 56.
[57] Ibid, 52-55.
[58] An analysis of the following articles will make the point clear, to be performed in chapter 2: "To Crush Out Savage Customs", *The Beaver Herald,* May 23, 1895, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93066071/1895-05-23/ed-1/seq-1/; "Indigenous Medicinal Plants", *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican,* May 6, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020631/1890-05-06/ed-1/seq-2/; "The Mescal Feast", *Anadarko Daily Democrat,* April 27, 1903, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn97070123/1903-04-27/ed-1/seq-1/; "Indians Oppose Bean Law", *The Daily Ardmoreite,* January 14 1908, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042303/1908-01-14/ed-1/seq-2/; "Mescal Buttons to be Investigated Causing Red Skins to Get Drunk", *Bisbee Daily Review*, September 1, 1908,

derisive and held the practice in a poor light, whereas some were very fair and almost spoke highly of the ritual such as “To Crush Out Savage Customs” and “Indigenous Medicinal Plants.”[59] These fluctuations provided excellent examples of the changing perceptions of Christian colonists between the first period studied and nineteenth century hybrid religions.

After going through some lengths and extensive, sometimes dangerous, travel to acquire the hallucinogenic cactus from the border of the United States with Mexico, the ritual could begin. The ceremony took place in a tipi, in which the participant would enter, move to their left, and sit on cushions around the altar. An opening song would be sung by the officiant while holding a staff in the left hand and vibrating a rattle. Another participant would tap a drum in rhythm with the officiant. After a prayer, the group would then ingest the peyote. Those involved would continue to sing a series of songs, drink water, eat a little, and continue ingesting the cactus. The ritual ends with a ceremonial breakfast in which the night-long participants discussed their visions. Slowly aspects of Christianity were integrated into the practice of worshipping with peyote, such as the entire ritual being held in front of the image of the cross or before a crucifix. It was not enough to impress Christian missionaries, who dismissed the rite as a “drug habit.” To the critique, a response was given by Quanah Parker: “the white man goes into his church house and talks about Jesus, but the Indian goes into his tipi and talks to Jesus.”[60] Parker was one of the founders of the Peyote Religion and famously one of those who travelled long distances on horseback through hostile regions to acquire the cactus. He was to become one of the most ardent supporters and promoters of the hybrid system of faith.

Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024827/1908-09-01/ed-1/seq-2/.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Hagan, *Quanah Parker*, 56-58.

Historiography

Early studies of Native Americans did not exactly include the study of how colonists viewed Native conversion to Christianity, but the accounts themselves are by nature the responses of the settlers themselves.[61] One the first truly critical scholarly examination of Christian colonist outlooks on Native peoples was completed in 1892 by John Fiske, the famed champion of Darwin's theory of evolution. Fiske who was a graduate and a lecturer at Harvard who held many historical and philosophical writings including "The Critical Period of American History, 1783–89" (1888), *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America* (1902), and *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (1902). His book *The Beginnings of New England* was compiled from lectures that Fiske delivered at Harvard and detailed the settling of New England by the Puritans in a highly critical manner. Fiske was not a fan of the Puritans or Christianity for that matter, so the book takes a highly provocative tone in its criticism of the settlers of New England.[62] It is useful to the thesis here, as it does provide a third-party perspective to the viewpoints of Christian colonists and their dealings with the indigenous of the region. Fiske would have been alive during the events of Wounded Knee, just two years before publishing *The Beginnings of New England,* and perhaps the event is partially responsible for the hostile tone.

In sharp tonal contrast to the work of Fiske, James Mooney, an ethnographer who worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, published his landmark work *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*.[63] The 1896 work attempts to reconcile the general anthropological practices of Native Americans while reporting to the government a thorough investigation of the

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[61] For an analysis of early Christian perceptions of Native peoples see James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 39-86.
[62] John Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England: Or, the Puritan Theocracy in its Relation to Civil and Religious Liberty,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917).
[63] James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, as pt.2 of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 653-655.

phenomena. This meticulously comprehensive and fascinating work includes intricate detail surrounding the beliefs of the Ghost Dance and other practices of non-traditional Native superstition. Mooney even recorded the chanting of the Ghost Dance along with composing the accompanying score and logging the lyrics. The study of the Ghost Dance showcases how several tribes took up and practiced the Native-Christian hybrid religions.[64] The work is considered authoritative on the topic and provides an accepting glimpse into how European colonists dealt with and reacted to Native American systems of belief that were outside of the norm. The report, however, cannot provide an appropriate examination or comparison with colonial perspectives as it was created during the founding of the hybrid religions included in this thesis. Still great observations, firsthand accounts, and even some perspectives on Native Americans by colonists are provided in the very useful piece.

While there were a few works between the early part of the twentieth and the mid-century, it wasn't until the 1960s that works truly useful to the discussion began to appear. Clyde and Grace Jackson, whose other works and life accomplishments have been difficult to track down, produced their 1963 work titled *Quanah Parker: Last Chief of the Comanches*.[65] Having been exceptionally useful to historians since its publication, the book details the life of Parker and provides an overview of his origins and life story, while still providing some accounts of colonial attitudes towards the Native Americans. The authors provide Parker's story in two parts. The book is separated in part one by his early life amongst Native tribes and part two is dedicated to Quanah Parker's time spent leading the Comanches on the reservation.[66] It is Parker's time spent on the reservation and the second half of the book that best serves the

[64] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 653-655.
[65] Clyde and Grace Jackson, *Quanah Parker: Last Chief of the Comanches*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1963).
[66] Ibid.

argument put worth by this thesis, as the hybrid Peyote Religion begins to form during his time in the camp with the Comanche leader helping to popularize and promote the ceremony. It also provides a stellar understanding of how Parker learned about and accepted Christianity, although some portions of the story are not present in the work.

It wasn't until the 1970s that serious academic scholarship on the true nature of colonial and Native interactions began to be produced. For example, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of January 1977, an article titled '"we are Well as we are": An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions' was ran.[67] The author, James P. Ronda is most known for his book *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (1984), but his other titles include *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography* (1978), *From Conquest to Conservation: Thomas Jefferson and the Changing West* (1997), and *The West the Railroads Made* (2008).[68] '"We Are Well As We Are"', Ronda decides to challenge the previous held notion that missionaries were merely apostles for good and attempts to place them within the greater context of colonization.[69] While the study is useful for indigenous reactions to proselytization, it was not intended to showcase the viewpoints of the European settlers about the indigenous apart from quantifying their own attempts at civilizing the peoples of the first nations.

The most illuminating examinations of the colonial viewpoints on Native Americans really began to take shape in the early part of the twenty-first century. Scholars such as David J. Silverman of George Washington University, whose work includes "'We Chuse to be Bounded':

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[67] James P. Ronda, ""we are Well as we are": An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1977): 66-82.
[68] James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); James P. Ronda, *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978); James P. Ronda, *From Conquest to Conservation: Thomas Jefferson and the Changing West*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes and James P. Ronda, *The West the Railroads Made*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).
[69] Ronda, ""we are Well as we are," 66.

Indian Animal Husbandry in Colonial New England" (2003), "Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation" (2005), *The Curse of God: An Idea and its Origins among the Indians of New York's Revolutionary Frontier* (2009), and *This Land is Their Land: The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and The Troubled History of Thanksgiving* (2019) shed considerable light on the topic.[70] Silverman's 2010 book *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard* was groundbreaking in that it provides an admirable and critical examination of the topic of conversion in Puritanical New England.[71] The book acknowledges the Wampanoag for their place coexisting amongst the settlement of their native lands, the retaining of their heritage, and lack of equality that was afforded to those amongst them who did convert.[72] Without being unwarranted Silverman provides alternative motives for conversion, hypocrisy, and racism against the tribe.

The same year, 2010, saw the publication of Hugh J. Reilly's *The Frontier Newspapers and the Coverage of the Plains Indian Wars.*[73] *Reilly* is an associate professor in the School of Communication at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and has authored several titles including *Bound to Have Blood: Frontier Newspapers and the Plains Indian Wars (2011)* and *Drinking*

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[70] David J. Silverman, "'We chuse to be bounded': Indian Animal Husbandry in Colonial New England," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 60 (2003): 511-48; David J. Silverman, "Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation: Creating Wampanoag Christianity in Seventeenth-Century Martha's Vineyard," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 62 (2005):141-75, Reprinted in Peter Mancall and James Merrell, eds., American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006); David J. Silverman, "The Curse of God: An Idea and its Origins among the Indians of New York's Revolutionary Frontier," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 66 (2009): 495-534; David J. Silverman, *This Land is Their Land: The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and The Troubled History of Thanksgiving*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2019).

[71] David J. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[72] David J. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), doi:10.1017/CBO9780511806537.

[73] Hugh J. Reilly, *The Frontier Newspapers and the Coverage of the Plains Indian Wars,* (Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, 2010).

with My Father's Ghost: A Journey Through Ireland's Pubs (2019).[74] His 2010 and 2011 writings are very critical to the study of European perspectives on Native Americans as these works focus on the shared opinion and popular media of the nineteenth century during the Indian wars. The examinations in the perceptions of colonist newspapers provide insight into the attitudes and feelings about Native Americans that dominated the continent.[75] Highly provocative and inflammatory articles being the normality, the book on newspapers examines and showcases these short works of communications history. The discussion of which is highly useful to the analysis here, as it provides some of the best primary source accounts of the perceptions of colonists at the time.

Linford Fisher, the Brown historian, and Associate Professor of History whose research focuses upon the social and spiritual past of colonial America and the Atlantic world, also contributed an important piece in the line of study. Fisher is the author of several other useful works including "Native Americans, Conversion, and Christian Practice in Colonial New England" (2009), "Evangelicals and Unevangelicals: The Contested History of a Word, 1500–1950" (2016), and "'Why shall wee have peace to bee made slaves?' Indian Surrenderers During and After King Philip's War" (2017).[76] His 2012 book, titled *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America,* focuses on how Native Americans accepted Christianity, to what extent the message was accepted, and introduces an

[74] Hugh J. Reilly, *Bound to Have Blood: Frontier Newspapers and the Plains Indian Wars, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2011);* Hugh J. Reilly, *Drinking with My Father's Ghost: A Journey Through Ireland's Pubs, (*MCWriting.com, 2019).
[75] Reilly, *The Frontier Newspapers*.
[76] Linford D. Fisher, "Native Americans, Conversion, and Christian Practice in Colonial New England, 1640—1730," *The Harvard Theological Review* 102, no. 1 (2009): 101-124; Linford D. Fisher, "Evangelicals and Unevangelicals: The Contested History of a Word, 1500–1950," *Religion and American Culture* 26, no. 2 (2016): 184-226; Linford D. Fisher, ""Why Shall Wee have Peace to Bee made Slaves": Indian Surrenderers during and After King Philip's War." *Ethnohistory* 64, no. 1 (2017): 91-114.

approach to adopting a new timeline of Native conversions.[77] While very informative, there is no direct discussion on colonial viewpoints shifting over time in a manner that led to the acceptance of hybrid religions in the late nineteenth century.

Jason Edward Black, Fullbright Scholar and professor of Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Change at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte would develop a very useful book in the study of settlers and the government in the United States. Black's other works focus on rhetoric such as "Performing Native America: Image Events in the Thanksgiving Day of Mourning Protests" (2010), "Rhetorical Circulation, Native Authenticity, and Neocolonial Decay: The Case of Chief Seattle's Controversial Elegy" (2012), and "Indigenizing the Rhetorical Canon: Native American Discourses and Memories," (2012).[78] Demonstrating how the two forces interacted, Black's 2015 book *American Indians and the Rhetoric of Removal and Allotment* provides an account of settler and government rhetoric as a driving force of change and demonstrates how the two lines of thought impacted the development of the other. While a fascinating read and quite insightful, Black does not focus on Christianity but still provides some interesting points of reflection when working on the topic of this thesis.

Paul Thifault, a specialist in early American literature and Assistant Professor of English at Springfield college, wrote his dissertation on the observed association between Roman Catholics and Native Americans in European perspectives.[79] Thifault's dissertation titled "Anti-Catholicism and the Indian in early American literature" (2012) is very explanatory about

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[77] Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199740048.001.0001.
[78] Jason Edward Black, "Rhetorical Circulation, Native Authenticity, and Neocolonial Decay: The Case of Chief Seattle's Controversial Elegy," Rhetoric & Public Affairs 15:4 (2012): 635-646; Jason Edward Black, "Indigenizing the Rhetorical Canon: Native American Discourses and Memories," Communication Teacher, 26:4 (2012): 1-9; Jason Edward Black, "Performing Native America: Image Events in the Thanksgiving Day of Mourning Protests," Enculturation: A Journal of Rhetoric, Writing and Culture 6:2 (2010): 1-23.
[79] Paul Thifault, "Anti-Catholicism and the Indian in early American literature," *ETD Collection for Fordham University*, AAI3549108, https://research.library.fordham.edu/dissertations/AAI3549108.

protestant perspectives on Catholicism and its interactions with the indigenous. Most useful to this thesis is Thifault's 2018 work "Native Americans and the Catholic Phase in Puritan Missionary Writing."[80] Highlighting the period of the 1640s through the 1650s when the Puritan attempts at conversion of the Wampanoag were at their height, the author exhibits similarities in Puritan perceptions of Catholics and Native Americans to demonstrate how the Native Americans were not beyond the reach of Christ and salvation.[81] The work provides yet another lens by which to examine the thinking of Puritans to uncover their motivations and reactions to the conversion of those who inhabited the New World before their arrival.

With a focus on the hybridity of Christianity at the core of its analysis, Arun W. Jones released his 2022 article "Hybridity and Christian Identity."[82] Jones', who serves as the Associate Professor of World Evangelism for the Candler School of Theology at Emory, other works include *Christian Interculture: Texts and Voices from Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (2021) and *Christian Missions in the American Empire: Episcopalians in Northern Luzon, the Philippines, 1902-1946* (2003).[83] "Hybridity and Christian Identity" and "Indian Christians and the Appropriation of Western Civilisation in the Nineteenth Century" (2017) are both very informative for the topic of this thesis as they demonstrate unique motives and actions for the hybridizing of religious beliefs, specifically Christianity.[84] While these works are helpful for the analysis contained here, they do not consider the shifting attitudes of Protestant settlers over time in regard to Native Americans.

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[80] Paul Thifault, "Native Americans and the Catholic Phase in Puritan Missionary Writing," *Christianity & Literature* 67, no. 4 (2018): 605-628

[81] Thifault, "Native Americans and the Catholic Phase," 605-628.

[82] Arun W. Jones, "Hybridity and Christian Identity," *Missiology* 50, no. 1 (2022): 7-16.

[83] Arun W. Jones, *Missionary Christianity and Local Religion: American Evangelicalism in North India, 1836-1870*, (Baylor University Press, 2017); Arun W. Jones, *Christian Missions in the American Empire: Episcopalians in Northern Luzon, the Philippines, 1902-1946*, (Peter Lang Publishing, 2003).

[84] Arun W. Jones, "Indian Christians and the Appropriation of Western Civilisation in the Nineteenth Century," *Studies in World Christianity* 23, no. 1 (2017): 4-18.

All of the works considered, while useful in one manner or another, do not provide an overarching narrative of change and acceptance that developed amongst the Christian colonists of North America. Many of the above works, as exampled, provide highly stylized and biased perspectives either in favor of or strongly against the proselytization of Christianity. This work will focus chiefly on primary source material to develop a narrative demonstrating the shifting perceptions of colonists in regard to Native populations even, and in spite of, the coming of Native systems of belief and those of the Christian faith.

Outline of Upcoming Work

This thesis will consider topics surrounding but principally focused on the perceptions of Christian colonists in regard to Native-Americans whom they have attempted to convert. The first chapter focuses almost entirely with the perceptions of some of the initial Protestant settlers to the New World. Here an analytical examination will focus upon how the Puritans viewed, lived with, and interacted with the Natives of the region. A large emphasis will be placed upon the attempts by colonists at converting the indigenous of Massachusetts Bay and the resulting perceptions of these attempts. The investigation will begin looking into the mindset of the highly Calvinistic religious viewpoints of Puritan colonists and the dialogue will move into an examination of the attitudes of the English Protestants, through the lens of the Salem Witch Trials. Appropriate time turns to the example of Tituba, a native slave who worked in the house of the town's minister and one of the first people to be accused of witchcraft at Salem Village. Her role, ethnicity, and resulting judgement will be examined.

The second chapter spotlights the perceptions of colonists in the latter part of the nineteenth century and provide examples of two Native-Christian hybrid religions that were

allowed to be developed due to the shifting perceptions of Christian colonists who had long left behind their conservative viewpoints in favor of more accepting lines of thought. The Ghost Dance as founded and promoted by Jack “Wovoka” Wilson will be showcased, illuminating the rapidly popularized hybrid belief system within the Native community. Likewise, a further examination will take place into the founding of the Peyote Religion, by Quanah Parker and Nishkû'ntu, who championed and sponsored their new system of belief with other tribes on the newly formed reservation system of the United States. Additionally, a critical look at newspaper headlines and articles as the primary mode of communication between settlers on the frontier and those in the Eastern region of the United States, but largely as an expression of their shifting perceptions of Native Americans. Sensational newspaper writings provide context and further the argument for the gradual acceptance of Native Americans by the European colonists now on Native land.

The third chapter will bring the above analysis to a close and provide a cross examination of the topic at hand. By comparing the viewpoints of the writings of Puritans with regard to Natives the viewpoints of the colonists in the nineteenth century and their wildly provocative headlines, these critical explorations will shine a light on the easing of strongly held conservative positions within the mindset of white Christian colonists in the New World and demonstrate that the viewpoints shifted from one of intolerance and subjugation towards acceptance and leniency.

Chapter 1: Tituba: The Puritan's Indian Witch in Salem

The frontier of Massachusetts in the latter part of the seventeenth century must have seemed nearly insurmountable to the Puritans.[1] To the west, dense forests were filled with unknown and possibly hostile Native populations. The frigid coastline to the east held back waters in which pirates sailed, waiting to defraud merchants of their wares. To the north, were the French who were no less, and held a heightened hostility compared to the Natives. Long stretches of untamed and hardly traversed wilderness lie between Salem Village and the town of Boston was a full day's travel through the marshes and across inlets. The isolation was poignant and ever present. It had only been earlier in the century, 1602, when Bartholomew Gosnald first landed and founded the first settlement in Massachusetts Bay. The settlement was soon abandoned by his ship's crew due to the harsh reality of isolation, but the news of the voyage's success, and the profit from trading with the Natives, soon spurred others to settle there for good.[2]

On the American frontier, after having secured the land rights and moved to Massachusetts Bay, English Puritan settlers now faced religious seclusion.[3] Having left England to purposely pursue physical isolation and the religious freedoms that such isolation offers, the Puritans found themselves in an unfamiliar region where the practices of the Native "heathen" populations challenged the constitutions, as well as the faith of the Puritans.[4] The worldview of these indigenous peoples, whom the Puritans now lived amongst, further fueled an atmosphere of

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[1] Accounts such as in chapter 2 of the following help to demonstrate the difficulties experienced by those on the New England frontier: William Bradford and Charles Deane, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, (Boston: Private print, 1856), 11-16.
[2] William Henry Carpenter, *The History of Massachusetts, From its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, (Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853), 19-32; Charles Wentworth Upham, *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects*, (Wiggin and Lunt, 1867), 1-12.
[3] The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629.
[4] Carpenter, *The History of Massachusetts*, 48-63.

distrust and fanaticism. In the new world, the Puritans had to find the strength of their convictions to navigate unmapped regions of wilderness hardships and alien belief systems who had yet to be introduced to the teaching of the Christian church.[5]

It is in a state of isolation that in 1692, the small village outside of the town of Salem would find itself nestled. The Puritans, now New Englanders, held strong convictions of Protestant Calvinism and held drastically progressive viewpoints about salvation through Christ. For example, the concept of unconditional election supposes that before God created the universe, he selected certain elect people for salvation. Meaning that those who are preordained as chosen people, the Puritans, were picked by the creator and specifically selected to hear and receive the concept of redemption during their lifetimes.[6] The philosophy motivated the Puritans to do what they could for the Natives of their newly settled area and to hold themselves in a high esteem for having carried the message of salvation from Europe. In a new and secluded environment, a sense of religious fervor and divine purpose was ever present, and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay strived to continue their lives with a strong commitment to their Calvinistic beliefs.

These, amongst other, beliefs are what fundamentally differentiated the Puritans from their English counterparts in the Church of England, which still held much of the structure and practices of Catholicism. The Puritans were firm and ardent believers that newly established practices of those in England should be further reformed to a more pious standing. After opposition from the crown, and a reduction in the usefulness of English parliament in which the

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[5] Experience Mayhew and Thomas Prince, *Indian Converts, or, Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in New-England...* (London: Printed for S. Gerrish, bookseller in Boston in New-England; and sold by J. Osborn, 1727), 4.

[6] This does not mean that those people do not sin, but that they are to seek and be forgiven by God in spite of their flawed nature. Jim Orrick, *Mere Calvinism*, (Phillipsburg, New Jersey: P&R Publishing, 2019), 35.

Puritans had supporters, Puritans obtained the land rights to parts of New England and relocated their corporate trading company, as well as themselves to the New World.[7] The sense of newly found isolationism was compounded by the feelings of abandonment by their fellow Englishmen as well as the Puritan philosophy that eliminated a centralized church. Each individual was to make their own pact with God and choose their own minister.[8] The highly individualized arrangement with the divine likely furthered Puritanical thought to the notion of the inverse: a pact with the devil himself.

A deep-seated conviction in the damnable offense of heresy toward God, as professed by the Puritans, can be witnessed in the work of John Cotton.[9] Cotton refers to those who have the indelible image of the beast, and take the mark of the beast, "such as are their secular, or regular priests, and all that receive religious orders from the church of Rome."[10] Cotton was focusing his dialogue on the corrupt state of religion as would be present in his day as well as during the prophetic times covered by the Book of Revelation. He saw belief in the Roman Catholic Church as a damnable offense, and its coffers dredged up by the workings of the devil himself to affect the downfall of mankind. Cotton also mentions Turkish peoples as possessing similar damnable qualities, even though his focus is primarily upon Catholics.[11] The Ottoman empire, which was populated by the aforementioned Turkish peoples, at the time was populated by practicing Muslims. He focuses upon these two faiths as false churches and therefore justifies his perception of them as the image of the beast. From the works of Cotton, it is easily deduced that

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[7] D. H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, (Oxford University Press, 1989), 13-17.
[8] Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*, (New York: Wiley, 1966), 34-38.
[9] For more about the life of John Cotton see Larzer Ziff, *The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience*, (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1962).
[10] John Cotton, "The powring out of the seven vials, or, An exposition of the 16 chapter of the Revelation with an application of it to our times: wherein is revealed Gods powring out the full vials of his fierce wrath: very fit and necessary for this present age: preached in sundry sermons at Boston in New-England", (London: Printed for R.S, 1642), 20.
[11] Ibid.

anyone outside the protestant sphere of belief would be heathen or at worst, intentionally in cahoots with the devil. Similarly, the practices of the Native Americans would be considered unintentional devil worship through their paganistic practices, as would be self-explanatory to the Puritan settlers of the era.

Here, the Puritanical concept of irresistible grace will be defined, as it is of great importance to analysis of the topic. By understanding the previous Calvinistic concept of unconditional election, Puritans saw that by nature, sinners must resist the call of the divine. Through God's will however, the sinner is unable to resist God's call to salvation. This is the portion of John 6:44 "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him…" God makes the urge to resist cease or as the Puritans believed, God sent the Puritans to teach the natives how to end their sinful pagan ways. In doing so, this created a religious sense of duty for the Puritans to consistently reach out to the Native Americans and initiate further attempts at conversion. The holy imperative motivating Puritanical thinking drove and furthered the conviction of continued sacrifice for the aim of saving the souls of the Native population, further exacerbating a sanctimonious attitude that is all too often a flaw of those who hold strong convictions.

It was however the elevated sense of self that was rebutted by Experience Mayhew and Thomas Prince in their 1727 history of the Christian indigenous converts of New England.[12] They attributed a self-righteous demeanor from the English towards Native Americans to spiritual misalignment. They found the behavior and attitude to be ungodly but quickly followed up their statements by reminding the reader that "Indians are generally a very sinful people:

[12] Experience Mayhew and Thomas Prince, *Indian Converts, or, Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in New-England...* (London: Printed for S. Gerrish, bookseller in Boston in New-England; and sold by J. Osborn, 1727), xxi.

iniquity does abound among them."[13] While attempting to keep self-perceptions in check, both found that it was important to remember that the actions of Natives still needed correcting. That being said, Mayhew and Prince did not make it past their introduction without denouncing the Spanish attempts at conversion in the New World, stating how the forced conversions to Catholicism made for a "very sad story".[14] This further demonstrated how the Puritans cared for the eternal souls of those forcibly converted to Catholicism and for the people who would be the victims of such forced conversions.

Within the first few years of the founding of the Massachusetts Colony, John Eliot first gathered Native Americans who would listen and proceeded to preach to the villages of New England.[15] Eliot was able, through some labor, to translate the entirety of the Bible into the Massachusett language.[16] He encouraged those who he was able to convert through his sermons to set up schools and churches to teach Christian philosophy to those Natives who would hear it, as well as to teach English literacy. According to Mayhew and Prince, Eliot was able through his ministry, to baptize one third of all those who attended his network of indigenous churches.[17] By the end of his life however, many of the Natives begin to abandon the Christian faith and had begun a period of decline in learning English. After the previous generation of Natives who had accepted Christianity began to pass, the younger Native members were less inclined to study the settler provided learning. The apathy in assimilation was attributed by The United Ministers of Boston to merchants amongst the English who established large liquor trading businesses that

[13] Mayhew and Prince, *Indian Converts*, xxi.
[14] Ibid, xv.
[15] Ibid, xvi.
[16] See the translated work by John Eliot, *Eliot Indian Bible*, (Massachusetts: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1660).
[17] Ibid, xvi.

focused on selling the libations to Natives.[18] It might however be more of the case that King Phillips War had sown a distrust between the Natives and the Puritan settlers.

Given what is known about the Puritan ideals of a pure church, it is not hard to see why long-suffering attempts to convert the Native population of New England were made. While tensions were running high between Natives and the settlers of Massachusetts Bay, there were attempts at conversion when peace allowed for it. King Phillip's War, sometimes called the First Indian War, was an armed conflict that took place only a decade and change before the famous events of the witch hunt at Salem, Massachusetts.[19] One of the reasons for the conflict was the settler livestock, who would often escape their pens and gorge themselves on Native food sources amongst other issues of living in a shared space.[20] While attempts were made by the Puritans to keep their animals in check, it was still a persistent problem that infuriated those Natives who lived in New England. Leading to Native American raids against settlements and towns across much of New England and violent retaliation on the part of the region's European colonists along with their Native allies.

One of the first accounts that was written about the conflicts between the colonists and indigenous was given by Increase Mather in his 1676 work, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England*. Here, Mather presented a portrait of the puritanical view of Native Americans as being heathens who surround "English Israel".[21] There were those Native Americans who had converted to Christianity such as John Sassamon who preached the gospel to

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[18] Mayhew and Prince, *Indian Converts*, xvi-xviii. This citation comes from An Attestation by The United Ministers of Boston which includes Cotton Mather, Benjamin Colman, Peter Thacher, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, Samuel Checkley, William Waldron and Joshua Gee.
[19] Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England*, (St. Pauls Church-Yard: New England, 1676), 2-3
[20] Ibid.
[21] Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War*, 1.

the tribes on the New England frontier.[22] Sassamon was said to have translated parts of the Bible into his native language and attempted to convert members of his tribe (Massachusett) to Christianity. That led to his distrust amongst the Natives, and perhaps rightfully so, as he warned the colonial powers of the impending military actions of King Phillip (Metacomet) against the settlers of the region. It was noted by Mather, that Sassamon's faith in a Christian God played no small part in his murder but it was another Christian Native, William Nahauton, who was praying nearby and witnessed the murder of Sassamon who alerted the English settlers of what had transpired. A trial was to take place in which the jury consisted of English colonists and Natives who came to a guilty verdict, leading to the execution of those responsible.[23]

The views of the Puritans about Native Americans were much more nuanced and practical than many popular contemporary takes would have one believe. This thesis previously demonstrated that the English were willing to share a jury bench with Natives, especially when those Natives were converted to Christianity. It does not imply, however, that Natives stood upon equal footing with the Puritans and their systems of western laws. While Mather's work does refer to Natives as barbarous and heathenish, he does speak highly of Sassamon and Nahauton. Mather even went to far as to state that Sassamon "being of excellent parts" was able to translate biblical passages.[24] The objection to heathenish barbarism, however, likely refers to the unconverted Native population who still practiced their Native traditions and those who would not conform to English standards of living.

[22] Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England*, 2-3.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

The 1645 work, *Christenings Make Not Christians*, can give further insight into the thoughts surrounding Natives that Puritan ministers possessed, like its author Roger Williams.[25] Williams stated that the Native Americans are no further from redemption than are the Europeans and described the Natives as intelligent, inquisitive, and ethical.[26] Further divulging his thoughts, Williams was disgusted by the attempts of the Spanish to force convert Natives to Catholicism, as he believed the Native Americans should be converted through discourse just as all people.[27] It not only highlights the distrust of Catholicism but also a distaste for conversion through force. Williams served in the village of Salem as minister for a short period until he was forced to step down by the government of the Plymouth colony, who, being loyal to the king of England, did not appreciate his heresy against the royal family. His heresy being the opinion that a democracy-based theocracy should rule the people.[28] These and further examples showcase the Puritans as having less significance on racial identity but holding opinions of others largely dependent upon their status and faith.

It should be noted that "paganism" is different than witchcraft, even in the eyes of the sixteenth century puritans. Paganism or heathenism would refer to the set of indigenous belief systems while witchcraft is demarked by an understanding of the Christian faith but leveraged in an opposing or contraindicated manner.[29] Being godless was an easy state to fall into in Puritanical beliefs and being a minion of the devil was not a far-off concept. Witchcraft, in the view of the Puritans, was seen as pervasive. Especially as the concept of the devil's minions

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[25] Roger Williams, *Christenings Make Not Christians, or A Briefe Discourse Concerning That Name Heathen, Commonly given to the Indians. As Also Concerning That Great Point of Their Conversion. Published According to* Order, (London: Printed by Iane Coe, for I.H., 1645).
[26] Ibid, 10.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Zachariah Atwell Mudge, *Foot-Prints of Roger Williams: A Biography, with Sketches of Important Events in Early New England History, with which He was Connected*, (New York: Carlton & Lanahan, 1871), 62-64.
[29] "What is Heathen?", *Dictionary.com*, https://www.dictionary.com/e/pagan-vs-wicca-pagan-vs-heathen/, accessed May 3, 2024.

working amongst honest Christians had been inherited from their European ancestors. Trials in Europe were held to flush out those who would usurp the upstanding Christian church. From the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, many people had been successfully tried and sentenced as witches.[30] In Europe between 1420 a.d. and 1780 a.d., as many as 90,000 people were indicted as witches, thus the concept of witch prosecution was not an unfamiliar or unlawful practice.[31] France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and England all held their own version of the witch trials but it was the witch trials held in England which prove to be the most influential upon the Puritans of New England. Such as in the 1612 case of Lancashire, England where an 80-year-old witch named Elizabeth "Demdike" Sowtherns was discovered.[32] She and ten others were tried and sentenced in one of the most documented and recorded witch trials of history.

It is with knowledge of these events that the Puritans emigrated to North America. Being aware of the European witch trials and those in England who were sentenced over their crimes of collusion with the devil must have lent itself to further justification. When the Puritans came to settle in Massachusetts Bay, they brought the knowledge that witches exist and have been proven to afflict God-fearing citizens without grounds or motivation. John Hale states that "It is known to all men, that it pleased God some few years ago, to suffer Satan to raise much trouble amongst us…"[33] Perhaps he was referring to those earlier witch trials that were held in nearby

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[30] Nachman Ben-Yehuda, "The European Witch Craze of the 14th to 17th Centuries: A Sociologist's Perspective," American Journal of Sociology 86, no. 1 (1980): 1–31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2778849.
[31] Brian Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Moden Europe*, 3rd Ed. (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2006), 22-23.
[32] These accusations, much like the Salem Witch Trials led to a series of accusations amongst people in the region. For a further analysis of the Pendle Witch Trials see Thomas Potts, *Discovery of Witches the Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, 1613, Project Gutenberg; Robert Poole, *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
[33] John Hale, John Higginson, Bartholomew Green, John Allen, and Benjamin Eliot, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft, and How Persons Guilty of That Crime May Be Convicted: And the Means Used for Their Discovery Discussed, Both Negatively and Affimatively, According to Scripture and Experience. By John Hale,*

Connecticut or maybe Andover, which had more people accused of witchcraft than any other part of Essex County, Massachusetts.[34] But it was in Salem that one or two people were accused of the crime of witchcraft and, over the course of events, numerous people were brought to trial in Salem village and in the surrounding area.[35] From here is beginning of the final portion of our argument for the intolerance of Native belief systems and the way with which Native Americans were viewed by the Puritan settlers of the American frontier. To do so, however, there must be an examination of the events that took place in Salem.

Samuel Parris, the newest in a sequence of ministers to Salem Village, was tough to recruit for the committee assigned to bring him to Salem.[36] Within the course of a couple decades, four ministers had come through the parish of Salem Village, but none had been able to satisfy the tax paying townsfolks who bickered and refused to pay the minister's salary.[37] Each time one group disapproved of the minister, they would threaten or stop collecting taxes that went to the church. It did not always work in the town's favor, partially due to surrounding city territorial disputes, the townsfolk were desperate to prove they had the right to function autonomously. To do so they needed a minister who could offer two sacred sacraments of the Puritan church: baptism and the Lord's supper; making Samuel Parris desirable. Having attended Harvard, failed as a merchant, and served as a part time preacher in Stow, Massachusetts, Parris seemed like the most reasonable choice for the Salem Village church. More qualified candidates were likely not interested in serving Salem Village due to a reputation for political unrest

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Pastor of the Church of Christ in Beverley, Anno Domini 1697, (Boston in N.E: Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Benjamin Eliot under the town house, 1702), 4

[34] "A Brief History of Andover," Andover Center for History & Culture, https://andoverhistorical.org/history-witch-hysteria, accessed May 4, 2024.

[35] Ibid; "Welcome to Andover", Salem Witch Museum, https://salemwitchmuseum.com/locations/welcome-to-andover/.

[36] Paul S. Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft,* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974), 156-160.

[37] Ibid, 54-55.

surrounding the minister. In 1689, after lengthy negotiations the committee was able to secure Parris as the new minister for their parish.[38]

Samuel Parris brought with him to his new parsonage, a slave we will refer to as Tituba, since it is how Parris spelled it. Her name is denoted several different ways including Tituba, Titiba, Titaba, Tittapa or Titibe over the course of her warrant, indictment, examinations, and depositions.[39] It is of note as the etymology alone infers her origin. While her background is contested, several scholars have inferred that Tituba was a Black slave that came into Parris' service when he took over his father's plantation in Barbados. It cannot be critically substantiated through records or writing. It can be assumed that the line of thinking derives from Parris' use of the spelling 'Tituba,' and the inference of a long 'u' sound. The alternative spellings above clearly demarcate a shortened 'u' sound, as evidenced by the transliteration 'uh,' if that sound was a part of the correct pronunciation at all. The etymological argument is a side note of minor importance but one that can be investigated by linguistic specialists.

It is also highly unlikely that she was Black or partially of African roots, as it has not been shown convincingly by those who wish to purport her race as such. To counter the argument, one can base the dispute for her ethnicity on logical factors of strong primary source data.[40] Tituba's denoted ethnicity, mentioned in the court documents of the time, would be the

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[38] Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World, Or, the Wonders of the Invisible World Display'd in Five Parts: To which is Added a Postscript Relating to a Book Intitled, the Life of Sir William Phips / Collected by Robert Calef, Merchant of Boston in New England*, (London: 1700), https://go.openathens.net/redirector/liberty.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/books/more-wonders-invisible-world-displayd-five-parts/docview/2240875529/se-2; Paul S. Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974), 39-59; Benjamin C. Ray, *Satan & Salem: The Witch-Hunt Crisis of 1692*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015), 15-19; Richard Latner, "'Here are No Newters": Witchcraft and Religious Discord in Salem Village and Andover", *The New England Quarterly 79*, no. 1 (2006): 92-122..

[39] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.125: Tituba, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html

[40] Tituba's ethnicity was noted amongst the papers of the Witch Trails: Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.125: Tituba, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html

best argument one can make for her background, since there exists no other information on her circumstances. Tituba was referred to as an "Indian" numerous times by those charged with recording for Essex County.[41] A distinction was made for Mary Black, who was referred to as a "negro".[42] There would be little need to create a distinction or refer to Tituba as an "Indian" if they would denote Mary Black as being Black. It was not until long after the witch trials at Salem that her ethnicity was labelled as African and while there have been several papers and books dedicated to asserting Tituba's African origins, one can almost certainly feel confident that she was of Native American origin. However, what part of the New World she hailed from would be a matter of speculation. That being stated, her origin played a key role in her being accused of practicing witchcraft and of her eventually being dismissed from these charges.

Tituba was described by John Hale, in his recollections of the events at Salem.[43] Hale claimed that Tituba purported her previous mistress from her home country to be a witch. Tituba asserted that, while she herself was not a witch, she was taught to detect witches and knew how to prevent being bewitched herself. These abilities were unable to protect her from the torments of the simultaneously accused Goody Osburne and Sarah Good, who Hale said tormented Tituba for confessing to practicing witchcraft and for naming the two as colluders.[44] After these afflictions, Tituba's body was examined by a woman and was found to have the "marks of the devil wounding her."[45] Hale and others were convinced of Tituba's truthfulness when questioned as her story was consistent and aligned with what the victims had alleged. He also believed

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[41] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.125: Tituba, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html.
[42] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.015 Mary Black & No.125: Tituba, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html; Bernard Rosenthal, "Tituba's Story", *The New England Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (1998): 190-203.
[43] Hale, *A Modest Enquiry*, 24.
[44] Ibid, 26.
[45] Ibid.

Tituba to be penitent for her sins and states that she began to suffer the same as the previous victims.[46] The opinion would not be shared by the jury assigned to judge her innocence.

Robert Calef, who was outspoken against the Salem witch trials, reported that Tituba and an "Indian man" who also was a slave for Samuel Parris performed some magic to discover who had bewitched the girls of the village.[47] It was stated that the two slaves made a cake from rye meal along with the urine of those afflicted with witchcraft.[48] The batter was then baked in ashes and fed to a dog. Soon after the dog ate the cake, the afflicted people began to name those who tormented them. The first to be named, according to Calef, was none other than Samuel Parris' house slave, Tituba. It was only after she had been identified that the other two "witches" were to be named.[49] How Calef, knew that these events transpired in the manner described is not known, nor is the veracity of his account known. It should be noted here that evidence shows Calef wrote these perspectives with the intent to sell his writings on the famous witchcraft trials at Salem. But Calef's account still provides some evidence for us to see into the point of view of those of the era.

For more accurate information, investigating the court documents of the witch trials themselves proves valuable. For example, the yeomen of Salem Village Joseph Hutcheson, Thomas Putnam, Edward Putnam, and Thomas Preston appeared before magistrate John Hathorne to ask for the arrest and trial of those accused of witchcraft.[50] On February 29th, 1692, a warrant was granted and issued to be fulfilled by constable Joseph Herrick. The reason there is

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[46] Hale, *A Modest Enquiry*, 24-27.
[47] Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World, or, The Wonders of the Invisible World Display'd in Five Parts: To Which Is Added a Postscript Relating to a Book Intitled, The Life of Sir William Phips*, (London: Printed for Nath. Hillar and Joseph Collyer, 1700), 91.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.125.1 & No.125.2: Tituba, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html.

less certainty as to Tituba being the first person accused is that the warrant created for her arrest also includes the name of Sarah Osburne. Both were accused of the same crime. The warrant cites suspicion of witchcraft resulting in much injury to Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Anna Putnam, and Elizabeth Hubert and charges the executor of the warrant to search for evidence. Tituba was quickly jailed and questioned as to her role in the bewitching of the afflicted. Constable Herrick fulfilled his duties on the first of March 1692, but during the arrest and the search for evidence Herrick did not discover any physical indication to support accusations of witchcraft. [51]

The very same day and the following, Tituba was questioned by magistrate Hawthorne about her role in the bewitching of those tormented. While at first, she denies having any familiarity with any evil spirits or hurting any of the village's children, she does quickly admit that the devil came to her and asked her to serve him. During the questioning, Tituba states that she has seen "four women sometimes hurt the children;"[52] she also claimed there was a man from Boston with the women as well. She stated that Sarah Osburne and Sarah Good were with the others whom she did not know and commanded her to hurt the children that were afflicted. She declared that she was threatened if she did afflict the children with physical torments, that she would be their target instead. Tituba then admits to harming the village's children but only under threat of being harmed worse herself. The mysterious figure also commanded her to kill the children, but she refused. Promising to reward Tituba in payment for her assistance, the

[51] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.125.1 & No.125.2: Tituba, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html.
[52] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives, Examination of Tituba, as recorded by Ezekiell Chevers, No.125.3, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html.

figure she goes on to describe sometimes appears as a hog, two cats (red and black), or a large dog. It is these animal figures that bid her serve them.[53]

After stating that they had flown to the victim's house on sticks, Tituba then asserted that she saw apparitions of a ghastly nature. First, she saw a woman with wings, whom she claimed was also witnessed by Abigail Williams. Next, she saw another being she described as being hairy and upright like a man, or as she later says an imp. Then, Tituba goes on to describe a spectral wolf that allegedly attacked Elizabeth Hubert, but it is here Tituba's description of the devil is reached. The devil is described as being a tall man with white hair, wearing all black clothing. After, Tituba explains that Sarah Goode was hurting the children in her own bodily form and stops talking to the constable.[54] Tituba's confession may have happened under duress. As it was reported that Tituba later recanted, citing her confession as being the result of a severe beating from her master the reverend Samuel Parris.[55] Her status as a slave would likely mean that the beating was considered permissible since she was disobeying the direct orders of her master to confess.

By the ninth of May 1693, the indictment for Tituba was completed. She was charged with wickedly, maliciously, and feloniously creating a covenant with the devil and signing her name in the devil's book. It was considered a crime against the king and queen of England and the Indian woman servant of Samuel Parris was mentioned to be a detestable witch.[56] So, it would seem that the court system had deemed Tituba worthy of prosecution, but despite the personal feelings of the magistrate and constables, the matter was for the jury to ultimately

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[53] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives, Examination of Tituba, as recorded by Ezekiell Chevers, No.125.3, https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 91.
[56] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.125.6: Indictment of Tituba, for Covenanting (Returned Ignoramus), https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html

decide. Some questions begin to arise, as the back side of the indictment held one word in bold: Ignoramus. The line was signed by Abraham Haseltine, the foreman of the grand jury.

Why would the jury simply consider Tituba ignorant? Why would they let her off the hook while prosecuting several English townsfolk? For the purposes of this thesis, one needs to look further into the perceptions of Native Americans at the time. For example, Cotton Mather seemed to hold a more critical view of the Natives than his father, Increase, did.[57] Setting most of the blame upon the settlers themselves, to whom he refers to as white pagans, for teaching the Natives how to lie, drink, and swear, the preacher was very moved and pressed the listener about the topic. Accusing the settlers of Massachusetts Bay of having followed in the path of the Native Americans, Mather chastises the congregation in his 1690 sermon "The Way to Prosperity."[58] Mather says the following of Native Americans: "They are lazy drones, and love idleness exceedingly! They are also most impudent lyars and will invent reports and stories at a strange and monstrous rate… But, O how much do our people indianize in every one of those abominable things!"[59] From here it can be surmised that general trust amongst European settlers in regard to the Native Americans to be quite low.

Similarly, the accused and subsequently executed, Sarah Good in her questioning stated to Samuel Braybrook that she expected to be exonerated and showed disdain for the accusation of witchcraft to have come from a Native American. Although, it was worded rather suspiciously, as she said that she would confess if there was proof against her.[60] The fact does not take away

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[57] Of the works included in this thesis, Cotton Mather's work is much for incendiary when compared to the work of his father: Cotton Mather, *The Way to Prosperity: a Sermon*, (Boston: Printed by Richard Pierce for Benjamin Harris, 1690); Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England*, (St. Pauls Church-Yard: New England, 1676).
[58] Cotton Mather, *The Way to Prosperity: a Sermon*, (Boston: Printed by Richard Pierce for Benjamin Harris, 1690).
[59] Ibid.
[60] Elliot Woodward, *Records of Salem Witchcraft Copied from the Original Documents*, (Roxbury, Mass: W. Elliot Woodward, 1864), 24.

from the evidence that is presented here to show an innate and assumed bias by the English versus the Natives. In the manner of the words of Cotton Mather above, Natives were considered to be liars and story fabricators; it is likely why Sarah Good expected to be freed. She did not expect her word against the accusations that came from the mouth of a Native American.

Sarah Good expected to not be imprisoned on the word of a Native woman. While the Calvinistic concept of total depravity applied to the Puritans themselves, it applied especially to those who had not yet heard the gospel. The concept is the flawed nature that all humans possess and need redeeming from. Based on the newly translated King James Bible verse of John 6:44 "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day."[61] It is likely that the notion in particular fueled Puritanical distrust in the Natives of Massachusetts Bay. It provided fuel for the fire on the sinful nature of man, especially the heathenistic pagans that inhabited the region before the Puritans resettled and guided them. Allowing the Native Americans to retain their old ways and habits would not be godly or stewardly of God's unconditional elect. It is most likely why the series of laws were created and enforced especially after the majority had begun to pick up the sinful habits of the English.

With the desperate need to assist the Native Americans with their "total depravity," it is simple to see how laws helping to save the Natives from themselves would quickly come into fashion. In 1646, Thomas Shepard, who took records of the commands to Native Ames in Concord, noted several orders passed to forbid Native rites. For example, the powwow, a gathering of separate bands of Natives, was forbidden to be performed and any Native found participating would be disciplined.[62] The Natives were also to wear their hair as the English do

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[61] Orrick, *Mere Calvinism*, 18-21.

[62] These orders were recorded by Captaine Simond Willard of Concord as written by Shepard: Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in Nevv-England. Or, An Historicall Narration of Gods Wonderfull Workings upon Sundry of the Indians, Both Chief Governors and Common-People, in Bringing*

and were to strictly observe the sabbath.[63] They were to pray in their assigned wigwams before and after meals. Likewise, they were no longer permitted to play the indigenous ball games or wear body grease.[64] It is of the 6th order created at Concord that would pertain to Tituba's situation and Sarah Good's assumption on the view of Natives: the law forbidding the sin of lying. [65] Natives at the time were held highly suspect of lying even in a court of law, but it is clear that the view was not firmly held by all. If it were the case that no one trusted natives, Tituba would have been fined and her accusations met with derision, eliminating the need for further questioning.

The Natives were likely considered ignorant on the whole, as has been reviewed by several scholars previously, just as Tituba's jury found her to be. The most likely reason as to why these laws were established in the first place was the continued civilizing of Native Americans. Attempts at civilizing the Natives did go to great lengths in law and even in the mindset of the Puritans who emigrated to the area. As an added example, even the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, circa 1629, featured a Native American wearing nothing but leaves around the midsection, pleading for the English to "Come over and help us". The seal would be in use from 1629 until 1686 and again after 1692, amidst its use a different seal was utilized. This seal, used by Governo Edmund Andros, had a Native and an Englishman kneeling to King James II.[66] Moreover it indicates, that the Natives were seen as subservient to, but separate from the English. Perhaps it can explain why Samuel Parris' slave was not punished similarly to the

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Them to a Willing and Desired Submission to the Ordinances of the Gospel; and Framing Their Hearts to an Earnest Inquirie after the Knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World. (London: Printed by R. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three golden Lions in Cornhill near the Royall Exchange, 1648), 4-5.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] "The History of the Arms and Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts", https://www.sec.state.ma.us/divisions/public-records/history-of-seal.htm

English colonists that were accused of serving the devil: she was considered ignorant. Tituba was ultimately to remain in prison, since Samuel Parris refused to pay her court fees, until another settler came and paid to free her for use in his service.[67]

In summary, the above evidence demonstrates some of the ways English viewpoints and Native-Settler religious related. There is much evidence in the way of the Puritans distrusting the indigenous people of the Massachusetts Bay. The sense of isolationism that was experienced by the Puritans no doubt helped to fuel the distrust of Natives. The feeling of separation was mostly caused, not only by physically being in uncharted and unexplored lands filled with unknown cultures. It was probably compounded by the leaving of governmental safety and the lack of representation in parliament back in the homeland. It was intensified by the lessening of the Puritan's political power during the reign of King James I. Afterall, if one cannot even trust their fellows of the old country to hear out matters of law and religion, then a feeling of seclusion must follow. Combining these political separations with the vast wilderness, hostile French, and Native forces, along with breakthroughs in Protestantism likely fueled an intense distrust of others, especially those that were considered ignorant and heathenistic.

These feelings of seclusion were likely furthered by religious separation from the Church of England, in favor of Puritanical views which often promoted the heretical stance of theocracy. Calvinism which greatly influenced the Puritan mindset, accentuated, and heightened the divide between the official religion of England and the Puritans. The views of unconditional election in particular, furthered the Puritanical resettlement into "English Israel" and heightened a need for conversion of the Native population. Since the goal of creating a purer church drove them to leave an area dominated by the Church of England, especially when their perspective was being

[67] Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 91.

heard less in governing bodies. While the views of total depravity, created the increase in resentment and an unsettled sense about their interactions with the Native Americans. A feeling that “all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God”, would only exacerbate a refusal to allow Native Americans to behave as they did before contact. The concept of irresistible grace, in particular, fueled Puritanical fervor and created an unrelenting sense that proselytization needed to be intense and constant.

Strong attempts at conversion were made and exampled by the works of John Eliot and others who sought the bring the Christian faith to Natives on the frontier. As the increase in alcohol consumption raged amongst the Native Americans, there were born new attempts at conversion and warnings to the settlers to not follow the Native Americans down their path of unrighteousness. Slowly a distrust was created, or at least heightened, motivating the creation of laws surrounding the behaviors of the Native Americans. As if the standing distrust of those uneducated in Christ was not enough. The Concord laws provide an excellent example of regulations which were aimed at changing and training Native behaviors away from nomadic lifestyles, game-playing, drug (alcohol) use, indigenous religious practices and so on. Natives who continued to behave in their traditional ways fueled and even compounded distrust and resentment amongst settlers. Lying and embellishment in particular, created a sense of suspicion and laws were enacted to help curb the undesirable behaviors. Military actions against the English settlers, such as in the case of King Phillips War as well did not help to bridge the space between these two groups and likely led to further discrimination and distrust.

In conclusion regarding changes in Christian perspectives, the evidence presented above, showcases a deep distrust amongst English Puritan settlers of indigenous peoples. Massachusetts Bay Colony’s sense of isolation along with deep seated religious hard lines only furthered the

sense of distrust and created an intensified need to convert Native populations to Christianity. Leaving the Puritans with a perception that Native populations were overall, uneducated, and ignorant of the world and namely of what the Puritans perceived was good for them. The sense of intolerance would not last forever as shifting perspectives amongst what was acceptable to Christians would change and permissibility, or at least tolerance would allow for Native-Christian hybridity. This led to the development of Native religious belief systems that appeased and placated colonial fears and allowed Natives to continue in their practices.

Chapter 2: Ghost Dances, Peyote, and the Newspaperman

For nineteenth century settlers, the American West felt a barren place; it was for the most part because the Native peoples who inhabited the region had almost entirely been moved to reservations by the latter half of the century.[1] Before that, many of the tribesmen of the Native Americans had succumbed to disease and war with the United States government making relocating the Natives a possible task. For the groups relocated to new lands, separated from their long held indigenous roles, and no longer able to subsist in the traditional manner, a new form of resistance would emerge: Native-Christian hybridity. Hybridity became possible due to changing attitudes and an increase in sympathy from reform movements among white populations allowing Christianity to be blended with indigenous practices. There are two prominent examples useful here, the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Religion. Both had their roots on reservations, combined Native belief systems with Christianity, and created new means by which to inspire hope and resist assimilation to European colonial standards of living. The advances in the standards of living that developed during the period would fundamentally alter the way Natives and settlers communicated and traveled.

The world was a shrinking place in the latter half of the 1800s. The science of surveying, for example, experienced an explosion of necessity in the United States.[2] Vast tracks of untapped wilderness were now available to be utilized for farming, settling, mining and other commercial and domestic activities. It meant that cadastral surveyors had their work cut out for them as they divvied up the vast land west of the Mississippi. Surveyors became especially necessary as the

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[1] Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 2012), 492.
[2] Nick Battjes, Krag Caverly, Nathan Ovans, and Nathan Plooster, "Railroad Surveys: History and Curve Computations", Surveying and land information science 67, no. 3 (2007): 137–148.

railroads began to steam their way across the country. As demand for the profession grew, surveyors not only played a role in organizing the land but were instrumental in the expansion of the national transportation system, particularly the railroad system. By 1900, there were five transcontinental railroads connecting the Western United States with the East.[3] Skilled workers spread across the country to support the new tracks being installed, maintain ancillary businesses, and of course headed west to earn their keep.

As electricity began to surge its way through the wires of the country, technological developments began to take new forms. In the early part of the nineteenth century, Samuel Morse, having almost given up on his career as an artist after losing a contest to paint the rotunda of the capitol building, designed the electric telegraph after a conversation about the discovery that electricity could carry information.[4] His idea was presented to Congress and was eventually considered to be crucial infrastructure. By 1876, Americans had become accustomed to seeing the hanging wires of the telegraph lines following the railroads across the country and with the creation of the telephone, doctor's phone numbers began to appear in advertisements no later than 1893.[5] The advancements of the railroad, telegraph, and countless others, fundamentally and forever changed the nature of the frontier.

The nineteenth century was a time of vast change, not just in the development of sciences and technology but in the way of religion. A plethora of communal religious experiments had developed since the dawn of the colonization of the New World, but the 1800s in particular was a time when religious experimentation seemed to thrive. Groups such as the Shakers, the Oneida

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[3] Battjes, Caverly, Ovans, and Plooster, "Railroad Surveys," 138.
[4] Andrew Wheen, Dot-Dash to Dot.Com: How Modern Telecommunications Evolved from the Telegraph to the Internet. (New York: Springer, 2011), 4
[5] K. G. Beauchamp, History of Telegraphy, (London: Institution of Electrical Engineers, 2001), 400; Claude S. Fischer, America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 176.

Community and the Mormons were able to create long lasting roots in the United States and on the Western frontier.[6] The Second Great Awakening had led to a massive increase in the fervor of Protestantism and evangelical Christians who continued their efforts to convert Native populations.[7] United efforts were made amongst the body of Christ in the United States to reach out to the indigenous peoples and by 1840 the history of their attempts had been recorded so that further labors could be made on that behalf.[8] These endeavors were long lasting, and most Natives were familiar with the Christian faith and Roman Catholicism.[9] These efforts were not always appreciated by the indigenous as often these labors at conversion predicated removal from their lands or violence in the attempt to remove Natives from them.[10]

Following the Civil War, the generals of the North were put in charge of fighting a new enemy, the Native population of the West. William Sherman's march to the sea during the war with the Southern States had taught the army of the United States that they could starve their enemies. The campaign had begun against the Native peoples and the tactic was swiftly employed. The United States Army was to kill any bison on sight, but the method was not nearly effective enough to impact the larges herds that roamed the plains of North America. Soon the Army had commissioned civilians and outfitted them to kill bison and take their hides. They supplied ammunition, shelter, and protected the civilian hunters from any tribe that would dare

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[6] Amy Hart, "On Earth as it is in Heaven: A Study of nineteenth-century Religious Communal Experiments in the United States," *Religion Compass* 14, no. 1 (2020).
[7] For more on the Second Great Awakening see: Richard Carwardine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the `New Measures'," The Journal of American History 59, no. 2 (1972): 327–40, https://doi.org/10.2307/1890193.
[8] For further reading on early Christian missions by denomination to the Native populations of the United States please see Joseph Tracy, Solomon Peck, Enoch Mudge, William Cutter, and Enoch Mack, *History of American missions to the heathen, from their commencement to the present time*, (Worcester: Spooner & Howland, 1840); also Laura M. Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
[9] Ibid.
[10] Stevens, *The Poor Indians*, 160-164.

fight back against the great theft of their main food supply. The teams would work separately. The hunting team would shoot the bison, and then the skinning team would finish the job, leaving the meat to rot in the sun. Taking from the Native Americans of the plains their food supply and reducing their ability to make a sufficient living.[11]

The indigenous, being dispossessed of their lands and means by which they subsisted created a disdain and an air of hostility that made relations with white settlers difficult. It is likely why the Ghost Dance became a sign of resistance East of its origin. The language barrier, as well, kept settlers and Native Americans from fully relating and creating new bonds aside from the occasional laborer, hired to work the farms of white ranchers. The pioneers to the Western territory after the Civil War, were connected by the newspapers of the era who reported the goings on and nearly always sided with the government and settler communities.[12] This was no mere accident but by design, as paper editors wrote with a passionate flare and the need to bend information to meet their audience and sell their papers.[13] An intense trumped-up disdain, that was promoted by the newspapermen, created a sense of a united revulsion of the Natives. So, as a result it was no surprise to readers when papers began to report that the Native population was gearing up for war against the white man, fueled by the new "Messiah Craze."[14]

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[11] Dan O'Brien, *Great Plains Bison*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 33-35.
[12] Hugh J. Reilly, *The Frontier Newspapers and the Coverage of the Plains Indian Wars*, (Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger, 2010).
[13] Ibid, xiii.
[14] The term "Messiah Craze" was heavily utilized in the United States at the time, when referring to the Ghost Dance. One of the earliest places it can be found is in James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890", *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 1896), 828 & 831; also appearing in several newspapers beginning in 1890 such as in "Perishing Redskins", *Los Angeles herald,* October 21, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025968/1890-10-21/ed-1/seq-1/ and in "Late News In Brief", *Pittsburg dispatch*, October 30, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024546/1890-10-30/ed-1/seq-7/.

The origins of the Ghost Dance can be traced further back by ethnologists, but for the purposes of the examination here, the hybrid belief system began in the western portion of the newly formed state of Nevada.[15] A young man named Wovoka, of the Paiute tribe, grew up in the Mason Valley; he was to become the founder, or "messiah" of the Ghost Dance.[16] After his father died when he was a boy of 14, Wovoka was taken in by white ranchers of the region. It was a common practice as Native labor, particularly Paiute, was necessary for European landowners who were a small minority in the region. Wovoka was given the name of Jack Wilson and was taught, as James Mooney the nineteenth century ethnologist who studied the Ghost Dance put it, "a confused idea of the white man's theology."[17] Mooney, who directly interviewed the visionary of the Ghost Dance, believed Wovoka to be good intentioned and rebuts attempts by other white critics to paint him in a poor light. Citing that Wovoka claimed to have not been a preacher but a "dreamer."[18]

The origin story Wovoka shared with Mooney began during a solar eclipse when the young Paiute fell into a deep sleep during the daytime and was taken to the afterlife. While in the afterlife, Wovoka was shown all people who had already died, happy and young. The other world where Wovoka was taken to was full of game animals and very pleasant. He was to meet the God of the Bible. God spoke to Wovoka and charged him with a message to give to the Native Americans upon his return to Earth. He was to impart that all Natives were to "be good and love one another, have no quarreling, and live in peace with the whites."[19] They were to work, not steal, not tell lies, and stop the old practice of warring with each other. If they were faithful to

[15] Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion", 762-769.
[16] Ibid, 764-776.
[17] Ibid, 765.
[18] Ibid, 762-769.
[19] Ibid, 771-772.

these commands, they too would be taken to the afterlife upon their death and be reunited with their loved ones. After the message was given to Wovoka, he was then taught a dance, which lasted five days: the Ghost Dance. He was to return to his regular life and share the dance with those Natives still living. If the dance was performed properly, then happiness would be achieved and would hasten the events leading to becoming reunited with their deceased loved ones. The story of his vision was corroborated by a white rancher who would sometimes employ Wovoka for work, stating that Wovoka fell ill during an eclipse and when he regained consciousness shared the story.

Throughout his retelling to Mooney, Wovoka was quick to share that his doctrine included nothing about the ghost shirts that were utilized by the Sioux in war and that he did not teach others to enter a trance like state. Wovoka asserted that he strongly opposed any violence towards the colonists of the United States, stating that his religion was one of universal peace, shooting down any notion of hostility towards the white settlers. He believed it better for the Natives to follow the path of the white man's civilization to achieve the goals given to him in his dream.[20] Whether Wovoka's claims could be some form of back peddling is unlikely as the original message that Wovoka delivered would soon be given to Mooney. Not long after the interview with Wovoka took place, representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho approached James Mooney with the original message that was recorded when Wovoka had delivered it to the tribe. Black Short Nose, who had transported the letter kept safely in a beaded, buckskin pouch, was to be the main point of contact. The words were translated by Black Short Nose's daughter and the message as dictated by the Cheyenne tribesman, was included in its entirety to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The communication essentially corroborated Wovoka's mission of

[20] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance," 772-774.

peace and instructed that dances were to be held for five days, every six weeks. The natives were to bathe and hold feasts during this time as well as not lie or make war with the whites but to work for them.[21]

The interview with Wovoka is considered authoritative as Wovoka did not give interviews to white people and it took a great deal of convincing for James Mooney to even gain an audience with the originator of the Ghost Dance.[22] He was eventually able to gain his trust by demonstrating that he held good relations with other Native tribes people with whom Wovoka and his Uncle were familiar. Mooney himself states that not one of the newspaper correspondents had gone to interview Wovoka in person and hear the actual message that they were portraying sensationally in their papers.[23] While Mooney spoke highly of Wovoka and stated that he believed his message was peaceful, these kind words from Mooney were short lived, as he later describes Wovoka as having no marked intellectuality.[24]

The assumption that Native Americans were ignorant was shared by most European settlers and is a reoccurring theme when investigating colonist viewpoints on those who had inhabited America before contact.[25] Many did not consider the Natives as being capable of even concocting a plan against the white colonists. For example, General Nelson Miles who fought in the Civil War and led many battles in the Indian wars, believed that the Mormons were behind the invention and popularization of the Ghost Dance claiming of the Ghost Dance messiah "Those who have seen him say he is muffled up and disguised so that they do not see his face,

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[21] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance," 780-781.
[22] Ibid, 767-769.
[23] Ibid, 762-769
[24] Ibid.
[25] See chapter 1 regarding Tituba's indictment signed "Ignoramus," as well as the following: Jason Edward Black, *American Indians and the Rhetoric of Removal and Allotment*, (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2015), 41, 47, and 103.

but I believe that he is a full-blooded white."[26] General Miles continued his thoughts through the interview and stated the following:

> I cannot state positively, but it is my belief the Mormons are the prime movers in it. This is not a hard statement to believe, as there are 200,000 Mormons and they themselves claim to believe in prophets and spiritual manifestations, and they even now claim to hold intercourse with the spirit of Joe Smith.[27]

Miles, when asked if the Ghost Dances will lead to an outbreak of bloodshed, replied: "I do not think so, but where an ignorant race of people become religious fanatics it is hard to tell just what they will do."[28] One Mr. H.G. Webb, likely a concerned citizen or evangelist, wrote a letter that was included in Special Case 188 to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[29] Webb was confident that he was able to trace the origins of the Ghost Dance or the "Messiah Craze" of the Sioux rebellion to the Mormons who had settled in Utah."[30] Once again crediting the national movement amongst the indigenous to nefarious white actors who would usurp the government.

Newspapermen later shared and influenced the perspectives of settlers on natives, as well. The title of the article "The Messiah Lunacy" provides quite a bit of detail as to the perceptions of white settlers to the actions of the Natives on the Pine Ridge Reservation, as the Ghost Dance began to gain popularity amongst the Sioux of the Dakotas.[31] Here the Wichita Daily Eagle paints a portrait of distrust and disdain for the practices of the Ghost Dance. Portraying the belief system as dangerous and wild, the "Indian craze" was hoped to be settled without bloodshed.

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[26] "The Indian Messiah", *Evening* star, November 7, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1890-11-07/ed-1/seq-6/.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Special Case 188: The Ghost Dance, 1890-1898, Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Record Services, Washington, D.C.
[30] Ibid.
[31] "The Messiah Lunacy," *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, November 22, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1890-11-22/ed-1/seq-1/; For further information about the Ghost Dance amongst the Sioux see: Mooney, "The Ghost Dance," 816-828.

Natives of several tribes were reported to have been gathering at Wounded Knee, to practice the Ghost Dance. The group included natives from the Ogallah, Rosebud, and Crow Nation.[32] The writer assumes the probability that Native Americans across the country will revolt against their own medicine men once the prophecies they believed in did not manifest themselves. Further stating that leaders such as Sitting Bull and Red Cloud had instigated the "religious craze" in part to protest the annexation of land that had been reserved for Native peoples.[33] The article, while having some fairness in this manner, does assume the Natives are ignorant and offers no validity to the belief system of the Ghost Dance. There is quite a bit of obliviousness about the origins and purposes of the ritual but perhaps it is intentional to stir up hostilities between colonists and Natives or even to justify what was to come.

The actual reasoning behind the Sioux's version of the Ghost Dance as a form of rebellion can be found in the writings of the Indian agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, James McLaughlin.[34] In his memorandum, the reasons denoted for many of the grievances is that rations had been reduced for those living on the reservation, even after promises were made that a reduction in food supplies would not happen.[35] When the people protested, it was promised to the Natives that the issue would be corrected. It was never done. The Sioux were also promised cows as part of a treaty that was signed to keep the Sioux on the reservation, but these were never given to the people. Along with shorting the supply of goods provided in the treaty the government would disperse these goods far from their homes, not allowing them time to

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[32]"The Messiah Lunacy," *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, November 22, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1890-11-22/ed-1/seq-1/.
[33] Ibid.
[34] James McLaughlin, "Memorandum from James McLaughlin, Indian Agent at Pine Ridge Agency, Regarding the Reason for the Ghost Dance Uprising," November 6, 1890, Digital Public Library of America, https://dp.la/item/d04d4d5a96b47ee1b99341fdfd95752; James McLaughlin would become famous for his encounters with Native Americans and would write a book after working as an Indian Agent: James McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910).
[35] James McLaughlin, "Memorandum from James McLaughlin."

maintain said homes, due to long travels to obtain food and supplies.[36] Even without having direct thoughts or words of the United States government, it can be understood through their actions that Natives were understood as less than. The newspapers in actions, and titles as well, would support the government's deeds.

Sensationalized headlines appeared across the nation, such as "These Have Some Sense: Civilized Reds Seek to Educate Their Barbarous Brethren."[37] The title alone begins to communicate the viewpoints of European colonists on the new Native-Christian hybrid religion of the Ghost Dance. Here it is stated that a "civilized" group of Natives, who did not believe in the "craze," had come from their homes at the Crow Creek and Yankton agencies to persuade their "barbarous brethren" to disregard the teachings that had begun to sweep through Native societies.[38] The reader is also informed that government authorities had begun to arrest those at Standing Rock who could not be dissuaded to stop participating in the Ghost Dancing by their more "civilized" kin.[39] Displaying little in the way of understanding or passive language, the author attempts to rouse the reader as much as possible. By even a cursory glance of the short blurb in the *St. Paul Daily Globe*, the opinion held by colonists for the Native peoples of the United States is right out in the open. Natives were considered ignorant, foolish and to be dealt with by force.

Such as in the *Indianapolis Journal*'s headline "Ghost Dance Of The Crows: Grotesque Religious Exercise That Has Come Into Vogue Among Red Men" which again helps to

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[36] "Memorandum from James McLaughlin, Indian Agent at Pine Ridge Agency, Regarding the Reason for the Ghost Dance Uprising," November 6, 1890, Digital Public Library of America, https://dp.la/item/d04d4d5a96b47ee1b99341fdfd95752.
[37] "These Have Some Sense: Civilized Reds Seek to Educate Their Barbarous Brethren," *St. Paul Daily Globe,* October 23, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90059522/1890-10-23/ed-1/seq-1/.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

demonstrate the lack of respect given to indigenous belief systems surrounding the Ghost Dance.[40] The article's special correspondent, known only as E.B.R., had written a relatively neutral discourse about their observations amongst those practicing the Ghost Dance, but the journal's editor still found a way to sensationalize the heading. In fact, E.B.R. had some kind things to say about the Natives including that the women were dressed so nicely and had applied make up in such a tremendous way as would make a white woman feel like she could not measure up to it. Again, it is demonstrated that settlers held negative viewpoints and believed Natives to be ignoramuses when the author describes those participating in the Ghost Dance as having "savage and untutored minds."[41]

Red Cloud was not trusted either but he was said to have come to the Pine Ridge Agency to join the feast of the "Wild West" Indians.[42] He denied that he had come to participate in the Ghost Dance.[43] The *Wichita Daily Eagle*, however, was not buying that and instead asserted that "no credence" was given to his claims because he was a "wily old Cheyenne" who had been too closely associated with Sitting Bull.[44] Later when discussing the situation at the Standing Rock Agency, the writer reminds their audience that while the Natives situated there are "exceedingly friendly" that hostilities might come soon from outside tribes as "blood is thicker than water."[45] Red Cloud who was staying amongst the Natives of Standing Rock was said to have been sympathizing with the "new Christ fanatics" and would be put in irons at the smallest misstep.[46]

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[40] E.B.R., "Ghost Dance of the Crows: Grotesque Religious Exercise that has Come Into Vogue Among Red Men," The Indianapolis Journal, October 5, 1890, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1890-10-05/ed-1/seq-9/.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

The account provides further evidence of the distrust for the hybrid belief system and the continued distrust by European settlers of Natives as a people.

On February 12, 1891, the secretary of war released to the public the results from the investigation of the massacre at Wounded Knee.[47] The investigation was to look into the conduct by the United States military and into the actions of the Natives. Spotted Elk, or as the colonists knew him "Big Foot", along his band were reportedly known to have a "desperate and deceitful character."[48] Not only were they mischievous but also the "religious excitement" of the Sioux Nation had made them "particularly dangerous."[49] It is at this point that a tonal shift begins to take place and sympathies towards Native Americans begin to build. Many more positive accounts were to be published, and general attitudes were to improve in newspapers. As such the hostility that was all so common amongst newspaper titles and articles would take a much less hostile tone. Articles about Native peoples began to change their expression away from aggressive hostility towards one of interest and wonder.

As had been the case since the Europeans first colonized North America, not all settler perceptions of Natives were hostile or condescending but after Wounded Knee it became much easier to locate positive interactions. Henry Plummer Smith, who lived near the Pine Ridge Reservation where the massacre at Wounded Knee occurred, was relatively friendly with his Native American neighbors. Helping to feed and shelter them from the cold winter of 1891, Smith describes his interactions with the Natives after they had been subject to the violence of the United States Government.[50] Smith allowed two Native American men and one woman who

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[47] "The Battle of Wounded Knee", The Record-Union, February 13, 1891, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015104/1891-02-13/ed-1/seq-1/.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Henry P. Smith, *Diary*, February-March 1891, South Dakota State Historical Society.

were out on a hunting expedition to use his stove to bake bread for themselves. During the visit which took place on the twenty-second of February 1891, a conversation about hunting took place with the Natives even though they had some difficulty in communicating due to a language barrier. There existed some level of comfort for the Natives as they returned to stay with Smith after the hunting trip had ended ten days later. Only five days after this, another group of Sioux came to visit, Smith would allow the new group to stay in a spare room on his property and referred to them as harbingers of peace. [51]

General Nelson Miles, who believed the Mormons had put the Sioux up to the Ghost Dance, also had strong sympathies for the indigenous who were killed at Wounded Knee. Writing to his wife about the legal support for General James Forsyth who was responsible for the massacre he states, "If they wish to support the most abominable criminal military blunder and a horrible massacre of women and children I am ready to meet them on that ground."[52] Miles was not the only white frontiersman who became more accepting of Natives and was incensed by the tragedy that took place.[53] Many citizens of the United States changed their attitude and tone towards one nearing reverence of the indigenous. After Wounded Knee, many newspaper writers seemed to take a more favorable light on Native Americans. It was only shortly before this point, in the fall of 1890 that James Mooney was commissioned to investigate and commenced his interview with Wovoka.[54] Mooney's final report would not be completed until 1896, so the

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[51] Henry P. Smith, *Diary*, February-March 1891, South Dakota State Historical Society.
[52] Nelson A. Miles, Letter to Mary Sherman Miles, Jan. 15, 1891, Pine Ridge, S.D.
[53] Newspapers began to take a notably less harsh tone when noting Native Americans such as in the following articles: "The Crème De La Crow", *The Indianapolis Journal*, April 4, 1897, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1897-04-04/ed-1/seq-20/; "Indigenous Medicinal Plants", *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, May 6, 1890, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020631/1890-05-06/ed-1/seq-2/; "The Mescal Feast", *Anadarko Daily Democrat*, April 27, 1903, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn97070123/1903-04-27/ed-1/seq-1/.
[54] Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," 653

common people had not yet learned of the good-natured origins of the Ghost Dance and yet their outlook had changed. Mooney had provided some information to newsmen, who were seeking to capitalize on the national news, and it may have assisted in turning the tides of distrust.

Once the report was presented to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the *Indianapolis Journal* who had seven years earlier concocted up sensationalist headlines regarding the Ghost Dance cited James Mooney's report and described Wovoka as ignorantly misrepresented.[55] They also reported that the Ghost Dance, while interpreted differently by separate tribes, was not intended as a call to war but as a call to spiritual power.[56] During the years following the events at Wounded Knee the *Indianapolis Journal* was very quick to praise Native society and even ran articles on Native dancing and gatherings, showing them in a favorable light such as the reprinted article from the *Louisville Courier-Journal* titled "The Crème De La Crow: Brilliant and Successful 'Function' in Montana Society."[57] Whether or not there was a change in editorial staff remains to be investigated but the change in editorial mood alone showcases a developing openness in white society for the Native Americans. Further investigation might reveal that newspapermen held some form of collective guilt for their part of what happened at Wounded Knee but they cannot take full responsibility for the changes to their papers as societal acceptance of Natives had fundamentally changed over time allowing the Ghost Dance to flourish in the first place.

While the Ghost Dance was prohibited and actively discouraged on the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Dakotas, it was not the case with the Oklahoma Territory reservation of the

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[55] "Indian Ghost Dances," *The Indianapolis Journal,* July 21, 1897, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1897-07-21/ed-1/seq-2/.
[56] Ibid.
[57] "The Crème De La Crow", *The Indianapolis Journal*, April 4, 1897, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1897-04-04/ed-1/seq-20/.

Kiowa, Commanche, Wichita, Caddo, Arapaho, and other tribes.[58] The teachings of Wovoka were met with indifference by the white agents of the reservation. Some scholars have thought that because the Ghost Dance was not actively discouraged in the state soon to be known as Oklahoma, it only found modest support and shortly fizzled out. The joining of multiple tribes in one location allowed Natives to collaborate and share indigenous practices, and supported experimentation amongst the tribe's members with Native practices unfamiliar to their people. It was on the reservation in Oklahoma that a new type of Native-Christian hybridity would get roots: peyote. The Peyote Religion or the Native American Church as it is known today, had roots in the reservation, and much like the Ghost Dance, its practices can be traced further back than the founding of the United States.[59]

The Methodist Episcopal Church, who made strong attempts at converting the Natives of the Eastern tribes of the United States in the early part of the nineteenth century, followed the tribes to their new homes in the West. By 1844, the church had created the Indian Mission Conference to prioritize and support its efforts at the conversion of Native populations.[60] It was a marked change from previous missionary work, as creating the conference placed Native churches at the same level as those of white churches. In fact, the Indian Mission Conference was dominated by Native Americans, as the church was well aware that any attempts to convert Native populations to Christianity were bound to fail without Natives sharing the message. Partially this was the case because Natives were more receptive to the message coming from indigenous people, and the other part being that whites were not allowed in exclusively Native spaces. It should be noted that white oversight of the Indian Mission Conference was still

[58] Omer Call Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 66.
[59] Ibid, 45-64.
[60] Tash Smith, *Capture These Indians for the Lord: Indians, Methodists, and Oklahomans, 1844-1939*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 19-20.

required to assuage critics who claimed that segregation would not help with the ultimate goal of assimilation.[61] As that may be, here is yet another example of the openness building in the American Christian attitude towards Native peoples, a far cry from the suspicious and isolated woods of the Puritans.

James Mooney, who was working on studying the Natives of the region and had been taking notes on the Ghost Dance was one of the first white men to witness the mescal feast.[62] In 1893, while working on his investigation into the messiah craze, he was to meet a mixed-race Native of the Caddo tribe by the name of John Wilson. Wilson identified as Caddo even though he held multiple backgrounds and kept the Caddo name of Nishkû'ntu. Nishkû'ntu was about 50 years old when Mooney met him and he had been leading the Natives of the region in the Ghost Dance. Mooney soon learned that Wilson was the first of the Caddo tribe to have entered a trance-like state under the influence of peyote. As a medicine man, Wilson had learned about the mescal feast from the Kiowa and Comanche and was soon holding his own rituals as the chief medicine man amongst the Caddo, after he received his first visions in the peyote ritual. He was partly of French descent, and he had a deep influence from the Catholic religion. As such Wilson (Nishkû'ntu) would often wear a crucifix around his neck as he communed with nature and taught others the deep meanings. He had learned to be a medicine man under the influence of peyote buttons.[63] The ceremony that Nishkû'ntu helped to develop, the Big Moon peyote rite, was actively promoted and proselytized by him and his followers.[64]

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[61] Smith, *Capture These Indians for the Lord*, 19-20.
[62] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion," 903-906.
[63] Ibid, 904.
[64] John Wilson, and Melburn D. Thurman, "Supplementary Material on the Life of John Wilson, 'The Revealer of Peyote,'" *Ethnohistory* 20, no. 3 (1973): 279–87, https://doi.org/10.2307/481447.

Holding the position amongst the tribes did not necessarily mean that respect was given, especially from the white men who oversaw the reservation. The agency's farmer J.W. James wrote a letter address to Major W.L. Walker that was highly critical of Nishkû'ntu, asserting that he was the tribe's "king bee."[65] He stated that the old man was stubborn, conceited and had distracted the Natives from attending to their work on the crops and from tending to the stock that they raised.[66] James was also upset because the Natives had wasted their time with superstition and had been talking to crow hides that were hung on the wall. Here the farmer included the names of those he could recognize amongst the group practicing the rite.[67] Nishkû'ntu was also accused of cheating on his wife.[68] Adultery was something he taught against in his role as medicine man. Later it would be said that Nishkû'ntu had held multiple wives, from both the Caddo and Quapaw tribes, with polygamy being something he also taught against.[69] Nishkû'ntu was similarly accused of making huge profits from his work with peyote and was accused of being somewhat greedy. Critics point out that when his death occurred, when his wagon was hit by a train, there were many goods amongst his possessions that carried a high dollar value.[70]

Nishkû'ntu was not the originator of the new peyote belief system nor were any of the Natives that inhabited the reservation. Credit for the success of the belief system is heavily due to Quanah Parker, of the Comanche, who was also of mixed-race ancestry.[71] Parker had been practicing peyotism long before being relocated to the reservation in the Oklahoma territory. It

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[65] J.W. James, Letter to W.L. Walker, August 29th, 1898, Oklahoma Historical Society.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Wilson and Thurman, "'The Revealer of Peyote,'" 284-285.
[69] Ibid, 285.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion," 903-904.

was said that he had been gored by a bull in Mexico and had contracted a fever.[72] A Native woman made a tea of peyote for Parker, and it cured him of his ailment. It was after the point of his miraculous recovery from his injuries that Parker began to advocate for its use and would regularly use the cactus buttons. Quanah Parker rejected the Ghost Dance, Christianity, and instructed people from his tribe to also not believe in the two systems. Advocating that the rites surrounding peyote would meet all of their needs.[73]

The Peyote Religion, as well as the Ghost Dance, experienced negative initial reactions from white settlers. Government officials who oversaw the tribes of the Oklahoma reservations, such as Jesse Lee Hall, agent of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency had strong desires to prevent its use and forbade the ritualization of peyote. Hall, when providing his annual reporting to the Bureau of Indian Affairs circa 1886, introduces the Native practice of consuming peyote ritualistically and then immediately suggests peyote should be viewed as contraband.[74] Special agent E.E. White also penned an order formally banning the use of peyote but was ultimately unable to control its use amongst the Comanche.[75]

Newspapers as well were not highly favorable but did provide a much less critical eye than that was provided to the Ghost Dance. The Freeland Tribune, for example, wrote an article titled "The Untamed Kiowas" in an attempt to make the group seem uncivilized.[76] Describing the ritual of consuming peyote buttons as having a stupefying effect, the writer makes it clear that the ritual of the mescal feast is "weird" and describe the drums that are a part of the ceremony as

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[72] Omer Call Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 72.
[73] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion," 901-902; Stewart, *Peyote Religion*, 69-79.
[74] Jess Lee Hall, Annual Report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1886.
[75] E.E. White, Order Prohibiting Peyote at the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Agency, June 6, 1888, Oklahoma Historical Society.
[76] "The Untamed Kiowas", *Freeland Tribune,* December 3, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87080287/1891-12-03/ed-1/seq-3/.

monotonous.[77] The *Beaver Hearld* of Beaver, Oklahoma Territory ran a similarly titled article "To Crush Out Savage Customs."[78] Here the newspaper was quick to state that the natives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes were engaged in "savage customs."[79] To respond and end these "savage" ways, Captain Woodson, the Indian agent for the tribes issued a special order containing twelve articles.[80] Camps of four families or more were to be broken up, males over the age of 18 were to live on their allotted land, Natives were no longer allowed to practice polygamy, and the special order prohibited gambling as well as the use of peyote.[81]

The *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, while still referring to the taking of peyote as witchcraft in 1890, stated that the plant does have some possible medicinal values.[82] Comparing the usage of the plant and its intoxicating effects to that of opium, the article even cites that in Durango, Mexico the rite has been successfully used to cure cholera.[83] It demonstrated at least a partial attempt on the behalf of the writer to convey a fairly ordinary article with no inflammatory writing, in sharp contrast to what had been the practice when describing the rituals of Native Americans up to then.

By 1903, criticism had mostly subsided and a new era of describing Native rituals with wonder had come into fashion. The article "The Mescal Feast" consumes nearly all the front page, aside from advertising, and part of the second.[84] Describing the Natives as progressive and

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[77] "The Untamed Kiowas", *Freeland Tribune,* December 3, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87080287/1891-12-03/ed-1/seq-3/.
[78] "To Crush Out Savage Customs", *The Beaver Herald,* May 23, 1895, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93066071/1895-05-23/ed-1/seq-1/.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] "Indigenous Medicinal Plants", *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican,* May 6, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020631/1890-05-06/ed-1/seq-2/.
[83] Ibid.
[84] "The Mescal Feast", *Anadarko Daily Democrat,* April 27, 1903, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn97070123/1903-04-27/ed-1/seq-1/.

casting off the old, the writer endeavors to illustrate the ritual in its entirety. An attempt to show the Peyote Religion as one that adopts Christian values is also made and the writing style is much more positive than defamatory. Citing peyote as holding medicinal qualities, the author attempted to give the practice of consuming the cactus as having some validity. The writer further goes on to state that the religion became so popular that nearly every week the rite is held and that its participants intend to use the ritual to pray for the welfare of the tribe.[85] The newspaperman states firmly the ritual is not used as a source of debauchery or hilarity and that any attempt to portray it in that light is erroneous.[86]

By 1908, newspapermen began to run articles supporting Native causes and an article ran in *The Daily Ardmoreite* that discussed the opposition amongst the tribes to the ban of "peyote beans."[87] At this point the use and ritualization of peyote had become quite popular and used amongst several tribes on different reservations. The religion had taken on a life of its own and was able to thrive amongst the indigenous. Quanah Parker, who had made a name for himself by this time, was named to be the chair and spokesperson for the group who planned to present their case before the committee who would consider the possibility of repealing the ban on the cactus. The indigenous group's position was that peyote is non-injurious and does not intoxicate, boldly stated the newspaper. The committee to consider the repeal of the ban consisted of Native Americans and white governing officials for the state. An effort had been made to create the mixed group of people in the struggle for fairness by Indian Agent Shell of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency in Darlington, Oklahoma. Having been the author of the bill that banned the

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[85] "The Mescal Feast", *Anadarko Daily Democrat,* April 27, 1903, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn97070123/1903-04-27/ed-1/seq-1/.
[86] Ibid.
[87] "Indians Oppose Bean Law", *The Daily Ardmoreite,* January 14 1908, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042303/1908-01-14/ed-1/seq-2/.

use of peyote in 1899, appeals were made directly to Lieutenant Governor George W. Bellamy by the group led by Parker.[88]

Another 1908 article, this time out of Arizona's *The Bisbee Daily Review*, heavily referred to James Mooney's studies surrounding the Native practice of ingesting peyote.[89] Defending that the rite of ingesting the sacred cactus as in no way being an orgy, the article declares the ritual to be "quiet and dignified." Portraying the worshippers quietly praying and singing around the fire, the article is much less judgmental than has been examined previously. The author gives the ritual's details a fair explanation without using any inflammatory or derogatory language by the era's standards. It even goes so far as to state that the curative properties of peyote have been substantiated by one Dr. D.W. Prentiss of Washington. Citing James Mooney, the paper stated that "mescal beans" have been confused with the popular tequila-like drink of Old Mexico and that is where it derives its bad reputation. Providing a not-so-bleak outlook on the ritual practiced by the Natives, the paper attempts to place the ritual in a positive light and does not diminish those who practice it.[90] This example and the others provided above demonstrate how attitudes towards the indigenous changed over time and rapidly changed in the 1800s.

The picture of a gradual acceptance of Native belief systems, as well as the Natives themselves, takes place beginning in the middle to late nineteenth century but most assuredly one could point to examples of it being a steady product of time. The slow change towards acceptance has been taking place since the first Christian colonists landed near Boston. The

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[88] "Indians Oppose Bean Law", *The Daily Ardmoreite,* January 14 1908, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042303/1908-01-14/ed-1/seq-2/.
[89] "Mescal Buttons to be Investigated Causing Red Skins to Get Drunk", *Bisbee Daily Review*, September 1, 1908, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024827/1908-09-01/ed-1/seq-2/.
[90] Ibid.

following chapter will include an analysis of these changes and provide a comparison of European colonial attitudes and acceptance as a progression of time.

Chapter 3: Analyzing Shifting Perspectives

White Protestant Christian colonists experienced a marked reduction in expressed intolerance towards Native groups leading up to the early nineteenth century, and there were several likely causes for it. For this, the analysis into the isolative effects of seclusion from society compounding the hardened convictions of Protestant settlers towards Natives must take place. Both groups of Christian colonists previously mentioned, of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, experienced some form of seclusion. Furthermore, the threats of nature were real, such as the marshlands of Massachusetts Bay which made travel much more burdensome. Hard winters were also to test the strength of the newly established communities, buildings, and homes.[1] Seclusion was a part of the influencing factors on the Puritans thinking when it came to Native groups. It certainly did not help that many of the Native groups retained their ancestral practices, such as the wearing of body grease and the eating of lice.[2] However, much physical isolation led to distrust; the shrinking world of the late nineteenth century helped to lessen the isolation and subsequently help to lessen the intolerance espoused by Christian settlers of the period.

In contrast to the seclusion experienced by Puritans on the frontier of the seventeenth century, the shrinking world of the latter half of the nineteenth century created a sense of security for those who settled the frontier. With the guarantee of finding other European descendants to

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[1] The impact of the wilderness on the Puritans has been studied, most usefully to this thesis: Peter N. Carroll, *Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier, 1629-1700*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 45-59.

[2] Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in Nevv-England. Or, An Historicall Narration of Gods Wonderfull Workings upon Sundry of the Indians, Both Chief Governors and Common-People, in Bringing Them to a Willing and Desired Submission to the Ordinances of the Gospel; and Framing Their Hearts to an Earnest Inquirie after the Knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World.* (London: Printed by R. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three golden Lions in Cornhill near the Royall Exchange, 1648).

the West, North, South and East, pioneers of the Western frontier, while isolated, were no longer secluded. The creation of the five transcontinental railroads, which had been constructed by 1900, having reached the Western United States reduced the burden on settlers in the region, making travel back East more affordable and convenient.[3]

Telegraphs as well, strung up on poles following the tracks, were a sight common to the eyes of frontierspeople.[4] The ability to send and receive messages also helped to reduce the isolationism and create an environment of security with which the white settlers of the West could more readily accept the Native populations. Paradoxically, the technology that provided some sense of security for the colonists played its part in violence against Native populations. Communications such as newspapers or telegraph infrastructures could easily be misunderstood or intentionally stirring to those in the East. This is in sharp contrast to what the Europeans and their descendants must have felt. It is the ability to easily defend one's new land claim that helped colonists to feel more secure and accepting towards Natives.

Examining the comparative isolation of the two groups provides some insight into how the strain of seclusion caused an increase in distrust amongst settlers regarding the Natives who already inhabited the region. The writings, which were shared amongst the settlers, provide our best understanding of what the attitudes surrounding Natives might have been. Because of this, several areas of future exploration exist. An investigation into whether the writers that were considered during the period held religious beliefs or did not would be very valuable. It would be

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[3] Nick Battjes, Krag Caverly, Nathan Ovans, and Nathan Plooster, "Railroad Surveys: History and Curve Computations", Surveying and land information science 67, no. 3 (2007): 137–148.

[4] K. G. Beauchamp, History of Telegraphy, (London: Institution of Electrical Engineers, 2001), 400; Claude S. Fischer, America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 176.

useful to provide an additional side-by-side analysis of the arguments, writers, and publishers of both timeframes and create a solid point of comparison between both.

Beginning with the Puritans surrounding the Witch Trials of Salem Village, the writings that are simply obtained for the purpose of the debate here can be determined to have been conceived, espoused, and promoted by either the religious or by the government, which consisted of religious men. Experience Mayhew and Thomas Prince, who rebutted a self-righteous self-appraisal of Europeans over the Native populations, still referred to Native Americans as a very sinful people in their book *Indian Converts, or, Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in New-England...*[5] The authors state there are no scholars amongst the population and even the most educated Native can only read as well as the poor amongst the British.[6] One of the primary motivating factors for the duo to write a whole book dedicated to Native converts was to reduce the amount of prejudice against Natives and include multiple testimonies about ministers from amongst the Native population.[7] Not too long after providing the rationale, the authors note another motive for writing the book was to provide a follow up on investments made in the conversion of Natives.[8]

Over the course of the work, the two clergymen were able to name twenty-two ministers, twenty good men, thirty good women, and twenty-two pious children from amongst the Native populations, where each group makes up a chapter.[9] The first few chapters take place before the authors go on to discuss the English missionaries to those peoples. It is important to note that the

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[5] Experience Mayhew and Thomas Prince, *Indian Converts, or, Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in New-England...* (London: Printed for S. Gerrish, bookseller in Boston in New-England; and sold by J. Osborn, 1727), xxi-xxiv.
[6] Ibid, xxii.
[7] Ibid, xx-xxii.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Mayhew and Prince, *Indian Converts.*

authors created the work, written in an attempt to reduce poor attitudes against Native peoples and to assuage Christian Puritans from their discrimination against Natives, showing them as in need of receiving the message of Christ. Included in the book was the attestation of the United Ministers of Boston as providing some insight to Native populations who were falling out of the faith in what the ministers attributed to alcoholism sold to them by white men.[10] This once again demonstrates that settlers of the era did not view Natives as working under their own volition.

Further evidence was provided and came in the form of Increase Mather's history of Indian Wars.[11] Here Mather mentions a pious Christian Native by the name of John Sassamon who witnessed to his people and even translated parts of the Bible.[12] Sassamon was said by Mather to have been murdered for his faith but also for alerting the Massachusetts Bay government of impending military actions on behalf of the Natives.[13] As was mentioned previously, that while speaking highly of Sassamon and the Native who reported his murder, Mather describes "Indians" as heathenish and barbarous.[14] Roger Williams also held regard for Natives and was outspoken in defense of them.[15] His work *Christenings Make Not Christians* shows clearly that most of the colonists of the time, including the settlers of other nations, believed the Native populations to be heathens and that their massacre was even desired.[16] Williams denounces the line of thinking and states that it is unchristianly to consider them to be

[10] Mayhew and Prince, *Indian Converts*, xvi-xviii.
[11] Mather, *A Brief History of the War*, 2-3.
[12] Ibid, 2.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid, 2-3.
[15] Roger Williams, *Christenings Make Not Christians, or A Briefe Discourse Concerning That Name Heathen, Commonly given to the Indians. As Also Concerning That Great Point of Their Conversion. Published According to* Order, (London: Printed by Iane Coe, for I.H., 1645), 1-10.
[16] Ibid,1-2.

lesser to those from Europe.[17] These two religious men, while clearly holding the minority viewpoint, plainly stated that most people of their era held contempt for the Native population.[18]

As the influence of Calvinism is a prominent component to the argument here, it should be briefly stated that the doctrine was a tremendous influence on the Puritans.[19] It motivated them to seek out their seclusion in the wilds of the New World and to impress the message of Christ onto Native populations. Holding the principle of unconditional election in high esteem, the Puritans were confident that the Native population was predestined to hear and receive the grace of God through their efforts at conversion.[20] These convictions along with the distance from their home in England likely exacerbated these feelings of being in an elevated position. Philosophical leanings of Calvinist's also include the understanding of total depravity, or that all have sinned and need salvation, more than likely aided in the fervor.[21] It is what gave the Puritans the high ground to stand on when it came to the interactions and proselytization that took place with the Native population of Massachusetts Bay.

This crusade for conversion of the Native Americans is exemplified by the following examples from the Witch Trials at Salem Village and make it easy to recognize intolerance as common practice. Tituba was owned by the town's minister, Samuel Parris, who refused to even pay her fees and have her return to his service once Tituba was cleared of charges.[22] Robert Calef, who denounced the Witch Trials in his book, stated that the Native slaves had colluded together to perform further witchcraft and expose those guilty of bewitching the town's

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[17] Ibid, 2-8.
[18] Mather, *A Brief History of the War*, 1; Williams, *Christenings Make Not Christians,* 1-2.
[19] David D. Hall, *The Puritans: A Transatlantic History*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 17-18.
[20] Such as demonstrated by the call to conversion presented in Williams, *Christenings Make Not* Christians, 10-11 & Mayhew and Prince, *Indian Converts*, xvi-xviii.
[21] Orrick, *Mere Calvinism*, 18-21, 35.
[22] Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 91

daughters.[23] It did not help too much for Tituba and the other Native slave to perform this detection of witches because Tituba would be listed as one of the primary conspirators.[24] Whether or not the account is truthful is called into question, but it does demonstrate that whether one considered Tituba a witch, the English colonists expected Natives to be familiar and capable of witchcraft. It highlights the distrust and disdain for Natives of the period.

Tituba's case can be confusing. Especially if one considers how she was accused of, admitted to, trialed for, but failed to be convicted of witchcraft. It is most illuminating that the reverse of her indictment states the simple word: ignoramus.[25] While there does not exist an explanation for the dropping of charges, the fact that the court had determined Tituba to be ignorant of what was happening showcases the feelings of colonists towards Natives. The Puritans believed Native Americans to be ignorant, savage, overall lacking civility, and mostly not to be trusted.[26] It was from here that the orders at Concord were enacted to help save the Native Americans from themselves and their ignorant ways.[27] Afterall, the very seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony depicted the Natives as begging for help from the enlightened English.[28] The attitude of portraying Natives as ignorant savages to be helped would change in the years to come and lead to a furthering in the acceptance of Natives. It happens with enough

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid, 90-92.
[25] Salem Witchcraft Papers from the Essex County Court Archives No.125.6: Indictment of Tituba, for Covenanting (Returned Ignoramus), https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/archives/ecca.html.
[26] Previously shown in Williams, *Christenings Make Not Christians*, 1-2.
[27] Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in Nevv-England. Or, An Historicall Narration of Gods Wonderfull Workings upon Sundry of the Indians, Both Chief Governors and Common-People, in Bringing Them to a Willing and Desired Submission to the Ordinances of the Gospel; and Framing Their Hearts to an Earnest Inquirie after the Knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World.* (London: Printed by R. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three golden Lions in Cornhill near the Royall Exchange, 1648), 4-5.
[28] "The History of the Arms and Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts", https://www.sec.state.ma.us/divisions/public-records/history-of-seal.htm

time to develop Native-Christan hybrid religions such as the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Religion in the nineteenth century.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century and in the Western part of the United States, there was a clear change in opinion from the dark woods of seventeenth century New England. The loudest voices were no longer the writings of preachers and other clergy but of newspapermen. That is not to say that newspapers did not exist before then; on the contrary, newspapers existed long before the Witch Trials at Salem Village.[29] What should be discerned was that the main critiques, common voice, and the greatest reach was the newspaper system. Articles from New York City would be easily reprinted in Los Angeles and vice versa, allowing for the smallest paper to have great reach with a national audience. Not without its downside, newspaper editors wielded a great deal of power by purposely creating an editorial bias to attract its audience.[30]

Newspapermen created inflammatory titles such as "The Messiah Lunacy," "Ghost Dance of The Crows: Grotesque Religious Exercise That Has Come Into Vogue Among Red Men," "Danced to Death," "Indian Troubles," "To Crush Out Savage Customs," and "In Warlike Array."[31] These titles were created with the hopes of stirring up their customer base and selling

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[29] Joad Raymond, 'A Narrative History of the English Newsbook, 1641–1649', The Invention of the Newspaper: *English Newsbooks* 1641-1649 (Oxford, 2005; online edn, Oxford Academic, 3 Oct. 2011), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199282340.003.0002, accessed 10 Apr. 2024.

[30] Hugh J. Reilly, *The Frontier Newspapers and the Coverage of the Plains Indian Wars*, (Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger, 2010), xiii.

[31] Many inflammatory titles have been presented in chapter 2 and some have been added here for further reading: "The Messiah Lunacy," *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, November 22, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1890-11-22/ed-1/seq-1/; "Ghost Dance of the Crows," *The Indianapolis journal,* October 5, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1890-10-05/ed-1/seq-10/;"These Have Some Sense: Civilized Reds Seek to Educate Their Barbarous Brethren," *St. Paul Daily Globe,* October 23, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90059522/1890-10-23/ed-1/seq-1/; "Danced to Death," *The Anaconda Standard,* October 21, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036012/1890-10-21/ed-1/seq-1/; "The Dance and What Followed", *The Indianapolis Journal,* October 5, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress,

newspapers. It came, unfortunately, at the expense of the Native Americans who sometimes paid with their lives. However, something changed after the Massacre of Wounded Knee, and newsmen began to produce articles that were more along the lines of general interest rather than political rhetoric, with some of them being downright pro-Native. These documentary-like articles provided descriptions and made the case for the indigenous: "The Mescal Feast," "Indians Oppose Bean Law," "Indigenous Medicinal Plants of New Mexico," and "A Peculiar Plant: Properties of the Peyote Used by Indians in Religious Rites."[32]

The change in attitude of nineteenth century newspaper headlines cannot be fully credited to guilt that colonists were feeling for Wounded Knee, as the two hybrid religious systems existed before the event took place. Several examples provide evidence that the trend was already in motion before the tragedy. Such as, the adoption of a fourteen-year-old Jack "Wovoka" Wilson by European settlers after the death of his Native Paiute parents, who then introduced him to Christianity.[33] The point is further exampled by the corroboration by Wovoka's white neighbor on the origins of Wovoka's trance and subsequent vision.[34] Previously, the thesis included the actions of Henry Plummer Smith, who allowed hunting parties of Natives to use his

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https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1890-10-05/ed-1/seq-10/; "These Have Some Sense: Civilized Reds Seek to Educate Their Barbarous Brethren," *St. Paul Daily Globe,* October 23, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90059522/1890-10-23/ed-1/seq-1/; "To Crush Out Savage Customs," *The Beaver Herald,* May 23,1895, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93066071/1895-05-23/ed-1/seq-1/; "In Warlike Array," *Pittsburg dispatch,* November 20 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024546/1890-11-20/ed-1/seq-1/.

[32] Several articles were examined in chapter 2 that reflect this informative and inquisitive style: "The Mescal Feast", *Anadarko Daily Democrat,* April 27, 1903, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn97070123/1903-04-27/ed-1/seq-1/; "Indians Oppose Bean Law", *The Daily Ardmoreite,* January 14 1908, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042303/1908-01-14/ed-1/seq-2/; "Indigenous Medicinal Plants", *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican,* May 6, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020631/1890-05-06/ed-1/seq-2/; "A Peculiar Plant," *Evening Star,* March 31, 1898, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers,* Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1898-03-31/ed-1/seq-13/.

[33] Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion", 762-769.

[34] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance," 772-774.

property as they travelled.[35] Finally it should be noted that James Mooney, the ethnologist who had been charged with studying the Ghost Dance by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was a friend to many different Native groups and advocated for them with the government. That Mooney was interested in studying and working with Native populations in the first place demonstrates the openness developing within European colonial culture. It is with a high degree of certainty that the perspectives amongst settler populations had already been travelling along the gradient towards acceptance, allowing for the development of Native-Christian hybrid belief systems.

The diverse religious and colonial backgrounds of nineteenth-century colonists assisted European and Euro-descendant groups of the time toward eventually lessening their intergroup despisal of indigenous peoples. While it might have contributed partially, it cannot be monocausal as even the Puritans were able to list Natives they believed were fine upstanding people. The Protestant settlers of New England invested heavily in Native conversion to Christianity and assimilation thus prompting Thomas Shepard to write a book on the Natives that he considered "good."[36] Similarly, the English settlers of Massachusetts Bay, the Puritans wrote with many resemblances about Catholic and Indigenous belief systems.[37] This firmly demonstrates that the Puritans felt similarly about any belief system outside of Protestantism and were simply not clouded by racial factors that exist in the contemporary.

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[35] While this took place very shortly after Wounded Knee, headlines had not yet begun to soften as they would upon the release of Mooney's Ghost Dance report in 1896; Henry P. Smith, *Diary*, February-March 1891, South Dakota State Historical Society.

[36] This was discussed in chapter 1 when Thomas Shepard's account of Indian missionaries and those converted were exampled: Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in Nevv-England. Or, An Historicall Narration of Gods Wonderfull Workings upon Sundry of the Indians, Both Chief Governors and Common-People, in Bringing Them to a Willing and Desired Submission to the Ordinances of the Gospel; and Framing Their Hearts to an Earnest Inquirie after the Knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World.* (London: Printed by R. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three golden Lions in Cornhill near the Royall Exchange, 1648).

[37] Paul Thifault, "Native Americans and the Catholic Phase in Puritan Missionary Writing," *Christianity & Literature*, 67(4), 605-628, https://doi.org/10.1177/0148333117753413.

One of the most important pieces of evidence of the gradual acceptance of Native peoples by Christian colonists is that Natives were trusted to run and hold churches. For example, the Methodist Episcopal Church created the Indian Mission Conference by 1844, which many perceived as putting the white and indigenous led churches on equal ground.[38] The only complaint about the Indian Mission Conference was that it would not help with assimilating the Natives, once again demonstrating that colonists of the United States were open to Native people, as long as they espoused a similar belief system.

The overarching and final detail that demonstrates a gradual increase in the acceptance of Native practices is that of the development of the two hybrid beliefs systems of the late nineteenth century. The Ghost Dance, having been partially created as an indigenous response to Christian beliefs, is inherent. The Ghost Dance features the Judeo-Christian God but includes the traditional Native dances and is a Native-centric approach to faith. Wounded Knee was a direct result of the Ghost Dance thus demonstrating that violence was the result of the hybridity of Christianity. To the argument, the reasons for resistance at the Pine Ridge Agency were well known human rights abuses.[39] The Peyote Religion, as well, observed a marked inheritance from both Christian and Native religious practices with its use of the cross or crucifix during the rites. While white colonists did not necessarily accept both religions, both were allowed to be created, distributed, and practiced by Native peoples without retaliation and only minor attempts at banning them. These developments were not merely millenarism or the last efforts to save a

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[38] Tash Smith, *Capture These Indians for the Lord: Indians, Methodists, and Oklahomans, 1844-1939*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 19-20.

[39] "Memorandum from James McLaughlin, Indian Agent at Pine Ridge Agency, Regarding the Reason for the Ghost Dance Uprising," November 6, 1890, Digital Public Library of America, https://dp.la/item/d04d4d5a96b47ee1b99341fdfd95752a.

dying race, but a profound societal change that manifested in the form of these new belief systems.[40]

In conclusion, the development of these more accepting modes of thought, allowing for the creation of hybrid belief systems such as the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Religion, brought colonial sentiments from complete rejection to one of passive acceptance and eventually to curiosity. After the previous chapters and the comparison of components which impacted the changing perspectives of Protestant colonists, a pattern emerges of several influencing factors.

The diminished challenge of physical hardship endured by colonists combined with the ability to understand nature and its principles through scientific advancement must have played a role, although to what extent it made the Protestants more accepting of Native populations is still open for further research. Development of technology as well, had its role in the burgeoning societal acceptance of Native Americans. Breakthroughs such as the telegraph and railroad allowed for settlers of isolated regions to retain support and travel with those in the East. The reduction in the fervor of Calvinistic Christian philosophy must have had a part in the softening of sentiments towards Natives as well. The philosophy, as the Puritans would have understood it, is hardly present in nineteenth century newspapers and almost non-existent in newspaper writings about Native groups. Native Christian led churches were also developed and considered to be at the same level as white churches, as exampled by the Methodists. Finally, the development and acceptance of Native-Christian hybrid systems of belief showcases the gradual change in the viewpoint of colonists towards one of diminished scrutiny and contracted retaliation.

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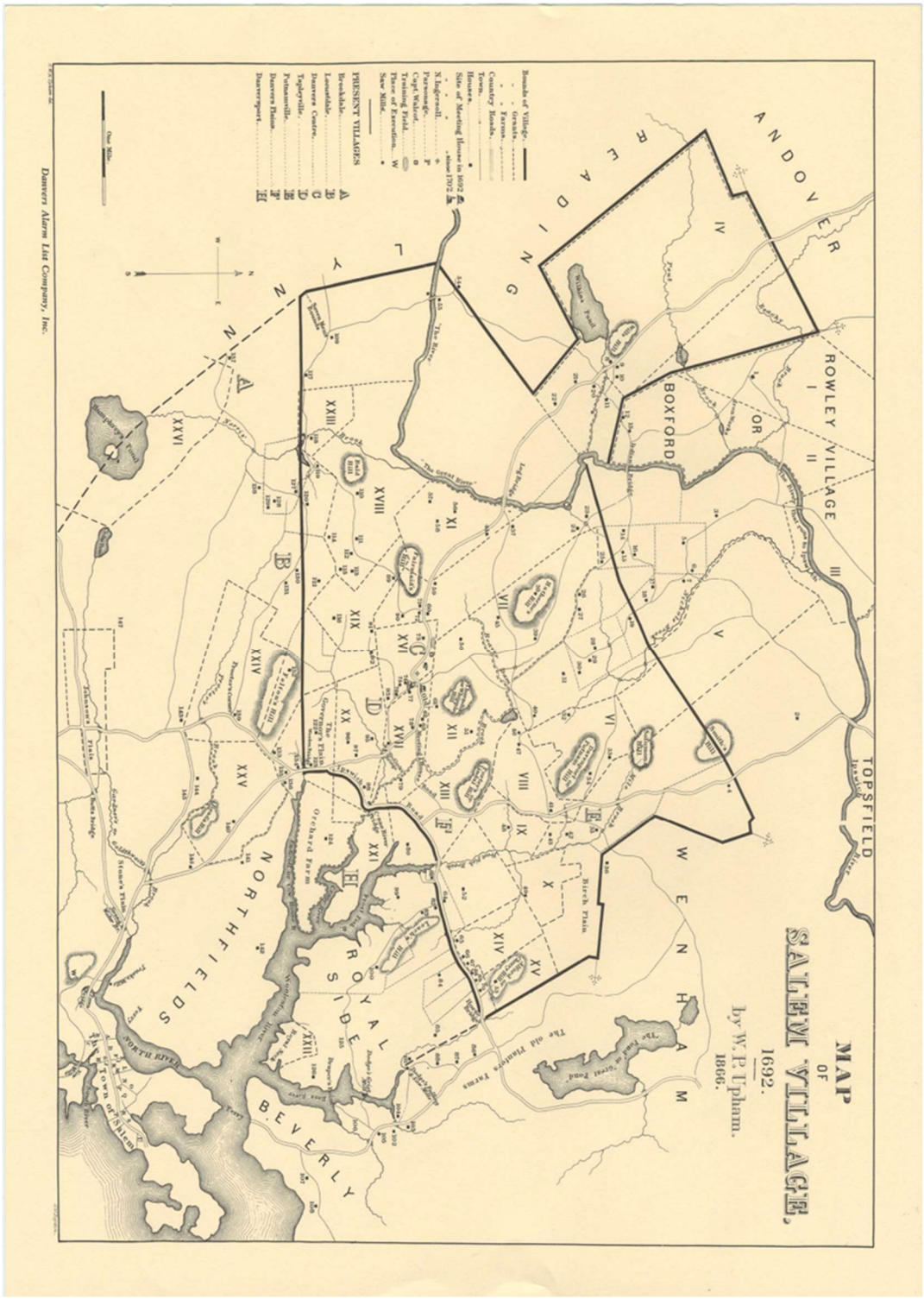
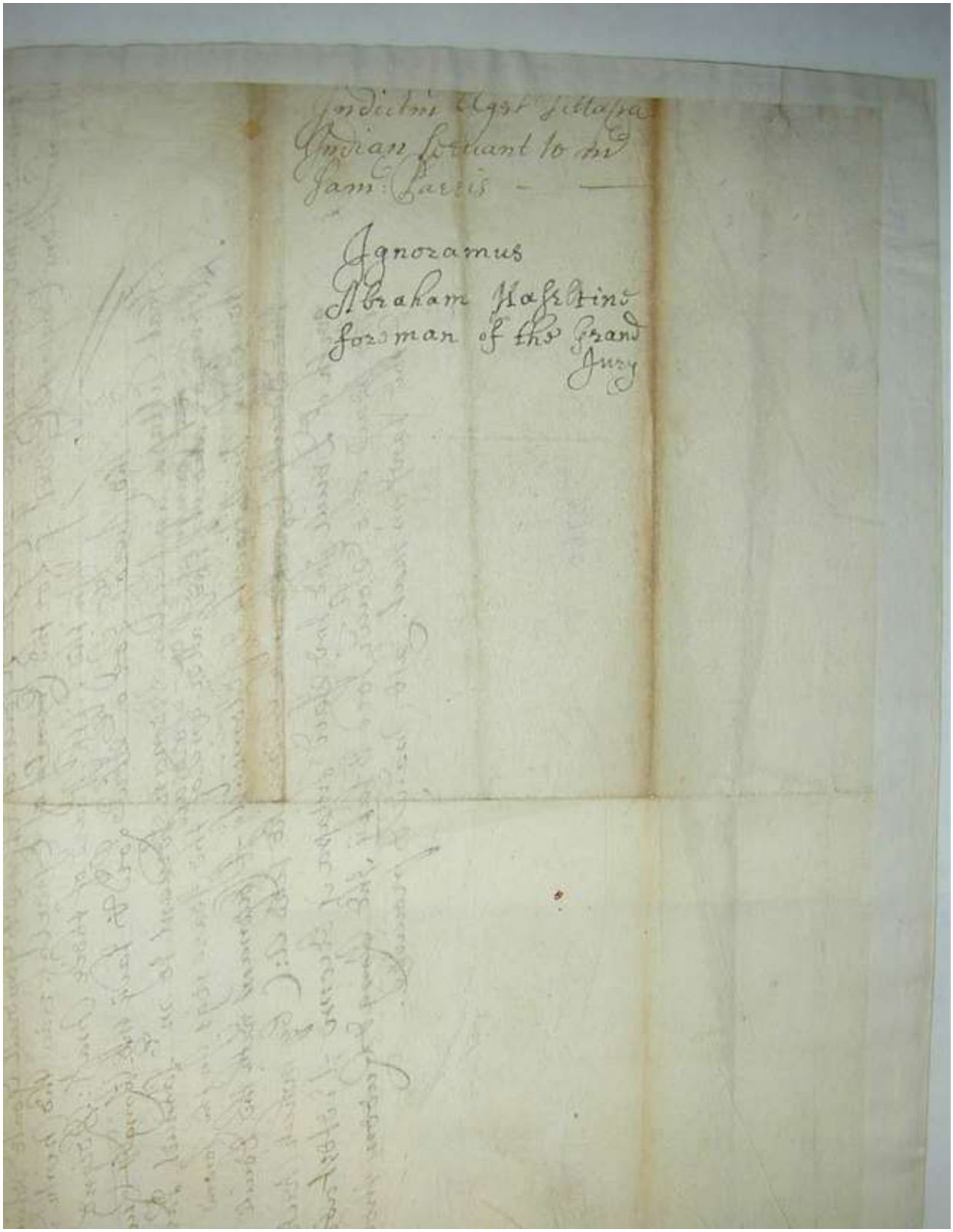
[40] William G. McLoughlin, "Ghost Dance Movements: Some Thoughts on Definition Based on Cherokee History," *Ethnohistory* 37, no. 1 (1990): 25-44.

Appendix



Map of Salem Village in 1692 By W.P. Upham, From Charles W. Upham's *Salem Witchcraft, With an Account of Salem Village and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Spirits*, 1867.



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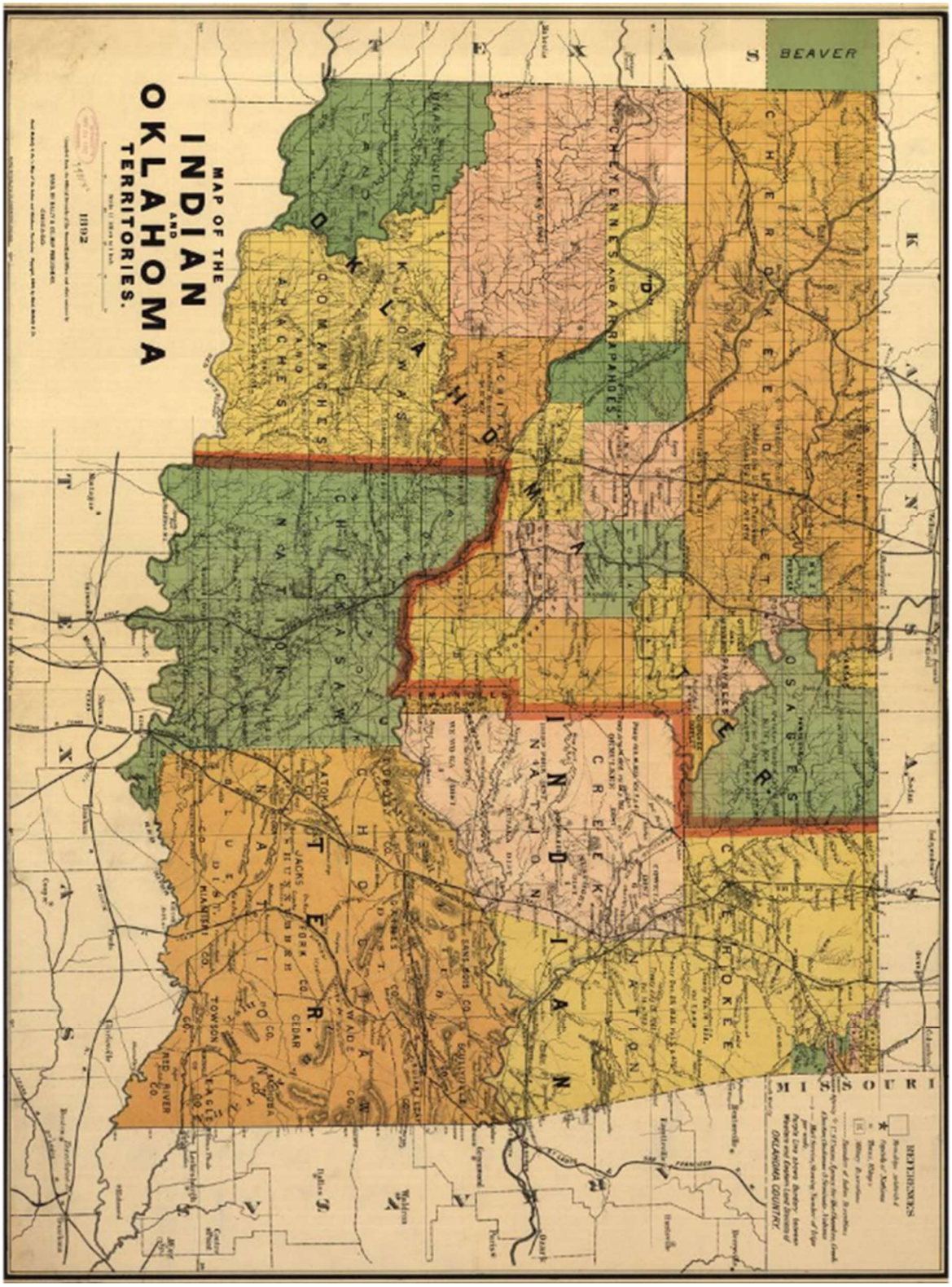

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