

ARTICLE IV.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

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WHEN Druilletes, the Jesuit missionary among the Canadian Indians, came to Roxbury, Eliot, the Puritan apostle to the Indians, not only received him cordially, but "prayed his guest to spend the winter with him."¹ We may safely imitate Eliot enough to ask candidly: What have Catholic missionaries done among the Indians? How does their work compare with the mission work in the Middle Ages? How does their work compare with that of Protestant missionaries among the Indians? ,

We shall not touch the question of present mission work. Nor shall we attempt to cover the whole ground of Catholic missions to Indians. We shall take as an example the mission of which Gleeson, the Catholic historian, says: "The happy results both temporal and spiritual have rarely been equalled and never surpassed in modern times,"² the mission to California. It was not an irreligious race that the Spanish padres found when they reached this sunset land. Their customs and religious ideas varied somewhat in different parts of the country. Our reference will be more particularly to the customs, ideas, and work in what is now known as Southern California.

The people believed in an invisible, all-powerful God, whom they called *Nocuma*.³ There was a second being whom

¹ Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, p. 327.

² Gleeson, *History of the Catholic Church in California*, ii. 122.

³ Works of H. H. Bancroft, iii. 164, etc.

they worshipped, named Chinigchinich, or the Almighty. He came to earth to teach men to dance, worship, and build temples. After accomplishing his object, he was taken to one of the stars, where he constantly watches men. At San Juan Capistrano there was a temple where Chinigchinich was worshipped under the form of a coyote. No sacrifices seem to have been offered, but the temple was a place for prayer. It was also a place of refuge. A murderer might flee there, and then be safe wherever else he went. They had a third object of worship, whom they named Touch. He was the special protector of men, and always on earth. When a child reached the age of six or seven years, he was taken to the temple, compelled to drink some intoxicating drink, then fast and pray till Touch revealed to him in a vision the kind of an animal that was to be his guardian. The figure of the animal was then branded on the child.

They had distinct theories of creation. Man was made from the ground.¹ Medicine men, the most powerful people, were made first.² In some places there was an elaborate theory of development, the natives believing that men developed from the coyote. The Garden of Eden was in the north. Some held that as the race grew and spread southward the earth developed in that direction. The race was created a pair. The first trouble came because the idea took possession of people that God did not care for them as he should. They had their traditions of a flood, and one tribe near Lake Tahoe had a myth that brings to mind the story of the tower of Babel. They believed in the immortality of the soul,³ and had more or less distinct ideas of future rewards and punishments.⁴ Heaven was for them in the West.⁵ There they were to eat, and drink, and dance, and have plenty of wives.⁶ All accidents and bereavements they regarded as divine punishments. They were believers, too, in transmigration to a certain extent.

¹ Ban. iii. 87. ² *Ibid.*, 163. ³ Ban. i. 422. ⁴ Ban. iii. 525. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 523.

⁶ Ban. i. 422.

The souls of some people entered the bodies of large animals. Hence, they generally would not eat large game.¹ Their worship consisted of prayers, dances to propitiate their offended god,² and, at least in some places, an annual religious festival connected with the killing of a buzzard.³

The standard of morals was by no means high, though adultery might be punished with death. They had elaborate wedding ceremonies,⁴ but very little ceremony in connection with divorce. There were the usual medicine men with their remedies, including baths, blisters, poultices, emetics, ashes, dust, whipping with nettles, and the use of the sweat house. Chiefs and a council of elders formed their political organization. War is undertaken on the slightest pretext, even women, after the custom of the Saxon women, accompanying the men to battle.⁵ Scalps, torture, and merciless destruction complete the usual picture of savage warfare.

Among the men who undertook mission work for this people, Junipero Serra, the first president of the missions, is the most noticeable. He was born in the year 1713 on the island Majorca. The intense religious training of his early life stamped his character with an ineffaceable mark. At sixteen years of age the sickly boy became a monk. Twenty years more passed, and he had received the degree of S. T. D., was a professor of philosophy and a noted preacher. After repeated application he received permission to leave the professor's chair for work among the North American Indians. Nine years he was a missionary in Mexico, and at the age of fifty-six years came to California. In preaching he often scourged himself with a chain, or pounded his breast with a stone, to bring his hearers to repentance; and, when preaching on the subject of future punishment, applying a lighted candle to his breast was found effective. He was a man of high moral character and great executive ability. His intense

¹ Ban. iii. 131. ² Ban. i. 420. ³ Ban. iii. 168. ⁴ Ban. i. 411. ⁵ Ban. i. 407.

enthusiasm was joined to great care for his own authority that kept him in constant trouble with the civil power. Limping from mission to mission upon his ulcerated leg, that must not be cured, planning, preaching, baptizing, confirming, his constitution was broken with austerities and work. It was a sad day for California missions when, at the age of seventy years, the old man died.

Not all of the missionaries were of this stamp. All, however, were Franciscans. It has often been said that the California missionaries were Jesuits. The Jesuits had been expelled from Mexico a year before the order came for the establishment of missions in the present State of California, and when in 1833 the northern missions were transferred to the care of another college they had been expelled a second time.¹ Jesuits had nothing to do with the missions under consideration.

As a rule the early padres were better than those who came later. Though their orders bound them to remain only ten years, some deserted and some were banished for bad conduct.² One at least was known as a thorough drunkard,³ some were very cruel, and some low in morals. When foreign ships began to visit California, and revolutions at home made it difficult to get all the supplies desired, the padres sometimes added to their other accomplishments that of smuggling. The old simplicity did not always remain. There is a record of silver watches being taken from some padres as articles of luxury.⁴ A priest at San Luis Obispo scandalized his brethren by driving to a conference at Monterey in a coach.⁵ Ox-carts and four-wheeled vehicles came into such common use that an order was given to burn all such conveyances unless they could be put to better use than carrying priests.⁶ When this priest of San Luis Obispo was banished in 1830, for political reasons, Vallejo, who

¹ Ban. xi. 438, 447. ² Ban. xviii. 575. ³ Ban. xxxiv. 219. ⁴ Ban. xix. 165.

⁵ Ban. xxxiv. 201. ⁶ Ban. xix. 402.

conducted him to the ship, says the padre showed his robe, heavily lined with coin.¹ This statement sounds strangely beside Gleeson's, that, "after the missions became rich, they distributed all the surplus moneys among them [Indians] in clothing and trinkets."² But, as a rule, the padres, especially during the early years, were self-sacrificing, kind, and earnest men. That there should be conflict between them and the military was inevitable. The example and acts of the soldiers were a great hindrance. Nor was it strange that when, in later years, their pasture land was encroached on, they should give cause for the sarcastic remark, that "the moon could not be made of land, or the padres would want it for pasture."³

There were twenty-one missions. The first one, that of San Diego, was founded in 1769; the last one, San Francisco Solano, in 1823. We shall not follow the routine of mission life, which has often been described more or less correctly, but pass at once to the question of results. The standpoint for judging of the results must not be later than the time when the missions, as such, ceased to exist. The last of the missions was secularized in 1837.

The material results of the missions are indicated by their buildings, agricultural products, and manufactures.

The buildings were always of the same general plan, a chapel and a large court surrounded by priests' rooms and factories. That of San Diego, while much smaller than some others, may serve as an example. The ruins still remaining are those of the fourth building. It was dedicated in 1813.⁴ The chapel measured 40x130 feet, and was 27 feet high, with walls five feet thick, the front wall having layers of burned brick with the adobe brick. Five windows on each side and one in front pierced the wall at a height of fourteen feet. A bell-tower three stories high, built of cob-

¹ Ban. xx. 100. ² Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 30. ³ Ban. xxxiv. 222.

⁴ Ban. xix. 345.

ble stone laid in cement, rose at one corner of the chapel. The whole front of the building, including the bell-tower and a one-story wing, was 200 feet. The space surrounded by adobe walls was 250x300 feet. A porch eleven feet wide extended the whole length of the wing. For acres the ground outside of the main building is covered with ruins of smaller ones. Of the irrigating works those of San Diego will also serve as an example. Seven miles above the mission a dam was thrown across the canyon of the San Diego River.¹ The upper side is almost covered with sand. The lower side is ten feet high. It is built of stones laid in cement, and is for the most part nine and a half feet thick, and has semicircular projections to strengthen it. It is considerably wider at the waste-gate, which is about half way between the centre and one end. The dam was built in the form of a letter Y, the arms being seventy-five feet and one hundred feet long respectively, the entire dam on the line of the shorter arm, being two hundred and seventy-five feet in length. There was a space of seventy feet between the extremities of the arms which seem to have been thrown across the current. The outlet was four inches in diameter. From the dam there ran a ditch about two feet in width at the top and fifteen inches deep. This was built of tile laid in cement; the usual size of the flat or side tile being 8x16 inches. Semicircular tile were used for the bottom. Though the works are supposed to have been built in the first decade of the present century, the ditch is in some places still perfect. In some places a breakwater fifteen feet high was thrown up, and in others a solid stone wall ten feet high was built for the purpose. The ditch was connected with a stone and brick well-house at the mission. Another ditch for irriga-

¹ Bancroft's measurements for the irrigating works are strangely at fault. In xix. 106, he speaks of the dam as three miles above the mission. The mouth of the canyon is three miles from the mission. The measurements given here are personal ones.

ting the valley ran a long distance toward San Diego, which is several miles away.

In the year 1834 there were belonging to the missions 396,400 cattle, 6,600 horses, 321,500 sheep, goats, and pigs. There was that year a harvest of 123,000 bushels.¹ There was at San Diego a cotton and woolen factory, a tannery, and a soap factory. In San José there were at one time five looms making one hundred and fifty blankets per week. San Gabriel produced five hundred barrels of wine and brandy a year. San Juan Capistrano is credited with the same amount.² All the manufactures in the country were carried on at the missions.

While the priests were Spaniards, and it would be unfair to expect them to be more ready than the majority of their countrymen to introduce new machinery and new ways of doing things, they were not so reluctant as is sometimes represented. A writer in the *Science Monthly* for August, 1890, makes capital out of a mistake of Langsdorff, who was a member of the Russian expedition of Rezanof that visited San Francisco in 1806. Langsdorff was surprised that he did not find at San Francisco, as is apparent from Bancroft's narrative,³ a hand-mill which had been left at Monterey twenty years before. This mistake as to the place leads him to moralize about the reason of such unprogressiveness on the part of the padres. In 1820 there were two mills in San Francisco mission, moved not by hand power, but by mule power.⁴ What seems to have been the first water-mill in the country was at the Capistrano mission in 1833. In 1834 there were two grist mills at San Gabriel mission.⁵ Of the mill at San Antonio mission we read: "It was run by water brought in a stone-walled ditch for many miles, and driven through a funnel-shaped flume so as to strike the side of a large water-wheel revolving horizon-

¹ Ban. xxxiv. 339. ² Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 125. ³ Ban. xix. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 374. ⁵ Ban. xxxiv. 454.

tally on a shaft. The building of this aqueduct, and the placing of the wheel, were the work of an Indian named Nolberto, who took the idea from the balance wheel of a watch, and did all the work with his own hands."¹

From the gardens and orchards the missions furnished a large amount of supplies to the army. The debt of the government for these supplies is reckoned at \$272,000.² They often carried a heavy stock of merchandise; that of San Gabriel in 1826 was worth \$50,000; that of San Buenaventura in 1825 was worth \$35,000.³

In physical results success is not so apparent. From 1790 to 1800 the number of deaths at the missions was 9,300. From 1800 to 1810, the decade when mortality was greatest, no less than 16,000 died, or 2,500 more than the entire population of the missions at the beginning of the decade.⁴ The average death-rate for the sixty-six years during which the missions were in operation was, for adults, 5.93 per cent; for children, 13.29 per cent; or for the entire population, 7.6 per cent.⁵ The death-rate of New York City in 1890 was 24.6 per thousand.⁶ The filth in which the Indians lived, poor medical treatment, and epidemics are given as the causes of this death-rate. As late as 1838 an epidemic of small-pox is estimated to have swept off three-fifths of the savage population of Sacramento Valley.⁷ That such mortality is not always dependent on the proximity of civilization is shown by Parkman in his story of the destruction of the Hurons.

Let us glance at results in the shape of manual training. These can be partially estimated by the fact that all the buildings and irrigating works were constructed, and the agriculture carried on, by native labor. An official report sums up matters thus: "There were masons, carpenters, plasterers, soap-

¹ H. H., art. "Father Junipero and his work," *Century*, May, 1883.

² *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal.* ii. 142. ³ *Ban.* xxxiv. 192. ⁴ *Ban.* xix. 160.

⁵ *Ban.* xxxiv. 621. ⁶ *New York Medical Journal*, Jan. 10, 1891.

⁷ *Ban.* xxxiv. 617.

makers, tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, cooks, brick-makers, carters and coat-makers, weavers and spinners, saddlers, shepherds, and agriculturists, horticulturists, vineros, vaqueros."¹ Nor were they capable of such work only when under the direct supervision of white people. The foremen and overseers were Indians. At least in the period from 1810 to 1820 a large part of the white population rented its land to Indians, paying them from one-third to one-half of the crop for tilling.² Indian judges were appointed at the missions as early as 1779.³ And in 1822, at a general election, the Indians had a vote.⁴ A late writer says: "At the end of the mission rule the Indian was really less capable of taking care of himself than at the beginning."⁵ As to how people, trained in all the most essential occupations of life, trained so as to work independently,—people having also some measure of civil training,—can be less capable of taking care of themselves than savages, we leave others to determine. That they would be unable to resist successfully the diabolical cunning of the white population was to be expected. The Indians and the most civilized Mexicans vanished alike before the trickery and greed of the Americans. Moral and spiritual results are not so well defined. Even Gleeson gives but small ground for accurate judgment. There were, according to Bancroft, more than 80,000 baptisms, including baptisms of infants. The record of the first decade is incomplete. At the time of the secularization, there were 31,450 Indians at the missions.⁶ What did this mean so far as morality is concerned? It was a great change from their savage life. The institution of the family was put on a permanent basis. The utmost care was taken to keep the morals of young people pure, by placing girls under the strict care of matrons. We find a great rebellion and massacre in Lower California, be-

¹ Quoted by H. H. in *Century of Dishonor* (edition of 1888), p. 461.

² Ban. xxxiv. 233, 236. ³ Ban. xviii. 331. ⁴ Ban. xx. 454.

⁵ *Science Monthly*, Aug. 1890. ⁶ Ban. xxxiv. 339.

cause the morality taught was too elevated to suit the ideas of the natives.¹ Baptism was not, as we are apt to suppose, the end for which they worked, except in cases of sickness. We find a number of instances where priests refused to baptize adults till there seemed to be a fair prospect of their remaining steadfast.² Notwithstanding this caution, there were many desertions. In one decade, from 1800 to 1810, when 22,000 were baptized, 700 went back to heathenism. From 1790 to 1800 there were 800 who left, and 16,000 baptized. From 1810 to 1820, while 18,000 were baptized, the desertions are estimated at 1,300.

Great emphasis was laid on instruction after baptism. Baptism signified little more than their willingness to receive further instruction. The children from four or five years of age were almost entirely under the care of priests. Gleeson gives so good an idea of Catholic instruction that we shall venture to quote at length from his description³ of Serra's work in Mexico:—

“His first and principal care, on entering his duties, was to apply himself to the study of the vernacular: into which, after he had tolerably acquired it, he translated the prayers and principal doctrines of religion. These he daily recited for the people, until, by frequent repetitions, they became impressed on their minds, and a spirit of religion created in their hearts. His constant and fervent exhortations wrought such a change in their lives, that many, if not most, were brought to confess and communicate on the principal festivals of the year.”

“Preaching, exhorting, catechizing, and confessing were his constant and unwearied employments. Preceding all the principal festivals he had instituted *noveuas*, in which all the congregation took part with a view to preparing themselves

¹ *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. i. 350.*

² *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. i. 253, 340; Ban. xviii. 201.*

³ *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 13.*

to celebrate more worthily the feasts to which they referred. The festivals of our divine Lord and his blessed mother he especially celebrated with all the pomp and splendor his slender resources enabled him to command. . . . On these occasions, not content with the usual parochial instructions, he preached twice a day."

"The holy season of Lent was specially devoted to the offices of piety. . . . Every evening the faithful assembled in the church for the recitation of the holy rosary and other devotional exercises, showing by their general conduct and demeanor how deeply they realized the solemnity of the time. The Fridays were set apart for the celebration of the station of the cross, when the whole people went in solemn procession out of the village, Father Junipero bearing on his shoulders an enormous cross in memory of the passion of our blessed Redeemer. Passion and Palm Sundays and Holy Week were celebrated with great care, and the more remarkable parts in the passion of the Saviour brought strongly before the minds of the Christians. With such care and attention it was not possible for him to fail in bringing the people to a high standard of virtue."

While preaching and catechising are named as two of the means of instruction, fully as much stress is laid on ceremonies appealing to the senses, and on auricular confession. Confession is, in most cases, an utter abomination, but it is far enough from the natural tendency of the savage to denote considerable change in his character. Nor does an ordinary Indian attend devotional service twice a day. The absurdity of the idea that the Indians were held at the missions by force, and driven through the routine of work and worship by cruelty, is apparent not only from the number of desertions, which would have been impossible with such vigilance, but also from comparing the number of soldiers with the number of Indians. "In the year 1800 there were at the mission of San Diego 1,521 Indians, and the San Diego garrison, three miles

away from the mission, numbered only 167 souls, officers, soldiers, servants, women, and children."¹ The idea that the Indians were a spiritless race is sufficiently refuted by the massacre on the Colorado River in 1781, the burning of the San Diego mission in 1775, and the characteristics of native warfare which we have already mentioned. The absence of extensive Indian wars in California must be attributed fully as much to the kind treatment by the padres as to anything else. The Indian wars of the eastern coast were not incited by missionaries nor carried on by converts to Christianity.

We must glance at the educational results. A writer in the *Century* puts things in a rose-colored light when he says: "The Franciscans assiduously cultivate the study of the Indian dialects, of which they have compiled dictionaries and grammars."² It is to be regretted that he did not name the authority from which he took this item. Evidently Bancroft, with all his researches, failed to use it. He says that the great difficulty in the matter of California languages has been "a lack of grammars and vocabularies."³ The ones who were of most use to him in his linguistic work were not padres. Of the languages of Southern California he says, speaking of the priest to whom we owe our chief knowledge of the religious customs of the Indians, "Father Boscana, who has left us an accurate description of the natives of San Juan Capistrano, unfortunately devoted little attention to their language, and only gives us a few scattered words and stanzas."⁴ The fact seems to be that some of them, perhaps most, learned enough of the native language to be able to speak it with some correctness. In some cases they prepared brief vocabularies, as in the missions of Lower California. They used the native language largely in religious exercises and probably translated a brief catechism into it, as in Mexico. But as to anything worthy the name of dictionaries or grammars it is unthink-

¹ "Father Junipero and his Work," *Century*, May, 1883.

² *Century Magazine*, 1891. ³ *Ban.* iii. 635. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 674.

able that, if there were such, some trace of them should not remain. The padres taught some of the brightest boys to read and write and be musicians. They were to be of special use, as in Lower California, where those thus educated were used as catechists.

When it comes to speak of schools for the Indians, history is almost silent. What it does say is not flattering to the padres. In 1793 an order came, from civil authorities, to establish schools at the missions.¹ Compliance was promised, but nothing done. Later we find the requirement repeated with the same result.² Finally the priests were threatened with punishment if they did not comply with the law,³ but all in vain. For a short period there were schools at some of the missions. They taught nothing but to sing mass, play on musical instruments, and repeat the catechism. Reading and kindred studies formed no part of the program. Even in these cases the attendance was very small. Yet the fact remains that in 1835, at the secularization of the missions, there were three thousand religious works in their libraries, and that in 1846 there were only four other libraries in California. There would have been more books in the country if the priests had not burned a number of heretical volumes between 1825 and 1831.⁴ Three persons were excommunicated for refusing to deliver such books.

We have found that in material things the missions were a great success, in physical results a failure, in manual training a success, in spiritual affairs a moderate success, in educational things a failure. We turn now to a comparison between the missions in California and the missions for the conversion of Europe. Prominent among the missionaries of Europe stands Boniface of Germany, a man who in sacrifice, administrative ability, and tireless enthusiasm, was the counterpart of Junipero Serra. He has not the morbid tendency that led Serra to use candle and stone and scourge.

¹ Ban. xxxiv. 495. ² *Ibid.*, 511. ³ *Ibid.*, 515. ⁴ Ban. xxxiv. 524.

In his death he more nearly resembled Father Janma, who was killed at the burning of the San Diego mission as the words, "Love God, my children," fell from his lips. But in all important things the apostle of Germany and the apostle of California were much alike. The manner of work was much the same in both places. Of the earlier missions to Europe we read that when the Burgundians came to ask Christian baptism, the bishop, "ordering them to fast seven days, and having meanwhile instructed them in the elementary principles of the faith, on the eighth day baptized them."¹ It sounds almost like an extract from the California mission records. When Bogoris asked Methodius to paint his hall with frightful pictures, he put upon them the picture of the last judgment. When Vladimir hesitated, a like picture worked on his fears. For all practical purposes the pictures of Perdition and Judgment which hung in the missions here, might have been those on which Bogoris and Vladimir gazed. In the olden time miracles came to the help of pictures. Prayer, in building a church, accomplished what machinery could not do, and the chronicler says: "It was God's will that by this . . . the Iberians should be still further confirmed about the Deity."² Charlemagne's army is miraculously provided with water, and his guard, left among the Saxons, rescued by a vision of angels. A monk has a mill that continues grinding while he goes to prayer; and "the hairs of St. John the Baptist, a cross which enclosed a small piece of the true wood, and a key that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter,"³ did their work. California was not behind in miracles. Gleeson tells us that one of the loyal physicians secured a relic of Serra, and that soon after he was called "to attend one of his patients suffering from a grievous pain in his head." He gravely adds

¹ Socrates, Ch. Hist. vii. 30. ² Sozomen, Ch. Hist. ii. 7.

³ Gibbon's Rome, xxxvii.

that the physician "merely attached the little relic . . . to the suffering part, when presently the patient fell into an agreeable slumber, and afterwards awoke perfectly cured."¹ And lest any should mourn the degeneracy of these days, let us hasten to say that the same historian details two cases where the conversion of peculiarly obstinate people was effected by putting under the pillow a miraculous medal; this in the hospital under the care of the Sisters in San Francisco. When a party went to the bay of Monterey, soon after the founding of San Diego mission, they left on its shore a cross. On their return they found the cross surrounded with feathers and arrows and Indian trinkets. The natives afterward assured them that each evening they had seen the cross grown to a gigantic size and surrounded with light and had put these things there as offerings.² Among the miracles is one by Padre Jose Maria Zaloidea, a man who "greatly loved to engage in hand-to-hand conflict with . . . Satan, at whom he would scream, kick, and incontinently spar with his fists."³ It consisted in meeting a mad bull with no other defence than his trust in the injunction "Peace, peace, malignant spirit," etc. The padre came off victor.

One of the laws of Charlemagne was, "If a person of the Saxon race shall contemptuously refuse to come to baptism and shall resolve to continue a pagan, let him be put to death."⁴ Vladimir decreed that, of the inhabitants of Kief, "whoever on the morrow should not repair to the river [for baptism], whether rich or poor,"⁵ should be considered the king's enemy. Olov Trygveyson told his people in civil assembly that they "might be baptized then and there, or they might with equal dispatch fight him."⁶ A faint parallel is found in the recruiting expeditions sent out from the California missions, and in

¹ Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 97. ² Ban. xviii. 169. ³ Ban. xxxiv. 189.

⁴ Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. (Reid's ed.), Century Eighth, i. 1. 6. n. 5.

⁵ Maclear, Conversion of the Slavs, p. 105.

⁶ Maclear, Conversion of Northmen, p. 87.

the imprisonment sometimes used to convince stubborn ones that baptism was a good thing.

The monasteries of the Middle Ages did not differ, essentially, from the mission establishments of the New World in plan and outfit. Their population was larger. In the Irish monasteries, "the smallest usually contained . . . 150 monks, while some numbered upwards of 800 or 1,000."¹ In Germany they attracted settlers till "it would not be unusual for an abbot in the later time of Charlemagne to have from 20,000 to 40,000 subjects living on the lands of his monastery."² As agricultural establishments and centres of civilization the missions of Europe and of California did substantially the same work.

Nor were the results of their moral and spiritual teaching far different. If the conversion of Europe "must be regarded in the light of an infant baptism,"³ it cannot boast great superiority to that of California. Boniface baptized his thousands, and on one Christmas day, "upwards of ten thousand of the men of Kent received baptism."⁴ But population was more dense there than here, where in nine rancherias within several leagues of San Diego, only eight hundred or one thousand men were found for a war expedition that took a large part of the population. A most interesting point of comparison is educational matters. The missionaries here were Franciscans. One is not much surprised to find even a Protestant writer saying of Francis: "No human creature since Christ has more fully incarnated the ideal of Christianity than St. Francis."⁵ Nor are we at all surprised to learn that "he despised and prohibited human learning."⁶ A combination of such characteristics is not unusual. We should not expect

¹ Maclear, *Conversion of Celts*, p. 84.

² Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, p. 226.

³ Schaff, *Hist. of Christian Ch.* iv. 18.

⁴ Maclear, *Conversion of the English*, p. 29.

⁵ Lea, *Hist. of Inquisition*, i. 26.

⁶ Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christianity*, ix. 10.

the followers of Francis to have much enthusiasm for education. But the missionaries of Europe were Benedictines. We might expect better things of them. Chapter xxxviii. of the Rule of St. Benedict "directs that reading aloud during meals is to be practised."¹ In chapter xlviii. we find, after elaborate directions as to reading and work, that "every one is to have a book given out to him from the library, at the beginning of Lent; which he is to read through, while two senior brethren go the rounds during reading hours to see that the monks are actually reading and neither lounging nor gossiping." Surely here is the seed of a great intellectual growth. So it is. Books must be copied and libraries formed. At the monastery of Fulda, at one period, "four hundred monks were hired as copyists."² Schools were established. But we read again and again that the schools were designed to educate "children and youth devoted to a monastic life," and that the business of the monks was "to educate young men destined for the sacred office."³ A curious bit of instruction comes from the time of Charlemagne: "If any of the faithful desire their little children to be committed to them [schools] for learning liberal studies, let them not refuse to receive them."⁴ The schools were for those intending to be monks. A special decree was needed to insure that others be not turned away, if any should chance to apply for entrance. As a rule, training children "for the church was the only aim of the earliest education of the Middle Ages."⁵ Charlemagne went beyond this, but he no more represented the aim and work of the missionaries than did the civil power in California represent the aim and work of the padres. At Iona there was, possibly, more liberty, but Columba was not a Romish, but an Irish missionary. Ulphilas, who gave the alphabet and the Bible to the Goths, did not come from Rome, but from

¹ Encyc. Brit., art. "Monachism." ² Encyc. Brit., art. "Libraries."

³ Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.*, Century Seventh, ii. 1.

⁴ Brace, *Gesta Christi*, p. 221. ⁵ *Intro. Mid. Ages*, p. 142.

Constantinople. Cyril and Methodius, who did a like work for the Slavs, came from the same place. Charlemagne caused part of the Bible to be translated into the language of the Franks; but he was not a monk. Bede labored to his last breath to translate the Gospel of John, saying, "I do not want my boys to read a lie or to work to no purpose after I am gone;"¹ but Bede was not a missionary. The missionaries agreed with those in California. Educate for the church, educate others if you must. Even when church authorities give orders for schools, it is that the teachers "may give spiritual nourishment, teaching them to study to attach themselves to holy books, and to know the law of God."² If priests sometimes urge parents to send their children to school, it is "that they may learn to pray and be fortified in the Christian faith." The whole history of education by Roman Catholic missionaries in the Middle Ages reads like a chapter from California missions.

Of the results of the missions as a whole, who can tell what might have been said a thousand years from now, had not our greed and treachery and crime made it forever impossible? We are but little more than a thousand years from the Saxons that fought Charlemagne. And if of the Cherokees it can be said, "What required five hundred years for the Britons to accomplish . . . they have accomplished in one hundred years,"³ then the mission Indians may stand, without shame, beside our forefathers in their progress toward a Christian civilization.

Three men are prominent in Protestant work among the Indians: John Eliot (1604-1690), David Brainerd (1718-1747), David Zeisberger (1721-1808). How do they compare with Junipero Serra? Brainerd's work was short. Eliot retained his pastorate while laboring for the Indians. Zeisberger, however, forms a particularly good subject for com-

¹ Green, *Hist. of Eng. People*, i. 63. ² *Gesta Christi*, p. 219.

³ *Century of Dishonor*, p. 277.

parison. When we look at his long journeys, his privations, his influence with Indians, his courage, his skill in management, and the extent of his work, he compares well with Serra. He had none of the tendency which made Serra use stone and scourge and candle. Brainerd had more of this. He would persist in fasting when he needed all his strength for his work, and was in the grip of consumption. It is certainly no more of a mistake to undermine one's health for the sake of impressing and helping others, than to destroy it by fasting and careless treatment for the sake of coming nearer God.

When we look at the circumstances under which the men labored we find them very different. Serra had the government to assist him. The mission work was recommended first by the government. Transportation and protection were furnished, and, notwithstanding the friction between the civil and the sacred branches of the service, the missionaries were dependent to a large degree on the help of the civil power. In the East, an attempt was made to establish mission work under government auspices, but how vastly this differed from the help Serra received, is soon seen. The attitude of the government and army in King Philip's war insured the destruction of Eliot's work. When Zeisberger began his work, he was repeatedly summoned before the civil authority to give account of his actions, and prove that he was not a traitor. The terrors of the French and Indian war were followed close by the Revolution. The Moravian Indians were on the border of the settlements. They were hated by British, hated by Americans, destroyed by the army put there for their protection, massacred by militia, exiled by British, and between the upper and nether mill-stones ground to dust. All this though they were known to be non-resistants. Once or twice they were rescued by the government from the heedless fury of Indian haters, and once even Quakers took arms for them. But this was poor help when compared to the general atti-

tude of the civil power. What was begun in heat was ended in deliberation, when the law forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquor to Indians was repealed because it interfered with individual rights.

In equal contrast to the condition in California was the social condition in the East. Settlers were coming rapidly. Indians were pushed further and further into the wilderness. Lands were given up only to find new possessions encroached on. Lawlessness did its work. Listen to the words of a chief, as, after picturing the ruin wrought by rum, he hurls his defiance full in the face of Zeisberger: "They [white people] always tell us 'good words': they always 'love' us, and want 'to save our souls.' 'Behold,' they say, 'thus and so has God taught us. We are wiser than you. We must instruct you.' Oh, certainly, they are wiser than we! Wiser in teaching men to get drunk: wiser in overreaching men, wiser in swindling men of their land, wiser in defrauding them of all they possess."¹ The work of the padres was hard, but they had no avalanche of white settlers to make such opposition possible.

If we look at the methods employed, we find more similarity between Catholic and Protestant than might be expected. Preaching and catechizing formed the main means of instruction in both cases. The devotional service which was conducted by the priests at the church was left to families in the case of Protestants. Both founded Indian settlements at a good distance from white people. The towns of Brainerd, Eliot, and Zeisberger were not essentially different from those clustered about the Catholic churches. They were laid out more regularly, it may be, and it strikes us strangely to read of one of the Moravian towns: "In summer a party of women passed through the street and alleys sweeping them with wooden brooms and removing the rubbish."² This case

¹ De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, p. 392.

² *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 317.

is paralleled, in a way, by that of some Wyandot Indians, under Methodist missionaries, who found fault with one of their native leaders, saying pointedly, "That brother is too dirty to be a leader of a clean religion."¹ It may be partly due to this cleanliness that we do not hear of any such death-rate as at the California missions. The work of the Protestant settlements was largely agricultural, though some primitive manufactures were carried on. The missionaries here, as in California, were obliged to oversee affairs. We read of Brainerd, "He was expected to arrange all their differences, to provide for their wants, to attend to their affairs of every description."² Several of the laws enacted by the Moravian Indians remind one of the rules of the padres. They also show the authority of the missionaries: "IV. No person shall get leave to dwell with us until our teachers have given their consent and the helpers have examined him."³ "IX. We will be obedient to our teachers and helpers who are appointed to preserve order in our meetings, in the towns and fields." They as well as the padres needed some one to keep order in church. "XIV. No one shall contract debts with traders, or receive goods to sell for traders, unless the helpers give their consent." "XV. Whoever goes hunting or on a journey shall inform the minister or stewards." California Indians were not allowed to leave the premises without permission. "XVI. Young persons shall not marry without the consent of their parents and the minister." This is much like the Catholic rule. In their councils on civil matters, as in other things, missionaries were foremost. An instance of one kind of punishment is on record. It was for a case of wife beating. "Wampas was made to stand up and answer for his fault before the public meeting, which happened to be unusually large, being attended by the Governor and many others of the

¹ Finley, *Life among the Indians*, p. 307.

² Peabody, *Life of Brainerd*, p. 323.

³ *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 379.

English. The Indian made an humble confession of his crime, took the blame wholly to himself, and attempted no palliation. When Mr. Eliot set before him in its true light the sin of beating his wife and indulging his violent passions, he turned his face to the wall and wept. All were disposed to forgive him: but his fine was strictly exacted, which he cheerfully paid."¹ It is a much more agreeable picture than that of the padres chaining the people together till they quit quarrelling."²

In material results, Catholic is far ahead of Protestant work. The thirteen towns of Zeisberger and the fourteen towns of Eliot make a sorry showing beside the twenty-one missions of the Pacific coast and their thirty thousand Indians. The reason of this difference is found largely in the different surroundings.

When we look at spiritual results the first place must be given to Protestant missions. Among the Moravian Indians was one named Glikkikan. He was a great orator and councillor. When converted he became one of the foremost Christians. Years after his conversion, when men from a heathen chief came to arrest him, he said: "There was a time when I never would have yielded myself prisoner to any man. Now I suffer willingly for Christ's sake."³ The spirit of that speech was wonderfully exemplified in his life and in his martyr death. One such instance recorded of all the sixty-six years of work by the Spanish padres would be like a light in darkness. There may have been such, but they apparently left no record. The most detailed account of results is found in the record of Brainerd's work. The account of the revival among the Indians during the year before Brainerd's death reads like a chapter from Finney's "Autobiography." The awful impressiveness of the services, the intense conviction of sin, and

¹ Francis, *Life of Eliot*, p. 98.

² H. H., "Father Junipero and his Work," in *Century*, June, 1883.

³ *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 510.

the peculiar beliefs of the preacher stand out in bold relief. Of his preaching, Brainerd says: "I found that close addresses and solemn applications of divine truth to the conscience strike at the root of all vice, while smooth and plausible harangues upon moral virtues and external duties at best are like to do no more than lop off the branches of corruption while the root of all vice remains still untouched."¹ He says the outward reformation in the lives of the Indians sprang "from the internal influence of divine truth upon their hearts, and not from any external restraints, or because they had heard those vices particularly exposed and repeatedly spoken against. Some of them I had never so much as mentioned."² This point forms a great contrast to the work of the Catholics. Evidently spiritual work in the two cases was carried on differently, and aimed at different immediate results. But we are disappointed to find that in eleven months only thirty-six had made open confession of Christ, though he says, before this, that "scarce a prayerless person was to be found among near an hundred."³

Writing fifteen years after the death of Eliot, Increase Mather says: "I could never yet inquire of any plantation or assembly of Indians but the most censorious English would grant there were three or four persons in that plantation who they verily believed were sound Christians, though they condemned the rest. Whereas a charitable man would have reckoned these three or four to have been the most eminent for piety among them, and have granted the rest to have such a measure of knowledge in the gospel method of salvation, and to be so ready to submit with most admirable patience to the church censures among them, and so penitent in their confessions of their faults and fearful of relapsing into the same or like faults as might be a just foundation to hope that they are travelling the right way to heaven."⁴

¹ Edwards, *Life of Brainerd* (Tract Soc. ed.), p. 269.

² *Life of Brainerd*, p. 267. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 268. ⁴ *Life of Eliot*, p. 357.

We must glance at the contrast between Protestant and Catholic missions in educational work. This is seen in the schools established by Protestant missionaries and in their works in the Indian languages. The padres, as we have seen, did nothing in this line but to make a few brief vocabularies and translate a catechism. Eliot left a catechism, Psalms in verse, Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," Shepherd's "Sincere Convert," a hymn-book, primer, logic-primer, grammar, and the whole Bible in the Indian language. This would be a remarkable record for any one, and when considered as the work of one who had the work of a regular pastorate in addition to his Indian labors, and who did not begin to study the Indian language till he was forty years old, it is an astonishing record. Zeisberger was even more prolific in the number of his works, having left in manuscript, or in print, no less than twenty-six works, one of which is a German and Onondaga lexicon in seven volumes. The contrast in educational matters between the settlement of the eastern and that of the western coast is very suggestive. On the eastern coast, the Pilgrims had scarcely landed before they began to establish common schools and colleges. In this their clergymen were among the foremost. On the western coast, three-quarters of a century after its settlement, governors were still fighting the indifference of the people and the opposition of the priests. The eastern coast laid foundations for broad and general education. The western coast stuck to its motto: "Educate special servants of the church; others, if you must: make the education as narrow as possible." California had no respectable system of public schools till it became a part of the United States. In San Diego from 1794 to 1846, a period of fifty-two years, there was school five years. Los Angeles had school thirteen years during the same time. Monterey, the capital, was favored with seventeen years of school during the fifty-two. In 1845 there were only eleven out of forty-five

voters in San Diego who could write.¹ California has had some experience with public schools in Catholic hands since that time. From 1851 to 1855 the Catholics of San Francisco received part of the public school money. This was discontinued, because, among other reasons, "of the inferiority of the provision made by the Catholics for those under their care."² "It is to be regretted," Gleeson adds with great *naïveté*, "that a better arrangement both as regards the accommodation and the character of the instruction imparted had not been provided by the Catholic authorities, for thus would have been removed one of the reasons assigned for the withdrawal of the grant." The reason given for the regret is thoroughly Catholic, and all the more significant that it comes from a college professor. Hoping, doubtless, for the time when the public school fund shall be divided again, he adds: "When the day has arrived that all the Catholic youth of the country will be under purely Catholic influences, instructed as well in religion and morality as in secular learning, then, indeed, he who presides over this flock may say, with the just and devout Simeon, 'nunc dimittis . . .'"³ Most Americans would be willing to have him say "nunc dimittis" long before that time. Yet the Catholics only carry out the educational policy of the Middle Ages and the California missions: Educate special servants of the church; others, if you must.

¹ *Ban.* xxxiv. 551. ² *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal.* ii. 275. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 282.