

“Civilizing the ‘Redman’...;”

John Locke, Adam Smith, and Social Darwinist Perceptions of Religion, Landuse, and Progress as policy to make extinct the Traditional Lifeways of North American Indian peoples

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Abstract

This article interprets of a black and white photographic postcard from ca. 1910 against a history of settler colonialism grounded in political economic thought, and the governmental desire to eradicate North American Indian lifeways. The postcard entitled “Civilizing the ‘Redman’ – Soboba Reservation, San Jacinto, CA.” features a photograph of 10 young North American Indian boys tilling enclosed land at their reservation mission school in California. The text is handwritten on the front of the photograph, which was taken by the writer and ethnographic photographer George Wharton James (1858-1923). The image and text on this photographic postcard are chronologically examined through a specific range of key concepts that centered the Genesis 1:28 commandment to subdue the earth and to be fruitful and multiply: John Locke’s seventeenth century understandings of nature, land-use and productivity; Adam Smith’s eighteenth century four-stage developmental stages of society that is based around utilization of land; and the nineteenth century Social Darwinist perceptions of human evolution and racial superiority, which included the concept of Manifest Destiny to religiously justify American expansionism, and the Mission School education policy which mandated the teaching of Euro-American ways of living, worshipping, and working to assimilate North American Indian children. By

drawing on these philosophies and ideologies, this chapter explores the colonial perceptions of land and land-use, and charts the strategies by which these perceptions of land and land-use were utilized in an attempt to civilize the “Redman”, and thereby make extinct the traditional lifeways of the North American Indian peoples.

Keywords: Civilizing, Land-use; Locke, Smith, Social-Darwinism, Mission Schools

‘Civilizing the “Redman”...’

Locke, Smith, and Social Darwinist perceptions of religion, land-use, and progress

This chapter explores the relationship between John Locke’s seventeenth century understandings of nature, land-use and productivity, Adam Smith’s eighteenth century land-use based developmental stages of society, and Social Darwinist perceptions of human evolution from the nineteenth century, to examine how North American Indian children at Mission (Indian Training) Schools in North America were made to civilize the land in order to civilize their minds, and thus eradicate not only their traditional methods of agriculture (ways of living with the earth that had existed for the previous millennium), but make extinct their traditional Indigenous ways of living. By interrogating the political philosophies of Locke, and Smith, in relation to what became known as Social Darwinism and its allied concept of Manifest Destiny, this paper considers the impact of these philosophies and ideologies on the implementation of the Christian-based civilization process in North America. Central to this was the colonial understanding that the appropriate use of land was crucial to human progress, and this perception was based around the Biblical Commandment in Genesis 1:28, to be fruitful and multiply and subdue the earth.

Key to arguing that colonialist perceptions of land-use were vital in notions of progress is a 9cm x 14cm black and white photographic postcard titled, in white

handwritten capital letters on the photograph, “Civilizing the ‘Redman’ – Soboba Reservation, San Jacinto, Cal.”¹ The photographic image featured on the postcard was taken at the Soboba Mission circa 1910 by Dr George Wharton James (1858-1923), an English-born writer and ethnographic photographer with a self-professed love of California.² But as well as loving the landscape of the American Southwest, he had a general respect for the Indigenous peoples of the region,² although tempered by his firm belief in the inherent good of the missionizing process. In the forward to his 1913 book *The Old Franciscan Missions of California*, James lauded the Franciscan Fathers who, through ‘theology and education [brought their] heathen wards into a knowledge of saving grace.’³ James’ affections for California, its indigenous inhabitants, and the Christian civilizing of North American Indian children can be clearly seen in the postcard photograph which captured the Soboba-Indian boys at their Mission School. In the photograph are 10 boys dressed in the typical EuroAmerican working-man’s garb of the day, either hoeing/raking the soil, or planting crops in ordered rows in a fenced-off patch of land. In the distance are the

¹ ‘Civilizing the “Redman”’: Soboba Reservation, San Jacinto, Cal’. *Princeton University Digital Library*, WC064, S1921, accessed May 11, 2020, <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/6q182k52t> The postcard is uncut and on the reverse is stamped “G. Wharton James Collection” and the words ² George W. Wharton, *California Romantic and Beautiful* (Boston: Colonial Press, 2008 [1914]), 12. <https://archive.org/details/californiaroman00jamegoog/page/n5/mode/2up>

² Robert H. Keller and Michael F Turek. *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 135.

³ George Wharton James, *The Old Franciscan Missions of California*. 2004 [1913]. Accessed 11 May 2020 <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13854/13854-h/13854-h.htm>

San Jacinto Mountains that border the Soboba Indian Reservation. The Reservation had been established in 1883 for the Soboba Band of Luiseño Indians (the *Payomkowishum*) by the United States Government to help alleviate suffering rooted

in decades of turmoil caused by California's ownership changes, and on this reservation was a Mission (Indian Training) School.

'MISSION INDIAN' written in blue pencil; this is by a different hand as the letter N makes clear when comparing the two writing styles on the front and reverse of the postcard.

Mission School/s as a term is used in this chapter as a not uncontroversial short-hand for government-financed, church-run (or Mission Society run), Indian training schools (off-reservation residential boarding schools, or on-reservation dayschools) designed to assimilate North American Indian children into EuroAmerican culture by making extinct traditional lifeways, language, and spirituality, and train native children to become productive American citizens.⁴ Attendance at these schools from the age of 6 years to 16 years was mandatory.⁵

Soboba; a short history of turmoil

California had, by the time of the James Soboba mission school photograph (c1910), a history of turmoil. In brief, the area that became Alta California, part of the land

⁴ See Francis P. Prucha, (ed.) *Documents of United States Indian Policy (2nd edition)* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 163, 177, 187, 209, 214.

⁵ Jorge Noriega, "American Indian education in the United States: Indoctrination for Subordination to Colonialism," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. Jaimes, M (Annette, Boston, Mass.: South End Press, 1992), 308.

claimed by Spain in 1542, dates to the Portolà Expedition of 1769-70. In 1767 King Carlos III of Spain sent the soldier and administrator Gaspar de Portolà (1716-1786), to govern and establish a network of Franciscan Missions in the area in order to acculturate and civilize the native peoples there.⁶ This was achieved through religious

and occupational training provided by Franciscan priests. The Franciscan mission system was largely an extension of Spanish Civil Government with obligatory mass and Catholic religious instruction. Spanish was the only permitted means of communication, and the development of agriculture and livestock rearing was considered essential in the development and civilization of the Californian Indians.

After 10 years of training (both in religious and secular matters), the Mission converted to a parish and the surrounding fields, grazing lands and livestock was divided up amongst the Mission Indian families (called neophytes). The Spanish Franciscan friar, Junípero Serra (1713-1784), is credited with the founding of this system; between 1769-1823, twenty-one such missions were founded,⁷ which within this period ‘employed 142 priests and baptized 53,600 natives’.⁸

After the 1821 Mexican War of Independence which ended the rule of Spain, power over the Missions shifted from Franciscan missionaries to the Mexican Republican Government. In 1827 under the *General Law of Expulsion* Spanish-born

⁶ Zoeth S. Eldredge, *The March of Portolà and the Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco*, 2009.

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/lookup?num=4978>

⁷ See George Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 42-68.

⁸ Joshua Paddison, “Essay: 1821-1847: Missions, Ranches, and the Mexican War for Independence,” *Calisphere: University of California; Exhibitions*, 2005

<https://calisphere.org/exhibitions/essay/3/missions-ranchos/>

clergy were expelled from California, and in 1833, the *Secularization of the Missions of California Act*, saw Missions seized and the land previously promised to the neophytes, was sold off.⁹ These actions caused severe hardships for Californian Indians; established ways of life were disrupted, people found themselves dislocated

with their buildings left to ruin, and there was a scarcity of food and water.¹⁰ Few, if any, of these issues were resolved by the 1848 purchase of California (from Mexico) by the United States of America (USA). Indeed, the situation got worse.

In 1850 the *Act for the Government and Protection of Indians*, legalized the effective enslavement of North American Indian children and adults, and dealt with the increasing tensions in California over land caused by the immigration of ranchers

and gold prospectors by stating that, ‘White persons or proprietors could apply... for the removal of Indians from land in...[their] possession’.¹¹ This Act also authorized California governors to enable ‘local sheriffs to organize...“Expeditions against the Indians”’,¹² the Act stood until 1863.¹³ The long-term detrimental effect on the Californian Indians of the change in ownership of California, with its enforced shift

⁹ Valerie S. Mathes, “The California Mission Indians Commission of 1891: The Legacy of Helen Hunt Jackson,” *California History* 72, no.4 (1993/4): 338-359.

¹⁰ George H. Philips, “Indians and the Breakdown of the Spanish Mission System in California,” *Ethnohistory* 21no.4 (1974); 291-302.

¹¹ Kimberly Johnson-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies related to California Indian*, (Sacramento, CA.: California Research Bureau 2002), 5.

¹² y Johnson-Dodds, *Early California Laws*, 1.

¹³ Edward D. Castillo, *Short Overview of California Indian History* (Sacramento, California Native American Heritage Commission, 1998).

from the security of the Franciscan Mission system to the loss of land and livelihood, alongside the effects of the 1850 Act, was noted by author Helen Hunt Jackson in her popular 1884 novel *Ramona*.¹⁴

Hunt Jackson had a romantic view of the Spanish mission system,¹⁵ and she campaigned on the plight of Indian peoples in California who had suffered with its loss; in particular the people of Soboba who were the occupants of her favorite Californian village.¹⁶ In response to Hunt Jackson's campaigning, the American Government between 1905 and 1910 bought land and provided agricultural equipment to help improve conditions in the area. Further, the Government built day-schools and hired teachers to educate the Indian youth.¹⁷ Schooling of native children into Western ways was considered central to assimilation; effectively the eradication of Indigenous lifeways into normative Euro-American ones. And crucial to the

¹⁴ John M. Gonzalez, "The Warp of Whiteness: Domesticity and Empire in Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*," *American Literary History* 16 no.3 (2004): 437-465.

¹⁵ Christine Holbo, "Industrial and Picturesque Narrative" Helen Hunt Jackson's California Travel Writing for the Century," *American Literary Realism* 42 no.3 (2010): 243-266.

¹⁶ Mathes, "The California Mission Indians Commission," 340.

¹⁷ Tanis Thorne, "The Death of Superintendent Stanley and the Cahuilla Uprising" *Journal of California & Great Basin Anthropology* 24 no.2 (2004): 233-258.

assimilation process was the importance of teaching civilizing habits; a (typically Protestant) Christian education in the English language provided dress and manners based on mores of appropriateness, modesty, and cleanliness, and instruction in European-style agricultural methods. Soboba was one such school and according to 1909 records, 163 native children attended the day school there;¹⁸ given that the date of the James' photograph is c1910, the 10 Soboba boys photographed in their agricultural pursuits (the so-called "Redmen" being "civilized") may well have been part of this number.

'Civilizing the "Redman"'; an explanation of terms

Although as an image the photographic postcard can be read in a number of ways, given the colonial history of the Soboba reservation précised above, these readings readily relate to the eradication of traditional Indigenous lifeways through the assimilation process. Yet, whilst the photograph itself is clearly important, as Roland Barthes has noted, "text burdens [an] image,"¹⁹ and thus the written accompaniment to the black and white photographic image, "Civilizing the "Redman"", deserves analysis.²⁰

¹⁸ James Mooney, "Mission Indians (of California)," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol.10, New York, 1911, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10369a.htm>

¹⁹ Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, trans by Richard Howard (New York: Hill & Wang, 1985); 14-15.

²⁰ It is important that it is unclear if James himself wrote the photograph title, but the words are written onto the photograph itself, not onto the postcard, and the postcard has his studio stamp.

The term, “Redman” is a phrase which can be dated to around 1750 when the naturalist Charles Linnaeus used primary colors to label four basic human groupings (black, yellow, red, and white). As a term, it was popularized in the mid-1800s by the novelist James Fennimore Cooper with the publication of *The Redskins* (1846), and

by anthropologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft in his book, *The Red Race in America* (1847). However, the use of color labels to signify different races had been used previously by Thomas Jefferson in his 1782 *Notes from Virginia*.²¹ Thus, the history of the term “Redman” would have signified to White (Euro/Anglo-) Americans of the era, a particular type (or race) of people, and as such its use on this early twentiethcentury postcard to identify that the subjects are of a particular ethnic origin,

is unsurprising.²² However, it is the word “Civilizing” as used in connection with ‘Redman’, which is the focus of this paper.

Understandings of the term “Civilizing” in the context of religion, and the use of nature/land, and progress, have been articulated by Italian Cardinal Angelo Sodano (b.1927), Secretary Emeritus of the Secretariat of State in the Vatican. In 2004

²¹ Jack Utter, *American Indians: Answers to Today’s Questions* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 95, 98-99.

²² Somewhat surprisingly, and somewhat sadly, the Guiding/Scouting ‘campfire’ song, “Red Men,” has long been part of the repertoire of groups globally, and as such this derogatory terms remains prevelant. A number of Scouting websites from the UK and USA, assessed May 11 2020, provide the words, i.e.: <https://www.edgwarecouts.org.uk/song-and-chant-lyrics/red-men/>; <https://thefifth.org.uk/links/campfire-songbook/#36>; <https://girlguidesong.blogspot.com/2015/11/50weare-red-men.html>

Sodano stated that “civilization expresses the vital relationship of human beings with the world of nature.” Explicitly linking Christianity not only with the civilizing process, but also with an understanding of nature, Sodano noted that:

civilization ‘is a “high” style of life which characterizes a particular people [and that] ... it is part of Christianity’s vocation to associate itself closely with “civilization” [for] if civilization signifies “a human perfection and good”, then Christianity is called to shape civilization.’²³

Although Sodano does not explain the term “nature” further, it is clear from his speech that he means the natural world and that the human development of the natural world is part of the civilizing process. In other parts of the speech this is clarified. He stated, “similar to the concept of civilization is that of ‘culture’, based [on] the careful and patient cultivation of the earth by farming.” He also argued “that the terms ‘civilization’ and ‘culture’ coincide insofar as they emphasize the impact which human beings make on their environment in the effort to make life more human.”²⁴

In Sodano’s 2004 speech is posited a particular type of understanding concerning the way that humans interact with nature which is predicated on the perception that the cultivation/farming of the land civilizes it and humanizes us. Here

²³ Angelo Sodano, “Address of the Cardinal Angelo Sodano after the Conferral of a honorary doctorate at St John’s University in New York: 21 September 2004”

²⁴ Tinker, *Missionary Conquest*, 53-55. Also, Donald A. Grinde, “Taking the Indian Out of the Indian; U.S. policies of ethnocide through education,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 19 no.2 (2004), 27; Judith Nies, *Native American History: A Chronology of a Culture’s Vast Achievements & their Links to World Events* (New York: Ballentine Books, 1996), 291.

by arguing that the cultivation of the earth by farming is intimately connected with a human style of living, there is an implication that a lack of farming equates to a lack of full humanity. This understanding is inherently hierarchical and one Sodano links clearly with Christianity. Such an understanding dates back to the earliest times of colonialization where alongside acceptance of a Western lifestyle (patriarchal and monogamous households, appropriate social mores, and European language), the adoption of sound doctrine, and European-style agriculture were considered key to the civilizing of North American Indians.²⁵ As such, the phrase “Civilizing the

http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/2004/documents/rc_seg-st_20040921_sodanostjohns_en.html ²⁵ Sodano, “Address”

‘Redman’” in relation to the photograph of Soboba boys, can be historically situated in colonialist Christian ideologies.

In order to explore this notion fully, the philosophies of the English Enlightenment political theorist John Locke (1632-1704), and Scottish Enlightenment political economist Adam Smith (1723-1790), are examined alongside the ideology of

Social Darwinism, in relation to the colonialist policy of assimilation that equated the domestication and civilization of America and its land, with the domestication and civilization of the so-called savage “Red Man” in an attempt to make extinct Indigenous ways of being. However, it is crucial to note that this land-based assimilativist notion has its roots in the agricultural tenet implicit in Genesis 1:28 (KJB): “And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it...” Thus, colonial conceptions of appropriate land-use as proposed by Locke, Smith and via Social Darwinism have an inherent

Christian framework.

John Locke: a philosophy on land, labor and the state of nature

Key to this chapter and the concept of the planned extinction of traditional North American Indian lifeways is the concept of land-use developed by the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704); a man widely regarded as one of the West's most influential Enlightenment thinkers.²⁷ Debates concerning the exact nature of Locke's conceptions of land-use are however, problematic due to this particular aspect of this thinking, as outlined in *Two Treatise of Government* (1689), being somewhat underdeveloped. To further add to the complexity, some scholarship on Locke has retrospectively applied to his work the sixteenth century concept of *Vacuum domicilium*²⁵ (land devoid of inhabitants) despite Locke's promotion of the concept being "essentially fiction;"²⁶ the term *Vacuum domicilium* is more properly

attributed to John Winthrop (1588-1649), lawyer and Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony.²⁷ This chapter though is not concerned with exploring whether, according to Locke, land (in this case America) was deemed inhabited or not, but interrogates

²⁵ Donald S. Lutz, "European Writers on Late-Eighteenth Century American Political Thought," *American Political Science Review* 78 no.1 (1984), 192.

²⁶ Paul Corcoran, "John Locke on the Possession of Land: Native Title vs the 'Principle of *Vacuum domicilium*,'" *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms* 23, no.3 (2018), 240.

²⁷ Corcoran, "John Locke," 238.

Locke's concept of whether land (a specific physical area of ground) was deemed to be taken out of a state of nature, or taken out of a state of nature sufficiently to be understood as private property.²⁸

Locke in his *Second Treatise* expounded his conception of private property through an understanding of property acquisition, where a man, through “the labor of his body and the work of his hands... [removes it] from the common state nature hath placed it in.”²⁹ For Locke, working a piece of land removed that portion of land from its natural state (ie: from common ownership), and his notion of worked land included it being clearly fenced off from common land. Locke's theory that owned land needed to be enclosed (fenced) land is crucial in understanding colonialist expansionism, for it is clear that policy makers prior to, and during the seventeenth century, utilized the feral hunter-gather image, rather than civilized pastoralist understanding of North American Indian peoples, to further commercial imperialism.

Although seventeenth century America was generally conceived of as a land with “few inhabitants [who] run over the grass as do the foxes and wild beast,”³⁰ there

²⁸ B. Jeffrey Reno, “Private Property and the Law of nature in Locke's Two *Treatises*: The Best Advantage of Life and Convenience,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 68 no.3 (2009), 639-663.

²⁹ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* ed. P. Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chap. 5.

³⁰ Anon [1622] in Michael Prior, *The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1997), 178.

was an already well established justification for colonial possession of America as an unworked land, through “theology... and natural law.”³¹ In 1578 Queen Elizabeth I charged the explorer Humphrey Gilbert (c1539-1583) to find, occupy and enjoy land unoccupied by Christian people.³² Later his cousin, Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618), was requested by Elizabeth I’s Principle Secretary of State, Richard Hakluyt (c1552-1616), to “conquer, fortify and plant in soils...and in the end bring [non-Christians] in subjection and to civility.”³³ By the late sixteenth century then there were potent connections between Christianity, land-use, and the colonization process, and effectively Locke’s theory of unenclosed/unfarmed land being wild/unowned land furthered the notion of colonialism by cultivation. By fencing and working the seemingly wild lands of North America, mankind (sic) could serve both God and his (mans) own needs.³⁴ Essentially through the efficient use of farmed land God’s commandments to be fruitful and multiply, and to tame the land, could be fulfilled, and by annexing a specific plot of land from natural common land, it could become personal property through labor.³⁵

³¹ Corcoran, “John Locke,” 2.

³² Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide & Extermination from Sparta to Dafur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 213.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 214.

³⁴ James Tully, “Property, Self-Government and Consent,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 28 No.1 (1995), 113-14.

³⁵ Gerald E. Alymer, “The Meaning and Definition of ‘Property’ in Seventh-Century England,” *Past and Present* 86 no.1 (1980), 88 n4, 92 n10, 93.

Although many reports from the seventeenth century and earlier, clearly stated that North American Indians were utilizing and farming the land,³⁶ typically this land was not enclosed, or at least not adequately enclosed from common land in EuroAmerican terms. Nor in Euro-American terms was this farmed land properly manured and thus made adequately fertile, although an absence of domesticated cattle on the American continent accounted for this. However, manuring the land was perceived as essential to agriculture proper as it fortified the soil and allowed for increased yields (it allowed land to be fruitful). This understanding of land-use can be seen in this statement by John Winthrop (1588-1649), the first Governor of the Massachusetts's Bay Colony; "savage people...enclosed no ground, neither have the cattle to maintain it."³⁷ North American Indians were therefore deemed to be underutilizing the Godgiven resource of nature (natural land), and this was something that the Christian colonizers believed needed rectification, and Locke's argument central to this perception.

Not only did Locke argue that unenclosed land was unowned land (and therefore available for ownership) but due to his understanding of the Law of Nature,

³⁶ Gordon G. Whitney *From Coastal Wilderness to Fruited Plain: A History of Environmental Change in Temperate North American from 1500 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 103-06.

³⁷ Winthrop in James T. Carson and Karim M. Tiro, "Animals in Atlantic North America to 1800," in *The Atlantic World*, eds. D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard & William O'Reilly (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 26.

expounded in his *Second Treatise of Government*, the understood that uncultivated land was able to be appropriated by colonizers provided “enough and as good” was

left for North American Indian use.³⁸ Indeed, he claimed that if a parcel of appropriated land improved, the new owner did no “prejudice to any other

Man...[and]... does as good as Tak[ing] nothing at all.”³⁹ Locke believed that America had “more land than the inhabitants [could] make [use] of,”⁴⁰ and because he deemed land in America was plentiful but under-utilized, he held that settler encroachment left “enough and as good” for North American Indian use. Effectively the argument went that, if North American Indians used the land appropriately (by working the land and increasing yield through manuring it), even though there might be physically less land for them, they would have more crops than before their conversion to the European agricultural system.⁴¹ Thus, under this Lockean way of thinking, settler encroachment would not cause any material detriment to North American Indians, and indeed, with the increased productivity of the land, it would be advantageous.

Locke alleged that North American Indians lived in a state of nature, which meant they had no government and were “free to order their actions, and dispose of

³⁸ Locke, *Two Treaties*, chap. 5.

³⁹ Locke, *Two Treaties*, chap. 33.

⁴⁰ Locke in Tully, “Property, Self-Government and Consent,” 150.

⁴¹ Samuel M. Wilson, “The Unmanned Wild Country,” *Natural History* (May 1992), 16-17.

their possessions and persons, as they think fit”;⁴² for him his was not living by “right reason,” which also meant not living with a knowledge of God as the “maker of nature.”⁴³ For Locke then, as North American Indians lived in the state of nature without the Law of Nature to govern it, they could not complain when settlers

appropriated unfenced and uncultivated lands for planting and settling. Indeed, North American Indians actually violated the Law of Nature if they tried to stop European

settlers from doing this, and any who attempted to sabotage settler activity should be punished as “wild savage beasts.”⁴⁴

To complicate this however, Locke believed that under the Law of Nature everyone had the right to survive and the right to the means of survival. Yet Locke deemed that a natural style of living (hunting/gathering) was ultimately against “right reason,” and as such, the Law of Nature needed to be tempered for those not living under “right reason” such as North American Indians. In part this was because North American Indians were effected by natural spoilage. Here the argument goes that nature gives gluts of edible produce which cannot all be used but if stored, will spoil;

⁴² Locke, *Two Treaties*, chap. 4.

⁴³ John W. Yolton, “Locke on the Law of Nature,” *Philosophical Review* 67 no.4 (1958), 481-3.

⁴⁴ Locke in Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered & Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 28.

all very unsatisfactory for Locke.⁴⁵ He argued that reason was related to experience, and ultimately people came to reason that bartering goods, and thus the use of social contracts, was a more sensible option than hoarding one's own natural gatherings; these would eventually decompose and become useless and thus valueless. Locke believed that the use of social contracts eventually led to the formation of a secure society and government. Locke believed that as North American Indians lived in a state of nature as opposed to by the Law of Nature, they were in effect irrational and

could therefore be treated by the colonizers, under the Law of Nature, as children or animals; as those unable to reason rightly.⁴⁶

Unpacking further Locke's understanding of the Law of Nature, what it meant to live in the state of nature, and why those living in the state of nature as opposed to under the Law of Nature could be treated as children or animals, provides an

explanation of why Locke advocated toleration and equality, but not to those living in the state of nature; and all inside a Christian framework.⁴⁷ Locke argued in *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures* (1695), that men could not fully understand the Law of Nature (also called the Law of Reason) without reference to Biblical law.⁴⁸ And, whilst his *Letters concerning Toleration* (1689-1692,

⁴⁵ Brent M. Haddad, "Property Rights, ecosystem management, & John Locke's Labor Theory of ownership," *Ecological Economics* 46 no.1 (2003), 26.

⁴⁶ Kathy Squadrito, "Locke & the Dispossession of the American Indian," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 20 No.4 (1996), 148.

⁴⁷ Jeremy Waldron, *God, Locke, and Equality: Christian Foundations in Locke's Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁸ John Locke, *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

1704 unfinished) advocated religious toleration,⁴⁹ in his work *Of the Conduct of the Understanding* (1706), this capacity to reason is clearly grounded in “the capacity to reason to an understandings of the existence of God.”⁵⁰ For Locke then, there was a direct correlation between “right reason”, which was in effect believing in and practicing the laws/lores of the Christian God, and toleration and equality. If someone could not reason toward God and live by the laws of the Christian Bible, then toleration and equality towards that person was not required. This philosophical

reason provides one explanation why Locke was able to justify severe punishment to those people deemed irrational and uncivilized, such as unassimilated North American Indians. A further and more commercially-based reason may lie with his financial interests in plantation slavery in the Americas through his position as Secretary of the Board of Trade and Plantations (1673-74), and his land interests in Carolina as Secretary to the Lord’s Proprietors of the Carolinas (1668-1671);⁵¹

interestingly, Locke was involved in writing the constitution of the Carolinas, some of which refers explicitly to the legality of plantation slavery.⁵²

⁴⁹ John Locke, *Letters concerning Toleration* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1983), see 1689-1692, & 1704 unfinished, p. 4.

⁵⁰ John Locke, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding* (London: Dodo Press, 2009), & Waldron, *God, Locke & Equality*, 83.

⁵¹ Barbara Arneil, “Trade Plantations & Property: John Locke & the Economic Defence of Colonialism,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 55 no.4 (1994), 592 & Barbara Arneil, *John Locke & America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 88 n1.

⁵² David Armitage, “John Locke, Carolina, and the ‘Two Treatises of Government’,” *Political Theory* 32 no.5 (2004), 602-627.

To complicate matters further regarding Locke’s perceptions of toleration and equality, Locke did believe in the equality of humans in nature, and he gave two arguments to support this. Firstly, he argued that we are all equal before our Creator, and secondly, that we are all furnished with like faculties. Locke believed that we all have “similar capacities for rational thought and knowledge [with differences] explained by environment and education”⁵³ – the blank slate or *Tabula Rasa* argument. However, if one did not learn to reason to the existence of God, and live Biblically in the Created world, then in effect the mind-slate remained in the state of nature; or, bastardizing Social Darwinian-esque Recapitulation Theory, the mind remained mentally in the state of a child and thus the child-person was not equal to the right reasoning adult person. Notably, Locke considered North American Indians to be the

most primitive members of the human race,⁵⁴ still in the first age of man (Europeans being in the most improved or civilized age). North American Indians, he suggested, were children of nature who, living in a state of nature, had “undeveloped powers of reason,”⁵⁵ and thus in terms of land-use, were incapable of comprehending the appropriate use of God-given land.

For Locke, North American Indians were the ultimate hunter-gathers and therefore the lands on which they roamed were available for the settlers to utilize and cultivate. Additionally, because “enough and as good” land would be left after settler

⁵³ Squadrito, ‘Locke’, 150.

⁵⁴ Theresa Richardson, “John Locke and the Myth of Race in America: Demythologizing the paradoxes of the Enlightenment as Visited in the Present,” *Philosophical Studies in Education* 42, (2011), 105.

⁵⁵ Carol Merchant, *Reinventing Nature: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*, London, 2004, p. 80.

cultivation, and once developed to right reasonableness, North American Indians would effectively realize that they could benefit from the colonization, and would come to God and leave behind their childish/natural state. The European-style cultivation methods brought fruitfulness to the land, and thus ultimately colonization by cultivation was for the benefit of North American Indian peoples – they should therefore take on Euro-American ways of being, leaving behind and thus making extinct, their traditional Indigenous lifeways. This concept is evident in the photographic postcard of the Soboba Indian boys who are being civilized by farming an enclosed area of land.

To further the notion of civilization by cultivation, and to deepen the links between the concepts of land-use, and progress towards civilizing in relation to the Soboba postcard, we next move to the eighteenth century and the philosophy of Adam Smith.

Adam Smith: a philosophy on land, labor, and the civilizing process Adam

Smith (1723-1790) was a key figure in the Scottish Enlightenment, and his fourstage developmental theory of land-use and civilization can be seen to echo Locke's understandings of the transformative process of appropriate land-use; that is the enclosing of land to show removal from common land, the fruitful use of that now owned land, and the social contracts that come from the exchanges of excess produce grown on that enclosed owned land. The Lockean-based notion of appropriate land-use was expounded by Smith in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1762-63), and then clarified in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), and to Smith, effectively defined the advancement of man (sic). Although not clearly articulated

as strictly linear, Smith posited in *Lectures* that man (*sic*) moved from huntergathering to pasturage (termed the age of shepherds), onto farming and agriculture, then finally to commerce; the ultimate developmental stage of humanity, for it was here that private property was fully exchangeable, and that civilization thrived.⁵⁶

In Smith's first stage, Age of Hunting, primitive hunter-gathers had no real concept of private property. Here natural produce was the main resource and as such there was little chance for the accumulation of wealth, for as Locke noted, in the state of nature, gluts mean consumables spoil. Smith, as with Locke, held that the value of something was found in the products of labor, and thus the products themselves did not having an intrinsic value. He explained this in the parable of the beaver and the deer; one beaver is worth two deer because it "costs twice the labor to kill the beaver." Further, Smith asserted that it was in the effort of removing something from the state

of nature that led to ownership. Thus, according to Smith, because in huntergathering nothing is removed from the state of nature, and this includes land which was deemed uncultivated because it was unfenced and unfertilized, then in this "early and rude state of society,"⁵⁷ there was no real concept of ownership and man (*sic*) was at his most primitive; it was in this stage that Smith unequivocally placed North American Indians.

⁵⁶ Anthony Brewer, "Adam Smith's Stages of History," University of Bristol, Dept. of Economics, Discussion Paper no. 08/601 (March 2008) Accessed 11 May 2020
http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/economics/working_papers/pdffiles/dp08601.pdf

⁵⁷ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations*, 2009 [1776] Book 1, chap. 6 <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/3300>

Like Locke, Smith connected North American Indians with savageness and primitiveness. In *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Smith expressed an understanding that because of a preoccupation with attaining the necessities for life, savage peoples could spare little attention to the care of others, and as such were akin

to the Spartans,⁵⁸ a race much admired for their stoicism but not one fit for modern civilization⁶¹ - a notion that will be expanded later in this paper in relation to Social Darwinism and the concept of Manifest Destiny. Further, Smith explicitly noted how the value-system of North American Indians was shaped by the hardship of their life. He posited that they showed no sympathy for their countrymen, that they had barbaric methods of torture for prisoners of war, and that the emotion of love (which in the more developed “ages of humanity and politeness” was highly regarded), was perceived as effeminate.⁵⁹ Their existence Smith argued, was one far distant from the

life of “ease and convenience” that came with civilization; his fourth stage of humanity.⁶⁰

In Smith’s second stage, the pasturage stage, he argued that through the herding of animals, wealth starts to be accumulated and as such a peoples starts to move towards civilization. However, as animals can be lost and/or exchanged, and as

⁵⁸ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiment* (London: Penguin Classics, 2010 [1767]), 312. ⁶¹ Maureen Harkin, “Adam Smith's Missing History: Primitives, Progress, and Problems of Genre,” *ELH* 72 no.2 (2005), 439.

⁵⁹ Smith, *Moral Sentiments*, 314.

⁶⁰ Adam Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, eds. R.L. Meek, D.D. Raphael, & P.G Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978 [1766]), 16.

the land on which the animals graze is common pasturage, second stage people are not removed from the state of nature. Additionally, in the pasturage stage, Smith argued there is very little labor and therefore very little concept of private property (whether held in common or individually); second stage man (*sic*) therefore remains at a low rung developmentally. In agriculture however, Smith's third stage, land is utilized and is consequently taken from the state of nature and becomes a permanent source of wealth. Land is clearly understood as property, and with property comes the

need for law and thus early civilization.⁶¹ It is important to note that it is Smith's third stage that is agriculture, as Smith believed that the domestication of animals (pasturage and herding) came before the domestication of plants (farming and agriculture), largely because he associated agriculture with permanent settlement and population increase, and believed that crops could only be grown on improved land; improved land being land manured by domesticated animals such as cattle.⁶²

Although nature in itself was perceived as essentially good by Smith, as it was by Locke, Smith argued that the transformation of nature (both natural land and natural person) was central to man's progress as there was a marked employment of intellect and industry in this process.⁶⁶ Thus, effectively nature and natural man (*sic*) could become cultivated in every sense of the word through the appropriate use of

⁶¹ Gavin Kennedy, "Adam Smith and the Invisible Hand: From Metaphor to Myth," *EJW* 6 no.2 (2009), pp. 248.

⁶² Brewster, "Adam Smith."

⁶⁶ Smith, *Lectures*.

land; the move from hunting, through pasturage, to farming, and eventually onto commerce, as only from agriculture with its settled communities, comprehension of property, and increased wealth, could come the fourth stage of trade which gave, for Smith, a full notion of civilization.⁶³

In Smith's hierarchical stages of civilization, we find a Lockean notion of appropriate land-use based around Genesis 1:28. Through the European agricultural system, manured land (which required a settled lifestyle) provided the fruitful soil that reaped crops in abundance, and allowed for the exchange of surplus;⁶⁴ the very basis for the wealth of nations.⁶⁵ Smith's philosophy in this area follows not just Locke's

notions of right reason and land-use but also Locke's thinking in regards to individualism in labor; by working, one gains an entitlement to add value to a good by removing it from the state of nature. Although Smith does not use the term "state of nature", he understands labor as "emerging from a form of philosophical naturalism."⁶⁶ For Smith, as for Locke, there was an ontology to labor. This effectively meant that not laboring a piece of land demonstrated one was not able to

reason, because the land did not reach its fruitful potential. Also, because laboring reinforced ownership, there was no definite entitlement to any social benefits that derived from an uncultivated plot.

⁶³ Brewster, 'Adam Smith'.

⁶⁴ Wilfred Dolfsma, "The Social Construction of Value: Value Theories and John Locke's Framework of Qualities," *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 4 no.3 (1997), 403-04.

⁶⁵ Smith *Wealth*, Intro. 4 & WN V. 1 a&b

⁶⁶ Michael J. Shapiro, *Reading Adam Smith: Desire, History & Value* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 63.

The importance of Smith's land-use philosophy as articulated in *Wealth of Nations* should not be underestimated, for it was a highly influential with America's founding fathers: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), James Madison (1751-1836), and James Wilson (1742-1798), all read and endorsed Smith's work, and thus Smith's philosophy influenced "American political debates throughout the 1780s."⁶⁷ The political influence of Smith's work is significant: throughout *Wealth of Nations*, Smith makes connections between the capabilities of the soil and the conditions of the people,⁶⁸ and argues that laboring fosters certain virtues.⁶⁹ Smith maintained that "the road to virtue and the road to fortune...[were] very nearly the same" and that an "agrarian life...[developed] mental skills."⁷⁰ Further, Smith extolled the virtues of an education, particularly those of the useful sciences such as mechanics which would

aid in removing things from their natural state.⁷² All this can be seen in the assimilation processes developed by the US government. For Smith, improving the soil was central to the civilization process, moving mankind from hunter-gather to agriculturalist, and eventually onto *homo economicus*, and a basic useful education key to the progression. This philosophy of soil cultivation to bring about civilization, is evident in the photographic postcard image of the Soboba Indian boys who work

⁶⁷ Samuel Fleischacker, "Adam Smith's Reception among the American Founders, 1776–1790," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59 no.4 (2002), 901.

⁶⁸ *Smith Wealth*, ps.8, 13, 338, 375, 475, 747.

⁶⁹ *Smith Wealth* 8-9, Book 1.

⁷⁰ Smith in Fleischacker, "Adam Smith," 920.

⁷² *Smith Wealth*, 640.

the land as part of their government prescribed Mission School education; an education that was designed to make extinct traditional North American Indian lifeways.

But just as Smith's cultivation for civilization is founded on Lockean thought, so we move to the nineteenth century and unpack the implementation of Locke's and Smith's philosophy of land-use and the development of man (sic), in regards to Social Darwinism, and the implementation of the mission-schooling system, such as that at Soboba.

Social Darwinism: a philosophy on land, Manifest Destiny & Mission-Schooling

The concept of cultivating and civilizing both land and people featured in what eventually became an ideology of Social Darwinism. Social Darwinism in the nineteenth century was a political ideology loosely based on the evolution theory of natural selection laid out by Charles Darwin (1809-1882), but adapted to apply to the social and economic development of various people and races. The concept of Social Darwinism covered everyone from the Western poor to the Indigenous inhabitants of colonized countries including North America. In Social Darwinist thought, the general idea was that "'savage man' would inevitably disappear in the encounters with

Europeans whose superior intellect, moral and physical qualities make them prevail 'in the struggle for existence'." ⁷¹ This ideology was allied to the term "survival of the

⁷¹ Diane B. Paul, "Darwin, Social Darwinism and Eugenics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Darwin*, ed. Jonathan Hodge, & Gregory Radick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 221. ⁷⁷

fittest” coined by the English philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) in his 1864 book *The Principles of Biology*. Here he argued that the term related to Darwin’s “preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life.”⁷⁷ Although opposed to imperialism,⁷² Spencer’s survival concept was adopted by American industrialists and “used to justify their power and control of resources and [inferior] people,” notably the country’s Indigenous inhabitants.⁷³

In nineteenth century Euro-American/Western thought, humanity was categorized hierarchically with those living in a state of nature (primitive hunter-gathers) at the bottom of the evolutionary ladder, with the cultivated civilized and Christian (typically Anglo-Saxon Protestant) European/Euro-American man at the top; having proved his “survival of the fittest” credentials through colonialism of both native lands and native peoples.⁷⁴ It is notable that this rhetoric was played out publicly in regard to North American Indians at the first World’s Fair; The Crystal Palace Exhibition in London, England, 1851 (officially named *The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*). Here North American Indian grain production was negatively contrasted with that of the Euro-American settlers in a display of

Herbert Spencer, “Mr Martineau on Evolution (1872)” *Popular Science Monthly* 1 (July 1872). See also John Offer, ‘From “natural selection” to “survival of the fittest”: On the Significance of Spencer’s Refashioning of Darwin in the 1860s’, *Journal of Classical Sociology* 14 No.2 (2013), 156-177.

⁷² Thomas C. Leonard, “Origins if the Myth of Social Darwinism: The Ambiguous Legacy of Richard Hofstadter’s *Social Darwinism in American Thought*,” *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 71 (2009), 44.

⁷³ Robert Yazzie, “Indigenous people and Postcolonial Colonialism’, in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, ed. Marie A. Battiste (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 42.

⁷⁴ Prior, *The Bible*, 56.

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Manifest Destiny dogma; the Indian grain was considered small in size, and lacking in quantity and as such was deemed inferior to settler grain and an unsuitable fit for

contemporary America,⁷⁵ much like its producers who were literally cast (in a lifesize marble statue) as a dying race.⁷⁶

Manifest Destiny was considered the “relentless, predestined, and divinely inspired advance” of American expansionism⁷⁷ and the ideology provided the United States the duty to “regenerate [the] backward peoples of the continent.”⁷⁸ Included in this Manifest Destiny doctrine was the legitimacy of the Doctrine of Discovery, which as previously noted in regards to Queen Elizabeth I’s instructions, gave legal claim over discovered lands and peoples to the discovering nation; a claim backed by an understanding that “only those who till the soil have a right to it.”⁷⁹ Interestingly, Darwin himself echoed this notion, suggesting in *Descent of Man* (1874) that:

Since we see in many parts of the world enormous areas of the most fertile land capable of supporting numerous happy homes, but peopled only by a

⁷⁵ *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition*, London, 1851

<https://archive.org/details/officialcatalog06unkngoog> US Exhibits 24, 317, 320e, 499

⁷⁶ George Virtue, *The Art Journal Illustrated catalogue: The Industry of All Nations, 1851*, London, 2015 [1851], https://archive.org/details/artjournalillust00unse_0

⁷⁷ Robert J. Miller, *North America Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark and Manifest Destiny* (Westport: University of Nebraska Press), 2.

⁷⁸ Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny & Mission in American History* (New York: Frederick Books, 1966), 33.

⁷⁹ Rosemary R. Ruether, *America, Amerikkka: Elect Nation & Imperial Violence* (London: Equinox, 2007), 71.

few wandering savages, it might be argued that the struggle for existence had not been sufficiently severe to force man upwards to his highest standard.⁸⁰

By the mid-to-late nineteenth century the concept of appropriate land-use that effectively supported the be fruitful and multiply commandment of Gen 1:28, and removed man from a state of nature, was well established. As noted earlier, the founding fathers of America emphasized connections between civilization and farming, and as such the links between agricultural land-use and human progress were potently enshrined in the Euro-American/Western colonial cultural and political mindset.⁸¹ Jefferson, from as early as 1802-03, believed that North American Indians could be civilized if they took on small-scale European-style farming, and he formulated policies of assimilation with their roots not only in Smith's stages of human development, but in Locke's notions of the Law of Nature and the efficient use of farmed land. If tribes violently objected to the sale of their tribal lands then extermination was acceptable, for if they appropriately farmed the "small pieces of land" that remained,⁸² they would rationalize that they had been left enough land, and that as good a living could be made from it. On 11 June 1812 Jefferson noted how far

⁸⁰ Charles Darwin, *Descent of Man & Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 142.

⁸¹ Daniel M. Friedenber, *Life, Liberty & the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1992), & David M. Post, "Jeffersonian Revisions of Locke: Education, Property-Rights, and Liberty", in *Race, Class & Gender in 19th Century Culture*, ed. Maryanne C. Horowitz (New York: University of Rochester Press, 1991), 253-263.

⁸² Miller, *Native America*, p. 91-2.

the Creek and Cherokee peoples had come in the civilization process. In a letter to his presidential predecessor John Adams (1735-1826), he noted that the tribes had enclosed fields, and had herds of cattle as well as hogs, and also had acquired necessary trades and were learning to read and write.⁸³

Abraham Lincoln (1809-65) also expanded the assimilation by cultivation thesis.⁸⁴ In part of a speech delivered to a delegation of North American Indian chiefs on 27 March 1863, Lincoln stated that:

The pale-faced people are numerous and prosperous because they cultivate the earth... and depend upon the products of the earth rather than wild game for a subsistence. This is the chief reason for the difference.... I can only say that I can see no way in which your race is to become so numerous and prosperous as the white race except by living as they do, by the cultivation of the earth.⁸⁵

The previous year (1862) Lincoln had signed the Homestead Act, a landmark ruling in federal agriculture which intended to transform the American West through

⁸³ Thomas Jefferson letter to John Adams, 11 June 1812. *Library of Congress*.

⁸⁴ David A. Nicols, *Lincoln & the Indians: Civil War Policy & Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 2000.

⁸⁵ Abraham Lincoln, "Speech to Indians, March 27, 1863" in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* Vol.6 1809-65

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/textidx?c=lincoln:rgn=div1:view=text;idno=lincoln6;node=lincoln6%3A329>

farming. The Act gave 160 acres of (what was deemed) unoccupied surveyed public land to any US citizen for a small fee, provided they built a dwelling and “improved” the land. After five years of continuous occupancy, the land became theirs; between 100-125 million acres of North American Indian reservation land was sold to white settlers under this agrarian push.⁸⁶ On 8 February 1871, an Indian homesteading policy was implemented. Known as The Dawes Act (or the Dawes Severalty Act), this General Allotment Act, divided communal tribal lands into homesteading allotments

<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/jefferson/178.html>

of 160 acres. The land was allotted to individuals and family groups with the intention that it would be farmed, and that by removing their plot of land from the

state of nature, the (supposed) primitive hunter-gathers would become prosperous civilized agriculturalists.⁸⁷ It is alleged that Congressman (later Senator) Henry Laurens Dawes (1816-1903), the man who developed the Act, claimed that citizenship was to “wear civilized clothes...cultivate the ground, live in houses...send children to school...[and] own property;”⁹⁴ a sentiment with clear resonance to the “Civilizing the ‘Redman’” photographic postcard. Notably, following the Dawes Act, the remaining unallotted Indian-land was sold off to white settlers with the funds used to establish schools for the education of North American Indian children, such as the Sobaba Mission School. As can be seen, land-use was considered central to policies

⁸⁶ Douglas W. Allen, “Homesteading & Property Rights; or ‘How the West was Really Won’,” *Journal of Law & Economics* 34 no.1 (1991), 1-23.

⁸⁷ Leonard E. Carlson, *Indians, Bureaucrats, & Land: The Dawes Act & the Decline of Indian Farming* (Westport, C.T.: Greenwood Press, 1981). ⁹⁴ The Dawes Act, 8 February 1887. *PBS*

<http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/eight/dawes.htm>

around assimilation, and the effective extinction of traditional North American Indian ways of life, and learning to use the land in the appropriate way (appropriate according to Euro-American norms) was central to mission-schooling.

The implementation of Mission Schools for the children of North American Indians combined U.S. education policy and the Dawes Act, with the Social Darwinist concept of Recapitulation. Recapitulation, proposed in 1866 by the German evolutionist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), posited that, in brief, biogenetic differences between the races placed non-Western (essentially non-Christian) adults to be mentally no more than children, and thus in need of improvement. This echoes the sentiments of Locke some 200 years previously, although as noted, Locke's

differences were based on the capacity to reason and to reason toward God, rather than biogenetics *per se*. Throughout colonial times, Christian education had been understood as key to the salvation of "heathen hoards." In 1754, Rev. Eleazar

Wheelock opened his Indian Charity-school in Connecticut, in 1769 attempted to educate, civilize, and Christianize North American Indian children from various tribes with the hope they would be missionaries and schoolteachers to their peoples. By removing them from their traditional lifeways and curing "them of such savage and sordid Practices, as they have been inured to from their Mother's Womb," Wheelock believed he was fulfilling his duty to God, and would also help ease tensions and

violence between the Indigenous peoples of North America and the settlers.⁸⁸ Despite fervent but fruitless attempts at making extinct their Indigenous ways of living, Wheelock eventually turned his attentions to Dartmouth College and the education of White boys instead.⁸⁹ A few decades later however, several tribes saw the benefits of a European-style education for their children, but on their own terms. By 1836, before the Trail of Tears relocation (1838-39), the Cherokee had established over 200 classrooms for their children teaching boys and girls both a range of practical skills, and more refined competences such as Latin.⁹⁰ By 1869 however, North American Indians in the U.S. had no say in the education of their children.

Well-meaning reformers believed that the poverty and deprivation of reservation life, along with traditional North American Indian lifeways, could be eradicated by instilling the civilizing habits of (largely Protestant) Christianity to the Native people of North America, with Sunday worship, manual labor, working to the clock, European hygiene standards, and appropriate dress codes all contributing to

civilizing the savage. North American Indian children were required by law to attend school, either reservation day or boarding schools, or off-reservation boarding

⁸⁸ Laura Murray, "'Pray Sir, Consider a Little': Rituals of subordination and Strategies of Resistance in the Letters of Hezekiah Calvin and David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, 1764-1768," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* series 2, 4 no.2/3 (1992), 49.

⁸⁹ Calloway, Colin G. *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth*. Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Press, 2010.

⁹⁰ Devon Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

schools;⁹¹ albeit somewhat later Hunt Jackson was amongst those who supported this position.

To clarify the link between civilization and education, the 1880 amendment to the 1876 Indian Act automatically enfranchised any Indian who gained a degree; in effect an educated Indian was classed a citizen of the U.S. Education. Education into Euro-American ways was perceived as a prime force in assimilating North American Indians into Euro-American society, and thereby ensuring the eradication of the indigene.⁹² By 1880, 7,000 North American Indian children were enrolled in federally financed, missionary run schools such as the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, the first U.S. off-reservation Indian boarding school which opened in 1878, and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School run by Col. Henry Pratt who aimed to, “kill the Indian [to] save the man.”⁹³ At these educational institutions

children moved “from ignorance toward knowledge, and from helplessness toward competence” by learning skills in civilized handicrafts, such as manual labor and European-style domestic duties;⁹⁴ agricultural work being key in this progress.

⁹¹ Noriega, “American Indian Education in the United States”.

⁹² Jon A. Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

⁹³ Stephanie Pratt in G. Russell, “The Mapmaker.” *Native Peoples* (May-July 1998), 70-74, or in Nies, *Native American History*, 29 as ‘kill the savage, kill the Indian [and] ...save the man’

⁹⁴ William J. McGee, “Strange Races of Men,” *The World’s Work* (August 8, 1904), 5188.

At the 1887 Lake Mohonk (Friends of the Indian) 5th Annual Meeting, Senator Clinton B. Fisk clarified the importance of education and agriculture in the assimilation process. He cited from the *Secretary of the Interior Report*, 1886 by

Senator Dawes in which Dawes stated the government must put the North American Indian:

on his own land, furnish him with a little habitation, with a plow, and a rake, and show him how to go to work to use them ... The only way is to lead him out into the sunshine, and tell him what the sunshine is for, and what the rain comes for, and when to put his seed in the ground.⁹⁵

Raking and seeding is exactly what we find in the photograph of the Soboba Indian boys. Dressed in their European-style clothes, hair cut short (in Euro-American rather than traditional North American Indian style) and armed with the tools of their new agrarian life, they farm a small patch of enclosed land on their reservation. With what appears to be their mission-school house close by, these boys are being assimilated in the sunshine as Fisk and Dawes requested; they, and the land are being civilized by cultivation.

⁹⁵ Henry Laurens Dawes in David Phillips Hansen, *Native American, The Mainline Church, and the Quest for Interracial Justice* (Saint Louis: Chalice Press, 2016), 62, & for proceedings about various late-1880s Lake Mohonk conferences see <http://www.maquah.net/Historical/Mohonk.html>

Conclusion

In conclusion, the postcard “Civilizing the ‘Redman’” which shows 10 young North American Indian boys tilling and planting their Soboba mission-school plot of land, clearly articulates the Euro-American developmental understanding of land-use grounded on political economic models that sought to make extinct traditional North American Indian lifeways.⁹⁶ From Locke, we have a Christian-based notion of improved, enclosed land being not only rational, but indicating an advanced level of progress away from the state of nature through his understanding of the Law of

Nature which allowing the colonial appropriation of native land because “enough and as good” was left. Further, we have Locke’s belief that labor granted property rights allowing for trade and social contracts which moved a peoples away from the handtomouth existence of living in the state of nature. From Smith we have his notion of agriculture correlating with intelligence and civilization; a theory that influenced America’s founding fathers and thus the federal policies of the United States. With Locke’s *Tabula Rasa* conviction correlating with Smith’s useful-education thesis, a clear link is established between schooling, agriculture, and civilization. This link is solidified in Social Darwinist Manifest Destiny ideology that determined inferior land-use as indicative of an unfit race in the evolutionary stakes,⁹⁹ and thus missionschooling was instituted as key to the assimilation process.

⁹⁶ R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London: Routledge 1987 [1922]), 252-56. ⁹⁹ John L. Esposito, Darrell J. Fasching & Todd Lewis, *Religion and Globalization: World Religions in Historical Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 40.

Thus, the fruitful use of land was central to the colonial Euro-American understanding of civilization, and this is clearly evident in American federal thinking from Jefferson onwards. With its derivation in the Dawes Act and the mission-school policy, the Soboba boys are engaged in a process of domesticating nature to make extinct their Indigenous culture. In essence, they are cultivating the land to cultivate their minds in a form of Lockean-based Social Darwinism, that united conceptions of nature, religion, development, and progress to “Civiliz[e] the ‘Redman’”.

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