

The Morning Star.

"GOD HELPS THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES."

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SENATOR TELLER'S VIEWS ON THE SIOUX BILL AS RECENTLY EXPRESSED IN CONGRESS.

UNFULFILLED TERMS OF THE TREATY OF 1868—INDIANS SHOULD NOT BE RECOGNIZED AS A TREATY MAKING POWER—ADVISABILITY OF ABROGATING ALL TREATIES—COMPULSORY EDUCATION—ELEVATE THE WOMEN—PUT WHITE SETTLERS ON EVERY ALTERNATE SECTION OF THIS SO CALLED INDIAN LAND.

"We located these Sioux on this great reservation in Dakota in 1868. The Sioux Nation formerly occupied pretty nearly all the north-west country, including Colorado, Nebraska, Dakota, Wyoming, and Montana to some extent. We located them on an area about as large as the State of Indiana. We entered into a contract with these Indians that if they did certain things the Government would do certain other things. We first made an agreement with them; we then ratified that agreement by statute; and one of the things that we agreed to do was that whenever an Indian should go out and locate upon a piece of land the Government would build him a house. That is in the contract. We agreed further, that whenever he did that, the Government would furnish him a good American cow and a good yoke of oxen. Two thousand five hundred and nineteen of these Indians complied on their part with that statute. They built their houses. Whether they built them with the aid of the Government, or whether they built them alone, the houses were built. The Government avoided expense except in a very small sum, and the estimate made by the Interior Department was that the Government owed to each of these Indian families not less than \$500 to pay them for building the house as they were required by the treaty. Not a single cow has ever been furnished these Sioux, not a single yoke of oxen, in accordance with that treaty, that I am aware of.

Under the treaty, we agreed, among other things, that for every thirty school children we would establish a school—an exceedingly foolish contract, I will admit. We have not furnished one school for thirty children, and yet the contract was solemnly made, and the Government according to all rules ought at least, if they do not carry out the contract in its letter, carry it out in its spirit. Making a fair estimate, in 1884 we owed the confederated bands of Sioux a million and a half of money that we had failed to appropriate as we ought to have appropriated under that provision of the treaty of 1868. I do not remember how much more we owe them by the other provisions, but it is a very large amount. I can turn to it in a moment. The estimate made in 1883 of what was due these Indians by a failure on the part of the Government to keep the contract, after deducting all appropriations that had been made for schools and all purposes that were included in the contract, is something over \$2,229,000. Add to that the million and a half, and there is something over three and a half million dollars due these Indians

under the treaty of 1868, if we attempt to enforce the contract as we made it.

I do not think it would be wise for the Government to pay all this money under the terms and according to the provisions of the treaty.

I would not carry out the contract by establishing a school for every thirty children, but I would carry out so much of the contract as requires us to furnish to each Indian family that had gone out on a farm a cow and a yoke of oxen, for that is to their advantage and tends to their civilization; and I would take the money that they are entitled to under the school clause and put sufficient educational facilities in their hands and within their right.

I have no objection to this bill except to the last section which provides that when this bill shall have passed both Houses of Congress and have received the Executive sanction, then it shall before taking effect have the sanction of three fourths of the adult males of the tribe. I think it violates the principle of proper legislation. In 1870 it was declared by a provision now in the revised Statutes that no further treaties should be made with Indians, that they should no longer be recognized as a treaty-making power. It was evidently the purpose of the Legislature at that time to deal with them directly, as I say now they ought to be dealt with. I do not pretend to say that we ought not to give them 50 cents an acre, but I do say that it is no very great kindness to pile up money in the Treasury of the United States to be paid out to these Indians year after year to keep them paupers. The legislation of this country with reference to the Indian should be with a view to making him self-supporting, and not for the purpose of providing for the generation to come in idleness and in consequence thereof, in vice.

It is absolutely impossible to elevate the Indian race or any other race till in the sweat of their brow they are taught to earn their bread. No nation in the history of the world ever came up from savagery to civilization except it was by manual labor, and no nation ever will. You may give them \$10 an acre if you choose for their lands, and pay them the interest annually, and the more you pay them the worse they are off, if you pay them in the way payments are now being made. One million seven hundred thousand dollars was spent last year for the support of the Sioux in the way of food and clothing alone! It is not in the interest of Indian civilization that this thing should be continued.

I have only called attention to this that I might enter my protest, as I did years ago in this body when formerly a member of it, against the attempt to treat these people as independent powers. The sooner you bring them within the provisions of American law and compel them to obey the law and give them the protection of the law and legislate here for them as you legislate for the rest of the people of the United States, the sooner you will put the Indian on the high road to civilization, and you never will do it with appropriations and gifts and schools and everything else until you do recognize his right to legislation as we legislate for all others.

The Indians are our wards. Who ever heard of a guardian or a trustee consulting his ward?

Suppose when a guardian goes into court and presents his account it should appear that he had made an improper use of the money, and the court should call him to account, would he say, "My ward wanted me to expend it thus and thus?" He would be turned out of court. These people occupy the relation of wards to the nation, and it is our duty to legislate for them; and if we think they are wise we may consult them; if we think they are unwise, it is our duty to legislate against their will, for the Indian must be, if he is to be preserved, compelled to enter civilization whether he will or whether he wills it not.

I would abrogate every Indian treaty we have ever made. I would commence and legislate with honesty and with intelligence with reference to this great question; and when, the American Senate and the American House of Representatives are compelled to legislate independently of the wishes or the will of the Indian, there will not be put upon the statute-book such legislation as has gone there year after year. We submit the question to the Indian where he will go; he proposes to locate where it suits his convenience, not with reference to the future, but to the present. We submit the question to him whether he will educate his children, and if he declines to educate them, we admit that this great nation is without the power to compel it, and we can not compel it unless you require him to agree by treaty, or unless you abrogate the treaties already made.

The Government of the United States need not be delicate about the protection of treaties, for there can not be found, I think, upon the statute-book in the entire range of Indian legislation a single act where I can not point out to you an infringement or violation of treaties, violations, too, in their fundamental and essential particulars, violations in everything that particularly affects the Indians, full of things that are useless to him and valueless to us; and that is the character of the legislation that has prevailed in this country for the last fifty years. As I said the other day, and I said it knowingly, if the enemies of this race had dictated the legislation it could have been but little worse than it has been, could have been but little better calculated to destroy and keep them in their present condition than it has been. What I want to do and what I insist upon is, not to violate the statutes, but to abrogate treaties and then legislate for their good as we legislate for our own citizens. Shall we say that we are incapable? Shall it be said that the American Congress is not big enough to grapple with this question? It has been presented to us in a thousand ways by men devoted and earnest, who have studied it from time to time, and yet we are too ignorant to legislate unless we consult these ignorant poor people who know not what they want, and who are determined not to receive that which we insist is for their benefit and which we know is only for their protection and their salvation.

Mr. President, you may give them land by the league, you may give them food, you may give them clothing, but they will be Indians until you compel them to come under the laws of the land and to obey and respect the laws,

and give them the protection of the laws. You can not induce many of these tribes to put their children in school who ought to go. You may put their males, but many of them have declined to allow their females to go to school. It is the female Indian who should be put in school whether the Indian wills it or whether he does not. She should be put there and taught to do the work of a housewife, because it is an admitted fact everywhere that the mothers have more influence over the coming generation than the fathers, and we have failed very generally to reach the Indian woman, while we have endeavored to raise the Indian man. You may bring up all the Indian tribes until they get to be Solons, if you please, and if you leave the Indian women in degradation, in ignorance, and in vice you will have the next generation of the character of the mothers.

I have before the Senate a bill for compulsory education. I have not any doubt that it will never receive the assent of this body, because it will be said it is in violation of existing law; it is violation of treaties made by which they are to send, if they choose, their children to our schools.

We probably have escaped practically the era of war. We have probably got where there will be very little money paid out. It has been repeated on this floor and in the public documents only a few years since, that in the period of ten years the Government spent at the rate of \$22,000,000 a year in Indian wars, and we have now an Indian war on our hands in Arizona and New Mexico and that region of country that will cost more money before it is concluded than the Government has paid in the last five years for Indian education. The Senate were told again and again by the public authorities charged with this trust that if they would furnish the money to put those children in school it would act as a hostage and there would be no more war. I could have taken the children of fifty Apache Indians and put them in school and saved one hundred and fifty lives in that country and millions of money; but in the absence of power in the executive department to compel children to go to school, they could not be put in school, and they have been roaming over the country, and their parents are now on the war-path. I do not know that there will be another war; I did not believe three years ago that there would be another war; and yet there may be a war in the Sioux Nation, there may be a war in other sections; but if you take the children of the leading Indians and, if they are willing, put them in schools, and if they are not willing take them and put them in schools, I will guarantee that you will have peace in all the Indian borders.

Mr. President, there is but one method out of this difficulty. I have repeated it before, years ago, in the Senate Chamber; I repeated it when it became my duty to study this question with more care than I had before; and I repeat it now after the experience I have had; and that is, to put the Indian children into manual-labor schools and educate them, not simply in books, but educate them to blister their hands in honest toil, and then make them citizens of the United States, giving to them all the protection of the law and demanding from them the respect to the law which we demand from every other portion of our people.

I called attention yesterday to the fact that this bill left a large extent of agricultural land in the hands of a very small number of Indians, comparatively, and it seems to me that if it is wise and proper to take a portion of it, it must be wise and proper to take more of it; and if the compensation made to the Indians—50 cents an acre—is fair, it would be fair if made

as to the rest taken. Provided the sum paid for the present land is sufficient, the sum proposed in the amendment will be sufficient, for it is the same.

The bill provides that as to the residue of this land it shall be patented to the tribes. After it is patented to the tribe it may be patented to individuals, which patents will override *pro tanto* the patent to the tribe. That leaves all the unallotted land, which must be several million acres, in the hands of the tribe as a tribe under a patent. Just how that will ever be delivered from the tribe, if it becomes necessary, is a very intricate and difficult question.

I think it would be perfectly safe to put in a provision here that the President of the United States may, if he sees fit, allow alternate settlement, through this tract of country to be taken by settlers on paying 50 cents an acre. If the President should be of the opinion that the Indians needed this land, or if the President should be of the opinion that such settlement might be inimical to the interests of the Indians, then, of course, he would not allow the settlement. I have also put in a provision that he may make all necessary rules and regulations to protect the rights of the Indians and enforce the intercourse laws, which, of course, will only follow as long as the tribal relation is maintained. I called attention yesterday to the fact that this tract of country would make 83,250 farms of 160 acres each, and it does seem to me that it is unwise in the interest of the Indians, that it is unwise in the interest of the white settlers of that section of country, that this great extent of territory should be locked up as it is locked up for twenty-five years by the bill as it stands.

I know that this suggestion is a departure from the long-established rule with reference to dealing with the Indian tribes and with the Indians. Ever since the organization of the Government we have followed a policy of isolation with reference to Indians upon the theory, I suppose—I do not know what other—that the vices of the whites would ultimately destroy the Indians in their innocence and purity. The result has not been such, I think, as to induce any one to defend it very earnestly and very enthusiastically, but if that has been the correct policy heretofore it is practically impossible to continue it hereafter. We have segregated this section of country and put these Indians upon it by themselves, under the bill as it now stands. In my judgment the best thing that we can do for the Indians, after he has had what land he is entitled to allotted to him (which, of course, the President would see that he got), is to give him intelligent, reputable white neighbors and associates. I believe if every alternate section could be occupied by a white settler and if that was the fact there would still be abundance of land and some more left for the allotment as provided under the bill. When that is done, then the Indian comes in daily contact not with the rougher element of society, but with the better class of people who go out to make their permanent homes on these prairie lands. The Indian children would come in contact with the white men's children. If they went to school at all on the reservation, they would go to school with the white children. If they attended church, they would attend church with white people and solely with Indians. In this intercourse they would be taught, first, the English language necessarily; and, secondly, by example they would be taught all the advantages of civilized life; and at the same time the Indians would be protected in every right that belongs to them.

I know that this is an innovation. I under-

stand that, and yet I believe some of the men who have given the most careful attention to this subject are of the opinion that the time has passed for continuing the old policy of isolation. Because it is proposed to open this section of country to the white settler, it does not follow that the Indian will be despoiled. The bill first provides for his allotment and his patent, and then the residue, according to my amendment, the President in his judgment may if he sees fit, give to the settler. The land that is left is of vast extent. I think the committee have failed perhaps to recognize the fact that this extent of country is too much for those people, even if they and all their descendants are to be agriculturists. The section reserved is twice as large as the State of Vermont. It is more than half as large as the State of Indiana. It is half as large as Kentucky; it is half as large as Maine; it is half as large as several other flourishing and populous States. I can not speak from actual knowledge of this land, but I am informed that it is capable of sustaining a very large agricultural population; and yet the whole Indian tribe provided for in this bill, I think it is safe to say, does not exceed 20,000 Indians. It is not to be supposed that the increase of these Indians can make a proper appropriation of this land, and some day it is to be cut up and divided, because nobody supposes that the people of the United States, when land becomes scarce, will consent to the appropriation, even though it may be under valid ownership of a great extent of country upon which here is no cultivation, no occupation, and no civilization. We might just as well meet this question now as postpone it for five or ten years, and put the settler with the Indian side by side under such regulations as the President may make, but see that only a reputable and respectable class of people become the occupants of that portion of the Indian lands.

I do not suppose that there will be very much disposition to adopt this amendment, because of its novelty and newness, but at least I wanted to make the suggestion. I wanted to present it so that it might not be said hereafter when this question comes up, the Senate acted in ignorance of the vast extent of land it was appropriating and tying up for at least the next twenty-five years.

SENATOR DAWES.

(On the Sioux Bill.)

ABSORB THE INDIANS INTO THE BODY POLITIC—TO THIS END WE MUST MAKE HASTE SLOWLY.

If this were a new question, and if we were embarking anew upon an effort to make the Indian a self-sustaining citizen of the United States and relieve the country of the burden of the present administration of Indian affairs, and if we had this land at our disposal to do with as we pleased, I would go heartily with the Senator from Colorado in the proposition which he makes, for I believe the theory which the Senator has advanced is the correct one. I think that generally it is coming now to be understood, since we have come to understand that we can not kill off the Indian and relieve ourselves of him in that way, that the best mode of relieving us of him is by absorbing him into the body-politic in the way suggested by the Senator from Colorado, mixing him as fast as possible with the white population of the country, and bringing the influences of contact with civilization to bear upon him on all sides. It is the true theory without doubt.

The Senator says, however, that we may meet this question as well now as by and by. I do not agree with him in that respect. We must go slowly in this work.

There are good, honest, earnest people in

this country who can not await the working out of the forces in their ordinary and legitimate and normal way, and they want, by an enactment first to abrogate all the treaties with the Indians and throw them out upon the public without a home in which to dwell while they operate upon them, and then to declare that an Indian, *volens volens*, shall be taken by force and set upon 160 acres of land in severalty, and then say the work is done.

We have not this land, to begin with, to do with as we please, if we have any regard for our treaty obligations. This bill depends for its ultimate effect upon the consent of three-fourths of the adult Indians who we have covenanted shall stay there forever and not be interfered with by any white man. I hope, I believe, that they will give their consent to this bill for many reasons which can be presented to them. I believe that that vast territory, 33,000 square miles, four times as large as the State which I represent and five or six times as large as three or four put together of the original States of this Union, is not forever to remain in the bosom of this great State of Dakota set apart merely for 28,000 Indians. But I believe the change can best come, will come, and can only come consistently with the faith of the United States by a religious observance on her part of her treaty obligations.

While many Indians are coming to believe very fast that the best way for them is to push out among the white people and mingle with them, there is a very strong element and a controlling element among those Indians that holds off from all contact with them.

This whole body of 33,000 square miles is held in common by six different tribes of Indians, and we are bound to secure to them their title in common. In order that each one of them might be safe from what could be done with the other tribes, it was provided in the treaty that no foot of the land should be taken from them in common without the written consent of three-fourths of the male adults of all the tribes. Now it is proposed by the bill to obtain their consent to the opening to settlement right through the center of it of 11,000,000 acres, just about half of it, a strip of itself twice as large as my own State and equal to five of the original States of the Union—as fine a country as the sun rises upon in all this nation, enough to make of itself one of the great Western States of this Union, and I hope that nothing will get into the bill that will put off that day. I hope that nothing, although in and of itself it may be good, but which we can see will have a tendency to alienate the Indians from this measure and prevent our obtaining their acceptance of it in confirmation of their treaty, will be done.

Not only do we open that, but we take the remainder and divide it up into six separate reservations, and take the title out from under this deed in common, and give to each tribe a separate title to their reservation.

Hereafter the time will come which is just as certain to come as the growth of this nation is to continue, when more of this land is to be opened to the white man, and less of it will be confined to the Indian, and the time is sure to come too, when the Indian will see that it is consistent with his best interests to take his abode among the white men, and to take white men among them in homes and farms side by side. Yet, it has not come to these Sioux. It is but ten years since they were all wild blanket Indians, gathered fifteen years ago there because they were wild, warlike Indians, and set apart there in that great country so far from the white man that we were willing to make these great and generous and expensive and burdensome stipulations in their behalf in order to induce them to give up their title to lands elsewhere.

Now, I say, we propose to cut up the remainder into six separate reservations and take it out from under this common title, so that hereafter we have but to negotiate with each one of these tribes as to their particular reservation. When the time shall come, after the white man has gone in upon this that is opened to-day and settled there among them, and after the benefit of this fund shall be felt among these Indians and demand for more of their lands shall increase and the Indian himself shall have been set up in severalty as far as he is fit to be set up in severalty, then negotiation with each one of these tribes will be easy, and the result which the Senator says ought to come will certainly come; but to insist upon it in this bill with the present feeling among these Indians is in my opinion to destroy the bill altogether.

If this bill ever reaches port it will be by a

perilous passage between Scylla and Charybdis—those on the one hand who are disposed to deprive the spoiled Indian of his possessions and appropriate them to the use of the white man, and those who are disposed rigidly to regard his rights under treaty stipulations and to yield nothing in this legislation that would not be a fair and proper compensation to the Indian in treating between man and man. The bill is an attempt to compromise between these two conflicting forces. They have been contending with the Indian for more than fifty years, and in all that contest he has always been the sufferer. No man has described it with more accuracy and truth than a clear-headed Indian himself described it to a committee of this body when he said that there never came a commission or committee to talk with the Indian that the Indian, when he went away, did not miss something.

SENATOR PLUMB.

(On the Sioux Bill.)

THE INDIANS HAVE ONLY A POSSESSORY RIGHT TO THEIR LANDS—50 CENTS AN ACRE MORE THAN ADEQUATE—THE NON-FULFILLMENT OF THAT SECTION OF THE TREATY OF 1868 PROVIDING FOR SCHOOLS THE FAULT OF THE INDIANS AND NOT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I want to say something about the price of these lands, as my colleague has dwelt upon it, and the policy of the Government with reference to that price. The Government has for the last forty years practically recognized itself as a trustee without pecuniary interest in the public domain. The homestead law was the culmination of that theory. The public lands are, in theory at least, held for the benefit of the class of people who are not able to pay what the lands might commercially be worth, and the policy has been to encourage their sale to this class of people.

Millions of acres are entered every year under the homestead law that are worth from one to five and ten dollars an acre, and other millions of acres of land are entered under the pre-emption law for which a dollar and a quarter per acre is paid which are worth from two to five times what the settlers pay for them. These lands have most largely gone into the hands of those who but for this policy could not have obtained lands for homes.

I believe this general policy of the Government should be observed as near as may be in opening the Sioux reservation to settlement. As to the compensation provided for in this bill being inadequate and unjust to the Indian, we all know that the courts have recognized the Indians as having only a possessory right. We are not acquiring from the Indian by this bill the fee, for the reason that he has not got it to sell. We are paying him 50 cents per acre simply for his right of possession. If I was to express my own candid opinion on this subject, I would say that the price proposed to be paid is too great, and that we are endowing the Indians with wealth to which they are not entitled and of which they can never make any good use, and the possession of which will be a stimulus to cupidity and avarice in all our dealings with them in the future. An Indian tribe with a vast sum of money will inevitably be demoralized, and be the subject of rapacity on the part of their neighbors.

If, instead of paying them this 50 cents an acre, we had settled them in the exercise of our undenied power upon such portions of the reservation as they were competent to occupy and to cultivate as they ought, and had made some useful and sensible and comprehensive provision for their maintenance for the time being, and for the giving to them of stock and farming implements and instruction in agriculture for a period of years, we should have done much better for them, I think, than will ever be accomplished for them under the provisions of this bill.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], familiar with this subject, calls my attention to the fact that we are reserving for the members of this tribe nearly 4,000 acres for each family of six, an amount which they can never make proper use of, a body of land unnecessarily large and beyond their capacity to use. This bill, instead of leaving them twelve or thirteen million acres, as it does, should have taken away at least 6,000,000 acres more, and I think it would be better if we would take away 10,000,000 more, and leave them a quantity which they might be supposed at least to cultivate as a means to a livelihood.

This bill is liberal to the Indian. It is not

only liberal to the Indian, but it is so liberal that it will be a fruitful parent of trouble from the very moment of its enactment on through twenty, thirty, and perhaps fifty years of coming time.

The land which we open to settlement will not be settled upon fairly until we shall be called upon, and justly, too, to subject more of this reservation to settlement. We shall not more than enter on the expenditure of the enormous sum of money we are to derive from the sale of this land until we shall be confronted with all sorts of projects for its extravagant expenditure. We are opening the door to trouble; we are temporizing with this question, as we always have done, doing to-day only the things that we are compelled to do, totally regardless of what to-morrow will bring, of its duties and of its obligations.

I shall consent to this bill when properly amended, reluctantly, because I am advised by the authority of the Indian Committee that something of this kind must be done now in order to effectuate even a partial settlement of the difficulties existing in Dakota. It is not what I would have proposed, but there has been adopted the principle, unwisely I think, of appealing to the individual Indian for his consent, and he has been told by the authority of a committee sent out there for that purpose by Congress that a measure substantially of the kind now before us would be adopted by Congress and submitted to him for his approval, and we are told that we must take this now or that all that work must be thrown aside and nothing be done perhaps for many years to come.

I think it was a mistake to say that to the Indian—to make him such a proposition. I think it was a mistake to appeal practically to Indian suffrage on this question. Congress ought to have legislated wisely and justly and thoroughly upon this subject, as it has ample power to do, without going through the form of an appeal to the Indian himself, to whom judgment is a mere whim, and whom to consult in the way proposed is simply to give an inordinate idea of his own importance. But, as I said, I propose to consent to it when it is properly amended, leaving the Indians in possession of this vast estate and imposing on the hardy settlers who shall go upon the lands we open to settlement by this bill the burden of paying to the Indians more than they are entitled to for what they relinquish, because for the time being it is the best that can be done.

I wish to propose an amendment in section 17. Section 17 continues in effect for twenty years the provision of the seventh article of the treaty of 1868, which I will read to the Senate:

ARTICLE VII. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provision of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

Undoubtedly there was in the minds of those who executed this treaty the idea of a school-house on every hill, and the Indians trudging their way thereto every day, carrying their dinners with them according to the mode of white children in the agricultural districts of the United States. But that has not been realized, and it never could have been conceived as practical by any person who has ever addressed himself to the subject seriously. I think it is a very significant illustration of what would probably result if we should turn the Indians over to the Army. Utopia would not be a circumstance.

Not only was their provision then absolutely impracticable but it has remained so ever since. The nature of the country itself is a conclusive bar to any such thing as a school-house at such frequent intervals as this would imply. The nature of the Indian, as he has impressed it upon our knowledge during all our experience with him, shows conclusively that no such condition of things could ever be brought about. The Army of the United States would not have been sufficient to have compelled the children of the Sioux Indians to have attended these school-houses if they had been erected, as they fortunately were not.

It may be said that if the treaty was not carried into effect and no attempt made to do so, no harm was done; but did anybody ever know of a provision of that kind that did not in

Continued on Fourth Page.

Eadle Keatah Toh,

—OR—

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Gen. Sheridan's Plan.

An old proverb says, "Well begun is half done." Equally true would be the statement, that to have a settled plan of action is the work "well begun."

Viewing on this basis a plan for the solution of our Indian differences, it can hardly be said that the work is *well begun*, inasmuch as no plan is as yet sufficiently unified to claim the endorsement of the country as "*the plan*." Certain features, however, have become cardinal, viz.: Justice for the foundation, land in severalty, education and citizenship the superstructure. The growth of public sentiment that insists on strict integrity and respect for the right in the adjustment of the future status of the Indian, owes much to the policy inaugurated by General Grant, which brought into action, in Indian affairs, the religious organizations of the country; placed the churches alongside of the Executive and roused the slumbering philanthropy of the nation. True this policy like others shared the vicissitudes of changing administrations, and before well tried was abandoned in fact, if not in name. But the attention of the people had been aroused and springing from this initiative, began the present wide spread interest which has resulted, so far, in largely increased educational efforts and in plans innumerable for the benefit of the Indian race and a final settlement on an equitable basis of those conflicting property and race differences, which have so long contributed to separate the Indian and Anglo-Saxon peoples.

Many of the plans having in view the desired end have been both too crude and too complex, and have existed in altogether too indefinite a form to command the support necessary to their adoption. What is wanted is a plan applicable at once, progressive in action, radical, feasible, effective.

To my mind the "plan" which most nearly meets the requirements of the case, so far as my experience has given me an understanding of its needs, and which could well be taken as a base of action, is that proposed by General Sheridan, and published in the January STAR. Inasmuch as it compasses land in severalty, compensation for all unallotted territory, safe investment of funds, subsistence and aid during the transition state and ultimate payment of the whole debt—the Indian meanwhile possessing and improving his property, and the same being increased in value by the fact that adjacent lands have been settled and railroads and civilization have entered into hitherto forbidden territory.

This plan is the more worthy of consideration in that it emanates from an officer who has had large experience in Indian matters, and also

substantially includes and develops the platform of the last Mohonk conference which was that of the authorized representatives of the philanthropic people of the east, whose motives and interest in the matter are beyond question or cavil; and it furthermore commends itself to the western population, as it opens in a just and regular manner a large field for their enterprise and industry.

Some amplification it undoubtedly needs; for instance, *the family* that is to get the 320 acres should be a specified number; the selection should be provided for; a flexibility of adjustment to circumstances when lands requiring irrigation are in question; provision for an educational fund from land revenue, distinct from that applicable to general purposes of civilization; provisions for entail of land for term of years, and citizenship, to follow as a condition of settlement on allotment.

Following this plan a little in the process of development we will find it obviates any disastrous or cruel removals to more distant points, and that its provisions will be hailed with delight and immediate application by a portion of the Indians constituting from 25 to 50 per cent of the whole, and that with such a leadership in the new departure the work becomes much simplified. Further, by the Indians following natural selection, viz., by the water courses, springs and woodlands, using the privilege of first choice, they become by self-interest separated, whereas the same interest now holds them en masse. The intervening lands then becoming settled by whites as would soon be the case would lead to, and compel intercourse and imitation; also the influx of a new population would bring money and work, competition in trade, place the opportunity to earn money in reach of the Indian, and by the destruction of trading monopolies the power of the dollar would be increased, and the value of his labor doubly enhanced by creating a demand, and a market and securing current mercantile rates.

I am perfectly aware that we have erred hitherto in legislating for the Indians en masse, and not recognizing the different requirements of varying stages of civilization, and by treating all alike have discouraged and crushed many an effort of progress; but having in view the need of immediate action it seems to me that a measure of general application as broad as outlined in the plan presented by General Sheridan would be so fraught with good to the majority that special cases could well be left to special legislation as the need became apparent.

A. J. STANDING.

Senator Plumb.

Continued From Third Page.

some way result in a claim? Even so sensible a person as the recent Secretary of the Interior, allowed his judgment to be controlled in favor of a sentiment that in some way the Indian had been deprived of something that he ought to have by reason of our not carrying out this provision, that he should be compensated for in money, and the actuary was employed to determine the amount of money we owed the Indians by reason of the fact that we had not built a school-house for every thirty children in the Sioux Nation and employed a teacher for each school-house, and the sum found due figured up into the millions.

Another result which grew out of the adoption of this article was discontent among the Indians. They expected great things, and they have been swift to point out the dereliction of the Government and to excuse themselves for idleness, turbulence, discontent, by pointing to a violated treaty. It is true, as will be seen, that they obligated themselves to compel their children to attend the schools and that they never did so, nor would they have done so if the school houses had all been there twice over. But the evil of the Government failing to ful-

fill a promise made was brought about and still exists.

I propose that that provision shall be qualified. In the first place it ought not to be extended beyond the term originally provided. The twenty years provided in the treaty will elapse in seven years or eight years at the farthest. I want the claim, whatever it may be now, to be cut off exactly where it is. It was \$3,500,000 at the last account. The account has been running for a year since it was actuaried. I want to have it cut off now so that it will not assume any larger proportions than now exist.

While I am as desirous as any one can be, I think, that all Indian youth shall be properly educated, I should hope we would address ourselves to the subject in a practical way. No one pretends, the Senator from Massachusetts would not himself pretend, that it is effective to carry out such provision as it is proposed by this bill to extend for twenty years longer. He will not pretend that it is a wise provision if it could be carried out. He knows perfectly well that such a thing as Indian children prompted by their parents, prompted by their own instincts to learn, going from their houses to the school-house and going back again at night and repeating that operation day after day during the entire school year is something that it is not to be expected and can not in the nature of things possibly be brought about. The parents would not compel their children thus to go to school, and the children will not go of their own volition, and even if they would the plan is not a good one. There are many reasons not necessary to be mentioned, which will occur to any one, which show that the whole plan is impracticable and unwise.

It is not of advantage to the Indians themselves, and they know it. The Indian will only send his children to school as he is tempted by the food and clothing which they are to get, and the children will never voluntarily go except upon the same inducement. The benefits of education will not attract either parent or scholar among the Indians. It is the toothsome meal, the highly colored calico, the beads, the trinkets, the frills and furbelows which have marked our efforts at civilization among the Indians which furnish inducement to accept the benefits of education.

Other Indian Schools.

There is talk of some new buildings being erected for the improvement of the school, in the spring. Among other things, there will be a large barn built that will cost not less than \$3,000.—[Genoa (Nebr.) Enterprise.]

The Ponca have a new school superintendent, Mr. H. F. Gordon of Tennessee, and his wife will be matron. There are more Ponca children than can be accommodated in the one school.

A ten acre field near Wayne Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, a half hour's ride from Philadelphia, has been purchased, on which is to be erected an \$8,000 building to be used as a summer home for the Lincoln Institution, Phila.

We called at the Cheyenne school on Monday and found the machinery of that important civilizer running vigorously and smoothly along. The large new barn has been completed and it presents quite an imposing appearance. The school work in both the school room and industrial department is progressing nicely with nearly one hundred Indian children enrolled. We noticed a large class of boys at work in the wood yard with axes, making chips fly in every direction. The boys are instructed in all such work, Supt. Whiting being a firm believer in the importance of giving his pupils a thorough industrial education, knowing it to be more valuable to them than a mere book knowledge. We understand he intends next spring to make many more improvements in the way of building new fences, planting a large garden and cultivating an increased acreage of land, in all of which the school boys will take active part.—[Cheyenne Transporter.]

Volume 1, Number 1, of *The Indian*, printed at Hagersville, Ontario, has been received. It contains 12 pages of interesting reading matter pertaining to Indians, published fortnightly, and is well worth its subscription price \$1.50 a year.

SCHOOL ITEMS.

Miss Richards, principal of the educational department of the Indian work at Hampton, is with us.

Mr. A. O. Babel who advertises as the cowboy pianist gave us an entertainment remarkable for a certain dash and execution. We have seldom seen our students so enthusiastic as on this occasion.

Mr. Ward of Pittsburg, who contemplates the establishment in Carlisle of "works" for the manufacture of patent car-brakes, visited the school in the company of a number of the leading business men of the town.

Mr. Benjamin Miles in charge of Whites Institute, Houghton, Iowa, was on the list of visitors for the month. Mr. Miles' school is run on the co-educational and industrial principle, and numbers ninety students of whom seventy-five are Indians.

The question discussed at the last meeting of the Boys' Debating Club was, "Resolved, That the Indians be admitted at once to citizenship." The arguments brought forward pro and con, will be given in full in our next issue. The Girls' Society had variety given to their meeting by the election of officers and the discussion of the question, "Which has the greater usefulness wool or cotton?"

A blind Indian boy with no knowledge of English made the trip from New Mexico to Carlisle unattended, reaching us safely on the 16th. This is a pleasing commentary on the trustworthiness of the Railroad companies that had him in charge. The boy's object in coming east is to receive surgical treatment for the recovery of his sight. The Indians are so exceptionally free from blindness that they have no knowledge of even the crudest methods in treating it.

Mr. Amos Miller who has served so efficiently, for several years as a school farmer, has, with his family, removed to Dayton, Ohio. We cannot but greatly deplore Mr. Miller's decision to leave us as both he and his wife in their special department, have contributed much to the general harmony of our work. It is, however, some consolation to know that we can continue to have a lien on the sterling Miller qualities, in the person of David Miller, who succeeds his brother.

Chief Powder Face was in from his ranch on the Canadian on Sunday and occupied a seat on the rostrum in the Arapahoe Sunday school. He was dressed in his Washington suit (a white man's suit given to him at the capitol) and said it made him feel good to see so many of the Arapahoe children in school. The old chief has some progressive ideas, and he wields an influence over his tribe.—[*Cheyenne Transporter*.]

Since the above was set up we have a despatch from Cheyenne Agency saying that Powder Face died suddenly. His son, Clarence, a pupil with us for the past three years, went to his home on the 10th inst., to assist and comfort his mother.

Wanted to see it.

Indian Commissioner Welsh, of Philadelphia, was once negotiating a treaty with the chiefs of a certain tribe, and wished to impress upon them the fact of his confidential relations with the President.

"I have," he said, through the Indian interpreter, "I have the ear of the Great Father." "Stop!" exclaimed an old chief very impressively; "I do not believe it. If you have the ear of the Great Father, show it to us—produce it."

The ear was not produced.—[*Youth's Companion*.]

Steve Williamson, Arapahoe, finding work as an interpreter at the Agency, has gone home to fill that position.

The comforts of the hospital have been added to by the kind thoughtfulness of friends. During the month, a rocking chair was put into the sitting-room and an atomizer into the dispensary by Mrs. Sturge's Sunday School Class, of the Bethany Church, New York. There is a balance on hand which, because of the many places needing it has not yet been appropriated. We are indebted to this same class for bright curtains and pictures furnished the "little boys quarters" some time since. Miss Hickman of Wilmington, Delaware, in her gift of games, a Kaleidoscope, and music box has shortened many weary hours for the sick. For her kindness and that of her friends in subsequently sending a box of fine oranges and to the Bethany Sunday School, the sick desire to make grateful acknowledgement.

The recent trip to Washington of seventeen of our pupils, on the invitation of the Board of Indian Commissioners, will live long in their memories. The visit was marked by pleasant interviews with the heads of the Departments and President and Miss Cleveland. So much was one of the boys impressed with the fact that they met none but titled dignitaries that on the return trip, when hailed by one of the party, he refused to answer. Again he was called, "I cannot answer you," was the reply "until you call me by a title." The title of "Judge" was promptly fitted to him, and will doubtless cling for some time to come. The wonders of the National Museum, Corcoran Gallery and Smithsonian have been the subjects of home letters and much pleasant conversation since their return.

Conference of Indian Commissioners.

The Annual conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners was held at the Riggs House, Washington, on the 21st of January. General Clinton B. Fisk presided and Dr. Sheldon Jackson acted as Secretary.

Justice Strong, Drs. Strieby, Kendall, Gates, Ellenwood, Painter, and others interested in the cause were present, but we regret that limited space forbids our making a report of their proceedings. On the same evening a mass meeting was held in the

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

under the management of the Commissioners, and presided over by General Fisk.

It was our pleasure to be at this meeting and to hear and subscribe to the sound Indian doctrine there set forth, which we give substantially below:

President Gates of Rutgers College said: "It is well to have such good specimens of the Indian before us (referring to the students of the Carlisle School) on which to base our ideas of that race. They act as a corrective to that too prevalent impression that the Indian today is half way between the Mohican of Cooper and, as the newspapers would have us believe, the cow boy of the plains."

We have perhaps oftenest heard our relations to the Indians described as those of Guardian and Ward. Let us apply to these relations the tests that are ordinarily brought to bear upon such cases. No true guardian will abuse a trust but will strive to advance and conserve the interests of his ward. We have not only held back the four or five millions due our wards but have used them! Is this fidelity to a sacred trust? Furthermore, the true Guardian will see that the ward is put in the way of becoming self-supporting; have we fulfilled this clause of our duty to our wards? We cannot defend the past but we can guard the future. To conserve the best interests of the Indian undoubtedly the tribal relation should be dissolved and the reservations opened. I remember when I first heard these doctrines I

thought the man who urged them was trenching on the rights of the Indian, but I have experienced a reversal of opinion, and see now that the Indian can receive no permanent good until he is relieved from the tyranny of the tribe, and removed from the cess-pool of the reservation.

The powerful lever in the elevation of the Indian will be the holding of lands. If there is to be a steady growth toward civilization there must be a piece of land to root in; this has been the history of all people.

We have come from communities to families, but what opportunity has the Indian had to do the same? Take the instance of the Custer massacre, prior to it the Sioux had been driven from point to point eight times. Can we wonder that resentment culminated in a massacre. This people in all their history have been tossed as chips upon the wave, and have had no chance at family life.

It has been said, and not without truth, that "it is every man's stomach that keeps the world moving," but even this incentive to effort is denied the Indian, for like cattle we drive them to the ration issue.

This and many kindred reservation evils are enough to, and do, cut the very nerve of effort.

Another count that I make against the reservation is that if Satan wanted an object lesson showing the possibilities of degradation he would take the reservation. There, cut off, double insulated, how can the currents of life reach them? These conditions cry out for us to let in civilization upon this people, how could we better do it than by putting farmers on every alternate section of land, thus giving them instructors and neighbors in whom they could see object lessons.

Then make the Indian know and fear the law. Such is his defiance of the law to-day that a man successful in outlawry and in eluding vigilance has a far wider influence than the educated boy before me who is fitted to serve his people.

There can be no true family life for any race without property, for land is a perpetual man, if a man dies his representative stands for him, but with the Indians, by reason of their land being held in common, this is not so. Give the Indian land in severalty and law, then reason with him to modify his treaties. It has been said by some that it is not the province of the Government to give religion to this people, but I say the Government is recreant if it does not provide them with that great factor in their elevation. Let the women of the land feel that in the passage of these bills before Congress looking to the welfare of the Indian, they have a work to do. We make strenuous efforts to secure our own rights, let us use the same energy in securing every iota of the rights of the Indian. There has perhaps been no other one thing dwelt upon as much for the cure of the Indian as *extermination*. May we be forgiven the ribald laugh that so often greets this proposal, and with better methods at hand forever abandon it.

At the conclusion of President Gates' remarks, General Fisk said that as there was a young Apache upon the program he concluded that Senator Chace would prefer to follow than to be followed by him. The Apache briefly outlined his history with borrowed English.

"In February 1884 I was brought to the Carlisle school. I left dirt, superstition, ignorance Will dirt, superstition, ignorance, make a man? Never!

I found cleanliness, intelligence, industry. Will cleanliness, intelligence, industry, make a man? I hope to prove they will.

I have been in school half of each day, for fifteen months, working the other half with the carpenter.

I have worked on a farm two months and I hope to get another chance.

When I came I could not speak a word of English. Now I am talking the language. When I say I am an Apache I hope my little speech will help you to see a better way of exterminating my people!"

Senator Chace said, in speaking of Dr. Strieby's very able speech which we regret to have been unable to get. "Dr. Strieby would like a magic wand with which to touch and awaken the moral and mental nature of the Indian. I would like to use that wand on the white man."

Up at the State House is an old parchment written by Thomas Jefferson declaring that "all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness." Here we are with 200,000 people in our midst and we arrogate to ourselves the right to deny them the privileges which we enjoy.

We take the savages from the slums of Europe and give them the ballot. Should we not make greater haste to give the Indian that touch-stone of freedom, that talisman of liberty? The white men who live with the Indians must from self-defense teach them the use of the ballot.

We have educated the blacks to this end, and ethnologists consider the Indian superior to the African.

There is a God who rules over nations and in whose hands are our destinies. He was behind us when our fathers temporized with the slave question until it was washed out in a sea of blood.

We owe the Indian a different mode of treatment. Why, our very missionary work is done from the muzzle of the rifle.

As a people we parade our justice, and claim that no man can be despoiled of his property, and yet we have a bill before Congress to-day looking much more to our own advantage than that of the Indian.

In matters of legislation, the people are too prone to look to their legislators as the responsible parties. No man can go beyond the behests of his constituents; he is bound to do their will. Nor will he or legislation itself step beyond public opinion.

The Sioux Bill proposes, after a certain portion of the reservation is set aside, to divide the remainder of the land into six reservations. Eleven million acres is the amount left, the market value of which would be three dollars an acre, but which we propose to sell at fifty cents an acre, a clear loss to the Indian of 27,500,000. The bill is probably the best that can be made, and we consent to it only because we are afraid the white men will crowd on and prevent getting even that fifty cents.

There are plenty to labor for the elevation of the Indian, but not enough to labor for the elevation of the white man.

HENRY KENDALL

a Pueblo boy, followed Dr. Gates in these words:

My home is at Isleta, 12 miles below Albuquerque New Mexico. I helped my father to herd cattle until I was 10 years old. When there were some children taken to Santa Fe, to school I was taken there by my father on horse back. I was there 8 months in a Catholic school and studied Spanish with very little English. Aug. 23, 1879, we had our examination, all our parents were invited, my father and mother came on horse back as there were no railroads yet. After our examination we returned to our homes. I was at home until some miners came to my father to get some workmen and a boy to carry water from the river to the camp. As my father was the Governor of the village, he spoke to some young men and I volunteered to carry water. I worked there until spring of 1880. About the last of January 1881, I heard of the Albuquerque Indian School. I stopped working and went home. I gave the money to my mother.

I told my parents my intention of going to school. My mother gave me money to buy a suit of clothes. After entering the school a lady teacher told me that there were some children going to Carlisle. She showed me some pictures of the students there, I thought of coming if my parents had no objection. I sent for my father and mother and they came. I told them of my wanting to come east. They were not in favor of it. They said "You want to go to a country that we do not know anything about, among strangers and that I would never get back." I had not made up my mind whether to come or not when my sister came to see what was the matter. She too discouraged me, saying that "It was a shame to leave my mother crying." With tears they talked to me. At times it made me feel like staying by them. The children were to start on Monday, the Saturday before starting a mate at Santa Fe came and told me that he was coming east, that he had left his parents crying like mine. Then we talked with parents and as they would not consent to my coming east I told them only death or sickness would prevent me from coming. At last they consented and stayed till the cars started away with me. I told them we would meet if God spared all our lives. I arrived in Carlisle, February 4, 1881. I got very homesick and regretted that I had left my parents in tears, but soon got over it. February, 1882, my father came to see me and was so pleased with the improvements I had made in such a short time, that he did not speak of my

going home. He talked to the children, and I was called up to interpret his talk, but was unable. In 1883 I was sent to Chambersburg, Franklin County, Pa. I worked four months and a half. I learned how to plant all kinds of vegetables, as the man was a truck farmer. I think I served well for he gave me \$45, and wanted me the next year. In November 1883 I went home, took the money intending to pay my way back if no other children were to go to Carlisle. This time my parents shed tears of joy, and I was glad to find that they had been improving their former condition. When I was four weeks at home Dr. Given came to see me on his way to the San Carlos, Apache Agency. He asked me if I would not like to go with him. I told him I would. We made an effort to get some of my own tribe, but did not succeed. We went to Arizona. Dr. Given used me as an interpreter, because I could talk Spanish and the Apaches could understand me and could see me as a specimen of the schools. After six weeks' stay we secured 49 boys and 5 girls also some chiefs came with us.

I parted with the blessings of my father and mother, and arrived in Carlisle February 3, 1884. I commenced my studies and in April the carpenter's trade. I have worked half a day during the school terms, making doors and window-frames, sash-doors, tables, and have been helping to build houses since. The summer of 1884, I worked at a neighboring farm at \$1.25 per day. After stopping, Capt. Pratt was going out to New Mexico. I bought a trunk and a set of harness, and sent them to my father. This past summer the boys went out to camp, but I stayed and worked at my trade. I have studied grammar, history as far as the administration of A. Lincoln, arithmetic in percentage, in the Fifth Reader, and of Geography I know something about the whole world. All this I have learned since I came away from home."

MISS FLETCHER

Miss Fletcher followed and said: "When I look at these children I think of their homes, or those places where they are herded, that are not homes. You send them home not only to make bricks without straw but to create the bricks. A Carlisle boy whom I knew on going home could not endure the contrast between what he met and left so when night came he sat up rather than share the squalor around him. This aroused the father, who made a bedstead for the boy which in turn led to the building of a special house for him and the providing of the wherewithal needful to carrying on his work. The huddled condition of this people in their homes forbids all true family life.

To see these returned boys able to withstand the pressure of Indian life is remarkable. You say they go back to the blanket. You put so much stress on the blanket! Blankets are what are issued to them, not overcoats. When a returned boy's school suit wears out, what shall he do? It is a very small percentage that return to Indian customs.

In calling your attention to what is necessary to the growth of a people, I would speak of a movement lately inaugurated which teaches the young married couples how to live. The Woman's Indian Associations are building little homes for them on the reservations, which by some diligence on the part of the young couples, can be paid for in installments. The Government barely launches this class educationally, after that, it should establish them in homes and give them the leverage of property. Is it nothing in the favor of these boys that at twelve and thirteen they choose an education in spite of the tears of mothers and of the protests of fathers?"

GENERAL ARMSTRONG spoke briefly on the need of strengthening the Indian to stand. He said in substance, "The Indians are not so far beneath us as behind us. Although a weak and sensuous people they have given us high moral results. There can be nothing more important than co-education and family training for the young people. We are succeeding with this line of work at Hampton, where at the conclusion of their course of study, it is thought desirable that they should marry. Let us look forward to the passage of those bills that will provide homesteads for this people, for there can be no home without a homestead. The forces at work in the interests of the Indian are hydra-headed and mutually annulling, an intelligent policy will do much to work out this difficulty. An admirable feature of the policy of this administration is the appointment of three Army men to serve with civilians as an investigating Committee on reservation affairs. Fighting men understand them."

The National Indian Defence Association.

The National Indian Defence Association organized on the 18th of last November, claims to have struck the key-note in the solution of the Indian problem. Their platform is substantially as follows: That the Indians have a right to existence and subsistence, according to their own normal law. That they are entitled to their tribal state until they elect to forego it. That reservations should be set apart sufficiently large to cover all future necessities for all the Indians of the United States. That any policy looking to the ultimate change of their mode of life should be gradual in its operation.

The Association held a public meeting in Dr. Sunderland's church, Washington, January the 23rd, over which General J. W. Denver presided. The leading thoughts of the speakers of this occasion will be found briefly outlined below:

General Denver called attention to the broken treaties that had guaranteed to the Indians their reservations as long as "grass grows or water runs." Dispossessed of their lands and driven from place to place by the caprice of each succeeding administration, he could not wonder at their distrust of us. "There are those," he said, "who advocate lands in severalty as the solution of this trouble, but in whatever cases this measure has been tested it has been found a failure. The Indians prefer their lands in common until they are able to cope with the settlers around them. Let us give them simply what is theirs, and in return demand only that they be good citizens."

Hon. A. J. Willard said, substantially, "What is this cause we advocate? It is the cause of a people that are in a trough between two great billows of civilization, one toward the rising sun and one toward the setting sun. What are the elements that surround this people? The very worst and most degraded. The question that meets us is how we can teach the Indians to compete with the best and the worst of these influences. Shall this be done by scattering them among the whites or by preserving the community? There is a class who urge lands in severalty and citizenship. But these people disregard the fact that individual competition is the basis of society. It must be evident to the intelligent thinker that the Indian is not prepared for this competition. Neither are they ready for citizenship or lands in severalty, but are even worse than their degraded neighbor, the cow-boy."

The conditions under which these people appeal to us are the same that would meet you if you were deciding on some important question for your immature child.

G. W. Harkins, of the Chickasaws said: "It is one hundred years since the Choctaws and Chickasaws, whom I represent, set up their own Government. We live under a constitution and laws enacted by a legislative body patterned after your own Congress. We have our courts, churches and schools where we educate our boys and girls without it costing you one cent. The Missionaries have helped build us up to what we are, and we will go on working out our salvation if you will but give us the chance. We do not ask your sympathy, we simply demand justice. We are here to protect our homes, and to oppose all bills that have for their object the opening up of our country. We would contend for our tribal relations, the holding of lands in common and the stability of our titles to our homes."

John Jumper of the Seminoles said: "When a language is translated it falls flat so I will say but little. It has always appeared to me that there was safety and protection in the United States Government. My faith is so strong that I cannot think you can betray us. This faith is grounded on the promises made us. I am a Seminole and belong to the so called wanderers or those Indians who will not bear advice. The Seminoles were formerly of Florida and exist to-day as a nation because of a treaty signed by the President and Congress, we became possessed of some money and are using it for schools and other such purposes. We worship the same God, read the same Bible, preach the same Gospel and I cannot believe you will crush us out. But I find bills in Congress to break up our reservations. How can you do this when you see we are not prepared for the change. If a mother is going to make a garment for her child she does not make it for a full grown man. Give us something to fit us! These conditions that you would put on us do not fit us."

An Address from a Delegation of Choctaw Indians to Congress in 1825.

J. L. McDonald, a Choctaw, and the writer of the subjoined address was, when quite a youth, adopted into the family of the Hon. Thomas L. McKenny at that time Chief of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Carnahan, afterwards President of Princeton College, his rare intellectual powers developed in so marked a degree that Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War, proposed that he be made a lawyer. This suggestion was acted upon and in half the usual time devoted to the study of this profession he had mastered it and was qualified for the bar. At this crisis in his history a letter came from his people telling him, "he had one of two things to do—either throw away all that belonged to the white race, and turn Indian; or quit being Indian and turn white man. *The first you can do; the last it is not in your power to do.* The white man will never permit the Indian to come into close fellowship with him or share his prerogatives or advantages." From this moment Mr. McDonald was oppressed by the despotism of his destiny, and when, subsequently, during the practice of his profession in Mississippi, his overtures of marriage were scornfully rejected by a townswoman, he felt his social ostracism to be so hopeless and complete that he ended his unfortunate life.

It was during a brief visit to the Choctaw country that he was chosen by his tribe to accompany a delegation of the Chiefs to Washington, whose cause he so eloquently pleads below:

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1825.

To the Congress of the United States:

As the representatives of the Choctaw nation, and, in part, of the aborigines of this country, we feel ourselves impelled alike by duty and by inclination to address you at the present crisis. The Indians are becoming objects of increasing interest among your people. Sympathy is felt for their condition, and the most benevolent exertions have been, and continue to be, made to improve and civilize them. Under such circumstances, we cannot refrain from giving an expression of our feelings with regard to our condition and prospects. You are an assembly which we have been taught to consider the most august in the world, and into whose hands are committed the destinies of our people. To whom, then, could we more properly address ourselves on the great points connected with our happiness and prosperity?

Our good father the President has spoken to you, and requested you to adopt some measures to improve the condition of the Indian race. He has recommended that all the Indians east of the Mississippi be persuaded to remove and establish themselves to the west; that a certain form of government be provided for them; and that the land to which they may remove be secured to them forever.

Of the policy and practicability of the measure, we will not now express a decided opinion; time alone can determine. Of the motives which prompted the recommendation, we entertain no question. The opinion expressed by the President, that under no pretence should the Indians be forcibly removed from the lands which they occupy, gives us an assurance that his feelings are truly paternal towards us. That opinion accords with the sentiment entertained by all just and reflecting men, and cannot, therefore, fail to be responded to by your honorable body.

We have long been sensible, of our weakness, and we know that, should the government of the United States rise in hostility against us, we must inevitably be exterminated, or driven to the west. We know that the extensive country which you now possess once belonged to our forefathers. We have heard that from a small beginning you have grown to be a great and powerful people; and that, as you advanced, we receded; as you flourished, we decayed. We have been tempted to ask, Why should this be so? Has the Great Spirit frowned upon his red children, that they should thus have withered in your presence? Yet we have been told from the good book that he loves all his children alike, and that his greatest attribute is that of infinite mercy. This we are most willing to believe; and believing, we are led to the natural conclusion that for some great end, only known

to himself, he has permitted us to melt before you; but that the time must come when his interposing hand will be out-stretched in our behalf, and we be made to become like white men.

We rejoice to think that that period is approaching. The voice of the President, the sentiments of philanthropy which seem to pervade the people, the schools and religious institutions which have been established among us—all give us the consoling assurance that we are not doomed to extinction. We have become sensible that one great reason of the power and prosperity with which our white brothers are so eminently favored, has been the general diffusion of literature and the arts of civilized life among them. You have institutions to promote and disseminate the knowledge of every branch of science; you have a government, and you have laws all founded upon those principles of liberty and equality which have ever been dear to us; for, in all our vicissitudes of fortune, and notwithstanding the constant and gradual diminution of our numbers, we have never been the slaves of any Power, and we trust in the Great Spirit we never shall be. The theory of your government is, justice and good faith to all men. You will not submit to be injured from one party because it is powerful, nor will you oppress another because it is weak. Impressed with that persuasion, we are confident that our rights will be respected.

We have but small tracts of territory remaining, and our numbers are comparatively few. The majority of those east of the Mississippi are turning their attention to agriculture, are settling themselves, and would in time become useful citizens. We admit, at the same time, that a large number still continue a wandering life, are wretched and degraded. These it would give us pleasure to see settled west of the Mississippi. It would be better for them, and better for those who remained. But you cannot persuade all to remove. The gradual operation of the laws which you may enact with regard to this subject would probably effect much. But there are those whom the strongest inducements could scarcely persuade to leave the land which contains the bones of their fathers, and which has been rendered dear to them by the recollections of youth. The important question then presents itself, What will you do with those that remain? What measures will you adopt to improve their condition, to promote their happiness? It is this great point to which our address is intended principally to direct your attention.

As connected with the subject, and with the question just proposed, we are constrained to say, that in several of the Southern States we are denied privileges to which, as members of the human family, we are of right entitled. However qualified by education we may be, we are neither permitted to hold offices, nor to give our testimony in courts of justice, although our dearest rights may be at stake. Can this be a correct policy? Is it just? Is it humane? When schools are multiplying among us; when we have made liberal appropriations of money for the education of our children; when we are forsaking the chase, and turning our attention to agriculture, and are becoming an orderly and social people; does it comport with an enlightened and liberal policy to continue the imposition of those degrading restrictions upon us? Should not inducements be held forth to our young men to qualify themselves to become useful citizens of your republic? Should not the portals of honorable distinction be thrown open to them as well as to their white brothers? But the subject is a painful one, and we will dismiss it. The mist of prejudice is gradually vanishing before the light of reason, and enlarged sentiments of philanthropy begin to prevail. We leave the issue of the question to your wisdom, and to the liberality of the South.

In conclusion, we would express the earnest hope that the result of your deliberations respecting our unfortunate race, may be such as to insure durable benefits to them, and lasting credit, in the eyes of posterity, to yourselves.

Respectfully submitted by
MOOSHULATUBBEE, his X mark.
ROBERT COLE, his X mark.
DANIEL MCCURTAIN, his X mark.
TALKING WARRIOR, his X mark.
RED FORT, his X mark.
NITTUCKACHEE, his X mark.
J. L. McDONALD.

Interpreted, and the signing witnessed by me,
JOHN PITCHLYNN,
United States Interpreter for the Choctaws.

"Shall we leave him to his ruin and our shame."

It behooves us as Christians and as citizens of a republic which boasts of the freedom of her institutions to look well to the education and enlightenment of our native Americans. When we attempt to make a comparison between Indians and white children we have many things to take into consideration. It has been but a few years since any thing like a general effort in the direction of Indian education was first made. It has been but little more than a decade of years since our government has tried to turn the minds of the Indians from the war-path and the chase to the school-house and civilization.

As regards the ability of the Indian child to receive knowledge there is no doubt, although he differs from our white scholars in various ways. My experience has led me to believe that with the same surroundings and opportunities as white children the Indian scholar would be their equal in most respects. They are mechanical but not logical; they remember well but reason poorly; they have a keen perceptive faculty but not the practical ability to make use of knowledge acquired. They would learn a rule in arithmetic as quickly perhaps as white scholars but would apply it with more reluctance. What the Indian scholar *lacks* is confidence and practical ability, and we look with pride to the salutary influence of our teachers who are not content with cramming his head with vague and meaningless definitions, but see to it that his reasoning powers are developed by applying principles. One peculiar characteristic of the Indian is that he is careless of future events. Their shiftless disposition is what tantalizes the taxpayers, and I do not hesitate to say that lack of forethought is one of the predominating evils in the character of our native Americans, but because of this shall we leave him to *his* ruin and to *our* shame? Already we see the salutary influence of education, and while it is discouraging to see the old Indians cling to their habits and superstitions, it is even more encouraging to see the present generation growing up with broader views and higher ambitions.

The fact that the Indian reservations are held jointly by the Indians instead of individually does not lead to the best of results. The government ought to remove every obstacle to the advancement of any Indian who may wish to secure property on a reservation, and also guard the reserve until an educated generation shall be able to know its needs. If we really desire to civilize the Indian we must bear upon him with all the appliances of civilization just as we would teach a boy to swim; not by putting him into water ankle deep, but by sousing him into a sufficient quantity to enable him to swim. Individual property, farms and settled homes, citizenship—these are what the Indian question demands.

Offer the Indian the same inducements that we offer to every other race; bring to bear upon him such influence as will make him feel the importance of individual responsibility, and as surely and quietly as darkness gives way to morning light will the ignorance and superstition of the Indian give way to the silent march of civilization.—[ANSON B. ARCHER, in *Randolph Register*.

Versailles, N. Y., Feb. 1, 1886.

Old uncle Jim Brown was the first Judge the Cherokees ever had.

A Creek Indian who had killed a Cherokee was his first murder case.

When the prisoner was brought in, Judge Brown asked him, so the story goes, if he had killed the man. "Yes," replied the prisoner. "Here sheriff take this man out and hang him."

"Your honor" interposed the prisoner's attorney, "the prisoner is entitled to a trial and the jury have not been impaneled nor the witnesses sworn." "Well," persisted Judge Brown, "the prisoner says he killed the man and what is the use to go to all that trouble. Take him out and hang him, sheriff."

And it required some eloquent pleading to convince this old time judge of the necessity of giving the prisoner a trial according to law. Judge Brown lived to be more than four score years and ten, and died during the late war loved and respected by all who knew him.—[*Cherokee Advocate*.

**EXTRACTS FROM HOME LETTERS WRITTEN
BY OUR PUPILS.**

There is no restriction placed upon students in the matter of home letters, nor any inspection of the same when written, barring the one monthly letter required of each pupil from which extracts are given below:

"I can't help doing good and bad both."

"If I have not died when I get home I will succor you."

"I wish you all could understand about this wonderful Christian life."

"If you could only read my letters I could then tell you all about my thoughts."

"I would like to see your letter come if it is only a few words telling me to stay longer at this place."

"Did I tell you that I stitched my finger in the sewing room, but I must stop I guess I talk too much."

"Don't be discouraged when you don't understand your lessons, get down to it and keep there till you do."

"Peter is working in the wagon shop, he has just finished three wagon beds and is busy on something else."

"Last week I was a dining room girl so I did some cooking too, boiled potatoes, made mush and pies very good."

"We discussed in our Debating Club whether the Indians should become citizens now or not. It was a tough question."

"You can't do much at the Agency schools where they don't teach the English language altogether, here we must speak it."

"There is a great change, when I first came I used to ask my teacher to write my letters for me but now it is my own hands that do it."

"I do not write as good as the other boys do. I suppose I will never write well without much labor, but then where there is a will there is a way."

"I try to deport myself right and learn every day. I am getting erudition in the shoe shop and when I go home I will be congratulated by the Indians."

"I am so glad you have put my little brother in school. Tell him to keep on and push hard at it and in two or three years he will be able to write a letter as well as I do."

"I am going to school in the morning and work in the afternoon. I have worked in the tailor shop four months and I like it first rate. I can make a good pair of pants and vest."

"I am still working in the harness shop and I like it far better than anything else. We get small wages but I don't mind the wages, the trade is what I am anxious for and I will get it if I work long enough."

"We get news papers every once a week here. They are printed at this school by the Indian boys. The papers called Indian Helper and tells news from all the different parts of the world. I subscribed since last July 1885."

"I am awakened to a realizing sense to relate something to you. I almost desire to be with you. In looking far back over my life, I never saw any other Indians but Sioux, at this school I see so many Indians from different tribes and when they first came here they all talked different languages but now it is one great language with great news in it and a power every where."

"This part of the world is useful to me. I see every thing that is made by great men. People in the east do not think of anything else but to improve in some work or machinery. That is the reason the whites do so much good or this world and make it come up."

"I hope you are prepared to become a citizen, do the best you can to take a farmer occupation, then if I get knowledge of book education you will see the two habits together. Congratulate yourself to be happy. Happy is the man who finds wisdom. Reply to my letter as possible as you can."

"I am so anxious to learn about books as the civilized people do. Because you want me to learn something about civilized way still more learning how to talk English. But I still keep on and learn more as long I stay at the Industrial school. I think it is healthful place for me surrounded by the whites."

"I want to know whether you will be able to help yourself on your farm. I often think of my brothers, they are good for nothing, you must try to make them work for you. If they do not want to listen to you tell them to think about the eternal life, and they will be glad to hear about it and follow the right way."

"I have been considering about you some days because I have not been hearing from you for a long while so I do not know how you are getting along. It is the best way to do this, let me hear how are you getting along once a while so I won't have to consider so often about you. Well I should tell you how I am now. I am getting along very well and happy."

"At our girls debating society last Friday we had this question: Resolved that the cow is more useful than a horse. I was on the cow side. Those on the horse side said a carriage drawn by oxen would not look very nice. If Priscilla had been here she would be on horse side for I remember how Red and Blackie used to kick her."

"I am putting my whole mind to learn. I am not here to learn for any one else, I am here to learn for myself and I have to be right responsible and acknowledge all I have learned at this place, I have decided in my mind that good determination should enter me also and I have found that learning is more beneficial than laziness. I am expressing this to be as interesting as I can."

"I am glad to know you are walking in the ways of the whites and are ready to be a farmer out there. I hope to find you an industrious and good farmer by the time the Government will cut off the rations from the Indians. Keep on, no matter how hard laboring may be for you the first time. This coming spring don't look at the gambling and horse racing. Go otherwise. God made a man to labor not to idle around."

"You want me to go home to you now. But I am not completely ready yet, one thing is best for me to learn that is how the farmer makes vegetables. I ought to learn that for two or three more years, then when I go home I will hope to do it perfectly well without any one teaching me. I have one thing to say to you. You must keep your useful things, don't give them away for foolish little things—keep them until they are not useful."

"I am doubtful if I go back, if I can get any thing to do to earn my living. I have worked on the farm for two summers out among the farmers in this state, and gave as good satisfaction as any white boy of my age and I can do it yet. Some of the boys who went home are hardly doing anything because the Agent hasn't anything for them to do. I fear if I should go out there and find no employment I might lose my learning."

TO THE GOVERNOR OF LAGUNA.—SIR:
"I have chosen you to write to for I must ask you about what you have been writing to us. You say to us come home and teach the Pueblo children. It is almost time to go, but how can we when we hear nothing more from you. Is the school house ready for us? If you are anxious to have us help you, why are you not anxious about the school house? Can not the

Indians build the school house or are you waiting for us to build? I am troubled about this for I would like to remain east longer, for I can find more work here than out there and can gain more here. I am willing though to do what you ask me, but I must understand."

PUEBLO GIRL.

"We had such a nice time in Washington. We went to the White House and saw Mr. and Miss Cleveland. Her face looks very pleasant and she talked to us so kindly. Mr. President looked happy to see the Indian children, he laughed too. Oh! he lives in a beautiful house, inside is marble. It must have taken some great men to build that White House. Yes, and we went to see Secretary Lamar, he said when he shook hands that he was glad to see us so was I glad to see him."

"I suppose you are looking for me as my time has expired but we might as well settle the subject. I cannot leave before the school stops. If I would leave now I would be called a fool as I am getting along well with both my studies and trade. Do not regret. I am as anxious to see you and all my relations as you are to see me but I am still more anxious to hear that you are improving your former life. I wish the Indians would take an interest in the education of their children."

"There is one party that has I think a hold on politics and they are for extinguishing the use of strong drinks in this country, because they contain a poisonous substance called alcohol. The men who make all kinds of intoxicating liquors have murdered the intellects of some of the people and have weakened their bodily systems. If our first settlers on the coast had not brought whiskey with them our country would be prosperous and would perhaps contain sixty millions of inhabitants."

"I think some of the Indians are starving this winter. Because they do not look-out for themselves. If they were citizens of the United States, they would not many of them starve. The trouble is because they do not earn their bread, but are lying around in laziness and idleness, doing nothing, starving. Now father I hope you will make up your mind and go to work and earn you own bread. Do not be proud of yourselves walking around in the Agency doing nothing. I hope that's worthless and bad evil."

"I simply wish to say about the band of Indians in that region is this. I want all the children to be sent direct to the Agency schools. There is no reason Little Chief, why you should delay with your children until you will be in starvation, and I want you to do it now, this that I determine to tell you. Do it instantly if you want to be saved with your indigent Indian companions in this country. I want you all to stop loitering around, make up your weak mind to do it. I want you to do the work supporting yourselves. Make your own prospects for comfortable homes and the government will bless you with all kinds of farmers' tools in your hands."

"I must tell you of our Washington trip. Capt. Pratt took about eighteen of us. On the way we stopped at Harrisburg expecting to take another train at 2 o'clock. While we were waiting there we found we had chance to go to the Capitol of this state, so we took our positions in the waiting place (station) and marched off. We found so many flags in the capitol that they keep for remembrance. We were told that those flags have been through a great Rebellion and we noticed that a great number of the flags were injured. Then we took our train. As we were going along we looked out to see the land and we saw no unlocated land. I remembered my west country, and I recognized this—that the white men will soon go to our country and locate all the land they can if we Indians don't do quickly what we should do to use our lands. I am discouraged about our parents that they don't understand what to do and are yet in the way of disability. We reached Washington at 6 o'clock, soon after we went to the place where we were going to make our speeches and sing. After we spoke two or more men spoke not only about us but the whole Indians. We went in the White House and saw the President and his sister Miss Cleveland, she was kind to us while we were in Washington. We also mounted to the dome of the Capitol. I thought I was dreaming when I stood there. It was the pleasantest trip I ever made at school or at home."