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"GOD HELPS THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES."

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## SENATORS MAXEY, DAWES AND CHASE DISCUSS CITIZENSHIP FOR THE INDIANS.

During the discussion of the bill to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and Territories over the Indians, Mr. Maxey proposed to strike out the following lines from section 7:

And every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have been made under the provisions of this act, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States.

The lines I propose to strike out will inaugurate a new policy in this Government. I wish to say in the beginning that no man is more in favor of the general doctrine of placing the lands for the Indians in separate parcels and giving to each head of a family and each single man who desires to work for himself a home of his own. I believe in that principle because it is the way to start a people in the direction of civilization. I believe that is a wise policy. But here before this new policy has been tested, before we can see what is to be the practical effect of the policy, whether the Indians will be benefited or injured by that policy, we propose to make them citizens of the United States.

In my opinion that is a dangerous starting-course; and so regarding it, as a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs, I reserved the right to object to it. Let us endeavor to see what we can do with these Indians by giving them separate homes; let us see what we can do when we destroy the old aboriginal idea of chiefship, and make every man among the Indians understand that he is to obey the laws of the land like other people; that he is to make his living like other people; that he can no longer depend upon this Government to support him in idleness; that the system of herding Indians on reservations to lie idle and be provided for by the Government is to cease, and that each individual Indian is to be required, like any other human being, to earn his living by the sweat of his face. Let us try that policy. This bill inaugurates that policy. This bill has passed the Senate twice, I believe, under the leadership of my colleague [Mr. COKE], inaugurating that policy; but the bill which we passed heretofore did not contain this provision; it is a new provision. Now, to show that it is not well guarded, let me read the bill, for I think this applies to Indians on the reservations, and to them alone. You will find by the ninth section—

That the provision of this act shall not extend to the reservations of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, in the Indian Territory, nor to any of the reservations of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the State of New York.

If there are any Indians in this broad land who are capable of citizenship they are excluded by the terms of the bill. We take men who have no knowledge of our language, no knowledge whatever of our laws, and we confer upon those men suddenly, and without preparation, the highest boon that can be conferred on mortal man, that of American citizenship.

Mr. President, we have had enough, in recent days, of trouble in this country on such mat-

ters. Let us get through with what we have already in that way. We are doing our very best to benefit the colored race who have been made citizens of the country; and those who are most deeply interested in the success of that movement are doing all they can do with their means to make them qualified for the exercise of the rights of citizenship. But here these people, not knowing our language, never having associated with our white people, never having had opportunity of seeing how civilized people conduct their affairs and organize society, are proposed to be made in one day citizens of the United States in case they live on a separate tract of land. Why, Mr. President, by the very theory of our Constitution, a person born abroad and coming here, no matter how educated that man may be, must pass a specified time (five years as now fixed by law) before he is entitled to the rights of citizenship. But here are people who but a few years ago were wild tribes roaming upon the prairies, engaged in raiding upon the settlements of the white people with the tomahawk and scalping-knife; we have gathered them up into reservations; and now, because we put them on separate tracts of land, we are to say to them, "You may become citizens of the United States." It is too soon. I do not say, and I do not wish to be understood as saying, that the time may not come when I would favor the extension of citizenship to them; but I want first to educate them up to that standard.

I agree with what was said by the Senator from Massachusetts in this regard. You must begin the civilization and education of the Indian, as was said once by a distinguished citizen of the United States, one who understood him as well as any man ever did, the Senator who occupies the chair [Mr. SHERMAN], by first making him learn how to raise stock. You must follow the old rule that is laid down by the Bible. Let him begin by raising stock; begin by herding. After a while he will be prepared to go to farming; then after a while he will be prepared to go into mechanical pursuits, and so on step by step. Educate the Indians in that way in the practical affairs of life while their children are being educated in schools and prepared, and thus you have a preparation made for this great boon of American citizenship. Being deeply impressed with that, I oppose this provision of the bill.

The Senator from Massachusetts knows the Indians pretty well, and I know them very well. If there are any who are qualified for citizenship it would be the very ones, who are not made citizens by this bill, the five civilized tribes, as they are called, and the Seneca Nation of New York. I am not acquainted with the latter, but with the five civilized tribes I am; and if any Indians are fitted for citizenship they have been for years, many of them for fifty years; indeed the tribal relation in some instances was broken up longer ago than that. They have been raising stock, have been farming, have homes, each one for himself. They have no chiefship. They elect their legislature and their governor, and every one has to provide for himself by his own industry. That is their system. They have been going on in that way, and they are doing very well. They are having schools, neighborhood schools,

and various graded schools. In that way they are endeavoring to prepare the rising generation for citizenship.

When we were out in the Indian Territory last summer they show us in that very connection that when they shall be brought into the Union as citizens they desire to understand our laws, to speak our language, and to live on terms of equality in all matters relating to the country. They told us that a large portion of their people did not understand our language, and therefore they were not prepared for this. They are right in that, in my opinion, and for that reason I have moved to strike out these words. I think the words ought not to be there, and have not been in any similar bill heretofore.

## Senator Dawes.

I hope the attention of the Senate can be drawn to this amendment and that it understands what is proposed in the bill if the amendment shall not prevail. It is to make citizens of the United States of those Indians and those only who have taken allotments under this bill, and those born within the United States who have taken up their residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein and have adopted the habits of civilized life. Such a person is the Indian whom it is proposed to make a citizen of the United States; and we do it in order to encourage any Indian who has started upon the life of a civilized man and is making the effort to be one of the body-politic in which he lives, giving the encouragement that if he so maintains himself he shall be a citizen of the United States.

We have declared in a constitutional amendment that every man born within the territorial limits of the United States thereby becomes a citizen of the United States. The Supreme Court has said that an Indian tribe on a reservation is outside, for these purposes, of the territorial limits of the United States; but without criticising that decision, the policy of the United States has been ever since the adoption of that amendment to the Constitution to take every man born within the limits of the United States and clothe him with United States citizenship, giving him all the advantages of the protection of our laws and an appeal to our courts for his protection, whether he has adopted the mode and manner of civilized life or not. He may be a poor African; though born within the limits of the United States, he may in all things else be like an African born on the coast of Africa; he may have no one of what we may deem to be the qualifications of citizenship except the fact that he is a man and has in him that out of which a man can be made; but before he has acquired these qualifications, the Constitution of the United States says that if he has been born within the limits of the United States, without regard to his condition of life, he shall be a citizen.

In the case of an Indian who has left his tribe, turned his back upon the savage life, has adopted the modes and habits of civilized life, is in all respects like one of us, why shall he not be a citizen of the United States, while the poor and degraded and ignorant African, with no better qualifications than if he were imported from the Congo coast, merely because he is born here,



may be a citizen? I do not see the reason for the distinction. I think it is safe to say that every Indian who has adopted our mode of life and lives among us as we live can be a citizen of the United States. It is safe; and it is time when we have extended the protection of citizenship to everybody else that we extend it to such an Indian.

The Senator from Texas says it is a new policy. He is quite mistaken. For fifty years we have provided in treaty and in statute that every Indian who took an allotment of land should thereby become a citizen of the United States.

We so provided in all those treaties which were made in 1867 by the commission then sent out, beginning with the Sioux treaty; and the provision in the Sioux treaty runs through them all. After having provided for Indians taking land in severalty, that treaty says:

And any Indian or Indians receiving a patent for land under the provisions shall thereby and from henceforth become and be a citizen of the United States, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of such citizens, and shall at the same time retain all his rights to benefits accruing to Indians under this treaty.

Very many Indians under all those treaties made that year have taken lands in severalty and are by virtue of those provisions to-day citizens of the United States. Can any one tell us any good reason why if they should be citizens of the United States Indians taking land in severalty under this bill should not be?

Running through all these treaties and statutes are provisions that Indians taking land under them shall thereby become citizens of the United States; so if this provision be stricken out of this bill we shall have two classes of Indians occupying land in all respects in the same manner, holding the same title, occupying the same position in the community, part of whom are citizens of the United States and part of whom are not. I fail to see why a distinction should be made against an Indian who has, in the language of this bill, taken upon himself all the attributes of a citizen, who is living the life of a citizen, who is certainly as intelligent, as capable mentally and morally as a vast body of our citizens are to discharge any of the duties incumbent upon a citizen of the United States and not incumbent upon him as an individual resident of the United States, if there are any other duties devolving upon a man as a citizen of the United States that do not devolve upon any resident of the United States while here. If there are any such duties I do not know what they are; I know there are privileges of citizenship, but the duties required at the hands of a citizen of the United States by the laws of the United States are required also at the hands of every resident of the United States while here, but a resident of the United States not a citizen has no standing in our courts. This gives the Indian holding land in severalty a place in the United States courts to vindicate his right to his land and protect himself in the enjoyment of his land. He is a different order of being, holds a different status in the United States from the Indian living with a tribe; and the Indian who has taken land in severalty under the statutes and treaties that I have cited holds a different status from the white man or the colored man. The colored man was a slave but yesterday; he has been made to-day by a constitutional amendment a citizen of the United States, and not only a citizen of the United States but a citizen of the State in which he lives. This bill does not undertake to make an Indian the citizen of any State, but it gives him citizenship of the United States and a status in the courts of the United States.

**Senator Chace.**

There are some two hundred and sixty-five thousand Indians in this country. Surely this is a very small morsel to be assimilated among

the sixty millions, guarded and protected as the process would be under the eleventh section of this bill, which it is proposed to strike out. The provisions are very ample. These Indians are not to receive the rights of citizenship until they shall have settled themselves upon their allotted land, until they shall have separated themselves from their tribal relations, until they shall have taken up their residence separate and apart from the tribe and adopted the habits of civilized life.

What greater guarantee can we have of their fitness for citizenship than that? And what malign prejudices, what influence is it, what strange, peculiar influence is it, which can operate upon the mind of any gentleman to prevent him from supporting such a provision as that? As the Senator from Massachusetts has said, it is no new provision. It is simply providing that this shall apply to all those Indians now who shall take the precautionary steps here provided.

We are receiving by immigration into this country each year from three hundred and fifty thousand to seven hundred thousand immigrants from foreign lands. We apply to them no such conditions precedent to citizenship. Those men come from any country save one or two; they land on our shores and declare their intention of becoming citizens. We do not ask whether their previous condition in life has fitted them for the rights of citizenship. Here we have a race of people who occupied this country before we came here, who possess under our declaration these rights now; and upon what principle do we debar them from their exercise?

Again, on the score of economy we have gone on year after year spending millions fighting the Indian; we are spending every year hundreds of thousands of dollars to educate him. We find that this policy has not been a success. We seem to forget the one vital and important point, and that is that in order to be rid of this problem, in order that it may be settled, we must put it in the way to settle itself, and it can only settle itself by giving the Indian that greatest and best, yes, the only weapon of defense, the ballot, with the rights of citizenship, the right to sue and defend in the courts.

I claim, then, that on the score of justice, on the score of constitutional obligation, on the score of our obligations to humanity, and on the score of economy as a pure matter of finance, and as the only and quickest method of settling this vexed problem of the Indian, we must make such a provision as this.

**Senator Maxey.**

I come now to the claim that the fourteenth amendment makes all Indians citizens. If that made them all citizens it would make them citizens irrespective of whether they were in a tribe or out of a tribe, whether they held their land in severalty or altogether, or had no land at all. If the fourteenth amendment made every one born within the limits of the United States a citizen that would settle the question without the slightest regard to whether he held land in severalty or not. But the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Elk vs. Wilkins*, in 112 United States Reports, has settled that question and settled it conclusively. I read from the syllabus, and only regret that I have not time to read the whole opinion which was well considered and elaborate.

An Indian, born a member of one of the Indian tribes within the United States, which still exists and is recognized as a tribe by the Government of the United States, who has voluntarily separated himself from his tribe and taken up his residence among the white citizens of a State, but who has not been naturalized, or taxed, or recognized as a citizen, either by the United States or by the State, is not a citizen of the United States within the meaning of the first section of the fourteenth article of amendment of the Constitution. A petition alleging that the plaintiff is an Indian, and was born within the United States, and has severed his tribal relation to the

Indian tribes, and fully and completely surrendered himself to the jurisdiction of the United States, and still so continues subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and is a bona fide resident of the State of Nebraska and city of Omaha, does not show that he is a citizen of the United States under the fourteenth article of amendment of the Constitution. [*Elk vs. Wilkins*, 112 U.S. Reports page 94.]

It comes back at last to the proposition which I made as to this new departure, for that is what it is. We are told that the privilege was given to Indians to become citizens by severing their lands sixty years ago; and how many in the length and breadth of this great country since 1825 to the present time have ever availed themselves of that privilege? In the five civilized tribes, the most enlightened of all the Indians, not one has ever availed himself of this privilege; but you pass them all by, you pass by the Indians best qualified to become citizens, specially except them out of the operation of this bill, and make the Indian who but a few years ago with the scalping-knife and the tomahawk was attacking the people on the frontier, by the simple act of taking a piece of land in severalty a citizen of the United States, without any knowledge of our laws; and you say that is the rule.

If that is the rule, amend the naturalization laws as to the wild, savage negro that the Senator spoke of who was brought from Africa to this land. Can he become a citizen of the United States under the statutes as they now exist to-day? Look at your Chinamen; are they not specially excepted from the naturalization laws?

The policy of the United States Government when they liberated the slaves was first to make them citizens, and in order to protect that citizenship to give them the right of voting and holding office. That was it, and why? Because they were not isolated, they were not dissociated, they were not separated from the white citizens of this country; but they were mixed among them, they were our neighbors. As long as we and our descendants of the white race shall live in this country, just that long will the colored man and his descendants live in this country, and their fortunes, their destinies will run side by side with ours.

Whether it was wise to begin at once, as we did, or to make them undergo a probation, is a question in the past not now necessary to be discussed. That was the policy, that these people being made free should be intrusted with the rights of citizenship for protection, and to-day throughout all the country where the great mass of these people live, the white people of those States are doing all in their power to educate the colored people and make them qualified for citizenship. You may say what you please about the people of the South, they have common sense, and their common sense teaches them that so long as the colored people live among them the better educated the colored man is the more he respects himself, the better citizen he makes, and the better it will be for both colored and white. Therefore it is that under the constitution—and it is a constitutional provision in my State—we have conceded to the colored child his pro rata of the school fund precisely as the white child, no difference whatever. We educate the different races in separate schools, but all the advantages of that magnificent school fund which the white child has, the colored child alike has.

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The court lays down the proposition distinctly that although born within the limits of the United States, when a member of a tribe, an Indian does not thereby become a natural born citizen of the United States, and that by some process either of naturalization or act of Congress he has to become a citizen. That is the proposition laid down by the Supreme Court; but the point which I make—and I beg Sena-



tors to pay some regard to it—is that you must take these people by the hand and build them up step by step. You cannot build Indian civilization up by beginning at the top of the ascent and building downward. You must begin at the bottom and build upward. If you ever have a permanent Indian civilization, I believe the true policy will be to divide their land in severalty. That I believe to be right. Teach them to rely upon their own exertions for a living like white people. Teach them that they must be amenable to the laws like white people and colored people are, and that the United States have determined that from this point henceforth and forever the labor of the white man and the colored man shall not be made tributary to the support and maintenance of the Indian in idleness, but that the Indian must be prepared to go on under great sacrifices and secure his living by his own exertions.

Begin there and bring him along step by step and you will prepare him, and I hope in not a very great length of time, for citizenship. There are Indians now in the schools; those children are being taught the English language. They do not teach them the Indian tongue. They say they want to prepare the children so that they can talk the white man's language, read the white man's books, study the white man's laws, and in the great battle of life be able to protect themselves. But so long as they can not do that, so long as they speak a different tongue, so long as they do not know our laws, so long as they are left in that helpless condition they are not prepared for citizenship. They are not like the colored man, I beg to say. The colored man speaks the English tongue. Many of us were born and reared with colored people from childhood up, and all understand the same language; everybody of our race can understand what they mean; they speak the English language, and therefore they were in a condition at the very beginning, so far as that was concerned, to be prepared for citizenship, and they had associated all their life time with white people, had seen their manners, habits, customs, and their methods of carrying on their courts and their civil affairs; but these people have not had any of those privileges, and yet you propose to place upon them without preparation the great toga of American citizenship.

#### OUR STUDENTS DISCUSS CITIZENSHIP FOR THE INDIANS.

At a meeting of our Indian Union Debating club, the question, "Resolved, That the Indians should be admitted at once to citizenship," was discussed and the following are extracts from speeches made on that occasion:

WILLIAM FLETCHER, Cheyenne.

Sir, as long as you support an Indian and keep him on a reservation he will remain as an Indian and of the worst kind, and will have no need of working hard or trying to earn his own living. Sir, the quickest way that I see of making him self-supporting is to compel him to come into citizenship and push him into manhood. Give him the lands in severalty now for his farm, and you will see a great change among the Indians in a few years, give Indians the rights and protections of United States laws now.

PERCY ZADOKA, Keechie.

I am not in favor of having the Indians be made citizens now. What would be the result if they should be admitted into citizenship at once. Would they do some good for this country? No, sir, they will violate the laws of the United States. Let the Indians have an opportunity, let them have more schools at the reservation. We do not expect the Indians remain at the reservations all the time. We want them to become citizens of the United States, but it is impossible for them to be admitted at once, in less than five years. He should not be made a citizen without education and without experience in the laws of the country. There is no use in forcing the Indians in to a place which they are not fitted for. Suppose you should admit him now, could he know how to vote? Could he tell which is the best man for the office? No, sir; if some politician came along and said my friend vote for my ticket and I will give you a dollar. Don't you think they would do as he asked them? They would not know any better. The right to vote brings power, and power without knowledge is a dangerous thing. Instruct the Indians; first, educate him, fit him to be a

citizen and then admit him, but do not take him until he is able to do his part in the nation's work.

SAMUEL TOWNSEND, Pawnee.

There are two public sentiments in regard to Indian citizenship. One is that the Indians should at once be made citizens; the other is that they should not be. But whatever their sentiments may be, my judgment is that citizenship should be extended to them at once. Because if you don't, Mr. President, you are increasing your burden. You are keeping that much load on your back. If you don't, you must keep on feeding and clothing them. They will never be able to stand on their feet. You will never be able to make them an independent people, until they become citizens. I tell you, sir, an Indian will remain still an Indian and you will never be able to destroy the Indian race. On the contrary, Mr. President make him a citizen, and he will enjoy all the rights, privileges, freedom and responsibilities of citizenship. He will feel that he is backed by his Government. He will feel its protection when in peril. He will have a voice in Government. He will have a right in person and property. He can say that this man shall be my Congressman, or that one shall be my President, or he can choose any man for high office while non-citizen he cannot have any such privilege. This is the privilege that a true citizen enjoys. He is a man. He is his own man. He is on his feet and as eminently as any other man. His arms are his own arms. What the Indian needs is an equal footing with all men. Sir, if he has such a desire why not make him a citizen now. When a man is a citizen of this Government, he belongs to a great nation and this Government assures protection to every citizen in the lawful pursuit of his business. Mr. President, citizenship is not in the way, it is no obstacle, it does not draw any one backward, but it rather goes forward. It means progress, it means the bettering of the condition of man. It means a chance, an opportunity. It is not like a prison, or a reservation, but it means liberty and freedom. It is not like anything pertaining to despotism, telling you to do this and that whether you want to or not, but it means equal rights. It means that one man is as good as the other, whether he has one eye, crooked face, or any other ugliness on his countenance.

When a man is a citizen of this Government he can go anywhere without molestation. He can go to England and this Government will go with him. He can go to France and this Government will protect him. He can go to Russia and this Government will stand by him when in danger. He can go to the remotest regions of the land and this Government will see that he goes there all right.

In objecting to Indians becoming citizens the arguments of my opponents are that he is incapable, that he is ignorant, that he has no property to hold and needs a chance. His incapability does not excuse him. The door has long been open to him but he refuses to enter. It is not because for the reason of his unfitness that he does not become a citizen, but it is because he wants a Cherokee Government, a Choctaw Government, a Creek Government and an Apache Government.

We don't want any of those Governments. We want the United States Government. As to his ignorance, it is true, but go to Castle Garden and see those low, down, filthy and degraded Arabs, Egyptians and other foreign people, who come to this country every year, ignorant, block-headed as they can be, worse than the Indian, and yet within five years, they become citizens of this country.

As to property-holding, I tell you Mr. President, that the Indians are the richest people in the world in land and stock, while thousands of citizens have nothing to their names.

Now is the chance. I don't think he needs any more chance. He has had enough chance. He throws it away. He does not want it. He has no ambition for it. He has lived here for centuries, having chance extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and still remains the same as from his creation.

Look at the colored people. One stroke of the pen by Abraham Lincoln made them citizens. They were ignorant, they had no property, they were the property themselves to others. They were slaves. That pen and ink had so much force as to make them just what they are now—voters. A colored man is just as good as a white man, and the Indian could be just as good as either of them if he were a citizen.

A colored man says to a colored man you go

to Congress and make laws for the Government. The same colored man says to the white man, you go to Congress and help to form our Government. Not one single Indian has ever said such a thing. He cannot say it as long as he remains on a reservation. He can not say it as long as he sticks to his tribal relation and tribal system. They were anxious to become citizens, not so with the Indians.

Mr. President, do you want Senator Dawes in Congress to transact business for you? I say no. There should be no Senator Dawes; there should be no Senator Sherman nor any other man to talk for the Indian. He must be in Congress himself. He must represent his race. He must be of the Government. One man did not send Senator Dawes to Washington to talk and transact business for him alone, but he is sent there for the whole people. He goes there to make laws for the Government. He represents his State. Can we expect an Indian in Congress if he does not become a part of this people? If we expect such a result, Mr. President, I tell you, let us make the Indian a citizen now.

It was a great honor, in ancient times, to be a Roman citizen, because he was protected by the laws of Rome. It was then a powerful government and every other nation feared to kill a Roman citizen. Our citizens are respected by all foreign powers. It stands foremost in power.

Now Mr. President, in order to take off the heavy load from your shoulders what is the best thing to do? Would it not be a good policy to make the Indians citizens at once, free from bondage and ignorance? Would it not be a good thing to get off the reservation and go to New York City, Philadelphia, and other large cities full of busy and industrious people? He would see and learn more. Experience and observation would teach him. I would rather go off the reservation than go to the agent asking him to let me off. Wouldn't you Mr. President? Wouldn't you, rather be your own man than be some body else's? I think it is time for the Indians to be made something. It is time that they ought to stand on the same ground with the white man and have equal rights with other people in this land. What is he afraid of? What prevents him from entering? Nothing but backwardness. Make him a citizen and he will be a man. Give him the rights of citizenship and he will get off the reservation. Stretch out to him the hand of citizenship and he will become a part of this Great Government. Open the doors for him and I tell you Mr. President, I shall be no more an Indian.

FRANK CONROY, Sioux.

The Indian must get a good education first, then he should be made citizen of the United States.

We know the Indians cannot support themselves and don't know how to do business, so they ought to wait until they become intelligent and learn the rights of citizenship. Mr. President, I say the Indians should have more chance to learn and be educated before they become citizens of the United States than to have citizenship at once.

ABE SOMMERS, Cheyenne.

I don't see any great power to bring the ignorance of indigent people into the new position of citizenship.

KISH HAWKINS, Cheyenne.

The Indian is born in this country and I do not see why he is not a citizen of the United States just to-day while every man that is in this country is allowed to be a citizen even if this country is not his own.

But how is it about the Indians? Is his country across the ocean? And does he have to come over for the purpose of living in the world, and does he have to suffer so much like the others? Why, no, Mr. President. His country is a part of this. He owns lands by the millions of acres and he don't have to come, and there is nothing dangerous on his way.

It is known that the Indian is too slow at the chances given to him and they pass by him before he can appreciate them. The advancement by all the Indians toward civilization is not sufficient. They make a great load upon the government. And for them to be made citizens now is considered to be the best way that can be done by the Government.

I am sure when they shall have to live among the industrious people they will begin to realize and see that to be lazy and depend upon some body is a bad thing; they will go forward, leave their savagery, adopt the civil customs.



**The House in Committee of the Whole Discusses  
the Continuance or Non-Continuance of  
Indian Industrial Schools off the  
Reservations.**

The consideration of the Bill making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the year ending June 30th 1887 and for other purposes, led to the following discussion:

MR. NELSON. Our Indian schools may be classified as reservation day and boarding schools, contract schools, and training schools. Of all these classes the least intrinsic good is accomplished by the reservation day school, for the reason that whatever is done in school is undone at home. The Indian child can not, like his white brother, return from school to a civilized home. He is daily in two atmospheres—that of civilization and that of the savage. What one is daily building up the other is daily tearing down. The system involves a great loss in mental and moral force, and aside from all other objections one chief vice is, that the Indian child does not receive a fair trial. The system is not a fair test of the child's capacity, and should, wherever possible, be abandoned for something better.

By contract schools I refer to those schools in the States and Territories where Indian pupils are educated, per contract, at a certain per capita price. The plan and design of this education is mainly industrial, and excellent work is done at many, if not most, of these schools. The objections to them, if any, are that they are oftentimes, so far as the Indian is concerned, mere adjuncts of larger white schools, where the Indian department is regarded simply as secondary and subsidiary to the main school, and where the industrial character of the education is apt to be more or less lost sight of, overlooked in the zeal for the more purely intellectual training that is naturally connected with a school instituted in the first instance and mainly carried on for the benefit of white pupils. But in this connection let us not overlook the great advantage the Indian child necessarily derives from association more or less close with white pupils—the living human model ever before his eye.

The reservation boarding school, especially where connected with a farm, is no doubt, in the main, the best method for reaching and civilizing the Indians, old as well as young. Such a school not only performs all the functions of an industrial training school for the children, but is also a civilizing force continually operating upon the adult Indians. The children must necessarily feel more happy and buoyant in being near their homes and their parents, while the parents are spared the pain and anguish of having their children removed to distant points, out of sight and reach. Besides, the parents, relatives, and friends of the children can daily witness and observe the pursuits in which the children are engaged, the progress made and the happy results. And all this will inevitably evoke parental pride and a yearning for something purer and better. The old Indian will delight in the progress of his child, and while he realizes that he can never fully attain the child's level, yet he will strive to be as much like his child as his beclouded nature will permit; and he will learn to cherish and respect an institution which visibly and in his presence accomplishes so much good. The reservation boarding school not only educates its pupils, but educates more or less the entire reservation population. It is something more than a mere school; it is a silent but effective missionary, civilizing and reforming all, old as well as young, within the radius of its beneficial influence.

The Indian training schools, such as those at Carlisle, Hampton, and Lincoln, are the pioneers as well as the models of modern industrial Indian schools. We owe a debt of gratitude to these institutions and their promoters. They were the first to demonstrate and make clear to us the great capacity of the Indian for education and civilization, and that the Indian could with proper training be made as useful, as industrious a citizen as his white brother. But, more than this, and what was at the time quite as essential, those institutions, their friends and promoters, built up and created in the nation and among people an interest and zeal in the civilization, education, and welfare of the Indian hitherto unknown, and which was clearly one of the first requisites. These institutions not only educated the Indian, but educated our people to a fuller and more earn-

est realization of the duty we owed to the Indian. It was under the impulse of this education that our Indian educational appropriations grew and increased so rapidly from year to year, especially since 1881. Without the sentiment in favor of Indian education thus created by those training schools and the promoters, such large educational appropriation as that of the present bill would hardly be granted or tolerated.

These training schools, while they give the pupil the best of training and instruction, are nevertheless not performing that general and beneficent work of civilization accomplished by the reservation boarding school. The removal of the children thousands of miles away from their homes and parents must necessarily be a great source of grief to both parents and children. The children gradually, in the midst of their surroundings, overcome and get the better of such grief. Not so with the parent. To him the absence of the child is a continuing and ever present grief. The very place of the child's absence is to the Indian parent a mystery. A system that carries his child out of his sight and reach can have no charm for the Indian parent. He necessarily doubts its efficacy.

MR. HOLMAN. There are but two points to which I desire to call the attention of the committee. One is as to the day schools provided for by the section of the bill which I have read, and the other in regard to the policy of appropriating money for the transportation of these Indian children from Indian reservations to the centers of civilization and there educating them. Those are the only two subjects to which I propose to speak at this time.

First, as to day schools. I do not know whether the Committee on Indian Affairs have had the necessary time to consider that subject carefully or not, but when the opportunity occurs and the subject is carefully considered I think they will find that the large sums of money we are expending for the support of day schools among the Indians is not productive of satisfactory results. There are day schools on the larger reservations and some upon the smaller reservations in charge of the Government and supported by the Government, while there are in addition a large number supported by the various denominations of Christian people. These schools are perhaps on all the reservations, with the exception of that of the Navajoes and a few others of the more Southern tribes.

Experience demonstrates it is practically impossible to induce Indian children to attend the day schools in that systematic and regular manner necessary to secure any satisfactory progress. Where the Indians are scattered as they should be on lands in severalty, where reasonable progress has been made, it is impossible to gather together the necessary number of children to justify a school which will be of any value; neither the desire of the parents to have their children educated nor the influence of the teachers themselves can be depended on to keep the children together. I think every where the result is that these schools practically amount to nothing. The number attending is so small, the attendance so irregular, that no progress is made.

That seems to be the judgment of all persons so far as I am informed who have had experience on or an opportunity to investigate the subject. I think, therefore, the Committee on Indian Affairs, after having examined the subject carefully, will reach the conclusion that the day schools under the support of the Government ought to be abandoned, and that the only schools for Indians which can produce any satisfactory result upon the reservations are industrial boarding schools where children are gathered from their home, from their savage surroundings, and engaged in a regular course of study during ten or eleven months of the current year under the eyes of their teachers at the agencies, where the presence of civilized people will afford them proper supervision and furnish beneficial and civilizing influences.

These industrial boarding schools on the various reservations, as far as I am informed, have produced the most satisfactory results. The attendance has been quite uniform and regular, the children are not too remote from their parents, and fair progress is made. Indeed, sir, even the friends of the Indians would be not only surprised but much gratified at the fair progress that many Indian children in these local industrial boarding schools have made; and I think still more surprised perhaps at the extraordinary interest the parents of the children take, not perhaps in the education of the children but in the children themselves,

and the anxiety they feel for their comfort, health, and surroundings, which are manifested in every Indian community.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, and for others which I could mention if I had the time at my disposal, I am of the opinion that the day schools ought not to be perpetuated, and that the whole money appropriated for educational purposes on the reservations should be expended in giving efficiency to the industrial boarding schools.

The other feature, Mr. Chairman, to which I have alluded is a still more interesting and important one, and that is the appropriation of money to establish and support schools in the States away from the reservations and supporting Indian children in educational institutions not under Government control in the States.

MR. WILLIS. Would it interrupt the gentleman from Indiana to ask him a question?

MR. HOLMAN. No, sir.

MR. WILLIS. If it will not interrupt my friend in the course of his argument, I would like to ask, as a matter of information, to have him state to the committee under what power of the Constitution the Federal Government educates the Indians? I ask it, as I have said, for information, as it is a question that is agitated a good deal just now.

MR. HOLMAN. Mr. Chairman, the education of the Indian children by the Government was in the beginning the result of treaty engagements entered into between the General Government and the tribes.

MR. WILLIS. But does not the gentleman know that there is a million of dollars expended outside of the obligation of the treaties?

MR. HOLMAN. I am coming to that in a moment.

In the main the system of educating the Indian children has grown up, as I have said, through the treaties made with the Indian tribes. The practice of making treaties with the tribes began at so early a date in the history of the country and has been so uninterrupted in its progress until a comparatively recent date, that the constitutionality of the proceeding or the power of the President of the United States under the Constitution, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to treat with the Indian tribes can not well be called in question, whether it rests upon the power to regulate commerce or not.

In the next place the power is derived from the general control of the Federal Government over its public lands, occupied by the tribes, its original owners, and this is, as to the land itself, a field of unquestioned constitutional power. And also, in the third place, the power of the General Government over the Territories; there the Federal power is also unlimited.

Under these three powers—that is, the power of making treaties with the tribes to educate their children, the power of regulating and controlling the public domain on which these people were located when it was acquired as an incident to the lands, and the power unlimited to legislate touching the Territories of the United States—has grown up, perhaps properly—I think properly—the exercise of this power of providing in some manner for the education and civilization of the Indian children.

MR. REAGAN. Mr. Chairman, the power of the Government over the public lands, and the power of the Government over the Territories is not, it seems to me, the proper place to look for the source of power to provide for the education of the Indians; for the territory upon which they are located is presumably their territory. Of course the right of eminent domain is in the Government, but the territory is theirs. Nor do I think the right to educate the Indians comes out of any general mass of powers. It seems to me that it must rest upon the treaty-making power. If we, under the Constitution, can take the children from the Indian tribes and bring them into the States and educate them, we can take children from one State to another to be educated.

I know there is a doctrine now prevalent that we can do a great deal on that subject of education, but I do not know where the power comes from. I do not see where we would get the power to take children from one State at the expense of the Government and take them in another. But I can understand that the Government may rightly provide for matters of education by treaty stipulations with the Indians. We so far recognize the Indians as independent powers as to make treaties with them, and we may stipulate on this subject, in such terms and in such manner as may be incident to the treaty-making power. In that way I



see how we can make treaties with the Indians upon this subject. Aside from that, however, as a mere matter of policy, I should say that we ought to educate the Indians in their own country and not transport them to a distance to be educated.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Chairman, it is fair for me to state that under this bill and under all our former legislation all the moneys expended under treaties for the education of the Indian children has been expended within the limits of the reservations. If there is any exception to that rule I do not recall it at this time. All the money appropriated for that purpose, whether expended under treaties with Indians in the Territories or elsewhere, if it was appropriated as the result of treaty stipulations, was expended within the limits of the reservations. I am not aware that any treaty has ever been made by the Government providing for the education of Indian children off of their reservations. I do not believe the Indians could be induced to make any such treaty.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that the more we reflect upon this subject the more evident it must appear that this power on the part of the Government, if such a power exists under the Constitution, to remove these Indian children from the Territories and from the reservations to remote points for education must be incident to the power of absolute government over the Territories and over the public lands and the aboriginal population occupying in their own right those lands, and to the police power which is incidental to those general powers. For we have always treated with the Indians for the acquisition of their lands, reorganized their original title and their relations to at least a part of the lands acquired.

Upon that foundation it seems to me the practice grew up, and probably it can be from the standpoint of the Constitution sustained upon that ground. That is my view, although I believe that the removal of these children from the reservations was never contemplated in any treaty and is not productive of good to them or to the Indians in any way, but is injurious to the tribes. I believe that that policy should not be continued, but that, on the contrary, the education of these Indian children should be conducted on the reservations, in industrial schools, under the eye of the tribes.

In my opinion, such schools, with the necessary practical and indispensable instruction in labor, are the most powerful agent for the elevation of the Indians, and perhaps the only agent that can elevate and civilize them. A properly organized and well-conducted industrial school, operating under the eyes of the tribe, where the children are taught how to work, has a more civilizing tendency than any other feature of policy yet adopted by our Government in dealing with the Indians.

I now come back to the only subject on which I specially desired to address the committee—the expenditure of money outside the limits of the reservations. There is no doubt that the schools at Carlisle, Pa., Lawrence, Kan., Genoa, Nebr., Hampton, Va., and other points in the States, and the movements now in progress to establish industrial boarding schools at Sante Fe, New Mexico, as well as in Colorado and elsewhere, have grown out of a very philanthropic and humane motive; but that motive has not in the whole governed and controlled this movement in its practical operation. It is manifest that this policy can rest upon but one of two ideas. One is that the children shall be taken from their savage homes among the tribes and educated amid civilized surroundings and influences and sent back to their tribes as missionaries of progress and civilization. But experience demonstrates the absolute fallacy of that idea. An extended tour among the Indian tribes, North, Northwest, South, discloses the fact that children returning to their tribes after an absence of two, three, or four years find such a fearful difference, such a chasm between the comforts and refinements of a well organized and conducted school and the savage life to which they are returned, that it produces almost inevitably, especially among the girls, (the effect has been uniform so far as I am informed, except where the pupil continues to be under the eye of the Government) a relapse into barbarism, the more intensified by reason of the very intelligence already acquired.

This I think will be found to be the general experience. There is no sympathy—nothing in common—between the untutored savage and his daughter or son returning from Carlisle or Hampton or the Lincoln Institute. There

is no possibility in such cases of any sympathy between the parents and the child; and it is not at all remarkable (the difference being so great and the number of those educated so comparatively small) that the latter go back to the barbarism from which they were originally taken.

Another point, and a matter more to be considered, is that all you can do in regard to the elevation to the Indians is to rescue the children from the barbarism of savage life, educate them, and settle them in the enlightened communities where they are educated, thus saving them at least, and letting the adults of the present generation go. I think, when the fact is considered that in the struggle between the Indian and the white man on an equal footing the Indian inevitably goes down, it is not a wise philanthropy that opens up such a career for those we educate.

This policy of removing the Indian from his tribe, with its surroundings, and attempting to put him at once on the plane of a high civilization can not be successful. Human experience demonstrates it can not be done; and you open a dreary prospect to the boys and girls educated at these schools if you adopt the policy of settling them among a population, no matter how humane, incapable of really sympathizing with them or appreciating the elevation to which they have sought to raise them compared with their former state. In such cases there is a reasonable certainty that sooner or later the educated youth will ultimately seek the land of his tribe and sink back to the level of his kindred. The first experiment of this kind was tried years and years ago in the State of Kentucky under the humane auspices, it is said, of Richard M. Johnson, once Vice-President of the United States.

The removal of children from the reservation is a severe pang to the parent. Whatever you may think of the untutored savages, nevertheless it is a serious matter to them. The removal of Indian children to remote points in the judgment of some intelligent persons connected with the matter is believed to retard the Indians and the efforts made for their progress.

The Indian boarding school necessarily has a farm in connection with it, which is one element in favor of the system and one which will help in securing their advancement. Another element in the same connection is that the lands to be cultivated are the same kind of lands which these boys will be called upon to cultivate when they leave school. It is not like the case of learning to cultivate lands in Pennsylvania or Virginia, but it is learning to cultivate lands which they will cultivate in the future as farms; for, sir, it is mostly through the medium of agriculture they are to advance rather than by the means of mechanical arts. The land, therefore, they are taught to cultivate at an Indian boarding school upon the reservation is the land they are to cultivate in after life. Their instruction there in agriculture is of practical value. Beside that, there are necessarily a great many horses and cattle upon these Indian reservations.

There are on the Pine Ridge agency one hundred and seventy two yoke of oxen, largely connected with the agency itself, and there are also many horses and mules. These animals have to be cared for, and the Indians can be employed to look after them. All these things have a certain civilizing influence. It impresses these Indian boys with the idea of the benefits and fruits of labor.

There are present all the time six, seven, eight, or nine teachers, industrial and others. There is a civilized community formed at these agencies which is continually growing whether there is a boarding-school there or not. These persons form a body supposed to be interested in the Indians, and they form an element of immense power not only upon the Indian pupils attending the industrial schools, but also upon the Indians who may gather there from time to time to see how their children are getting along. I think it is scarcely possible to name an argument in favor of removing Indian children from the Indian reservations at the several agencies, while every one pertaining to the location of Indian children at industrial schools upon the reservations is not only that they are beneficial to the children, but to the whole Indian people and have a great civilizing effect. If you did not have to take a dollar from the Treasury, and Christian people were willing to educate these children at their own cost, I do not think Congress ought to permit it to be done, because, in my judgment, the results of the removal of Indian children from their reservations and teaching them in

schools located at remote points would shock those who had caused them the moment they came to their knowledge.

Mr. LONG. Let me ask the gentleman from Indiana whether any of the scholars ever go back to become teachers at these schools?

Mr. HOLMAN. Occasionally they do. There are a number of instances which come to my mind. I remember one who is employed as a teacher in the vicinity of Standing Rock, in the northern portion of Dakota. I remember another instance of a bright Indian, a full blood, in the vicinity of Pine Ridge agency. There are other instances of the same kind. The testimony of the Indian agents is not favorable to the employment of Indian teachers because of the absence of their power to control, which is the great cause of complaint.

But the larger number of Indian children who have gone back to the reservations from the schools of the States have not been employed by the Government and can not be employed by it. They have been employed as far as could be as interpreters, some as teachers, and in other capacities; some as members of the police force; but, as I have said, the greater number have not been and cannot be so employed, there being no employment for them.

Mr. CANNON. Let me ask the gentleman from Indiana, if it is not true that upon the most careful inquiry which he has been able to make, and from extensive travel among the Indians, that without exception the Indian children educated at Carlisle, Hampton, and elsewhere, off the reservations, who were not given employment by the Government at a very early period lapsed into barbarism; and if it is not true that their condition was frequently worse than if they had not been educated at all?

Mr. HOLMAN. Oh, yes; that, I think, is to be answered in the affirmative. It may be stated further that those who are familiar with the Indian subject, and who have lived with them, missionaries, agents, and teachers, and especially those military men who have been long stationed among the Indian tribes, but are now identified with them, all, without exception, express the opinion that unless the Government gives to the Indian girl or boy employment, in other words, unless they are supported by the Government, they relapse into barbarism when they return to the tribe; while the Indians educated on the reservation, going home once a year, seeing the old father and mother now and then, keep up their relations with the tribes and are not shocked by a return from civilization to the scenes by which they are necessarily surrounded, but are accustomed to the ways of the tribe and their habits; that such as keep up their relations with their tribes are not so influenced. I think there is little difference of opinion upon that point.

Mr. GLASS. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GLASS. I wish to ask if these industrial schools have educated boys in the use of machinery and how to run it, and, if so, have any of them been occupied tending steam-mills or running locomotives?

Mr. HOLMAN. I think that can be answered in some degree in the affirmative.

Mr. RYAN. They have illustrated their capacity.

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes, sir; there are instances where they are employed in saw and grist mills at the Agencies in running machinery, but generally there is the supervision of a white man.

Mr. BUCK. I understood the gentleman from Indiana, if he will permit an interruption, to answer the question of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] in the affirmative.

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCK. Do I understand the gentleman to say that all the Indian children educated at Carlisle, or most of those that leave it, lapse back into barbarism when they return to the tribe—a barbarism worse than before?

Mr. HOLMAN. That was not exactly the form of the gentleman's question?

Mr. BUCK. I understood the gentleman to ask if these children did not lapse back into a worse state of barbarism than before.

Mr. HOLMAN. I did not understand the question as being confined to all the children, but to certain of them who had not been employed by the Government. However, the gentleman himself made that exception, I believe. But besides that, the question of the gentleman from Illinois would not embrace all of the Indians. It embraces the Indians who went from the school to the great Sioux reservation or to the Crow reservation or to the reservations in



the Northwest, and to certain sections of the country; but it can not be said properly to apply to all of the reservations without exception. But to the extent of my own observation, and from information that I have had from others in the course of an investigation of the subject, I am informed, on what seems to be good authority, that unless the Indians happen to be employed under the Government as interpreters, teachers, or in some other capacity they are very apt to revert, upon their return to the tribe, to the condition in which the tribe itself may be.

Mr. DORSEY. Does not that apply to the Blanket Indians, not to Indians who have built houses and have acquired some of the civilization we are trying to teach them?

Mr. HOLMAN. As a general thing even among the Blanket Indians there are houses, very unpretending frame or log buildings, I admit. I suppose there must be a thousand houses in a single agency among the Sioux Indians. Under the encouragement of the Government they build a large number of houses and assist in a great deal of the work themselves. The Government furnishes the doors and windows; the Indians haul the logs, &c., and assist in building the houses.

Mr. LONG. In that work have not some of the boys educated at the East assisted?

Mr. HOLMAN. I cannot say as to that, because no instance of that kind came under our observation.

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, of Kentucky. Has the education of the Indians at these various places demonstrated the capacity of the Indians for ordinary Anglo-Saxon civilization and its life?

Mr. RYAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. HOLMAN. I think so. I think there are a great many Indians now on the smaller reservations who are perfectly able to take care of themselves. I think you might name a very considerable list of reservations where the agencies ought to be abolished, and the lands assigned to the Indians in severalty.

When an Indian gets so advanced that he understands the value of property and the benefit of labor you can safely give him his land. He will settle down upon it and make progress year after year. There are many of the smaller tribes and combinations of fractions of tribes where the Indian is in a condition to assume the rights of citizenship to as great an extent as any of the Indians of Michigan or Northern Indiana. They are able to manage a farm, and to manage it with discretion, and to manage their affairs generally. I would not say that it would be wise to place the titles to the lands entirely under their control, because I think that a long time must elapse, possibly generations, before the Indian can hold his own against the white man.

For that reason I think the title to the lands should be suspended indefinitely until a time is reached when legislation upon that subject can be entered upon with full knowledge of all the facts and the best means of judging what can be safely done. But that the Indian is capable of improvement, capable of mastering the ordinary elements of an English education, capable of learning to work and of understanding the value and importance of labor, has been demonstrated over a very wide field.

Mr. LONG. Do you not think that a large part of the improvement and the increased civilization of which you speak has come not directly from the boys and girls educated in these Indian schools at the East, but from the fact that there has been a public sentiment which has found expression through those schools? In other words, has there not been a general influence emanating from the schools in the East which has reacted on the public opinion of the West and resulted in that improvement and advance in civilization?

Mr. HOLMAN. As to that, take such a school as the one which exists among the Flathead Indians; that school has an influence which is felt over a very wide area; tends to elevate to a certain extent all the surrounding people. It should be remembered that the Indian parents understand that they give up their children to the agent. The idea of sending them off to school does not enter into their minds; the idea is that they give them up to the agent. It is easy to see how such institutions as have been established and supported among the Sac and Fox Indians, industrial schools right in the midst of the tribes, are to be credited with a large proportion of the good work done.

Mr. LONG. I agree to that; only it occurs to me that those schools are to some extent the

Mr. RYAN.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I did not intend to participate in the general debate on this bill, simply because the discussion of the Indian policy, it seems to me, would perhaps have been more appropriate on a bill which it is supposed will soon be brought before the House for its consideration and action relative to the Sioux reservation. So far as the provisions of the pending bill are concerned there is not much room for discussion or controversy. The bill, in the light of existing policy, of existing treaty and existing law, has been, it seems to me, intelligently and wisely prepared in the main. I take the liberty to express this judgment because, as the older members of the House well know, I have been charged with the duty of assisting in the preparation of the Indian appropriation bill during the last four years. During that time I was rather an enthusiastic advocate of the policy of educating Indian children in the centers of civilization, and at all times urged liberal appropriations for that purpose.

During the last summer I was charged with others by this House with the duty of investigating this question, among others, on the reservations themselves, and we discharged that duty as far as it was practicable for us to do so.

I did not find a single instance, in all our investigation, of any Indian child who had been educated in any of the centers of civilization who had returned to his home who had not also returned to the condition of barbarism in which his tribe was at the time he returned, except those only who were sustained and held up by having been given employment by the Federal Government.

And with all due respect to my friend from Michigan [Mr. CUTCHEON] I have this to say to him. I think he will not find a single instance in the cases to which he has called the attention of the House where the child has sustained himself after having returned to his tribe, except where he has been given employment, and thereby has been sustained and held up by the Federal Government. I was compelled on that investigation to change my mind touching the policy of instructing Indian children in the centers of civilization. You lifted them rapidly, suddenly, from the very lowest depths of barbarism to the highest plane of our civilization. You isolated them from all their kindred, from all their original barbarous surroundings. You placed them in a position where they were surrounded only by the Anglo-Saxon civilization which we all enjoy and of which we boast as being the highest that exists. They made rapid progress. They made progress which was a marvel to all of us, and I do not mean to say that the money which was thus expended was injudiciously or unwisely expended. It illustrated to the American people everywhere in their own midst the capacity of the Indian for advancement, for development, for progress in civilization. It demonstrated the fact that he is capable of that development which shall give to him and his people a fair degree at least of Anglo-Saxon civilization. And in that respect creating a conviction of that kind everywhere, it has been useful in solving the great question of the civilization of the Indians. But beyond that I have seen no satisfactory results.

When his education has been thus completed amidst the best civilization we have, in schools to which we send our own children, where he enjoys all the advantages, all of the luxuries, if you please, of our own civilization, you hurl him down with violence into the very depths of the barbarism from which you took him.

He is there immediately surrounded by influences of a degrading character. If there is no employment given him by the Government, and if the white man does not take him by the hand and hold him up, if he does not have this assistance and this aid, the rude hand of barbarism seizes him and drags him down in every instance. He returns to his tribe, to his people, to the barbarism from which you took him, and the result is he derives no benefit from the education which you have given him.

But not so when you educate him properly in the midst of the tribal surroundings. There his daily progress is watched with interest by the tribe, and all of the beneficial influences of civilization shed their light not only over the child who is being educated, tending to elevate him, but lifts up the tribe to a greater or less extent in every instance. The tribe becomes accustomed to the elevation you give to the child, and when he finally returns to his tribe there is no shock, no sudden change, no rude awakening to conditions and influences with which he and his people are not already famil-

iar. He returns to surroundings which have been elevated to some extent by the efforts to elevate him, for the education of the child has to some extent lifted the barbarism from the parent and from the tribe itself, and he finds no difficulty in maintaining the standard to which he has been trained.

I do not care now, sir, to pursue this subject further than to say that I will go as far as the farthest in making appropriations for the industrial education of the Indian children upon the reservations. I believe no more powerful agency can be employed to civilize the Indian and to educate his children.

The schools we have already established at Government expense, Carlisle, Salem, Genoa, Chilocco, and Haskell Institute, it is perhaps well to maintain, but I do not think it advisable to establish others remote from the reservations.

Mr. CUTCHEON. I suppose you would educate them in the English language, would you not?

Mr. RYAN. Yes, sir; I would.

I believe that labor and the education of the children should always go hand in hand; and when they go hand in hand in the presence of the Indian tribes they have a powerful influence in civilizing and elevating the Indian people.

I wish now to call the attention of the House for a moment to the views of one who has had long experience among the Indians as an educator, and who impressed favorably the entire committee. I shall read a portion of the testimony of this man who has been a missionary among the Indians for a long period of time. We found him engaged in his Christian work at the Rosebud agency among the Sioux Indians, and thought him as intelligent and as clear upon the subject of Indian education as any gentleman with whom we came in contact during all our summer work. He says in reference to this subject:

#### SCHOOLS ON AND SCHOOLS OFF RESERVATIONS.

As to the comparative merits of boarding schools at or near agencies where the children are educated in the presence of their own people, and surrounded by the influences, customs, and fashions of which the effort is being made to elevate them, and those schools in which children are taken for long distances from their homes, and surrounded wholly, for a period of years, by the atmosphere of a high civilization, and the influences which come to them from it alone, to the entire exclusion of all thought, and almost of accurate remembrance of the life which their own people are living at home, and to which they themselves must return when their school days are over, my opinion is, that the preference should be strongly in favor of the agency school. As supplementary to the work done by agency schools, and as a means for giving opportunities for higher culture and more thorough training to graduates of agency schools who prove themselves capable and desirous of it, I think the schools in the midst of civilization will accomplish a most useful work; but without the preliminary work done by the camp day school, and the agency boarding school, will accomplish very little in permanent results, and tend rather to discourage the few who are educated at them than to elevate the whole people by the influence which such pupils will be able to exert when they return to their homes. Pupils educated in the midst of their own people, and in the face of the old life which we endeavor to induce them to abandon, are subject to no shock or disappointment in going out from the schools to the camps and to take up again their life in their respective homes, and are, on that account, much stronger to maintain the standard they have acquired under the influence of their teachers. On the other hand, those who are educated at schools in centers of civilization are comparatively weak when suddenly returned among their own people, and, so far as I have been enabled to observe, have but little moral courage to maintain the standard acquired, and, exercising but little influence among the masses, tend rather to fall back themselves into the old ways utterly dispirited. It is but natural that it should be so, and unless strong and active civilizing influences are kept constantly bearing upon the people in their homes and nuclei of civilization formed to which these pupils can return and draw strength, the work put upon them in those schools will, for the most part, fade out and be lost as water poured upon the sand.

That is in accord with the testimony of every intelligent educator we met in the Indian country.

Mr. CUTCHEON. What is the name of this witness?

Mr. RYAN. The witness to whom I referred is Rev. William J. Cleveland. Now a word in regard to the day schools. While I do not mean to be understood as saying that the day school is a total failure I do mean to be understood as saying that the money we expend for day schools could generally be more profitably expended by using it for industrial schools on the reservations.

The day school has no attraction for the child of the savage. It should be borne in mind that members of the Indian tribes that are uncivilized send their children to school reluctantly; and therefore it has been found impracticable, in almost all cases, to maintain a day school among such tribes of Indians in any degree of efficiency. And before in my judgment, day schools should be maintained to any extent, civilization in the tribes ought to proceed so far that there should be an inclination on the part of the parents to educate their children.

Mr. CUTCHEON. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. RYAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUTCHEON. I would like to ask the gentleman if he makes this as a universal state-



ment as to the day schools, or merely as a general statement.

Mr. RYAN. I thought I had qualified my statements by saying that among the wilder tribes I think the day school is almost a total failure; that in order to maintain a day school with any degree of efficiency there must be such a degree of civilization in the tribe as has created a desire on the part of parents to educate their children. I do not refer to industrial schools; these are a grand success on all reservations.

Mr. CUTCHEON. May I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that in that community of which I spoke on the Cheyenne River, which consisted six years ago of blanket Indians, last season they had twice as many applications for admission—and this was a mission school not a United States school—as it was possible for them to receive or accommodate? It is a matter, therefore, rather of administration, I apprehend, than otherwise.

Mr. RYAN. It may be a matter of administration to some extent. The methods employed in administration may be judicious or they may be unwise. However, the school you refer to is, I think, an industrial school. And the point I have to make is this: that you have to beget a desire on the part of parents to educate their children before they will send them to a day school. Where the child may at will go and come the tendency among the wilder tribes is to encourage the children to stay away, and it is frequently the case that the parents go and take them out, and usually the child goes to school, if at all, so irregularly as to do it little or no good.

Mr. THROCKMORTON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I propose to occupy the time of the committee for the purpose of calling attention to what I conceive to be one of the greatest evils in the administration of our Government. I believe our whole Indian policy as it has been pursued for a great many years is wrong; that there is a vast expenditure of money not warranted by any treaty stipulation, or which will result in any benefit to the Government or to the Indians.

In common with many others I had hoped with a change in the administration of the Government there would be a change in respect to the management of the Indian affairs of the country. But it seems, in the absence of recommendations of the executive officers of the Government and from the features of this appropriation bill, we are to continue in the same old grooves, with no marked or distinctive change in the policy heretofore pursued or in a reduction of expenditures.

On the contrary, there is a decided increase in a direction not made obligatory by any treaty stipulation and justified by no good results. I allude to the increased provisions of the bill for educational purposes.

Take the last treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, on page 132 of the Book of Treaties, seventh article, and you will find it says:

ART. 7. In order to insure the civilization of the tribes entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially by such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, and, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indian reservation 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 provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

It will be noticed that the section says, "in order to insure civilization" the necessity of education is admitted, and the Agent is charged with the duty of seeing that the children attend school, and for every thirty so attending a teacher "competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished," &c. This word "civilization" nowhere else occurs in the treaty. The same language is used in article 4 of the treaty of May, 1868, with the Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahoes, and the word "civilization" occurs nowhere else in that treaty. The same language and same conditions apply in the treaty of August, 1868, with the Kiowa and Comanche Indians. I might continue and show the same modest language in respect to "civilization" and "education" in other treaties, sometimes where only one teacher is required, and again where an additional teacher is required for every thirty children attending school.

Then, sir, may I not ask, was it ever contemplated that these unpretensions in the treaties

for Agent, interpreters, physicians, engineers, farmers, teachers, blacksmiths, carpenters and millers should be supplemented with from twenty-five to sixty additional employes, including butchers to slaughter animals, for the most expert butchers in the world, whose training from infancy has been in this particular line of work; for cooks to prepare dainty food for a people reared on raw and half-roasted food; bakers to prepare bread for savages who were raised on roasted acorns and mesquite beans; for herders to attend cattle for the most perfect horsemen on earth; for tailors and seamstresses and laundresses to cut and make garments and keep them nicely laundered for people who wear breech-clouts and blankets, and industrial teachers for the laziest creatures on earth.

In answer to this it may be said that these butchers, cooks, tailors, herders, bakers, laundresses, matrons, and seamstresses are not used for the Indians, but are used for the employes and industrial schools. If this is so it is high time an end was put to it. Why should not the agent, physician, and other employes provide for their own butchering, cooking, washing, laundering, &c.? Their salaries are sufficiently high for this purpose; besides, it is not expected that the Government will keep a hotel for their accommodation. Instead of a tailor to cut the garments, seamstresses to make them, and laundresses to wash and iron for the pupils, these things should be done by themselves or their people. It is a premium offered to idleness. In this connection I would say that the Indian women are noted for fine embroidery of silk and beads on cloth and buckskin. The finest made buckskin hunting-shirt I ever saw, glittering with beads and silk of various colors, with collar and cuffs of otter fur, was made by wild Comanche squaws.

For the purpose of civilization only a teacher is required who can teach the ordinary elements of an English education; then, I ask where is the authority or necessity of having one grand chief superintendent of schools at a salary of \$3,000 and a retinue of clerks, and one or more superintendents at the different agencies at good round salaries, besides the great number of industrial teachers? Why, when only this ordinary English education is stipulated for, should more than a million of dollars be appropriated for industrial schools and for training schools at points thousands of miles from their homes, necessitating extraordinary appropriations for transportation? No more stupendous folly, no more wasteful use of the people's money was ever perpetrated.

Mr. Chairman, I have said that this appropriation is useless and extravagant. I say so because it is money thrown away. The utmost we can expect to do in the way of education for the Indian is to make the effort to teach him the elements of an ordinary English education. This is provided for in the treaties, and should be faithfully carried out. You can not make a Christian out of a Jew or a Mohammedan, nor can you make a Jew or a Mohammedan out of a Christian. Their religious principles have been grounded into them by centuries and ages of teaching, habits, thoughts and associations; no more can you change in a day or a generation the teachings, habits, thoughts, and associations of the untutored savage of the mountains and plains.

For centuries they have been reared in the belief that the more atrocities they commit, the more scalps wrung from their foes, the greater their reward in the happy hunting grounds of the hereafter.

You may take his child and educate him at Carlisle or Hampton, and keep him for years in fretful exile, surrounded by the highest types of civilization, and teach his unwilling hands to learn the handicraft of the white man; but when he returns to his people the longings of his heart will be gratified by returning to the ways of his fathers. Scarcely one in one hundred of those so educated will appreciate the advantages forced on them. On the contrary, in many instances this contact with civilization has rendered them the most cunning and treacherous of their race.

I speak especially of the plains and mountain Indians; there is as marked a distinction between those Indians and the Indians that formerly inhabited the country between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River as there is between the ferocious wolves of the plains and the dogs of our households.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to present in the briefest possible manner my solution of the Indian problem. What I would do so far as this

bill is concerned, if the rules permit, would be to insert a provision at its close requiring Army officers, at the end of this fiscal year to be detailed and selected from the retired-list to act as agents, special agents, inspectors, superintendents of schools, and as commissioners to assist in the purchase of goods and overlooking contracts, and non-commissioned officers and privates to act as clerks at the agencies and as a police force, and a further provision that the appropriations for the industrial schools, and the other schools at Hampton, Carlisle, Genoa, Salem, Lincoln, and all of them, should cease with the end of this fiscal year. This would give timely notice to all concerned and prepare the way for reform and economy.

The next great step to accomplish reform, economy, and energy in the Indian service would be, with their consent, to erect the five civilized nations into a Territory, giving them a governor from among their own people, allowing them a Territorial Legislature, that is already provided for by treaties, giving such Legislature, jurisdiction of all matters affecting their interests with the General Government, and regulating intercourse among themselves; give them a Delegate on this floor, elected alternately from the several nations, to represent their wishes and interests; and as the less civilized tribes of the Territory are prepared for it admit them into this Territorial government; leave these civilized nations as free to control and dispose of their lands, according to their own views and wishes, as were the people of Kentucky and Texas; allow their national authorities, governors, Legislatures, and courts to administer and execute their own laws, protect the rights of their people, and attend to their own domestic concerns as freely and fully as they are doing to-day; extend the civil as well as the criminal jurisdiction of the Federal courts over them in the same manner as it extended over the other organized Territories of the country; extend to them citizenship and the protection of life, liberty, and property as amply as the Constitution and laws extend it over our own people; abolish their agency and deal with them like you do with other free and intelligent people who have churches, and schools, and academies scattered everywhere among them. Do these things, and it will be but a few years until you will have another Territory knocking at your doors for admittance into the sisterhood of States that will be as fair and peerless in all that constitutes a grand and noble State as any now in this galaxy of States.

In respect to other tribes, comply in the most liberal manner with all treaty obligations, and with the weak and needy go beyond this; curtail their reservations, with their consent, by giving an equivalent, but do not crowd them on the same area of land upon which white men would make a comfortable support.

Discontinue the vast sums you have been appropriating for industrial and boarding schools and for the support of sinecures in office, and cut off large sums for transportation; let them attend their own home schools and the schools of religious denominations among them, and when there is found now and then a bright pupil who would appreciate better advantages send him to an academy in one of the civilized nations, where they exist and are conducted under the auspices of Indians—by encouraging the schools and placing the unsavage among his kind, where he will feel more at home; encourage all religious denominations to establish churches and schools among them, and aid these religious schools in a moderate and prudent way; dispense with every civilian employe at the agencies except the interpreters, physicians, engineers, teachers, farmers, millers, carpenters and blacksmiths required by the treaties.

Detail from the Army and take from retired-list officers to serve as agents, inspectors, and superintendents, and non-commissioned officers or privates to act as clerks. Abolish the Indian police, and instead of encouraging them to ride about in idleness and depend upon the Government for rations and a salary teach them to rely upon their own exertions for a support, and detail non-commissioned officers and privates, changing them from time to time, to act as a police and keep from among the Indians bad white men who violate the intercourse laws. Do these things with the wilder tribes and teach them to rely on their own exertions, and patient persistence in this policy you will gradually make progress with the present generation and greatly elevate succeeding ones.



# Eadle Keatah Toh, —OR— THE MORNING STAR.

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CARLISLE, PA., MARCH, 1886.

## THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE INDIAN SCHOOL.

Indian schools have had extraordinary attention from the House of Representatives during the past month, and we double the size of our paper that we may give a liberal synopsis of the views announced by different legislators. It has not been possible to give all the addresses, but we have made an impartial selection. As a part of the history of the period bearing upon the progress of Indian schools and civilizing work, this discussion appears of no little importance.

If the object of the enemies of Indian progress has been to create a war among their friends and those who labor in the schools, it would seem to have been a failure.

If their object has been to delay action and hinder the growth of school and other work, it would seem that they also have failed in that. The machinery is too well in motion to be stopped by any man or set of men.

The time has arrived and the country demands that the Indians should have the rights of men among us.

The continual assumption that there is something in the Indian making him irreclaimable and fatally different from all other people is finding its contradiction wherever he is brought into the experiences of civilization.

By his request to furnish him data and views during the debate, we wrote to Mr. Cutcheon, of Michigan, the following communications:

"CARLISLE, PA., March 17, 1886.—Letter just received. We have returned to 45 tribes 438 pupils. I have record information that 34 are now employed as teachers, &c., in agency and other schools; that 42 are working for Government at agencies; that 27 are farming for themselves, that 56 are attending agency or other schools as pupils, that 9 are employed as clerks in stores, 41 are reported as doing nothing, 63 have died. Of the balance, I have no certain information, but know that a good proportion are employed as scouts and policemen. Since school began October 1879, we have had 1041 students; of these I have sent into families hereabouts for longer or shorter periods 716, coming from all tribes, 24 being Apaches, and a full proportion being Sioux, Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes and others of the so called bad tribes. Only 7 of this whole number have been charged with criminal conduct. We always require that unsatisfactory pupils be returned to the school. Forty-two were so returned, 84 are out at present, these attend school among the whites and are mainly in excess of the number appropriated for, and without material cost to the Government.

This system qualifies for a change from tribal and reservation life to that of a citizen, and begets the desire for it. Scarcely a student but is able to take care of him or herself among a civilized people at the end of their five years course. So far as my somewhat extended information goes, the Committee's visits to agencies seem to have been of the briefest

character. I invited and urged Mr. Holman to bring his Committee to Carlisle. He made two promises that he would do so, but he did not. It would seem important that the coroner should at least view the corpse. I have read the speeches of Mr. Cannon and Mr. Holman and others carefully, and trust that the Committee will furnish the minutest report with names of witnesses and evidence taken.

Looking at the black sheep alone the best institutions in the world will stand condemned. It is the murderers and house breakers in the great city whose work is fully paraded in the morning papers, and not the work of the 800,000 non-criminal citizens.

In regard to the cost of Carlisle as compared to Agency Boarding Schools, see on page 30, near top, this year's report of Indian School Superintendent, that the per capita cost per month of Agency Boarding Schools is \$14.55, or \$174.60 per annum. Congress gave us last year \$175.00 per capita. Our work continues and the training goes on the full twelve months. Agency Boarding Schools remand their children to camp for two or three months and education goes backward. In the tribes the industrial systems and examples are at the minimum and the whole tendency is to consolidate, unify and strengthen the tribes as such and create petty nations, as Chocaw, Creek, &c. Here, with a great mixture of tribes and surrounded by civilization, that feeling is broken up and we educate in loyalty to the Government and individual manhood which would continue and grow on to perfection in proper soil.

Citizenship and industry are the great influences here, while per contra there is no place in the United States where citizenship and industry are at a greater discount than upon an Indian reservation. The million dollars the Indian Committee recommended for education this year is objected to! I hear nothing outside of Congress that warrants the views expressed. It ought to be two millions for next year. The beneficence of one man (Stephen Girard) gives nearly five hundred thousand dollars annually for the education and support of eleven to twelve hundred fatherless lads from Philadelphia, who have no such claims upon his estate as helpless Indian youth have upon the United States. Turn on all the light and the most competent and experienced investigation you can, both here and all over the field, and you will then adopt means big enough to release the Indian quickly from his ignorance and reservation prison."

"March 18th.—In my telegram of yesterday I failed to say that not one of the whole 1041 pupils entering this school since it began, came to it under any press of denial of rations or any intimidation of any sort and so far as I know the statements to Mr. Holman and his committee that pressure or force of any character was used are the purest fabrications. More than one-third of the pupils I brought in myself, and I never used any influence, nor did any agent or other authority over the Indians ever use any influence but the kindest arguments, and in all cases in my own personal knowledge, if an Indian parent wanted to retract the child before starting it was allowed. Nevertheless I believe in compulsory education for Indians as well as whites and the guardian Government is in this case responsible for many of the treaties provide for it. (See Revision of Indian Treaties, page 322, Art. 7—page 530, Art. 7—page 651, Art. 3—page 918, Art. 7—page 935, Art. 7—page 984, Art. 8, et al.)

In regard to the number of deaths (63), I ought to say that in my experience here, and observation of the Indian school service every where, I have found that the Indians are quite as anxious to rid themselves of incompetents and incorrigibles as our own race, and as no other asylums or hospitals are open to them they send ailing and bad children to the schools, if they can; and as we only ask them to give us twenty to twenty-five per cent, for schools, they are not fairly represented by our mortality list. The Agency schools fare no better than we do. If the Government would commit itself to the work of educating the Indians as though it intended to do it up, once for all, little or no trouble would be found in getting all the children into schools of some sort—day, agency, boarding, mission, remote training and industrial, or the common and other school systems of the country, and then the end would be near.

We can break up the pauper system and add the full average of the mass of Indians to the productive side if we care to, and that, too, inside of ten years. Civilization like corn and other grains is purely a crop raised by planting

and cultivation, and the extent of the planting and the thoroughness of the cultivation determines the crop. Any farmer planting only ten grains of corn or a half a pint of wheat to the acre, and demanding a yield of a hundred bushels of the one or forty bushels of the other from the acre, would be insane. By his very scant planting he invites the weeds to grow, and choke that he does plant. Is the Government any wiser in its scant planting of industry, education, and civilization among the Indians? When I studied Geography, all of Kansas and Nebraska was designated the "Great American Desert." What a tremendous lie it was! Under proper influences the alleged desert character of the Indian will as significantly fade away.

One of the Agencies Mr. Holman's committee visited was the Pine Ridge Agency, of Dakota. The Agent, Dr. McGillicuddy, in a letter just received, dated the 14th of March, says of our returned Carlisle students as follows: "Maggie is married to Guy Belt, a full-blood Indian trader, and is doing well. Frank Twiss is our tinsmith; Edgar Fire Thunder, assistant blacksmith. Lizzie Glode is married to a Ponca half-breed and is assisting in the Medicine Root day school. Clarence Three Stars is still doing well as assistant teacher in the boarding school. Tommy is office boy. Baldwin and Guy are working among the Indians building houses. Amos is working among some of his relatives at Cheyenne agency. Ralph is doing well on Medicine Root Creek, and will be given a position soon. So you see the Pine Ridge children are accounted for and none have gone back to the blanket."

The point made that our students unsupported by Government employment, fall back, is in a measure correct, though, if it were significant, we could present enough instances to weaken it materially.

I indicated this difficulty in my last annual report, in which I said, "If the Government is compelled to provide paid places for all the young Indians the Government may educate, the Government increases its burden of care and expense instead of relieving itself of it." I said this in connection with our system of placing on farms, which to me offers something of a solution for the difficulty. It must not be forgotten that the United States Government maintains absolute control of every industry and expenditure on Indian Reservations. No other employer is allowed in the field. No money goes there, nor skill, nor development of any sort, except under the jealous supervision of the Government, as established by the intercourse laws more than half a century ago. If then these young people are not employed by the Government, what are they to do? They are not capitalists, and must learn to serve before they become masters. Remanded by every influence, Governmental, Political, and Religious, back to their homes (so called) they must, of necessity be dependent on the absolutism which reigns there. Consign the graduates of our best colleges as inexorably to the same limited areas, political and commercial nonentity and degraded association, and they would nearly as soon drop to the 'blanket condition.' Opportunity is necessary to make the man."

Indian schools remote from reservations and all other plans and systems which open ways for the Indian to escape into and obtain practical knowledge of civilized life, have nothing to fear from the fullest discussion and comparison.

The proposition that a Carlisle school located in the heart of the Sioux reserve would have a wonderful influence on that great tribe, is theoretically excellent but impossible in practice. The Carlisle school with all its machinery and details is only possible at Carlisle and surrounded by the civilization of Pennsylvania. We never knew of an educated Indian capable of meeting the details of citizen life among civilized people who did not receive his education away from his Indian surroundings and in the midst of civilized, citizen people. It is just as impossible to implant the knowledge and skill of United States citizenship on an Indian reservation as it would be to make competent sailors by training them on dry land. We are either to crowd the Indians out of existence and down to death, or assimilate them.

If the former, then no schools, no Christian effort of any sort, with full swing of the ration and idle reservation life is the way. If we wish to assimilate the Indian, to set him on his feet, to make him an American citizen, we



must open the door somehow, and invite him to emigrate into the United States and give him the opportunity to learn in the school of citizenship, and he will assimilate. In this case the potent factors will be all schools on and off reservations. The day, boarding, and mission schools on reservations, if properly carried on will get him in the notion of leaving his "city of destruction" and bring him through the "slough of despond" to the "wicket-gate" where he may enter the schools within the centres of civilization, including, and best of all, the school systems of the country. In all schools, day, boarding and mission schools on reservations, training schools away from reservations and the common schools of the country, the abominable practice of cramming the Indian's mind with the idea that being born a Sioux or a Comanche, always and inexorably bound down to the slow progress the most obdurate Sioux or Comanche may make, should be broken up.

Loyalty to the United States Government, and to the righteousness, independence, manhood and ability of individual self-support are the lessons to be learned, and are of incomparably more value to him than the fruits of any Government pensions, lands, annuities, rations or what not. For without the former these last must be forever doled out to him, by another, as to an infant. With independent individual manhood and ability he may gain an estate. Without them he cannot hold one. Even the Cherokees, Creeks and Chickasaws, who are called civilized, lacking these personality rights, find it impossible to hold their lands.

THE ordinary school systems of the states require from eight to nine years to carry an Anglo-Saxon pupil through to graduation from the high school grade. To become a teacher it is required that after these eight or nine years in the public schools the subject shall pass through a Normal school term of two or three years, or a college course of four years, and even this long training by no means insures a successful career.

There are those in power who demand that young Indians taken from camp life and placed in an Eastern school for three to five years shall become, without fail, entirely capable of performing successful work as teachers, mechanics, etc., at their homes and among their people; that they shall stand without fault or failure, and shall be independent and self-supporting representatives of civilization. This, mind you, is required of them in a place where there is little or no civilization and where independence and self-support are practically impossible, for the very reason that all the principles of management on their reservations, inaugurated by the Government makes the Indian and everybody else within the same bailiwick dependent on Government or outside support.

#### Indian Meeting in New York.

On Friday, the 2nd. of April, a large and most distinguished audience assembled in Association Hall, New York City, to discuss the Indian question. Chief Justice Daly presided, and speeches were made by Bishop Potter, Dr. John Hall, Dr. MacArthur, Herbert Welsh, Capt. Pratt, Dr. Ormiston, General Armstrong and Dr. Taylor. The interest of the audience held them for more than two hours, while almost every phase of the Indian question received some attention.

On motion of Bishop Potter seconded by Dr. Hall, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1st.—That this Assembly laments past apathy, and wrong in the treatment of the Indian tribes; and emphasizes the obligation upon us, as a nation, to labor for their civilization, and to accord to them the rights of citizenship.

2d.—That this Assembly recognizes the benevolent efforts now being made to give the Indians religious and secular education; rejoices in the greater care bestowed by successive Administrations upon their affairs; and strongly urges the employment of means adapted to their varied conditions, and fitted to give them lands in severalty, duly secured to them; and to raise them to self-support, and the safe enjoyment of social rights.

3d.—That the Chairman of this meeting be requested to communicate these resolutions to the President of the United States, and to the Secretary of the Interior.

One of the most interesting features of the

evening was the reading of the following personal letter from the President:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,

March 21, 1886.

DEAR MADAM: I have received your invitation to attend a meeting appointed for the purpose of considering the best mode for advancing a more liberal policy in the government of the Indians. The demands of official duties will not permit me to accept your invitation, but I cannot refrain from expressing my hearty sympathy with every movement in the direction of a proper solution of the important and difficult question which has challenged the attention and interest of a great number of the good people of the land. There is much to do. Good results will not attend the simple contemplation of the wrongs of the Indian, nor his present pitiable condition, and I believe there are and must be immediate steps to be taken and a way patiently trod before we can reach what we all desire—the civilization of the Indian and his investiture with all civil rights.

The question, it seems to me, should be: What are the most efficient means which can now be adopted for the ultimate accomplishment of these ends? Let us have a well defined plan of operation and adhere to it with constancy and persistency, nearing all the time the object of our efforts. Thanking you for your invitation to the meeting and the hospitality of your home, I am yours sincerely.

GROVER CLEVELAND

To Mrs. JOHN J. ASTOR, N. Y.

#### JOHN MENAUL'S LETTER.

##### Shameful Case of Kidnapping.

In the debates of Congress, it was boldly asserted that children were kidnapped and sent to Carlisle. Hundreds of letters attest the contrary. The following from one of our pupils to his father will suffice:

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,  
CARLISLE, PA.,

March 29, 1886.

JOHN CHAVES—MY DEAR FATHER:—I have sent the garden seeds which I hope you have received. I was very glad to hear from you and also through the good teacher at Laguna. The grass is getting green since the wet days.

There is much talk in Congress lately about removing all the schools in the east, to the Indian reservations. A representative named Mr. Holman is very much in favor of it. He has made a great many speeches in Washington, which perhaps might injure our school in some way. If those Congressmen who are in favor of it accomplish their work and all the schools in the east are removed, they would turn the Indians back to the old condition and make them walk on their heads with legs up, while the others are trying to make us walk on our feet so that we can see what's going on in other parts of the country, that is those who think we ought to have more schools in the east because we can learn faster where we have the very best opportunities to see the most wonderful things which we would never gaze at on the reservation. We have here everything to encourage us and build us up to manhood. While on the reservation there is not anything to encourage us and we will always be tied down by Mr. Ignorance. My school-mates who have good judgments think that we ought to have more schools in the east and I think so too.

Mr. Holman is greatly mistaken when he says that we are kidnapped, he cannot prove that it is so.

No matter how many parents he asked unless some Indian told him lies about it, but that wouldn't be the correct proof.

I wish you could write to the Congressmen and tell them that your boy is not stolen, but it is through your consent that I am here and able to write letters to you with my own thought for which I have worked hard.

#### The Farm Free From Debt.

A generous gift of \$5000 enabled us to make the last payment of \$4,200, on the school farm. This princely gift is from a lady whose lawyer in sending it says, "she first became interested in some of your Indians at St. Augustine a few years since and was much pleased with their appearance and the manner in which they appeared to be cared for. She desires that the gift should be used for the school in such manner as you shall deem best, and most for the benefit of the Indian."

#### To CAPT. PRATT:

Much is being said of the small results from the large expenditure on eastern schools for Indians. The talk is mainly of the failure of Indian boys and girls after a three or five years' training to at once transform the tribes to which they belong, into thrifty communities. No mention is made of any difficulties in the way, nor recognition of varied climate and soil, or of the surroundings of reservations generally more or less lawless and antagonistic to the Indian.

There is much that might be said in behalf of the returned pupil of an encouraging character, but I desire to call particular attention to a phase of the work done by Eastern schools that ought not to be overlooked. It is the practical effect these schools have had upon public sentiment in the awakening of an interest in the importance of educating the Indian, and going far to prove that education is the master-key to the Indian problem.

A few figures will tell the story. On March 3, 1819, Congress made its first appropriation for general Indian education. By this act \$10,000 was to be annually appropriated "for the civilization of Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements." After nearly 54 years this act was repealed Feb. 14, 1873. During that period \$540,000 had been set apart for the purpose of the act. (This sum and all those which follow are exclusive of treaty obligations for education and moneys appropriated in accordance with them.) Between 1870 and 1878 \$150,000 was appropriated for education. In 1878, the Indian department at Hampton was started from your work at Ft. Marion, Fla., and the gathering of children by you from the reservations. The following year Carlisle opened. Up to the opening of these schools the entire appropriation for general Indian education had been about \$700,000 for 60 years. During the first three and a half years of these schools the appropriations rose from \$60,000 to \$85,000. Delegations from Congress visited the schools and many persons all over the country looked upon the Indian boys and girls at work and watched from year to year their progress. Benevolent persons gave of their money to help forward this new enterprise, when at last the Indian was in sight, and the intelligent and disinterested were able to deal with the question of his capacity for education and civilization, from observation, and not from general theories based on the possibilities of mankind. As a result of this observation, in 1882 the appropriation for Indian education jumped from \$85,000 to \$532,200, and new schools were started upon the plan of Carlisle and Hampton. The impetus then given has gone on until at the present time there are six Indian training schools in operation off reservations, besides other schools in the States which have opened an Indian department or have taken in Indian pupils at Government expense, and the appropriation for 1885 exceeded \$1,000,000. The result stands as follows:

Prior to the establishment of Hampton Indian Department and Carlisle Training School the amount appropriated between 1819 and 1878 for general Indian education was \$590,000; from 1878 to 1885 inclusive, the appropriations amount to \$3,773,667. No stronger evidence than this could be given to show the influence of these schools upon public sentiment in arousing an intelligent interest in the genuine civilization of the Indians. The Indian department at Hampton and the school at Carlisle have cost the Government during their terms of existence, a little over seven years, \$600,000, and these schools have been largely instrumental in securing during the last seven years over \$3,000,000 for the education of Indians all over the country. In the face of this fact one can hardly say that the investment of the \$600,000, in these eastern schools and which has yielded up to the present time, at the rate of 71 2-5 per cent, is a small result and void of success.

One should also remember that they have set forces in motion which figures cannot fully set forth, that is the uplifting of hundreds of lives otherwise left desolate of courage and opportunity.

A. C. FLETCHER.

WASHINGTON, April 7, '86.

The facilities for work in the printing office have been greatly increased by the generous gift of \$1000, for the purpose, from a Philadelphia lady. This has provided us with a Country Campbell press, a full supply of type, and other conveniences without which we have been greatly hampered in our work.



MR. WELLBORN.

MR. WELLBORN said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: When I called up this bill for consideration a few days ago my purpose was not to engage in any general debate that might be precipitated on it, and I would not now depart from the purpose then formed were it not for certain unjust criticisms and attacks made on the bill, which I can not and will not suffer to pass unchallenged. My remarks of course will be of a desultory character, because responsive strictly to these criticisms and attacks.

I shall first give attention to the remarks of my colleague [Mr. THROCKMORTON], and I do so because it seems he is the only person on this floor who has undertaken to make a general assault along the whole line against this bill.

The first criticism made by the gentleman from Texas I find near the beginning of his speech and it is in this language:

In common with many others I had hoped with a change in the administration of the Government there would be a change in respect to the management of the Indian affairs of the country. But it seems, in the absence of recommendations of the executive officers of the Government and from the features of this appropriation bill, we are to continue in the same old grooves, with no marked or distinctive change in the policy heretofore pursued or in a reduction of expenditures.

On the contrary there is a decided increase in a direction not made obligatory by any treaty stipulation and justified by no good results. I allude to the increased provisions of the bill for educational purposes.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in opposition to this statement of the gentleman from Texas, I shall do nothing more than place the facts of the situation before the committee. The amount carried by this bill is, in round numbers, five million and a half of dollars, being \$274,000 less than the bill of the last year. The increase to which the gentleman from Texas alludes, that of educational items, is \$14,350. Yet the gentleman emphasizes the slight increase for educational purposes, and utterly ignores the large reduction of \$274,000 in the aggregate of the bill.

Leaving out of count the small increase in the educational appropriations, the reduction in the bill is \$299,000 as compared with the bill of last year, while the increase to which the gentleman refers is only \$14,350. And yet he says that there is no "marked or distinctive change in the reduction of expenditures, but, on the contrary, a decided increase in a direction not warranted by treaty stipulation," &c.

All I ask is that the intelligent representatives who constitute this great presence will take the facts of the situation and compare them with the statement of the gentleman from Texas, and then each for himself draw his own conclusion.

This bill carries five and a half million dollars. Assume that there are two hundred and sixty thousand Indians in the country, and you have a little more than \$21 for each Indian for the year. Now, I want to read in this connection an extract from the report of the last Indian Commissioner. He says:

I am not aware that any report from this office has ever shown just how much the Government contributes from the United States Treasury to feed and clothe the two hundred thousand Indians who are its wards, outside of the five civilized tribes. The public at large finds from the proceedings of Congress and the public press that \$5,000,000 in round numbers have been appropriated for the Indian service, and this gives to each Indian \$25, which, if true, would not enable any person, either white or Indian, to live very luxuriously, for it is a fraction less than 7 cents a day. But small as this is, it is by no means the worst features of the case, because after deducting from the \$5,000,000 the money due the Indians, and which the Government only holds in trust for them, and then deducting cost of transportation and other legitimate and necessary expenses, it is found, by a careful examination of the accounts, that the Indians actually get of the money belonging to the Government, to feed and clothe them, only about \$7 per annum per capita, or a fraction less than 2 cents a day for each Indian. It takes from the Treasury of the Government \$1,000 a year for each soldier in our Army, whose chief business it is to see that peace is preserved on the frontier, while it takes from the same source for each Indian only \$7.

Now, gentlemen sit here on this floor year after year and vote \$25,000,000 to the support of the Army—\$1,000 for each soldier, whose chief business it has been to hold the Indians in subjection and protect the whites from hostile irruptions and predatory incursions; and yet when a bill is presented accomplishing the same purpose at one-fifth the cost and in a peaceable and more effectual method they lift their hands in holy horror at the enormity of the appropriation. I say to the gentlemen, if they are earnestly in search of some method of reducing expenditures cut down the appropriation for the Army; it is no longer needed as of yore for Indian purposes. Thank God, in the grand march of events there has been discovered a less expensive and more effectual and more peaceable method of dealing with the Indians than through the bloody instrumentalities that inevitably pertain to the military arm of the Government.

There have been but two Indian policies, the

war policy and the peace policy. The former at enormous cost restrains and controls, for the time being, without any ultimate good, by the application of force. The latter, at immeasurably less cost, restrains and controls and elevates for all time by making the individual Indian a better and more intelligent man.

The gentleman from Texas says, were it in his power he would remit the Indian Bureau to Army management. My prayer is, that such a dire calamity may never befall the Republic and particularly the Indian tribes within its borders.

\* \* \* Now, Mr. Chairman, we have seized, as some one has said, upon the Indian's heritage, and it is a grand and magnificent heritage. Through its seizure, the Indian today is an alien and a stranger in his native land—a land within whose bosom the bones of his ancestors have slept for centuries. Sir, when I throw my eye upon this map of the Republic; when I reflect on its mighty domain, reaching from the great lakes of the north to our southern sea, and covering the vast stretch between the two oceans that wash our eastern and western shores; when I reflect that this vast imperial territory has been wrested from the Indian race without any sort of adequate compensation, I am filled with amazement that gentleman should complain that this Government is dealing too liberally with the Indian. Not only am I filled with amazement; but, sir, the depressing conviction forces itself upon my mind that in the sight of Him who holds in His hand the destinies of nations, as well as the fortunes of individuals, no atonement will be acceptable for the multiplied wrongs done the Indian race save the elevation of the remaining Indians to the plane of our civilization, and thier investiture with the richest of earthly boons—American citizenship. [Applause.]

The next criticism of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THROCKMORTON] on this bill relates to the educational items. With all kindness to my colleague, I must say that his remarks on this subject, with their usual proneness to error, strike at the very best features of the bill. Mr. Chairman, I repeat there is no feature of the bill, in my judgment more valuable, none to which I would cling with greater tenacity than the educational feature. The education of the Indian is imperatively demanded by two considerations:

First. As an act of justice.

Second, as a measure of public economy.

And by education, let me say right here that I mean not merely the knowledge acquired from books, but instruction also in all the manual avocations of civilized life. Teach them to become farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, mechanics, in a word all the manual trades common among us, and along with this give them the rudiments of an English education—reading, writing, arithmetic. None of the industrial schools on or off the reservations undertake to do more.

Reversing the order of the statement of these reasons, let us look at the question first from an economical standpoint. The Indians are here, and were before we came, and two hundred thousand of them, say, uncivilized. What shall we do with them? Pen them up on their reservations and butcher them as cattle? Even a man with a heart of adamant would condemn this. Shall they remain in their present condition and continue a perpetual charge upon the Government? No one will say "yes." What, then, is to be done? All answer, force them to work, and thus make them self-supporting. In this I concur most heartily. But how is it to be accomplished?

By immediately withholding from them the subsistence which the Government is now furnishing, and thus forcing them to labor? Why, Mr. Chairman, what would be the effect of this? There are twenty-seven thousand of the wild Sioux in Dakota, six or seven thousand Apaches in Arizona, of the ninety-three thousand Indians in the Indian Territory nineteen thousand of them may be said to be uncivilized, or but partially so; in a word there are scattered through different sections of the country, in round numbers, two hundred thousand of the uncivilized tribes. Suppose you suddenly withdraw the aid the Government is now giving, and thus reduce them to starving conditions, they would inevitably leave their reservations and scatter devastation and ruin broadcast over the land; and to remedy this state of things would cost the Government money enough to feed them for a hundred years. What, then, is to be done? The gentleman from Illinois says, give them at once allotments of land in severalty, accompanied with

the injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread all the days of thy life." The injunction is wise and of divine inspiration, and should be applied whenever possible; but the Indian must be fitted for civilized pursuits before he can follow them. The last step in the progress of the Indian toward civilization is the allotment to him of his lands in severalty; I mean to say rather, the last step is the breaking up of his tribal relations, and the individualizing of the man by allotting to him his lands in severalty.

This, however, I repeat, is the last step in the progress toward civilization. Before it can be ventured upon preparatory stages must be passed. And right here is the vulnerable point in the argument of my friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. The gentleman has not magnified the importance of allotting to the Indians their lands in severalty. The infirmity of his argument is that he has set the wrong time to do it. Why, Mr. Chairman, I can scarcely sketch in my own mind a picture more fearful, more terrific than would be the reality following the execution of the plan of the gentleman from Illinois. Suppose a day were fixed for its execution. Suppose the day be to-morrow. On that day, before the sun goes down, the reservation lines are all wiped out, the Indian is put upon his allotment and told to labor. The white men pour into the reservations and make their settlements. How long, think you, could the Indians remain upon their separate allotments? How long, think you, would it be before they would begin to gather in predatory bands? Why, Mr. Chairman, think of it! Turn loose two hundred thousand untamed Indians upon this country, and two millions of armed soldiers would be inadequate to the protection of the lives and property of our people. It is true, sir, that ultimately the Indian would be subdued and exterminated; but only after the expenditure of billions of treasure and the sacrifice of thousands of precious lives. I repeat, sir, that the allotment of lands to the Indians in severalty is important—indeed, it is the great goal toward which the philanthropy and the justice of this Government are tending; but it is the final step, and before it is taken the Indian must be prepared for it. I may state in passing that the Committee on Indian affairs have now in process of preparation a bill looking to this end, and I will state, moreover, that there are to-day in existence several Indian tribes which are ready for this allotment as soon as the necessary legislation is perfected. But, I again repeat, as my friend from Kansas [Mr. PERKINS] has suggested, that before you destroy the commune and establish individual ownership of property among the Indians they must be fitted for the change by preparatory stages, and I declare to-day as my solemn deliberate judgment that the only adequate preparation will be found to be through the education of the Indians.

By education, let me repeat with emphasis because I do not wish to be misunderstood, I mean not merely the knowledge acquired from books; I mean also instruction which will enable them to become farmers and mechanics, and, in short, will prepare them for all the various manual avocations of life. Along with such instruction I would give them the rudiments of an ordinary English education.

\* \* \* In conclusion Mr. Speaker, I want to emphasize the criticism I have made in reference to the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. That gentleman, always able is usually deliberate and conservative, but I think this House has never listened to more reckless counsel than that which he gave it a few days ago; and particularly was he unwise when he invited us to take the back track. "Let us," he said, "take the back track and get on the right track." I say to the gentleman from Illinois that we are now upon the right track and that we have been upon the right track for four years, ever since, under the auspices of the gentleman and his associates on the Committee on Appropriations, the real, practical work of Indian education was begun under the advice of Mr. Calhoun given sixty-seven years ago. We are on the right track. I tell you the education of the Indian race of America is the solvent of the Indian problem.

I want to say a word in reference to the position of my colleague touching Indian schools. There are three classes of Indian schools. The question of education is the important one, and should be settled in some way or other. There is the Indian day school upon the reservation; then there is the industrial boarding



school upon the reservation; then there is the industrial training school off the reservation.

In reference to the third class of schools there is a diversity of public sentiment. Some maintain the schools off the reservations are not of sufficient value to justify the expenditure; others maintain they are, and that they should be maintained. For one, I believe these schools off the reservations are valuable and ought to be supported. I would not expand the system, but I would keep it up to its present dimensions.

"But, oh," gentlemen tell us, "when the infant Ute goes back from these reservation schools he resolves back into barbarism! You must remember, Mr. Chairman, this system is still tentative. It has been in existence only three or four years, and I concede if you take one youth educated at Carlisle and put him back among his tribe he will yield to his associations and adopt the habits and customs of savage life again. But let me say this before I pass, that the education he received at Carlisle, the aspirations there implanted in his bosom for a higher destiny are not dead; they simply slumber.

Now, sir, these Indian schools are sending these increased numbers of educated Indian youths back to the Indian tribes. Carlisle is sending from forty to fifty. The Lincoln Institute is sending some, and the Lawrence school at Kausas is sending some. So if we maintain this system we will soon have in every tribe an association, so to speak, a nucleus which barbarism will not be able to crush out, a nucleus of civilization leading to grand results which will spread all over the Indian tribes. For that reason I would maintain the industrial schools off the reservations.

Now, in reference to the industrial schools on the reservations there is but one sentiment. No gentlemen who have given this subject considerate thought—or rather I will put the statement in this shape: During the time these schools have been in existence, and I have been in the position to come into contact with gentlemen who have given them careful thought and attention, I have never heard but one dissenting voice as to the practical value of these schools, and that was the voice of the gentleman from Texas a few days ago.

Now, the last class of schools is the Indian day school, and that is the school which the gentleman from Texas would perpetuate; but I declare to you to-day that the only question in reference to them is whether they are of sufficient value to merit any appropriation at all. He would repudiate the two schools which confessedly confer benefits on the Indian himself and encourage that Indian day school which seems to be of less value than any other.

Now, let me say in conclusion that we must not take the back track. Let me tell you again we are on the right move, and unless obstructed the train is in motion, and it is moving forward, its speed is increasing from day to day, and unless obstructed in its progress it will soon reach its point of destination, of civilization and citizenship of the American Indian. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I, for one, have an abiding faith that this issue will be reached at no distant day. I have faith, sir, in the American people. I believe the solution of the Indian question has been discovered. I believe that the American people have the intelligence and the courage to complete it. I have unfaltering confidence in the manhood of this country, in its intelligence, its integrity, and its courage, and I have reason for this confidence, as have all of us, because its loftiness, whether developed in northern latitudes or beneath southern skies has been signally illustrated at every stage in our country's growth.

Mr. Chairman, to this manhood, whose wisdom has been approved in peace and courage illustrated in war, now that it is thoroughly aroused to the magnitude and the pressing exigency of this Indian problem, may be safely left its settlement, and that settlement will be effected upon terms just to the Indian and honorable to our Government. God speed the day when it will be thus settled! God speed the day when this wretched, this unfortunate people, through the benevolence and through the energy of the American people and the American Government, will be rescued from degradation and barbarism and lifted to the plane of our own civilization and fitted for the duties and responsibilities and the blessings of American citizenship. When that day does come, sir, better satisfied will we be with ourselves as American citizens, while humanity everywhere will break forth in praise and

plaudit over the noblest consummation which on this planet public justice, quickened by private philanthropy, has yet been permitted to achieve. [Applause.]

CONTINUED FROM SIXTH PAGE.

result of the sentiment which established the schools at the East.

Mr. PERKINS. Criticism is made of the appropriations found in this bill for educational purposes. I might say briefly that the disposition of the committee was to strengthen the educational and Christianizing agencies of the Government at work for the good of the Indian, to aid them if necessary by increased appropriations, and to lessen and cut down expenditures in other particulars. That is to say, we have sought to do that which was calculated to make the Indian self-sustaining and independent of the Government, to cultivate his individuality, to advance his educational and moral interests, hoping that in the end the necessity for this annual appropriation might cease to exist.

As has been suggested there is found in this bill an appropriation of \$1,099,000 for educational purposes. Some of this expenditure is made necessary in fulfilling treaty obligations, but much of it is independent of treaty stipulations. The right to make this appropriation—the constitutional authority of Congress to provide for the education of this class—has been questioned. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] suggested in reply where he found constitutional authority for this appropriation; and I think he might have suggested further that it is found in the "general welfare clause" of the constitution, which authorizes Congress—

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

We find these people among us, occupying reservations set apart for their habitation. We find them in a nomadic, blanketed condition. We believe the public good demands that, as rapidly as may be, these reservations should be broken up; that these tribal organizations should cease to exist; that the "commune" shall be destroyed, and the dignity and protection of the American citizen extended to this people. To do this they must be educated; to do this they must be enlightened; to do this they must be Christianized; and it was the feeling and desire of our committee, as it has been the feeling and desire of the Appropriations Committee heretofore, to strengthen those agencies which are likely to accomplish this result. I think the constitutional authority is clearly expressed in the clause which I have just cited.

When we remember that the first appropriation for this purpose was made only ten years ago, when the insignificant sum of \$20,000 was appropriated; is it remarkable that we can not find in these reservations and scattered throughout the country the cultivated, educated Indian that we would like to see or that some gentlemen would expect? This system of education is of recent growth. It is fostered and encouraged by the country; and I believe that the experiment—because I am willing to concede the work is largely experimental—justifies the appropriations we have made for this purpose and the appropriation now reported for the consideration of this House.

Criticism is made of the schools in Pennsylvania, in Kansas, in Nebraska, and other Indian industrial schools; yet in my judgment no school can be found throughout this land, whether upon an Indian reservation or elsewhere, which in the same period has been doing better and more efficient work or which has accomplished more substantial results than the school at Carlisle, Pa.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman permit me a moment? I admit that at Carlisle and other schools which have been referred to the children while in the schools make magnificent progress in education; but I do say that without exception, when they return to the tribes where they must live, if the sustaining influence of the Government is withdrawn, they drop back at once into the savage condition; they are compelled to succumb to the sentiments of the tribe, the evil influences of which they absorb, instead of retaining the good that they have received at Carlisle or elsewhere; so that their condition is worse than if they had never been taken from the reservation.

Mr. CUTCHERON. Why worse?

Mr. PERKINS. I understand the argument made against these Indian schools to be as indicated by the remark of the gentleman

from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], and I admit there is some force in it; but I think the apparent foundation for the argument results largely from the fact that this is a new departure; that these industrial schools are of recent creation; that the scholars who have been taken from these Indian reservations returned there when educated without the necessary moral support to sustain them or to enable them to break down the ignorance and superstition that surrounds them.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman allow me one further remark?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. The case being, as the gentleman just states, then, instead of sending ten or twelve hundred children now in these schools back into the tribes to lapse into barbarism, as they are sure to do, would it not be wise and humane to make further appropriations for giving them a start this side of the Mississippi River, among the white people, keeping them away from the tribes, thus preserving, at least, those that we educate?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, there is nothing in this bill that prevents such a policy. There is nothing in this bill that compels the return of these Indians when educated, to their reservations. There is nothing which deprives them of the right of becoming citizens of the United States and discharging the responsibilities of such.

But in that connection I was about to make this suggestion, Mr. Chairman: Take one Indian child from the Sioux reservation in Dakota, one from the Winnebagoes in Minnesota or Wisconsin, one from the Kiowa agency in Indian Territory, one from the Navajoes in New Mexico, and so from reservations scattered throughout the country, educate them at Carlisle, and when educated return them to their reservations; and then, as suggested, the ignorance and superstition which surrounds them works their demoralization and deterioration. But when we have these schools at Carlisle, at Lawrence, at Hampton, and other places working together, educating not one from a single reservation but half a dozen or a dozen from each, and adding to the number each year, then these pupils when returned to their homes will be capable very greatly of defending themselves from the demoralizing effect of their surroundings. They will form an element and influence that will be capable of resisting the evil tendencies of which the gentleman from Illinois has spoken, and will become an educating force for the good of others. Thus we shall find that in the end something more will be accomplished than the education of the individual; and this, I think, is what the experiment will lead to. It has been suggested that we should have reservation industrial schools. I challenge gentlemen to point to a reservation industrial school in the country that has accomplished more or is accomplishing more either for the scholars or for the Indians generally than these industrial schools of which I have made mention. The very objection that is urged against the day schools attaches very greatly to the reservation industrial school; the surrounding influences are such as very greatly to impair its usefulness and power.

But I think the criticism upon the day school is well founded. That is the feeling of this committee. The committee does not propose to appropriate by this bill a dollar to give encouragement to the extension of that system, but simply proposes to carry on those schools that are to-day organized and in existence, and until better advantages are secured. I can say to this House that the disposition of the superintendent of Indian education, as well as of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is not to encourage these day schools, but to encourage and build up as rapidly as possible these industrial schools, where more than reading and writing is taught. And we have given by the provisions of this bill discretion to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. While I differ with him politically, I have confidence in his integrity. I believe he desires that which is only good for these Indians and for the Government, and I think it is but right that the power which is charged with this duty should be given some discretion.

The last Congress appropriated \$595,000 for this purpose. We have increased it somewhat, and have reported \$700,000. This \$700,000 is to be expended in the manner suggested, but the feeling of the committee was and the feeling of the Department is that these day schools are accomplishing but little good, but that these industrial schools, at which they are not only



taught to read and write, but at which they are taught to farm and to make wagons and the various implements of industry and usefulness, are accomplishing a great work. If any member of this committee would visit the school at Carlisle, under the superintendence of Capt. Pratt, or the school at Hampton, under the superintendence of General Armstrong, or the school at Lawrence, in my own State, under the superintendence of Count Grabowski, he would be satisfied these industrial schools are accomplishing a wonderful work in Indian education and progress. Children come there in the blanket condition, without the capacity to speak or understand a word of the English language, and yet at the end of five months they will stand up at the wall and read in good English and write in good chirography, words given to them by their instructors. And at Carlisle we find this practice engaged in, which, to my mind, is a praiseworthy one.

After these Indian pupils have been educated for a time and have made sufficient progress they are hired out to the farmers of Pennsylvania, where they may get in addition a practical knowledge of farming. In addition to the scientific knowledge which they acquire of literature and of agriculture, they in this way secure an actual knowledge of farming and business by daily association with the white farmers and American citizens by whom they are surrounded, and with whom and for whom they work in the fields. Captain Pratt engages them to the farmers of Pennsylvania, and the earnings which they make by their labor they get themselves, and these earnings they use for their further improvement. It all serves to make them better citizens, and, as I have already suggested, in my judgment this system when continued and carried on for a series of years, so that we may be able to find the practical effect and benefits of it, will meet with universal approval, and there will be no effort in this House to strike down these industrial schools.

It may be possible, Mr. Chairman, if the question were here to be decided for the first time, these Indian boarding schools might be located nearer these Indians; that is the one at Hampton, the one at Carlisle, and the Lincoln School in Philadelphia. But the committee on Indian Affairs found these schools in operation; it found them organized and at work, and the question was whether they should be continued or stricken down. Every report which came to us was favorable, and every voice we heard asked that they might be continued. Every importunity was that these schools might be protected and that their usefulness might not be impaired. I believe the results are satisfactory to the people of the country generally, as they are to those who have given the matter special investigation or thought.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak briefly of the progress made by the civilized tribes in the Indian Territory. Their accomplishments and achievements demonstrate to this House what the Indian is capable of when civilized and educated. There we find courts organized, there we find schools conducted, and there we find scholars from Carlisle, these young Indians from Hampton, Lawrence, Chilocco, and Lincoln, engaged in good work, instructing in the schools and contributing to the growth and moral improvement of that people. We find churches there, and we find legislative bodies, and as I sat a few months ago in the legislative chamber of the Cherokee Indians at the capital of their Territory and saw them conduct business and witnessed their methods, it seemed to me that at times at least they might teach lessons of propriety and decorum to this House. If these five tribes have been capable of this growth and this development, if the proper system is adopted, if the proper method be employed, the same result no doubt can be secured for the others.

MR. CUTCHEON:

There are to-day about two hundred and sixty thousand Indians under the immediate charge of the Indian agents and more are coming. The experience of the five civilized tribes admonishes us that when they have reached a certain degree of comfort and civilization which has now been attained among the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Seminoles, the Cherokees and the Creeks, then instead of vanishing they increase rapidly in numbers.

How, then, are we to prepare them for absorption and citizenship? We must teach them the gospel of self-support. We must teach them the civilizing influence of the ownership of property. We must teach them the rights of citizenship, with all its responsibilities. And

among all these influences there is none, I believe that tends more powerfully to civilization than what I have termed "the gospel of self-support." They must be taught that they are not a band of paupers; that they are to become citizens. They must be prepared for the rights, the duties, the responsibilities of citizenship.

How is this to be done? By education. There is no avenue to their advancement except education. There is education, and then there is education. There is the education of the grammar, the arithmetic, and the spelling book; and there is the education of the farm, of the shop, and the field. We must, it seems to me, combine these two forms of education. We can not take these Indians and put them into the common school as we do our white children. Wherever we put them there must go with their education this idea of self-support, that the Indian is not a beggar or a pauper, to be fed and clothed and supported and cared for by the white man, but that the Indian, like every other man, must be a man for himself, standing upon his individual manhood.

Here is the foundation upon which we must build, the foundation of manhood—the idea that the Indian is a man, with the rights of a man, the responsibilities of a man, the duties of a man; and then just beyond that, there must be the education for citizenship. We must proceed upon the theory that the Indian is to become a citizen, with the rights of a citizen, the duties of a citizen, the responsibilities of a citizen. When this education is brought to them, the Indians will prepare themselves for the exercise of these rights, duties, and responsibilities.

We have heard something about the failure of our system of educating the Indians. I undertake to say, Mr. Chairman, that the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory have made as great advancement in the last fifty years as the Anglo-Saxon race made in five hundred years. Why, sir, this system of Indian education is not ten years old. It is only five years since we began to make appropriations that amounted to anything for Indian schools; and if any gentleman here has ever visited Carlisle, gone through those school rooms, seen those young men and young women in their classes, witnessed the aptitude with which they seize all learning, whether grammar, geography, arithmetic, art, or any other branch of education, he must have been amazed at the capacity of these wild Indian tribes to assimilate to themselves the influences of civilization.

Mr. Chairman, we are told that the day school is a failure. Measurably that is undoubtedly true. To a certain extent the day school is a failure; but why? Not because the Indians do not want education; they do want it. Not because the parents do not want their children to attend the schools; they do want them to attend the schools; they are more than eager, they are anxious to have them do so. What, then, is the reason? I will tell you: because your Indian agents are not half paid. You send out men as Indian agents, in many instances, who are wholly unfitted to preside over the destinies of these thousands of half-civilized people.

The Indian agent goes out there on a small salary, and then he sets to work to eke out that salary as best he may. Some relative of the agent is appointed the agency blacksmith; other relatives fill other places as agency employees; and then the agent sends for some sister or cousin or aunt to come and teach the agency school. The teachers do just as little teaching and draw just as much salary as practicable. This is the truth in regard to the day schools.

But as to these industrial schools, they are twice useful. First, they educate young men and young women—give them the foundation of an English education; teach the girls sewing and knitting and other house-hold acts, teach them to take care of a house and make a home for civilized people. They teach the boys farming or the mechanical arts; they educate them as mechanics, shoemakers, &c. While doing this work the boarding school upon the reservation is "twice blessed;" it blesses the children that come within its doors, and then it blesses the entire tribe that gathers around these industrial schools.

There is really where we want to strike. We want more industrial boarding schools on reservations in the Indian country. I think Carlisle, Hampton, Lincoln, Ocean Grove, Chilocco, and Lawrence have done blessed and glorious work for the civilization of the Indian

tribes in the last ten years. Yes, Mr. Chairman, in the last five years, for it was only in 1881 this noble work was begun.

There is where the work ought to be pushed and completely done. There is no reflex influence from these other schools at all. There is a good deal of influence upon the boys and the girls themselves; but they go back to barbarism, back to the tepee, back to the blanket Indians. What have you done to enable him to go back to anything but a blanket Indian? You do not issue to him pantaloons or a new coat, and when he has worn out the coat and pantaloons you have given him at the school he has nothing else to do but to become a blanket Indian. You do not help him to property. You do not give him the means to start in his new life. You do not help him to acquire the ways and the status of the white man. What we want to do for these Indians is to give them the civilization of the white man; to give them the home of the white man; to give them the shop of the white man; to give them the school of the white man; to give them the church of the white man—in one word, Mr. Chairman, to give them the civilization of the white man. [Applause.]

That is what they want; that is what they are going to have; that is what the Christianity and civilization of this great nation of 60,000,000 of people are going to give them in the near future. [Applause.]

We can not go backward; we must go forward. There is no other direction in which this nation can go. This is an urgent question which is presented to us to-day because, as I said in the beginning, it will not wait solution. It demands instant solution at our hands.

Gentlemen may talk about dirty Indians, about lazy Indians, about wild Indians, talk about blanket Indians, but let us tell them that the Indians who have been on the war-path, that the Indians who have worn the blanket and carried the scalping-knife are going to be dead in ten or fifteen years, but these boys and these girls who have had the blessings of Carlisle, of Chilocco, of Lawrence, of Hampton, of Lincoln, and the rest of these industrial boarding schools, are the Indians of the future who are just coming upon the stage of action. They are going to be different Indians from their fathers. They are Indians who have never seen a scalping-knife. They are Indians who have never worn a blanket. They are Indians who have never been upon the war-path. They are Indians who are to become American citizens. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, they were here before we came, and the Lord only knows whether they will not be here long after we have passed away and gone. [Laughter.] They are "to the manner born." This is their soil. Are they to be strangers, foreigners, aliens, out-casts, outlaws upon the very soil which is theirs, the very soil that gave them birth and which we have taken from them, or are we to treat them as a great and mighty people ought, who are bound in a common destiny? We have taken into the body-politic six millions of freedmen who were for centuries slaves, with all their ignorance; with all their want of manly independence begotten of two hundred years of servitude, we have taken them into our body-politic; and what has been the result? Why, sir, the great negro question is solved by giving the negro race the rights of white men, to be exercised upon their own responsibility.

The way to solve the Indian question is to treat it just as we treated the question of the negro race; that is to say, take them, after due preparation, into the body-politic, and create civilizing influences around them. These are the influences that shall make them fit for citizenship: First, self-support; secondly, ownership of property and citizenship, and, third, education; and now abide these three, self-support, citizenship, and education, and the greatest of these is education. [Applause.]

MR. CANNON. My friend from Michigan [Mr. CUTCHEON] says we are making giant strides in civilizing these Indians. I wish he was correct. But I do not see it that way. When the buffalo disappeared, when the chase came to an end, when they were surrounded by or intermingled to a certain extent with the powerful white race so that they could no longer go on the war-path and live on the spoils, when the chase no longer furnished provisions, we entered deliberately on the policy of buying our peace or acting as humanitarians and supporting them at the expense of the public Treasury. And we give them a pound or a pound and a half of beef day in and day out, year in and year out, more than the ordinary laborer



is able to get in the city of New York or in my city of Chicago. And the Indians fold their hands; they watch their dogs; they do every thing that their savage nature leads them to do and they dare do, and the Government issues to them the provisions year in and year out. And yet my friend from Michigan says they are being civilized. I wish they were. But they are being pauperized. That is what is the matter.

As you take from them the wild savage nature, which expended itself upon all who surrounded them and found some outlet in the chase, you take from them what little manhood they had and make paupers of them.

Are you to abuse the Indians for that? God knows I do not propose to do so. The Indian is not half so much to blame for that as we are. But I say the same policy we pursue toward those two hundred and fifty-nine thousand Indians of the United States, if pursued toward two hundred and fifty-nine thousand white people, would pauperize those two hundred and fifty-nine thousand white people, take from them the manhood and the womanhood which they have, and make them drones in the hive of society and worthless as citizens.

Mr. NELSON. Will the gentleman permit me a question?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. NELSON. Are we not in the present bill following the policy that the committee on appropriations have been following during the last ten years?

Mr. PERKINS. And when you had the power to legislate, if you had chosen to exercise it.

Mr. NELSON. Why then turn so suddenly a flank movement on what has been your own conduct, and criticize our committee?

Mr. CANNON. I have been unfortunate indeed if through my remarks I have rendered myself subject to that criticism. God knows I have not pride of opinion or in committees. It has not entered into my mind that one committee reported it and another did not. I am dealing with the question, not whether the committee of which I had the honor to be a member was right, but whether this policy is right.

I will say to my friend I wish I had the power to compel every Member and Senator, or I will go further and say every humanitarian, and there are hundreds of them that mean well—I should like to have the power to make them go through this country and pass over these one hundred and twenty-six different reservations and come in contact with these people. Whatever their views might have been heretofore they would change them, in my opinion. I would have stood here twelve months ago and talked as my friend from Kansas [Mr. PERKINS] has talked, but in that time I have had that personal observation of the Indian upon his reservation and have made such inquiries about his condition that I have changed my views wholly. I am not criticising the gentleman from Kansas or his committee unkindly. I am trying to find out what we ought to do to remedy such mistakes as we have made heretofore.

Mr. KING. What remedy do you propose?

Mr. CANNON. I will speak of that a little further on if I have the time, and I hope I will. The first thing you have to do when a patient is sick is to diagnose the case and then to apply the remedy. I want to know first what the condition of the patient is before I speak of applying a remedy.

Mr. CANNON. A gentleman has asked me what is the remedy. I say first, in general terms, as has been already said here, allot them lands in severalty.

Let them learn that first step in civilization for all individuals and for all races; let them learn that ever since the Almighty issued His command; "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread all the days of thy life," obedience to that command has been the first step to be taken by any individual or any community in its march toward civilization. [Applause.] The Africans are wild and savage in their native home in Africa, but here they are many millions strong and they have taken that great step because under pressure of necessity before they will steal or murder they will work; they support themselves. I wish I could say as much for the Indian, superior in natural intelligence to the savage African as he is claimed to be. Let that be as it may, I wish I could say as much for him as can be said for the African in America. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. KING] has asked me to state my remedy.

Mr. CUTCHEON. But in this operation of

teaching them to become self-supporting, can you take the savage pure and simple and set him to work the first thing? Must not you carry education, in the proper signification of the term, right along with this instruction in self-support? In other words, is not the industrial school the great agency in civilizing the Indian?

Mr. CANNON. You may teach a savage to extract the square root or to calculate the distance from the earth to the sun, but unless he knows before that how to turn his hand, and has character enough to turn his hand, to gain his bread from the soil, your teaching will all be in vain.

Mr. PERKINS. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. PERKINS. I wish to ask the gentleman if these children that are educated at the industrial schools, when hired out to the farmers of Pennsylvania, and the farmers of Ohio, and the farmers of Nebraska, do not work as honestly and faithfully, and do not manifest just as much willingness to work as any employee?

Mr. CANNON. I will answer my friend with all candor. I visited the school at Lawrence, Kans., and I found the Indian children very bright and intelligent and making remarkable progress under the instruction they received there. But I had been to the tribes of most of those Indian children; I had seen the boys and girls, the scholars who had returned from Carlisle and Hampton, and had witnessed their condition among their own people, and my heart bled for those hundreds of Indian children at Lawrence because I could see at once that what it meant for them was three or four years at Lawrence and then a return to the reservations among their own people, where by the influence of the "dog" soldiers, by force, by public opinion, by savagery many of the females would be outraged and prostituted and the males forced back into barbarism. I say my heart bled for those Indian children because of what I had seen and learned about the fate of those who had already gone out from these schools.

In company with the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN], with the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL], and with my friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], I traveled through the Indian country; we made diligent inquiry across the continent on the north and across the continent on the south, and we could not find that there was one student of all the hundreds educated at Carlisle or Hampton, or in any of the schools off the reservations, but had gone back to their savage life in a very short time except a few that were employed by the Government of the United States.

Mr. PERKINS. Was not that because thus far, in consequence of the limited capacity of those schools and their limited number, only one or two children from a tribe have been educated at a time, so that when they have returned they have become lost in the multitude of uneducated Indians?

Mr. CUTCHEON. Swallowed up.

Mr. CANNON. "Swallowed up," says the gentleman from Michigan; and so say I. And I say to him, as I have already said in effect, it is cruelty the most cruel to take these children and give them three or four years' education and training at Carlisle, or elsewhere east of the Mississippi, and then permit them to go back to the tribes. Their degradation is worse than that of those who never have been away, because they go back into savage life when they reach the tribe, taking with them the vices of the white man so far as they may have contracted them and retain none of their virtues; and if this appropriation is to continue for this kind of education, I for one stand ready to take a portion of it and provide for settling these Indian children among the white people until they can get a start in life. I would never let them go back among the wild Indians. I would have them incorporated into the body-politic here in the States.

I was about to speak of the remedy. To do that I shall first have to say something of the condition of the Indians in the two great reservations. I might discuss their condition on all the reservations if I had the time, but let us take their condition in the Indian Territory.

Mr. KING. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question? Are the scholars from these schools forced to go back to the tribes, or do they go back voluntarily?

Mr. CANNON. Forced back! When the mother and father are upon the reservation, when the child was taken away a little savage and has received only the education of three or four

or five years at one of these schools and then has been turned out upon the world and has his transportation back to the tribe paid by the Government, what else can he do in his weakness but go back?

Mr. STEWART. Nothing.

Mr. CUTCHEON. Is it not true that the first appropriation for these boarding schools was made in 1881, the system being but five years old, and while at first there was antagonism on the part of the parents to letting the children go away to outside schools, is not the case now very different, and are there not many more pupils offering than the schools have capacity to accommodate? Is not that true?

Mr. CANNON. In reply to that question I will say that it is not true, as I understand the facts. On nearly all of the reservations the children do not go even to the home industrial school without being forced there. As the gentleman from Indiana has said, the agent is supreme. He has the police back of him, and if necessary the Army. He says: "You people have not anything to eat except as I give you rations; bring in your children;" and among the bitterest complaints that we heard were those which arose from the fact that these children were forced even into the reservation schools. The Indian does not want to be educated. Education is not fashionable among the Indians.

Mr. CUTCHEON. Would the gentleman consider it a calamity if the ration were cut off?

Mr. CANNON. If you cut off the ration, as the Indian has no habit of industry, but one of two things can happen; either he goes upon the war path and in the light of burning homes captures subsistence, or he starves.

Mr. CUTCHEON. We have not had many "burning homes" since this educational system went into effect. The little raid of the Apaches is the only thing of that kind that we have had.

Mr. BRUMM. Before the time of the gentleman is consumed will he be kind enough to get down to his remedy?

Mr. CANNON. If the gentleman will bear with me and let me talk on this subject, I think I will talk about the remedy, and perhaps he will find I am talking about it now if he will do me the honor to continue to listen to me as he has done for the last few minutes.

Mr. BRUMM. With great pleasure.

Mr. CANNON. But when it is proposed to modify these treaties or these agreements and throw these lands open to white settlement we are met with the declaration everywhere that the Indian must not be brought into contact with the white man, that if you do you contaminate him and demoralize him and he dies. That is what is said. Now, gentlemen, I undertake to say under certain conditions that is not true. It is true in the Indian Territory now because you know that the Indian Territory, so far as the extradition of fugitives from justice is concerned, is a foreign land, aye, worse than most foreign lands, because it is the home of every outlaw that has a mind to put his foot inside it, and there is no power under our laws to take him out. It is a place of refuge for the white people who want to go away from their neighbors through fear or through crime. True, the law says they shall not go there. The peaceable white man, the good, law-abiding citizen obeys the law and does not go there. But the outlaw does go there and there remains.

It is this kind of men, who are fugitives from justice and go into the Indian Territory where there is no power to extradite them, that demoralize the Indians. So it has always been. It has always been unlawful for the white man to find a home, or resting-place, or abiding-place inside the Indian reservation from the time the Indians were driven from the Atlantic coast away out West—always unlawful.

The law-abiding man obeyed the law, but the immoral and the reckless man defied it and came into contact with the Indians, and so it will be as long as you continue the reservation system. Now, I will tell you what I would do if I had the power. I would not stop with merely providing that these Indians should have their lands allotted in severalty. I would proceed at once to modify the treaties. But it is objected that the Indians would not modify the treaty? I have no fear of that; it is absolutely necessary for his protection and preservation that he should do so. He can not much longer occupy this Territory to the exclusion of the white man, that even if imperfectly developed would support 3,000,000 of people.

To the northeast and south are well settled



States; already a rail-road passes through from north to south, and from the east to the Arkansas River, soon to be completed to the western border and beyond; other roads are reaching out for construction from Kansas to Texas. Whatever the form, we never have and never will—the Indians being in our domain—treat with them in substance as we treat with foreign nations. We practically make the agreement with them for ourselves and also for them. They are our wards, and disguise it as you may they have no chance for protection in our agreements with them, except such protection as they receive from the sense of right in the white population, from the enlightened Christian conscience of the whole people; and such being the case we should take every care to see that complete justice is done them; that they are protected from their own ignorance upon the one hand and the greed of dishonest or selfish individual white men on the other, who would keep them in their present state upon reservations that they may prey and fatten upon them.

Having the power, then, to modify the agreement, and the duty as well as the power, I would modify it under the forms of law and in substance. I would do the Indian justice. I would take these 79,000 Indians (I speak of them as a whole, because I cannot stop to speak of the equities that belong to one or another community), and I would give each man, woman, and child 80 acres of that magnificent land in severalty. I would put them on it. I would protect them on it. That would leave about 35,000,000 acres in that Territory that ought to be utilized. Then I would make it lawful for the white man to go into that Territory and buy that land in tracts of 80 and 160 acres, at \$1 or \$1.25 an acre, for settlement and for nothing else. [Applause.] I would let the white man who obeys the law, and who never injured and never will injure the Indian intentionally—I would let him take his implements of husbandry with him and his Bible and march in and settle among the Indians.

A MEMBER. And his courts.

Mr. CANNON. Certainly, his courts, his school-houses, all the appliances of his civilization. And I would have him settled among the Indians. I would not have the Indians off in a little knot at one side—a knot of concentrated barbarism. O, no. I would inter-settle them with this sorber, Christian, magnificent, yeomanry of ours that has made this country, and that now amid the storm and the tempest and the mutterings preserves the country and will continue to do so.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TILLMAN. Unless you entailed the land on the Indians, how long would it be before the white men would get it?

Mr. CANNON. I would make it inalienable for a generation, at least, and after I had sold those 35,000,000 acres of land at a dollar an acre, or whatever the price might be, I would hold the money in trust for the Indian. I would use the interest to help to instruct him temporarily in tilling the land and to help to bear his share of the public burdens that his land ought to bear, because I would make the land inalienable, and I would not expect the Indian to pay his full share of taxes like the white man from his own labor at first.

A MEMBER. Would you pauperize him?

Mr. CANNON. No; I would not pauperize him. But the Indian, I apprehend, could not pay taxes upon his land as the white man could, and he would have property enough left in this body of magnificent land to produce interest sufficient to meet his full share of the public burdens until he could stand alone.

Mr. TILLMAN. Could you civilize the Indian in one generation to enable him to protect his lands against the white man's efforts to get them away?

Mr. CANNON. If I could not, I would make it inalienable for two or three generations. The result of the policy I have indicated would be a splendid civilization in that Indian Territory, and in the large Sioux reservation inside of ten years. I do not think you would ever be able to do much with the adult Indian, but I believe that by inter-settling them with the whites, and with ten, thirty, fifty, or a hundred white men to every Indian, the Indians, having the example of industry constantly before their eyes, would learn that if they would eat they must labor, and would rapidly become civilized. Why, gentlemen, if the Indian can not be civilized in that way, then in the very nature of things he will be exterminated; be-

cause with only sixty millions of people, you know how much territory we have already spread over.

In less than a century we shall have from two hundred and fifty millions to three hundred millions of people, and do you not know that even if you should build walls of steel around these reservations they would not stand against this vigorous, progressive, ever-increasing, ever advancing white population?

In my opinion, Mr. Chairman, and I speak after some observation and much thought, the legislators who still continue this reservation system and put off for a few years to come entering somewhere upon the line of policy I have indicated, is rendering the future of the Indians a future of certain destruction.

Here the hammer fell.

#### INCIDENTALS.

When conducting Boarding Schools in the Indian Territory from 1871 till 1877, my vacations were generally spent in obtaining useful data in regard to the population, possessions and general condition of the tribes among which I was located, having in these trips the especial object of obtaining knowledge of their progress in agriculture, in house building, in general disposition for improvement and to advance the cause of education among them by personal visitation and acquaintance with the parents of pupils.

These trips were generally made in a western covered wagon, behind a pair of small mules, the wagon serving for hotel at night, a mess chest for contingencies always being a part of the outfit; and generally a stereopticon with good views of animals, etc., that had been donated to the school by friends in the east, and which never failed to interest and instruct the Indians.

Making one such trip in the summer of 1873, accompanied by the most energetic and faithful Indian Agent I ever knew, and who paid for his fidelity with his life—we left the Agency about 2 P. M., weather very warm, nothing noticeable in the sky except a small and exceedingly black cloud coming up from the southwest—all else clear and bright. Proceeding about a mile, the cloud became quickly larger, and was moving rapidly towards us; soon considerable wind was felt and then raindrops. It being evident we were in range of the coming storm we turned about so that the storm might strike the closed end of the wagon, then for a few minutes not more than ten, as my recollection now serves me, we were subject to a very deluge. The cloud passed, and the sky was again clear and bright, but the roads before dry and dusty were now like running streams of water, and strangest of all were alive with miniature frogs; none to be seen before the rain, hot dry sand would be no place for frogs, but now everywhere myriads, in the road, in the water, in the grass. How they came or how they went I know not, but do know that before the rain there were not any, and after it they were countless, and that we passed through them, a distance of eight or ten miles, and then the roads were again dry.

That night we camped (I could not say slept) on the open prairie ourselves and mosquitoes all the inhabitants.

The next morning, following a trail, we came to a Comanche village, the first point to be visited on the trip, and here stopped to take census of persons and possessions. After some talk and consultation among themselves and some persuasion on our part to assure them that no sinister design of ascertaining their strength in fighting men was intended, sundry bundles of small sticks, and about half a peck of shelled corn were produced, the sticks representing the men, women and children in the village, which were duly counted and numbers recorded. Then pointing to the corn, evidently an unknown quantity, the chief quietly remarked

"And this corn represents our horses" evidently intending to convey in substance "We have a good many horses but do not care to go to the trouble of counting just how many for your information." The hint was taken and their possession in horses remained to us an entirely unknown factor of wealth.

Passing from this village over rough rolling land, mostly clothed with a growth of stunted oak, known as knee-oaks, night again overtook us and our blankets were spread on the grass, which here grows in large bunches and tussocks, and makes anything but a comfortable mattress, but the mosquitoes being absent we passed the night in comfort. In the morning, viewing the moulds made by our bodies in the yielding grass, it was hardly possible to believe that we were the beings who walk erect and not with faces prone to earth.

Arriving at a settlement of the Delawares we found that a funeral had just taken place, the grave had been covered with a substantial protection of small logs laid up in the manner usual in building a house of round logs; on this, earth was laid and a rail fence built around it. Just as we drove up the people were leaving one of the houses in single file, one or more of them carrying a plate with prepared food on it. Walking in procession to the grave, the head man of the village deposited his plate of food on the grave, and knelt in prayer, to what purport I know not as these villagers, though not wholly ignorant of Christianity, were at this time heathens.

The ceremony over, they took pleasure in pointing out to us the extent of their fields, the amount of new fence built, and some houses that were in progress, the corner of one of which being a good deal out of the perpendicular offended the too critical eye of the Agent who remarked, "The corner of that house reminds me of the place I slept in last night." Had this house been wholly the result of Indian labor the irregularity would have been overlooked, but as there was an Agency employe there to show the Indians *how*, the criticism was just.

As illustrating the apprehension of these people at that time in regard to education, there had been sent from this village, whose people were ahead of most others in intelligence, a girl who proved to be an absolute idiot, and who had of necessity to be returned to the care of her parents. Speaking of the matter to her grandfather, the chief of the village, he said "I knew she was, an idiot, but the white people can do so many wonderful things I did not know but that they could give her some sense."

Educational matters have in almost all cases progressed far beyond that point in this year 1886, and I claim as a result of past experience that there is no Indian tribe in this country so low or ignorant that they cannot by tact and energy be brought into the line of progress by means of Industrial schools and kindred methods.

A. J. STANDING.

#### REVIVAL IN THE INDIAN SCHOOL AT LAWRENCE.

BY R. CORDLEY, PASTOR OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

A very remarkable work is going on in the Indian School at Lawrence, Kan. The work may be said to date back to the opening of the school a year ago last September. The first superintendent was Rev. Dr. Marvin, formerly Chancellor of the State University. He made the religious element quite prominent, having Sunday-school and church services every Sunday, and losing no opportunity of impressing Christian truth on the pupils. At the end of the year he found the work seriously wearing upon him and resigned, and became pastor of the Methodist church in Lawrence. His successor, Col. Arthur Grabowskii, though a layman and a soldier, is an earnest Christian, and entered heartily into the religious plans of his predecessor.

There were several Christians among the Indian pupils who earnestly joined in the work, as



did also the teachers and employes. As the season opened there was evidently a growing seriousness in the school. One or two deaths among the pupils helped to deepen this. One girl, who was a general favorite, died, and on her death-bed said she had no fear; she was just waiting by the River; that Dr. Marvin's sermon had led her to God. The pupils began to hold prayer meetings of their own accord. After a while there were several of the little groups meeting for prayer. The Cheyennes would meet in one group, the Osages in another, and so on. The interest became so manifest that the superintendent said he felt compelled to recognize it; and he began a series of nightly meetings, and asked the pastors of the city to assist him. Your correspondent was out one night when more than fifty rose to testify their acceptance of Christ, and that was but a type of what occurred other nights.

What to do with the converts was a problem. To have them join the different churches would scatter them, and leave a large part unprovided for; so finally, Col. Grabowskii proposed to gather them all into one Christian organization, without a name, and then, when they leave, instruct them to join the church of their choice wherever they may go. He invited the pastors of the city to come out and baptize the converts and administer the communion. The baptismal service was held on Saturday afternoon, Feb. 20, and the rector of the Episcopal church read the service for baptism as given in the Prayer Book, and he and the pastors of the Congregational and one of the Methodist churches performed the rite. There were 134 baptized as new converts, they coming forward as their names were called. About sixty of the pupils had been members of different churches before, so that the whole number in the organization will be about 200.

The next day, Sunday, the Lord's Supper was administered in the afternoon. Dr. Marvin—formerly superintendent—conducted the service according to the Methodist Manual, and other ministers assisted, among them Rev. S. D. Storrs, of Topeka. Over 200 joined in the service. It was a rare scene. The whole school was present, some 360, and gave the most profound attention. The teachers came forward with their scholars, kneeling in the midst with them. One teacher came with her entire Sunday-school class of girls.

The teachers all testify to the wonderful change wrought in the spirit and conduct of the pupils. There is no trouble in government, and all tasks are cheerfully done. Some that have given them most trouble heretofore, are now the readiest to meet every wish. One can see the change in their faces, which glow with a new light. The influence will not stop with the school. The converts are writing home to their parents in the tribes, telling them of their new purpose, and begging the friends at home to accept Christ also.

The school was established through the influence of our lamented Congressman, D. C. Haskell, and in honor of him, bears the name of Haskell Institute. It has only been in operation a year and a half, but is already full to its utmost capacity. They are trying now to enlarge it to a capacity of 600. The superintendent tells me that if they should enlarge it to a capacity of 1,000, it would be full in a year—so eager are the Indian boys and girls to secure an education and, as they express it, "come to learn to live the white man's life." There are twenty-seven different tribes represented in the school. It has been heretofore very difficult to get the Indians to send their girls to school, as they seem to think the girls do not need education. But there is coming a great change over the minds of the Indians. Last year there were very few girls in Haskell Institute. This year there are over eighty, and now more girls are coming than boys. All pupils work certain hours—and it is the plan to teach every one some trade.

It is pleasant to know that those in authority sympathize with the religious aspect of this work with the Indians. Secretary Lamar, in giving instructions to the new superintendent, said: "Build on religion." If a better temper shall take possession of our own people, and those Indians, as they go out, shall meet the same sympathy and kindness they meet in school, the Indian question will be soon settled. —[Advance.]

#### Am I a Citizen?

"SIR:—I would be glad to know if you could find out whether my father took a certificate for citizenship or not.

If not what was the agreement made?

Whatever the agreement might have been I think the amendments to the treaty of 1862 could not have been fully carried out. If my father took a certificate, I now stand in his place and am of age and the certificate should fall to me. There is no one who has any right to meddle with my property. Will you find out from the District Court of Kansas, Topeka, in regard to Pe-ki-kum, my father?"

Ottawa.

#### A band boy to his father.

"There was an entertainment held at the opera house last night and they wanted our band to play for them, so we went to town and played for them. There were two bands besides our band. One band was going to play one piece but we played the piece before they got ready so after they heard us play, they got vexed at our band and didn't play any. The other band played two times, then after they got through we played so that band got mad at our band and they called us the *skin* band, but we played until the band went home, then we came home too. Our band can play better than those white boys in the town."

#### Letter from a Country School Teacher.

I have two of your Indians from Carlisle in my school. I have always had a kindly feeling toward their race, and since I have come in contact with some of them, I have become deeply interested.

B—— L—— is improving his time this winter, and is making considerable progress in his studies. His chief difficulty was in his composition exercises, but he is now doing nicely in that. At first he seemed to think it utterly impossible for him to write a composition, but I finally induced him to write an account of his trip from—— to Carlisle. Some parts of it were told in a funny way, but I was pleased with it and told him so. Since then I have had no trouble concerning the compositions.

O—— is inclined to be rather mischievous, but he is young, and does not yet appreciate his advantages, I think. He is able to read only in the second-reader, but I think I can see a little improvement in him.

In my school I do not think I have any scholars that are more willing, and even anxious, to be of some service to me, than they.

Yours respectfully,

#### What our Patrons say of the Boys in their Care.

"At school John is doing nicely, he takes an interest in his studies and has an ambition to be up head.

At home he is always pleasant and interested in his work.

I intend moving on a large farm in the spring and thought at first I would have to hire a white man to see after things in general and then have a boy, but after considering the subject I have concluded to raise John to that position and I think with some watching and telling he will do well, I hope so; he seems so anxious to learn that I feel as if I would like to help him as much as I can.

I have had a talk with him and asked him if he thought he could take the position. His reply was, "I will try."

If all your boys and girls had that ambition what a glorious victory you would gain. I told him I would start him at \$10.00 a month and if he attended to his duties and was obedient, I would increase it. I will want another boy through harvest, I should like him to be congenial to John, and have some ambition."

"Last evening —— went to his new place. He left in good spirits as to the outlook before him. Because of his honesty, faithfulness and interest shown in our behalf he was given to understand that he might look upon our house as his home, and that he might come for Sunday dinner or at any other time that he wished. It has been remarked that in his manners he could set the white boys an example. His English is right good and his lessons at school were fairly done. His conduct always merited him two tickets that being the highest reward given for good conduct."

#### Colonizing the Indians.

The Agent, Capt. Lee, at his own suggestion, has been granted authority from the Indian office to found a colony of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians on the Washita river, about fifty miles west of this Agency. Mr. J. H. Seger, with about twenty young men of both tribes, started for there on last Saturday to take preparatory steps. A large body will follow shortly. It can be clearly seen that this move by Capt. Lee is one in the right direction toward civilizing and making the Indians self-supporting, for which their Agent deserves great credit. Mr. Seger, who is in charge of the colony as instructor is an old friend of these Indians, he having been twelve years among them. He thoroughly understands how to make a success of such an undertaking. The work will all be done by the Indians themselves under Mr. Seger's direction, and farming will be carried on in all its branches. Each Indian is to have a small piece of land to work and will be allowed all he can raise.

—[Cheyenne Transporter.]

#### Religions of the Navajos.

A lecture on "The Navajos, their Priests and Prophets," was given recently at Steinway Hall before the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen by Dr. Washington Matthews, U. S. A. Dr. Matthews was a surgeon for a number of years at different army posts in Northern New-Mexico and Arizona, the country of the Navajos, and his lecture was devoted chiefly to the details of Indian mythology, with descriptions of the Navajo paintings, dances and religious ceremonies. Thirty pictures of Indian huts, men and women, symbolical drawings, canons and mountains with a burden of legend, were thrown upon a large screen from a stereopticon to illustrate the talk.

"There are seventeen religious cults among the Navajos," said the lecturer, "each one of great antiquity and founded by some prehistoric prophet. Each cult has its own priests, its own medicine lodge or temple, and from 300 to 400 separate rites. These are performed each year during the winter months. The Navajo religion is thus a vast polytheism, with a Pantheon stocked more fully than that of Greece and Rome. There is no word in the Navajo language for a supreme God. Idols of stone and wood like those of the Pueblos are unknown, however. The Navajos worship living men who sit within the medicine lodge, painted to look like the various gods. No nation is more superstitious. The belief that the spirit of a man who dies in a tent or house returns to inhabit it, drives the Navajos continually to change their dwelling-places. They will often let a hut fall down on a dead body within it rather than remove the corpse. This accounts for their wretched architecture, though they have great skill in weaving blankets and decorating them.

The learning of their medicine-men or priests is extraordinary. Each one can say by heart thousands of prayers in the most complicated order, and recite numberless folk-stories, keeping alive by oral tradition alone all the myths and ceremonies of their religion as well as the practical wisdom of their ancestors. The symbolic paintings inside the medicine lodges are also planned and executed under the direction of the priests.

"The position of a woman among the Navajos is unique. Nowhere in the world is she more independent. She inherits property and after marriage remains mistress of it. She has the right to ask for divorce in case of marital unpleasantness. Her children belong to her; they are called by her name and are attached to her *gens*. Her husband is practically a mere lodger in her house. Yet no Indians are more cunning and warlike than the Navajos."

This is one word in the Cherokee language: "Winitawtgegaliskawijungtanawnelitisesi."

The name of the popular pastime Toboggan is an Indian word meaning sled.

The word Shenandoah is of the same origin and signifies "the daughter of the stars."



## 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:*

"When I go home I will be a farm."

"I am doing well about the obedience."

"I am very much satisfied in the tin-shop."

"I like very much to work in the harvest field."

"Your father-in-law's grand daughter is very well."

"I am trying hard to look forward and not backward."

"I wish I could do something sufficient about the American possibility."

"I have not heard from you. I have marvelled what has become of you."

"Don't be discouraged about your farm work, it is hard, I know, but it is the best."

"A principal woman came to visit us in the school last week from Hampton."

"I can write a letter myself and I know how to work in the Blacksmith shop."

"If I can get a place on a farm this summer I will try and do whatever duty I am asked."

"I am working in the printing office yet, and think it is a good business for me in all respects."

"Blind Tom has a wonderful memory he could play a song that never heard him before."

"I was so pleased with your letter telling me I could stay as long at this school as it was possible."

"I have seen blind Tom he looked big all over his body and has very beautiful voice that sings like thunder."

"Some of us will go out on farms this spring, some of the girls too that they may learn to be good farm housekeepers."

"I hear that you have again given away every thing. This makes me feel dreadful. Can't you come over on the civilized side?"

"We shall all be glad to return to you, when we get through this noble education and show you something better than the old customs."

"I hope the Apaches are not come to make any trouble. I know they will behavior themselves after a while, the soldiers are out there."

"There have been many visitors from different places and they mostly always speak to us and try to get us more toward the American rights."

"I am trying to improve myself in my studies I don't want to go home until I have more power in education, I have poor knowledge yet."

"You must not give away horses and cows but take good care of them. Don't think about old ways all the time because good for nothing old ways."

"Father, remember that in Heaven we shall be with Christ forever, don't forget to pray to God. There is no other God and no other name but Jesus."

"I am still busy at my trade: I can make good buckets, dish-pans, pitchers, stove-pipes, coffee-cans and many other things that are needed at this school."

"The little Pueblo girls are learning fast, it pleases me immensely to see them play around the quarters, my little sister is fat and well and has big, red cheeks."

"Describe about your farming. Are you ready to open your farm?"

Plant lots of corn and other things and I will try to learn the best I can and be manly."

"Is it the way to be Christians to drink strong drink, men and women? No! It is this if a man wants to be great he must be careful about strong drink or it will make him foolish."

"The only thing that holds the tribes together is their reservation. If their lands were divided among them and they were paid for the remainder that they did not need, they would soon be able to take care of themselves."

"I cannot help thinking about our ignorant Indians, they don't know anything about the true God who has power in the earth, so I wish the Indians might try to put their children to school and let them learn about these things."

"I think the colored people are still away ahead of us, why, because they are pretty well educated, and it is not more than twenty-five years since they were slaves. Now they are free from slavery. Why can we not be free from our savagery too?"

"The other day we talked over about a subject. What pursuit would you choose to follow? I said in my way I will be a farmer, no one advises me but I will take my own advise. Farming is a good business and makes a comfortable living."

"You do not know how to write to me, mother, and perhaps nobody will write for you but some of the boys and girls would write for you, but you must say first 'if you please.' I try with all my mind to study hard so I can write good letters to you."

"Blind Tom gave very wonderful playing of that great battle and played as if the cars were coming in music. I tell you this man is very skillful in musician, he is a negro, and blind too. I don't think the Indians will ever do like he does but we were interested to hear him."

"I had a letter from my nephew Pedro and he tells me he is attending school in Santa Fe, his letter seems to show progress for the time he has been at school although half is written in English and half in Spanish, but the letters are well made. It is better to go to any school than to do nothing all winter."

"If you go to the city of Philadelphia you can go to a school where blind pupils are taught to read and work, the Captain said it was wonderful to see that great institution. I do actually think if a person, no matter who he may be white or black, if he has a will he will find no difficulty in getting through this world."

"I like history and arithmetic best of all my other books. I think history is a very interesting study. We are in Lincoln's Administration and are studying now where they are having the battle of Bull Run. It is most interesting. In our arithmetic, we are as far as Duties or Customs. This is a little hard but I mean to try and understand it."

### SMALL APACHE BOY TO HIS UNCLE.

"I am getting along first-rate. How are you getting along? I don't think you are getting along good because the Indian is bad man. Now my uncle do behave yourself and do what is right to your friend. You don't know anything my uncle, you don't know how to work, you don't know how to make house, you don't know how to make garden. Me I know how. I know my lessons, I read my book, he can do this Apache, the Indian boy."

"There are too many Indians that like to fight. They can't do anything to help themselves because they don't know anything. There are thirty seven different tribes at the Carlisle school, some of them were enemies to each other before they came here, but now all the tribes at this Carlisle school are friends to each other. We all want to learn the same thing, the new way and the English language. The Indian children can learn and this English language is better than any Indian language. We can get along in the world if we know how to speak English. You can never learn to speak it fast when you go to schools on the reservations, so that is the reason we go away from our own homes to learn it. We must learn to work too. I am learning to make harness. I want to learn how to make a good new harness and fix up the old harness. You had better come here, you may learn some out there, but here you will learn very fast."

"How are you coming out about your becoming citizens of the country? Well, the old people of the village are finding out I hope that it does not pay to be so ignorant; and for all that they still stand in the way of the young."

That is they still refuse to send their children to school, and if they do not pity their children, they will keep them out of school, because when the children grow to be men and women, they will be in the same condition, in fear of being cheated all the time, troubled about some things like a sinner, and can hardly sleep. Why? Because they are ignorant and can not understand. It is often the case, that those whites who are among you, rob, and do all in their power to harm you, just because of the ignorance that is between you like a wall. Now all the Isletas are scared because they are going to be taxed and afraid of being cheated, and yet they are holding back their children. Do they intend to do that always and remain in their old habits? I hope in a few days, not years, for they had as good a chance as the other Pueblos, they will see their low and miserable condition and their inability to stand, each man for his property. Now they must call the interpreter to have perhaps a part of the talk explained."

"I'm very well, and I do sincerely hope that when you get this letter and put on your spectacles you will be the same, and I am going to inform you a short story, about a blind Negro, who came last Saturday in our chapel, and played on the piano many times most splendidly, he has a wonderful memory and an excellent voice, this man is altogether a great musician, has travelled in most parts of Europe, and is well known throughout the U. S. as the 'blind Tom.' He was born blind and a slave, and his parents were slaves. He never had the privilege to enjoy the beautiful sight of this world, but he went and practiced until after awhile he got it so that he is now traveling to show the people what he can do in the line of music, and is making his own living in that way. I've thought a great deal ever since I have seen this blind man, considered his case and mine and those around me. We have eyes, hands, health, intellectual power, and above all, we are clothed here, fed, good Teachers, Instructors in the shops, tools of all kinds and what do we lack? I feel sorry myself because I have not been as faithful and industrious as I ought, but it affects me this way after all. 'I resolved to do the nearest right hereafter possible.' There is yet a great deal to be said on this subject, but I want to tell you something else. We've had our monthly exhibition last-Friday night. Many of the boys and girls speeches were very interesting and quite a bit of truth in them."

Miss Richards of Hampton Indian School was present, she informed us that she has in her charge for the present time 135 Indian children, composed of many different tribes, and another curious fact that I believe I'll tell you, within a few days ago, Capt. Pratt went in different cities, and in Philadelphia he visited a school where the blind children are taught to read and to work, they are learning in every way, they make nearly all kinds of furniture, these blind children make as good brooms as there are in use, chairs and other useful things. Some are not only blind but deaf and can hardly speak, there they are at school improving, and the most wonderful to me is to hear that one of the Instructors of these blind people is a blind man himself."