

The Red Man.

— HIS PRESENT AND FUTURE. —

"GOD HELPS THEM WHO HELP THEMSELVES."

VOL. IX.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, CARLISLE, PA., DECEMBER, 1888.

NO. 1.

COMPLETE REPORT — OF THE — SIOUX COMMISSION.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,
CARLISLE, PA.

November, 1888.

HONORABLE WM. F. VILAS,
SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

SIR:—

The Commissioners appointed by you to submit the act of Congress (copy appended marked A) entitled "An Act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians in Dakota into separate reservations, and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder, to the different bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians occupying or interested in the reservation, mentioned in said Act, for the purpose of securing the acceptance thereof, and consent thereto, by at least three-fourths of the adult male Indians, as required by the twelfth article of the treaty between the United States and said Indians, concluded April 29th, 1868," have the honor respectfully to report.

In obedience to your written instructions (copy appended marked D), the Commissioners proceeded at once to the execution of the duties assigned them. Commissioner Cleveland arrived at Bismarck, Dak., on Wednesday, the 18th of July, and arranged for transportation from that point for the Commission and its Secretary and Clerks, to Standing Rock Agency a distance of about sixty-five miles. Commissioner Pratt arrived at Bismarck, accompanied by Dr. Chas. H. Hephurn, chief clerk, Robt. A. McFadden and Guy Le R. Stevick, stenographers, on Thursday, July 19th. On consultation, Commissioners Pratt and Cleveland determined to make Standing Rock the first point at which to present the act to the Indians. The fact that a larger number of the Indians at that Agency than any other gave their consent to the proposed agreement of 1882, which agreement had many features similar to the one to be presented by us, had much weight in bringing them to this conclusion. The additional fact, that Agent McLaughlin of the Standing Rock Agency was the oldest in the service, the best known and most experienced Agent on the reservation, and that, consequently, he was supposed to have acquired a greater influence over the Indians under his charge than had the Agents of less experience, was also a consideration of considerable weight to the Commissioners in pointing out this course.

The requirement that the consent of at least three-fourths of the Indians of the reservation should be obtained in order to make the agreement valid, rendered it indispensable that the consent of the Standing Rock Indians should be obtained in any event, for, if the consent in full of the Indians at all the other Agencies had been first obtained, there were nearly enough male adults at Standing Rock to defeat the ratification of the Act.

On Friday, July 20th, Commissioners Pratt and Cleveland with the clerk and stenographers, by the Northern Pacific Railway proceeded to Mandan, from which place the party went in wagons to Standing Rock. At Cannon Ball River, a distance of thirty-three miles, they were met by Major James McLaughlin who furnished transportation, as arranged by telegraph, from that point to Standing Rock, a distance of about thirty miles. The party traveled on what is known as the River Road, which passes through the farming settlements of the Indians north of the Agency, and thus had an opportunity of observing the nature and extent of the farming operations carried on by these Indians.

On their arrival at Standing Rock Agency, Col. Townsend, Commanding at Ft. Yates, kindly furnished the Commissioners and party comfortable quarters in a building belonging to the Post, which we continued to occupy during our stay at this place.

On Saturday, being the day for the issue of beef, nearly all the Indians of the Agency had gathered there and public announcement was made that the Commissioners would hold their first council

with the Indians on Monday morning following.

Commissioner Wright preceded Commissioner Pratt to Harrisburg, Pa., at which place he expected to join him. By some misunderstanding as to the place of meeting, Commissioner Pratt passed through Harrisburg without meeting Commissioner Wright, and the latter took the next train, arriving in Bismarck two hours after the departure of the other Commissioners. He took the first steamer down the Missouri River, and reached Standing Rock on Saturday evening, July 21st. The Commissioners met all together for the first time, on Monday July 23rd. The Indians at the Standing Rock Agency are settled principally on Missouri River and up and along its tributaries. They are in close proximity to the white people who live on the opposite side of the river. Many of them belong to what is known as the hostile party, and are led by men who, at former periods, have been engaged in hostilities against the white people of the United States. They are in no way hostile now, in the true sense of the word, but their feelings towards the white people and towards the government are not so agreeable as the feelings of those who never occupied a hostile attitude. Whilst numerically this party at Standing Rock Agency is not the stronger it is manifest that its leaders have a controlling influence over all of the Indians on this reservation. The leading men of this party prior to the coming of the Commissioners had determined to oppose the wishes of the government, and if possible, prevent the acceptance of the Act. We had undoubted evidence of this. Copies of the Act, with colored maps appended, showing the proposed reservation and portions of land to be ceded, sufficient for all the Indians entitled to vote, had been previously sent by you to the several Agents, with instructions to withhold their distribution until further advice. A translation of the principal portions of the Act into the Dakota language, to which was added a summary of its advantages and an exhortation to accept it, made by the Rev. Wm. J. Cleveland at the request of the Indian Rights Association, had, by that Association, been quite freely circulated among the people of this and other Agencies; thus giving them, before the arrival of the Commission, a knowledge of the provisions of the Act. Consultation with Agent McLaughlin, however, revealed the facts that a strong opposition to the measure had already taken root in the minds of the Indians and that, although there was no doubt of their willingness to treat the Commissioners with due respect, great tact and patience would be necessary on their part in order to secure anything like a fair hearing of their message. We found also that a general council of leading men from all the Agencies concerned had been held sometime before at Rosebud Agency, and that all had there entered into a solemn compact to reject the offer of the government. This being the case, Agent McLaughlin felt sure that his Indians through loyalty to the Indians of the other Agencies, would consider themselves so bound by that compact as to be immovable on the subject of the Act, until the compact should somehow be broken by some of the other parties to it. Not until this should happen did he think they would believe themselves free to act as their own judgment should dictate, and be able to give the Act thoughtful consideration. He also repeatedly expressed the opinion that no favorable action could be obtained unless the leaders were permitted to visit Washington.

In addition to this, considering the constant disposition of the red man to oppose, on general principles, if not actually to distrust and fear everything new to him, several features of our undertaking, being entirely different from anything these Indians had been accustomed to, made it clear that the task in hand was one of no ordinary difficulty. Among these may be named the following as of chief importance:

First, that we had not come to make a bargain with them, but were to present for their acceptance, or rejection, an Act of Congress which had already received the approval of the President, and was not open to the least change by which it might be accommodated to their wishes.

Second, that they, though asked to become parties to its ratification, had not

been consulted when the Act was framed.

Third, that we were required to verify the roll of adult males entitled to vote—a proceeding so similar to that of making a census as to be very distasteful to them, even giving occasion for fear to their untutored minds, that answering to their names at roll-call would be construed into an acceptance of the Act. (See proceedings, Tuesday, July 26th, and also, for child-like display of similar timidity when asked to take copies of the Act.)

Fourth, that every man over eighteen years of age, and not the chiefs and headmen only, would be required to vote.

Fifth, that two papers, instead of one, as was always the custom in the past, were to be presented to them on which both the affirmative and the negative votes were to be taken.

Sixth, that in order to succeed, it was necessary to secure three-fourths of all those entitled to vote.

Seventh, that the Indians felt no necessity for doing anything to secure themselves against want or loss at the time, but regarded the whole measure as inspired solely by those who wished to possess themselves of more of the Indians' land, and so, as framed wholly in the interest of the government as against themselves.

Eighth, the complicated nature of the Act, its great length and the diversity of interests intended to be served by it; several of these being matters of which the Indians had no knowledge and in which they felt themselves in no way concerned.

Notwithstanding the fact that the features were all good in themselves, designed as they were only to make more evident and certain the honest intention of the government, and trifling as it will appear to intelligent minds for the Indians to object to them, we have no doubt they were to them matters of grave import, and all persons who have had much experience in dealing with these simple, hearted though wily children of nature will readily see how they might easily be so regarded by them.

Council at Standing Rock.

Fully impressed by these facts and aware of the many difficulties to be encountered, the Commission opened the first council on Monday, July 23rd, at twelve o'clock. It was estimated that there were on this day about five hundred male adult Indians present. The Indians were made fully acquainted with the character of the business we had come to transact, and with the orders of the government as to the manner of proceeding. They were told that all must be present, that they might choose their own interpreters, and that nothing would be binding on them unless the full assent of three-fourths was obtained. The list of adult Indians furnished by the Agent was verified by calling each name and requiring them to indicate their presence by answering, rising or holding up the hand. The list was found to be substantially correct. A few names had been improperly, and unintentionally, placed on it and a few had been omitted; all of which was, when discovered, properly corrected. The absentees were satisfactorily accounted for. At the end of the second day's proceedings the general nature of the business, with all its details, had been fully explained to the Indians. The printed copies of the Act, with maps attached, had been offered to the Indians, and, notwithstanding the assurance was given them by the Commissioners and the Agent that the taking of a copy did not imply an acceptance of the Act, nearly all sullenly refused to take them.

On the 25th of July, the provisions of the Act were fairly and clearly placed before the Indians, there being present about eight hundred male adults. They were told in the plainest language that the Act had been framed after much thought and due deliberation on the part of Congress, that it had received the sanction of the President and the scrutiny of his wisdom that it had been carefully examined by their friends outside of Congress and had received their approval, that it embodied the wish and proposal of the government and if they refused to accept it, "it would leave their future condition and further action, which may be taken in regard to the reservation, problematical and uncertain." It was clearly and repeatedly shown to them that their present situation rendered the measure imperative to

provide for their support and happiness, and that the provisions of the Act were generous and beneficial to them.

The vast extent of territory (larger than the state of Indiana) occupied by them; the small number of Indians compared with the size of the reservation and the uselessness of this vast tract to them; their great need of additional stock, implements and other things, was portrayed to them fully. It can not reasonably be doubted, and it is not doubted by any person acquainted with the transaction, that all this was fully understood by them. They were given to understand and did understand fully, that no character of threat, menace or force was to be used to induce them to assent; that it was a matter which was to be left to their own free will.

They were forcibly reminded that by the treaty of 1868 their schools were to be continued for twenty years only, that the time for which this provision was made, was nearly out, and that some new arrangement about schools was now imperative. They were also reminded that in 1876 they had solemnly pledged themselves to take land in allotments and use their best efforts to learn to cultivate them; that the provisions in the treaty of that year which gave them their rations by which they were now living, were dependent on their compliance with the promises made by them, and a refusal to accept this Act might cause the government to take action looking to the enforcement of that clause in the treaty. A large map, furnished by the Department, on which the proposed reservations and the land proposed to be sold were shown in well defined lines, was exhibited so that it could be seen and understood by all. The act was taken up and, section by section, was fully and clearly explained. This was repeated day after day, the Indians being called upon to state whether there was anything not fully understood, and if so, they were told that it would be explained again. It can not be doubted that the great body of the Indians had ample opportunity to fully comprehend the whole matter. They themselves admitted this.

Controlling Power of the Chiefs.

It was evident to your Commissioners, in a very short time after negotiations began that the chiefs and leaders had managed to have the whole disposition of the negotiations placed in their own hands. Day after day, four men took the front seat and declared that the Indians had selected them to speak the thoughts of all. In their own councils they had by threats and menace excited fear in the minds of all, that it was dangerous to express an opinion favorable to the wishes of the government, and dangerous for any other man than those four to attempt to speak at all. One of the leaders of the hostile party had declared that if any Indian should sign the deed of acceptance, he ought to be killed at once. It was also threatened that any Indian who favored the acceptance would be expelled from the Agency, put across the river and forced to remain with the whites. (See interviews.) When asked by the Commissioners to get up in open council and tell the people that they were free to do as they pleased and that no harm should come to those who desired to sign the agreement, the chiefs sullenly refused to say a word. The question was pressed upon them until they ingeniously brought about an adjournment of the council. A cunning plan was devised by the chiefs to avoid what they felt to be an untenable position, and, at the next meeting, after an interval of four days, one of them got up in a pompous way and announced that he was going to repeat four times that the people might do as they wished. He then proceeded to execute this well protected farce with a display of dramatic ability worthy of a nobler cause, but an old Indian who in his heart favored the Act and was afterwards the first to sign the deed of acceptance, told the Commissioners that it made him laugh, meaning that he knew the hypocrisy and deceit which lay beneath the words of the speaker. This view was abundantly sustained by the conduct of the same chiefs who a few days afterwards objected to having the Commissioners announce to the people by a crier, that they would receive the signatures of the Indians at their quarters. When reminded of his four times repeated announcement to the Indians in open council that they might do as they pleased and fear nothing, he said that he only meant to allow them to do so

at that time. The leave to do as they pleased he said, was not to last forever.

Objections Offered by the Chiefs.

A reference to the proceedings in the councils will show that the main objections offered to the Act by the Indians were:

First, that it was an attempt to pay out of money already due them under former treaties for the land proposed to be ceded by the Act.

Second, that the government had failed to comply with the treaty stipulations in the past, and that, therefore, it would not comply with the promises to the Indians made in the Act.

Third, that certain of the boundaries of their present reservation as given in this Act, did not correspond with what they understood their former treaties to have fixed for them.

Fourth, that by the Act, the Santees at Flandreau are permitted to come and take land on their territory, and that the Santees in Nebraska are permitted to take a share in the proceeds of the sale of the proposed ceded lands.

Fifth, that work oxen are offered them when they wish American mares.

Sixth, that half of the land proposed to be sold to actual settlers as homesteads was not suitable for farming, and could not be sold at all for that purpose.

Seventh, that they did not have more land than would be needed by their children, and they did not wish to part with any of it.

Eighth, that fifty cents per acre was not enough for the land. The government sells land at a dollar and twenty-five cents, and they ought to have that price for their land.

Answers to Objections.

In answer to the first objection it was said by the Commissioners that by this Act, all former treaties not in conflict with it were to be continued in full force and executed in full.

To the second it was conclusively shown that the government had done much more than was promised under the treaties of 1868 and 1876; and that at least thirty million dollars had been expended by the government up to this time, in the execution of these two treaties.

To the third, it was said that the boundaries as set forth in the treaties were all the evidences the government had, and that these boundaries could not now be changed and, in addition, the interpreters who were employed when the treaties were made were put upon the stand before the whole council, and stated that the boundaries named in the treaty were precisely given as represented by the United States Commissioners when the treaty was made.

To the fourth, it was answered that the Indians mentioned were their kinsmen, of their own blood, that these Indians had been present and took part in the making of the treaties of 1868 and 1876, and that they thereby acquired rights which the government felt bound to protect and which the Indians on the reservation ought to respect and besides they were reminded that there was plenty of land for all.

In answer to the fifth objection, they were told that the Act gave a discretionary power to the government, by the use of the word "teams" which could be exercised in giving mares instead of oxen.

To the sixth, it was stated that after all the land suitable for homesteads had been taken up, the government could, and doubtless would, provide means for the sale of the residue at no less than the stipulated price of fifty cents an acre.

To the seventh, it was shown that their present territory was larger than the State of Indiana, that the latter has a population of about two millions, and that there was much unoccupied land still in the State, and that the people in Indiana were not alarmed about a want of land for their children, and that the Indians should have no fears on this question.

To the eighth and last objection, it was replied that whilst it was true that the government when it sold land, sold it at a dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, that, it gave away much without receiving any pay for it, that this alone made land cheap and that the price now offered was as much as Congress would agree to, that by disposing of the surplus land and allowing railroads and settlements to be made in the reservation, the balance of the surplus land of which they would have much after making allotments, would be rendered of greater value, and that it would be thus greatly to their advantage to open their reservation. They were also forcibly and frequently reminded that they did not own the land in fee simple but had only a right of occupancy, that the fee was in the United States, and hence they should not on that account require so much for the land.

The controversy continued for many days until the Indians had offered every conceivable objection to the Act, many of them trivial and not well defined, but the principal ones are given. The Commissioners were deeply impressed with the belief which they still entertain that many, if not all, of their objections were mere excuses, some of them put into their minds by interested persons inside and outside the reservation. Some of the latter class

were perhaps acting under pay, as Attorneys for the Indians, some acting for or in behalf of individual and corporation interests, which they thought adverse to the Act, and most, if not all the former, actuated by no real desire to promote the welfare of the Indians, but from purely selfish motives. Outside of the influence of the Agent, the Commission had no support from persons in or about the Agency; in fact, to us, every one seemed not only disinclined to back the wishes of the government, but those who said or did anything seemed to be opposed to the measure.

The Indians repeatedly refused to sign either the paper of assent or dissent, and the Commissioners, according to your instructions, as persistently insisted that they should sign the one or the other. We were painfully impressed with the belief that the real, underlying cause of the refusal of the Indians to accept the provisions of the Act, was due mainly, if not wholly, to an unwillingness on the part of a great majority of them to give up Indian ways and adopt the modes and habits of the white men. The objections urged by them to the provisions of the Act were mere excuses framed by or for them and having no real significance or weight in their minds. And who can wonder at this? Furnished by the government with all the necessities of life and some of its luxuries, without any exertion on their part housed, fed, clothed and supplied with all needed stock and agricultural implements, why should they make a struggle to get rid of these, and place themselves in a situation in which they would be compelled to earn them all by the sweat of the brow? Fully impressed as they are with the belief that an exhibition on their part of ability to support themselves at once brings with it a deprivation of ease, comfort and a life of idle roaming over the vast plains, and will compel them to stay at home and work for a living, it is not to be wondered at that they hesitate and refuse to consent to a change. Finally it became manifest that further exertions were vain. One of the chiefs dismissed the Indians from the council. Many started away, but were called back by the Agent, and then the Commissioners adjourned the council by telling the Indians that when they wished to see them again, they would make it known to them. The Commissioners then undertook the work of trying to get the Indians to consent to the proposition as individuals, and notice was given that any Indian desiring to sign either of the papers might come to the quarters of the Commission and do so. Several, numbering in all twenty-two, took advantage of this offer, and came in and signed. This was the cause of much dissatisfaction to the chiefs, and they charged the Commission with an attempt to do that secretly which they said they would do openly. Spies were posted to watch the Indians and our quarters, to intercept them and prevent them from coming. Finally, Sitting Bull followed a young Christian Indian, Herbert Welsh, who was coming into the room where the Commissioners were, and asked him what right he had to sign the agreement. One of the Commissioners replied that it was none of his, Sitting Bull's, business, that the young man had as much right to his opinion as he, Sitting Bull, had to his, and he was told further that he had made threats as to what would be done to the men who wished to sign the agreement, and that if any Indian or his property was interfered with on this account he, Sitting Bull, and the others who had made threats would be held responsible.

Crow Creek Agency.

Remaining at Standing Rock until Tuesday, August 21st, a period of one month, and after communicating with the Department for advice, the Commission went by steamer on the Missouri River to Crow Creek Agency. Whilst on the boat, and before leaving the landing, two chiefs came on board and expressed a desire to sign the deed of acceptance, which they did. We arrived at Crow Creek on Friday, August 24th, and were met by Agent Anderson at the landing.

When the boat reached the Cheyenne River Agency, on our way down, Agent McChesney, Maj. Wheaton, and Mr. Kinney came aboard and communicated freely with the Commission as to the temper and disposition of the Indians at that Agency.

The Indians at Crow Creek presented quite a contrast to those at Standing Rock. At Standing Rock, from the beginning they appeared sullen and suspicious. Not a single Indian called to see the Commissioners until Agent McLaughlin reminded them of their want of politeness, when Sitting Bull made a short and formal call. On the contrary at Crow Creek all the chiefs, both those for and against the Act, made friendly calls on the Commissioners, and some of them notably Wizi, Bowed Head, Dog Back and many others, voluntarily spoke freely on the subject matter of our visit. Monday was spent in becoming acquainted with the Indians and in ascertaining the situation. We found a majority of the Indians here settled on farms which they had taken un-

der the treaty of 1868. They will nearly all do so, as soon as the land can be surveyed and allotments assigned. Generally they have good houses, their farms are enclosed, and many of them show evidences of industry and thrift. In passing from the Indian to the white settlements, no great contrast is noticeable. These Indians are friendly, loyal to the government and expressed a desire to become self-supporting and to live as white men.

Council at Crow Creek.

The first council was held in a grove a short distance south of the Agency, and assembled on Tuesday, August 28th, at 12 M. The list of Indians was verified, and a general outline of the objects of our visit and the nature of our business given, all of which was received with marked attention and respect. On the next day a large map of the whole reservation and a separate one of the Crow Creek Reservation both of which had at our request been furnished by Maris Taylor, Surveyor General of Dakota, (and herewith transmitted) were placed in sight of all present, and the Act was carefully explained and interpreted, section by section. After the adjournment, many Indians visited the Commission, expressed their approval of the Act and said they would, when the time came, sign the deed of assent.

As at Standing Rock, the Indians were called upon to express themselves fully as to the Act and state any objections to it which they might have. The principal objection offered was that by the Act their best lands would be taken from them, and that which would be left was not enough for their children, and generally, the same objections that were given at Standing Rock. The chiefs and Indians were divided in sentiment and each side presented their views, though there were rumors afloat that the opponents of the Act would punish any person who favored it. The Indians were, however, at an early period given to understand by the Agent that no character of force or threats would be tolerated. This had the desired effect, and it soon became apparent that one half, if not a majority of the people favored the Act. This was particularly noticeable among the young men, who had been educated and those who had imbibed religious principles. Prominent among these was James Williams. When it became apparent that the Indians fully understood the measure, and that no more argument was needed or would prove effectual, the Indians were called on to sign one or the other of the papers. 120 signed the deed of acceptance, none signed the deed of objection. As each man signed he received an illustrated certificate, (copies of which are herewith enclosed) to that effect, bearing on its face his own name, the date of signature and the names of the Commissioners.

During our deliberations at this place, White Ghost, a prominent chief, presented a copy of a petition to the President signed by his whole tribe, which, several years ago was sent to Washington, and which, we suppose, is on file in the Indian Office. The main feature of the petition is that the Yankton Indians without the knowledge and consent of White Ghost and his people, the Yanktonais, sold their country to the United States. They claim that the Yanktons had no right or authority to do this, and requested that the attention of the government be called to the subject. We promised him to do so, and we respectfully refer to the paper on file for further information. The boundaries of the land as given in the petition are described as on the north by the forty-eighth parallel, on the west and south by the Missouri River, on the east by the Red River of the North and Big Sioux River. The petition also expressed doubt as to their title to their present land. We explained to them, that if the Act of Congress met with their approval, their title would be secured.

Lower Brule Agency.

Leaving with Agent Anderson a copy of the agreement, in order to obtain signatures of other Indians who might wish to sign it, we proceeded to Lower Brule Agency, by way of Chamberlain. In making this trip we passed through that portion of the Crow Creek country south of the Agency, where many Indians have their farms, and from our observations here and above the Agency, we gathered the information on which we base our remarks on the farming operations of these Indians. Having left Crow Creek, September 5th, at ten o'clock, A. M., stopping for dinner at Chamberlain, we arrived at Lower Brule at eleven o'clock on the same day. Thursday was spent in getting acquainted with the Indians and making preparations for a council. On Friday morning at eleven the first council assembled. These Indians had been well informed as to the nature of the Act prior to our arrival. Agent Anderson, chief clerk Tippetts, in charge of the Lower Brules, and the corps of employees had taken pains to give the Indians correct information and good advice, and though we met with much determined opposition on the part of some, the aid which we thus received from the employees was of great value.

These Indians have generally taken separate homes, and are ready for land

in severalty. About three-fourths of them have progressive ideas. The balance led by the principal chief, have made but little advancement, and were opposed to the act from first to last. The chief himself is an honest man of good intentions, but is now in his dotage, and from being so long in the Indian ways is unhappy at the thought of giving them up.

As at other points visited, the Act was fully and fairly explained, carefully interpreted and well understood. Soon it was known that at least one hundred Indians were ready to accept. The number continued to increase until, on a final vote 244 signed the deed of acceptance. Some refused to sign either paper, and 14 signed the deed of rejection. Some who at first rejected the Act, came in and changed their votes and signed the deed of acceptance. The line between the progressive and non-progressive parties was clearly defined, when old Iron Nation and his blanketed, eagle-feathered following, numbering about one-fourth, arose and marched away from the council, leaving behind the educated, the Christian element and the progressive old men who looked more in pity than in anger on their benighted brethren as they turned their faces towards the old ways and vanished in Indian darkness. It was a scene worthy of a painter, and to be understood must have been witnessed. Three of the six Agencies had now been visited with the results as given; three more of the largest remained untouched. It was apparent, that even if at the three Agencies yet unvisited we were able to obtain, at least, the required three-fourths, the one-fourth not obtained, added to the number who refused to vote at Standing Rock, and at Crow Creek, with the small negative vote at Lower Brule, would defeat the ratification of the Act. Reliable information from Cheyenne River, Rosebud and Pine Ridge represented the state of affairs at these three Agencies to be as bad as at Standing Rock. In view of this, on Saturday evening, after the close of the second day's council, Commissioner Pratt, after consultation with the other Commissioners, determined to visit the Secretary of the Interior at Madison, Wis., where the Secretary was then on a visit to his home. Accordingly on that evening he took the train for Madison, leaving Commissioners Cleveland, Wright and Anderson in charge of affairs. These latter proceeded with the business with the results as detailed above. The consultation between the Secretary and Commissioner Pratt resulted in an order for a General Council of Agents and representative Indians from all six Agencies, to be convened at Lower Brule Agency on Saturday, Sept. 22nd, 1888.

Due notice of this assembly was given to the Commissioners at Lower Brule and to the respective Agents. The number and character of Indians expected to attend was designated. On September 19th, Commissioner Pratt returned. On Thursday September 20th, Agent Gallagher with his delegation arrived, followed on Friday by Agent Spencer and his delegation, and on Saturday by Agents McChesney and McLaughlin with their delegations. Agent Anderson had the Crow Creek representation on the ground also.

Conference Between the Commissioners and Agents.

In the evening a full conference between the Commissioners and the Agents was held, in which there was a free and full interchange of opinion as to the situation of affairs. A complete copy of the proceedings of the conference is appended, (marked E) to which you are respectfully referred. Commissioner Pratt explained that the object of the conference was to confer fully with each other in regard to the Act, its present condition, its future, the temper of the Indian mind, and what means, if any, could be devised to carry the work entrusted to us through successfully. The Agents at none of the Agencies, except Crow Creek and Lower Brule, had ever explained the Act to the Indians or advised them to accept it. They said they were under instructions from the Department not to use their influence in favor of the Act until the arrival of the Commissioners. They made reference to a letter received by them from the Indian Office, on which they based their statements. A copy of the letter referred to is hereto appended, (marked F). It was also ascertained that Indians at Pine Ridge had been afraid to express themselves favorably to the Act, that the great body of the Indians there were "desperately opposed" to it and would not accept it, even if explained fully to them. The Agent at the Cheyenne River Agency thought there were about ten Indians on his Agency who favored the Act; there might be as many as twenty or thirty. The opposition had increased much in the last month. He thought that at one time as many as one-third or one-half favored the Act. The increase of opposition was owing to the action of the Standing Rock Indians. He did not think the Indians would agree to part with any of their land at any price. They regarded the Act as of no importance to them, but en-

tirely in the interest of the government.

General Council.

At ten o'clock A. M. Monday, September 24th, the General Council, composed of the Commissioners, the Agents and delegations of the Indians from each of the six Agencies with their own interpreters was convened. There were also many other Indians present, making in all an assembly of one hundred and fifty persons.

The Chief Commissioner addressed the council and explained the reasons which had led to a general council, and the purpose and nature of the business, it was called on to transact. He explained the relations which they bore to the government and what they were expected to do in complying with their part of past treaty stipulations. After this the Act was explained, section by section, and the different reservations pointed out on a large map, as had been done in the Agency council.

The Agents then called on the Indians to come forward and express their views of the Act. Each delegation put its chosen men forward to speak. The objections to the Act were in substance those which had been made at the different Agencies, as given before. Some also spoke in favor of the Act, and expressed their desire to accept it as it was.

On Thursday, the 27th, Commissioner Pratt replied to the Indians, noting their objections to the Act. He said, "The important objection, and the only one which is really worthy of much consideration, is the one in regard to the price of the land. If that could be settled, we feel that the others might be, in some way arranged." Further on he said, "But the price, one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre that you ask is simply beyond all possible hope of securing an acceptance of. Congress would at once laugh at it, and would undoubtedly take some steps contrary to your wishes. That which you have proposed to us, as something which you would like to submit to Congress and the President by a trip to Washington, we cannot accept because it would lead to nothing. If we should telegraph to the Secretary that you made such a proposition, he would simply say "No." If we could feel that your objections were reasonable, as the Secretary instructed us, it might be that he would say to us: "Well, bring a party to Washington and let us talk to Congress, and we will see what can be done."

This closed the last council. The Commissioners felt they had exhausted all honorable efforts to secure a ratification by the Indians of the Act, but the Indians through their Agents asking for further consultation, it was arranged that the delegations should, with their Agents, consult and agree upon a proposition. The proposition in substance was that a delegation from each Agency be permitted to visit Washington and lay their objections before the President and Secretary of the Interior and ask for some modifications of the Act similar to those presented in council. It was, however, clearly, distinctly and unequivocally agreed, on the part of the Indians, that as to the price, they would not demand more than fifty cents an acre for the land proposed to be ceded, but would ask for a change as to the mode and time of payment. The proposition was accepted and they were informed that on those terms a visit to Washington might be made.

Visit to Washington.

Arrangements were then perfected which resulted in the visit to Washington and the consultation with the Secretary of the Interior. In this consultation the Indians in substance made the same points of objections which had been made in council with the Commissioners. The Honorable Secretary, in reply to their objections, made reasonable and liberal propositions, covering every point of objection. To have been consistent, the Indians should have accepted them unhesitatingly. To every one acquainted with the history of the transaction, the terms proposed by the Indians prior to going to Washington, and the conditions surrounding these people, their rejection of the proposition was a cause of surprise and mortification. This ended the matter and the Indians, after shaking hands with the President, returned to their homes on the reservation.

During their stay in Washington, these Indians were constantly beleaguered by persons, male and female, who claimed to be par excellence the friends of the Indians, that they are the especial guardians of these unhappy people, and their protectors against the oppression and wrongs sought to be imposed upon them by the government. Every possible argument was used to induce the Indians to reject the offers of the government. These people had abundant opportunity to influence the Indians, and did not hesitate to tell them in our hearing, that this was a scheme on the part of the government and your Commissioners to rob them. A Commissioner asked one of these people: "What would you have the

government do with these Indians?" The reply was: "Let them alone." "What," said the Commissioners, "Do you mean that the government should withdraw from them its protection, and cease to feed, clothe and provide for them?" "Oh no;" was the reply, "Continue to do all these things, and allow the Indians to do as they please."

There are few things so absolutely barren of romance when studied in detail as the Indian and his home. In the endeavor to instill beauty, order, cleanliness, thrift, health and the like, where their foul and poisonous opposites are in full possession, it is necessary to be rid of the false glamour of enchantment lent by distance to the view. It is better also that sentiment be entirely absent than that its presence should in the least degree hamper the free action of common sense—that is, if our object be to save the Indian from death and not the indulgence of vague sentimental views.

These Indians are the wards of the government. For the past twenty years, they have been dealt with liberally, justly and humanely. The government has met all the expenses necessary to their support. Justice to tax-payers, however, and sound policy for the Indians demand that they be made to support themselves. The government should formulate, adopt and execute with firmness measures calculated to bring about this end. And no interference from outside ought to swerve it a hair breath from this line. These measures should be just and humane, but the end to be obtained, self-support, should never be lost sight of.

Farming Operations.

In your instructions we were directed "if convenient, to obtain some information in respect to the amount of land cultivated, the houses occupied, stock and other property owned by the various individual Indians, and the extent to which they and their children have enjoyed the opportunities of school attendance, and education; and, so far as it may be found convenient and practicable, to obtain such or similar information without delaying or interfering with the work of the Commission, it is requested that it may be procured and reported separately." Circumstances as detailed in this report having prevented us from visiting all parts of the reservation, as contemplated originally, we have deemed it advisable to embody all the information we derived on these various subjects, together with a full account of the entire proceedings in council, in a single report.

By Article 7 of the treaty of 1868, the Indians pledged themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years to attend school. By the treaty of 1876, Article 9, the Indians solemnly pledged themselves, individually and collectively, to select allotments of lands as soon as possible after their removal, and to use their best efforts to learn to cultivate the same. The government in consideration of the cession of territory then made and upon full compliance with each and every obligation assumed by the Indians, including of course the obligation assumed to compel their children to attend school and to select allotments of land as soon as possible and use their best efforts to learn to cultivate the same, assumed on its part, certain obligations which have caused the expenditure of more than thirty millions of dollars for their support between 1868 and this time. And yet, the great body of this people have refused and still refuse to take their land in allotments, even making hostile demonstrations when surveys have been made; and it has been with great difficulty that Agents by the aid of police have succeeded in getting their children in school. It is true that some have taken homes under the treaty of 1868 and some have sent their children to school willingly, but these are the exceptions and not the rule. Whilst it is true that it has been a favorite policy of the United States in dealing with the Indians to secure a reduction of their large and unused reservation, it is equally true that the promotion of education and habits of self-support in order to relieve the country of the expense of supporting the Indians has been the great object in view. A continuation of the practice of feeding and clothing these people in idleness at the expense of millions of dollars per annum will prove a needless burden upon the tax-payers of the country and the ruin of the Indians themselves. It is probable that any other government than ours in the face of the fact that these Indians have failed to comply with their treaty obligations, would have declared the obligations of the government at an end, and would long since, have refused to comply on its part. If the United States had been dealing with any people but Indians it would not have submitted so long to a wilful refusal on the part of the other contracting party to comply with its solemn obligations. Considerations induced by pity and humanity alone have, up to this time, served to prevent prompt action in enforcing that which was not only a duty on the part of the Indians but which could have but re-

sulted in their own good. These Indians say in excuse for their failure in the past, that at the time these treaties were made their people were ignorant and did not know the nature and extent of the obligations which they assumed. Doubtless there is much truth in this, and considerations of this nature have had much to do in shaping the generous and humane action of the government. However this may be, these Indians by the help of the government have arrived at a point when this excuse is no longer of force. They are now sufficiently enlightened to understand the nature of their obligations.

Feeding Indians.

By the terms of the treaty of 1876, rations were to be issued "until the Indians are able to support themselves."

This can not be construed to mean that rations are to be issued to all Indians until the whole body are self-supporting. If that construction is to prevail, the United States will continue to feed these Sioux people forever; for it is certain that there will never come a time under the present system when everyone will be able and willing to support himself.

There are many Indians now living on the Great Sioux Reservation who are as able to support themselves and their families as are most white men, and yet they continue to draw their rations and annuities as the others. This was not contemplated by the treaty and besides it has a most baneful effect in encouraging idleness, profligacy and improvidence.

In the instructions given the Commissioners who negotiated the agreement of 1876 by the then Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, approved by the President and the Honorable Secretary of the Interior will be found these words:

"One of the most important subjects of negotiation is that represented by the fifth clause, and the President is strongly impressed with the belief that the agreement which shall be best calculated to enable the Indians to become self-supporting is one which shall provide for their removal at as early a date as possible to the Indian Territory." The fifth clause above alluded to says: "To enter into such agreement, or arrangement with the President of the United States as shall be calculated and designed to enable said Indians to become self-supporting." Further on the instructions say: "These appropriations (meaning the appropriations for the three years prior to 1876) have been a matter not of obligation but of charity, and the Indian should be made to understand distinctly that they can hope for continued appropriations only by full submission to the authority and wishes of the Government, and upon full evidence of their disposition to undertake in earnest, measures for their own advancement and support. Their main dependence for support must ultimately be the cultivation of the soil, and for this purpose their own country is utterly unsuited." The opinion thus expressed as to the productive qualities of Dakota soil has been shown to be without foundation. If industrious white men can make a living in Dakota by farming and grazing stock, industrious Indians can do it. The white men of Dakota, on no better land than that of the Sioux reservation are doing it. Industrious Indians on the reservation are doing it. Major Anderson, Agent at Crow Creek and Lower Brule, asserts that if the government will agree to furnish the Indians under his charge with a sufficient amount of work-stock and agricultural implements, he can and will, make them self-supporting in four years. This is stated to show that Indians can, if they will, make themselves self-supporting on their reservations.

Dakota as a Farming and Grazing Country.

Let us see now what has been accomplished by the white people of Dakota. The climate, soil and seasons are the same on both sides of the Missouri River which divides the white settlements from the great body of the Indian reservation. They have received no aid from the government. "Single handed and alone they put the ball in motion," and have continued amid snow storms, blizzards, heat and drought to keep it rolling. In 1860, they made 945 bushels of wheat.

In 1870, six years before the time when the government was thinking of sending the Sioux to the Indian Territory because it was believed that a farmer could not make a living in Dakota, the whites made 170,662 bushels of wheat. Notwithstanding the bad seasons and other drawbacks which Indian Agents give for a failure on the part of the Indians to make crops, in 1886 the yield of wheat in Dakota ran up to 30,704,000 bushels, more than was that year produced in any other State or Territory except five, to wit: Iowa, California, Indiana, Ohio and Minnesota. In 1887 the production of wheat amounted to 62,553,499 bushels. In 1886, Dakota white farmers produced 15,805,000 bushels of corn, more than was produced in any one of twenty-three States and Territories; and in 1887, the amount of corn raised reached 24,511,726 bushels. In 1886, 20,651,000 bushels of oats were produced, more than in any one State or Territory except eleven; and in 1887, there were produced

43,278,478 bushels. In addition to the farm products mentioned, flax, rye, barley and buck-wheat were raised in considerable quantities. Native hay grows nearly everywhere, and cultivated grass can be made to grow without much difficulty. No country can excel Dakota in the production of root vegetables. In 1887, the value of live stock amounted to \$43,495,226, while in 1880, seven years prior, it amounted to \$463,276 only. The value of dairy products and wool clip is not estimated in the above. The success in raising live stock has been wonderful.

In 1886 the value of oxen, cows and other cattle was \$21,445,302
" " " " horses " 17,618,192
" " " " mules " 1,194,622
" " " " hogs " 2,314,615
" " " " sheep " 623,100

Indians as Farmers.

Twenty years have elapsed since the treaty of 1868 with the Sioux Indians. During these twenty years they have had possession of, and been urged to cultivate land equal in fertility to the land occupied by the white people of Dakota. They have been fed and clothed at the expense of the government. They have been furnished with teams, harness, wagons, plows, reapers, mowers, threshing-machines and other agricultural implements. They have had physicians to treat them, when sick; Agents to instruct and direct them; carpenters and blacksmiths to do all their work; farmers to teach them how to cultivate, and wire fences to enclose their fields, all at the expense of the government. Houses have been built for some of them; and others have received aid from the government in the construction of log dwellings. Their children have had school facilities greater than the demand made by the Indians for them. The purpose of all this has been to bring them into a condition of self-support, so that further taxation for this purpose might cease.

An examination of the reports of Indian Agents from the six Sioux Agencies will show discouraging results. No figures are given in the report of 1887 showing the amount of farm products made at Crow Creek and Lower Brule. The Agent at Pine Ridge Agency says: "It must be conceded that the Indian makes slow progress as a farmer." He gives no figures showing the result of their farming operations, and says a large majority of them have a strong prejudice against taking land in severalty. At Rosebud the Agent says: "They have plowed no considerable amount of land, but have cultivated but little." At Standing Rock, there are four thousand five hundred and forty-five Indians. They planted in different kinds of crops 3500 acres, much less than one acre for each Indian. The Agent estimates, and we have no doubt that he made a full estimate, that they had in wheat 400 acres, oats 300 acres, potatoes, 200 acres, corn and vegetables 2,600 acres. He thinks they made in all as follows:

Corn, 15,200 bushels or about 3½ bushels to each Indian.
Oats, 6,800 bushels, or about 1½ bushels to each Indian.
Wheat, 3,670 bushels, or about ¾ bushels to each Indian.

This is the result of twenty years of effort on the part of the government at Standing Rock Agency.

The Cheyenne River Agency contains 12,000 square miles. The Agent says there are of this 1,600,000 acres of tillable land.

He says that since 1872 the amount of money spent by the government for these Indians in the purchase of implements, fence wire and seeds alone, many times exceeds the value of all that has been raised by them. There are 2,936 Indians here. These nearly 3,000 Indians seeded 1,900 acres in all kinds of crops. The seasons were more favorable than the average, says the Agent. They made:

275	bushels	of	wheat
7,300	"	"	corn
550	"	"	oats
4,500	"	"	potatoes
140	"	"	turnips
275	"	"	onions

This was the entire crop raised by the laboring portion of 2,936 people. We venture to say, in Dakota, this entire crop could have been raised on much less than 400 acres of land and that twenty ordinary farmers could have cultivated the whole of it. Unless, by some means, results more in proportion to the expenditure made annually by the government to assist them in farming, are attained, well may the Agent (as he does) recommend a cessation of efforts to have these Indians cultivate any large area of land. (See Report of Agent at Cheyenne River Agency for 1887.) He says there are 5,406 cattle at the Agency. Of these cattle 2,700 are owned by eight half breeds, and the 2,928 other Indians own the balance—not one to each. These half breeds are of that class of men referred to in another part of this report (and the same state of affairs exists on

(Continued on Sixth Page.)

The Red Man.

FORMERLY

The Morning Star.

Published Monthly in the Interest of Indian Education and Civilization.

The Mechanical work done by
INDIAN BOYS at the

Indian Industrial School.

CARLISLE, PA.

Terms: Fifty Cents a Year.
Five cents a single copy.
(Mailed on the 15th of the month.)

Address all business correspondence to
M. BURGESS,
CARLISLE, PA.

Entered as second class matter at the Carlisle,
Pa., Post Office, January 26, 1888.

DECEMBER, 1888.

Special laws, special but meagre opportunities, special treatment in every way, are the banes which kill Indian progress.

One of the most difficult duties devolving upon those who will hereafter lend a hand to educate and civilize the American Indians will be to remove the obstructions placed in the way of their education and civilization in the past—"Walls as high as the sky" and other inventions which persist and insist upon keeping them Indians. When we learn to know and treat them as men, then they will respond as men and not before.

In a large public meeting in Philadelphia, recently, we heard one say it would take two generations to civilize the Indians, and again in the same speech he said it would take sixty years to civilize the Indians.

In the same meeting, speaking from the same platform, to the same audience and in the presence of this person was a young Indian who fifteen years ago, was as veritable a savage both by inheritance and in fact as any ever on the continent. The young Indian was introduced as the Rev. ———. We had both speeches taken down in full by a shorthand reporter and now have them before us.

It seemed to us at the time we heard the speeches and it seems to us now after reading both over with care, that as few inconsistencies occurred in the one speech as in the other, and they were not very materially different as to the quality of diction, construction, or pronunciation of the English in which both were rendered.

We said quietly to a friend sitting near then, and we say openly now, "We are very sorry for you Rev. ———. Your fight is hopeless. If you cannot enter the kingdom in less than two generations, you must see yourself you are gone. If you can enter it in sixty years, the greatest stretch of human life will leave you little time to enjoy it after you get in."

There is a great deal of log-rolling to get Congress to pass a bill providing a complicated system of special laws and administration of them for the Indian. If the man or men who push this measure had ever taken hold of the Indians practically and attempted to clean them and lead them out into a real and lasting future they would cease their theories and urge that our own laws and administration are as good for the Indians as they are for us. The idea that the Indians need other treatment than we ourselves is fatuous. We hope the Thayer Bill will rest peacefully forever in the Committee to which it was referred.

The new school building is now complete and will be occupied by the school immediately after the holidays. It comes as a Christmas present from the Government to our pupils, and an \$18,000 one at that. We appreciate this splendid gift and are most grateful for the same.

SCATTER AND CIVILIZE?

We are to civilize the Indians. So much of the Indian question is settled.

But how are we to civilize them? For it is not now to be an infinitesimal work done upon groups of individuals here and there, like a few oases in the desert of savagery, but the civilization of the Indian race that the American people mean. And what we mean, we accomplish; we are not among the peoples who fail to "arrive".

Why, then, have we not accomplished this before?

Because we have been only talking about it as a thing that ought to be done. Our treatment of the question reminds one of the fable of the farmers and the larks. The young birds came to their parents in distress, having overheard the farmer and his son talking about its being time to mow. "Don't trouble yourselves," answered Father Lark, "We need not move at present." In a few days they learned that the farmer and his son had been asking the neighbors to help them mow. "Not time to flit yet," pronounced the old bird. It was when the men said to one another, "To-morrow morning we must go at that mowing ourselves," that the old bird cried, "Now, we must be off."

We, the Americans, are a practical people. When we are really ready to have our fields mown, we go at the work ourselves.

But have we not done it here, when we have established schools among the Indians and sent missionaries to them for all these years?

This is going about asking the neighbors to come and help; this is exactly what we do in foreign countries where we have neither political nor social power, exactly what we do in places where we can't do better; this is sending because we cannot go. But we never send missionaries to transact our business, nor deputies of any kind if we can go ourselves. We, the American people, have considered the needs of the Indians as impersonally as we have done those of the Chinese and the Siamese and other peoples of distant countries. We have sent out our missionaries Indianward, and have read our newspapers by our firesides, undisturbed, and when we have heard of outrages by the border settlers and massacres by the Indians, we have shrugged our shoulders and cried out upon the injustice and the barbarity, and sent out more missionaries.

We, the Americans, have invited all other people in our land to come to our churches; but we have never invited the Indians there. We have tried to give them little churches and societies all by themselves, so far away that if at any time they should fail and turn back again into savages,—well, the missionaries would have to take care of them, they and the soldiers.

Now, the apostles went out into all the world, their world, and preached the gospel, according to the command that they had received. But they never broke the spirit of this command to keep the letter of it; they never sent off to preach to the people whom they could gather into their own fold, they did not experiment how far one man could influence when they were so situated that they could bring the teaching and the reformed lives of hundreds to bear upon the men they hoped to convert. The apostles showed that they were human, but in the conduct of their affairs they never denied the intellectual, as well as the spiritual greatness of the Master. We know now that when they enunciated that doctrine of childlike faith which was to be shown by imitation of the life of Christ, they enunciated the deepest truth of science in regard to discovery and proof. The bitterest attacks upon Christianity cannot deny that this Life stands as the great Environment toward which all individual living grows, and grows in proportion to its imitativeness of this ideal.

One's second best is not Christianity. This has been the religious treatment of

the Indians by the American people. However high and great the single lives that have been spent among them, and many have been noble, we have not shown them the life of Christian communities, we have only told them of it. We send our sons and our daughters out into the world to learn by travel and experience; but we have considered theory quite enough for the Indian children, and because it has not proved so, have set them down as hopeless savages.

This is not the way in which Americans, as a people, or as individuals, go at any other difficulty, national, political, sectarian, or personal. We have left out of the Indian question what we have been the most prompt to put into any of these—our brains; we have gone on in the teeth of that great force without which nothing prospers, common sense, which is science in action.

True religion will make us all of one sect in regard to the Indians—all Baptists, so that we shall dip them deep in the Jordan of civilization instead of sending out a few precious drops of it to sprinkle them here and there. The incrustations of savagery and filth require elementary treatment.

Christianity has never taken root in nations under the patriarchal system; for Christianity is the science of individual development; it is through the evolution toward the stature of Christ, toward his control over material forces, his sense of the obligations of man to man that the world has arrived at hearing a nation declare that all men are free and equal. No creeds, no dogmas, no faiths have been able to get over the fact that in the whole range of man's possibilities there is only one act which he can perform to God directly, and not to Him through the medium of man—prayer; and this also results in action toward men. And, so, our acts to others make the only measure of the Christianity in us. This takes religion through the week, and demands for others opportunity for the best intellectual growth, that they may attain to the power of fulfilling duties the scope of which broadens with the height to which one rises.

We shall be really trying to Christianize the Indians only when we offer them the best in our power. Our best is the opportunity that we give the veriest ragamuffin foreigner who comes to our coasts. "Come and see how we live," we say to him, "and learn." Let us say also to the Indians, "Come and see how we live, and learn."

(We ought not to do this because it is somewhat mortifying to us to send about to Christianize the world and fail within our own borders.)

We have decided to educate the children.

But when? To-day?

And where are the schools?

Built, ready, waiting among us, east and west, north and south, anywhere, everywhere—wide-open as soon as we come to believing that these dreaded "ten little Injun boys" are created by Heaven with the same nature, the same powers and possibilities as little white boys, and behave perhaps upon the whole, better than would white boys born under the same conditions. It is the race fence that walls in the reservations, a fence upon which ignorance posts itself, a sharp-shooter, to pick off the weaker party. Educate the children as we do our own, as we do the children of foreigners.

The reservation schools are only beginning to be built. With the establishment of whites upon the lands, schools will come there as other public schools do. And, then, the Government is to establish schools for the Indians. But the churches and the societies who feel that they also should work, that the schools will not be numerous enough and that they will be too long in coming—why should these wait, why should they spend money to build where it is already the part of others to do it and where it will soon be the law of the land? Let these send the missionaries not to the Indian children, but for

them, and gather the children into the good schools all over the country, so few children in proportion to our own that there would not be one for a school if they were well scattered. Give them instruction in our schools and churches, training in the ideas of American citizens, in the language, in the thousand ways of living and acting that are in the atmosphere of civilization and can no more be transported than mountain air can be carried down into the valley.

What! Bring the little savages out here among ourselves? Half a dozen into a community? Would it not be too severe a strain upon civilization? It would be like the old laying on of hands; it would be like what we do for the children of the slums.

And do we in the nineteenth century really believe that all the laws of nature are overturned by the color of the skin, that a red child requires essentially different treatment from a white one, and that, if so, savagery can get along with less care?

Here, then, are the schools; there are the children; we have people to send for them, and the means to transport them, and to pay their simple expenses in civilization until self-support come; for thousands of dollars are given every year for the Indian cause.

But is not this a mere scheme, impossible to carry out?

It is not only as a school for the instruction of the Indians that Carlisle asks to be studied, but as a basis of this system of education in citizenship. It asks to have the method of grafting the Indian pupils into the homes in the counties about Carlisle looked into as a method which may be followed by every community in the country, a method which would not take more money than could be easily raised, not more effort than the children from the slums need for their instruction, and a method that in ten years would do more to civilize and enlighten the Indians than has been done in two centuries. Carlisle gives evidence that this thing has been begun and is going on there every year more extensively, and more satisfactorily.

Then, gather in the children. They will not be at first like the Carlisle children, not until they have gone through the training the need of which should make them sought out.

Such work requires nothing that Americans do not possess; it demands business faculty, watchfulness, patience, a purpose stronger than obstacles; it requires what Carlisle adopts as its motto for teachers and taught working together, that purpose to "Never give up the ship."

FRANCES C. SPARHAWK.

WHAT PRESIDENT CLEVELAND SAID IN HIS LAST MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, ABOUT THE INDIANS.

The condition of our Indian population continues to improve and the proofs multiply that the transforming change, so much to be desired, which shall substitute for barbarism enlightenment and civilizing education, is in favorable progress.

No agency for the amelioration of this people appears to me so promising as the extension, urged by the Secretary, of such complete facilities of education as shall, at the earliest possible day, embrace all teachable Indian youth, of both sexes, and retain them with a kindly and beneficent hold until their characters are formed and their faculties and dispositions trained to the sure pursuit of some form of useful industry. Capacity of the Indian no longer needs demonstration. It is established. It remains to make the most of it, and when that shall be done the curse will be lifted, the Indian race saved, and the sin of their oppression redeemed. The time of its accomplishment depends upon the spirit and justice with which it shall be prosecuted. It cannot be too soon for the Indian, nor for the interests and good name of the nation.

The Apache Indians, whose removal from their reservation in Arizona followed the capture of those of their number who

engaged in a bloody and murderous raid during a part of the years 1885 and 1886, are now held as prisoners of war at Mount Vernon barracks, in the state of Alabama. They numbered on the 31st day of October, the date of the last report, 83 men, 170 women, 70 boys and 59 girls, in all 382 persons. The commanding officer states that they are in good health and contented, and that they are kept employed as fully as is possible in the circumstances. The children, as they arrive at a suitable age, are sent to the Indian schools at Carlisle and Hampton. I am not at all in sympathy with those benevolent but injudicious people who are constantly insisting that these Indians should be returned to their reservations. Their removal was an absolute necessity if the lives and property of citizens upon the frontier are to be at all regarded by the government. Their continued restraint at a distance from the scene of their repeated and cruel murders and outrages is still necessary. It is a mistaken philanthropy, every way injurious, which prompts the desire to see these savages returned to their old haunts.

Of the Indians in the Department of Arizona, General Miles in his Annual Report Says:

In regard to the Indians in the Department I deemed it necessary to refer especially to the condition of those on the White Mountain Reservation. Although nothing indicates any immediate rupture of the peace, yet the same condition of things that existed there one year ago prevails now—the same threatening elements exist, which will sooner or later lead to serious disturbance in Arizona. The greater my experience with, and observation of, those Indians the more strongly I am of the opinion expressed in my report of a year ago. The congregating of different tribes of Indians at that place was, in my judgment, a most serious mistake, and from information that has come to me I think it was done in the interest of persons who desired to obtain possession of the Indian land, and for the benefit of speculators and Indian plunderers. It has already caused several Indian wars, resulting in the death of hundreds of innocent people and the cost of millions of public money, to say nothing of the destruction of private property. The holding of large tracts of territory remote from civil government and amassing thereon large bodies of disaffected Indians, taken against their will and entreaties, from the homes which nature has designed for them, has resulted in serious disturbances wherever it has been tried, notably in the Indian Territory and the great Sioux Reservation. The White Mountain Reservation will not be an exception. Of all the acts of injustice coming under my notice I have never known of one more flagrant than this. To force well-disposed Indians to live in an unhealthy climate where there is neither shelter, nor water fit to drink, is, in my judgment, most unjust and unwise and a hardship as well to the troops who were required to be stationed in their midst to compel the Indians to die peaceably. When I made recommendation last year concerning the removal of some of the Indians from the San Carlos reservation to the Fort Verde reservation opposition was raised to it by some cattle men interested in maintaining a cattle range on a part of the government domain in the Verde valley, and some of the settlers in that locality were induced principally in the interest of four men, to sign a petition opposing the transfer, under misapprehension and through false representations. Some of the same persons have subsequently, of their own accord, signed a petition to have the Indians removed as was recommended.

The Mojaves, Yumas and Tontos are well disposed, and it has been their prayer to every commissioner and prominent official who has visited them, to be returned to their native country. Part of them are anxious to be returned to the Colorado river to join others of their own tribe at Yuma and Mojave, while others desire to go to the vicinity of their former homes on the Fort Verde reservation. To send them there would not only be an act of humanity but also one of wise administration. The White Mountain Indians that were formerly forced to the Gila valley declared that they would rather die than live there. They were told that they could not have rations if they did not remain and they said they would go back to their own country if they had to starve. They did go back and for years they have been making a most heroic struggle to live without receiving rations from the government. They cut wood and hay for Fort Apache, and I have seen their women go out long distances, cut grass with knives and pack it on their backs to the post for small sums of money. To force a people of that intelligence and industry to live in such a place as the Gila valley is, in my judgment, unjust and

cruel. If they were dispersed as recommended by me (which would appear to be in conformity with the policy of the government, as indicated by recent acts of Congress), the danger of serious outbreaks and disturbances in the future would be avoided, and much of that reservation, as large as some of the States, would be thrown open to miners and settlers. The loyalty of the Indians would be preserved and it would not only be beneficial to the people of Arizona but would result in great savings to the government.

Attention is also invited to the fact that the ration of food furnished by the government to the Indians at San Carlos has been reduced and the reason assigned is the high cost of articles of food there, and they are compelled this year to live on 150,000 pounds of beef and 74,259 pounds of flour less than they received last year. Notwithstanding the hardship to which these Indians have been subjected they have in the main been peaceable and industrious, and have raised crops to support themselves to some extent, but the patience and forbearance of an Indian are not without limit, and as long as they are compelled to remain in that condition just so long will there be danger of serious outbreaks, and it would seem needless to argue that such a condition of things should not be permitted to continue.

THE INEVITABLE.

The failure of the Sioux commission to negotiate for the opening of the great reservation has its compensations; since it has called forth from that body some vigorous common sense in its report and recommendations. These gentlemen cannot be charged with the mythical cruelty and indifference that are supposed to determine the average Western man's opinions of the Indian question. They were Eastern men of the highest standing, filled with a desire to do justice by the Indian, and charged with the execution of a law that promised him great benefits. They looked into the situation for themselves, and from the side of the Indian sympathizer. And the result is the most emphatic condemnation that we have heard of the whole reservation system. The civilization of the Indian they declare to be impossible, until the last remnant of that system is destroyed.

For this much the people of the Northwest are thankful; and they indulge in the hope that a report of this character, coming from such a quarter, will at last have some weight with the philanthropic cranks of the East and with Congress. It is not true that the people immediately in contact with the Indian are either careless or cruel. The most ardent and intelligent advocates of his rights, and the men who have done most to improve his condition are men who, like Bishop Whipple, have familiarized themselves with him by contact, and know by experience what is best for his future. The most intelligent and humane recommendations made to the managers of Indian affairs will be found in the reports of army officers who had just put down some uprising with rifle-ball and bayonet. It is the sentimentalist of the East, the man who never saw an Indian except in a delegation at Washington, the man who creates from books an imaginary Indian and knows no more of a reservation than he does of the condition of Alaska, who has besieged the national capital and had a share in the framing of legislation. It is time for the supremacy of experience, actual knowledge and justice tempered by common sense.

The Sioux commission states a fact, as well settled as the fact that you cannot build a railroad without ties or iron, when it says: "A continuation of the practice of feeding and clothing these people in idleness at the expense of millions of dollars per annum will prove a needless burden upon the tax-payers of the country, and the ruin of the Indians themselves." Here is the argument altogether neglected, that should be given first place. It is not only in the interest of Dakota, not merely that more land may be available for settlement, that the opening of this reservation is urged, but because in this direction lies the only possible hope for the Indian, and his only escape from the life of worthless dependence and dissolute vagabondage that is implied in the reservation system. To open reservations, to allot lands in severalty, to assist the Indian in his efforts at self-support, to provide schools for his children, and then to compel him to go to work, and to deal with him as an individual, recognizing no "chiefs" or tribal relations—this is the true policy of enlightened philanthropy. We trust that the failure of the original purpose of the Sioux commission may prove to be a gain in loss, by marking the beginning of the end of the reservation system, and the adoption of the only practical and enlightened Indian policy that has ever been discovered or suggested.—[St. Paul Pioneer Press.

AT THE SCHOOL.

Died.

LONDROSH—On Nov. 26th. of congestion of the brain, John Londrosh, a student from the Winnebago Agency, Nebraska.

Perhaps never in the history of the school has any event happened that caused such general sorrow as the death of this young man. Almost every one connected with the school felt as though they had lost a friend.

The circumstances of his sickness and death were unusual—from apparent good health and full strength he was in a few days stricken to death. Almost before his schoolmates realized that he was seriously ill, he was dead.

As a student he was exemplary; in deportment, gentlemanly; in all work and duty, faithful. In the minds of all with whom he was brought in contact his memory will be cherished as one from whom had his career been lengthened the noblest might have been expected.

To his mourning relations, his companions and friends we extend our earnest sympathy, and trust they may find consolation in remembering the exemplary life of the deceased, and that his life though short had by no means been lived in vain.

A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to all our friends.

The scores of fancy articles made by our girls for Christmas presents for folks at home will no doubt be appreciated by them.

The class having been previously exhorted to "speak up" a small boy obeyed so literally as to astonish himself and said in an aside "pretty near I preach that time."

Indicative of low spirits—"I wish I had lived in olden times," said Charlie.

"Why?" asked the teacher.

"Oh, then I would be dead now," replied the little Navajoe.

An Apache boy on receiving a letter, written on a type-writer, refused to take it at first, saying, "not a letter, just like newspaper." After considerable argument he was induced to believe that it was a real letter.

Do Indian children enjoy toys like white children? Yes, and sometimes it seems as if they enjoyed them more, as was evident from the extreme delight of one of our little girls on receiving a beautiful new china tea-set. It was only a Christmas present ahead of time.

Thanksgiving day with us passed off quietly. The service arranged especially for our school was held in the morning, while the products of the farms were gracefully displayed on the platform of the chapel. The pot-pie dinner and the free-go-easy day were well enjoyed by our pupils.

"Hm! Indians eat dogs," said a white youth in a slight quarrel with his Indian playmate.

"Pshaw! White man eat oysters, ugh! No good! And crabs, too!" remonstrated the little red man drawing up his mouth to suit the occasion.

The small boys discovered long since that their school-mother is afraid of mice. The other night when on the usual rounds to extinguish lights, in one of the rooms she found the boys unusually quiet at that early hour. In fact, they were sound asleep. The most mischievous one of the lot lay on his back, with face uncovered that there might be no doubt as to the soundness of his sleep.

Asleep? There was no more wide-awake youngster in the world than that little Pueblo.

It was he who had placed a dead mouse on the table by the lamp, and connected it with a string, closely run around the wall to his bed. It was he who gave the string a sudden jerk, when his mother was in the act of blowing out the light, sending the mouse in the air about ten inches.

When the mother started back with a suppressed scream the joke had reached its climax and the boys shouted.

Only Slight Misunderstandings.

"John," said the tinner to one of his apprentices. "Get me a barrel to put this charcoal in, and be quick about it, please."

The bell to close work had rung. The tinner was anxious to finish up, but the charcoal, which had just arrived, must be stored before he could leave the shop.

The Indian boy went on a double quick. Ten minutes passed. The tinner, busy-ing nervously around, was unable to account for the delay of the boy.

Ten more minutes passed. The supper-bell rang and still no boy. In a fit of desperation, the tinner went for the barrel himself. When the work was finished the boy appeared, dripping with perspiration and panting for breath leading the bull, which had been peacefully pasturing in the meadow below.

Another time some spouting was to be painted. An apprentice detailed to do the work, knew not much English, but the tinner before leaving to see about important duties in another part of the grounds gave directions as follows. "Now be careful. Do the work nicely. Don't daub paint on the floor and all over these trestles."

"Yes sir," replied the boy, hearing only the last words but confident that he could do as told.

An hour passed and the tinner returned to find that not a drop of paint had been put on the spouting, but the trestles were daubed in the very best style the boy could manage, considering the rough material he had to paint.

When two-years-old Richard Doanmoe was shown the photograph of his father the other day, and asked who it was, the child said "boy" as any other baby would have said under the same circumstances. But when he began to study the face a change came over his little countenance. He looked up full of delight and exclaimed, "Papa! Papa!" The baby recalled his papa's face without it being suggested. It will be remembered that brave Etahdleuh died a few months ago at the Kiowa Agency, Indian Territory, while engaged in missionary work among his people.

With this issue of the RED MAN we enter upon our ninth year. Our subscription list is increasing, and many complimentary letters in relation to the good that our paper is doing, bid us to go on with renewed courage feeling grateful for the substantial support received thus far and hopeful for still greater success in the future.

A Sioux boy says, "civilization is like a jungle and hard to find."

Strength of Our School at Present.

On the roll:	
Girls.....	221
Boys.....	394
Total.....	615
On farms:	
Girls.....	55
Boys.....	126
Total.....	181

Nominations for the Indian Service.

The following nominations were received by the Senate on the 11th inst.

John J. Enright, of Detroit, Mich., who was commissioned during the recess of the Senate, to be Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, vice Alexander B. Upshaw, resigned.

Samuel H. Albro, of Fredonia, N. Y., who was commissioned during the recess of the Senate, to be Superintendent of Indian schools, as provided in section 8 of the act approved June 29, 1888, to fill an original vacancy.

James C. Saunders, of Fort Smith, Ark., who was commissioned during the recess of the Senate, to be an Indian inspector, vice Morris A. Thomas, resigned.

Charles E. Vandever, of Indiana, who was commissioned during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Navajo agency, in New Mexico, vice Samuel S. Patterson, removed.

Samuel T. Leavy, of Kentucky, who was commissioned during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of Yankton agency in Dakota, vice John F. Kinney, resigned.

(Continued from Third Page.)

every other Agency,) who continue to draw rations and annuities for themselves, their wives and children, though amply capable of self-support. Necessarily, from motives of self-interest, such men do not desire and will oppose any reduction of rations.

They want large bodies of land which cost them nothing on which to pasture their vast herds of cattle and horses.

Necessarily, also, they will exercise a great control over Indians when questions between the Government and the Indian arise. They are neutral as between the government and the Indians ostensibly, but in practice always favor that policy which makes the Indian an easy victim for them to trade with, and which leaves the largest pastures for their own herds.

Beef and Bacon.

By the terms of the treaty of 1876 bacon may be given as rations in place of beef. It would be an economical reform and far better for the Indians, if the government would gradually but firmly reduce the amount of beef issued, and substitute the treaty equivalent in bacon. We do not mean the total deprivation of beef, but it should be reduced to a reasonable, decent and healthy standard. The amount of cattle slaughtered yearly on this reservation is simply enormous, averaging one steer each ten days for every thirty persons.

This gives for the usual estimate of 23,000 Indians, 767 beef cattle every ten days, or a grand total for the year of 28,000 cattle. At some Agencies every two weeks, at others a shorter period, comes what is called beef-killing day. Many of the Indians live as far as sixty and some one hundred miles from the Agency. Once in every two weeks or less they leave home carrying their tents, wagons, wives and children, some of them their droves of ponies to the beef killing. They consume, in many instances, from two to four days in reaching the Agency. They remain there from one to three days, and not unfrequently five, and it then requires from two to four for them to return. They dry the beef on poles, suspended in the open air, greatly reducing both the quantity and the quality of the beef, and what they fail to consume on the journey, they carry home with them. It thus requires from three to ten days out of every fourteen in which to make this trip for beef, all this time being lost from their farms. At some Agencies, the beef killing and ordinary ration days coming at different times, require of them separate trips for each. How can people thus occupied ever become successful farmers, stock raisers or anything else? The blame for this, and, for the methods of killing rests largely on the government, since it still adheres to the plan of issuing rations at short intervals, a plan well enough adapted to the condition which obtained at all the Agencies when the Indians were clustered about them in rude camps, and the great object in view was to hold them there, while making it inconvenient, if not impossible for them to absent themselves for long periods on the hunt or the war-path.

But since both of these practices have been abandoned, and, in response to the advice of the government, the Indians are now widely scattered over the vast country, ostensibly to farm and to make homes, it becomes the duty of the government to also abandon its old lines and adapt its system of issuing rations, by giving them for several months at a time, to the changed and more hopeful condition under which its wards are living.

These semi-monthly trips also tend to keep up their old habits of roaming instead of encouraging them to remain at home and attend to their farms.

A beef-killing day on an Indian reservation is a spectacle which is a disgrace to our civilization. It can not but serve to perpetuate in a savage beast all the cruel and wicked propensities of his nature. It is attended with scenes enacted in the presence of the old and the young men, women and little children, which are too disgusting for recital. A substitution of bacon and pork, in a large degree, for the beef can avoid this, will be more economical and will add to the health and strength of the Indians as a race. The bacon and pork are easily transported to the Agencies, and from thence to the homes of the Indians. There will be less waste, and besides, bacon and pork can be used in the cooking of all vegetables, the eating of which ought to be encouraged. It will doubtless be urged that without full rations of beef, the Indians will become unhealthy. There is no sound reason in this theory, and all experience teaches the contrary. In thinly settled regions, from which have sprung some of the most healthy and hardy specimens of our race beef is used only occasionally. The Negro race of this country, for scores of years, was fed almost exclusively on corn-bread, bacon, pork, vegetables and milk. No stronger or more healthy or hardy people than the Negroes inhabit this country. If the beef rations should be reduced one-third and bacon substituted for the first year; and for the second

year, a reduction of one-half of the beef rations substituting bacon, or a still further reduction as circumstances might indicate, it would be a most desirable reform. The beef should be issued to the Indians from the block, and the whole system of killing in their presence should be prohibited.

Opening the Reservation.

The failure of the Commission to obtain the assent of the Sioux Indians to the Act of Congress, leaves the question of opening the reservation of now useless, because uncultivated territory, open. This question had much weight in the preparation and passage of the Act, and it remains one of great importance to the white people of the country, and especially to the people of Dakota and the West. The Territory of Dakota is one of the best portions of our country now left open to settlement. The increase in its population has been rapid and steady, having now a sufficient number to entitle it to four representatives in Congress if admitted as a State. The increase in its productions has been wonderful. Settlements and rail-roads have extended on the North, South, East and West to the very borders of the Great Sioux Reservation. Cities and towns on either side of it have been founded and built, and worthy and enterprising citizens have invested their capital in them, relying as they had a right to do, on the will and power of the government to give them pass-way over the reservation, in order that lines of freight and travel may be profitably and economically connected. This reservation, larger than the State of Indiana, contains not less than twenty-two million of acres of land, occupied by twenty-three thousand Indians, stands in the way of the advancement and progress of civilization and commerce. These lands are not needed for agricultural and grazing purposes and yet its occupants, who will not cultivate it themselves, owning a right of occupancy only, the fee simple title being in the government, stubbornly and perversely refuse to accept an Act, liberal in its terms, but, when all their objections are heard and propositions still more liberal made, they refuse these also, and still continue to block up and impede the natural progress of the people. They believe now that they can continue in this course with impunity, that the government will continue to feed and clothe them, furnish them agricultural implements and almost everything they want, allow them to lead an indolent and unprofitable life at the expense of the tax-paying people of the United States.

To accomplish the end suggested by experience and demanded for the civilization of these Indians and bringing them to self-support, it is required:

First, that the reservation should be surveyed at the earliest practicable time.

Second, the Indians should be required in accordance with the treaty stipulations to take their lands in allotments at once, and go to work on them, and all lands in excess of allotments should be disposed of.

Third, they should be required to compel their children to attend school.

Fourth, rations, annuities and all benefits under former treaties should be firmly withheld from those who wilfully refuse to comply with these requirements.

Fifth, all Indians who do comply should receive promptly their necessary rations and annuities, implements and all aid promised, and they should be assisted in the building of comfortable houses.

Sixth, all dealings between the government, its Agents and employees with the Indians should be with them as individuals, and chiefs, as such, should be in no way recognized.

The Reservation should be opened to settlement so that rail-roads and other public improvements may be encouraged, and the civilizing influence of these and the example of the whites in farming and raising stock may be near at hand, to tell as it certainly will, with good effect upon the Indians.

Notwithstanding the stubborn opposition offered by the majority of these Indians to the wishes of the government and the final failure of negotiations, their failure in the past to observe in good faith their solemn treaty obligations, their trifling advance in agriculture and self-support, the question of bringing them to civilization and self-support yet remains, and with that question the government of the United States must, of necessity, deal. However discouraging may be the outlook, it is a question which "will not down" at our bidding. A firm, just and humane policy will still be pursued. It must be remembered, that there is a considerable minority of Indians on this reservation, who in spite of ridicule, threats and personal danger, have arrayed themselves on the side of progress and civilization. They are worthy not only of the highest commendation, but the government should see to it that every encouragement and support be given them, that they may be retained as a nucleus around which the whole body of the tribe may be drawn. To this end, we repeat, let the government scrupulously observe and execute all its treaty stipulations and firmly

require like compliance on the part of the Indians.

Consent of Three-Fourths.

It is due and proper that we should say that if the consent of three-fourths of the male adult Indians is required in order to effect the sale or cession of any considerable part of their territory, in our opinion, any negotiations on any terms which would meet with the approbation of Congress and the people of the United States will fail of success. This opinion is maturely formed from our experience, gained whilst in daily contact with these Indians, in and out of council, from the opinions expressed by the Agents who have been with them for years, and by their conduct in refusing a liberal and generous proposition made to them by you, when their leading men were in Washington.

They believe they own full title to the land, that it will soon appreciate very much in value, that the government and the white people are so anxious to obtain possession of it that by offering firm and stubborn resistance to any proposition looking to a sale or cession of it, a fabulous price can be extorted from the government. They do not believe that their former refusal to comply with their treaty stipulations, or any refusal in the future, will have the effect of stopping their rations or annuities or any other obligations which the government has assumed in consideration of their promises or agreements. A radical change in their minds as to these questions will be necessary in order to bring them to a proper sense of their duty and obligations. Were it alone a question of bargain and sale of their right of occupancy to this country, the government could afford to wait until time and circumstances should awaken them to a full knowledge of the situation. But the prosperity and advancement of the American citizens who are affected directly by this great blockade in the pathway of civilization, and the happiness, prosperity, civilization, self-support and continued existence of the Indians themselves are involved. Certain it is that a continuation of existing circumstances makes it absolutely sure that for many long years to come the people of the United States will have to bear the burden of feeding, clothing and taking care of them, with but little hope of relief. Under the most favorable circumstances and with even the most extravagant offers of compensation, we believe that more than one-fourth of these Indians would object to and refuse to sign, a deed of cession. It, therefore, remains to be considered whether wise, just and humane legislation for these people, solely as the wards of the government, and not through consultation with them as independent peoples or communities, whose assent to measures for their good is required, shall be enacted and enforced. Whilst dealing with the question it would be neither wise, fair nor just to lose sight of the fact that a majority or nearly so, of the Indians at Crow Creek Agency, and that about three-fourths of those at Lower Brule signified their willingness to accept the offer and wishes of the government, and that they recognized the benefits to be derived from all measures designed to carry them to self-support. There are some like-minded on all the other Agencies also, though they are not numerous. There would be many more of this class were it not for fear of their leaders. We repeat most earnestly that a wise and just policy demands that such as these should receive the early and continued notice of the government, and that every reasonable encouragement should be given them which is calculated to advance them. This would prove a wholesome lesson to those who have been and now are thwarting the purposes of the government and holding back their people.

Influence of Chiefs.

Agents should be unquestionably known as the allies and supporters of progressive individuals, whosever they may be, as against the political leaders of the tribe. Looking to the emancipation of these people from the bondage of tribal relations and communistic systems, the pernicious effect of allowing the headmen, recognized as leaders, to exercise a controlling influence in the dealings of the tribe with the government, can hardly be overstated. Naturally the first consideration of such leaders is, how best to postpone the day when their people shall be free to act for themselves. It was everywhere apparent that the Agents and, back of them, the department itself managed the affairs of the government on the reservation, in great measure, under this influence. Too often they are guided as to the best course to be pursued by men who show no disposition to conform to the wishes of the government and the requirements of the treaties, yet because they have influence among their people are treated with undue consideration. On the other hand, men who have adopted the ways of the white men and are making praiseworthy efforts towards self-support, if they hold no position of influence by which the tribe can be managed, are ig-

nored. Such worthy men are too often left to fight their battles alone and to do so under the disheartening impression that, in their struggle to conform to the wishes of the "Great Father," they have to contend against their own environment as members of an uncivilized tribe and even against the government itself. The rejection of this Act was clearly due, in great measure, to the fact that the non-progressive element led by the old-time chiefs' control in shaping and directing public sentiment. In general those who favored the ratification of the Act were men, not recognized leaders in public affairs, but those who desired to cut themselves off from the mass and were trying to secure for their families a better future. Such men soon accumulate capital and become softened in character, both of which operate as parents of timidity. When called to face a wide-spread public sentiment under control of men whose fierce natures gave them success in the chase and in war, and who have nothing to lose, they are naturally disposed to shrink from the contest.

This control of public sentiment by non-progressive men results practically in giving them control of the government itself, defeating not once only, as in this instance, but again and again its measures for the elevation of the Indians. These facts suggest the propriety of requiring Indian Agents to treat with especial consideration those who comply with their treaty obligations, and without respect of persons, to enforce the terms of the treaty on every individual who lags behind its requirements. The few who try to conform to the treaty are disheartened, as now the minority, who have shown a readiness to accept this Act, are by seeing the rebellious element still in power and the government apparently lukewarm in an enforcement of compliance with their solemn obligations. The unruly element everywhere rejoices in the sluggish movement of the government, waiting expectantly to be pushed forward and wondering meanwhile why they are left free so long to enjoy the benefits without being compelled to conform to the requirements of their treaties. The closing history of the Sun Dance illustrates well this whole subject. The better element longed to have it broken up, but dared not say so. Hence it seemed as though the whole tribe were a unit in wishing it perpetuated, and those who declared that they would rather die than part with this time honored and universal custom of their people seemed to voice the only existing sentiment. No sooner, however, was it broken up (by the authority of the government) than those who before were too timid to speak, needing only this assurance that the government stood with them as against the chiefs, were discovered to be no inconsiderable portion of the whole people.

Real Cause of Opposition.

It was a mistake to suppose the Indians competent to judge of the value of their land, either as farming land or in money. They have no skill or experience to guide them in either. The reasons which move them in opposing a sale lie far back of this. They are rooted in attachment to their present condition and fear they may be forced out of it into some other which will demand greater exertion on their part. Though the division is not drawn closely on this as its only line, the prevailing disposition among the educated, the progressive and especially the Christian Indians was in favor of accepting the Act. The opposition was under the direction, chiefly, of men who saw in it only another blow at those things which they learn around the camp-fires from those who live still in the past, viz: the feast, the dance, horse-racing, gambling, plurality of wives and the like. Support for the maintenance of such a life on their part, they believe can be demanded from the government as long as it does not fulfil, to the letter and according to their understanding of them, all provisions of past treaties, and has not, in their judgment, fully compensated them for lands heretofore ceded.

In brief, the defeat of this Act was a victory for indolence, barbarism and degradation as against the influences of the farm, the work-shop, the schools and the Gospel.

We failed to get behind these chiefs and bring the provisions of the Act to the consideration of the people in general. At three of the six Agencies, viz: Standing Rock, Crow Creek and Lower Brule, we had the people together and they listened with fairly respectful attention, but the chiefs were in front and in open council domineered the people into silent submission to their votes; while outside, and in their own councils, we had the most abundant evidence of their imperious control, extending to acts and threats against the property and the lives of those who should dare to go against their authority. One object of this measure was to break the control of such leaders by securing to the whole people a freedom to exercise the right to vote as guaranteed to them in their treaty of 1868. Your Commission found that the failure of the government

to conform to this feature of that treaty has rather strengthened than weakened the power the old tribal customs gave to the chiefs. Although a canvass of all the Agencies would, undoubtedly, have enabled us to secure two or three times as many votes as we did, it was conclusively demonstrated that it was not possible for us to obtain the three-fourths vote required by the treaty. Lower Brule, which most favored the Act, still lacked six votes of the three-fourths.

Our Obligation.

The failure to secure the consent of these Indians to the much more favorable proposition made to them by yourself ought, at least, to have the good result of calling both them and us back to the terms of the treaties of 1868 and 1876 by which alone we are under obligations to maintain friendly relations.

The feature of the Act which strikes your Commission as most open to criticism is its provision for a fresh instalment of means whereby the Indians may continue their life of living without work, with no additional requirements laid upon them to better their condition by their own exertions. If our only duty is to compensate them for their cession of land then the terms of the Act are probably more generous than any other government would have consented to under the circumstances. In the providence of the Almighty, there is laid upon us the further obligation to save this weaker race and hand over to them the blessings of enlightenment and culture. If, however, in doing so we extinguish in them the ambition to improve by their own exertions we do them an injury instead of a good.

This obligation was clearly had in view when former treaties were made with these people, especially the agreement of 1876. Article 9th of that agreement says: "The Indians, parties to this agreement, do hereby solemnly pledge themselves individually and collectively, to observe each and all of the stipulations herein contained, to select allotments of land as soon as possible after their removal to their permanent homes, and to use their best efforts to learn to cultivate the same. That they will loyally endeavor to fulfil all the obligations assumed by them under the treaty of 1868 and the present agreement, &c."

In its 5th Article, it provides that: "In consideration of the foregoing cession of territory and rights, and full compliance with each and every obligation assumed by said Indians, the United States does agree to provide all necessary aid to assist the said Indians in the work of civilization; to furnish them schools and instructions in mechanical and agricultural arts, as provided for in the treaty of 1868. Also to provide the said Indians with subsistence, consisting of a ration for each individual, &c. Such rations or so much thereof as may be necessary shall be continued until the Indians are able to support themselves." Below, the same Article provides that no children between the ages of six and fourteen shall receive rations unless they regularly attend schools, and "Whenever the said Indians shall be located upon lands which are suitable for cultivation, rations shall be issued only to the persons and families of those persons who labor." Here, then, are three clearly defined classes, such, in fact, as may be found to-day, and probably forever in any community, white or red, viz: first, those who are self-supporting; second, those who are laboring to become so, but have not yet reached that point; and third, those who are not self-supporting and do not try to become so.

We fail to discover on what principle these distinctions are wholly ignored and both the obstinate idler, with his family, and the men whose herds of cattle and ponies have passed into the hundreds, ranging in present value from one to twenty thousand dollars, with annual increase equal, in some cases, to a well-to-do white man's income, are both still drawing rations and are in all other respects made equal with the man who is faithfully striving to comply with the treaty. The government has a double opportunity here which should no longer be frittered away; an opportunity by which the communism which pervades Indian Agency life, and is the most obstinate opponent of progress may be broken. This can be accomplished by, first, withholding rations from the idle; thus creating a class who from being much in want will soon come to be despised by the more well to do. Thus they will lose their precedence and influence for evil gained by blatant and successful defiance of the treaties and the government. Second, by issuing no rations to those who are reasonably able to take care of themselves, and so creating another class who, in self-defence, will soon find and give expression to reasons why the being rationed by the government at all is degrading. There could thus be set in motion a public sentiment now wholly unknown among our Indians, and which would prove of inestimable value in freeing them from their willing bondage to the present system.

Certainly if this clause of the agree-

ment is construed to mean that the government is to continue to ration those Indians until the whole body of them is self-supporting before it can withdraw rations from any, then it can expect soon to be feeding some of the wealthiest men in our Western territory, and to continue to feed their descendants forever. Indeed it is now feeding some such. In view of the obligations assumed by these people and what has been done by the government to aid and enforce their compliance for the past twenty years it was ludicrous to hear one of their recognized statesmen say, as your Commissioners did, in the General Council at Lower Brule Agency, when pointing to stalwart, able-bodied men, in the prime of life, but still wearing the paint daubs and blankets of idleness, he exclaimed "Look at us, we do not know how, and we are not able yet to take up land and go to farming."

Ignorance of Treaties.

Our councils with the Indians and general conference with the Agents at Lower Brule revealed that both the Indians and those who are in the employ of the government among them are but indifferently acquainted with or pay little attention to the definite treaty requirements by which both the government and the Indians are bound. In fact, but little direct effort seemed to have been made by the Department itself to keep the subject matter of these treaties alive in the minds of those who are charged with the fulfillment and execution of them. Hence there prevails a lamentable forgetfulness and vague sense of reality regarding them on the part of the Indians, and a wide swerving aside from their only legitimate interpretation and purpose on the part of the government. Some systematic plan by which the Indians will be kept informed of these, the only conditions on which the security of their possessory titles to their reservation, and the friendship of the government towards them rests, would be of great value as a safeguard against difficulties with them in the future. Especially do we recommend that Article 7 of the treaty of 1868, and Articles 5 and 9 of the agreement of 1876 be strictly adhered to by the government, and kept continually before the minds of the Indians.

Disputed Boundaries.

The misunderstanding by which the Indians repeatedly accused the government of not following the boundary lines agreed upon, may often be accounted for by the disposition of the Indians to construe into a promise words spoken by officials of the government during negotiations with them. The wish being father to the thought, they attach to such words greater importance than to the treaty stipulation itself. The country in question has never been surveyed and the various streams, hills, &c., well known to the Indians are not located in their proper places on the map. To this day the location of many such points on the maps of the Great Sioux Reservation is a matter of guess work, and when accurate surveys are run, they are often found to be actually far distant from the parallel which was intended to be followed in fixing a certain boundary, and to give the Indians an approximate idea of the location of which, these known geographical features of their country were pointed out to them on a map.

Industry and Self-Support.

The low estate in which the Sioux Indians are to-day and in which they are destined, inevitably to continue, so long as more thoughtful and vigorous efforts are not made to raise them out of it, is a degradation which does not belong to them solely on account of hereditary barbarism. It has been in a great measure superinduced and practically forced upon them by the position into which they are brought by unfortunate treaty relations with ourselves. By these we are under obligations to furnish, and the Indian to accept a living, instead of some honorable way to make a living. We deprived him of his own way of making a living. He did not lose it and become a helpless dependent except through our interference. In lieu of self-maintenance by hunting, we offered and he accepted rations and annuities. To this degrading condition he is bound for the present at least to submit. He must draw rations or forfeit all that is offered to him in payment for the relinquishment of the cherished life and the happy hunting grounds of his fathers. There is left for him no choice at all, no minor provision inviting his manhood to assert itself and again be free from the degrading formality of ration day, and the issue of such clothing and other supplies as our government thinks fit to provide. He can not say, as he ought to say, if he ever becomes what we claim our endeavor is to make him, an independent citizen, "I will by my own exertions find such food and clothing as I and my family need. Pay me what is my due as men everywhere receive their pay, in honest money." Our treaties with him leave no such door open before him. Hence he is under no incentive except that which works always to convince him that the

more he does for himself, the less share he will get in what is his right as a member of the tribe, that the longer he is helpless and careless, the longer he will be cared for and kept. He feels that the only way to keep in the line of those who are to reap the benefits from past cessions of land, is to use up, as fast as possible, all that is doled out to him and to present at each recurring issue day the same unmodified picture of impotency and want.

The difference between men held under the bondage of such a system and men struggling, however humbly, to find their own support, is very great. Unfortunate everywhere is the individual who has a living furnished to him off-hand. How much more mischief must result when a whole people are lumped together and so treated? It takes but a short period under such methods for the simple mind of the Indian to lose sight of the real issue. It produces in him all the evil effects of supposing he is getting something for nothing. Hence, too, the chiefs and head-men who fear civilization as a force working to undermine their leadership, find willing support among the people, who also are opposed to it on the same principle that ambitionless comfort is ever opposed to being aroused to action. The problem as the Indian sees it, is how longest to keep progress in check and hold in reserve land enough by which he and his children can make other bargains and secure long periods, like that he now enjoys, of freedom from exertion and care. The decree: "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread," is set aside and the Indian is really led to think that the Divine decree, for him at least, reads rather: "If you sweat you shall starve." The same effort and money now spent in feeding and clothing, if expended providing work and opportunity by which the Indians should be obliged to earn these things for themselves would be money well invested and prove the cheapest policy in the end. It would be leading both them and us out of the woods with fair hope of landing them in the open. We should by that process be gradually making a man and a producer, of the Indian, while now we compel him to be a pauper, and encourage him to remain a consumer.

We should undo, as far as possible, the effects of our blunder, by throwing around him every preventive to idleness and incentive to industry. We should put into practice the provision in Article 5 of their agreement of 1876, which says: "The government will aid the said Indians as far as possible in finding a market for their surplus productions, and in finding employment, and will purchase such surplus as far as may be required for supplying food to those Indians, parties to this agreement, who are unable to support themselves, &c."

The Indian is eager for money and works for it when under the same wholesome pressure which governs all other men. He must be first brought to see that want will surely come if he remains inactive, and then that honest labor will bring its reward. Show him, in actual practice that all produce of his farm and his hands has a cash value; and there will not much longer be a question as to whether Indians will work. They are, to be sure, not yet able to compete with the settlers, and hence the provision of the agreement by which the government is pledged to purchase and aid him in selling his produce is a wise one. Let it be a live one.

Schools.

From what has already been said it appears that the Sioux Indians have not availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them by the government for the education of their children, and that what has been accomplished has been done by constant and persevering efforts on the part of Agents and others, and, in the main, against the wishes of the Indians. They have had day, boarding, industrial and missionary schools. They have had school facilities far in advance of what they have appreciated. They have not demanded additional facilities, but these have been given in spite of their indifference and opposition.

By Article 7 of the treaty of 1868, heretofore quoted, the government has bound itself to furnish them a school-house and teacher for each thirty children, the Indians agreeing to compel their children to attend. These day schools contemplated in the treaty from their isolated situation in the midst of Indians and from having, as a general rule, indifferent teachers, have proven to be unsatisfactory. Even with competent and faithful teachers the difficulties of educating Indian children in camps are insurmountable. Valuable results are impossible, where the civilized teaching in the school is counteracted by savage examples and conversation in the camps and at home with the family.

The boarding and industrial schools on the reservation are, to some extent, free from these evils. Here the children for a longer period are kept under the vigilance of the teachers, and partially removed from the influences of home surroundings; but they are still in contact with Indian manners, customs and lan-

guage, and discipline cannot so readily be maintained as if the schools were entirely out of reach of these. The children are constantly running away and the aid of the police is required to return them to school.

When it is remembered that all human beings gather knowledge from association with others, from observation of things transpiring before them, and learn habits, modes, both of action and speech, from what is seen and heard, and that in order to produce the best and highest results, advice and teaching must be accompanied by corresponding examples, then it is easy to see that no system of schools which is intended to alienate the Indian from his language, his habits, his thought and his modes of life can be effective on an Indian reservation. If every Indian child were removed from his surroundings and placed in school where he could have civilized surrounding the question would be settled in a comparatively short time. Here teaching both in books and in civilized pursuits can be conducted without the interference of the Indian, and the overpowering presence of civilization at once takes hold and moulds the mind and body into shapes of its own.

Properly qualified teachers, both in the day and boarding schools, should be employed, all schools subjected to rigid and frequent inspections, and no teacher in any school be employed or permitted to continue in office who does not plainly and correctly speak the English language. The education of the Indian should not be confined to day, mission or boarding schools on the reservation, nor to the industrial schools off the reservation. When fitted for it by these or any means, encouragement and opportunity should be offered them to enter the schools and colleges of our own country, associating with our own people, thus qualifying them not to return to a reservation, but to remain among us, and take their chances in all the diversified pursuits of life.

Instead of this our laws, sentiments, and, we may say, our prejudices, perhaps our want of thought on the subject tends continually to remand him back to Indian and reservation life. We deal with him, talk to him, and think of him not as a man and brother but as a strange and anomalous creature who has no other place, is fitted for no other, and can not be made fit for any other than an Indian Reservation, the only place for which his education and training have unfitted him. If his education and training have prepared him for self-support and independent citizenship, why not allow him equal chances with us to enjoy these benefits in any and all parts of our country if he so desires? Under existing sentiments and laws he is not permitted to do so without making a sacrifice of everything he owns on the earth. It matters not what inducements may stand out before him, nor how great his desire to utilize them, he must go back to the reservation or forfeit his estate. Not only must he go back, but he must remain there for a period of twenty-five or thirty-five years in order to secure such title to his inheritance of real estate as will enable him to dispose of it, and remove and settle himself and family, if he has one, to association with industrious, Christian and civilized people. This is the general allotment Act which is now in force in every Indian country. Wise as the provision may be which holds for a term of years the allotted land for the great body of the Indians, it is neither wise nor just to impose this restriction on those who are now, or who before the expiration of the twenty-five years, shall become capable of taking and caring for their property.

Of what use is it that we take the young Indian away from his home, educate, drill and prepare him for usefulness to himself and others, if we, at the same time, deny to him the privilege and opportunity to utilize his knowledge? Have we qualified him to become a farmer, a carpenter, a harness maker, a teacher, a missionary only to remand him to the reservation and its camps, and confine his faculties into the narrowest bounds conceivable? With the exception of two of the avocations named no place on earth is less inviting or promises less rewards to industry, skill and ambition than an Indian reservation. Outside of it every industrious pursuit is open, and energy, industry and skill will succeed. The educated and trained Indian has no other alternative, unless he voluntarily abandons his patrimony, a requirement not made of any other man or race on earth.

He desires to commence business as a farmer, a black-smith, a harness-maker, a carpenter or a trader and to remain and pursue his business among civilized people like himself. He wishes to bring up his children under the influences of Christianity and good society. He has an inheritance, but no ready capital. He is not allowed to exchange his land on the reservation for a home elsewhere. He is not allowed to sell it and invest the proceeds in tools with which to commence his work as a mechanic, nor in trade of any kind. No, he must consent to return to the reservation, take his allotment

and remain there a prisoner for twenty-five or thirty-five years, and at the end of that time he is graciously allowed, when his head is gray and his eyes dim with age to sell out and move into the glorious sun-light of civilization.

He is not dealt with according to his own condition, acquirements, qualifications and desires, but he must wait until every laggard on the reservation is deemed worthy of liberty and citizenship. Is this what philanthropists are striving for, legislators are aiming at, Christians are praying for? This is but another of the unnumbered evils which flow from the accursed reservation system. We are continually trying to deal with this unfortunate people in the aggregate and not as individuals; we deal with them as Indians and not as men. Instead of allotting lands to each one as he becomes qualified and willing to receive it, we march on the whole and ask their consent as a tribe to the measure. If by treaty stipulations we have bound ourselves to furnish rations until they are able to support themselves, we go on feeding those who are able until all are able; and so it is in nearly all our dealings with this unhappy race.

Numerous instances illustrating what we are saying might be cited. There are already many civilized, educated, industrious and capable Indians who desire to remain among white people and make their own living, and raise their children among civilized people. If these could realize the value of the land which they own on Indian reservations, it would give them a start in life and enable them to succeed. Under existing laws this can not be done, and they are thus chained to the reservation and continually drawn back to it and to its mode of living.

The remedy is to be found in an amendment to the general allotment law providing for the purchase at a fair and reasonable price of selected allotted lands from all Indians who are in the class alluded to, the money to be reinvested according to the circumstances and the desire of the Indian. This would relieve the government of feeding, clothing and taking care of such Indians, would continue to draw away from the reservation and Indian life many worthy and industrious people. At the same time the lands thus purchased could be sold to white farmers as homesteads thus planting in various parts of the reservation citizens whose example would prove of great benefit to the remaining Indians. Such an arrangement would, in no way, be a violation of any treaty stipulation, as it is only the lands which are held in common, and not allotted lands, to which the three-fourths clause has application. Indians thus disposing of their allotments would still hold their interest in the lands which remained in common to the tribe, and participate in the proceeds when sold.

This and other enactments which can afford a remedy for the evils of tribal and reservation life, and which tend to individualize and Americanize the Indian, will solve one of the most difficult questions involved in Indian civilization.

Any policy which brings him into the honest activity of civilization, and especially into the atmosphere of our agricultural, commercial, industrial examples, assures to him mental, moral, and physical development into independent, manhood. Any policy which prolongs the massing, inactive, herding systems, continues to lead to destruction and death. It is folly to hope for substantial cure except there be radical change in the treatment.

Respectfully submitted,
R. H. PRATT,
WM. J. CLEVELAND,
JNO. V. WRIGHT.

WHAT THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR SAYS ABOUT THE SIOUX RESERVATION AND THE SIOUX COMMISSION.

From his Annual Report.

By the treaty of 1868 with various bands and tribes of the Sioux nation of Indians—a treaty which, in all the circumstances of its negotiation, as the final composition of bloody disturbances of long continuance urged on the part of the Government by citizens and officers of the Army of the first rank and character, as well as by unusually solemn and particular expressions of engagement, is peculiarly stamped with the obligation of observance by the United States—a reservation of very large extent, then comprehending the most of the Territory of Dakota lying west of the Missouri, was established to be a perpetual home for these people, with specific guaranty on the part of the Government that no white man should be allowed to enter it, to pass through it or across it, without the consent of the Indians first had been obtained; and with the further clause in the twelfth article that—

"No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said

Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same."

In 1876 an agreement was made by which the Sioux relinquished a portion of this reservation, embracing the Black Hills country and some territory to the northward, and that agreement was ratified by Congress, although it does not appear to have received the consent, by signature, of three-fourths of the Indians as required under the treaty of 1868. The reservation as so reduced, however contains a little more than 22,000,000 acres, and there is now upon it a population exceeding 23,000 Indian people, who are rationed and governed through five agencies provided by law and located upon the reserved territory.

The act of the present Congress, approved on the 30th of April, 1888, contains elaborate provisions, the general purposes of which are to reduce the reserved area into six separate reservations and cede the remainder, above 11,000,000 acres, to the Government; to open the ceded portion to homestead settlement, except so far as shall be necessary for the uses of two railroad companies who have made agreements with the Sioux heretofore for rights of way and station-grounds; to collect from homesteaders upon making final proof, for the use of the Indians, fifty cents per acre of the lands homesteaded; to apply the proceeds to the education and civilization of the Indians, and facilitate the allotment of the separate reservations in severalty and their establishment in independence thereon, extensive advancements being, in the mean time, authorized for these purposes; and to administer their affairs that, in the end, the people of this nation may be reclaimed from barbarism and established in citizenship.

The twenty-fourth section of the act provides that it shall not take effect until the consent of three-fourths of the adult male Indians to its acceptance shall be obtained in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1868; and another section directs the Secretary of the Interior to procure such assent and appropriate a sum of money for that end. Under this authority I appointed a commission, consisting of Capt. Richard H. Pratt, of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment, U. S. Army, and now the superintendent of the Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa., Rev. Wm. J. Cleveland, of New Jersey, for a long time a missionary to these Indians and so familiar with their language as to converse freely in it, and Hon. John V. Wright, of Tennessee, for the purpose of presenting the act to the Indians and procuring the acceptance of it by the requisite three-fourths. The several agents at the different agencies were joined as members of the commission in dealing with the Indians under their charge. The report of that commission is herewith transmitted, and I respectfully request that it may be submitted to Congress in connection with this report in exposition of the action taken under the authority conferred by that body.

The instructions which were issued to the commission will be found with their report. The purpose of these, and the spirit of all the proceedings and action taken in pursuance of the act and of all my directions to the commission, were, in brief, to thoroughly acquaint all the Indians upon the reservation, entitled to sign, with the provisions of the law, so that their signatures should be given intelligently and with clear understanding of its effect and objects; at the same time to present the fair arguments in support of its acceptance which had moved Congress to the adoption of the act and which seemed to afford promise from its operation of the improvement and enlightenment of these people.

To the same end, I caused the act to be printed with a map attached, upon which was clearly delineated the present boundaries of the reservation and the proposed boundaries of the six diminished reservations, which would be established upon its going into effect, and copies were furnished freely to the Indians on the reservation in order that there might be no failure of understanding of its terms. So many of the young men upon that reservation have received an English education, and trustworthy interpreters are otherwise so accessible to them, that by this means no doubt was entertained, or ever has arisen, that the various provisions of the act would be fairly understood. The purpose of the Department was in some measure supplemented by the action of the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, which caused a translation in the Dakota language of the more important provisions to be printed, and distributed copies of it freely to the people on the reservation.

Before the commission were dispatched on their errand I required the several agents to make lists of all the male Indians of the age of eighteen years and upwards, specifying both their Indian and English names, and their respective ages, so that the number of signatures and the identity of those authorized to sign might be easily determined by the commission

when they should visit the reservation. The number of such Indians, as shown by these lists, at the respective agencies is as follows:

Agency.	Above twenty-one years.	Under twenty-one years and over eighteen.
Standing Rock.....	982	117
Crow Creek.....	260	22
Lower Brule.....	266	40
Rosebud.....	1,323	186
Cheyenne River.....	691	59
Pine Ridge.....	1,154	107
Total.....	4,676	531

Besides these upon the reservation, the Santees in Nebraska have adult males above twenty-one years of age numbering 204 and between eighteen and twenty-one years of age numbering 23; and the Flandreaus in the eastern part of Dakota, adult males, respectively, numbering 57 and 6. It has been a question whether, under the phrase "adult males," any are to be included below the age of twenty-one, as the treaties make provisions for allotments to those of eighteen and upwards, and otherwise recognize that age. No necessity for determining this question has arisen, and the instructions were designed to obviate it by securing three-fourths of both, as would have probably been possible if that proportion of those above twenty-one had assented.

The substance of a number of intervening pages was printed in the RED MAN for November, or appears in the report of the Commissioners which occupies the greater portion of this number. Then the Secretary goes on to say:

The opposition of these Indians to the acceptance of the act was unquestionably much strengthened, if not to a large degree fomented, by the interposition of advice and promises of assistance upon the part of persons who find a pleasure in the fancy that they are peculiar friends to the Indians, and, perhaps, on the part of some others who desire to serve them for a consideration.

It is not strange that these people should be accessible to such representations, continually pressed upon them with many assurances of assistance, and so much in accordance with their own desires. But when one sees the small capacity of the mass of these people to comprehend what is for the interests of themselves and their children, with an enlightened understanding of the circumstances under which they are surrounded; when he reflects on the chances of a wise and beneficent consideration of these interests in contest with the ignorance and selfishness of the mass and with the natural opposition of the chiefs and headmen to a cession of lands, which will also be a cession of their hereditary power and influence, and considers the accessibility of all to sentimental or interested external influences supporting their wishes, the contemplation that the wisdom of Congress is made to depend for execution upon securing by fair argument a majority in its support much beyond what is requisite to be obtained from among the civilized people of the United States for the force of laws obligatory upon them, gives rise to painful reflections.

The agreement in the eighth article of the treaty of 1868 has once failed to withstand the eagerness of desire for the invasion of the reservation. If sound policy and an enlightened and generous consideration for these people shall demand that it be disregarded again, a greater stress even may be laid upon the honor of the Government. It was an ardent desire to avoid such a contingency that led to the proposal of amendments which went so far beyond the expressed purpose of Congress and so far towards meeting the objections and wishes of these people.

As has been said, the price proposed seemed inadmissible. It would require for no more land than is now desired to be ceded the payment of nearly as much money as was paid to France for the entire territory of Louisiana, merely to extinguish the Indian right of occupancy, the fee being, according to our theory, already in the Government. It would, besides, fix a probable minimum, at least, for the several millions of acres which must, at a later period, after allotments in severalty have been perfected and their improved condition thereunder shall warrant it, be further purchased and opened to settlement.

A large portion of these lands is of a very inferior character, known as "bad lands" and affording no prospect for homestead settlement. Were so large a gross price to be paid, the Government could not regain it by the sale of the lands unless a much greater price per acre than has heretofore prevailed should be demanded of the purchasers, nor could it be even thus regained until the lapse of many years. The policy of Congress is wisely

declared by the act to require the disposition of the lands only to homestead settlers, to be paid for after the full period of five years' residence and improvement which now entitles homesteaders upon the public domain elsewhere to a patent without price. To impose generally so large a price as prerequisite to patent, after the full term of residence and improvement required by the homestead law, would doubtless operate to seriously discourage and retard the progress of settlement. The cash payment in gross for the entire area at the full price per acre which has usually been fixed upon the best of our public lands, not within the limits of railroad grants, would be a policy entirely different from any hitherto pursued; the utmost which has previously been done in respect to the best of lands to which the Indian title has been extinguished having been, as in the case of the Osage diminished reserve in Kansas, to make sales at that price and apply proceeds when obtained to the use of the Indian people.

It is probably not even desirable to the Indians that so great a fund should be provided, the interest of which would yield so large an annual sum for distribution as to remove the incentive for their personal effort at subsistence and improvement. The experience, in the case alluded to, of the Osage Indians tends to support this view. Their riches are so great as to render them independent of exertion situated as they are in a mild and agreeable climate, and can hardly be regarded as an unmixed blessing. These various considerations appear to render their demand not only unreasonable in amount, but the granting of it unwise as the means of best assisting them forward. The proposed amendments which were submitted to their consideration contemplated affording them the highest price of one dollar per acre for such lands as settlers should select as the best from the reservation during a period of three years after its opening to settlement, a lesser price for lands of the second grade, while the poorer quality of soil would remain for such disposition as Congress might see fit to make, if in another manner than homesteading, when occasion should require. The objection which the Indians have made that the period of three years might be lost to them because surveys may not be made sufficiently early and complete to render the lands freely accessible to settlement, is, however a just one; and, if any prospect of consent to the act had opened by its modification, a further amendment would have been offered by which the time should have been fixed to run from the date when the lands, after survey, should go into market. Attention is invited to this more particularly because, if hereafter any similar plan should be considered, that point fairly demands attention in their interest.

Strenuous objection was urged by the Indians of the reservation against the participation in the proceeds of its sale by the Santee Sioux, and the amendment upon that subject was suggested to relieve this objection for two reasons; first, because it seemed more important to procure the opening of the reservation upon satisfactory terms while in the way of negotiation, if possible, than to defeat the result by insisting upon this point; and, secondly, because there appears to be much justice in their claim that the Santee and Flandreau band are not entitled to participate. They never have been Indians of this reservation; they have been otherwise fairly provided for. They were among the most hostile of those who engaged in war with the Government and the massacre of the white people, and the provisions of the act give them, although outsiders, advantages beyond what the Indians on the reservation receive. This superior advantage is more particularly given to the Flandreau band, who by the act are not only to share in the proceeds of the lands sold, but may also, without residing upon an allotment, have the price of one, notwithstanding they are now settled upon better lands in the eastern part of Dakota under the Indian homestead laws.

The other features of the proposed amendments require no further explanation of the reasons for making them than is suggested by their reading, to one who is acquainted with the circumstances.

In view of the unyielding temper with which their demand was insisted upon, affording no prospect of the acceptance of the act with the reasonable modifications admissible, it seemed wise to promptly terminate the negotiation and leave them to longer consideration of the exorbitant nature of their demand. This course is most likely to bring about their perception of their best interests and a later readiness to deal in a less grasping spirit.

Attention is invited to the interesting information and full presentment of the various aspect of the problem of opening this reservation in the elaborate report of the Commission, which is appended hereto. It appears satisfactorily that, restricted to the sole means of argument and explanation, their full duty was done in their submission of the act.