

# The Red Man.

— HIS PRESENT AND FUTURE. —

"GOD HELPS THEM WHO HELP THEMSELVES."

VOL. XI.

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**"The Common Schools are the stomachs of  
the country in which all people that come  
to us are assimilated within a generation.  
When a lion eats an ox, the lion does not be-  
come an ox, but the ox becomes lion."**

**HENRY WARD BEECHER.**

**"The key to the situation is work."**  
Capt. GEO. LEROY BROWN, 11th Infantry  
U. S. A., in charge of Pine Ridge Indian  
Agency.

Indian management insists on evol-  
uting civilization into the Indian masses in-  
stead of evolving the Indian individually  
into civilization, hence failure.

The old policy of getting the Indians  
into civilization by keeping them out of  
civilization, which has always failed and  
always will fail, seems in these latter  
days to have renewed its grip and to be  
even utilizing the school service to  
accomplish its purposes.

**"A public school system for the Indians"**  
and the Indians in the public school sys-  
tem are as different as day and night. In-  
deed one is day and the other night,  
most absolute, so far as giving the Indian  
courage and capacity for useful citizen-  
ship is concerned.

The Indian Bureau, which was in such  
a rickety condition some years ago as to  
furnish almost endless material for the  
sarcasm of Mr. Nast, is fast being re-  
paired and put in shape to last forever.  
Then it got from four to five millions of  
dollars annually; now it has from eight  
to sixteen millions.

It is no more necessary that Indian fam-  
ilies should be forced or bought to re-  
main intact than it is that white families  
should be forced or bought to remain in-  
tact, nor is such family cohesion more  
helpful to the individual Indian or the  
Indian family than it is to the individual  
white or his family.

While the General Assembly of the  
Presbyterian Church and the General Con-  
ference of the Methodist Church, out of loy-  
alty to our Government and fearing that  
history will repeat itself and Church come  
to control State, are passing resolutions  
against the use of public money for sec-  
tarian schools; and while all non-Catholic  
organizations are reducing their Indian  
school work carried on with public funds,  
or abandoning it altogether, the Catho-  
lic allowances from Government Indian  
school funds for their Indian work have  
steadily increased so that they receive now  
over \$100,000 more annually from these  
funds to carry on Catholic schools among  
Indians than they did three years ago.  
Not only so, but having an eye to the  
vital importance of the law of complete  
environment, they have secured a  
change in the ages at which they may

take Indian children into their schools  
and now receive pay for those aged four  
years and over instead of six years and  
over as formerly.

To those who see evil in young Indians  
enlisting in the army we say, offer them  
something better! When Mr. Proctor was  
Secretary of War he said to one who  
raised an objection, "I have seen the Apa-  
ches on their reservation, and in my judg-  
ment they had better go into the army or  
some worse place, rather than be there."  
The army opens one door out of the res-  
ervation. To our mind it might have  
been a broader opening, but our way was  
not selected, and we must accept of the  
narrower one. As it is an opening, we do  
not hesitate advising them to use it, and if  
the results are generally such as Capt.  
Clapp pictures in his letter on another  
page, it must follow that later the way  
will be widened.

Last year we visited a school on an In-  
dian reservation with which the United  
States Government has a contract and  
pays for educating, civilizing and Amer-  
icanizing one hundred young Indians.  
The outside surrounding influences were  
all savage. The entire school manage-  
ment and faculty were nuns and priests,  
none of whom could speak English fluently,  
none were native born Americans, and  
if we were correctly informed, none were  
naturalized Americans. It may be that  
Indians can be made courageous, useful,  
self-supporting American citizens in such  
a mill, but we make bold to lift a feeble  
voice and simply ask when? We might  
even hesitate to make such an inquiry did  
we not know that this particular school  
is only a sample of many.

An officer of high rank, now living,  
told us a few years ago of a conversation  
he had with General George Crook some  
years before, in which General Crook de-  
scribed to him some of the peculations  
and rascalities that he knew were being  
perpetrated against Indians. The officer  
said to General Crook, "General, you are  
a Major General in the United States  
Army. The country has the greatest con-  
fidence in you. Why do you not expose  
them to the country and end these  
wrongs?"

General Crook replied, "I know too well  
where the roots of these peculations  
lie and that even a Major General in  
the United States Army cannot with  
safety to his reputation lay them bare."

We recently heard a man, whose name  
we did not succeed in getting, state before  
a convention what he claimed was his ob-  
servation and experience as a missionary  
to the Indians in regard to what he termed  
"returned Carlisle graduates." He drew a  
picture of a so-called graduate whom he  
named. He said "Maggie, returned to the  
Agency dressed in her silks and satins." As the returned student had been at Car-  
lisle only three years and had made no more  
gains than could be expected in that time,  
and was not within 5 or 6 years of grad-  
uation, and as the girl was dressed in the  
plain material supplied by the Indian De-  
partment, and could not possibly have had  
on any "silk or satin," other than a hair  
ribbon, the missionary fabricated a men-  
dacity, and having done this in the matter  
of dress and graduation, we feel safe in  
believing that the rest of his story was  
also entitled to little credit. We did not  
have full chance to reply, hence this  
statement to which we invite his prayer-  
ful attention.

We give in this issue of the RED MAN  
large extracts from two articles on the  
Indian question in the June and July  
number of *Arthur's New Home Maga-  
zine*, by General Merrill of the Army, and  
regret that want of space prevents print-  
ing the articles in full, for the writer has  
had exceptional experiences and oppor-  
tunities to observe during an army life on  
the frontier among the Indians since 1855.  
We suggest that our readers specially in-  
terested in the subject get the original arti-  
cles. They ought to be widely circulated,  
and many will wish to have them for re-  
ference. Gen. Merrill is preparing a third  
article for the same magazine.

Capt. William E. Dougherty, 1st Infan-  
try, has an article in *Harpers' Weekly* of  
July 23, on the Indian question, which  
we reprint entire. Capt. Dougherty has  
been for years one of the noted officers of the  
army, interested in the welfare of the In-  
dians, frequently selected in emergencies  
to take charge of Indian agencies and per-  
form special Indian duty, and his contri-  
bution to the literature of the day on the  
subject is most worthy of attention be-  
cause of this experience. Capt. Dough-  
erty was in charge of the Agency at Crow  
Creek, Dakota, in 1878, when Capt. Pratt  
was gathering students to enlarge the In-  
dian branch at Hampton Institute, Va.,  
and promptly co-operated and persuaded  
the Indians to send their children.

One of the most curious features in In-  
dian management is the fact that no ex-  
perienced person in the field service is  
ever promoted or transferred to the office  
at Washington, and that subordinates in  
the field service are seldom ever promoted  
to higher places in that service. Agents  
are not advanced to become special  
Agents or Inspectors, nor are special  
Agents promoted to Inspectors' places, and  
the clerks and other experienced Agency  
employees are universally ignored when  
an Agent is wanted. In the whole history  
of the Indian service we know of only one  
Agent or other field officer of the Depart-  
ment, who was promoted to Commissioner,  
and of only one other person ever having  
been transferred from Agency to Washing-  
ton duty, and that person is the only one  
now in the Washington Headquarters who  
has had any Agency experience.

We state what we know by experience  
would prove true that if the Indians were  
thoroughly distributed per capita through-  
out the counties of the United States and  
so far as possible no two of a tribe in the  
same county, no two Indians together, in  
five years their habits, superstitions and  
languages would be entirely broken and  
destroyed, and in place would be im-  
bibed enough of civilization, habit, man-  
ner, custom, industry and the language of  
the country to make them feel entirely at  
home in our communities. Their fears  
and antagonisms against the whites and  
that of the whites against them would  
have disappeared and they would continue  
to go forward and complete their civiliza-  
tion. If in the meantime, all the youth  
were vigorously pushed out into our own  
public schools, any real necessity for  
special management and special schools  
would be gone. While this scheme is in  
part impracticable, it is certain that we  
can and ought at the present time to be  
doing fifty times more in this direction  
than we now are.

Three years ago a policy was announced  
of promoting Indian pupils first from res-  
ervation schools to non-reservation

schools, like Chillicothe, Indian Territory,  
Albuquerque, N. M., Grand Junction,  
Colo., and others; and again of promot-  
ing from those schools to Salem, Oregon,  
Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, and  
Carlisle. We have just received our first  
installment of pupils under this arrange-  
ment. Three Kiowa young men, after  
being from six to eight years at Chillicothe,  
have entered Carlisle. This now raises  
the ratio of transfers to Carlisle to one a  
year.

In a recent appropriation of nearly \$3-  
000,000 for an Indian tribe, attorneys, claim  
agents, etc., get \$700,000. In an appro-  
priation of \$250,000 to pay another tribe,  
attorneys, claim agents, etc., get \$67,000.  
Of course there is opposition to attempts  
at preparing the Indian to take care of  
himself and manage his own affairs.

An eminent divine recently deplored  
haste in the matter of educating and civ-  
ilizing the Indians, and stated that the  
Anglo-Saxon was more than five hun-  
dred years in evolving out of savagery  
into civilization. He claimed that the  
present plans were all wrong and that the  
natural first step out of savagery was into  
a pastoral life. Evidently, the gentleman  
has not read history, and does not read  
the events of to-day aright. The Anglo-  
Saxon did not first evolve into pastoral  
life to any considerable extent and the  
negroes in America today had nothing  
to do with pastoral life. No people in the  
history of the world have evolved from  
savagery into civilization as quickly as the  
negroes. The theology and the science  
which tell us there must be evolution  
along certain lines, and that generations  
must elapse before civilization can be at-  
tained is the purest humbug.

## WHO WILL STOP THE MURDER AND WHEN?

Information comes to us that between  
sixty and seventy Kiowa youth have died  
of the measles within the past three  
months. Died of the measles? Not so!  
These youth have been murdered. We  
have had over four hundred cases of meas-  
les at the Carlisle school since it began  
and not one death therefrom. Why should  
they die on the Kiowa Agency? They die  
there because of murderous treatment.  
Indian medicine men and the Indian cus-  
toms treat a fever with applications of cold  
water, and this being ignorantly and un-  
skillfully applied under the most adverse  
surroundings, brings death in a large ma-  
jority of cases. Why is a practice so fatal  
any less of a murder than stabbing with a  
knife or shooting with a gun? We have  
information that one of our girls at home  
at another agency in 1888 urged her father  
not to allow such barbarous treatment to  
four of her younger brothers and sisters  
who were having the measles, and to keep  
them warm, because that was the way she  
was treated at Carlisle. Her father  
heeded her, stood guard over his children  
and saved their lives.

The House has at last passed the Senate  
Bill prohibiting the sale of beer and all  
intoxicants in the Indian country and the  
same has been signed by the President.  
As a result, the *Indian Journal* of July  
28, says that the beer saloons in most  
parts closed at once, on learning the news.

The Coeur d'Alene strikes have de-  
veloped some savages in the far-off North  
west country that are not Indian by blood.

The mineral springs of the Chickasaw  
Nation are becoming popular as health  
and pleasure resorts.



## ADDRESS BY CAPT. PRATT

BEFORE THE

### NATIONAL CONVENTION OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

At Denver, Colorado, June 28, '92.

"The contact of peoples is the best of all education." My invitation to present a paper before this Conference suggested that the theme be

#### "THE ADVANTAGES OF MINGLING INDIANS WITH WHITES."

An old and famous member of Congress from the South, noted for dignity and social qualities, once told me that the most polite man he ever knew was (using his own phrase) "A darkey, black as your hat," born in Africa, brought to America in a slave ship and sold at auction in the market of a Southern city. He said that a very amiable and polite gentleman took a fancy to the young negro, bought him and finally made use of him as a body servant, which position he held many years. During this time the example of his master, and his master's associates, developed the character and quality which gained for him this high praise.

In the sixties, when serving among the Comanches, I frequently met one of their leading men who always dressed in civilized garb, could speak a little English, was more progressive and full of business activity than any of his tribe, and who was a gentleman and a general favorite with the whites. He was the first Comanche to live in a house and to make a success of farming. I asked an old interpreter how he accounted for the difference between this man and the others of his tribe. The interpreter said that years before, while living in Texas, the tribe had an excellent Agent who took a special fancy to Essatoyet and used him as a helper about his house and the agency for two or three years.

An Old Cheyenne Chief, named Minimic, near 60 years of age, who had been the head of the war forces of his people for many years, led them in their fights against the Government and had been leader in their savage rites and ceremonies, was among the prisoners under my care in the old fort at St. Augustine, Fla., from 1875 to 1878. While there he became a favorite among the gentlemen of the yachting club, and from time to time I permitted him to go to the club room and out sailing with different gentlemen. He soon learned to express himself a little in English, and no gentleman ever paid more attention to his toilet than Minimic did, when he was permitted to accept of one of these invitations. He learned to imitate, so far as he was able, the dress of the gentlemen he associated with, and his manner became wonderfully improved and civilized. His regular duty at the old fort was to be captain of the wood squad, and it was his delight to keep a large stock of wood ready cut and nicely piled ahead.

After his release in 1878, and his return to his home, he gathered about him the men that he had led in battle before, and the first year undertook and filled contracts for the cutting and delivery of 1500 cords of wood to the military post near, and the Indian Agent.

I might consume all my time in giving like illustrations, and even stronger ones, showing where mere association of Indians with whites has brought about entire change in them, but perhaps no one will dispute the potency of these influences.

A great General has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been

#### An Enormous Factor in Promoting Indian Massacres.

In a sense I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man.

#### A Pretence.

We are just now making a great pre-

tence of anxiety to civilize the Indians. I use the word "pretence" purposely and mean it to have all the significance it can possibly carry.

#### WASHINGTON

believed that commerce freely entered into between us and the Indians would bring about their civilization, and Washington was right. He was followed by

#### JEFFERSON,

who inaugurated the reservation plan.

Jefferson's reservation was to be the country west of the Mississippi, and he issued instructions to those controlling Indian matters to get the Indians there, and let the Great River be the line between them and the whites. Any method of securing removal—persuasion, purchase or force—was authorized.

Jefferson's plan became the permanent policy. The removals have generally been accomplished by purchase, and the evils of this are greater than those of all the others combined.

Washington's policy was one of association, equality, amalgamation,—killing the Indian and saving the man.

Jefferson's plan was segregation, degradation, destruction.

Washington's plan meant health, self-help, economy, hope, increase in every way.

Jefferson's plan meant and has proven destructive to the Indians, vastly expensive, hopeless and productive of inertia, disease and death.

At no period in the history of the country, and in no case, has Washington's plan been honestly tried.

At every period we have blindly and remorselessly followed Jefferson.

We have bought the Indians into moving, we have harassed them into moving, we have fought them into moving, and we have imprisoned them upon reservations and then most carefully guarded and hindered their intercourse in any way, shape or manner with us and our best civilization. "A Century of Dishonor" has been written against us, but far less than half of the real fact has been laid before the public.

#### The Purchase Cruelty.

Greater than all others combined, in cruelty, in destruction, in inhumanity, is the one particular feature of purchase in our Indian management, and this feature is of such a character as to be hidden from public notice and public criticism, and to be even paraded as a great benefit.

Tacitus says "The human mind is so constituted as to make us hate those whom we have wronged," and having wronged the Indians by our driving out and segregating methods, denied that he is human and capable of development, we have little compunction at his death in any form, and the man who will lead battalions against him and destroy him, either in fair fight or shoot him down when he is a prisoner and helpless, we publicly applaud and reward with the gift of every office from the Presidency of the United States down. Governors, Senators, Representatives, Generals, all have reached place and fame through destroying Indians.

I wish, if I can, to make you see the Purchase system as I see it—to have you understand the enormous crime we have committed, and are committing against the Indians through this system.

Samuel Milroy, Agent for the Miami Indians, making his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, from Delphi, Ind., on Sept. 19, 1839, accounting for the loss in numbers in that once powerful and most warlike tribe, stated:

"The large amount of their annuities compared with their numbers is the leading cause of their rapid decline. One of their principal chiefs indicated the fact to me, through the interpreter, Capt. Andre, that in his knowledge in 18 years 450 men and 36 women had perished by the knife. Perhaps in the whole history of man, savage and civilized, there is not an instance of a nation being exterminated by assassination, or as nearly so, as in the case of the Miamis, and this national suicidal propensity is wholly occasioned by intemperance, and there is, perhaps, no instance of

killing amongst them except when intoxicated."

Mr. Milroy, in the same report, gives a description of the satisfaction of the Indians with the promptness of the Government in making payment of large money annuities which he had just disbursed.

At that time Mr. Milroy reported that they numbered 700. They now (1892) number only 75.

A few weeks ago I asked one of my young graduates of the Osage tribe how he accounted for the great decrease among the Osages, from 3490 in 1868 to about 1500 at the present time. He at once and promptly replied, "Whiskey and idleness."

And he was right.

The Osages receive about \$250 per annum from the United States Government for every man, woman and child in the tribe. They have a home in the northeastern part of the Indian Territory, of nearly fifteen hundred thousand acres, of excellent land. They are bordered on all sides by an aggressive, scheming, money making population, which, in a very large portion of its elements, is destitute of any humane principle towards the Indians, and ready to resort to any debauching means to enrich itself. Having a border of about 200 miles, the best of laws and the most ample policing care cannot possibly protect them from the surrounding influences.

I asked one of my Osage girls if her people got drunk.

"Oh, yes," she said.

"Do they ever kill each other when they are drunk?"

"Oh, yes, often the men kill each other, and the women, too, sometimes."

Being carefully segregated, away from the observation of the almost omnipresent newspaper correspondent, and being only Indians, these facts never get before the public.

#### MORE DESTRUCTIVE.

Not less destructive but more potent and far reaching is the destruction caused by the debasing influences of idleness. Immorality and disease which passes to the children, are doing their deadly work, and the once powerful tribe, originally as magnificent specimens of manhood as I ever looked upon, is becoming extinct through influences and forces thrust into it by a so called humane and Christian Government. The worst of it all is that this is being done under the pretext of justice and righteousness, and now more largely than ever.

#### A Sadder Day.

It is a sad day for the Indians when they fall under the assaults of our troops, as in the Piegan massacre, the massacre of old Black Kettle and his Cheyennes at what is termed "The battle of the Washita," and hundreds of other like places in the history of our dealings with them, but a far sadder day is it for them when they fall under the baneful influences of a Treaty agreement with the United States whereby they are to receive large annuities and to be protected on reservations and held apart from all association with the best of our civilization. The destruction is not so speedy, but it is far more general. The history of the Miamis and Osages are only true pictures of all other tribes.

#### AN INGENIOUS ARGUMENT.

One of the most ingenious arguments that has been presented to warrant this course by the Government and one which has had perhaps the most weight with many Congressmen, especially from the West, has been that it was an offset for the River and Harbor Bill, and that it distributed public moneys inland; and latterly we find the whole current of administration of Indian affairs, in the school department, turned into the same channel, large sums secured in school appropriations on these grounds, and spent for the erection of school houses on reservations and in the vicinity of reservations.

#### ONE OF THE ARGUMENTS

the Commissioner of Indian Affairs makes in favor of his solicited increase of money for schools, is this:

"It should also be borne in mind that the money expended at these Indian schools is put at once into circulation in

"their immediate vicinity, and the employees are mostly white people, men and women carefully chosen, that the money they receive for this work enters largely into the financial growth of their respective communities and becomes a part of the general prosperity of the country. A great burden rests upon the western states and territories which embrace Indian reservations, for Indian lands are not taxed and Indians not only do not contribute to the advancement of these growing communities, but the progress of the state or territory is often, and sometimes necessarily, hindered to a greater or lesser extent by their presence. It would, therefore, seem only a matter of equity that the burden of these western states and territories should be lightened by the distribution among them of such money as may be necessary for the education of the Indians."

#### UNFORTUNATELY,

both for the Indians and the Government, this has been the plane of management all the time. The "equity" has all been purely and solely for the white man. Nothing could be better calculated to secure failure in uplifting the Indians and to prolong an unnecessary and expensive management. The real good of the Indian has little or no weight in such argument. Every appropriation, every movement, must be based on its probable pecuniary advantage to the white race.

"Put yourself in his place" is equally as good a guide to a proper conception of the Indian and his cause as it is to help us to right conclusions in our relations with other men. For many years we greatly oppressed the black man, but the germ of human liberty remained among us and grew until, in spite of our irregularities, there came from the lowest savagery into intelligent manhood and freedom among us more than seven millions of our population who are to-day an element of industrial value with which we could not well dispense. However great this victory has been for us, we have not yet fully learned our lesson nor completed our work, nor will we have done so until there is throughout all of our communities the most unequivocal and complete acceptance of our own doctrines, both national and religious. Not until there shall be in every locality throughout the nation a supremacy of the Bible principle of the Brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, and full obedience to the doctrine of our Declaration that "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created free and equal with certain inalienable rights," and of the clause in our Constitution which forbids that there shall be any "abridgment of the rights of citizens on account of race, color or previous condition." I leave off the last two words "of servitude" because I want to be entirely and consistently American.

#### INSCRUTABLE ARE THE WAYS OF PROVIDENCE.

Horrible as were the experiences of its introduction and of slavery itself, there was concealed in them the greatest blessing that ever came to the negro race. Seven millions of blacks from cannibalism in darkest Africa to citizenship in this free and most enlightened America; not full, not complete citizenship, but possible—probable—citizenship, and on the highway and near to it.

There is a great lesson in this. The schools did not make them citizens. The schools did not teach them the language nor make them industrious and self-supporting. Denied the right of schools, they became English speaking and industrious through the influences of association.

Scattered here and there, under the care and authority of individuals of the higher race, they learned self-support and something of citizenship, and so reached their present place. No other influence or force would have so speedily accomplished such a result.

Left in Africa, surrounded by their fellow savages, our seven millions of industrious black fellow citizens would still be savages. Transferred into these new



surroundings and experiences, and behold the result! They became English speaking and civilized because forced into association with English speaking and civilized people; became healthy and multiplied because they were property; and industrious because industry, which brings contentment and health, was a necessary quality to increase their value.

The Indians under our care remained savage because forced back upon themselves and away from association with English speaking and civilized people, and because of our savage example and treatment of them.

#### THE INDIAN NOT THE ONLY INHUMAN CREATURE.

We think the Indian's habit of scalping his enemy sure evidence of his inhumanity; but in an early day the Governor of Pennsylvania by proclamation offered bounties for the scalps of Indians as follows:

For every male above 10 captured, \$150.

For every male above 10, scalped, being killed, \$134.

For every female or male under 10, captured, \$130.

For every female above 10, scalped, being killed, \$50.

In 1760, South Carolina, by an act of its Governing body, appropriated the sum of Thirty five hundred pounds to pay for the scalps of Cherokee Indians.

North Carolina, in 1760, passed an act giving Ten pounds for each and every Indian killed by any man or woman of that commonwealth, and if the person was in the actual pay of the province at the time, he or she was to receive only Five pounds. All plunder that such persons could capture from the Indians was to be their own property.

Virginia, in 1755, enacted a law giving Ten pounds out of the public money to any person or parties, whether in the pay of the colony or not, for every male Indian above the age of 12 years taken prisoner, killed or destroyed within the limits of the colony.

In 1708, Carolina gave a gun to every Indian who would kill another Indian.

I could fill all the time allowed me giving like accounts of these early attempts at civilizing and Christianizing the Indians.

#### PONDEROUS?

This ponderous Indian question relates to less than 250,000 people, numerically less than double the population of this city. They are divided into about 70 tribes and languages. Their plane of life has always been above that of the African in his native state. That they have not become civilized and incorporated in the nation is entirely our fault. We have never made any attempt to civilize them with the idea of taking them into the nation, and all of our policies have been against citizenizing and absorbing them. Although some of the policies now prominent are advertised to carry them into citizenship, and consequent association and competition with the other masses of the nation, they are not, in reality, calculated to do this.

#### LAND IN SEVERALTY WILL NOT DO IT.

We are after the facts. Let us take the Land in Severalty Bill. Land in severalty as administered is in the way of the individualizing and civilization of the Indians, and is a means of holding the tribes together. Land in Severalty is given to individuals adjoining each other on their present reservations, and experience shows that, in some cases, after the allotments have been made, the Indians have entered into a compact among themselves to continue to hold their lands in common as a reservation. The inducement of the Bill is in this direction. The Indians are not only invited to remain separate tribes and communities, but are practically compelled to remain so. The Indian must either cling to his tribe and its locality or take great chances of losing his rights and property.

The day on which the Land in Severalty Bill was signed was announced to be the emancipation day for the Indians. The fallacy of that idea is so entirely

demonstrated that the emancipation assumption is now withdrawn.

We shall have to go elsewhere and seek for other means, besides Land in Severalty, to release these people from their tribal relations and to bring them individually into the capacity and freedom of citizens.

#### A PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR INDIANS WILL NOT DO IT.

Just now that Land in Severalty is being retired as the one all-powerful leverage that is going to emancipate and bring about Indian civilization and citizenship, we have another plan thrust upon us which has received great encomium from its authors and has secured the favor of Congress to the extent of vastly increasing appropriations. This plan is calculated to arrest public attention and to temporarily gain concurrence from everybody that it is really the panacea for securing citizenship and equality in the nation for the Indians. This is the scheme of "A Public School System for the Indians," and a system of schools near their homes.

In its execution this means purely tribal schools; that is, Indian youth must continue to grow up under the pressure of home surroundings.

Individuals are not to be encouraged to get out and see and learn, and join the nation. They are not to measure their strength with the other inhabitants of the land and find out what they do not know, and thus be led to aspire to gain in education, experience and skill those things that they must know in order to become equal to the rest of us. A Public school system especially for the Indians is a tribal system, and this very fact says to them that we believe them to be incompetent, that they must not attempt to cope with us. Such schools build up tribal pride, tribal purposes and tribal demands upon the Government.

They formulate the notion that the Government owes them a living and vast sums of money, and by improving their education on these lines, but giving no other experience, and leading to no aspirations beyond the tribe, leaves them in their chronic condition of helplessness, so far as reaching the ability to compete with the white race is concerned.

It is like attempting to make a man well by always telling him he is sick.

We have only to look at the tribes who have been subject to this influence to establish this fact, and it makes no difference where they are located. All the tribes in the State of New York have been trained in tribal schools, and they are still tribes and Indians with no desire among the masses to be anything else but separate tribes.

The five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles have had tribal schools until it is asserted that they are civilized; yet they have no notion of joining us and becoming a part of the United States. Their whole disposition is to prey upon and hatch up claims against the Government, and have the same lands purchased and re-purchased and purchased again, to meet the recurring wants growing out of their neglect and inability to make use of their large and rich estate.

It was asserted on the floor of the House of Representatives, and not contradicted, that sometime in the fifties we paid one of these tribes \$300,000 for a certain tract of land, and again in the sixties we paid \$800,000 more for the same land, and a recent session of Congress passed a law giving them nearly three millions of dollars for the same property. What else but demoralization and destruction of principle and manhood could follow in the train of such a course of action towards any people, yet they were educated in home schools and have a certain sort of civilization if we keep along the lines of travel and away from the backwoods.

#### THE ONLY WAY TO AMERICANIZE THEM.

Indian schools are just as well calculated to keep the Indians intact as In-

dians, as Catholic schools are to keep the Catholics intact.

Under Federal principles we have established the public school system where people of all races may become unified, in every way and loyal to the Government; but we do not gather the people of one nation into schools by themselves and the people of another nation into schools by themselves, but we invite the youth of all people into all schools.

We shall not succeed in Americanizing the Indian unless we take him in, in exactly the same way. I do not care if abundant schools on the plan of Carlisle are established, if the principle we have always had at Carlisle—of sending them out into families and into the public schools—were left out, the result would be the same, and even though such schools were established as Carlisle is, in the centre of an intelligent and industrious population, and though such schools were as Carlisle always has been, filled with students from many tribes.

Purely Indian schools say to the Indians:

"You are Indians and must remain Indians; you are not of the nation and cannot become of the nation. We do not want you to become of the nation."

#### THE MISSIONARY DOES NOT CITIZENIZE.

Before I leave this part of my subject, I feel impelled to lay before you the facts, as I have come to look at them, of another influence that has claimed credit and always has been and is now very dictatorial in Indian matters, and that is the missionary as a citizenizing influence upon the Indians. The missionary goes to the Indian; he learns the language; he associates with him; he makes the Indian feel he is friendly and has great desire to help him; he even teaches the Indian English; but the fruits of his labor, by all the examples that I know, have been to strengthen and encourage him to remain separate and apart from the rest of us.

Of course, the more advanced—those who have a desire to become civilized, and to live like white men, who would with little encouragement go out into our communities—are the first to join the missionary's forces. They become his lieutenants to gather in others.

The missionary must necessarily hold out to every help he can get to push forward his schemes and plans so that he may make a good report to his Church, and in order to enlarge his work and make it a success he must keep his community together. Consequently, any who care to get out into the nation, and learn from actual experience what it is to be civilized, what is the full length and breadth and height and depth of our civilization, must stay and help the missionary.

The operation of this has been disastrous to any individual escape from the tribe, has vastly and unnecessarily prolonged the solution of the question, and has needlessly cost the charitable people of this country large sums of money, to say nothing of the added cost to the Government, the delay in accomplishing their civilization, and their destruction caused by such delay.

If, as sometimes happens, the missionary kindly consents to let, or helps one go out and get these experiences, it is only for the purpose of making him a preacher or a teacher or help of some kind, and such an one, must, as soon as he is fitted and much sooner in most cases, return to the tribe and help the missionary to save his people. The Indian who goes out has forfeited his liberty and is owned by the missionary.

In all my experience of 25 years, I have known scarcely a single missionary to heartily aid or advocate the disintegration of the tribes and the giving of individual Indians rights and opportunities among civilized people. There is this in addition that the missionaries have largely assumed to dictate to the Government its policy with tribes, and their dictations have always been along the lines of their colonies and church interests, and the Government must gauge its actions to suit the purposes of the missionary, or else the missionary influences are at once exerted

to defeat the purposes of the Government. The Government by paying large sums of money to churches to carry on schools among Indians only builds for itself opposition to its own interests.

#### PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH MISSIONARIES.

Years ago, under the orders of the Department, I went to New Mexico after children for Carlisle. I found there communities aggregating 11,000 Indians. They were not nomads, they were village dwellers, agriculturalists, stock raisers, and their communities were the oldest within the limits of the United States.

They had been under the influence of a church for 250 or more years, and at this time the power of that church over them in all their affairs was absolute. They paid taxes and tithes to it alone, and yet there was not one single Indian in the whole 11,000 that could either read or write in English or in any other language.

When I brought up the subject of education, I was met at once with the strongest possible opposition, and confronted with the fact that the Indians had been commanded by the officials of that church not to send their children to school, not to allow them to learn the language of the country. Every step that has been taken towards getting the youth of these Indians into schools, and every attempt that has been made to Americanize them, has met with opposition from this church of the most insidious and imperious kind.

#### OUR GREATEST MISTAKE.

We make our greatest mistake in feeding our civilization to the Indians instead of feeding the Indians to our civilization.

America has different customs and civilization from Germany. What would be the result of an attempt to plant American customs and civilization among the Germans in Germany, demanding that they shall become thoroughly American before we admit them to the country?

Now, what we have all along attempted to do for and with the Indians is just exactly that and nothing else. We invite the Germans to come into our country and communities and share our customs, our civilization, to be of it, and the result is immediate success. Why not try it on the Indians? Why not invite them into experiences in our communities? Why always invite and compel them to remain a people unto themselves?

It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank like all the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition and life.

We, left in the surroundings of civilization, grow to possess a civilized language, life and purpose. Transfer the infant white to the savage surroundings, he will grow to possess a savage language, superstition and habit. Transfer the savage born infant to the surroundings of civilization and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit. These results have been established over and over again beyond all question, and it is also well established that those advanced in life, even to maturity, of either class, lose the already acquired qualities belonging to the side of their birth and gradually take on those of the side to which they have been transferred.

As we have taken into our national family seven millions of negroes, and as we receive foreigners at the rate of more than 500,000 a year, and assimilate them, it would seem that the time may have arrived when we can very properly make at least the attempt to assimilate our 250,000 Indians, using this potent line, and see if that will not end this vexed question and remove them from public attention, where they occupy so much more space than they are entitled to, either by numbers or worth.

THE SCHOOL AT CARLISLE is an attempt on the part of the Government to do this. Carlisle has always planted treason to the tribe and loyalty to the nation at large. It has preached against colonizing the Indians, and in favor of individualizing them. It has demanded for them the same multiplicity of chances which all others in the country enjoy.



Carlisle fills young Indians with loyalty to the stars and stripes, and then moves them out into our communities to show by their conduct and ability that the Indian is no different from the white or the colored, that he has the inalienable right to liberty and opportunity that the white and the negro have. Carlisle does not dictate to him what line of life he should fill, so it is an honest one; it says to him that if he gets his living by the sweat of his brow, and demonstrates to the nation that he is a man, he does more good for his race than hundreds of his fellows who cling to their tribal communistic surroundings.

**THE RESULT OF THE CARLISLE SYSTEM** is that we have the most economical Indian school in the country, east or west, because large numbers of our pupils go into the Public schools, live in families, work for their own support and schooling, become really independent of Government support, and join the productive forces of the country. What they earn is theirs.

Their earnings for the past year aggregate \$21,603.79. They are taught to save. Over 700 have bank accounts, and their total credits from these earnings at the close of May, was \$15,980.69.

They work principally on farms and as house-helpers; very many have become first class workmen and workwomen and get first class pay. There is a great demand for them; more than double the number we could supply were asked for this year. The testimony as to qualification and character is "good" or "excellent" in nineteen cases out of twenty.

No evidence is wanting to show that the Indian can become a capable and willing factor in our industries, if he has the chance. What we need is an Administration which will give him the chance.

#### Land in Severalty can be Made Useful.

The Land in Severalty Bill can be made far more useful than it is, but it can be made so only by assigning the lands so as to intersperse good civilized people among them. If, in the distribution, it is so arranged that two or three white families come between two Indian families, then there would necessarily grow up a community of fellowship along all the lines of our American civilization that would help the Indian at once to his feet.

#### Indian Schools a Necessity Only for a Time.

Indian schools must, of necessity, be for a time, because the Indian cannot speak the language and he knows nothing of the habits and forces he has to contend with; but the highest purpose of all Indian schools ought to be only to prepare the young Indians to enter the public and other schools of the country, and immediately he is so prepared, for his own good and the good of the country, he should be forwarded into these other schools, there to temper, test and stimulate his brain and muscle into the capacity he needs for his struggle for life in competition with us.

#### How the Missionary can Help.

The missionary can, if he will, do far greater service in helping the Indians than he has done, but it will only be by practicing the doctrine he preaches. As his work is to lift into higher life the people whom he serves, he must not, under any pretence whatsoever, give the lie to what he preaches by discountenancing the right of any individual Indian to go into higher and better surroundings; but, on the contrary, he should help the Indian to do that. If he fails in thus helping and encouraging the Indian, he is false to his own teaching. An examination shows that no Indians within the limits of the United States have acquired any sort of capacity to meet and cope with the whites in civilized pursuits, who did not gain that ability by going among the whites and out from the reservations, and that many have gained this ability by so going out.

#### A Slow Process.

Theorizing citizenship into people is a slow operation. What a farce it would be to attempt teaching American citizenship to the negroes in Africa. They could not understand it, and, if they did, in the

midst of such contrary influences, they could never use it. Neither can the Indians understand or use American citizenship theoretically taught to them on Indian reservations. *They must get into the swim of American citizenship.* They must feel the touch of it day after day until they become saturated with the spirit of it, and thus become equal to it.

When we cease to teach the Indian that he is less than a man; when we recognize fully that he is capable in all respects as we are, and that he only needs the opportunities and privileges which we possess to enable him to assert his humanity and manhood; when we act consistently towards him in accordance with that recognition; when we cease to fetter him to conditions which keep him in bondage, surrounded by retrogressive influences; when we allow him the freedom of association and the developing influences of social contact, then the Indian will quickly demonstrate that he can be truly civilized, and he, himself, will solve the question of what to do with the Indian.

#### IS THE INDIAN DOOMED?

BY GENERAL LEWIS MERRILL, IN *Arthur's New Home Magazine*, FOR JUNE.

At the risk of being charged with irreverence, which I wholly repudiate, it must be said, and cannot be said too forcibly, that an Indian is not changed from a savage to a progressive human being by inducing him to profess some form of the Christian religion. Christianity is good, but it grows to no result unless planted in good soil. The good priest, or parson, or devoted missionary may feel very confident that he has done a vast good and saved a human soul by turning an Indian into a professor of the Christian religion, but if he fail at the same time to teach the Christian Indian how to save his body, how to make material worldly advancement, he has made small progress toward the bettering of the Indian race. Pure souls cannot exist in foul bodies, and among degraded surroundings, and no ignorant acquiescence in religious faith or form is enough to put the Indian on the way to better things.

The failures of accomplishment in Indian schools and missions are, in large degree, because of failure on the part of the good and devoted people who have charge of them to appreciate that seed is fruitful only when the soil in which it is planted is suitably prepared for its growth. With many of them the end is reached when the savage is baptized and professes the Christian faith, while no useful end is reached until this also carries with it the desire and knowledge how to make material progress.

The idea of property, of the right of the individual to personal ownership of something that he and others value, is at the very root of civilization. This idea has had hardly any healthy growth among the Indians. The soil belonged, in their view, to the whole tribe, and no individual rights to particular parts of it were recognized. The product of the soil was the gift of the Great Spirit and belonged to any taker of it. Game belonged to the successful slayer of it, and even he claimed small right in it over any other who wished to share in it. Domestic animals had a qualified recognized ownership, but no great wrong was done by one who found and appropriated to his use what was recognized as the property of another, and if the other were an enemy, a degree of credit attached to the one who stole it.

To a degree this has changed and is now more rapidly changing. But both schools and missions give too little attention to developing the idea that what is gained by the labor of a man is his personal belonging, and that his right to possess it must be protected, and must be based on the idea that it is the result of his own effort. Hence, labor is not dignified because it has no permanent rewards, and savages have no incentive to personal exertion except so much as is needed to sustain mere physical existence.

Teach the savage to recognize property rights and to base his recognition of them on the belief that property is the reward

of labor, and the first step toward civilization is taken; with even a moderate degree of civilization the better moral teaching will bear fruit, without it no profession of religious faith will bear aught but dry husks.

The most peace-loving men are those who have known most of war, and have done their duty in war, and the best and most valuable friends of the Indian are found in the army.

The Indian shows every variety of natural character and capacity that can be found in the rest of the human race. Some few tribes are almost wholly and hopelessly degraded—are scarcely more than wild beasts in human form. They are, however, the exception. In all tribes some individuals are hopelessly vicious, and like similar persons found among the most civilized peoples, are insolvable problems. No laws of restraint, no efforts of moral training have or can reclaim them. But Indians, like other human beings, generally show the traits, character, and conduct which distinguish the whole human race.

As an individual soldier the Indian has every virtue that can be claimed by the white soldier, and few white military leaders have prouder records of skill, ability, and achievement than are to be found in the lives of such Indians as Logan, Tecumseh, Keokuk, Joseph, and The Gall. Nor were these men one whit inferior in any part of their character and conduct to the best of the white chiefs who opposed and conquered them.

History has hardly the parallel to the achievement of Chief Joseph, who retreated with his whole tribe, warriors, women, and children, and all their transportable belongings, surrounded and harassed on every side by troops, several times compelled to stop and fight, crossing many wide and difficult rivers, and climbing the most rugged and inaccessible passes of the Rocky Mountains in his flight from the Nez Perces reservation almost to the border of Manitoba, for nearly eighteen hundred miles, victor in every fight until the last one, when, surrounded and hopeless, Gen. Miles compelled his surrender.

Nor can there be a finer historical picture than that of this brave and skillful leader when he stood before Gen. Miles and made his memorable speech of surrender.

No wonder that he should so excite the respect and regard of his conqueror that Gen. Miles never ceased his efforts to rectify the cowardly wrong perpetrated by the great United States Government upon this prisoner of honorable war, this broken chieftain, whom they treacherously and in broken faith held away from his home and his people in violation of the terms of surrender made with Gen. Miles.

The white soldier who can show such a record of achievement as that of Chief Joseph would justly be classed among the great military leaders of the world.

Nor have the Indians been without wise statesmen, great orators, and skilled politicians.

The Indian makes an excellent soldier. Is true, brave, fairly intelligent (in his own arts more so than the white man), proud of his service, easily disciplined and taught, and most commonly not at all given to drunkenness. A term of service as a soldier in the army will advance him farther on the road to civilization, than years of any other influence I know of. Further, the effect would be widespread and will exert an influence on others, both by example and by stirring among them a new spirit. As a soldier he must learn discipline, economy, thrift, and cleanliness, which his example and precept afterward will teach and enforce upon others.

No more fatal error was ever made by our government than that which so long controlled the policy of our relations with the Indians, in which they were con-

sidered as "wards" of the nation, to be coddled, watched over, clothed and fed in idleness, while every effort to better them was confined to attempting to Christianize them, while nothing was done toward a sound education in correct ideas of property, labor, and other fundamental ideas of civilization.

In another way an error now partly retrieved was made. Treaties were made with them as independent and organized nations whose solemn compacts with the United States had all the ceremony of confirmation by the Senate. Constantly the tribal organization was fostered and encouraged, and the Indians instead of being absorbed among the whites, were left together in bands and tribes and isolated from what might easily have been a good and useful influence, that of the whites, who thus only had contact with the more vicious class of Indians who sought white association for the sake of the idleness and firewater which it permitted. True, this is now in part ended, but the spirit that prevailed then still to a bad degree survives.

The true solution to the Indian problem is now what it always was: absorption into the body of the citizens of the United States. Long steps in this direction have recently been taken, but the old spirit of the Indian Bureau still retards it, and unfortunately, so also does the spirit of many good missionaries and other pious people who vainly imagine that an Indian can be suddenly civilized, by converting him to a profession of the Christian religion.

They seem to think that the Indians should be kept together in helpless tutelage, for fear that contact with the whites, which under vicious conditions had been so mischievous to the Indian, would under proper conditions still demoralize him and make his conversion to Christianity more difficult.

I would not for one moment be understood as wishing to discourage or discontinue efforts to Christianize, but only to emphasize the fact that those alone are valueless. When the Indian has learned to work, to earn and own property, to respect the property of others because they too have earned it and own it, then and not till then, can you make an intelligent Christian of him.

You must first change him from the savage, with savage ideas and aspirations, to the civilized man with civilized ideas, with some knowledge and respect for the essential laws of civilized human association, and then you may hope to make him a Christian with some real notion of the spirit of the teachings of Christ. Without this you may make a professor of Christianity, observing in an ignorant way some form of worship, but in fact without his profession having the slightest influence on his life or morals—a pious fraud and worthless man, but not a Christian.

The domestic life of the Indian is largely what the natural instincts of the human race and the special condition in which the Indian maintains his existence, might be expected to make it.

The idea of the family is universal among them, and from that came the broader idea of the tribe. Polygamy is common, and women are quite commonly the object of purchase and sale in marriage. Whether more so than is the practical fact among more highly enlightened people may be questioned.

Unjust treatment in the past, ignorant, bigoted, and misdirected efforts now have much obstructed and do much hinder and retard the progress toward better things. But the discouraging outlook does not warrant the conclusion that better things are unattainable, nor that the civilization of the Indian is a hopeless dream.

Rather do all things point to the more hopeful answer to the question so often asked, "Is the Indian race a doomed race?"

For the honor of our country let us hope and endeavor that this shall not be affirmatively answered in the sense in which it is commonly understood.



The results of past mischief are still effective for bad consequences, and they cannot be remedied in one or many days, but they can be remedied in larger degree in a moderate length of time, and finally neutralized. Let it be done, and at least if not wholly effective, if not changing what in that event would be the foredoomed fate of a race, our consciences would stand acquitted of our own and possibly of our father's sins.

In another sense the Indian is a doomed race. He is doomed to disappear as one of a race distinct in habit, thought, and mood of life. His inevitable destiny in the best event is to be absorbed and disappear, as an Indian, to become one of the many units which go to make up this wonderful mixture and conglomeration of blood which is called the American people, and which is fast becoming, if not already become, a distinct race in the history of the world.

We have thus far digested and assimilated every variety of the human species which has come to us and become of us. Less difficult than many, if not than most of these, would be the assimilation of the Indian, such assimilation would save him, not as an Indian, but as a man, short of this nothing can.

That in this way, and not in any other, the Indian should disappear concerns not alone him, but the humanity and justice of all of us, and the honor of our country. That such a solution of the Indian problem is possible, I have full faith, that such a solution should be desired and striven for by every right-thinking American ought not to be doubtful.

In the July Number of *Arthur's Home Magazine*, General Merrill continues his subject under the head:

**"Shall American Civilization Rightly Determine the Doom of the Indian Race?"**

As raw material from which to manufacture an American citizen, in his own person probably, in his children certainly, Eagle Feather Kiowa and Red Leaf Pottawatomie furnish as promising stuff as Pat or Fritz, far more so than Hun or Pole.

In his manliness, his personal independence, his sturdy love of liberty, and in his intellectual capacity and freedom from degrading vices, he is at least as desirable a subject as any foreigner. In his natural proclivities perhaps more easily amenable to the acquisition of those ideas of personal rights and political institutions which lie at the root of our notions of American life.

No laws stand in the way of all Indians becoming citizens, and already many thousands have availed themselves of the right. Although the number of these is an insignificant part of the whole race, the fact that among them almost no instances of bad citizens are found, is strong evidence to prove that no harm to us can result from all becoming citizens.

The beneficial result to the Indian does not admit of doubt.

May it not then be asserted confidently that it is safe to make Indians citizens? That it is not only possible but highly desirable, it is the purpose of what follows to show.

The question "how?" opens a view over what is now a long and difficult road. Years ago, had our fathers been farsighted enough, and enough inspired with a true sense of justice, the task would have been very easy. Every successive blunder and wrong done in our treatment of them has made it more difficult, and now the longer it shall be deferred the more difficult will it become. But it is not impossible, and as the single mode by which we can now measurably retrieve the past and wipe out the stain on our honor as a people, we owe it to ourselves, much more than to those we have wronged, to set about it promptly and earnestly.

That the desirability of doing it will be disputed is probable. That there will be divided counsels as to methods is most likely, and that there will be apathy, ignorance, prejudice, and bigotry to encounter on all sides is most certain.

All these will interpose obstacles, most of which may with earnest labor be removed or neutralized, but one other exists which will prove insurmountable, unless

by changing its character it be made an aid instead of a hindrance. That is the Indian Bureau, as now constituted, and as now controlled by traditional policy.

No effort was made, or even contemplated, to bring the Indian into becoming a part of the people, and gradually train him to admire and adopt the white man's life and ideas.

The result of such relations as were established was that the two races regarded each other as distinct and more or less antagonistic peoples, each with its own government, and hence came about all the formalities of treaties and compacts, well calculated to embarrass peaceful intercourse, to bind more strongly together the Indians, and to prevent anything like common occupation of a common country.

Until a very late date the United States, as the direct heir to the colonial methods, has continued the practices then begun; has sent from time to time dignified and formal diplomatic missions and ambassadors to meet and treat with the petty chiefs and head-men of even insignificant bands, and has signed, sealed, and delivered with all the ceremonious punctilio obtaining between great nations, pacts and treaties which bind us to recognize the distinct governments of the Indians, and which in every way foster the most mischievous factor in our relations with them—their tribal coherency.

The tribes were numerous, the treaties more numerous than the tribes, and presently it became necessary to establish a distinct government machine to manage our relations with all these petty nations.

Here was the origin of the present Bureau of Indian Affairs, belonging sometimes to one great Department, sometimes to another, but now, and for many years past, under the control of the Department of the Interior, that *omnium gatherum*, which takes direction of everything that in the nature of things belongs nowhere else, or which the other Departments do not care to assume. Here we have a Cabinet officer who, on one side, is charged with matters of pensions; on another patents; on another public hospitals for the insane—who is called upon to-day to determine the interpretation of an Indian treaty; tomorrow, to select a competent man and designate the fittest place to conduct a geological survey. One day to decide a nice point under the public land laws; another, to compose a quarrel between rival cities over the census.

He would, indeed, be an able and versatile man, and with vastly more time at his disposal than twenty-four hours in each day, if in these diverse matters he should know and intelligently direct all his subordinate bureaus in anything except the most critical cases, or the broadest matters of administration. Necessarily, then in such a medley of subjects under one departmental head, the subordinate bureaus must have great latitude of action, and cannot have that close scrutiny, by the head of the department in matters of detail, which is essential to the establishment of truly correct policies, and surely just and honest methods.

This Bureau has been a growth, not an original creation made to meet established conditions. In such circumstances minor bureaus have a sure tendency toward becoming mouldy and rusty in mental working, and perfunctory in administration. The high responsibility and great dignity of a Cabinet Minister does not attach to the bureau chief, and with fair certainty you will have in that place a cheaper man—not a bad nor an incompetent man, but one most probably of narrower range, less experience in public affairs, and not unlikely, wholly lacking in practical knowledge of Indians and Indian affairs, and without training in established routine.

Probably he has been appointed because he has had some connection with philanthropic work, is well known to be sincerely interested in the welfare and advancement of the Indian, and is moreover an honest, conscientious man who will give his best ability toward doing and requiring right.

He assumes his office knowing his deficiencies in knowledge and experience, and at once essays to supply these. At his elbow are the men who have been for years in their places, they at least ought to know all about it, ought to be able to inform him with accuracy and fully at every turn.

Yes—they can promptly point out (on the map) all the reservations. The names of the tribes and bands run off their tongues with bewildering glibness. The dates and terms of treaties are as familiar to them as the pigeon-holes in their desks. And too—they have actually seen and talked with real live Indians—not in a Wild West Show, but savages of great ferocity of deed and character, who came to Washington to interview the Great Father, and incidentally called at the Indian office, as if with the benevolent purpose that these gentlemen should have ample opportunity to study Indian character and habits as they really are, and thereafter be ever able to guard any new Commissioner from making the mistakes that might ensue from lack of personal acquaintance with Indians.

Indeed, among these Tite Barnacles he may find some who have had the hardihood and courage to accept the duty of actually visiting an Indian reservation. Have endured fatigue of frontier travel, and perils by flood and field in that duty, who, taking their lives in their hands, in a two days' visit to an agency, easily determined the very best place in many thousand square miles of land on which Chief Plenty Coups should establish his followers as farmers. It was of small consequence that as a matter of fact, on the ground selected, the Indians could not have raised white beans in a hot-house. It was true that an officer of the army who commanded a neighboring fort had denounced the selection as wholly unfit, and also true that the Indians themselves objected and were dissatisfied and despondent. But in the view of these gentlemen, the former was a shallow ass, prejudiced against the Bureau, and hating Indians, while the latter did not know what was for their own good. Had not these gentlemen been on the ground and found the water pure, the scenery grand, the weather delightfully cool (in July) and the fishing capital? What more suitable land for farming could there be?

Surely, among these men, the inexperienced Commissioner will lack neither advice nor offers to liberally educate him—in what they do not know. But he will be more than an ordinary man if with such surroundings he fail to fall into the established ways, and remain blind to needed reforms in both policy and administration.

Even if he proved more than commonly able and alert, and finds what are the necessities, what reforms are urgent and instantly needed, his power is limited. Many things he might perhaps do in time, but for others he would need new laws. Here his influence is not that of a cabinet officer. His views and plans must have the approval and support of a superior, who rarely could find time to give the subject the exhaustive study which alone would insure the best plans and enforce the recommendation with such knowledge as would secure attention.

The tendency of all government machines is to become bureaucratic, and nowhere is this tendency more plainly shown than in Washington. President after President, cabinet officer after cabinet officer has plainly seen the urgency of certain reforms, has struggled through four years to bring them about, and has retired baffled, discouraged with the meagre results of all he has attempted, and then perhaps had successors unwilling to renew a struggle that commanded so little success. The inertia of routine, the stubborn conservatism of existing things, the tenacity with which old leeches cling to the vein which keeps them alive, have sufficed to block the way and defeat the most meritorious exertions which even the highest officer could make.

The wonder, then, is not that the Indian Bureau has done so badly, but that it could do any good at all.

When it was clearly perceived long ago that an essential to success in dealing with the Indians was the extinction of their tribal coherency, it was not the Bureau which saw it, but a single member of the Lower House who in long service on the Indian Committee perceived the fact, and at last persuaded Congress to put an end to formal recognition in treaty making of Indian tribes as nations.

It does not yet seem possible to eradicate the idea that the Indian is the "ward" of the nation, forever to remain dependent on and guided and controlled by an ignorant, cumbrous, and wasteful government machine.

The policy which prevails in the Indian Bureau is the natural result and legitimate inheritance from the old methods.

Traditional policies are hard to change and routine administration, however ignorant and bad it may be, is difficult to enlighten and reform.

It is not necessary, indeed is not possible at this time, to abolish the Indian Bureau, and it will be many years in the future before it can be dispensed with. Nor is it necessary nor best that it should be transferred to the War Department. But change of policy and reform of methods are vital, and this altogether aside from the question whether the Indians shall or not become citizens, and concerning solely the question whether we are to save them from total destruction or even make any substantial approach toward doing them justice.

Chief of the changes must be the absolute disavowance of the appointment of Bureau officers and employees, and especially Indian agents and agency employees, from the political and other bad influences which now so greatly and mischievously control them. Second, the system of purchase and issue of supplies of all kinds must be reformed, and the scandalously wasteful practices now connected with that stopped. And last, but by no means least, the relation of the Indian to the Bureau must be put on common-sense lines. The Indian no longer treated as a "ward," helpless and useless, ever needing the guiding hand of a body of perfunctory clerks in Washington to direct him, but taught to direct himself. Intelligently aided to learn to work, and so placed that he shall secure the rewards of his labor. His manhood and self-respect developed and encouraged instead of his being made to feel that to be a "good Indian" is to sink into solid idleness and indolence and depend blindly on the Great Father to feed and care for him. Meanwhile the Bureau, resting confident that everything is going rightly because the mission work is reported to be progressing, and the Indians quiet—a quiet that is mostly the quiet of despair and will soon become the quiet of the grave.

Evidently, what is to be done is much and difficult. Probably, not possible to accomplish for many years. More evident is it that no time should be lost in beginning it.

If we are to civilize and christianize the Indian he must first be taught to work, upon which follows his recognition of property rights, and if with this he can be secured in the fruits of his labor, there will remain a relatively easy task in what is left to be done for him.

Nothing that can be done for his advancement will avail if the primary need of favorable surroundings be absent. If he be made a farmer and set to work where no crops will grow, or taught shoemaking and settled among people where every squaw can make better footwear than he, or trained as a tinsmith and placed in a community which will furnish him no employment, you have set before him certain failure. Your teachings are a mockery, and the last state of the man is worse than the first, for now you have a man without hope.

Nor must we attempt to make every Indian a farmer. Diversity of employment is not only one of the first marks of civilization, but one of its essentials. Natural aptitudes control vocation quite as much as opportunities. A man who can hardly



drive a nail straight might make an excellent farmer, while a skillful blacksmith might wholly fail as a shepherd or herdsman.

Why, then, should our wise Indian Bureau assume that all Indians are cast in the same mold? Because in the primitive ages the tiller of the soil succeeded the hunter, shall we now insist that all Indians shall first become farmers?

The Indians have long ago advanced beyond the condition of primitive man, and most of them are now and have long been ready to start in the advance if only they had a fair chance.

Many of them already know how to work, and do work when they can get anything to do. Many have high desire to accumulate property, and to better their physical condition. Many already speak the English language sufficiently, and most are apt to learn it quickly, when they have motive and chance to do so.

Could there be plainer pointing of the road to follow? Consult their natural aptitudes. If one can become a good farmer make a farmer of him, but put him where he can not only succeed in raising crops if he will, but where the example and teaching of those about him will help him learn what he does not yet know.

If he has mechanical turn, make him a mechanic, but when he has learned his craft, settle him where his work will be in demand, not where his own necessities furnish the only market for his product.

If, as most of the plains Indians are, he is a natural herdsman, make him a shepherd, a horse-raiser, or a cow-boy, and keep him in the country where in such vocations he can succeed, and where he already owns the ranges where he must pasture his flocks and herds.

In short, give him the conditions of success, teach him the path by which it may be reached, and then trust that the pressure of his own necessities will sufficiently spur him on to travel on that road.

So you will cultivate his self-respect and manhood, instead of degrading him to the status of an idle pauper depending on the government for a meagre living. So you will elevate him and prepare him for useful citizenship. So you will civilize him—and then and not till then you can make him an intelligent disciple of the spirit of Christianity.

Establish the Indian where the industries already exist, and give him an equal chance with white laborers to show what he can and would do.

In all that pertains to any plans for making the Indian a citizen, one of the most useful helps, rightly applied, may be found in the Indian schools like those at Carlisle and Hampton. The first results here are that the Indian is taught to live like white people, to work like them, and in some degree to think like them. Most of them are trained to some skill in a useful and profitable handicraft (and in this they show equal capacity with whites), and at the end of the school term are fairly prepared to go out among white people and make their own way, with no more help than is needed by white men and women of like age and training.

Plenty of work that Indians are entirely capable of doing lies begging to be done in all the settled part of the country. Plenty of Indians willing and anxious to do this work are scattered through all the Indian communities. Why not then bring the Indian to the work when you cannot take the work to the Indian? Nothing that need be prohibitory stands in the way save only the will to see it done and the agencies for doing it.

The Indian Bureau will not be reformed and brought to aid such work effectively and wisely, until many men in authority are persuaded that reform is necessary, and peremptorily demanded by the public. If such demand is made in earnest they will do it, without—not. Politicians even of the better kind are unapt to heed what does not come to them with such

backing of public sentiment that they dare not ignore it. The demand for it must be from such sources that no excuses for inaction or opposition can be found in the assertion that all such plans are only the wild theories of impractical philanthropists, who have so little worldly wisdom and influence that they can be safely whistled down the wind as nothing but good and well-meaning cranks.

Let the cranks go on, it is ever the crank and enthusiast who is in the forefront of movement—not always wise, it is true—not always safe to follow implicitly—but add to their influence and work that of the sober-thinking, justice-loving, conscience-guided average American citizen, convince these latter that the Indian is capable of being a good citizen, that he is willing and anxious to work, that he has been and still is grossly wronged, and that in this whole matter the country has an imminent duty, then methods will be soon found and the work accomplished.

When this is successfully begun under such impulses, then and not until then it may be truly said that American civilization has rightly determined the doom of the Indian, has saved him from annihilation, made him a civilized man and a fellow-citizen, and absorbed him into a system which has developed the highest type of composite man.

#### AN ARMY OFFICER'S VIEW OF THE INDIAN QUESTION.

BY CAPT. WM. E. DOUGHERTY, 1ST. U. S. INFANTRY, IN *Harper's Weekly*.

It is a fact not generally known that in the first treaty made by the people of the United States with the Indians the latter were specifically recognized and designated as citizens, and that it was agreed that they—the Delawares, and any others who would affiliate with them in their obligations to the people of the United States—should have a representation in Congress.

These concessions, made at a time when the colony-states were struggling to free themselves from the dominion of the king and Parliament, soon afterward went into desuetude, and were never realized nor revived. The early abandonment of this policy left the government free to recognize the separate political existence of the Indians, and to treat with them as with other powers, and left the door open for Congress to enter upon the right to legislate for them when legislation became necessary. We cannot prove that it would have been more fortunate for the Indians had this policy been maintained, but we may doubt that it would have entailed the heritage we have of political and industrial disparity, of antagonism, and of the memory of the cruelties and wrongs perpetrated on both sides for a century.

During the hundred years following the first treaty, between three and four hundred other treaties and agreements having the force and effect of treaties were made with the various Indian tribes. Of these much the greater number were for the cession of lands claimed by the Indians and of reservations occupied by them since the Declaration of Independence, and of which, it is commonly believed, they have been defrauded and despoiled by premeditated deception and rapacious violence, and without any substantial compensation.

The amount of polemical and romantic literature on this subject now extant probably exceeds anything of the kind in any other line of philanthropy, and the extent and extravagance of the denunciation bestowed upon the government and addressed to the nation for the alleged disregard of treaty obligations with the Indians constitute a monument of error and misunderstanding that stands in the popular mind in defiance of historical and statistical truth.

From the foundation of the government to the present time an average of over a million dollars a year has been paid the Indians for the relinquishment of lands that became valueless to them in their nomadic condition: in addition to which extensive and valuable tracts of the pub-

lic land were set apart for them, generally in places of their own choice, only to be occupied by them until the game was exhausted and then sold back to the government when another cession and removal became necessary. Although these vicissitudes must have had some hardship in them when they occurred, the ultimate results have been, and still are, of immeasurable benefit to the Indians, for some of these tribes have now a *per capita* wealth more than double that of any of the States of New England, derived entirely from the sale of their land to the government.

It is not denied, of course, that grave injustice has been done some tribes in their bargains with the representatives of the government, but the cases are comparatively few in which any evidence of bad faith on the part of the latter is apparent or probable. Indeed, with possibly a few exceptions, the guarantees given the Indians of the permanence of their agreements and the security of their tenures were given with the belief, well founded at that time, that the government would and could maintain the integrity of its promises. That this was not done was due wholly to causes that could not be foreseen and provided for, and which, when they came about, could not be averted; and while it is admitted that inevitable hardship and injustice befell some tribes, it cannot be shown that the government did not make adequate reparation for both the direct and consequential sacrifices demanded of the Indians, while, on the contrary, it is doubtful if there ever was a treaty or agreement made with an Indian tribe that was not evaded and violated by the Indians themselves whenever their interest or policy prompted it, often wantonly and without provocation, when it could be done with impunity. Moreover, when the nation became involved in war they unhesitatingly broke all pledges and took the side against the government, the Northern Indians with the English king, and the Southern Indians with the Confederacy, and although the government, with characteristic generosity, condoned and relegated these perfidies to oblivion—a magnanimity no other government is capable of—it has been requited with ingratitude and hereditary disaffection.

But while all honest-minded people must admit and deplore that injustice has been done and is still being done the Indians, an examination of the true causes of it will show that the Government, considered in the limited sense—the national authority—is wholly free of direct responsibility for the uncontrollable destiny that has driven the Indians to the remotest parts of their own country, and left them, though unconquered, a legacy of misery and degradation to the most powerful and the richest nation on the earth, and that those causes are still active, and will continue to be so until other political and economic conditions supervene, and the relations of the Indians to the general government and to the governments of the States in which they reside are altered sufficiently to permit the Indians to be brought under the operation of the laws and of the courts, as persons with natural and statutory rights and obligations.

The pressure that the Indians have heretofore felt from the movement and settlement of the white race upon their confines and territory, and the fear and animosity that it has inspired in them, must in the near future be greatly intensified by internal development and the extension of the fields and industries of the superior people. No part of the country is now so remote or obscure that the home-seeker, the ranchman, and the miner have not invaded it and made it their possession, and now that all that is valuable of the public land has been taken by actual settlers and syndicates, the partition or invasion of the great tracts now reserved for the Indians cannot be long deferred. Considering the burden of grievance, real and imaginary, that some of the tribes are now bearing, it must be apparent that provocation of this kind will meet with resentment from them, and that the recurrence of war and turbulence on and about the reservation in the future

is a contingency as inevitable as it has been heretofore.

The subjoined table exhibits a statement of the Indian population, the areas of the reservations, and the numbers of acres *per capita* in the States and Territories west of the Mississippi River including Minnesota. In this it will be seen that the distribution of the land among the tribes is very disproportionate, that about 19,000 Indians have no land at all, and that the total area reserved for about 200,000 people is nearly twice as great as the area of the State of New York. Nearly one-third of this total is held by the precarious title of Executive and Departmental orders, which may be revoked at any time without legislation, and the lands overrun by boomers, as in the case of the Crow Creek reservation in Dakota a few years ago. The rest is held under the provisions of ratified treaties, but it has been judicially determined that the fee of the whole rests in the United States, subject only to the natural right of the Indians to occupation, and that even this right may be extinguished.

INDIAN POPULATION, AREAS OF RESERVATIONS, ETC., IN STATES AND TERRITORIES WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, INCLUDING MINNESOTA.

| States and Territories. | Indian Population. | Area of Reservations in Acres. | Acres per capita    | Non-reservation Indians |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Arizona                 | 16,450             | 6,603,191                      | 401 $\frac{1}{3}$   | 1,350                   |
| Calif. ....             | 4,531              | 494,045*                       | 109                 | 7,000                   |
| Colorado                | 1,800              | 1,094,400                      | 609                 | .....                   |
| N & S Dak               | 29,600             | 26,098,906                     | 881 $\frac{2}{3}$   | .....                   |
| Ind. Ter.               | 89,585             | 39,199,550                     | 3,437 $\frac{1}{2}$ | .....                   |
| Idaho ....              | 3,074              | 2,611,481                      | 71 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 600                     |
| Iowa .....              | 393                | 1,258                          | 3                   | .....                   |
| Kansas ..               | 990                | 102,026                        | 105                 | .....                   |
| Minn ....               | 7,979              | 4,747,941                      | 596 $\frac{2}{3}$   | .....                   |
| Montana                 | 11,214             | 10,591,360                     | 944 $\frac{1}{2}$   | .....                   |
| Nebr. ....              | 3,701              | 136,947                        | 37                  | .....                   |
| Nevada                  | 1,560              | 954,135†                       | 611 $\frac{1}{2}$ ‡ | 6,815                   |
| N. Mex.                 | 25,998             | 10,002,525                     | 384                 | .....                   |
| Oregon ...              | 4,520              | 2,075,240                      | 425                 | 800                     |
| Utah ....               | 2,213              | 3,972,480                      | 1,795               | 390                     |
| Wash. ....              | 7,692              | 4,045,284                      | 526                 | 2,000                   |
| Wy. ....                | 1,945              | 2,342,400                      | 1,204 $\frac{1}{4}$ | .....                   |
| Total ..                | 213,245            | 115,073,169                    | 595 $\frac{1}{2}$ ‡ | 18,955                  |

\* Increased by recent Executive order.

† Including areas of lakes.

‡ Average.

The mode of life formerly followed by the Indians, and on account of which the reservations were first established, has now become impossible by the disappearance of nearly all the large game about them. The usefulness of the reservations in that respect is therefore at an end, and whether the Indians are permitted to live perpetually on the bounty of the government or not, the latter will ultimately be compelled to limit them to the use of as much land as will support them by productive industry, and no more. It may here be asked: Can the Indians be civilized and made industrious enough to support themselves? Two answers may be had to this. Those whose business interests and patronage would be impaired by the extinction of the Indian title to the reservations, by the cessation of eleemosynary gifts to the Indians and of large appropriations for their maintenance, will contend that civilization and productive industry are impossible, while those who have lived among the Indians, and made a study of their antecedent and present life, will maintain the contrary. To the former class belongs that part of the people of the Western States and Territories in immediate contact with the Indians, and many of them bear the same relation to the Indians and to the reservations that wreckers bear to a stranded ship. These are also very frequently the prime factors in producing and aggravating the discontent that often leads to war, which when it comes, affords them a harvest that is reaped by them from the Indians and the government alike. We know, however, that at a time and under conditions that correspond to the state of European civilization in the sixteenth century, a few Franciscan missionaries in California, in the short space of about fifty years, completely and permanently changed the life, habits, and social condition of the Indians there, and made of them the herders, agriculturists, builders and artisans who laid the foundation of the industry and prosperity of that part of the State in



which they lived. We have also the evidence of army officers who have served with both the so-called wild and the sedentary tribes that the industrial civilization of the Indians is possible and natural, and that it is very much desired by a majority of the Indians themselves. Of course, as to civilization, a qualifying standard cannot be attained without a probationary transition, which must take some time; and as to industrial pursuits, we know that even among the tribes of the plains many Indians have successfully fitted themselves for and followed them up to the limit permitted by their environment; but while the reservation exists as such, without law, without security for life or property, without protection for the product of industry, with its open field and free scope for the maintenance of barbarous practices, superstitions, and traditions, and an asylum for the dangerous criminals of both races, any sensible movement in the line of civilization will be impossible; and the field in which mechanical skill and industrial advancement can be extended and recompensed will be limited by the same conditions, and hedged about by a barrier beyond which the Indian is known only as an interloper or an enemy. The only uncertain thing in the case is as to how the necessary change can be successfully made, for a change must be made, and soon.

The severalty land law, passed and approved in 1887, against a long and pessimistic opposition, will, in the fulness of time, if time will permit, effect much in promoting the movement to dissociate the tribe, and establish the independence of the family and the individuality of the person; but its application, which is chiefly at the discretion of the President, through his advisers, can only be slow and uncertain at the very best, and even may lapse indefinitely, from some cause now unseen. The severalty law, like the treaties made heretofore, was designed to meet an immediate necessity, in good faith, and in the belief that it was the best that could be done and sufficient for the future. It is not a new measure. In special cases it has been in effect already for a quarter of a century, with exceptional results that were thought to be sufficient to justify the specious opposition to the law as a measure of general relief.

At the rate at which the severalty allotments are being made now, it will take a hundred years to fully accomplish the purpose of the law, a rate so disproportionate to the rapidity with which all other changes and reforms are made in this rapid-moving age that it must be apparent that the provisions of the bill will in the end prove to be a complete failure and perhaps at a time when it will be impossible to remedy it; and thus the want of foresight and provision that has always characterized the government's dealing with the Indians and its legislation for them must be perpetuated, with attendant and unforeseen disastrous and criminal consequences. If it is only by legislation that this most necessary reform can be accomplished, why not amend the severalty law, and make its application to all Indians and all reservations mandatory and immediate? The objection to this will be that the great majority of the Indians are unprepared for it, and they must first be qualified for the obligations and responsibilities that the change will impose upon them. If a point of time in the misty future of the Indians could be discerned as that at which this preparation might be considered ample, there would be some cogency in the argument that some delay for this purpose would be wise, though we have many reasons to doubt any diminution of the forces that antagonize the measure, and of the dangers that may fall upon and put an end to it in the mean time. It will not suffice to allege that the government has the power and the present determination to provide for the gradual and regular application of the law as it now stands, because it cannot and will not do it in time. A more practicable and expeditious plan will have to be devised, one that will not subject the Indians to the trial and delay necessary to enable them to exhibit satisfactory evidence of evolu-

tion to enable them to obtain what belongs to them now, and what they need more than anything else. Hundreds of thousands of citizens and many who are not citizens, have had and still have the full benefit of the land laws without any higher qualification industrially or intellectually than either the Sioux or the Apache Indians, and nineteen-twentieths of the Indians who now have land in severalty are better and more industrious farmers than the lawless boomers who threaten the invasion of the reservations. It is not essential that in giving the Indians homesteads they be invested with civil rights in full, or that the general government relinquished authority and control over them. The right of the Federal government to legislate for and control the Indians is a necessity paramount to every other necessity, and cannot be abandoned until the Indians are qualified in fact for the exercise of civil rights, no matter how long a time it may take; but in the meantime the Indians, their property, their relative and natural rights, and the reservations on which they live, should be brought under the provisions of the law and the jurisdiction of the courts, for in any scheme for the civilization of the Indians, under the reservation system or otherwise, this is indispensable as a starting-point.

Without it, the immense sums annually appropriated for beneficial objects and for alleged education are only wasted in official patronage, and as it has been apparent for some years that the Indian Bureau as at present organized is incapable of enlarging its sphere of activity, or even of giving effect to the present legislative provisions for the care and control of the so-called wild tribes, some provision should be made, by law if necessary, by which these may be brought under an administrative control that will bring about the contentment and the habit of obedience so necessary before subjecting them to the hitherto unknown restraints of the law and the courts; for should these be imposed upon them while their present mood of discontent, uncertainty, and apprehension exists, it cannot be doubted that their antagonism and disaffection would be aggravated by it, and that the inception of the measure would be a discouragement, and perhaps a failure. There can be no doubt, however, of the desire of the Indians generally for the protection afforded by the courts, especially in the matter of forts and other adjudications between themselves. In California it is not an uncommon thing for the non-reservation Indians to make a tender of taxes to the collector, in the belief that such protection can be obtained in this way.

The inefficiency of the bureau for any practical work of the kind now necessary, the irresponsibility of its personnel, and the ease and facility with which its administrative powers and its resources can be utilized by the predatory politicians of whichever party may be in possession of the government, forbid the hope that its control and management of the discontented and restless tribes can have any other results than those that have obtained under these conditions heretofore. Fraud and peculations that no safeguards can prevent, and neglects and abuses that are borne until they become unendurable, and are disclosed by a demonstration or an outbreak, will be the rule while the present system lasts. As this paper is being written, intelligence comes that the remnant of old Big-Foot's band has fled from the Cheyenne River Agency to Pine Ridge to put themselves under the protection of the army officer in charge at that place, and simultaneously comes the news that at the agency from which they fled a fraud amounting to about \$25,000 has been uncovered by the inspectors.

As these things must recur at intervals, and go on indefinitely, reacting upon the Indians by giving cause for discontent and want of confidence in the government and its agents, it might be worth while to allow General Miles to revive and give a trial to the plan he proposed to the government last winter for the pacification of the Indians and the settle-

ment of the difficulties that beset the work of their civilization under the present management.

There can be no doubt that contentment and permanent peace would follow such a measure, and that the work that the bureau has essayed and promised so many years would be speedily advanced to a stage from which the ultimate destiny of the Indians—absorption in the multitude comprising the American nation—could be rapidly and peacefully accomplished under the ordinary provision of the laws and the protection of the courts.

#### CATHOLIC INDIAN CONFERENCE AND CELEBRATION OF THE ERECTION OF A NEW CHURCH.

At the celebration on the Fourth of July of the completion of a new Catholic church erected by Miss Frances Drexel at the Cheyenne River Agency, South Dakota, and dedication thereof, the associated press dispatches say that 6,000 Sioux Indians took part, and that the exercises which were of a purely religious nature, the dedication being conducted by Bishop Marty and of the most impressive character, were followed by a magnificent dog feast, which surpassed in splendor any previous gastronomic performances. The afternoon was devoted to races, shinny and other sports.

##### A Different View of the Affair.

A private letter from Cheyenne River Agency shows the true situation there on the Fourth and how the Press dispatches misrepresented the number of Catholic Indians in attendance at the dedication exercises of their new church.

The letter says:

"I am delighted with the opportunity to explain some outrageous statements in relation to the proceedings of the Catholic Congress, which assembled here on the 3rd of this month and continued in session four days, and our 4th of July celebration, which some correspondents—or men claiming that distinction—sent broadcast over the land. In the first place the attendance here, which was very large, was greatly magnified. Instead of being 6,000 or 7,000 there were probably, 3,000, possibly 3,500—no more, certainly. The fact that it was the week in which the annual enumeration of Indians residing on this Reservation occurred made the attendance at the Agency about three or four times the number it would otherwise have been. Then again the protestant Indians had arranged for and conspicuously advertised an interesting program for the celebration of the glorious 4th. This brought many from a distance, as, you know, the red man is so far advanced in civilization as to love a summer outing like the pale face, and jumps at any excuse to secure the coveted pass. Our ration day happened to fall on the 4th, and our population needed no other excuse to put in an appearance at the Agency on that day.

Previous to the assembling of the Catholic Congress the principal men had asked and obtained permission to bring to the Agency on this occasion twenty head of beef cattle of their own and kill them in order that they might properly entertain their friends who would visit them at this time from other agencies. It was stipulated, however, that one condition would be exacted, and that was the beeves they were to slaughter belonging to themselves should be slaughtered by them without any assistance from the government and be slaughtered in the government slaughter house. This proposition was cheerfully assented to; and but two beeves were killed at any other place. The police were instructed to, and did, see that cattle were not killed at any other place, and only two as above mentioned, were the exception.

Instead of 200 police on duty as reported only the regular force of 25 men and two officers were engaged in keeping order, etc.; and, to the everlasting credit of the large assemblage, not even that number were required.

The Catholics present numbered not to

exceed 1500 or 1600. None of the leaders, from the Bishop down to the lowest priest save one only, visited the office until they were taking their departure, when Bishop Marty and his retinue of priests and followers stopped, went and said "good-bye."

Neither the Agent, Government officials or employees were invited to be present either at the dedication of the new Catholic church or to any session of their Congress, and none of them attended any of their exercises. The Agent told the local priest that the Catholic church had been working among the Indians several hundred years and that today the followers of the Pope were no farther advanced in civilization, learning or wisdom because of the ministrations of that church and their priests than when they first commenced to draw from poor "Lo" Peter's pence. The Bishop and high priest absented themselves from our Fourth of July exercises.

As to the fifth quarter, Agent Thompson addressed the Indians upon the significance of the Fourth of July, on the great and lasting benefits to be derived all through life by civilization and education and advised them as they valued the happiness of their loved young, they should, one and all, see to it that every Indian youth be guaranteed the priceless boon of an education, which was freely and urgently tendered them by a great and magnanimous nation and people.

He also, spoke of the high death rate among the people on this Reservation, and stated that much of the wailing and the anguish in numberless tepees throughout the Reservation could have been saved by discarding the moccasin and discontinuing the use of the fifth quarter, (the entrails—Ebr.) to which he attributed very largely the prevalence of so much sickness and many deaths; and conjured them to seek light on this subject from learned men and be guided aright in the matter. He closed by saying they could not hope to become civilized and at the same time maintain such uncivilizing practices.

He, also, referred to the long hair worn by those farthest from civilization, and advised those Indians present to forsake it and wear well fashioned clothes, like other men.

In closing, the Agent spoke of a matter personal to himself, which was the unjust criticism and abuse the newspapers of this state because of his enforcement of the provisions of one Article in the treaty of 1868 prohibiting the crossing of the reservation by white persons without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained.

A short time ago some whites attempted to cross the western part of the reservation and were turned back by the Agent. Some of the newspapers got hold of the incident and commented very harshly upon Mr. Thompson for doing so. To show that he was right in what he did, he read two sections of the treaty of the United States with these Indians from the treaty of 1868 as follows:

Article 2. The United States hereby solemnly agrees that no persons, except those herein designated and authorized to do so, and except such officers, agents and employees of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in the discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon or reside in territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians.

Article 16. (This article mitigates article 2.) The United States hereby stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or, without the consent of the Indians first obtained, to pass through the same. \*"

From a local paper printed near the Agency, we gather facts which shows that the celebration of the Fourth of July, mentioned in above letter, was really the conspicuous event at the Agency at that time and that this more than the other should have gone out to the country. It seems however that just now loyalty to the United States is side tracked and that loyalty to Rome has the right of way.



## INDIAN SOLDIERS.

As a valuable contribution to the best spirit of the movement to incorporate the Indian into the regular army, we feel warranted in giving our readers the following letter from Captain Clapp, commanding the Indian company in the 16th Infantry:

FORT DOUGLAS, UTAH, July 22, 1892.  
MY DEAR CAPTAIN PRATT:

Your letter has been handed me by William C. Bull, who reported for duty this morning, having arrived in good condition. He gave me your kind messages. I am very glad to have Bull, especially that you so highly recommend him, and shall do all I can to advance him and supplement the good he has gained while under your charge.

I am very much gratified at the progress and good behavior of my men. They are already quite well drilled. They are obedient and good natured, have learned habits of personal neatness and order: they take good care of their clothing and are marked for their bearing and behavior. Lastly, they are more temperate and orderly than any company in the garrison.

Some weeks ago Mr. George W. Childs was here with a party and was much interested. He requested me to write an article for publication, which I did and which was printed in the *Public Ledger* of June 28th. If you care to read my views on the subject of Indian Soldiers, I refer you to that paper.

Until July 1st., I had school nightly for my men and shall resume when the weather cools. All of the men now sign their names and most of them have made good progress in reading and writing. I wish you could see these men and observe how well they are doing. I am indeed proud of their record and advancement. I have not very long to remain with them, but shall give them my time and best effort to do all in my power for their welfare. Five of them have their wives here and these also are doing well. I am very willing and glad to bear testimony to the good qualities of the Indian and his capacity for citizenship when properly managed.

Wishing you all success in the work now engaging your attention and with thanks for your kindness, I remain,

Ever truly your friend,  
W. H. CLAPP.

## DR. LIPPINCOTT.

We are gratified to learn that our good friend, Rev. Dr. Lippincott, pastor of the First Methodist Church, of Topeka, Kansas, who formerly was one of Dickinson's honored professors, a part of which time he served our school so acceptably as chaplain, has received a call from the Arch Street Methodist Church of Philadelphia. It will be remembered that Dr. Lippincott left Carlisle a few years ago, to accept the Chancellorship of the University of Kansas. The following complimentary clippings speak for themselves:

To-day's *Topeka Capital* announces that Rev. Dr. Lippincott, pastor of the First Methodist church of that city, has received a call from the Arch Street Methodist church in Philadelphia, and that he will probably accept. A formal request was presented Thursday evening to the quarterly conference of the church, and it was granted with many expressions of regret and affection for Dr. Lippincott. He will assume charge of his new field early in September.

Dr. Lippincott is so well known in this city as ex-chancellor of the University and pastor of the Methodist church that his large circle of friends will be pained to hear of his removal from the state. Though his loss will be much felt, the best wishes of his friends will go with him to his new field of labor.—[*Lawrence Journal*, July 8.]

## A LOSS FOR TOPEKA.

The Popular Pastor of the First Methodist Church Called to Philadelphia, and He Will Probably Accept.

Rev. Dr. Lippincott, pastor of the First Methodist church of this city, will probably remove to the east in the early autumn.

A communication from Bishop Foss has been received inquiring whether he is willing to accept a transfer to the Phil-

adelphia conference and an appointment to the Arch Street church in that city. The Bishop makes a formal request of the official board of the First church, asking that they release their pastor for the purpose of this transfer. A letter has also been received by Bishop Ninde asking his co-operation that the transfer may be brought about in a manner satisfactory to all the parties to the change. It is unusual to make such a transfer in the middle of the conference year, but it is believed that there is sufficient time to satisfy every interest. The request of Bishop Foss was formally presented on Thursday evening to the quarterly conference of the First church, and it was granted with many expressions of regret and of affection for Dr. Lippincott. The needs of the church in Philadelphia will require that he assume pastoral care there by the middle of September.—[*Topeka Capital*, July 8.]

## THE KIWAS AND COMANCHES DYING.

The Indians are still dying around Anadarko and about over the reservation, like diseased sheep. Measles is the prime cause of so many deaths. By marrying strictly within the limits of their own tribe from time immemorial, every member of each small tribe becomes of close blood kin to every other member, and rheumatism, consumption, scrofula, and all manner of blood taint and inherent weakness is steadily transmitted in increasing volume from generation to generation, until the wild Indian is now but little more than a physical wreck at his best.—[*Muscogee Phoenix*.]

The following letter from Rev. Joshua Given, one of Carlisle's first pupils, and now a Presbyterian Minister, substantiates the truth of the above statement:

ANADARKO, I. T.

MY DEAR SISTER: I received your good letter only a few days ago and your report pleased me ever so much. You must always endeavor to do and live right, for in so endeavoring, you will always be rewarded.

The health of the Kiowa people at this particular time is poor. The measles are working vigorously upon the children especially, and up to date, there has been buried some forty or sixty children, young men and young women. It is perfectly awful the way our people are dying. I certainly believe that an evil spirit is determined to do up the Kiowas; to say nothing about the Comanche and Apache children. Brother Zebile lost his young son three weeks ago. Cousin Koi-poodle-hau lost his son and Man-slip lost his too. The rest of our immediate relatives are well.

I have just returned from Fort Sill, last evening where I held a very good religious meeting with the U. S. soldiers.

There were some fifty Indian soldiers present and some twelve whites. We sang in the Gospel Hymnal No. 10. After which, the fourteenth chapter of St. John was read. I preached from this chapter, the first verse. Of course all my preaching is done in Indian, excepting where I have white congregations. After service I buried two Indian babies who had died with the measles.

Came home last evening, and Uncamah and Orrin were very glad to see their papa come home again. Uncamah said, "Oh dear, oh dear!" My children are well. Please write me soon. We are all well. With much love to you, I am your brother,  
JOSHUA H. GIVEN.

## THE FOURTH AT KEAMS CANYON SCHOOL.

### Indians as Unwilling to Keep Pupils in Home Schools as in Those Remote.

In a letter received last month, Annie Thomas says:

"We are getting the children ready to go home for a seven weeks' vacation. Saturday morning all were up early. The old Indians had their horses saddled about four o'clock in the morning; didn't get their children off until ten o'clock. Some of course were inclined to be ugly about sending their children back to school at the end of seven weeks.

Mr. Collins held a regular Indian council with them. He told them that he wasn't going to let the children go home

unless they shook hands with him which would be the understanding that the children would come back. It was a long time before they gave their hand to Mr. Collins. After the council was over the children formed in two lines and half a bar of soap was given to each boy and girl.

On the Fourth, our children had quite a celebration. In the morning nothing unusual occurred. Mr. Keam invited us all down to his place for the afternoon. After dinner the children were driven down in open wagons.

He had a 'Grand Stand,' as they called it, put up; red, white and blue stood out bright over doors and on beams of the 'Grand Stand.' It was quite a unique affair. Indians in gay costumes.

There were horse racing, foot and burro racing by the Indians, tug of war by our school and a foot race by four of our smallest boys. Mr. Keam gave prizes to the best horse race \$5 and then of course second and third prizes.

In the evening our school gave an open air entertainment which consisted of songs, speaking and drills. After the programme was carried out, Mr. Keam set off some fireworks which was a rare treat to the children.

And so this was the way our Fourth of July was celebrated in the canyon.

Dr. and Mrs. Dorchester were our guests some two weeks ago."

## SHE APPRECIATES THE ADVANTAGES OF COUNTRY LIFE.

"I shall never forget that picnic on 6th of July. The 'Quakers' are such kind people. We Indian girls received on all sides kindness and bright smiles which made our picnic day like a dream of joy and delight.

I found I—W— in her nice cosy home with Mrs. —.

I— is just as happy as any one. She has one of the best homes in the country. I was stopping with her and will never forget my visit to Mrs. —'s house. How kind she was to me, while there. Mrs. — is just like a mother to I—. I— ought to be a happy girl.

I do not see how she could be lonesome when all the family are just full of kindness with bright smiles and love for Indians. If I— could only see the difference between her own home and her country home, she would see the great difference in her two homes.

We do not get out as much as some girls, but we are just as happy as birds in the trees. I am well satisfied with my country home. The people here are so very kind to us both."

## THANKFUL FOR LIGHT.

George Ladeaux, a Sioux boy in a Country home, says:

"I am among the white people here talking to them and they talking to me as though they were my own people. When I was at home I could not understand a great deal of English, but now when they speak to me I can understand so plainly, therefore I feel proud of what I have learned and feel thankful for it and I thought I would express this thing to you.

When you went to my home in Dakota, and you wanted me to come to Carlisle I thought at first I would not learned such things as I have now. I learned many things that I never thought of learning then. Today I am thankful for you take me to east. When I learned these things I feel that I could see through the whole world because I was in the darkness at home, seemed like blind man."

## ARROW HEADS FROM THE INDIAN'S FRIEND.

Artemus Ward used to have a great deal to say about his "show business;" if he had lived in these days what an opportunity he would have to make fun of the firm of W. B. Cody and Uncle Sam who are in partnership in the wild west show.

The individual Indian may be lazy, but that isn't because he is an Indian; the great army of tramps is composed entirely of white men.

## NOT WELL TO BE "TOO CIVILIZED."

It seems that a Jesuit priest has undertaken to enlighten the public in reference to what kind of education the Indians need. Of course he objects to "non-sectarian" schools because they eliminate Christianity, which we suppose in his dialect means, they do not teach the pupils that Roman Catholicism is the only true faith. He would prefer to "let the savage live and die in his native barbarism rather than to have him educated in a non-sectarian school. To train an Indian to be a physician, or a lawyer, or a teacher, or a man of letters, is altogether too high an aim. All that he needs is just the rudiments of a common education, such as spelling, reading, writing, and perhaps a little arithmetic. He would have the Indian just fitted for menial service and unremunerative toil; anything more would make him "too civilized." This writer is a representative of a class of men, who are assailing the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, and throwing in their way all possible obstacles to effective work in behalf of the Indians.—[*Hartford Religious Herald*.]

## INDIAN TERRITORY PROUD OF ITS REPRESENTATION.

For the first time in the history of this country has the Indian Territory been recognized as a factor in the great body politic of America. The criterion established at Minneapolis cannot well be revoked in future years. We of this country are a part of the United States and have a right to exercise the functions of other territories. We stand for the first time on an equal footing politically with New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Alaska. The fact that the great conventions where Presidents are made open their doors to the Indian Territory is a striking admission of our near approach to statehood. The Indian Territory can only nominally now be considered a "wheel within a wheel." It is rather a part and parcel of the great machinery of one government and one people. \* \* \* Representation in the national conventions is but a forerunner to representation in the halls of congress. Thereafter the steps to statehood are swift.—[*Muscogee Phoenix*.]

## SHE VIEWS THE SITUATION PHILOSOPHICALLY.

Marian King writes from her country home:

"Well I must tell you about my new country home. It seemed to me the days and weeks have passed so quickly, because we always so busy. But I don't mind how busy I am this summer. We both of us well and happy. Mary and I never get lonesome. We always joyful. Don't make any difference we work all day. We did get lonesome on fourth, because it was nothing going on in this country and we work morning till night. We just say never mine, I suppose good many of the boys and girls work all day, but at first I thought we was the only one."

## REINDEER TRANSPLANTED.

Dr. Sheldon Jackson visited Siberia last summer, and by barter with the natives obtained a few strong and well-developed reindeer, which were transferred to the island of Ounalaska, in the North Pacific, and placed in charge of a white keeper, who has fed them with his own hands. Dr. Jackson reports that he finds them this year as plump and vigorous as they could have been in their native haunts.

Miss Helen W. Ludlow, the editor of the *Southern Workman* and Dr. M. M. Waldon, resident physician of the Hampton Normal School, Va., are spending the summer in California. Miss Ludlow has been twenty years connected with the Hampton School.

General Armstrong, Principal of Hampton Normal Institute, is spending his vacation in Vermont.