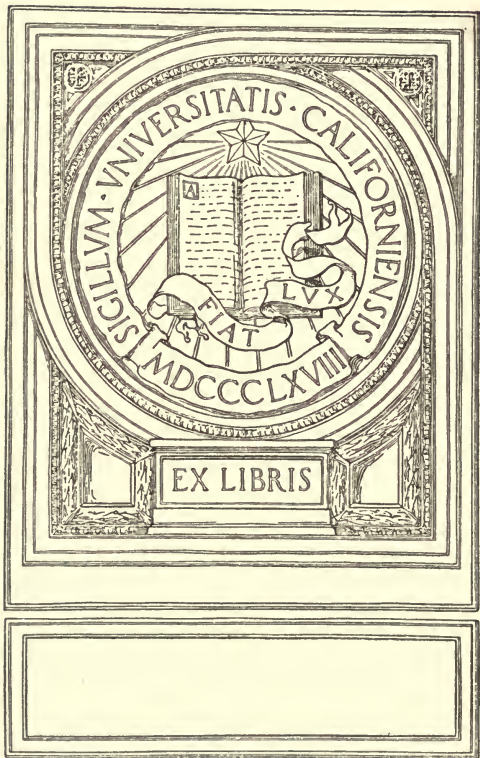


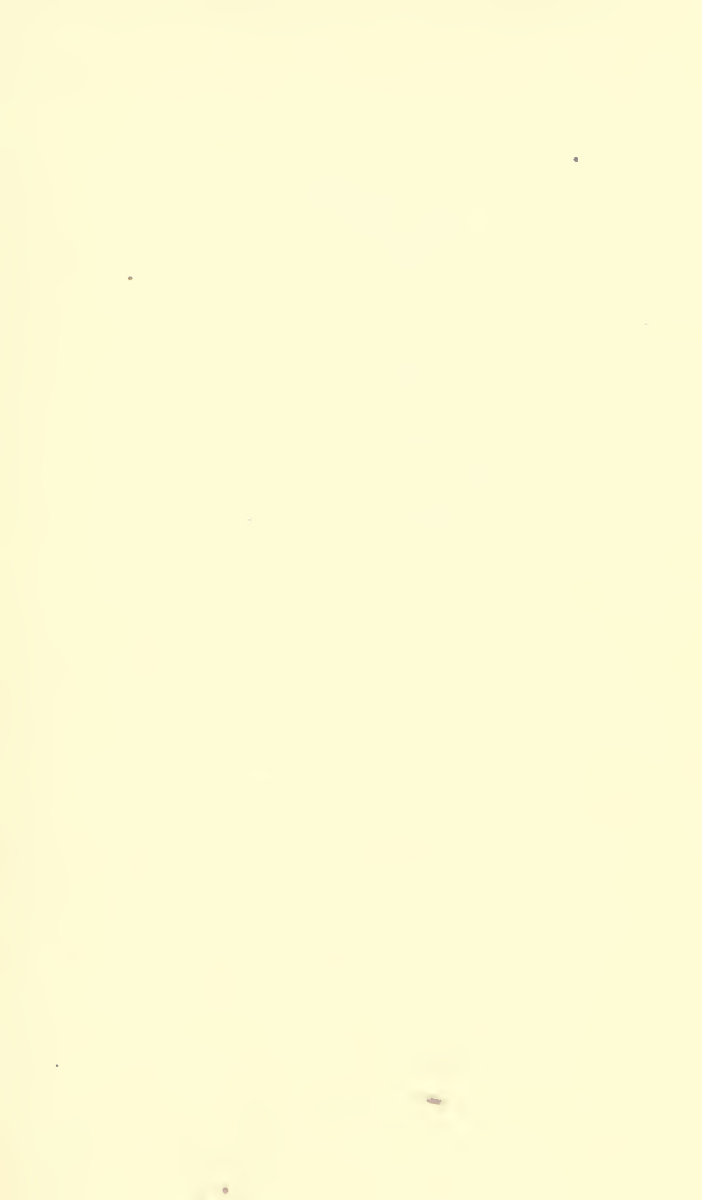
THE INDIAN'S SIDE
OF
THE INDIAN QUESTION

WILLIAM BARROWS



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THE INDIAN'S SIDE
OF THE
INDIAN QUESTION

BY

WILLIAM BARROWS D D

Author of

"Oregon: the Struggle for Possession:"

"The United States of Yesterday and of To-morrow:"
and others.

Hæc mea sunt: veteres migrate coloni

— VIRG. ECL. IX.

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INTRODUCTION.

SERIOUS trifling with the Indian question seems to be coming to a close. The "nations" of colonial times, and the "high contracting parties" whom the Republic met as apparent equals during its first ninety years, have come down to draw rations under the drum-beat, or to be blanketed and continental tramps. In the last analysis of the Indian, in Congress and on the border, he is discovered to be simply a man, and more or less like all Americans; and the recent and so far final proposition is to treat him as an American. In coming to this we have had a tedious, annoying, nugatory, and mortifying series of theories, experiments, and makeshifts. Meanwhile, there has been an apparent decline in their numbers, from the highest official maximum, of "about 300,000," in 1872, to 259,244 in 1885.

We are now entering an era of hope for the Indian, under the Dawes Bill; and though he is at first to have a qualified citizenship in passing out of the state of a ward, his rights are not to be abridged on account of race or

previous condition. But as all rights, privileges, and immunities do not, practically, come directly to one out of the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, but are filtered to him with more or less freedom and purity through the surrounding community, and as the success of this bill lies with the border whites, it has been thought best to mark off, historically, the leading and constant obstacles heretofore to Indian civilization. Hence this unpretending treatise. Only official documents are used to give it force.

No law is self-operating ; somebody must use it favorably, if the subject of it has its advantages ; and intermeddling opponents must be held in check by hands friendly to the end of the law. Hitherto statute provisions for the Indians, and often wise and good, have been made powerless by a third party intervening between the government and the Indians—interested, scheming, self-seeking white men, on the border and in Washington. There was once a white border belt, poorly civilized, and with many in it decivilized, but now, interpenetrating and commingling, these men have quite destroyed border-lines.

Hitherto the work of the general government and of benevolent organizations, in the lines of education and of religion, has been thwarted

by white men quite reckless of both civil and moral restraints. This has been a constant force, both at Washington and among the Indians, hindering their civilization. Greed for Indian lands, miserable white neighborhood life, and base passion have been the constant enemy of Indian elevation, and have often added to his barbarism and profligacy. Moreover, the average sentiment west of the Mississippi concerning the Indian is that he is a worthless remnant of his race, and incapable of elevation to the average American grade; and it is no harsh judgment to express that the two-thirds of our domain thus indicated would greatly prefer a civil and moral quarantine between them and an Indian community — the breadth of a State or Territory. This is the gentler way with some of saying that the best Indian is a dead Indian. I once saw an unpopular candidate carry, as with a whirlwind, a doubtful campaign in Colorado, under the popular war-cry, "The Ute must go!"

Now, however high-toned and humane a bill may be which gains the assent of Congress, the administration of it for the wards of the nation must look for its force and temper and fidelity in the regions bordering on the Indian reservations and ranges. A law enacted on the Potomac is still subject to the veto of local

option on the Columbia or Missouri or Colorado. Climate does not more inevitably and irresistibly modify the human constitution, when one removes from the land of his nativity, than does the popular will the working efficiency of a United States law perfectly constitutional, which has started off from the halls of Congress.

Our failures in the Indian policies for a century have not come so much from the lack of fair legislation. We have had good laws enough for ends sought. Nor have the failures come so much from the quality of this unfortunate race as if it were effete, worthless, and impossible of elevation. The ends sought by the law have not been desired in those sections of the country where the law must be administered, and by the people who must administer it. This has heretofore been the point of fatal weakness in our government policy for the aborigines. Our first chapter in this book is painfully abundant with evidence on this point.

The Dawes Bill opens a new era in this branch of our national work, and it is beyond doubt the best thing possible in the line of the government, so far as it goes. It embodies a discovery, which has cost the expensive and sad experiments of two centuries, that the Indian must be made and treated as an Amer-

ican citizen. It, however, does not contemplate the removal or neutralization of the force which has made the most of our preceding laws and labors fruitless. In the diagnosis of this great national infirmity or malady, the main cause has been assigned to the red man, and the medicines have been given to him. Perhaps the bill goes as far as the government can go in its side of the work. What remains to make the new era a successful one, the people must do.

In the regions more intimately affected by the Indian question, there is need of introducing a civil, social, and moral constabulary—a picket-line of principles and of sentiments, which will constrain a superior neighbor to be a good one to an inferior neighbor. The declaration of now almost seventy years, made by the venerable and Christian Cherokee in Georgia, is yet to be disproved: “No Cherokee or white man with a Cherokee family can possibly live among such white people as will first settle this country.”

A grand opportunity is now offered by this bill to solve the Indian question by saving the Indian race; Congress gives the chance, and the people must do the work. Here appears one of the choicest features of our government, that under the protecting approbation

of law the people may crown our civilization with the associated philanthropies and charities and beatitudes. These do not come of legislative enactment, nor are they established by majority vote. The bill opens the way, and waits for the arrival, on the interior plains and rivers and mountains of our country, of the sacrifice, and romance, and heroism, and humane and Christian devotion, which we have so nobly bestowed on the Ganges and Euphrates, and the wilds of Africa, and the islands of the sea.

WILLIAM BARROWS.

READING, MASS., November, 1887.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN AND HIS WHITE NEIGHBORS.

SECTION I. — Good Old Colony Times	13
II. — Another Side of the Indian Question,	22
III. — How Much Can the Government Do?	33
IV. — The Army and the Indian	44
V. — The Courts as Protectors of the Indian Rights	48
VI. — Encouragement lies in Broader Work,	51

CHAPTER II.

THE CHEROKEE EXPERIMENT. THE RESERVATION SYSTEM A FAILURE.

SECTION I. — Indian Farmers among White Far- mers	56
II. — Mixed Society; The Civilizing In- dian; The Wild Indian; The Hostile White Man	61

SECTION III. — Indian Civilization Adjourned . . .	66
IV. — Indian Civilization Fatally Struck . . .	68
V. — Border White Men Superior to the United States	72
VI. — The Sad Journey of Sixteen Thousand into Exile	74
VII. — Another Morning Overclouded . . .	76
VIII. — Forebodings, and the Doom of the Reservation Theory	81

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN FARMING.

SECTION I. — Some Very Singular Assumptions . . .	86
II. — Early Indian Farming in New Eng- land, New York, Missouri, New Mexico, Georgia, Canada, Michi- gan, Iowa, Florida, Minnesota, Dakota	89
III. — The Best Indian Farms the farthest from White Neighborhood . . .	101
IV. — The Encroachments of Immigrants and the Violation of Treaties as related to Indian Farming . . .	104
V. — British Columbia and its Indians . . .	111
VI. — Uncertainty of Residence and Indian Farming Impossible	125
VII. — Still Experimenting on Indian Poli- cies and Invading Indian Farms . . .	132

CHAPTER IV.

DO THE AMERICAN INDIANS INCREASE OR DECREASE ?

SECTION I. — The Number of Indians in Early New England	138
II. — The Number of Indians East of the Mississippi in 1820	141
III. — Examples of Decrease beyond the Mississippi	148
IV. — Some Personal Investigations	154
V. — Increase or Decrease in California,	157
VI. — The Government Census quite Im- perfect, yet Shows much Decrease,	163
VII. — Some Unpleasant Conclusions	166
VIII. — English Partnership in the Indian Decrease	170
IX. — Has American Christianity done its Best to Preserve the Indian?	171
CONCLUSION	175
INDEX	197



THE
INDIAN'S SIDE OF THE INDIAN QUESTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN AND HIS WHITE NEIGHBORS.

SECTION 1. — *Good Old Colony Times.*

“Notwithstanding one of the ostensible objects of nearly all the royal charters and patents issued for British North America was the Christianizing of the Indian, few could be found equal to the task on arriving here. . . . Adventurers were those, generally, who emigrated with a view of bettering their own condition instead of that of others.”¹

For which those early immigrants are not to be reproached, since the most of the human family emigrate or stay at home for the same reason. Still, we are interested to see how it fared in those early times with the pagan red men.

As early as 1670 Richard Bourne was preaching to the Marshpee Indians on Cape Cod, and even then poor white human nature was

¹ Drake's "Indians," bk. ii. 112.

crowding the Indian from those acres of sand and scrub. He therefore felt constrained to procure from the Court at Plymouth "a ratification of their deeds, and entailment of their lands, bounded by ponds; etc., that were immovable, to these Indians and their children forever." The Court ordained "that no part or parcel of their lands could be bought by or sold to any white person or persons without the consent of all the said Indians, not even with the consent of the General Court."¹

More than two hundred years of painful failures, by government and benevolent organizations, in following up exiled Indians with ploughs and spelling-books and Bibles, have confirmed the "discernment" of the Indian teacher of Sandwich. It has been found, too, that even "ponds" are not immovable as bounds to Indian lands. It was about this time that Edward Randolph, crown commissioner on Indian affairs, wrote to William Penn: "The Indians were never civilly treated by the Government, who made it their business to encroach on the Indian lands, and by degrees drive them out."² John Randolph makes a similar remark a century later: "The

¹ "Plymouth Colony Records" — Mass. His. Soc. Coll., vol. iii. p. 188.

² Freeman's "Aborigines" from 1620, p. 99.

least ray of Indian depredation will be an excuse to raise troops for those who love to have troops, etc.”¹

Nor does all the millennial advance attach to the Penn-Indian treaties which ordinary history is wont to give. In the deed from the Indians to William Penn is this clause of metes and bounds: “all along by the west side of Delaware river, and so between the said creeks, backwards, as far as a man can ride in two days with a horse, for and in consideration of these following goods,” etc. No doubt, the shekels, current money with the merchant, were all right, but the borders lack somewhat the Abrahamic definiteness of the Machpelah lot. That Quaker horse sired a long-lived breed, and at times of wonderful speed. - It seems, too, that the will of William Penn was executed in a bloody war. He bequeathed ten thousand acres to his grandson William, “to be laid out in proper and beneficial places in this province by his trustees.” William sold the unlocated grant to one Allen, a border-land speculator, who took up the amount on territory never conveyed to Penn by the Indians. This he cut up into lots for settlers, and disposed of them by lottery, as Georgia did afterward in exiling the Cherokees,

¹ Letter to Charles Carroll; April, 1791.

in which no recognition was made of Indian rights, nor did those who drew the prizes allow for them when the fact of the wrong was discovered. In this way much of the land in the Forks of the Delaware, the present Easton and vicinity, was first settled by white men, through robbery first, and then gambling. "The Indians were thus crowded from it. They, for some time, complained, and at length began to threaten, but the event was war and bloodshed." ¹

The moral grandeur arising from the equity and peace with which Penn administered his Indian affairs may well keep a place in history. Yet it is not evident why it should stand alone, as if unequalled. The same thing was done throughout New England and New York, only that the immense royal grant to Penn enabled him to furnish a more extended illustration. Twenty years before Penn's noble act, John Pyncheon paid to the Indians an agreeable price for Northampton, the Hadleys, and vicinity, in Massachusetts, "not molesting Indians nor depriving them of their just rights and property without allowance to their satisfaction." These words are in the first document on record in Northampton.

It must not surprise if we here anticipate our

¹ Drake, bk. v. 30.

time in the narrative, to read these passages in the report of John Johnson, Indian agent for Ohio, 1819, on Penn's Indians — about one hundred and thirty years after the will of William Penn was executed. "The Delawares were once very numerous and powerful, but many disastrous wars with the white people reduced them to a mere handful. . . . They are more opposed to the Gospel and the whites than any other Indians with whom I am acquainted. . . . The United States have engaged to remove them west of the Mississippi. . . . Their peculiar aversion to having white people for neighbors induced them to remove to the westward."

The colonial beginnings with the Indians degenerated early, and pious wishes and labors were mostly august failures. In 1675 one Indian was made a Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge, yet the same year the General Court made this entry on its records: "Hereafter no person shall harbor or entertain an Indian." No pains were spared to teach them to read and write, and in a short time a larger proportion of the Massachusetts Indians could do so than the inhabitants of Russia in our day.¹

Eliot taught the men to dig the ground, and the women to spin, and the scholarly ones to

¹ Bancroft's "His. U. S.," ii. 94,

raise the old and still vigorous theological questions:—

“When Christ arose, whence came his soul?”
 “Shall I know you in heaven?” “Our little children have not sinned; when they die, whither do they go?” “When such die as never heard of Christ, where do they go?” “Why did not God give all men good hearts?” “Since God is all-powerful, why did not God kill the devil that made men so bad?”¹

So there came to be the “praying Indians” in Eastern and Southern Massachusetts in 1675. Prior to this, and in 1654, Roger Williams had thus written: “It cannot be hid how all England and other nations ring with the glorious conversion of the Indians of New England.”²

All this seemed most auspicious for the red men, yet the bright vision makes only a short chapter and covers a narrow territory. Bancroft speaks of them as “crowded by hated neighbors, losing fields and hunting-grounds,” and “broken-spirited from the overwhelming force of the English.” Near to these, on the borders of Rhode Island and in it, were the clans of King Philip. “Repeated sales of land had narrowed their domains, and the English had artfully crowded them into the tongues of

¹ Bancroft's “His. U. S.,” ii. 95-6.

² “Plymouth Colony Records,” x. 439.

land. . . . There they could be more easily watched; for the frontiers of the narrow peninsulas were inconsiderable. . . . The English villagers drew nearer and nearer to them; their hunting-grounds were put under culture, and as the ever urgent importunity of the English was quieted but for a season by partial concessions from the unwary Indians, their natural parks were turned into pastures; their best fields for planting corn were gradually alienated; their fisheries were impaired by more skilful methods; and as wave after wave succeeded, they found themselves deprived of their broad acres, and, by their own legal contracts, driven, as it were, into the sea.”¹

Virginia, as well as New England and the new States on both sides of the Mississippi, showed their repugnance to Indian neighbors: “In all these treaties, whether ratified or rejected, the Virginians appear to have been determined to coerce a relinquishment of the Indian lands, either by fair means or foul, and no effort of negotiation or intrigue was omitted to accomplish this purpose,” etc.² Cotton Mather speaks of them for those times as “those doleful creatures, the veriest ruins of mankind

¹ Bancroft's “His. U. S.,” ii. 98-99.

² Monette's “His. Miss. Val.,” vol. i. p. 349.

to be found on the face of the earth," whose "way of living was infinitely barbarous."¹ The first colonists of the Papal, English, and Pilgrim churches opened devoutly with their plans for the welfare of the Indians.

The Bull of Alexander VI., under date of Rome, May 4, 1493, conveyed all lands discovered and to be discovered by the subjects of Ferdinand and Isabella to them and to their royal successors forever. But they were to manage to send to these newly discovered countries, whether continent or island, good men, fearing God, learned and expert, to instruct the inhabitants of these lands in the Catholic faith and in good morals.²

When Philip III. of Spain issued his royal grant to Don Juan de Oñate, in 1602, to colonize and possess New Mexico, beginning with "200 soldiers, horses, cattle, merchandise, and agricultural implements," he ordered that there should go with the colony "six priests, with a full complement of books, ornaments, and church accoutrements."³

In 1626-7 Cardinal Richelieu organized his company of "The One Hundred Associates,"

¹ "Life of Eliot."

² *Deum timentes, doctos, peritos et expertos ad instruendam incolas et habitatores præfatos in Fide Catholica et in bonis moribus imbuendam, etc.*

³ Davis' "El Gringo," p. 73.

to take possession, for France and the Church, of all the territory from Florida to the Arctic and from Newfoundland to the sources of the St. Lawrence. It was a gigantic scheme of colonization to control a wild continent.

One provision of the charter was this: "For every new settlement, at least three ecclesiastics must be provided."¹

Early in the last century a Scotch society was organized to introduce religious and secular teaching among the Indians in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. The Rev. John Brainard was missionary in the first named State, and had residence at Bethel. He was to instruct his Indian charge in "spinning schools," and teach them how to prepare and spin flax.²

As is well known, the English Church follows the English army and colony the world over. As when we assume to do their Home Missionary work in India we find them there planting their creed where they planted their cannon.

In good old times when Church and State were one in Massachusetts, the Great and General Court enacted thus: "It is agreed that hereafter noe dwelling-howse shal be builte above halfe a myle from the meeting-howse in any

¹ Parkman's "Pioneers of France," p. 397.

² "Mag. Am. His.," January, 1885; pp. 95-7.

new plantacion without leauve from the court.”¹

The argument on the union of Church and State is not all on one side ; but when, as in the United States, we assume the negative, a momentous responsibility comes on the church. If the Church had provided that meeting-houses be supplied comfortably near to the dwelling-houses “in any new plantacion” on the frontier, this ugly Indian question and some other border questions could never have so troubled us. Somewhat the responsibility of those questions lies with the Indian Bureau at Washington, that looks after red men ; and somewhat, and more largely, it lies with Missionary Headquarters, that should look after border white men, who have “builte above halfe a myle from the meeting-howse.”

SECTION 2. — *Another Side of the Indian Question.*

Our government and private benevolence are trying, with most commendable specialty, to do a very philanthropic and Christian thing for the Indians. Our “wards of government” more or less under restraining and elevating influences, and exclusive of wild Indians and the Alaskans, were reported

¹ “Colonial Records of Mass.,” i. 157, 181.

officially in 1885 to be 259,244. These are under about seventy agencies, and are without citizenship and without the possibility of ownership in real estate. Results are not satisfactory to white or red man, and there does not yet seem reason for varying — except to give place to an offered experiment — what Indian Commissioner Walker published in 1874: “The true permanent scheme for the management and instruction of the whole body of Indians within the control of the government is yet to be created.”¹ Heretofore we have had the policy of the extempore, a system of shifting expedients, with annual Reports of failures. With temporary and local successes, failure as a whole, and decrease in the number of the “wards,” we have lately come to a very simple remedy for this evil condition of the wasting aborigines. It is citizenship, and personal ownership in the land.

This seems to be the best possible plan for the present. It contemplates the absorption of Indian nationality in American, and a fusion of the two races to the full extent of all civil relations — the social and domestic being left to their own choices and chances.

How far is this theory, or scheme, practicable? We call this — the Dawes Bill — the best possi-

¹ “The Indian Question,” 1874; p. 99.

ble plan for the present. If, therefore, we express any doubts of its success, it will be on its feasibility or practicability. Does not any scheme which contemplates the civilization and preservation of the Indian race require an energized social and moral tone in the sections of the Union where they are, which national legislation and Congressional bills cannot generate and apply? In his "Sketches of Louisiana," Major Stoddard, our first Governor of the Louisiana Territory, says "that any considerable intercourse with the whites has invariably tended to debase and corrupt them" — the Indians.¹ We have yet discovered or acknowledged only one side or one half of the difficulty in the Indian question. If we go no farther in the study of the case, and in the admission of the radical evil, but proceed to a remedy, we are in danger of entering on another experiment, which will perhaps end in failure as all the others have ended.

The new scheme contemplates the total fusion, civilly, of the white and red races, as much as the fusion of any other nationality, German, French, or Swede, with the American, and of course leaves the social and domestic to local and personal option, as is the case with the other races.

¹ Page 410.

Some are discussing the settlement of the vexed Indian question by intermarriages and so the extinction of race line. At the Mohawk Conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1886, an able paper was read on Indian citizenship. The author says:—“That the cause of peace and quietness, the progress of Christian settlement across the continent, and, in short, the welfare of the white races, are involved in the permanent absorption of all the tribes into the American nation, is perhaps a generally recognized fact. Some prejudice, it is true, appears against the idea of admixture or mingling, in the sense of intermarriage and entire loss of race identity. But it is impossible to prevent the mingling of blood on the same soil, even if desirable. A large part of the population enumerated as Indian is now half-breed. . . . We are descended from a common father: God has made us ‘of one blood’; nor have we any right, except that derived from power, to withhold from them any privileges or immunities which we grant to the more civilized people. In all this I do not recommend the intermingling of the races; but I do not fear it . . . the nightmare of a confusion of races.”¹

¹ “Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners,” 1886; pp. 52-3.

The policy here suggested stirs some memories and compels some anticipations. The Hudson Bay Company are largely responsible for the early and prevalent population of the Dominion, who, until lately, have stood with face averted from a lively civilization toward the primitive and hybrid forest life. Their employés were all from the old country and bachelor men, and thence arose that tawny aristocracy of the wilderness, once so characteristic of the North Country. Riel and his followers, who lately, and twice, with a few years intervening, gave the Dominion so much anxiety and labor too, were of the same mingled blood, in the second, and third, and fourth generations. As one goes west and north-west and south-west in our own land, he has the same facts forced on him.

It is not alone the copper color and the peculiar eye and the dark hair and the unmistakable physiognomy in the half-breed race which arrest his attention; but the indolent motions, the unbusiness-like habits, the uninviting home, and the general unthrift thrust themselves on him. All these facts, abundant on both sides of our national boundary, confirm and explain a statement given me in Wyoming by an American who had been a careful observer for forty years of trapper

and trader and mining and ranching life in our wild and interior west: "Half-breed children are short-lived and lack vigor."

The agent for the Crow Indians makes a similar observation: "This agency furnishes an example of men of culture becoming worthless by association with the Indians, while they have contributed nothing toward the elevation of the red man. As a rule, the full-blooded Indian stands a much better chance to become a man than the half-breed. The presence of these men causes more trouble in the management of the Indians than all other causes combined."¹ To make the Dawes Bill effective for its end, there may be needed a larger corps of what Robert South calls "God's police."

The Report for 1886 of the L'Anse and Vieux Desert Reservation gives the number of the Indian population as 694. Of that 320 are full-bloods and 374 are mixed, more than one half. The location of these Indians will be noted as in the region of the early trapper and fur-trader towns of Detroit and Mackinaw. Not only the number of half-breeds here and elsewhere must be considered, but the demoralized condition of society which has produced them.

¹ "Report of Commissioners on Indian Affairs," 1874; p. 262.

As to intermarriage as a remedy for the evils in question, the plan is not new. It was formerly proposed by the Secretary of War, when that department had in charge the Indian field.

General William C. Crawford had been a member of Congress, ambassador to France, and Secretary of War, and aspired to the presidency, but lost the election as against Mr. Monroe. As Secretary of War in 1815, he made a sensational Report on the Indian affairs, with these recommendations:—

“If the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made. Where every effort to introduce among them, the Indian savages, ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriage between them and the whites be encouraged by the government. This cannot fail to preserve the race, with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed that the principles of humanity, in this instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honor to incorporate by a humane and benevolent policy the natives of our forests into the great American family of freemen, than to

receive with open arms the fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or of their virtues.”¹ The most marked effect of this Report was the political execution of its author.

Hitherto and nationally the white side of the Indian question has been kept back. The remark of Secretary Stanton, in 1862, to Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, should head this national question, measure the underlying evils, and shape the remedy.

Admit to their fullest extent the pagan, heathen, and savage qualities of many of the Indians, we must, nevertheless, give the place of prominence to the words of the secretary to the bishop: “If you come to Washington to tell us that our Indian system is a sink of iniquity and a disgrace to the nation, we all know it.” Color the Indian to the darkest and hardest character allowable, by the facts, as a human being for civilization and Christianity to take in hand, still it must be borne in mind that the whites have been the overwhelming party in all Indian transactions, and had everything their own way. We have dictated and broken the most of the treaties, we have necessitated, initiated, and executed the most of the removals, and so far as the Indians have come

¹ Senate Papers, 14th Congress, 1st Session.

under American laws, we have enacted, interpreted, and executed those laws. Generally, wherein they have suffered from breach of treaty, removal, or from failure of law to protect their legal rights, it has been through our mal-administration, or negligence, or sinister design.

Judge Belford, of Colorado, was credited, not long since, with the statement that since our independence the United States has made 929 treaties with 307 Indian tribes and bands. Commissioner Walker, discriminating between tribes and bands, speaks of "nearly 400 treaties confirmed by the Senate, as are treaties with foreign powers."¹ As all know, it was at the will of the government whether these treaties should be observed or broken. The bordering whites and designing men back of them had their own way.

It will be observed that the most of this evil to the red man, and dishonor to the white man, takes place on the frontier, and grows out of an incompatibility of neighborhood between the two races, on their present level, or grade of civilization. The present white civilization of the border does not seem to be able to tolerate the inferior Indian neighborhood, and recognize its natural rights and the claims

¹ "The Indian Question," by Francis A. Walker, 1874.

guaranteed by government. The question has often been put beyond the Missouri, whether the civilization of the East has, or does, or would, in case of occasion, tolerate Indian neighborhood with an elevating sympathy. In his "Across the Continent," page 8, Mr. Samuel Bowles makes this record: "The almost universal testimony of the border men is that there can be no terms made with the Indians. The only wise policy, they aver, is extermination. This is dreadful, if true, but I cannot believe it." To speak in round terms, we have a curving frontier white belt 1600 miles long, and 600 deep, and it is constantly moving on and over Indian lands and reservations and rights, inexorable and irresistible. To stop or turn it would be like meddling with the stealthy shadows of an eclipse. On this belt are concentrated the capital of the old East, and emigrants from all the old States. Interest in that capital, and sympathy for those emigrants, are diffused through the Atlantic half of the country. Under the teachings and trailing influences of two hundred and fifty years the western half of the country has not civil and moral sympathy high enough, any more than the old East had, to endure the Indian as a neighbor, while they settle near enough to cultivate covetousness for

his guaranteed lands. "So far have these forms of usurpation been carried at times in Kansas, that an Indian Reservation there might be defined as that portion of the soil of the State on which the Indians have no rights whatsoever." ¹

"It requires no deep knowledge of human nature, and no very extensive knowledge of congressional legislation, to assume that many and powerful interests will oppose themselves to a readjustment of the Indian tribes between the Missouri and the Pacific, under the policy of seclusion and non-intercourse. Railroad enterprises and land enterprises of every name will find any scheme that shall be seriously proposed to be quite the most objectionable of all that could be offered. Every State, and every territory that aspires to become a State, will strive to keep the Indians as far as possible from its own borders; while powerful combinations of speculators will make their fight for the last acre of Indian lands." ²

This was strong language for a government official to use twelve years ago; and yet the facts have more than fulfilled the prediction.

¹ "The Indian Question," by Francis A. Walker; pp. 77-78; 1874.

² Do., pp. 119-120.

and results are far from honorable to the tone of our supposed civilization. And the intensity of language has hardly measured the greed, the insatiable hunger for Indian land. In explaining and defending his Indian Severalty Bill, Mr. Dawes has thus expressed himself: "We are blind, we are deaf, we are insane, if we do not take cognizance of the fact that there are forces in this land driving on this people with a determination to possess every acre of their land; and they will lose it, unless we work on, and declare that the original owner of the land shall, before every acre disappears from under him forever, have 160 acres of it, when he shall be fitted to become a citizen of the United States, and prepared to bear the burdens as well as share the rights of our government." ¹

SECTION 3.—*How much can the Government do?*

The Ordinance of the North-west Territory made it the duty of the legislature "to observe the utmost good faith towards the Indians; to protect their property, rights, and liberty; and to pass laws, founded in justice

¹ Speech of Senator Dawes, Board of Indian Commissioners, Mohawk Lake Conference, Oct. 13, 1886; "Eighteenth Annual Report," p. 77.

and humanity, for preventing wrongs being done to them." In accordance with this Ordinance, "The bill to prevent the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian towns was passed, at the instance of the missionaries of the Church of the United Brethren, who had made establishments, under authority of Congress, at Shoënbrun, Gnadenhütten, and Salem, on the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum River, then in the County of Washington. The Indians in those settlements had been Christianized, and had made considerable progress in agriculture and the high arts. But when the white people settled in their neighborhood, and began to associate and trade with them, whiskey was introduced into their towns, as a profitable article of traffic. The effect it was producing on their industry and moral habits became alarming, and induced the missionaries to apply to the General Assembly for relief, who granted it promptly, to the extent of the means in their power. . . For a short time the law produced a good effect, but as the white population increased and approached nearer to the villages, it was found impossible any longer to carry it into execution. The result was that the Indians became habitually intemperate, idle, and faithless, the missionaries lost all their influence

over them, and eventually were constrained to abandon the settlements in despair.¹

In his message to the Territorial Assembly of Ohio, in 1800, Governor St. Clair observed that "irrespective of the principles of religion and justice, it was the interest and should be the policy of the United States to be at peace with them; but that could not continue to be the case if the treaties existing between them and the government were broken with impunity by the inhabitants of the Territory. He referred to the well known fact that while the white men loudly complained of every injury committed by the Indians, however trifling, and demanded immediate reparation, they were daily perpetrating against them injuries and wrongs of the most provoking and atrocious nature, for which the perpetrators had not been brought to justice. It was universally known that many of those unfortunate people had been plundered and abused with impunity. Among other things, the governor stated that it would be criminal in him to conceal the fact that the number of those unfortunate people who had been murdered since the peace of Greenville, was sufficient to produce serious alarm for the consequences.

¹ "Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-west Territory." By Jacob Burnet, pp. 211-12, 384.

He added further that a late attempt to bring to punishment a white man, who had killed two adults of the Six Nations, and wounded two of their children, in Trumbull County, proved abortive. Though the perpetration of the homicide was clearly proved, and it appeared manifestly to have been committed with deliberate malice, the prisoner was acquitted.”¹

So far, and in these circumstances, the government failed to protect the red man against the white man. Government in the United States is the voice of the people, and the people have decided against the Indian when questions of equity were involved. We probably never had an army large enough, in times of peace, to picket and protect them.

“From 1821 to 1828 inclusive, the writer of these sketches passed through the latter settlement (the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky) almost every year, and occasionally twice a year, which gave him an opportunity to know that they were devoting themselves principally, and almost exclusively, to agriculture and the arts, and were making rapid advances in civilization, when the policy of the government compelled them to abandon

¹ Burnet's "Notes on the North-west Territory," pp. 323-4.

their farms, dispose of their stock and other property at a great sacrifice, and migrate to the Far West.”¹

Judge Burnet follows this fact with some eminently sensible remarks, and they are as pertinent to-day as they were in 1825: “It is not just to consider the natives of this country as a distinct and inferior race because they do not generally imitate us, when we not only remove every consideration that could induce them to do so, but, in fact, render it impossible. What motive of ambition was there to stimulate them to effort, when they were made to feel that they held their country as tenants at will, liable to be driven off at the pleasure of their oppressors? As soon as they were brought to a situation in which necessity prompted them to industry, and induced them to begin to adopt our manners and habits of life, the covetous eye of the white man was fixed on their incipient improvements, and they received the chilling notice that they must look elsewhere for permanent homes.”²

Unusual space has been given to these extracts from the Notes of Judge Burnet, for two reasons. His official duties called him to a very wide range of country and of ob-

¹ Burnet's "Notes," pp. 386-7.

² Burnet, pp. 388-9.

servation. For the North-west Territory, in which he held court, embraced the present areas of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and when his circuit took him from Marietta to Detroit, he had opportunity to see much of Indian life, and of border white life. Moreover, in this vast territory the government fairly illustrated its principles and policies regarding the natives. The quality and rank of the writer would warrant us also in regarding his observations and opinions as given with a judicious fairness, extending, as they did, over about a third of a century.

In one of his messages to the 23d Congress, President Jackson has an idea of the remedy for the decrease of the Indians, while the remedy which he offers is impossible of application. He properly apprehends the fact that contact with the whites is the destruction of the Indians, and proposes complete isolation, which of course is impossible. "The experience of every year adds to the conviction that emigration [of the Indians], and that alone, can preserve from destruction the remnant of the tribes yet living among us." Now, in the opening of this new Indian era, and the most hopeful one we have ever had, we are confronted with the problem of saving the Indians, not only without emigration,

but rather by a more total commingling with the whites, in real estate ownership side by side, and in mixed industries of a common and equal American citizenship.

Under our present inquiry, How much the Government can do for the preservation of the Indian race, let reference be had to the fourth chapter in this discussion, and to the fourth section, under the title, Some Personal Investigations.

It is probably safe to say that the party administration, which should employ, to the constitutional extent, the civil and military power to enforce our Indian treaties, would not survive to the succeeding presidential election. It is a delusion to think of a power in this nation separate from the people, and administering what is called a government, which is not the will of the people. We have no such thing in the United States, and every law unpopular with the people is at the mercy of "local option" in the court room, if not at the polls.

The administration of Indian affairs has doubtless been in general accord with the wishes of the people of the Great West, and they are more than one half the population, and eight ninths of the territory, dividing the whole country into East and West; and there is a delusion in making three parties — the people, the govern-

ment, and the Indians—and blaming the government as a third party, for being faithless to either or both the other parties. The ground difficulty, in the Indian question, has probably never been more comprehensively and truthfully stated than by the aged Cherokee, above quoted, the father of Catherine Brown, of missionary fame. It was in 1818, and in Georgia. The Cherokees were then starting off in farming, and government promised them ample supplies, and encouragement, and protection. But this border civilization crowded them, and government offered them protection in Georgia, or a new home in the Indian Territory. With a rare foresight of the issues, and against advice of missionaries, this old and gray-haired Cherokee concluded to go over the Mississippi to the New Indian Territory, and gave as the reason: “No Cherokee, or white man with a Cherokee family, can possibly live among such white people as will first settle our country.”¹

That agreed perfectly with Stanton's remark to Bishop Whipple. And indeed it is but the repetition of what John Smith said of the Virginia colony: “Much they blamed me for not converting the savages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse.” In speaking of the destructive influence of frontier and

¹ Tracy's “His. of the Am. Board,” p. 75.

trading men on the Indians, the "Edinburgh Review" has this statement:—

"It has been tried by the French; it has been tried by the English; and it has been tried by the Americans; and in every case the natives have been swept away by war, disease, and famine, and the whites have exhibited a frightful mixture of all the vices of civilized and savage life."¹

The ancient East, where the frontier faded out long ago, can but poorly fancy the real border of to-day, where this Indian question is so intensely and sometimes terribly practical. Hence the birth, on the Atlantic slope, of so many visionary and sentimental and æsthetic theories concerning it. In his admirable History of the Mississippi Valley, Monette outlines the mixed border society of the two races, with a painful fidelity. "The confines between the white man and the savage present human nature in its most revolting aspect. The white man insensibly, and by necessity, adopts the ferocity and the cruelty of his savage competitor for the forests, and each is alternately excited with a spirit of the most vindictive revenge."²

A case comparatively recent is here in point.

¹ "Ed. Review," vol. lxxxii. no. 165, 1845, p. 243.

² Vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

In 1871-2, the Osages, living in Kansas, exchanged their lands with government for a reservation in the Indian Territory. When they started for their new home, uncivilized whites, some 500 of them, rushed ahead and took the reservation, and compelled the Osages to camp outside. The War Department ordered them off, and political pressure prevented the execution of the order till the year following, when the troops found 1500 whites in possession of the Osage lands, and expelled them.

The decivilizing influences of frontier life, and specially in mining and ranching districts, and among those who are emigrant families in the third generation from old colony days, are beyond the comprehension of the staid, theoretic, and untravelled New Englander. Prairies, valleys, and mountain ranges, that have scant copies of the spelling-book, and that seldom or never have echoed the sound of church bells, are not apt to be intelligent and clear-toned on equity, and treaties, and the general rights of person and property and conscience, regardless of race or color. A depot is no perfect substitute for a school-room, or a locomotive bell for a church bell, in carrying civilization into a wild country and among men, unfortunate for two or three generations, in the means of literary, and civil and social elevation.

Of course the government, as well as benevolent societies, has been pressed to make the best possible show of their success in Indian work. When on a visit to the Indian Territory, in 1880, we attended their national fair at Muskogee. It was, as one at the North, for a show of the products of civilization in farming, stock-raising, mechanics, and domestic industries. Excepting a very fine show by the ladies in the latter, the whole was a surprise and disappointment. Official reports of civil and benevolent agents had raised our expectations exceedingly beyond the reality.

A similar delusion was dispelled, with reference to the high educational tone among the Cherokees. Their schools were fair, but it had been impressed on us for years, by reports and speeches, that this Indian tribe excelled the most, if not all the States, in the rate of tax per scholar which it furnished for the common school. We found the case to be that, in the sale of their Georgia lands by the United States, our government wisely conditioned that \$30,000 of the income should be devoted annually to schools. They therefore were not voting a school tax for this amount, and its excess over that in many white States, was no evidence of an advanced civilization, or educational ambition.

Full admission is made of all we have gained, within a few years, in locating Indians on reservations, renewing among them their ancient rudimental agriculture, introducing some of the elements of education, securing some Christian fruit, and imparting some of the notions and practices of a crude civilization into the Indian family and house. Of course our greatest success, as our longest and most expensive endeavor, has been among the Cherokees. But here, as will be shown in pages following, we found them unwilling to add tilth, and buildings, and fences, and wells, and highways to land which they did not individually own, and which they expected to leave under constraint and pressure. They had the traditions, and some of the older ones had the memories, of their fatherland, east of the great river.

SECTION. 4. — *The Army and the Indian.*

“Some Mormons who were crossing the plains to Utah had a lame ox, which they turned loose to die, and a camp of Indians found and killed it, and made a feast. The Mormons saw this in the distance, and, thinking they could secure payment, stopped at Fort Laramie, and told the officer in command the Indians had stolen their ox. The officer,

who was half drunk, took some soldiers, went to the Indian villiage, and demanded the ox. The Indians said: 'We thought the white man had turned him loose to die. We have eaten the ox; if the white man want pay for him, you shall have it out of our next annuity.' 'No,' said the drunken officer, 'I want the ox, and, if you do not return him, I will fire upon you.' He did fire on them, and killed a chief. The Indians rallied, and exterminated the command. That war cost one million dollars." ¹ For a generation the Sioux, who were thus outraged, had been the devoted friends of our government. How much better the kind and wise counsel of Jefferson: "The most economical as well as most humane conduct towards them is to bribe them into peace, and retain them in peace by eternal bribes." ²

An army among the uncivilized is not a civilizing but a conquering, humiliating force; and ordinarily it does not generate the softening, genial, and elevating qualities, which we group under the term civilization. While it has its uses, as organized physical force, to hold savagery in check, and to throw pro-

¹ "Guide to the Northern Pacific Railroad," by Henry I. Winser, 1883, p. 92.

² Letter to Charles Carroll, April, 1791.

tection over rights which have migrated beyond the borders of civil jurisdiction, it is not aggressive in the introduction of the civil and social and industrial and moral qualities which constitute the foundations of society. While our frontier army has found the Indians simply gregarious, it has succeeded mainly, in gathering them in corrals to be fed.

Nor are the United States alone in this policy of so using a national army among inferior and barbarous peoples. It is poor credit to the civilized nations that they do not elevate the people whom they subdue, and preserve their separateness and autonomy. Subjection is followed by denationalization, and absorption ends in extinction. Of the dependencies which Great Britain has had, — forty and more even yet, — development into separateness has been allowed only in the case of the thirteen American colonies, and then from inability to do otherwise. And neither France nor Spain, nor, indeed, any European government, has ever become the willing mother of a nation. Their complex problem in Asia and Africa is, apparently, how not to do it.

Nor must this be taken as reproach to the military. The army is organized, educated,

and applied physical force, and is not to be reproached for not accomplishing what it is neither adapted nor designed to produce. Like produces like. General Custer's reflections, therefore, are apt and sensible from the base line of an army, and from the tone and scope of the education of a gallant soldier, as he was: —

“My firm conviction, based upon an intimate and thorough analysis of the habits of character, and native instinct of the Indian, and strengthened and supported by the almost unanimous opinion of all persons who have made the Indian problem a study, and have studied it, not from a distance, but in immediate contact with all the facts bearing thereupon, is, that the Indian cannot be elevated to that great level where he can be induced to adopt any policy or mode of life, varying from those to which he has ever been accustomed, by any method of teaching, argument, reasoning, or coaxing, which is not preceded and followed closely in reserve by a superior physical force. In other words the Indian is capable of recognizing no controlling influence but that of stern arbitrary power.”¹

On this theory the army must be ruled out as a constructing and elevating power

¹ “Life on the Plains.”

to bring the Indian up to a fair citizenship and manhood. "Stern arbitrary power" cannot accomplish that. One of the difficulties, and a strong one, in the way of securing the ends of the Dawes bill, is that this sentiment, naturally common to the frontier where the civil and moral code have not become prominent and patronized by the army, as in their line of work, holds sway, and puts the Indian beyond the range of the ordinary civilizing forces. The army has its place and work on the border, but the tactics of West Point are not adequate to the emergencies of the Indian Problem.

SECTION 5. — *The Courts as Protectors of the Indian Rights.*

Much reliance is placed on the United States laws and courts to secure justice to the wards of the government. A careful, hesitating confidence here will be the wiser course. Law is not a leader of public sentiment or a reformer, but only the legislative utterance of public opinion, and of a reform gained. Law is the will of the people in print. It is the ratchet on the wheel, and will hold only, and not turn, or pull, or lift. If the States and Territories, where the Indians are, do not wish them to remain there, Congress is impotent, and the courts are powerless.

In some cases in the East, where prejudice or passion runs strong, the trial is moved to some distant section, where the jury and court may be presumed to be less biassed, or, as is said, the *venue* is changed. In a case for Indian justice, arising as far west as Colorado or Wyoming, the *venue* would need to be changed to a county east of the Mississippi, if not of the Alleghanies.

In the Indian Territory, legislation and the courts have illustrated the protection of the Indian by law. Cases arising between Indians they handle themselves; cases between Indians and whites go to a United States court in Arkansas. The Indian Commissioner, for 1874, however, says: "Lawlessness and violence still continue in the Indian Territory. . . . All efforts on the part of the Indians to establish a government have failed. Such administration of the law in this country, as is possible through the United States District Courts of Arkansas, scarcely deserves the name. Practically, therefore, we have a country embracing 62,253 square miles, inhabited by more than 75,000 souls, including 50,000 civilized Indians, without the protection of law, and not infrequently the scene of violence and wrong." ¹

¹ "Report," 1874, pp. 11, 12.

In 1880, this case was detailed there, to the writer, as of recent date. A white man so cut an Indian in a quarrel that he was bleeding to death. A surgeon was called, who said he could save his life, but declined to do service, or see the patient, and so let the Indian die. His reasons for refusal were that the case would annoy him by a long, distant, and expensive absence at Fort Smith, in Arkansas, as a witness against a white man; and on his return his life would be in great peril, for testifying for an Indian against a white man. In the Report of the Commissioner, for 1880, Mr. Walker strongly urges additional legislation for the Indian Territory, to protect the property, and virtue, and person of the Indians. If, in that compact body of 75,000, so immediately under the United States, the administration of law "scarcely deserves the name," how must it now be in the small and isolated reservations, hemmed in by semi-civilized and hostile white borders? Will citizenship and land in severalty carry there anything more than the shadow of titles, when the new theory is put in practice? Will there not be needed, indispensable to success, an element of power underneath, outside and co-working, which cannot emanate from Washington?

An Indian can have but a poor show in court in the region where such facts are manufactured as constitute the body of this volume. It would not be a case of law and evidence, but of sentiment.

Commissioner Walker makes a statement, pertinent here, and deduced from wide observation: "The principle of secluding Indians from whites, for the good of both races, is established by an overwhelming preponderance of authority." ¹

But the time is passed for Indian residence beyond the reach of white men. From colonial times, the Americans were always seeking for lands and fortunes beyond the last village, and highway, and lone cabin. Nearer to the horizon has been the passion and watchword, till trails have gone everywhere across the prairies, and the blazed trees have marked the bridle-paths through all forests and over all mountains. The Indians cannot be secluded from the 65,000,000 of whites in this country.

SECTION 6. — *Encouragement lies in Broader Work.*

It is expecting very much to see the strong current, so long adverse, turn favorably and popularly for the poor Indian. Yet the pros-

¹ "Indian Question," p. 63.

pect is favorable. The revival of the Indian question is quite general, the study of it broader than ever before, and the discovery and admission of our national mistakes have been well made. In order now to the best chance for success, it remains to see and confess that much of the failure lies in the imperfect white civilization, bordering on the Indians. We cannot reach the Indians without those whites, and we cannot civilize them with such whites. The humiliating declaration of the old Cherokee must be kept in sight: "No Indian can possibly live among such white people as will first settle our country."

A more thorough policy and process of white civilization on the border must precede a more successful Indian civilization. For evidently a higher Christian tone in border life is indispensable to turn the tide and stay this mortifying failure. In our marvellous interior growth, educating and Christian influences have not been made to keep abreast of our immigration and agricultural and mining and railroad development. For nearly forty years we have had mining regions, and for twenty years they have been many times the area of New England, with their beginnings of cities and States, into which educating and Christianizing forces

have moved much later, and are still moving in tardily. All these were white centres in the Indian country. The early neglect of these, because they did not furnish pleasant openings and calls to benevolent and civilizing work, has had much to do in loading down the Indian question with difficulties and dishonors. It is no comfortable thing to be said or seen or inferred, that American Christianity does not keep pace with American capital and immigration and industrial energies, as the nation moves west.

This whole inquiry shows a failure to preserve and locate permanently and civilize the Indians, through a lack of moral element on the white border. The government has not been able to keep its faith and honor in dealing with them, since the people, whose voice the government is, have not toned up the government, and strengthened it morally to bear the hand of equity to the red man. Our new and semi-Indian country, always in the majority, has shaped the Indian policy, while we have failed to mould that country for the highest civil and religious ends. For one of two inferences is irresistible, — either American Christianity is not adequate to civilize the Indians, or we have not properly applied it. Apparently the failure has been to civilize and

Christianize the white border to such an extent as to secure its moral respect and toleration for an Indian reservation, which the faith of the government has guaranteed.

Now, at this late day of disaster, to give citizenship and land in severalty to the Indian, without touching the cause of so much degradation at white hands, will be still to delude and degrade with shadows of better name and a gilding. Probably the best thing to be done for the Indian is to give him a qualified citizenship, and land in fee-simple under stringent and guarding conditions. Yet these gifts will prove a peril and a mockery if not accompanied by the elevating influences which white neighbors have failed to furnish. While the American church is able to reconstruct the religions of the old world, and make civilized nations out of pagan ones, it will expose her administration of Christianity to grave criticism by later historians if she has not been willing to save the native races of her own country from extinction.

With a steady failure, for 250 years, to perpetuate the Indian tribes, and to civilize, educate, and Christianize them; with but a humiliating success in engrafting on the Indian stock the industries of the whites; with a progressive and almost total extinction of

Indian titles, and absorption of Indian lands westward to the Mississippi; * with this frontier tone toward the Indian, and with this kind of white civilization that borders the Indian belt and reservations — will citizenship and lands in severalty prove sufficient remedies?

It is sometimes one half of the victory about to be won to-day, to have discovered where we failed yesterday; and sometimes it is like doubling our forces to ascertain the weakest place in the lines of the enemy. We start off with much of hope and confidence in this new movement for Indian civilization after having gained the secret of our failures hitherto. The environment, the *ab extra* conditions of this race, have foreordained the neutralization and failure of our endeavors. For we will not admit that our common Christianity and our American civilization properly applied cannot make a fair Christian and a fair citizen out of an American Indian.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHEROKEE EXPERIMENT. THE RESERVATION SYSTEM A FAILURE.

ONE case is worth two theories on the Indian question, and if a century of trials has not made it evident what we can do with the aborigines, it has shown conclusively that certain things cannot be done. Probably a better case could not be selected to illustrate our successes and failures with the Indian than the Cherokee, since the government and our benevolent societies have had this tribe on hand longer than any other, and with more liberal expense, and through and around them have tested so many legal questions and civil and social problems of Indian and white neighborhood. A few facts will present the Cherokee experiment.

SECTION 1. — *Indian Farmers among White Farmers.*

The original and first claim on the soil in North America is an Indian right to occupation and use. In the sixteen treaties of the United States with the Cherokees, this claim was con-

ceded to them and respected by our government. The first five Presidents rested treaties with the Indians on this claim. In the fifteenth with the Cherokees, 1817, which stipulated for their going over the Mississippi, this was the eighth article: "To every head of an Indian family, residing on the lands ceded by the Cherokees in this treaty, shall be allowed a section of land, that is, 640 acres, provided he wishes to remain on the land thus ceded, and to become a citizen of the United States. He shall hold a life estate, with a right of dower to his widow, and shall leave the land in fee-simple to his children."

The State of Georgia claimed from Colonial rights the lands west of her present limits to the Mississippi, that is, the present territory of Alabama and Mississippi. Large tracts in this western claim she sold, then repealed the law under which the sale was made, and declared the titles of sale void. The case went to the Supreme Court, which ruled that the State must indemnify the purchasers. The "Yazoo fraud," so called, is a long story. Suffice it to say, Georgia ceded to the United States all her right, title, and claim to what is now the territory of those two States, and the United States promised, in return, \$1,250,000, from the first net proceeds from the sale of these lands.

This was not in payment for the land, or for any claim on it, but "as a consideration for the expenses incurred by the said State, in relation to the said territory." It was also stipulated that "The United States shall, at their own expense, extinguish, for the use of Georgia, as early as the same can be peaceably obtained, on reasonable terms, . . . the Indian title to all lands within the State of Georgia." Such, for substance to our purpose, was "the compact of 1802," so called.

It would seem that the Cherokees had possessed, in Colonial days, "more than half of the State of Tennessee, the southern part of Kentucky, the southwest corner of Virginia, a considerable portion of both the Carolinas, a small portion of Georgia, and the northern part of Alabama." Here were about 35,000,000 acres, more than seven times the area of Massachusetts. Between 1783 and 1820 they quit-claimed more than three fourths of this to the United States, and then declined to sell more. Of the balance, 5,000,000 acres were claimed by Georgia, as within her State limits, and in that claim and its outcome the "Cherokee Question" took on its troublesome features, mortifying and humiliating to the United States, disheartening and decivilizing to the Cherokees, and ominously, painfully prophetic to all our Indian tribes.

By the compact of 1802 the United States had promised to extinguish the Indian title in Georgia at as early a date as it could be done peaceably, yet if the natives preferred to remain there was nothing in any treaty or precedent of the government that could force their removal. They could remain from generation to generation. Moreover, in the treaty of Holston, eleven years before, was this article: "That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish, gratuitously, the said nation with useful implements of husbandry; and further to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit," etc.

It is quite evident that the government was sincere, and more or less active, in its earlier days, to civilize the Indians and retain them permanently on their old and reserved hunting-grounds. The Delaware treaty, in 1778, even contemplated an Indian State, with its representative in Congress, and the twelfth article of the Hopewell treaty, 1785, says: "They shall have a right to send a deputy of their own, whenever they think fit, to Congress." The Delawares are now in the Indian Territory; they numbered 71 souls in 1885, and are

combined with eight or ten tribes under one agency. Therefore, the Cherokees were encouraged and aided by the government and by benevolent societies to develop agriculture, plant towns, establish a system of laws, found schools and churches; in brief, do just what is being done to-day for the Indians. With a full faith in the wishes and promises of the government, the Cherokees made quite as much advance in these lines as could be expected.

They began to dispose of their lands in order to lessen the range of hunting-ground, and take on agricultural limits as well as pursuits. They welcomed secular and religious teachers, and agriculture, education, and religion carried them upward, so that in 1808 a teacher, appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, reported: "The period has at last arrived on which I have long fixed my eager eye. The Cherokee nation has, at length, determined to become men and citizens. A few days ago, in full council, they adopted a constitution, which embraces a simple principle of government. The legislative and judicial powers are vested in a general council, and lesser ones subordinate. All criminal accusations must be established by testimony." ¹

¹ "His. of Am. Board," p. 68.

SECTION 2. — *Mixed Society: The civilizing Indian: the wild Indian: the hostile White Man.*

It was quite natural that a portion of the tribe should prefer to continue the free, lazy, and wild hunter-life of their ancestry and childhood. A delegation to Washington drew a dividing line. The Upper Towns asked for a permanent allotment of their proportion of the lands, that they might settle down in perpetuity in their old homes and new farms in Georgia, and follow a civilized life. The Lower Towns asked for an exchange of their proportion of land for new homes beyond the Mississippi, where they could indulge, without molestation, their hereditary passion for the wigwam and the chase.

It was easy for the government to send explorers, as it did, to select wild lands for the Lower Towns in the remote West, but the welcome evidence of a growing civilization, and a disinclination of two thirds of the tribe to leave Georgia, annoyed the citizens and perplexed the general government, as it was obligated to remove them as early as it could be done amicably. The theory of the government was to civilize and establish them where they were, while the Holston treaty and Geor-

gia contemplated their ultimate removal. The perplexity of the government was the greater, since the civilizing agencies and influences that were lifting the Cherokees toward intelligent and thrifty citizenship were from abroad. The State of Georgia and the white neighborhood of these natives were not aiding and abetting in this work. While the Indian farms and growing villages were in the wilds of her interior or borders, that State was indifferent to what foreign benevolence was doing within her boundaries. So the colony of Oglethorpe began to fall into line, with all the older ones, in the consent that Indian farming is a good theory, and an Indian farm a good thing—afar off. The nearer they came to being “persons of industry and capable of managing their property with discretion,”—as many were recognized and named in the Calhoun treaty of 1819, when one square mile was secured in fee-simple to each of those,—the more unwelcome they were to the whites.

In this divided public sentiment and sympathy on the Indian question, the general government adopted a divided policy, which is quite natural where the people rule. They provided for those who would go, and for those who would stay, and progress was made only as fast as white settlements and specula-

tive land interests advanced on the reservations. "The Cherokees did not show themselves unwilling to sell their lands so long as an adequate motive was presented to their minds. During every administration of our national government, applications were made to them for the purpose of obtaining additional portions of their territory. These applications were urged, not only nor principally by the consideration of the money or presents which they were to receive in exchange, but often and strongly by the consideration that they would become an agricultural people, like the whites; that it was for their interest to have their limits circumscribed, so that their young men could not have a great extent of country to hunt in; and that, when they became attached to the soil, and engaged in its cultivation, the United States would not ask them to sell any more land. Yielding to these arguments, and to the importunities of the whites, the Cherokees sold, at different times, between the close of the Revolutionary War and the year 1820, more than three quarters of their original inheritance."¹

Indian matters lingered and progressed, and

¹ "William Penn on the Indian Crisis," 1829, p. 8, — an admirable pamphlet of twenty-four letters from "The National Intelligencer."

white settlements in Georgia advanced, and land speculators and Indian men showed increased activity.

On the 8th of July, 1817, a most important treaty was arranged with the Cherokees, well illustrating those white pressures on Indian reservations that have gone grinding over them like Arctic ice-floes over capes and islands and Eskimo huts. It ceded large tracts of land to the United States, provided for a census of the Cherokees who preferred to go over the Mississippi, divided the annuities in ratio between those remaining and those going, granted land, acre for acre, beyond the Mississippi to those who might leave, paid for improvements on lands left by the emigrants, and ceded, secured, in fee-simple, 640 acres to every head of an Indian family who preferred to remain where he then resided within any large ceded tract, and to become a citizen of the United States, reaffirmed all previous treaties with the Cherokees, and provided flat-boat transportation and provisions to the emigrating party. This treaty is signed by Andrew Jackson and other commissioners, and by thirty-one chiefs and warriors of the party who were to remain, and by fifteen of those of the party who were to emigrate.

As to the quality and condition of those

who then went over the Mississippi and settled in the recently organized Indian Territory, one statement will illustrate. Speaking of the Cherokees along the Arkansas and below Mulberry River, Major Long says: "These settlements, in respect to the comforts and conveniences of life they afford, appear to vie with, and in many instances even surpass those of the Americans in that part of the country."¹

In 1819 one more treaty was made with the Cherokees. Its preamble states the fact that "the greater part of the Cherokee nation have expressed an earnest desire to remain on this side of the Mississippi," and wish "to commence those measures which they deem necessary to the civilization and preservation of their nation." The treaty is mostly a provision of ways and means for carrying out the preceding one, and also sets apart 100,000 acres of the ceded territory for school purposes on the unceded, assigns one third of the annuities to the emigrating body, and forbids whites to enter on the ceded lands prior to January 1, 1820.

¹ Long's "Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains," 1819-20 ; vol. ii. p. 347.

SECTION 3. — *Indian Civilization Adjourned.*

Meanwhile the emigrating ones took up their sad journey toward the setting sun, after the usage of all red men since white men settled on the Atlantic coast. Of course it may be said, in technical and strictly legal phrase, that they went freely, yet the emigration was originated and consummated by the most overbearing forces known to civil and social life. Extracts from missionary records will suggest the painful and humiliating facts.

“Nov. 4, 1818. The parents of Catherine Brown called on us. The old gray-headed man, with tears in his eyes, said he must go over the Mississippi. The white people would not suffer him to live here. They had stolen his cattle, horses, and hogs, until he had very little left. He expected to return from the agency in about ten days, and should then want Catherine to go home and prepare to go with him to the Arkansas. . . . These people consider the offer of taking reserves, and becoming citizens of the United States, as of no service to them. They know they are not to be admitted to the rights of freemen, or the privilege of their oath, and say no Cherokee, or white man with a Cherokee family,

can possibly live among such white people as will first settle this country.

“Nov. 28. The great talk, for which the people began to assemble on the 20th of October, was closed yesterday. The United States commissioners proposed to the Cherokees an entire change of country, except such as chose to take reserves, and come under the government of the United States. This proposition they unanimously rejected, and continued to reject, as often as repeated, urging that the late treaty might be closed as soon as possible. Nothing was done.”¹

One other treaty, and only one, was formed with the Cherokees of Georgia. We have already outlined it, — the one of 1819. After this the citizens of Georgia, and politicians and speculators outside, at Washington and elsewhere, struggled, by various expedients, to reopen negotiations for the extinguishing of more Indian title and the removal of more Indians, but in vain. They pressed Congress for appropriations to aid in reopening — a white man’s bargain with red men is very expensive; the entire administration of Mr. Monroe was teased for this purpose; but chiefs and warriors, at home and at Washington, refused energetically. They declared in

¹ “His. of Am. Board,” p. 75.

writing that the treasury of the United States had not money enough to buy another foot of Cherokee land. Georgia, impatient of the government delay and failure, and trying for several years to reopen treaty negotiations with the Indians for the rest of their lands within the State, and obtaining only the stern refusal to sell more, first upbraids the government for not making another treaty and procuring the rest of the Indian lands, and then takes the ground that the Indian tribes are in no such sense a nation as that a treaty can be formed with them, and that no treaty proper has been formed with them by the general government, or is necessary in order to remove them and take possession of their lands; that prior to the compact of 1802 Georgia, by her own right as a sovereign State, could have taken those lands either by negotiation or force, as she might elect, but consented to have the general government do it at government expense. This was in 1827.

SECTION 4. — *Indian Civilization Fatally Struck.*

In the following year this law was passed by the Legislature of Georgia, and approved: "That all laws, usages, and customs, made, established, and in force in the said territory,

by the said Cherokee Indians, be, and the same are hereby, on and after the first day of June, 1830, declared null and void ;

“That no Indian, or descendant of an Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee nations of Indians, shall be deemed a competent witness, or a party to any suit, in any court created by the Constitution or laws of this State, to which a white man may be a party.”

This law did two things. It disbanded and dissolved the Cherokee nation as a civil organization. Its elections, legislature, courts, and all other civil proceeding of government were made null and void. It put the Cherokee tribe under another government as totally as if they had been kidnapped; and it so outlawed them as to deny them a standing in the courts of Georgia, except as criminals. From time immemorial, under both king and president, they had been subject to no jurisdiction but their own. This iron foot of Georgia crushed barbarously through all their machinery of government, and annihilated their property, by first destroying the laws under which they had acquired it, and then thrusting them under a government that ignored them and alienated it. The avowed purpose was to expel them from lands that were their own before Columbus saw America.

The issue is now complete, and the three parties have made it triangular. The general government has promised to extinguish the title to all Indian lands in Georgia, and for the use of that State, "as early as the same can be peaceably obtained, on reasonable terms." The title to about three fourths had been so extinguished, and about 6,000,000 of acres remained in Indian title. This was secured to the Cherokees, till they should be willing to quitclaim it, under an older treaty, in which the government say they "will continue the guarantee of the remainder of their country forever." The Cherokees, as the second party, after a month's discussion, and in much warmth, have vigorously determined to sell no more land. Then Georgia, seeing the failure of the government, and the refusal of the Indians, and after trying seven years to overcome the inability of the one and the unwillingness of the other, formally declares, in her Legislature, that "it is unquestionably true, that, under such circumstance, force becomes right." Then, in her own sovereignty, she declares the Indian title null and void, breaks up their government, tramples on their young civilization, treats them as tenants at will, and orders them out of the country.

As we have now to do with facts and not

feelings, we glide along to results. This was a good time for our nation to make a move upward to that highest grade of national honor, which develops in a sacred regard for treaty obligations, into the assuming of which Hamilton, in the seventy-fifth number of the "Federalist" says there enters "a nice and uniform sensibility to national honor." From first to last the United States had said to all her Indian wards what she said in the treaty of Holston, 1791: "The United States solemnly guarantee to the Cherokee nation all their lands, not hereby ceded." The government was solemnly pledged to stand between them and fraud and violence. If treaty and policy and promise and growth may not be sustained here, can the government make a stand anywhere for the Indians within or beyond the Rocky Mountains?

If the antipathies of race and color and semi-civilization and greed of land may break through here, can American civilization and the American administration of Christianity set an irresistible barrier anywhere else between the Mississippi and the Pacific? If the Indian must here see all equity and treaty and pledge and promising civilization blotted out, can he ever, in the future, trust in the government, or hope for a permanent home, or labor heartily to

obtain a white man's civilization? All these questions stood around the Speaker's table in the Georgia Legislature on that ominous December 20, 1828.

SECTION 5.—*Border White Men Superior to the United States.*

But national honor, treaties, government, and benevolent plans for elevating the aborigines, the reservation theory, a germinant and promising civilization, the flattering and invigorating anticipations of the red man, — all were swept away by that December vote, and the winter of their discontent set in on the Indians.

They appealed to the Secretary of War that they be protected in the possession of their land and government, according to national guarantee, now forty years old, and reaffirmed in six separate treaties. The reply is made through the Secretary, and under direction of the President, "that no remedy can be perceived, except that which frequently heretofore has been submitted to your consideration, — a removal beyond the Mississippi, where alone can be assured to you protection and peace." . . . They must "yield to the operation of those laws which Georgia claims and has a

right to extend throughout her own limits, or to remove beyond the Mississippi, . . . carrying along with you that protection which, there situated, it will be in the power of the government to extend.”¹

In order to dispossess and remove the Indians, the plan was matured by Georgia to seize all their lands, divide them into parcels of 140 acres each, and dispose of them by lottery. The scheme appealed well to the speculator and demagogue and border white man. Naturally the missionaries would be in the way in executing this programme, and a law was passed for the purpose of expelling them, and under it they were cast into the penitentiary, and the missions broken up. With great indignities and severity and cruelty, these men of God were chained to each other by the ankle in pairs, or, with chain and padlock on the neck, were made fast to a horse or cart, and so compelled, on foot, to traverse rough and wild ways, some of them even fifty miles. They appealed to the President for relief, but he declined to interfere, on the ground that Georgia was sovereign for all such matters within her own boundaries. The case went to the Supreme Court, when Chief Justice Marshall declared the act of Georgia, in extending her

¹ “Records of the Department of War,” April 18, 1829.

jurisdiction over the Cherokee lands, repugnant to the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and therefore null and void, and ordered the discharge of the missionaries. The Georgia court refused the mandate, and so set the United States Supreme Court at defiance. Afterward the Legislature repealed the unconstitutional law. After much aggravating delay, and the cultivation of "nullification," the missionaries were discharged, yet with great lack of dignity and manliness on the part of the authorities. This was in 1833. A short time before, Webster had made his remarkable speech against nullification, but Georgia was still affected somewhat with that political heresy.

SECTION 6:— *The Sad Journey of Sixteen Thousand into Exile.*

Prior to this, and meanwhile, the work went on of despoiling the poor Cherokees. The lottery was drawn in the autumn of 1832, amid the revels of whiskey and debauchery, in which many good Cherokees stumbled, being abandoned of the general government and disheartened. The removal was mainly in 1838, and the number about 16,000. They persistently refused to go unless forced, yet said they would not resist. Some thousands

of United States troops went into their country, under General Scott, and began the work by making prisoners of single families, and thus gathering them into groups. Fourteen camp divisions were made, and finally the sad march began. Ten months from the time they began to be gathered, this sad exodus commenced. The distance was about 700 miles, and the time was four to five months. Credit is given for good management and kindness in the sorrowful work, yet in the removal about 4000 sunk under the trials, — about one in four of the whole number died. “Their sufferings were greatly aggravated by the conduct of lawless Georgians, who rushed ravenously into the country, seized the property of Cherokees, as soon as they were arrested, appropriated it to their own use, or sold it for a trifle to each other before the eyes of its owners; thus reducing even the rich to absolute indigence, and depriving families of comforts which they were about to need in their long and melancholy march.”¹

We follow these wanderers and exiles from the white settlements with an intense sympathy and suspense. They have gone over the Mississippi, not merely under the pressure of Georgia, or of one President, or Secretary of

¹ “His. Am. Board,” p. 372.

War. Taking the most apologetic or sectional view of the case that can be taken, the removal, excepting certain atrocities in it, was a national removal, and, under the chronic pressure of two centuries, Congress indorsed it as the voice of the people, and in the line of an old adopted policy. Sharper points in that policy were then developed, but they were sustained. The opposition to them came from the older States, from which the Indians had been mostly removed, but the newer States,—through which there were yet scattered remnants of tribes,—and our border life and the wilder elements of the frontier prevailed. In long struggles over Indian issues these have always carried a majority. Neither Georgia, therefore, nor that Congress or administration is to be reproached preëminently. They were only an index, for the time, of a national spirit that two thirds of the country has somehow always made predominant.

SECTION 7. — *Another Morning Overclouded.*

But let us follow up the new experiment, inaugurated by the completion of the Cherokee removal in 1838. A reservation was assigned to them that now appears to be 7861

square miles, — nearly as large as Massachusetts. Schools and Indian agents, churches and ploughs, and human sympathies followed them; also, white emigration, and speculators in wild lands, race prejudices, and whiskey, and semi-civilization. Into that total Indian Territory of 62,253 square miles, — nearly as large as eight States like Massachusetts, — and around the Cherokees, the government has located about forty tribes. Around this Territory we have also located — and since it was set apart for the Indians — the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Kansas — young members in the American family, and full of the blood of youth and growth, and, of course, ambitious for good neighborhood. In the strong tide of emigration that has set toward the south-west, and specially since the war, this Indian Territory has lifted itself up in the current midway, and made it divide right and left.

This is a condition exposed to any damaging influences that may go with our first waves of population, and if its people and natural resources decline assimilation and absorption in national interests, social and civil and commercial chafings must inevitably occur. It is quite likely to be the old Georgia case repeated, unless Indian and white natures are much changed. What are the facts?

The Cherokee "nation," as the Cherokees greatly prefer to be called, has a government of its own, constituted by the elective franchise, and consisting of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches, and it has exclusive jurisdiction where all the parties are citizens of the nation. Mixed cases of red and white go to a white arbitrator, the agent of the general government for the Indian Territory, or to the United States Supreme Court, at Fort Smith, Arkansas. With 6000 whites living among the Indians, citizens of the United States, but not of the Territory where they live, it is not strange that the arbitrator is overborne with cases.¹ "The letters received from within the limits of the agency asking for information, decision, instruction, or advice, average from ten to fifteen daily."²

The disorder from intruding whites and from intermeddling ones over the border is a source of regret and complaint in almost every report. "The country continues to afford an asylum for refugees from justice from the States, and

¹ In the quotations immediately following, reference is sometimes made to the whole Indian Territory, and sometimes only to the Cherokees. The text and context will readily locate the reference.

² "Report of Commissioners of Indian Affairs," 1880; p. 94.

to invite the immigration of the very worst class of men that infest an Indian border.”¹

“Lawlessness and violence still continue in the Indian Territory. The two or three United States marshalls, sent to enforce the intercourse laws by protecting Indians from white thieves and buffalo hunters, have been entirely inadequate,” etc.²

“They are willing that the wild Indians from the plains shall be settled on their unoccupied lands, but they most emphatically object to the settlement of the wild white man from the States among them.” “The intruders, as a class, are unfit to be in the Indian country, and some measures should be adopted that will rid these people of their presence.” “It is estimated that nine tenths of the crimes committed in the Territory are caused by whiskey, and its many aliases. It is introduced from the adjoining States, where it can be purchased in any quantity.” “The band of desperadoes, whites and Indians, who made their headquarters in the western part of this agency, and beyond, and who were the terror of the whole country last year, have all been killed off, or placed in the penitentiary.”³

“Such administration of the law in this

¹ “Report for 1875,” p. 13. ² “Report for 1874,” p. 11.

³ “Report for 1880,” pp. 94, 95.

country as is possible through the United States district courts of Arkansas, scarcely deserves the name. Practically, therefore, we have a country embracing 62,253 square miles, inhabited by more than 75,000 souls, including 50,000 civilized Indians, without the protection of law, and not infrequently the scene of violence and wrong.”¹ “This large population becomes more and more helpless under the increasing lawlessness among themselves, and the alarming intrusion of outlawed white men.”

From the tenor of the reports it would seem that the civilization of the Indians has not risen to even a second rank in national purpose. “They ought not to be left the prey to the worst influences which can be brought to them, in the life and example of the meanest white men. They deserve such guardianship and care, on the part of the United States, as will secure for them the powerful aid to elevation which comes from the presence of law.”

What is said of low whites who enter the country to labor for the Choctaws and Chickasaws has like bearing on the tribe whose second experiment we are tracing. “These whites, once in the country, are seldom known to leave, and thus their numbers are rapidly increasing. The result will be a mixture of the

¹ “Report, 1874,” pp. 11, 12.

lowest white blood with the Indian, thus propagating, instead of curing, the indolence and unthrift with which they are already cursed.”¹

SECTION 8. — *Forebodings, and the Doom of the Reservation Theory.*

No one, of course, can be surprised that the Cherokees are haunted and paralyzed with the fear of another removal. If they were in the way of the whites when in their old home, much more may they suppose they now are, and if old treaties, compacts, and promises, and even decisions of the Supreme Court could not protect them in their homes and rights on the east of the Mississippi, why may they now expect it? The remark of the agent cannot be unexpected: “Their only fear is that the United States will forget her obligations, and in some way deprive them of their lands. They do not seem to care for the loss in money value, so much as they fear the trouble, and the utter annihilation of a great portion of their people, if the whites are permitted to homestead in all portions of their country, as is contemplated by so many of the measures before Congress.”²

¹ “Report for 1874,” p. 71. ² “Report for 1880,” p. 94.

“They feel the pressure of the white man on every side, and, among the full-bloods especially, there is a growing apprehension that, before long, the barriers will give way, their country be overrun, and themselves dispossessed.”¹

They may well have this apprehension, when the Indian Commissioner makes a point to show, and with much practical sense and force, that their separateness cannot long continue, and that “no Indian country can exist perpetually within the boundaries of this republic without becoming, in all essential particulars, a part of the United States.” Many of those fears would be abated if the Cherokees could feel assured, not only that their land titles to single farms would be made as safe in title as a white man's, but that such white men would become their neighbors as would make those titles worth keeping, and be themselves such men as Indians could endure. Cherokee experience had been the reverse of this.

A very liberal use of official statement has now been made, that a fair view of the present condition of the Cherokees might be had. As government and paid agents are reporting their own work, we may presume that the view given by them is as favorable as the facts

¹ “Report for 1875,” p. 13.

will warrant. The state of the case is too painfully similar to the Georgia experiment to be satisfactory as a result or hopeful in its outlook. Surrounded by States, and pressed by the rising tide of immigration; infested and raided by miserable or unscrupulous whites; railroads clamorous for right of way, and our multitudinous white interests and energies standing on tip-toe to go in, pioneered by insatiable land-speculators, this second experiment with our leading tribe under the "reservation theory" seems to be nearly ended. What is obvious to us is almost experience to them, so fully is it in their fears and expectations.

The official reports of both civil and benevolent work performed by the government and by religious bodies in the Indian Territory make one more satisfied and hopeful than a visit and personal observations. Our longest and most expensive experiment on the reservation theory, under the joint endeavors of statesmen and philanthropists, seems to have culminated in lifting the Indian to the saddle as a first-class stock-raiser. Together with this elevation he has obtained many of the best qualities of the citizen and Christian, while he is yet restrained by circumstances unfavorable to their development and practice. In 1880 we heard three eminent Indians address 2000 of their people

at their National Indian Fair at Muskogee. One was an ex-chief of the Cherokees, one was of the Supreme Bench of that nation, and the other a graduate of a New England college, and an eminent lawyer for some time in one of the western States. Their interests and prospects were freely and ably discussed on the stand. Farming was not a popular idea with the speakers or the audience, though the Cherokees then had about 90,000 acres in rough agriculture. They declined the ownership of land in severalty and private farms in fee-simple, in memory of their experience on the east of the Mississippi, where they were called, with some propriety, "a nation of farmers." They were not disposed to prepare more farms for a second lottery. Hence their agricultural show at the Fair was meagre in the extreme, and their mechanical show was more so. This was sixty years after the government of the United States had presented to them, through General Jackson, two ploughs, six hoes, and six axes, and had promised a loom, six spinning-wheels, and as many pair of hand cards, and the American Board had commenced Christianizing work among them.

Of course they were blinded by their painful memories of hard endeavors, discouragements, and failures to obtain the white man's civiliza-

tion; they had no confidence in government indorsements and solemn treaties, when a white man's interests should overtake them. Yet there was evidently a despairing and growing acquiescence in the new policy offered, of land in severalty, citizenship, and the dissolution of the "nation." These parties were so evenly balanced and so warm on the new policy as to make its discussion perilous. Good sense, indifference, and despair have since given it a quiet majority.

Evidently the Dawes Bill, the soul of which is the new policy, opens up to the brightest outlook into their ominous future. Others, however, must do their hoping in it, and its success or failure will depend very much on the Indian's white neighbor.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN FARMING.

SECTION 1. — *Some Very Singular Assumptions.*

Indian farming has lately been put forward as a leading remedy for Indian troubles. It has been spoken of as if it were an industry unknown to the Indians, and might be made to work as a newly discovered expedient, to relieve both races, on this vexed question. The fact is overlooked that farming by the aborigines of America is as ancient as the Mound-Builders, that is, older than history, and that the leading grain now is *Indian* corn. Our newly discovered farming theory, for the ills of the poor aborigines, goes on the assumption that the Indians were never acquainted with this industry, have not practised it, and, so far as they can be made to understand it, are now averse to it. But what is the fact?

Agriculture has been a leading industry in North America from pre-historic times. Among the Aztec ruins of New Mexico and Arizona, and in the extant pueblos, are abundant evidences

of primitive and rudimental farming. "At the period of European discovery, maize was found cultivated and a staple article of food in a large part of North America and in parts of South America. There were also found beans, squashes, and tobacco, with the addition, in some areas, of peppers, tomatoes, cocoa, and cotton." Through the greater part of the San Juan region, New Mexico, there is "evidence of Indian occupation and cultivation," in its ancient prime. The writer brought up from that country very handsome specimens of corn from fields that bore the same before the Spaniards arrived there under De Vaca about 1536. The Mound-Builders have left good evidence that they were agricultural tribes. Before the Spaniards gave Christianity to the pueblo of Taos, its inhabitants had their fast days, appointed by authority, much after the New England style, "for offering prayers to the Sun to supplicate him to repeat his diurnal visits, and to continue to make the maize, beans, and squashes grow, for the sustenance of the people." The Mandans of the upper Missouri had their high scaffolds for drying corn and vegetables. Beyond Bismarck, where the Northern Pacific Railroad crosses the Missouri, the Indians have raised corn from ancient time. "That the culture of this grain has

been carried on by the aborigines from a very remote period, is shown by the fact that numerous fossilized and many charred corn-cobs, in a perfect state of preservation, are still found in the excavated bluffs along the river and very deep down in the oldest mounds."¹ Sir Richard Grenville, visiting the Indian towns in Virginia before the days of Jamestown, 1585, says: "Their corn they plant in rows, for it grows so large, with thick stalk and broad leaves, that one plant would stint the other, and it would never arrive at maturity. In the fields they erect a stage in which a sentry is stationed to guard against the depredations of birds and thieves." When Dankers and Sluyter visited the Long Island Indians in 1679-80, they gave them corn-bread, the grain being unripe, coarsely broken, and half-baked—the prototype of colonial samp. When Greenbalgh visited an Iroquois settlement at the outlet of Honeoye Lake, N. Y., in 1677, he says: "They have a good store of corn growing to the northward of the town."

This town was situated at Mendon, near Rochester, and the old author says: "It contains about 120 houses, being the largest of all the houses we saw, the ordinary being fifty or

¹ "Northern Pacific Railroad Guide," by Henry I. Winsler, 1883; p. 118.

sixty feet long, with twelve and thirteen fires in one house. . . . From the roof-poles were suspended their strings of corn in the ear, braided by the husks, also strings of dried squashes and pumpkins. Spaces were contrived here and there to store away their accumulations of provisions.”¹

SECTION 2. — *Early Indian Farming in New England, New York, Missouri, New Mexico, Georgia, Minnesota, Dakota, Canada, Michigan, Iowa, and Florida.*

The agricultural habits of the New England Indians when white men first came among them is well shown by Roger Williams, in his “Key to the Language of America,” written in 1643. He speaks of their “parch’d meal, which is a readie very wholesome food, which they eat with a little water hot or cold. I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once, neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a little Basket of this at his back, and sometimes in a hollow Leather Girdle about his middle, sufficient for a man for three or four

¹ “Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines.” By Lewis H. Morgan. Vol. iv. of Contributions to No. Am. Ethnology, U. S. Department of the Interior, pp. 116, 120, 123, 129, 151, 192-3.

daies.” “The corne of the Countrey, with which they are fed from the wombe.” “Their Women constantly beat all their corne with hand; they plant it, dresse it, gather it, barne it, beat it, and take as much paines as any people in the world.” “Against the Birds, the Indians are very carefull. . . . They put up little watch-houses in the middle of their fields, in which they, or their biggest children, lodge, and early in the morning prevent the birds,” etc. Speaking of strawberries he says: “The Indians bruise them in a Morter, and mixe them with meale and make strawberry bread.” “There be diverse sorts of this Corne and of the colours.” “Where a field is to be broken, they have a very loving, sociable, speedy way to dispatch it. All the neighbours, men and Women, forty, fifty, a hundred, &c., joyne, and come in to helpe freely.” “The Women of the Family will commonly raise two or three heaps of twelve, fifteene, or twenty bushells a heap, which they drie in broad, round heaps.”¹

An early author thus speaks of the new village of Onondaga, New York. The old one was burned by the occupants when they fled before Count Frontenac, in 1696. “The town in its present state is about two or three miles long,

¹ “Coll. of the R. I. His. Soc.,” vol. i. pp. 33, 50, 59, 85, 90, 91, 92, 93.

yet the scattered cabins on both sides of the water are not above forty in number ; many of them hold two families, but all stand single, so that the whole town is a strange mixture of cabins, interspersed with great patches of high grass, bushes, and shrubs, some of peas, corn, and squashes.”¹

The following evidence of Indian agriculture in the Ohio comes in sad form, but we give it: “About the middle of October, General Harmar moved on the Indian towns on the Miami. The Indians had fled, and he ordered the towns to be burnt, the fruit trees, of which there was a large number, to be girdled, and every description of property, including at least 20,000 bushels of corn, to be destroyed.”²

The Mandans on the upper Missouri were once renowned in frontier Indian history. They built timber-framed houses. The timber for these was in the low bottom-lands, and at quite a distance often ; yet they cut and framed it without metal tools, and moved it without animal hauling. Between the lodges were their drying scaffolds, one for each lodge. Each scaffold was about twenty feet long,

¹ “Travels to Onondaga,” London Ed., 1751; pp. 49, 50. Quoted by Morgan, as above, p. 123.

² Judge Burnet’s “Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-west Territory,” p. 103.

twelve feet wide, and seven feet high, up to the flooring. Here they placed for drying their corn, meat, vegetables, and skins." ¹

In his notes on New Mexico, General Emory says that "the Maricopas occupy thatched cottages, thirty or forty feet in diameter, made of twigs of cotton-wood trees interwoven with straw of wheat, cornstalks and cane."

"The Mahas seem very friendly to the whites, and cultivate corn, beans, melons, squashes, and a small species of tobacco." ²

Major Amos Stoddard was our first governor of the Upper Louisiana, taking charge when the Territory was transferred to the United States. Speaking of one Delaware and two Shawnee villages in the present Missouri, in 1794, he says: "The houses of all the villages are built of logs, some of them squared and well interlocked at the ends, and covered with shingles. Many of them are two stories high, and attached to them are small houses for the preservation of corn, and barns for the shelter of cattle and horses, with which they are well supplied. Their houses are well furnished with decent and useful furniture." ³ Poor remnants

¹ Morgan, *ut supra*, pp. 125-129.

² Bradbury's "Travels in the Interior of North America," 1809-11; p. 69.

³ Stoddard's "Sketches of Louisiana," p. 215.

of these two tribes are now found in the Indian Territory.

The treaty of Greenville was hastened by the great victory which General Wayne gained over the Indians, in August, 1794. In moving irresistibly on to that triumph — General Wayne had gained from the Indians the name of Big Wind, or Cyclone, by the force and speed of his marching — he swept through the heart of Indian civilization in the primitive Ohio. “The extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens, which appeared on every side, exhibited the work of many hands. The margins of the beautiful rivers Au Glaice and Miami had the appearance of a continued village, for several miles above and below their junction. They were covered with extensive cornfields, and gardens containing a great variety of vegetable productions.”¹

In Judd’s “History of Hadley, Mass.,” the estimate of Indian cornfields between Mount Tom and Sugar Loaf, on both sides of the Connecticut, falls somewhat within seventy acres, and, in the Pynchon purchase, one field of about sixteen acres, in Hadley, was reserved by the natives. A part of the payment was the ploughing of this amount, and probably this field.

¹ Burnet’s “Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory,” p. 169.

In the winter of 1623, the Pilgrims, hard pressed for food, made a tour among the Indians for corn, and having purchased more than they could take back to Plymouth, Standish was sent for it the next month, and "also to purchase more at the same place." Drake says that "The Muskogees (Creeks) had an excellent regulation; namely, the men assisted the women in the planting before setting out on their warlike and other expeditions."¹

The same author speaks of beautiful cornfields along the Oakmulge, to the extent of twenty miles. Even at the Gaspé, far north, Cartier found the farm products, in 1534 and following. When he moored near Montreal, a thousand Indians welcomed him, and threw fish and corn-bread into his boats. In the approach to the city the next day, "we began to finde goodly and large cultivated fieldes, full of such corne as the cuntry yeeldeth . . . wherewith they live even as we doe with our wheat. . . . They have also on the top of their houses certain granaries, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall. . . . They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne, and also of peas and beans, whereof they have great store, as also with other fruits, great cowcumbers and other fruits.

¹ Drake's "Indians," bk. iv.

. . . These people are given to no other exercise, but onely to *husbandrie* and fishing for their sustenance.”¹

“The Iroquois have always been an agricultural people. Their extensive plantations of maize, beans, and pumpkins excited the admiration of the first explorers. Since their removal to Canada, their industry and aptitude as farmers have been notable. The wheat market of Brantford has, for many years, been largely supplied from the Reserve” — the Grand River Reserve, in the Province of Ontario.²

In 1809, Colonel Visger, government agent for the Indians in the vicinity of Detroit, reported that the Wyandottes “had planted 160 acres of corn, and two individuals had sown 12 acres of wheat; that farming utensils were in great demand, and that successful experiments in agriculture had been made in six villages of Indians within forty miles of Detroit.” In 1884, the Wyandottes had been removed to the Indian Territory, and numbered 284, and were occupying 40 dwelling-houses.

Under date of February 16, 1806, Lieutenant Pike makes this entry in his narrative: “The Sauks and Reynards are planting corn and

¹ Cartier's “Narrative,” 1534 *et seq.*, Hakluyt's Trans.

² “Mag. of Am. His.,” 1885; p. 120.

raising cattle.”¹ In 1819 the I,‘Abre Indians “sent to the Mackinaw market more than 1000 bushels of corn, for which they received payment in money or goods. In some years they have sent more than 3000 bushels. They use the hoe only, in cultivating their lands, having no ploughs, oxen, cows, nor, but in a single instance, horses.” “On Menominee River is the only permanent village possessed by the Menominees, where corn, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, etc., are raised.” Then they numbered 3900; now 1450. “The Winnebagoes will suffer no encroachment (1820) upon their soil, nor any persons to pass through it without giving a satisfactory explanation of their motives and intentions. In failing to comply with this peremptory style, their lives would be in danger. They cultivate corn, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes and beans, and are remarkably provident. They possess no horses.” Their number then was 5800; now 2144. “The whole of Fox River was owned and occupied by the Sauks and Foxes more than a century since. Many traces of fields cultivated by them are still visible.” This was also in 1820. They then numbered 6500; now they are broken up into five locations,

¹ Pike's "Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi," etc., Appendix, vol. i. p. 19.

and number 924 souls. The principal Fox village was where Davenport now stands, opposite Rock Island, and where they had about 300 acres under cultivation, and raised from 7000 to 8000 bushels of corn, besides other cereals and vegetables. Fort Armstrong was on the island, and traders were among them, where they found an annual market for about 1000 bushels of corn, 1000 pounds of beeswax, 3000 pounds of feathers, and about 275,000 pounds of deer tallow. The winter hunt for 1819-20 of the two tribes, including peltries delivered at Fort Edwards, was valued at \$58,800. And this primitive agriculture extended from the Hochelaga of the Indians, the Mount Roiall of Cartier, Montreal, to the Gulf of Mexico. "The Towacano, or Panis nation (near the Gulf), live in villages, cultivate the soil, and pursue the chase."¹

Captain John H. Bell, agent for the Florida Indians, reported in 1820: "The pure Seminole Indians live in houses of wood, constructed like those of white people. . . . They raise corn with the hoe, having no ploughs in the country. . . . These Indians have negro slaves, who live in separate families. They raise corn

¹ "Report of Jedidiah Morse, D.D., to John C. Calhoun, Sec. of War," 1820. Appendix, pp. 17, 24, 47, 48, 51, 152-7, 259, 300-10.

for their subsistence; if they have a surplus, it goes to the families of their masters. . . . One Indian, called Friday, who is an industrious man, cultivates and fences his lands, splits rails, etc., but is laughed at and discarded by his neighbors, because he 'works like a negro.' When they see this man at work, they exclaim: 'Are we reduced to this degraded state?' They are unwilling to leave their country."

It would, of course, be unreasonable to call the aborigines of this country an agricultural people in the ordinary sense, and equally so to deny that they had the primitive elements of agriculture, propensities to it, and many habits and practices of it. That bas-relief panel in the Capitol at Washington, of the Landing of the Pilgrims, where an Indian offers them an ear of corn, is an emblem true to history. The symbol properly associates the Indian with Indian corn, declarative of the general fact that before the white man came, America was a cornfield, and the red man worked it. When Red Jacket was on a visit to his Great Father, and they showed him this panel picture, he must have felt the truth it set forth to his eye, and it would not be strange if the old chief had some painful reflections over the way in which the white strangers have responded to that generous welcome.

In speaking of the North American Indians as a whole, Bancroft says: "All the tribes south of the St. Lawrence, except remote ones on the north-east and the north-west, cultivated the earth. Unlike the people of the Old World, they were at once hunters and tillers of the ground."¹

In this *résumé* of Indian agriculture, a few items should be considered in connection with the scheme to turn the Indians from the chase to the farm. The early explorers and settlers found them tilling the ground to this extent, and resuming it will be no novelty. The products of their cultivation extended to a variety of articles, and they were careful in their means of preservation. Some had timber-framed houses, like those of white people, though they were destitute of tools of metal or animals for hauling. They dared cultivation in the far north, where now the whites are much discouraged in the same work. Cartier represents them as confining themselves to husbandry and fishing for a living. In some cases they cultivated for the white market, though confined to the hoe only, and their crops went up to thousands of bushels. Some pushed farming enterprise to such an extent as to own and employ slaves as plantation hands.

¹ "His. U. S.," vol. iii. p. 271.

This should be regarded as ultimate evidence of the Indian's capacity and willingness to be a farmer. If the ardor has died out and the pursuit ceased, which Bancroft represents as general south of the St. Lawrence, we may be able to find the causes. We may work, therefore, in the hope of removing the causes and of restoring the pursuit. Happy indeed if we could also reinstate the honor and honesty which Bradbury ascribed to them: "I never heard of a single instance of a white man being robbed, or having anything stolen from him, in an Indian village."¹

With this agrees an interesting incident, which Bradbury details on page 190 of his narrative. One Richardson came down the Missouri with him, and seemed to anticipate life again within civilization. When Bradbury was sick in St. Louis, Richardson called on him, and among other things said: "I find so much deceit and selfishness among white men that I am already tired of them. The arrow-head, which is not yet extracted, pains me when I chop wood. Whiskey I cannot drink, and bread and salt I do not care about. I will go again amongst the Indians."

¹ "Travels of John Bradbury in the Interior of North America," 1809-11; p. 167.

SECTION 3. — *The best Indian Farms the farthest from White Neighborhood.*

It is to be noticed that these Indian fields now named were far in advance and at wide remove from the white settlements, and that they have disappeared with the approach of the immigrants. So Bancroft recognizes farming among the Pokanokets of King Philip, before the intrusion of the whites. Then, "as the English villagers drew nearer and nearer to them . . . their best fields for planting corn were gradually alienated"; "repeated sales of land had narrowed their domains . . . and as wave after wave succeeded they found themselves deprived of their broad acres."¹

The Merrimac, Connecticut, and Hudson valleys saw, from time to time, the Indian fields staked off into white men's farms, while the original owners moved on. When Lieutenant Pike was exploring the upper Mississippi, in 1806, he found fine cornfields, where are now magnificent wheat fields. He obtained a grant of 100,000 acres, including the Falls of St. Anthony, for two hundred dollars' worth of presents and sixty gallons of spirits, and in his Report to the War Office, he says, with

¹ "His. U. S." ii. 99.

charming simplicity, "You will perceive that we have obtained about 100,000 acres, equal to \$200,000, for a song."¹

Very true, St. Anthony and St. Paul and Minneapolis look better and are better than Indian cornfields. Still, it is well enough to notice why the Indians gave up farming there. The regions around Detroit and Mackinaw have become fruitful and most beautiful in the farms and towns and cities of white men, but we are false to history if we trace the changes only to Indian indolence and unthrift.

From colonial times hitherto we have had the national theory of Indian reservations with some agricultural hope, and at the same time the national practice of breaking them up. The encroachment of the whites on the Indians, and the appropriation of their lands, by treaty, purchase, exchange, or force, has quite destroyed their even poor practice of farming, and any ambition for it. Their constant removals from old homes to a farther front have made them hopeless and heartless. No white race, certainly not Americans, would follow up farming in such circumstances.

It is pleasant to enter one exception to the

¹ "Pike's Expedition," Appendix, pt. i. p. 10, Supplement, p. 25.

general rule that the whites encroach on the cultivated grounds of the Indians and expel them. The question was put to one, long and widely familiar with Indian life in the far West, and he made this reply to me, on the willingness and aptness of the Indian to cultivate the land: —

“From the Shoshones here in Wyoming and west, they take kindly to it, and are anxious to learn. Sagwitche, a Ute, left his tribe, went to farming with fifty others, and he raised 1300 bushels of small grains. This was in Thistle Valley, Utah. The white settlers retired from the Indians, and a contribution paid them off for the improvements which they left.”

And to another related question the same gentleman made this reply: “The whites, bordering, lack the civilization to get along well with the Indians. The kinder the whites are, the kinder the Indians.” It may not be improper to add that if the Indians had published as many papers as the whites, in their proportion, we of the East would now have quite different opinions of the Indians and of their white neighbors.

SECTION 4. — *The Encroachments of Immigrants and the Violations of Treaties, as related to Indian Farming.*

As to the keeping and breaking of Indian treaties, Senator Dawes is reported as making this strong statement in a senatorial debate, in April, 1880: "Government has never kept its promises to the Indians, and there are no indications that it ever will."

Some time since, Indian Inspector Pollock gave this testimony before a committee of the Senate: —

The Indians have "almost uniformly observed treaty obligations, when they understood them, while, on the other hand, to the best of his knowledge and belief, scarcely one of over 360 entered into with the Indians by the government had ever been fulfilled in accordance with its terms, and many of them had been grossly violated."

The Indian Commissioner for 1872 generalizes the reasons for breaking old treaties, and granting new reservations, in this manner: —

"These treaties were made from time to time, as the pressure of white settlements or the fear or the experience of Indian hostilities

made the demand for the removal of one tribe after another urgent or imperative.”¹

Mr. Walker, quoted above, says of the causes for making new reservations: “There is scarcely one of the 92 reservations at present established (1874) on which white men have not effected a lodgement; many swarm with squatters, who hold their place by intimidating the rightful owners; while in more than one case the Indians have been wholly dispossessed, and are wanderers upon the face of the earth.”²

And to see what our government treaties and reservations amount to, and how we discourage the Indians in any tendencies to agriculture, settlements, and civilization, let a few cases be cited: —

“The progress of the Indians in Michigan in civilization and industry has been greatly hindered in the past by a feeling of uncertainty in regard to their permanent possession and enjoyment of their homes.”³

Of the Mille Lac Chippewas, he says: “Their present reservation is rich in fine lands, the envy of lumber dealers, and there

¹ “Report on Indian Affairs,” 1873, pp. 83-4.

² “The Indian Question,” by Francis A. Walker, 1874; p. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, *Ind. Ques.*, 154.

is a strong pressure on all sides for their early removal.”¹

In the Minnesota and Sioux War of 1862, the Winnebagoes remained friendly to the whites, yet, says Mr. Walker, “the people were so determined that all Indians should be removed beyond the limits of the State that Congress, in 1863, passed an act providing for their removal.”²

Mr. Walker speaks of the Pimas and Maricopas in Arizona as peaceful, loyal, and considerably advanced in certain features of agriculture and civilization, and then adds: “The relations of these bands with the neighboring whites are, however, very unfavorable to their interests, and the condition of affairs is fast growing worse.”³

Of the Indians in Washington Territory, he remarks: “Owing to the influx of whites, many of them have been crowded out, and some of them have had their own unquestionable improvements forcibly wrested from them.”⁴

Those in the Round Valley agency “are uniformly quiet and peaceable, notwithstanding that they are much disturbed by the white trespassers . . . who are all clamorous for

¹ Ibid., Ind. Ques., 170. ² Ibid., Ind. Ques., 178.

³ Ibid., Ind. Ques., 242. ⁴ Ibid., Ind. Ques., 255.

breaking up the reservation and driving the Indians out.”¹

Summarily the Commissioner concludes: “Every State, and every Territory that aspires to become a State, will strive to keep the Indians as far as possible from its own borders; while powerful combinations of speculators will make their fight for the last acre of Indian lands.”²

An Indian hunt in California, within 1851-4, as described by an English writer and traveller there, will serve like a picture to show the feelings of white border men toward the Indians. A white man had been killed by the Indians about twelve miles from Hangtown, now Placerville. Four white men going to recover the body and “hunt” the Indians were repulsed. “The next day crowds of miners flocked in from all quarters, each man equipped with a long rifle, in addition to his bowie knife and revolver, while two men, playing a drum and fife, marched up and down the streets to give a military air to the occasion. A public meeting was held in one of the gambling rooms, at which the governor, the sheriff of the county, and other big men of the place were present. The miners about Hangtown were mostly Americans, and a large proportion

¹ *Ibid.*, *Ind. Ques.*, 264-5. ² *Ibid.*, *Ind. Ques.*, 119, 120.

of them were from the United States, who had come by the overland route across the plains — men who had all their lives been used to Indian wiles and treachery, and thought about as much of shooting an Indian as of killing a rattlesnake. They were a rough-looking crowd, long, gaunt, wiry men, dressed in the usual old flannel-shirt costume of miners, with shaggy beards, thin faces, hands and arms as brown as mahogany, and with an expression about their eyes which boded no good to any Indian who should come within range of their rifles. . . . The speech of a Kentuckian doctor was quite a treat. . . . The governor also made a short speech, taking the responsibility of raising a company of one hundred men, at five dollars a day, to go and whip the Indians. The sheriff followed. . . . Those who wished to enlist were then told to come round to the other end of the room, when nearly the whole crowd rushed eagerly forward, and the required number was at once enrolled." The hunt lasted two months.¹

With a singular and shocking coolness, Borthwick adds the following confessions and reflections: "Their presence is not compatible with that of a civilized community, and as the coun-

¹ "Three Years in California." B. J. D. Borthwick, 1851-4; pp. 132-6.

try becomes more thickly settled there will be no longer room for them. Their country can be made subservient to man, but as they themselves cannot be turned to account, they must move off and make way for their betters. This may not be very good morality, but it is the way of the world, and the aborigines of California are not likely to share a better fate than those of many another country." In view of such facts and such morality, the figures following need no explanation. By the official census of California in 1823, the number of Indians was 100,826; in 1880, it was 16,277. The "Indian Hunt" was midway between the two dates.

This last passage quoted from Commissioner Walker calls up painful memories of what followed the close of King Philip's War. "There followed a bitter contention of colonists for shares in the conquered territory."¹

Few persons realize how frequent these removals to new reservations have been, and how many the treaties with some tribes, usually on account of land. This crowding the Indians to new homes is historic and chronic, ancient and modern with us.

While among the Cherokees in 1880, I found their head men under the discouraging conviction that they could not remain there perma-

¹ Freeman's "Aborigines" from 1620, p. 166.

nantly, and so but little interest was taken in permanent improvements. Six sevenths of their dwellings were log-houses, huts, shanties, and caves.

Some of our acquisitions were made in colonial weakness and timidity, as our first treaty with Indians was made by the Plymouth Colony, in 1621. Our Dutch fathers ran a wall across Manhattan Island, in 1653, to keep the Indians out of New York, thereby gaining a part of the island, and beginning the present Wall Street, so called from that old Indian wall. Later treaties show all the grotesque combination of farce and tragedy in the appearance and acts of the two "high contracting parties." We have met the blanketed and clouted red man with all pomp and circumstance, in ridiculous imitation of ambassadors at Versailles, in the court of Louis XIV.

With all this, however, it should be said that there was a show of right and a symbol of equity. It was a recognition, on the part of the United States, of the limited possessory rights of the aborigines to the soil, and of a body of Indians as a nation or civil power. From the adoption of the constitution to March 3, 1871, our government indulged in the phantom of Indian nationalities, and went through the motions of treaty-making with

them, but at that date Congress forbade such recognition or style of intercourse. Between those two dates, and it should be formally stated to the credit of the government, the United States, by at least 372 treaties, acquired from the Indians all land to which a tribe could show any fair claim, and which is now in the possession of the government. Of course there has been fraud and crowding and intimidation at times, but the form of treaty has been preserved. Noah Webster speaks of "the indispensable necessity of securing the Indian treaties from the outrageous frauds to which they are exposed by their unrestrained intercourse with traders destitute of all moral principle."¹ With the single exception of the Sioux case, after the Minnesota massacre of 1862, our government has always acquired Indian lands by contract and not conquest.²

SECTION 5. — *British Columbia and its Indians.*

The English author, above quoted, Borthwick, is sustained in such repulsive views by the English government itself in dealing with

¹ "The First An. Rep. of the Am. Soc. for Promoting the Civilization and General Improvement of the Indian Tribes in the U. S.," p. 30, 1824.

² "Ind. Com. Report," 1872, pp. 83,84.

an Indian tribe in British Columbia. The case is here cited, not simply to show that the author is sustained by the example of his own government, but that the recognition of Indian rights is no necessary part of a so-called Christian civilization.

British Columbia is assumed to have had, within recent times, 30,000 Indians, of whom some tribes were so grossly pagan and barbarous as to be even cannibals. It is almost impossible to describe the brutal and bloody and animal degradation of some of them. In 1857 Mr. William Duncan, an English philanthropist and lay Christian, entered into the work of civilizing one of the most corrupt and violent of them. The tribe was of the Tsimshian stock, and had a home near Fort Simpson, a trading-post of the Hudson Bay Company. They regarded him as throwing his life away by exposing himself among them, and they sought to hold him back from an almost certain and horrible end.

After spending five years among them he succeeded in winning about fifty of them to a tolerable adoption of the leading principles and practices of a Christian civilization. This was accomplished while, at the same time, he was introducing among them the simpler and ruder mechanics, and temporal comforts of ordinary

white border men. He was fortunate in finding, near to Fort Simpson, a settlement of 2300 of these Indians, who, unlike our later and nomadic tribes, lived a village life, in separate and permanent houses.

Of course it was quite impossible to deal very successfully with these reforming ones while they were in constant association with the 2000 and more who persisted in maintaining their pagan practices and barbarous habits. Mr. Duncan, therefore, withdrew the Christian Indians into a colony by themselves, about seventeen miles from the post, and to a tide-water location and old village site, called Metlakahtla. The new town covered two acres of land, and was laid out into lots 60 by 120 feet. It was within an old reservation of their own, as the Indians supposed, of about 70,000 acres. It had, finally, a church seating 1200 people, a town hall, dispensary, reading-room, market, a blacksmith, carpenter, cooper, and tinshop, a work-shop and soap-factory. A system of civil government was organized by themselves, a school-room was provided, as also a village store, by themselves, and the profits were turned in for the town fund and general good. The colony grew to the number of about 1000, and was orderly, prosperous, and was fairly growing in intelligence and morality.

Its influence was widely felt on the wild tribes around. Even the Chilkats, a fierce tribe in Alaska, came 600 miles to see the wonder, and asked to see the book which had done so much to work the wonder. When the Bible was produced, and its power explained, each of the wild Alaskans touched it reverently with the tip of his finger, exclaiming, "Ahm! ahm!" It is good! it is good!

A thrifty village business sprang up, of a domestic kind, and some foreign, specially in canned salmon. Then border and harpy traders, who hang everywhere on the sel-vage and thrums of civilization, and keep just in advance of the Decalogue, forced themselves on this comparative Eden in the great north land. As this primitive planting of a better life had a government in and of itself, and as weak as it was sovereign, Mr. Duncan found it exceedingly difficult to protect it from decivilizing influences of poorly civilized whites, — Hudson Bay traders on the one side, and coasters on the other. The simple colonists were constantly tempted to the lowest vices, usually led in by vicious whiskey.

Mr. Duncan had not seen the way clear as yet to introduce the church proper, with its creeds and ceremonials, but had directed his labors mainly to secure an every-day moral

and Christian life. This plan did not commend itself to the resident officials of the Church Missionary Society, which had been somewhat auxiliary to the growth of the enterprise, and they therefore sought to embody the colony in the general church organization for British Columbia, and put it under the ceremonies and rituals of their form of Christianity. Still Mr. Duncan preferred to keep these simple and devout natives for the present to a few great and good points of daily life, which keep one so close to the sources of spiritual power and to the simplicity of the apostolic forms of Christianity.

Then the bishop assumed to occupy the colony as a mission, and took ecclesiastical control, while yet nine tenths of the colonists adhered to Mr. Duncan as their redeemer from paganism and cannibalism, and as their teacher and spiritual father, and the civil founder of their prosperous State. Then was illustrated that critical saying of Bishop Patterson: "I have for years thought that we seek in our missions a great deal too much to make English Christians."

The missionary society had some claim on the buildings because of some contributions toward their erection, but when, because of this, they wished to encumber these natives in their

simple piety with an elaborate and stately worship, depose their pastor and impose one not of their choice, they objected, and asked the society to remove the buildings (jointly owned) if they would, and leave the Indians in peaceable possession of their own two acres of land.

This brought the question of title to the land to the front, and the native Christians wrote to the society as follows: "The God of heaven, who created man upon the earth, gave this land to our forefathers, some of whom once lived on these very two acres, and we have received the land by direct succession from them. No man-made law can justly take from us this, the gift of Him who is the source of all true law and justice. Relying on this, the highest of all titles, we claim our land, and notify the society, through you, its deputies, to move off the two acres."

In giving this notice they relied on what the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, Earl Dufferein, had said, in a speech on the land question, in 1876, at Victoria: "In Canada, no government, whether provincial or central, has failed to acknowledge that the original title to the lands existed in the Indian tribes. Before we touch an acre we make a treaty, and having agreed upon and paid the stipulated price, we enter into possession."

The Metlakahtlans also laid their grievances, as to title, before the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, as one branch of the government, and with much confidence of success. He advised that the Church Missionary Society withdraw and leave the Indians in peaceable possession, as of their own land. Yet the government took no steps, nor did the society accede to the official judgment. When another notice was served on the bishop to remove, the government came to the defence of the society, and informed the Indians that they had no rights whatever in the land, but that the title rested in the queen. Then, government surveyors appeared to bound off, and cut up the two acres, that it might be secured formally to the Church Missionary Society, through the bishop. The powerless natives next took counsel of an eminent lawyer at Victoria, who gave opinion "that the Indians cannot be molested in the possession of lands occupied by them prior to the advent of white men, unless in pursuance of treaties duly entered into by them."

This opinion was obtained by a visit to Victoria, 600 miles away. Then, to secure their rights and to settle all difficulties amicably by a direct arrangement with government, a deputation of these Indians went to Ottawa, a round trip of 7000 miles. This was in

the summer of 1885, and they brought back promises that all their grievances should be lifted. But the hopes thus given were not to be realized. The question of title was traced back to the terms of union on which British Columbia came into the Canadian Dominion, in 1871. When that union was consummated, British Columbia had about 60,000 people, of whom one half were aborigines. The province contained 390,344 square miles—about three times the area of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Of all this, ten square miles only were reserved for the Indians—about two acres apiece! It appeared to be a deep scheme to put that immense domain within the reach of land-hungry speculators,—a huge Indian-ring. The plans to reserve even the poor remnant to the Indians lacked definiteness and real worth; for in 1875 the minister of justice reported that there were no reservations in British America, while the government had obtained no surrenders from the native occupants. The government simply assumed possession in a declarative way. More recently, the Chief Justice for British Columbia declared at Victoria, while arguing the land question, that the Indians have no rights whatever in the soil. Afterward, it was officially

declared to them that though they inherited the land from their ancestors, before the white man came, they were suffered to be in the lands in mere charity, and by the grace of the crown. In defence of this opinion, the decision of Chancellor Boyd, of Ontario, is quoted: "As heathens and barbarians, it was not thought that they had any proprietary title to the soil, nor any such claim thereto as to interfere with the plantations and the general prosecution of colonization. They were treated 'justly and graciously,' as Lord Bacon advised, but no legal ownership of the land was ever attributed to them."

The government ordered the land of Metlakhtla to be surveyed as crown lands, as I have stated. The Indians considered this an invasion of private rights, and prevented variously the survey, though without any violent or riotous proceedings. Then, armed vessels and soldiers protected the surveyors, and the work was completed, and for nominal sums previously arranged, it is said, the Indian lands passed into the hands of white men.

But we need not detail. Suffice it to say that this series of events terminated in the utter defeat of the Indians. Law and precedent were quoted from colonial and provincial New York, from the edicts of the Charleses,

and from the hard and mediæval times of Great Britain, as if oppressive usage should not wear away under the softening Christian spirit of the advancing centuries. Without treaty or compensation, and even without war and conquest, the Indians were officially declared to have no rights in the land of British Columbia. Being thus beggared by law, they were allowed but parcels of land for temporary use, and as a charity of which, at any time, they were liable to be dispossessed, under the pressure of white neighbors, or by the scheming of speculators.

Bancroft, in his history of British Columbia, sums up the policy of British America with the Indians in very plain words: "The cruel treacheries and massacres, by which nations have been thinned, and flickering remnants of once powerful tribes gathered on government reservations, or reduced to a handful of beggars, dependant for a livelihood on charity, theft, or the wages of prostitution, form an unwritten chapter in the history of this region. That this process of duplicity was unnecessary as well as infamous, I shall not attempt to show, as the discussion of Indian policy is no part of my present purpose. Whatever the cause, whether from an inhumane civilized policy or the decrees of fate, it is evi-

dent that the Columbians, in common with all the aborigines of America, are doomed to extinction."

The village of Metlakahtla, numbering about 1000 souls, is now a petitioner to the United States for permission to move over into Alaska, from whose border it is about thirty miles, and the project is regarded favorably at Washington, and will probably come before Congress at its next session.

I have presented this case with its outline facts and laws, in skeleton, and it must be confessed that it is a very ghastly skeleton. Two reflections will show the pertinence of the reference to the general topic of this volume.

The North American Indians are in quite similar relations to the government of the whites on either side of the international boundary, and in substance their treatment is quite alike by both. The Indians usually receive their first practical knowledge of the government of white men by being forced to the defensive of their ancestral rights and usages. The land title, on which so much of all a white man prizes depends, and all of worth to a red man, he soon finds is generally and practically a nullity in the opinion of both British and American governments. Chief Justice Mar-

shall has stated briefly the Indian laws of England in this country when we were colonies, and the States have inherited, and, with modifications, adopted the same: "According to the theory of the British constitution, all vacant lands are vested in the crown. . . . No distinction was taken between vacant lands and lands occupied by Indians. . . . All our institutions recognize the absolute title of the crown, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and recognize the absolute title of the crown to extinguish that right."

With the exception of a few parcels of land, and wide asunder, the Indian has no guarantee, like that of a white man, to the soil of his truck-patch and the lot of his wigwam or framed cabin. The land of the white owner, under deed properly executed, is as good to him and to his heirs as the government is strong. With the Indian, his treaty titles are as perishable as the paper on which they are written, and often as short lived as the grass on the house-tops, "which withereth afore it groweth up." Nor is the force of this strong statement much abated by the fact that often the inexorable pressure of the border men or of government has some formality, and some simulation of just and orderly proceedings, when finally it

¹ Johnson and McIntosh and Wheaton.

gains its end, and the irresistible party closes in on the coveted Indian lands.

The Provincial governments on the north of us boasted of a kinder and wiser policy than that of the United States, and referred to the friendship with which they and the natives were jointly occupying the same territory. In our "Oregon: The Struggle for Possession," we took occasion to show that this might well be and continue while the great North Land was held by the Hudson Bay Company as a game preserve, and the white man set steel-traps with the Indians, and made social and domestic equality with them; but that when the factory took the place of the steel-trap, and civilized homes the place of promiscuous forest-life, trouble and Indian wars would come. That time has arrived sooner than we expected. Our Northern Pacific Railroad hurried the coming of the Canadian Pacific, and that precipitated the Indian turbulence and wars north and west of Winnipeg, in the wide and wild lands of the Indian owner and the white adventurer. Riel and his struggles for his people are sample and type. Now comes the Metlakahtla case, bloodless because they have been won to Christianity. The remaining 29,000 may not welcome the surveyors over the graves of their fathers so gently. Their future is ominous, and the

vision is not encouraging. But yet we are not ready to see what Bancroft does: "The Columbians, in common with all the aborigines of America, are doomed to extinction."

The other reflection weighs on us very sadly. With a superior civilization, and with the gentle religion of the Prince of Peace, we come by shady approaches to the homes of the Indians. They are graded all the way from the painted savage and wolfish cannibal to those of fair and happy homes, in framed houses and among tilled fields, with schools and churches and civil courts. In the Cherokee country of 1820, and in the Tsimshean of 1886, where the red man's style of life does not suffer much in comparison with that of his white neighbor, they are outlawed and forced from the homes of their childhood, the fields of their tillage, and the graves of their ancestors. Possibly paganism and savagery may work a forfeiture of inherited and natural rights, but will civilized and Christian men declare and enforce the forfeiture? Because we are a Christian people, may we assume to seize the lands of those who are not? Do all land titles and equity and rights lie as a matter of course on the side of those who call themselves Christian? Is this seizure one of the notes in the anthem of "peace on earth"? If our civilization and

our Christianity will not recognize the natural rights of those who differ from us, where is the elevated humanity of the one or the divinity of the other? With all the more force these questions come home to the people on both sides of our international boundary, where those who are despoiled and outlawed and made continental tramps are as civil and as Christian as those who invade and despoil and take possession of their heritage. But we return from British Columbia.¹

SECTION 6. — *Uncertainty of Residence, and Indian Farming Impossible.*

With this semblance of equity we have nevertheless negatived ultimate justice and Indian farming by constant changes of reservations. The one deep cardinal thought that the government has impressed on the Indian is that of change of home. The only certainty he has, as to his present land tenure, is its uncertainty. That old treaty phrase, "as long as grass grows and water runs," is a historic sarcasm on our Indian policy. In his tour of conference and observation, by order of Calhoun, Secretary of War, among the Indian tribes, in 1820,

¹ "The Story of Metlakahtla." By Henry S. Willcome. Saxon and Co., London and New York, 1887.

the Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse was constrained to this declaration: "In repeated interviews with them, after informing them what good things their Great Father, the President, was ready to bestow on them if they were willing to receive them, the Chiefs significantly shook their heads, and said: 'It may be so, or it may be not; we doubt it. We don't know what to believe.'" ¹

The worthlessness of the reservation system for agriculture because of its uncertainty, President Jackson states with great candor and force, in his first message, 1829: "Professing a desire to civilize them, we have at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them farther into the wilderness. By this means they have not only been kept in a wandering state, but been led to look upon us as unjust, and indifferent to their fate. Thus, though lavish in its own expenditures upon the subject, government has constantly defeated its own policy."

This reservation theory has suggested some singular expedients for disposing of the Indian question. In 1778, while yet in the dubious struggle of the revolution, and when the English were enlisting the Indians against the colonies, we formed a treaty with the Delawares in

¹ "Report to the Sec. of War," etc., pp. 89, 90.

which, under certain provisos, "it is further agreed on between the contracting parties, . . . to invite any other tribes, who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a State, whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representative in Congress. . . ." ¹

Under a change from that policy, the pitiable remnant of the Delawares are down on the Red River, in the extreme south-west of the Indian Territory, and number, all told, about 80 souls.

Possibly the elaborate, suggestive, and somewhat seminal report of John C. Calhoun, in 1818, had Indian States in view when he proposed two large reservations on which to collect the Indians. The southern one we have. The one proposed for the north was never formed.

The process of force, outlawry, and ostracism, by which the Cherokee nation was removed from Georgia to become occupants of this southern reservation, the present Indian Territory, is no unfair illustration of our ruinous policy on Indian farming. "By the advice of Washington and every successive president of the United States, and assisted by grants of money from Congress, made for that express

¹ "Laws of U. S.," Duane, ii. 304.

purpose, the Cherokees had been rapidly advancing in civilization. They had become a nation of farmers so entirely that persons extensively acquainted with them did not know a single individual who depended on the chase for a subsistence. They were unwilling to leave their comfortable habitations, their cultivated fields, and the graves of their fathers, and remove into a distant and unknown wilderness. They had organized a regular government, and were, to a considerable extent, supplied with schools and religious institutions. For several years they had refused to sell any more of their lands, and had even enacted a law for punishing with death any chief who should attempt it. Georgia did not need the lands, for her population was not more than seven souls to a square mile; but the avaricious part of her citizens coveted them, for money could be made by trading in them, and some of them contained gold mines. It was proposed that the State should take possession of the lands, divide the whole into small portions, and distribute them among her citizens by lottery." It should be here interposed that some years before a large minority of the tribe had removed under pressure, and with the usual Indian willingness, to the new opening over the Mississippi;

to compel the rest to go was the purpose of Georgia.

“A law was enacted by the Legislature of Georgia, to take effect in June, 1830, extending the jurisdiction of the State over that part of the Cherokee nation within her chartered limits. Against this the Cherokees remonstrated to the President; but he, through the Secretary of War, answered that he had no authority to interfere. Encouraged by this state of things, Alabama and Mississippi enacted similar laws with respect to the Indian Territories within the limits that they claimed. All these laws were passed for the avowed purpose of making the situation of the Indians so uncomfortable that they would be willing to sell out and remove to the West. Success was confidently anticipated; and speculators were already inquiring what parts of the lands about to be vacated would be most salable, and making arrangements to supply provision for the Indians while on their way, at enormous profits, at the public expense.”¹

Of course the Cherokees went over the river. What could be otherwise? Those three States combined to force them out, and the government at Washington confessed its inability to

¹ “History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” by Joseph Tracy, 1842, pp. 228-230.

interpose. Always, at Washington, on the Indian question, the government in action is the sentiment of the white border, as one of the two parties in interest.

Civilization, not to say Christianity, blushes at the record. At the treaty of Holston, this article was inserted by our government: "That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry, and further to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit," etc. In 1816, General Jackson, an Indian agent, gave them two ploughs, six axes, and six hoes, to encourage and aid them toward civilized life, and at the same time Cyrus Kingsbury, a missionary, settled among them as teacher and preacher. Now they fall into line under military order of this same government, and turn their backs on their homes and farms and stock, and their faces toward sunset and destiny. In 1880, while riding with an ex-chief of the Cherokees among his own herds, he said to me: "Farming is not good for the Indians." He had better reasons for saying that than any white man can conceive of, or any white farmer's experience can suggest.

Almost all Indian farmers in the United States are as those Cherokees, and almost all their white neighbors are as those Georgians! In 1880 Georgia had within her border 124 Indians.

Still without a policy of general acceptance, and learning but little from our failures, with the Indians receding and wasting, and their civilization adjourned from one generation to another, Secretary Kirkwood reproduced, with modifications, early in 1881, the Calhoun plan of sixty years before. He would have a few large reservations, and the lands finally held in severalty, in suitable quantity, and under sensible conditions. The inauguration of this policy would interfere with old home attachments, break up again their agricultural and civil and domestic beginnings, and either dissolve the tribes, or consolidate and locate them in juxtapositions where they would be liable to become irritating and belligerent. A general movement in this direction would possibly disseminate a general discontent, and intensify the traditional uncertainty that has hitherto attended all government plans with them. If these results should follow the adoption of the plan, their advance in civilization would for a time be barred by their dissatisfaction, discouragement, and indifference.

SECTION 7. — *Still Experimenting on Indian Policies, and Invading Indian Farms.*

At the end of a century our government is without an Indian policy; Mr. Dawes is reported as saying recently that "what has been done in the past is of no use, except to teach us that something different is needed in the future." The same causes which have, for two centuries, been diminishing the Indian fields and driving their owners beyond the Mississippi, are still working, but with an increased energy, and on a wider compass. To name any exceptions to this, as the Marshpee and Gay Head remnants in Massachusetts, or more numerous bands in Western States, is only to expose the inefficiency of our Indian system, and manifest its failure by graded illustrations, the oldest being the most pitiable and condemning.

It is true the Indians have not shown an educated interest in agriculture, but the best of their farms have not been improved by a new and white neighborhood and the example of white settlements. Indian farming has been in the advance of white immigrant neighbors, and abandoned when they came. Some figures in the census of 1880 are encouraging. Dakotah has 27,500 Indians, and between 2000

and 3000 cultivate the land. Some of these had begun farms, and repeatedly, in regions far to the east, but had been forced along by the white tide. Now they are trying it over again, perhaps for the fifth time, but always at a distance from the whites. Indeed, it may be said as a general truth that the best Indian farms are those farthest from the farms of white men. In Montana there are 19,791 Indians, and a few hundred, much under 500, are in some farm interests. The Upper Missouri, the Yellowstone, and the yet inaccessible or undesired heads of other continental rivers, show what are called Indian farms under government appropriations and management. They are, however, a poor basis for prophecy, because of recent opening, and in advance of immigrants and speculators. Indian farms lie all the way east of them to the Atlantic, under the warranty deeds of white men. We wait with a painful certainty as to result till white men want those upper valleys of the United States.

It is now a popular and philanthropic suggestion to try and end the Indian troubles by turning the 250,000, more or less, of this hated race into farmers. As if we had tried all other expedients, and hit upon this as a final experiment, we are pressing on them the choice to

work or die. The effrontery of the proposition would be ludicrous if it were not cruel. For two hundred years the people of the United States have been working the best possible policy to break up the inferior farming of this pitiable race, and discourage them from undertaking more or doing better. It is believed we have taken every cornfield of the Indian between Plymouth and the Rocky Mountains. If any yet remains, it is at a front not yet reached by us. There are, as yet, partial failures of our policy of removal here and there, in the newer States, where a few agricultural Indians are to be found. They are probably only temporary exceptions to a final success. As they have already been removed repeatedly when white settlements crowded them, it may be expected that they will move on, "as the English villages draw nearer and nearer to them," as in the days of Philip. When now we propose this scheme to them, the stinging, humiliating, and discouraging memories of generations come over them. Why should they have any confidence in our new promises, or expectation of permanency in a new home and on another farm?

It is said the Indian is lazy and will not work. Take ten counties of good farmers in Ohio or New England, and discourage and

deceive and abuse them as we have any ten average Indian tribes, and will those white men, in the second or fourth or six generation, show themselves thrifty, hearty, and progressive farmers, crowded from New England and Ohio by repeated removals to the headwaters of the Missouri or Arkansas or Columbia? How long would it take our Indian policy to produce the Dalrymple farm? How short a time to convert its thirty thousand acres of wheat field, minus a few, into wild prairie and buffalo range? Even Indian human nature ought to be ashamed if our old policy would not make it lazy and listless and hopeless. Our Indian "ward" is naturally, logically, and honorably lazy, in opening farms in wild lands for the inevitable white man. Deny to these ten counties of white farmers any warranty title to their farms, or any personal and salable rights in the buildings, wells, bridges, and fences, and tilth, which they have made; deny to them the protection of law, and the validity of all government pledges and treaties; follow them up with forced removals, to work other wild lands into farms; do this for half a dozen generations, and will not those white farmers of the ten counties become lazy and listless and hopeless?

I have mentioned the policy of Mr. Bourne,

of Colonial Massachusetts, to limit the Indian lands by ponds, so that the whites might not change the bounds. The quaint recorder of the court record of this reservation adds that this Bourne "was a man of that discernment that he considered it vain to propagate Christian knowledge among any people without territory where they might remain in force from generation to generation and not be ousted."¹

¹ "Plymouth Colony Records," Mass. His. Soc. Coll., vol. iii. p. 188,

CHAPTER IV.

DO THE AMERICAN INDIANS INCREASE OR
DECREASE?

THE Indian question has as many faces as a polyhedron. It has at least ten: the Indian agent, who lives in a tribe, and has his political campaign bills cashed by being made the superintendent of a reservation; the Indian contractor who is to supply such an amount of goods and rations for so many dollars; the land speculator, who wishes to break up certain reservations that he may handle their acres in the general land market; the railroad projector, who wishes notices served on the tepees that the cars are coming; the philanthropist, who would tabulate the wrongs and sorrows of the Indian, but lacks reams of paper; the romantic admirer, who has read in dreamy Eastern bowers of Cooper's Indian of fiction; the citizen friend, who sees in a ballot and a warranty deed for land in severalty a cure for all civil ills that American flesh is heir to; the man of visions, who sees in latest and popular schemes the redemption of the

red man; the Christian workingman, who believes that our holy religion is fully adequate to make Christians of Indians, and save the race from extinction; and the matter-of-fact man, who asks to what extent Indians' woes have been lessened, and what plans are on hand, and what more will probably be accomplished.

Here, in the extreme West, where we are for the purpose of acquiring information, these questions press: Where have the American Indians once lived? And how many? And where and how many are they now?

SECTION 1.—*The number of Indians in Early New England.*

Referring to the earliest days of the Plymouth Colony, Dr. Bacon says: "The Narragansetts, inhabiting all the territory now included in the State of Rhode Island, are supposed to have been at that time about thirty thousand."¹ Schoolcraft says that at the discovery of America, the number of Indians within the present area of the United States did not exceed one million. Among the earliest estimates of their number in New

¹ "The Genesis of the New England Churches." By Leonard Bacon. 1874. P. 357.

England is that of Gookin, of whom Dwight says, in his "Travels," that he "has left, in many particulars, the best ancient account extant of the natives of this country." Gookin numbers 80,000 to "less than half of the present New England," which President Dwight thinks too high, and puts the number at 70,000. This was for the year 1796 — ninety years ago.¹ By the census of 1880, the number of Indians in the whole of New England was 4096.

In 1820, under the instruction of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., made a visit into much of the Indian country, and also a careful study of the Indian question for those times. He found the whole number of Indians east of the Mississippi to be 120,346.² In the census of 1880, they were 17,679, allowing one fifth of all in Louisiana to be on the east of the Mississippi.³

The report of Dr. Morse for the entire United States for 1820 gave 425,766, while by our last census, sixty years later, the number

¹ "Travels in New England." By Timothy Dwight, S. T. D. 1822. Vol. iii. pp. 39, 41.

² "Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs." By the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D. 1822. P. 375.

³ Appendix, "United States Census." 1880. P. 558.

is 255,938, — Alaska not included. This is a decrease in the sixty years of 169,828. Two things, however, should be considered: first, the impossibility of any close estimate of our Indians at that time — the number given by Dr. Morse may be too high or too low; secondly, it must be remembered that our census of 1880 covers territory gained from Mexico, which gives us 33,306 Indians. This number should be subtracted from the whole, in order to take the census of 1820 and that of 1880 from the same area. This will show a decrease of 203,134 from the estimate of Dr. Morse during the sixty years ending with 1880.

As to the remnants of Indians in Massachusetts, the last itemized and exhaustive report was made in 1861.¹ It is a sad record, and brief — “the short and simple annals of the poor.” There then remained the shreds of ten bands, in all about 1600 persons, but among them all no one drop of pure Indian blood, no civil rights at the polls; intemperate, immoral, and unambitious, and for the ten years preceding, receiving the charities of the State, not including school-money, to the amount of \$29,964.37.

¹ “Massachusetts Senate Document 96.” 1861. By J. M. Earl.

SECTION 2.— *The number of Indians East of the Mississippi in 1820.*

A wider territorial range than the Bay State gives only the same fact extended. One hundred years ago the young republic had practical possession of a shore belt one hundred miles in depth by nine hundred in length. Theoretically, we owned the remainder back to the Mississippi, with the Indians in possession. The western border of our Atlantic belt was skirted with the cabins and wigwams of the two races. By treaty and trick, purchase and fraud, the whites have come into actual possession to the Mississippi. Here and there is a "reservation," with Indians on it, as islands in an overflowing river with their trees half uprooted. It would be difficult to tell how many times single tribes have been moved, till they are now gathered, wasted and heartless, in the Indian Territory. In 1880 I found the Cherokees there, under the sixteenth treaty with government. Many of these serial movements to new reservations, and other changes of condition, were marked with their attempts for our style of life, but their projects were broken and their improvements were abandoned as fast as white immigrants and speculators wanted their lands.

At the time above mentioned, an ex-chief of the Cherokee nation said to the author, and with more of meaning than it is possible for a white man to put into the words: "We are discouraged, hopeless, and expect to become extinct."

The original States of the Union have not been preëminent in this wasting of the aborigines. Newfoundland was once fairly peopled with Indians, but the last two of them — a man and a woman — were shot by two Englishmen in 1823. "In Newfoundland, as in other parts of America, it seems to have been for a length of time a meritorious act to kill an Indian."¹ "Between Lake Huron and the sea the remnants of them are scattered in small and decaying tribes, at distant intervals, unconnected, and of no public importance."²

The Hurons, or Wyandots, were once estimated to be 30,000. "A feeble remnant, a few score in number of the Wyandots, now survive, and are represented at Washington by an exceptionally shabby white man, who has received the doubtful honor of adoption into the tribe."³

¹ "Report of Committee of Parliament on the Aborigines of North America." 1837. Martin's "History of the Hudson's Bay Company."

² "Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada," etc. By C. Stuart, Esq. London, 1820. Pp. 243, 257.

³ "The Indian Question." By Francis A. Walker. 1874. P. 70.

In 1885 this ancient and strong tribe reported 251, of whom 239 were mixed bloods, with 40 dwelling-houses.

The depletion of the race continued west of the Alleghanies, and as rapidly as in the east. When Colonel Henderson obtained title of land for that abnormal State called Transylvania, he contracted with 1200 Indian chiefs, and paid to them for their quitclaim ten loads of goods, a few fire arms, and some whiskey.¹ So many chiefs indicated a large Indian population at that date, 1775. At our last census the number of Indians in Kentucky — now about double the area of the primitive Transylvania — was fifty. It is no longer “the dark and bloody ground,” but “the blue grass country.”

In 1820, Dr. Morse, the Indian Commissioner, reported the Mennomonies, Winnebagoes, Chipeways, Sioux, Sacs, and Foxes at 60,000, but the census of 1880 puts them at 33,795. In 1820, the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles were numbered at 72,010, and in 1880 the census puts them as being 59,187. Once the Delawares were numerous and powerful, the fear of Pennsylvania. In the Indian Commissioner's Report for 1880, sixty years afterward, they are numbered as 78, and on the other side of the Mississippi. Dr.

¹ Abbott's "Life of Daniel Boone," p. 123.

Morse, in his Report, page 31, states that "South Carolina had twenty-eight tribes when settled by the English," all but five of which, he reports, had even so early disappeared. In 1880, it had 131 Indians.

Judge Burnet has left on record some painful passages in reference to this disappearance of the aborigines: "In journeying more recently through the State the writer has occasionally passed over the ground on which, many years before, he had seen Indian towns filled with families of the devoted race, contented and happy, but he could not perceive the slightest trace of those villages, or the people who had occupied them."⁴ The Judge details a thrilling incident, and a picture of the frontier. In 1812, a tribe of friendly Indians came within the range of the settlements, near Urbana, to be safe from the hostile tribes. Some of the United States army stationed there laid a plan to massacre them. Simon Kenton, who commanded the regiment, exhausted his pleas to restrain them, but in vain. He then said that he would go with them, and called on them to proceed, and, taking his rifle, he added that he would shoot the first man who molested an Indian.

⁴ "Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory." By Jacob Burnet. Cincinnati, 1847. Pp. 390-92.

The soldiers did not proceed.¹ Ohio to-day has 130 Indians.

Hennepin says that when he first visited the Mississippi, in 1680, the Osages had seventeen villages; the Mahas or Omahas, twenty-two, the least of which contained two hundred cottages. If these numbers be correct there must have been about 90,000 souls in them all. Now, says one authority, publishing in 1812, there are less than 1500, and he adds: "Many other nations were equally numerous."² Major Stoddard was the first United States Governor of the Upper Louisiana, taking office in 1804. The "Magazine of Western History" quotes a Jesuit father in Louisiana as saying that about the year 1700 Illinois had 10,000 Indians. Now it has 140.³ Probably Dr. Morse was not far out of the way in numbering the Indians east of the Mississippi in 1820 at 120,000.

One old Canadian testimony will be in point here: "They have receded as a natural consequence before the progress of industry. . . . Unless some extra means be interposed, he gradually fades from existence. . . . They are

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-65.

² "Sketches and Description of Louisiana." By Major Amos Stoddard. Philadelphia, 1812. Pp. 433-34.

³ "Magazine of Western History," 1885, p. 268.

a degraded race, and seem rapidly sinking to extinction. . . . It is still most anxiously to be desired that such may become our future conduct towards them that a remnant survive to bless, instead of cursing the day when Europeans arrived to settle among them.”¹

But we have neither time nor need nor heart to trace out farther, in items, this decline of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi. We have followed the trail of the 120,346, officially reported in 1820, till they have wasted, in 1880, to 17,679. What Dr. Morse saw in the year preceding drew from him this sad lament: “How many tribes, once numerous and respectable, have in succession perished from the fair and productive territories now possessed by and giving support to ten millions of people!”² I cannot refrain from adding that eloquent passage in the “British Spy,” which, if very romantic and poetic, is still more historic:—

“This charming country belonged to the Indians; over these fields and through these forests their beloved forefathers, once, in careless gayety, pursued their sports and hunted their game. Every returning day found them the sole, the peaceful, the happy proprietors of

¹ “Emigrant’s Guide to Upper Canada,” etc. C. Stuart, Esq. London, 1820. Pp. 240–268.

² “Report,” Appendix, p. 17.

this extensive domain. But the white man came, and lo, the animated chase, the feast, the dance, the song of fearless, thoughtless joy, were over. Ever since, they have been made to drink of the bitter cup of humiliation; treated like dogs, their lives, their liberties, the sport of the white man; their country and the graves of their fathers torn from them in cruel succession, until, driven from river to river, and from forest to forest, and through a period of two hundred years rolled back, nation upon nation, they find themselves fugitives, vagrants and strangers in their own country."

Of course the claim by natural right of the aborigines to hold these immense wilds against utilization in cultivation and civilization cannot be conceded. If one is studiously inclined on this point, he may find profitable and sufficient reading in Vattel, section 209; Kent's "Commentaries on American Law," volume iii., and Lecture fifty-one; and Wheaton's "Reports," volume viii., page 543 and following.

It is estimated that one acre in corn will furnish a food supply for from 120 to 240 men for a year, while from 800,000 to 1,500,000 acres of wild and game land would be necessary to do the same.¹ The increase of the human family

¹ "Pre-Historic Races of the United States of America."
By J. W. Foster, LL. D. 1874. Pp. 346, 347.

and its elevation in what constitutes civilization cannot be expected to concede to an Indian the sovereign control and use of 6000 acres of land for the natural production of wild animals, that he may live on game suppers. Practically, and by some processes in jurisprudence, the case becomes a new one and the decision is reversed when the party is a white Englishman or American instead of a tawny aboriginal American, and holds from ten thousand to half a million of acres.

SECTION 3. — *Examples of Decrease beyond the Mississippi.*

But let us cross over the Mississippi, and there take up again the trail of our fugitive Indians — “our wards” — as they strike off into the West. We started, sixty years ago, to follow 425,766 of them, of whom we have found only 15,366 now on the east of the great river. How many of the remainder can be found on the west of it? The American Board of Missions has this remark in its Report for 1853: “It is not strange that the Indians of the United States, in two centuries, have lost half their number.”

We never have had, in early years or lately, such an enumeration of our Indians at regu-

larly recurring periods as will enable us to speak positively of their increase or decrease as a whole. Single tribes and clusters of tribes have furnished a basis for limited comparison, if we are allowed to use official and unofficial estimates in a mixed way, as thus: —

When Marquette opened his Mission opposite "Starved Rock," Illinois, in 1675, "500 chiefs and old men sat in a ring. Behind stood more than 1500 youths and warriors, and behind all these the women and children of the town." About four years later, Hennepin says that he counted 460 lodges there, and others made the same estimate."¹

Mr. Picotte "informs me that since he first knew them, in 1820, the Mandans, Rees, and Gros Ventres had probably lost five sixths of their number."² In 1858 the Apaches in Arizona were said to have 2000 warriors.³ On a common estimate of one warrior to six Indians, this would give the Apaches in that territory 12,000. The government reports 9891 for their total in Arizona, New Mexico, and the Indian Territory, in 1880.

¹ "Mag. West His.," 1885, p. 315.

² Cuthbertson's "Expedition to the Mauvaises Terres," 1850, Fifth An. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, March, 1851, p. 119.

³ "Arizona and Sonora." By Sylvester Mowry, delegate to Congress. 1864. Pp. 32, 33.

“Some sixty years ago, after an inquiry into the state of the Illinois Indians, it was thought they numbered 10,000 souls. I am of the opinion that to-day there are scarcely more than 800 or 900.¹ Association with the French destroys them.”¹

In 1845 Elijah White, Indian Agent for Oregon Territory, reported there “about 42,000 Indians.” That territory embraced the Oregon, Washington, and Idaho of to-day, and all north up to 54° 40'. As only “civilized” Indians are entered in the census of 1880, and the agencies report only what are connected with them, a comparison with reference to increase or decrease can be only suggestive and approximate. For so much of the original Oregon as now lies within the United States, the Indian Commissioner's Report for 1880 gives 16,356. Of these, 1550 are reckoned as not under an agent. The number of the uncivilized is not given; and allowing for these and for any north of 49° in Mr. White's report, the difference is still very great between his estimate in 1845, of 42,000, and the reported number of 16,356 in 1880. The statements following of two agents are stimulating to reflections on this difference. The agent for the

¹ John Watson, “Jesuit in Louisiana.” 1764-5. “Mag. West. His.,” 1884, p. 120.

Grand Rondé Agency, Oregon, says: "The Indians composing the inhabitants of the agency are remnants of the numerous and once powerful tribes occupying the Willamette and Rogue River Valleys in this State." This agency has 869 Indians, the remnant of seventeen tribes. The agent of the Siletz agency, Oregon, reports: "The Indians occupying this extent of country number about 1100, and are composed of the remnants of fifteen different tribes."

We obtain a glance at the large body of Indians in Oregon in those early days by reading a passage like this: "Half a century ago they came by thousands, and the desolate shores were alive with them. . . . Now, only a few score Indians come to remind the whites that a remnant of the race still lives." The author is speaking of the salmon fisheries on the Columbia, at the Dalles." ¹

In 1840 five missionaries, with associates, — thirty-six adults and seventeen children, — arrived in Oregon to enlarge the Methodist Mission. "Not long after the arrival of this last reinforcement, affairs began to grow more discouraging. The Mission school near Salem dwindled to almost nothing. . . . A tour was made in the Umpqua Valley, where they

¹ "Guide to the Northern Pacific Railroad." By Henry I. Winser. 1880. P. 233.

preached to the Indians, on many occasions, but concluded that it was not wise to open a mission there, partly owing to the rapidity with which the Indians seemed to be wasting away. The station on Puget Sound was so unsuccessful that it was abandoned." The superintendent was superseded, but Mr. Hines, one of the authors on Oregon, defends the Mission and Mr. Lee by saying that "the Indian population had been wasting away like the dews of the morning."¹

Commander Wilkes noted the same decrease of Indians in Oregon in 1841. "We hoped to get sight of the Indians of the Methodist Mission, whom they were teaching, but saw only four servants. We were told, however, that there was a school of twenty or twenty-five scholars ten miles away. In a few days we visited the mill where the school was situated, but were told that it was not in a condition to be visited." "During my stay at Vancouver I frequently met Casenove, the chief of the Klackatack tribe. . . . He was once lord of all this domain, . . . and within the last fifteen years his village was quite prosperous; he could muster four or five hundred warriors; but the ague and fever have, within a short

¹ "History of Indian Missions on the Pacific Coast, Oregon," etc. By Rev. Myron Eells. 1882. Pp. 22-24.

space of time, swept off the whole tribe, and it is said they all died within three weeks. He now stands alone, his land, tribe, and property all departed, and he a dependent on the bounty of the Company (Hudson's Bay Company). Casenove is about fifty years of age, and a noble and intelligent-looking Indian. At the fort he is always welcome, and is furnished with a plate at meal-times at the side-table. . . . He scarce seemed to attract the notice of any one, but ate his meal in silence and retired. . . . Casenove's tribe is not the only one that has suffered in this way; many others have been swept off entirely by this fatal disease, without leaving a single survivor to tell their melancholy tale." ¹

Campbell, in his "Northwest Boundary," page 133, makes this statement in the same line: "The whole inside of the north-eastern part of San Juan formerly belonged to a tribe kindred to the Lummies, and now extinct." And the following is of the same import, only more comprehensive: "The race, as such, is doomed to extinction in Oregon." ²

¹ "Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition." By Charles Wilkes, Commander of the Expedition. Philadelphia, 1845. Vol. iv., pp. 352, 369-370.

² "Oregon and Her Resources." By Hugh Small. 1872. P. 14.

Still another and more recent author shows the whole by sample: "One Sunday I was at the Siletz Agency, and, hearing the church-bell calling to service, went in. . . . There was a great variety of type apparent, for the remnants of thirteen tribes of the Coast and Klamath and Rogue River Indians are collected on this reservation."¹

In his "Sketches of Louisiana," page 206, Stoddard says that in the early days of white settlements among them "the Arkansas nation of Indians was deemed one of the most powerful in the country, and the French, to preserve peace with them, and to secure their trade, intermarried with them, . . . who are now reduced to a very few in number, and live in two small villages." That was early in this century. Now the very name is lost to any living Indian, and is preserved in a State which contains one hundred and ninety-five Indians.

SECTION 4. — *Some Personal Investigations.*

Three months in the autumn of 1885 were spent by the author between the Missouri and the Pacific, and with a leading purpose to

¹ "Two Years in Oregon." By Wallis Nash. 1882. P. 139.

study our mixed Indian and American life in that region. The freedom of the private travelling citizen, and exemption from all official relations which might bias him or expose him to any personal aims of his informants, afforded some exceptionally good opportunities for seeing the inside of the "Indian question." An office-holder among the Indians or an office-seeker, a border land-speculator or an Indian agent, secular or sacred, will appreciate this statement. The principal informant, intelligent and candid, had spent more than thirty years west of the Missouri and between our northern boundary and Mexico, had been the most of this time in the employ of the government, and spoke four Indian languages. Questions were put and the answers written out at the time. "The Gos-Ute," he said, in answer to the question whether the Indians are increasing or decreasing, "was once a very numerous tribe on the deserts of Western Utah and Eastern Nevada, now nearly extinct,—less than 400. In 1860, when I guided Lieutenant Weed's command, Battery B, Fourth Artillery, in Eastern Nevada, we estimated them at 1200." "Possibly the Utes hold their own numbers, but not any other tribe, and I have ranged, since 1853, from the British

border to Arizona, and on the East from the divide to the Pacific." "The Indians must go. They are dying out. The Navahoes have the military and missionaries, Catholic and Protestant. But the soldiery will have access to the reservation. The officers and missionaries cannot prevent it, and the tribe is being consumed with imported diseases. The Arapahoes are another case." Of these the Report for 1880 shows about 4000, of whom 712 are tabulated in the column of venereal diseases. "In 1858-1869 it was difficult to find an unchaste Ute or Snake woman. After they went on the reservation virtue was destroyed by the soldiers. I doubt if one virtuous woman can now be found among them. Liquor can be had freely on the reservation. It caused the Ute massacre of Meeker and of Jackson, the teamster. . . . From the corruption of the whites the Navahoe tribe is now one vast pest-house." "The tribes are ruined beyond all chance of hope by the soldiers and cow-boys and ranchers. The officers generally are gentlemen, and hold themselves above corrupting influences over the Indians, but the soldiers are of the lowest grade originally, and are simply dreadful. You can have no conception of their outrageous conduct." "Can we in any way

save any tribe from extinction?" "Only by keeping from them the white influences which are now destroying them." "Would a fair Ohio neighborhood around save them?" "Yes, beyond a doubt; and yet I do not know but these imported vices have too strong and destroying a hold to be stopped."

The testimony just quoted covers, it will be noticed, quite an area, and quite a number of years. It agrees well with what Commissioner Walker says in his "Indian Question," page 152: "The Indian tribes of the continent, with few exceptions, have been steadily decreasing in numbers."

An illustration to the same effect from Vancouver Island is in point: "It is painful to know, as I do from frequent inquiry of Indians in Victoria streets, how very few of them outlive infancy."¹

SECTION 5. — *Increase or Decrease in California.*

In this historical disquisition on the increase and decrease of the American Indians, those of California have been reserved for a separate consideration, for several reasons. California had, from the earliest days of Europeans there,

¹ "Daily Chronicle," Victoria, Nov. 2, 1886.

the fair experiment of the Church and State policy combined to open up a new country. The Roman Catholic Mission had there, in its twenty-one "Missions," a fair and unmolested show of its theory, running through more than sixty years. An American border life among Indians had there an exceptionally good illustration in the extent of its range — having the combined areas of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Nowhere besides, in our domain, has there been such a mixture of Indian, mining, and ranching life — each a very positive element in the operation of a civil and Christian State.

Therefore a better field than California could not be found in which to study the civilization, Christianization, and perpetuity of American Indians.

The Franciscans planted Missions among the Indians on the coast between San Diego and San Francisco. There were finally twenty-one of these Missions, in a shore belt about 500 by 40 miles, and so far adjoining as to rule out settlers between. The first was established in 1769 and the last in 1823, and the Padres were both lords spiritual and temporal. They so far Christianized and domesticated the natives as to reckon 18,683 as connected with the Missions. These were all servants, and worked for

a living merely, not accumulating property in their own right. By this policy the Fathers became immensely wealthy. In 1825 the Mission at San Francisco owned 76,000 head of cattle, 3000 horses, 79,000 sheep, and other ranch interests in proportion. Their white and red wines obtained high repute in the East, the Mission of San Gabriel producing annually from four hundred to six hundred barrels. The civil, social, and "Christian" condition of the native converts may be seen in one passage from Cronise:—

"Both men and women were required to work in the fields every day, except those who were carpenters, blacksmiths, or weavers. None of them were taught to read or write except a few who were selected to form a choir, to sing and play music, for each Mission. The only instruments were the violin and guitar. They never received any payment for their labor, except food and clothing, and instructions in the catechism. The single men and women were locked up in separate buildings every night. Both sexes were severely punished with the whip if they did not obey the missionaries, or other white men in authority. . . . Both men and women were flogged or put into the stocks, if they refused to believe or to labor. . . . Eminent men of science from Eng-

land, France, Russia, and the United States who visited the coast, and saw the unfortunate natives under the Mission régime, in its palmyest days, all bear witness to the wretched state of bodily and mental bondage in which they were held.”¹

So in Mexico, the converted Indians were reduced to slavery on the land and in the mines.² Of the vast interior of the country and the great majority of pagan natives the “Missions” took no account. It does not appear that they explored to see whether the lands or the natives, far inland, were worth attention. When the Convention at Monterey, in 1849, was discussing the question where the eastern boundary of the young State should be, they were bewildered, as in an unknown land. One proposed a line that would have included one half of Nevada; another, the whole of Nevada and a large part of Utah; and yet another, all of Nevada and Utah, the most of Colorado, and portions of Nebraska. Indeed, the vastness, the amplitude of American geography has always been confusing to both citizens and foreigners. The home government of old Spain made liberal grants for these

¹ “The Natural Wealth of California.” By Titus Fye Cronise. San Francisco, 1868. Pp. 25, 26.

² “Am. Encyc.,” 1875. Mexico, p. 476.

Missions, as settlements to develop the country as a part of the Spanish Empire, and the Catholics patronized them generously for the extension of the Church. Yet the soldiers and colonists sent there by the government were often ruffians and renegades, transported for crimes at home. Such was the Spanish theory of the civilization and Christianization of the Indians as practised in California.

In 1821 Mexico assumed independence under Iturbide. It became more and more evident that the policy of California was a failure for either civil or religious purpose, and in 1826 the Missions began to be broken up by government, and the vast wealth in them confiscated to the young republic. This was completed by statute in 1833, when the Mexican Congress abolished the Missions, removed the missionaries, and divided the cattle, lands, and remnants of property among the natives and the settlers. Santa Anna, coming then into power, broke the full force of this decree, yet their power waned; the successive insurrections, or changes in parties, despoiled them, and in 1845 government sold the last of the "Missions" at auction. The domesticated Indians suffered severely from these changes. They had been educated for servitude and not citizenship, and their conversion to Chris-

tianity had been ceremonial rather than vital, and they had received no training in civilization above the wants of their menial life. Their relapse, therefore, was not only inevitable, but they became more of an obstacle to the future settlement and development of the country than the wild Indians themselves. Indeed, they stood in the way of civilizing the uncivilized Indians, for they had only so far left the savage state as to adopt the vices of their half-civilized masters. They had lost the virtues of their wild life, but had not attained to those of civilized life, and would class with that refuse of whites on our frontiers who are the principal obstacle to the elevation of the Indians.

Of these "Mission" Indians, as has been stated, there were finally 18,683. The last of these establishments was constituted in 1823, in which year the first official census was taken of the Indian race in California. The number reported was 100,826. That was about sixty years ago, and by latest official reports that number has fallen to 16,277 (1880). The estimates of the number of Indians in the country, prior to any tolerable census, must be taken with grave distrust. Schoolcraft put their number at 1,000,000, when America was discovered, while Catlin's estimate was 14,000,000.

SECTION 6. — *The Government Census quite Imperfect, yet Shows much Decrease.*

The facts now given, miscellaneous of necessity, only partially official, and as comprehensive as data at hand would allow, point distinctly to an apparent decrease in the number of the American Indians. Of course results of this investigation can be stated only approximately, since the government tables contain many blanks, and when filled they frequently have the foot-notes; "from report of last year"; "estimated"; "partially reported"; "an under-estimate, many tribes not being reported." While the twenty-six columns in the usual table are generally filled, except when obviously there was nothing to be inserted, as boarding-schools, or missionaries, or donations, only twenty-eight per cent. of the blanks for births and deaths are filled. Every tribe furnishes material for these blanks, and their vacancy is a serious hindrance to this investigation. In the reports for ten years, ending with 1884, there are 2585 blanks for the entry of the population, etc., yet only 729 of these contain the figures of births and deaths. We have, therefore, only twenty-eight per cent. of the material or conditions for working the problem in hand. With these very imperfect re-

turns, the average annual return for ten years, ending with 1884, is 518 births in excess of deaths.

One of the Indian Commissioners throws a farther perplexity over the tables on which we would like to rely on the question of increase or decrease. Mr. Walker mentions an increase in certain tribes, and then says: "An increase of 402 over the number reported for 1871; due, however, perhaps as much to the return of absent Indians as to the excess of births over deaths."¹

Only "civilized" Indians are officially reported, which fact may have left some to a hopeful delusion as to increase. For example, the total reported increase for 1881 over 1880 was 5913; but the increase by births over deaths was only 350. Whence the additional increase of 5563? It is an increase of "civilized," not of new-born Indians — an annex of so many from the wild Indians. Dropping the blanket for the pantaloons does not add to the "wards of the nation"; it is merely a change in wardrobe, and very slight indeed at that. Thus, in 1882, the number falls off 2219 from the preceding year, not perhaps a decrease by death so much as by a relapse into the "uncivilized" class.

¹ "The Indian Question," p. 155.

A wider range among the figures may serve still farther to remove this delusion, for an obscurity covers them, tending to skepticism on what we would like to say, that the Indians are on the increase. The Report of the Commissioner for 1874 gives their number as 275,003, but the Report for 1882 gives it as 259,632. Here is a loss of our Indian total in eight years of 15,371.

We have elsewhere quoted a government Report for 1820, showing that the "Five Nations," or five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory, then numbered 72,010. The Report for 1880 — sixty years later — shows that they had decreased to 59,187, — a loss of 12,823. It should be here added that those five tribes have been the favorites of the government and of our educating and missionary societies.

And if one is still more critical over some of these figures, he may become more skeptical as to their accuracy. The increase in the "Five Nations" for eight years, ending with 1882, is 5381. As it does not appear that any wild Indians have been added, during this time, to the number of those five tribes, this increase must be the excess of births over deaths. But the excess of births over deaths among all our Indians for those eight years was only 4560 — 821 less than the number assigned by the Re-

ports to the Five Nations alone. No doubt the per cent. of natural increase should be greater among those favored tribes than among any others, for they have enjoyed an actual "reservation" for sixty years or so, and have been able to establish a family life. Under their present liabilities and anxieties as to a new civil status and separation and wanderings, this natural increase must not be expected to keep up its average. It is unfortunate that we have not complete and reliable vital statistics of these five favored tribes, that we might know what the State and the Church have accomplished, and may reasonably undertake.

SECTION 7. — *Some unpleasant Conclusions.*

It was the purpose, in this paper, to prepare a disquisition and not an argument. The figures and quoted statements from authors named are, therefore, left to work their own way, with what force they may inherently have, without offered inferences or rhetorical enforcement.

We started with the government Report of Dr. Morse, giving the number of American Indians in 1820 as 425,766. We have added to those, on the Mexican census of 1823, the number of 100,826, which body, more or less, and increased or decreased, we took into the

American Union, with California, in 1848. These two sums make 526,592 Indians within the present territory of the United States, Alaska excepted, and are to be now accounted for. We have cited authors to show their abundance at times and in sections; also to show the wasting and even total disappearance of powerful tribes, and the reduction of others to feeble and petty remnants, till a half score of old tribes made only a handful for an agency. We have called attention to deficient, and sometimes discrepant, tabulations.

A few totals for a few years from official and annual reports on the Indians may well close this chapter. The earliest at hand is for 1866, when their number was 295,774; in 1868 it was 298,528. In 1872 their number reached the maximum in official returns, when it is put "about 300,000." Five years later, 1877, they fell to their minimum reported number, which was 250,864. Six years afterward, 1883, the number had risen to 265,565, but the next year, 1884, fell off to 264,369, — a loss of 1196. It will be noticed that since 1866 the Indians have decreased 31,405. If we go back to 1823, and take the aggregate numbers of the United States and of California — 526,592 — it will be seen that their decrease since 1823 has been 262,223.

* It may be well said that the numbers of long

ago were a crude estimate, and that losses computed on them will need a wide margin for variation. This cannot be said of the regular government returns of the last eighteen years, during which the average annual loss has been 1744.

As has been already stated, in the Indian census only the "civilized" or "partially civilized" are enumerated and reported. All others are unreported, and are reckoned only by estimation. The only guide offered by the Commissioners, as to the number of the uncivilized and unreported, is that the reported are about five sixths of the whole number.

According to the official reports of the last eighteen years the average decrease of the "civilized" or "partially civilized" has been something less than 2000 a year. One of highest authority on this subject, within government circles, informs the author that our Indian statistics are very far from reliable. There are many and obvious reasons for this, and some special ones for making the statement of their numbers in excess of fact. Neither the State nor the Church can readily consent to the criticism that the aboriginal race is diminishing under their mutual care, and the error in the statistics is most likely to be in making the number too high. Be that as it may, as the

official reports show that there has been a steady decrease for many years in the total of the civilized, the increase, if there has been any, must have been among the uncivilized. It will be a most unwelcome and reproachful inference, if forced on us, that only wild Indians can increase by birth in the United States, while civilization, as we apply it to them, or make a show of it ourselves, on our white borders, is gradually wasting them away, or is proving incompetent to save them from extinction.

And yet another point. It appears that the "civilized" or "partially civilized" Indians, tabulated in the census, are decreasing at the average rate of about 2000 a year. If, therefore, there is an increase in the total of the aborigines within our borders, it must be among the uncivilized, who are not reckoned in the census. By estimation, this unknown quantity is put at about one sixth of the whole, that is, about 50,000, as the reported total for 1885 is 259,244. Thus, to make the increase claimed, this 50,000 of wild Indians must first gain enough to make up the loss of 2000 a year in the civilized 259,244, and enough more to enable us to say that the American Indians, in their totality, are on the increase. It is an impossible supposition that 50,000 wild Indians are doing this, while five times as many civilized ones cannot hold their own.

SECTION 8. — *English Partnership in the Indian Decrease.*

As some relief to American dishonor, offering mitigation without comfort, it must be added that the English are partners, to an extent, in the reproach of Indian decrease. After the treaty of 1783, and in violation of it, they continued to hold, and for more than ten years, several north-western posts within the American lines, and used them as centres for stimulating, and honoring, and compensating the Indians to make war on the settlements. Following 1783, "the whole Indian war had been the result of intrigue between agents and emissaries from the British posts along the Canada frontier, whose avowed object was to check the advance of population northwest of the Ohio."¹ Under their instigation and patronage Tecumseh visited the southern Indians, and for the second time in 1812, and made "common cause with the English in the extermination of the frontier settlements of Georgia and Tennessee, with those of the Mississippi Territory."²

"British officers and emissaries had been actively engaged in arousing the Indians of Florida to renewed hostilities," and Colonel Nichols

¹ Monette "His. Miss. Valley," ii., 203. ² Ibid., 395.

of the British squadron, at Pensacola, offered the Indians ten dollars for every white scalp.¹

So such merchandise was put on the schedules of commerce — the silver-gray of age, the flowing tresses of maidenhood, and the flossy, downy covering of infant heads. In his message of November, 1812, Madison says: “The enemy has not scrupled to call to his aid the ruthless ferocity of the savages, armed with instruments of carnage and torture, which are known to spare neither age nor sex.”

Of course, Indians by the thousand, and even whole tribes, stimulated thus by bawbles, whiskey, and promises to throw down the gauntlet of war, perished miserably.

SECTION 9. — *Has American Christianity done its best to Preserve the Indian?*

“While Protestants have slumbered; while the wealthy and powerful church of our own establishment (Church of England) hath been inert; while missionaries, reared and supported by British piety and by British generosity, have labored and died in other countries, the poor Indian of North America, a cast-off savage people, the most interesting perhaps in the world, have been left in the gall of our common na-

¹ Ibid., 428-9.

ture, or abandoned to the efforts of a sect— Catholics. . . . Can we not find amongst our millions another Brainerd? Or have we no souls but for the comparatively easier toils of Eastern missions? ”¹

In the wasting and disappearing of these ancient and primeval races, we cannot too much admire the benevolence and the Christian tenderness which are comforting their last days and smoothing their trail into the twilight. It is the present highest attainment of our civilization to watch and comfort the dying, till death come, no matter how imbecile or useless or degraded the departing may be. But if our civilization has done its best, while it appropriates their lands, and vitiates their blood till it ceases to flow, and spares only geographical names as memorials, some of its praise must be abated. The civilization which cannot make citizens out of Indians, or the religion which cannot make Christians out of the aborigines, must become modest in its pretensions; and, reasoning from our American experiment on home heathen, it may become a question how far we can make a success in those lines among the inferior in foreign lands. If American Christianity and American civilization can do their

¹ “Emigrant’s Guide to Upper Canada,” etc. By C. Stuart, Esq. London, 1820. Pp. 258, 259.

best only by easing and gracing the extinction of the East Indian, and Turk, and Hawaiian, preparatory to the supremacy of an English-speaking people over their ancestral domains, the theory of Christian missions exposes itself to grave criticism.

In this home work and threatened failure, nothing can be charged off on the government as a force separate from the people. For all practical purposes they are one and the same. The national government on the Indian question is only an *alias* for the people. Probably in the cool, historic period which is coming, when old States and new, and base and border lines shall be blended, and the provincial be ruled out by the national, it will appear that civilization and religion had hard times at the front, with scant encouragement from the older States, and the Indian and his white neighbor degenerated. For the good of the red man and of the border white man there has been too much East and too little West, and very much foreign, in the divisions and apportionments of our benevolent work, and in our popular enthusiasm. Very likely the progressing failure in our civilization and Christianity to save the Indian races will by and by be properly traced, not to any inherent weakness in the systems, but to their unfortunate administration. It is to be de-

voutly hoped that we will not be too late in the discovery that the household phrase, Home Missions, means for this new and broad continent a power to make a nation to order. Providence has given out the order, and, if it is not filled, the responsibility must come on those having the management of the work. In discussing the Louisville Canal Bill, in the United States Senate, in 1836, and against much Eastern opposition and ignorance of the Western growth and preponderance of the nation, Webster, as usual with him, took a national view of the question, and said it was his habit to ask, not where an improvement was proposed, but what it was. Then he added: "There are no Alleghanies in my politics." We have needed Christian contributors and benevolent administrators of Christianity as continental as such statesmen. Some, with long and wide patriotic and Christian plans, have gone "from sea to sea," but the number of these has been all too small, and therefore these ugly Indian and Mormon and Socialist questions trouble the nation on its Western side.

CONCLUSION.

WE have had several epochs in our Indian history, but no one has come with the gravity which attaches to the bill that secures land in severalty and citizenship to the Indian. It gives to him three things, any one of which is more than all that the nation has before contributed toward his manhood: separateness from the tribal relation, land as truly and absolutely his as is that of a millionaire, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities which pertain to a citizen of the United States. It does not surprise us that the author of the bill re-wrote it seven times, and has given to it six or seven years of senatorial life.

We indicate its leading features. When the President sees an Indian so far advanced that in his opinion he can maintain himself, and wishes land of his own, he is authorized to allot to him, if the head of a family, 160 acres of land, and if single 80 acres, and to each child of this head of a family, 40 acres, within their reservation. For twenty-five years no one can obtain any legal title, claim, or lien to any

of this land, and then the government conveys it absolutely to the Indian in fee-simple. Land within the reservation, not so disposed of finally, may be sold to the white settlers, by consent of the tribe; and the income from such sales the government shall hold for the benefit of the original Indian occupants. But the white man purchasing must dwell on the land five years continuous before he can obtain a title. After this manner, and eventually, the reservation system and the tribal relations will disappear, but only as each Indian chooses the new style of life. This will come about imperceptibly; and so almost unconsciously all these "wards" of the nation will become citizens in full. There are two marvels about the bill: one is that its fundamental provisions are so simple, and the other is that we have been so long in coming to it.

The bill imposes certain grave *obligations* on the people. The government can bestow the land and confer citizenship, but not till the Indian is fitted for them and desires them. Here comes in a first great duty of the benevolent to prepare the Indian for this step, and to lead him up to desire it. On this Mr. Dawes has well said: "The government can furnish money, but it cannot teach a school. The government can give land, but it cannot

teach how to cultivate it; that must be done by private and benevolent effort, or not at all. It would be idle to take him out and give him 160 acres of land, ignorant how to use it; better let him be where he is. . . . The Indian is to be trained and educated, not by government officials, but by private effort. Teachers should be paid in large degree by the government, and the government has shown its readiness to supply everything that can be done in educating them.”¹

Certain dangers or perils lie about this bill, and in this speech now quoted, Mr. Dawes says, and with force: “The great danger with the Indian is that he will be circumvented; that he will be cheated, if not directly out of his property, yet that in one way or another he will lose it. The State is hostile to his coming there and settling.” This anxiety seems to follow the distinguished Senator and in an address at the Conference of the Missionary Boards and Indians Rights Associations, in Washington, January, 1887, he recurs to these dangers again: “Suppose it became a law just as we want it, what is the thing next to be done? Are we to step down and say that we have enacted this great work into completion? I never knew any good to

¹ “Mohonk Lake Conference,” October, 1886.

come from any such course of action. I am greatly oppressed with the feeling that it will be considerable of an undertaking to get the people of this country to feel and understand . . . that unless we comprehend it, and feel it as a living principle, after all, it would have been better that the law never should have been enacted."

This bill can become of force in actual results only as fast as the benevolent people of the land advance the Indians up the line of civilization, and prepare them for this new and citizen life. The philanthropic and Christian associations are to lead this unfortunate race along in a preparatory course, till, in the judgment of the President, they are qualified to be graduated from their wild state of pupilage and enter into the individualism and independency of American citizens.

In his Washington speech, Mr. Dawes urges this benevolent action in earnest words: "It is possible to lose all the benefit of this (bill) by indifference, or by the apprehension that you have accomplished it all, when you have got a measure upon which you have set your hearts as capable of working out the result. With the passage of this bill you will only have gotten the instrument, that is all. . . . We must understand that we are carrying along not

only the Indian, but we are carrying along public opinion, which, up to this time, has been in an altogether different direction, and holding back. We are to educate *white* men as well as Indians in this matter.”

With this the remarks of General Porter on the same occasion were in accord: “You can do nothing in law, or in the practical operations in the progress of a people, that is contrary to that progress, or the public sentiment controlling it. It does not make any difference what you enact in the shape of law; the public sense of a country is what will shape its course. . . . The idea of lands in severalty has been for the last fifty years a pet scheme for the solution of the question as to the civilization and the Christianization of the Indians. It has been repeated and failed times without number. While Manypenny was Commissioner of Indian Affairs, there were not less than 15 or 20 tribes that took lands in severalty, with the option of becoming citizens. Where are those tribes to-day? Reduced in numbers, reduced in morals, without spirit, they have been cast into the Indian Territory, and given small reservations there. They took lands in severalty. At first they seemed to progress, which is perfectly natural; believing in it inspires them to work out its end, but just as

soon as their *environments* are contrary to it, they lose courage, and it dies, and they want to get away. The *surrounding settlements* of Indian reservations, where the land has been divided in severalty, have invariably had such experience as to result in petitions to Congress to get rid of the worthless Indians."

We must not conceal from ourselves the fact that the policy of land in severalty and citizenship for the Indians is attended with no little peril to the new citizens. Their friends, therefore, as well as the friends of a progressive civilization, must stand by them with all the more steadfastness and watching and sacrifice when they enter on this higher plane of living. An experiment of years ago in Massachusetts is full of suggestions, and is calculated to make one somewhat timid and anxious over our new policy.

About one hundred and fifty years ago the Housatonics were a remnant quite respectable in number and quality in Stockbridge and vicinity. Late in the year 1749, an order was passed by the Legislature that their lands, held on the tribal theory, should be divided and apportioned among them on some plan and scale of equity. Moreover, the order in council says that "it is further declared that the Indian inhabitants of the town of Stockbridge are and shall be sub-

jected to and receive the benefit of the laws of this Government to all intents and purposes in like manner as other His Majesty's subjects of this Province are subjected or do receive."

An official of the government aided them in making the divisions and apportionments. The Indian proprietors decided to appropriate at first but one-half their reservation, so that they might have lands to grant to Indians of other tribes who might wish to make home with them afterward. It was found that sixty were entitled to land, and it was assigned in parcels ranging from ten acres to eighty. Some English families had previously been invited by the Indians to settle among them, as farmers and mechanics, for purposes of instruction, and these already had lands in possession.

The Indians at once laid out a common for a training-field, cemetery, and church lot. The races thus mixed in neighborhood life constituted the town of Stockbridge, as the tribe of Indians was called Stockbridge, or Housatonic, and the town records of that early day show that the red men shared with the white the offices of selectmen, assessors, constables, and deacons, and several of the aborigines bore military responsibilities and titles during the French, Indian, and Revolutionary wars. They had had good training under the missionaries

Sargent and Edwards, and, with the possible exception of the Cherokees, there was never, in the United States, a tribe better prepared for the experiment which they tried. The Indian proprietors held their annual and some special meetings from 1750 to 1781, and had the management of their affairs in their own hands, among which were the control and disposal of the undivided half of their reservation. And yet, in less than forty years, the experiment failed and was abandoned, and the Stockbridge Indians moved off and united with the Oneidas of Central New York.

Why the failure of a policy founded on land in severalty and the ballot and equal privileges under the laws? The proprietors' record book answers the question somewhat, though undesignedly. The undivided land was sold, according to vote, from time to time, to pay the debts of the proprietors, till it was all gone. Individuals were allowed also, by proprietors' vote, to sell their private land to pay off personal debts, till they were reduced to poverty. The quotation of a few votes will make it plain.

“Voted, that T. Woodbridge, Esq., make sale for the just debts of the Indian proprietors, who have not ability otherwise to discharge their debts, all that tract of land lying,” etc. “Voted and granted to Elias and Benj. Willard

one hundred acres of land, in consideration of their discharging £50, New York currency, debts due to them from sundry Indian proprietors." Captain Daniel Nimham, "owing a large sum of money, which he cannot pay, except by the sale of his original grant," is given liberty to sell. "Granted to William Goodrich, in consideration of his having his ox killed, fifty acres of land." One article in the warrant for the meeting in 1771 reads thus: "To see if the said proprietors will order and grant some of their common lands to be sold for the payment of several Indian debts, who have judgments of courts and executions issued against them, and must unavoidably be committed to jail except relieved by the proprietors." And in 1780 all the common lands in the south part of the town were sold for the payment of public debts.

These are samples of some sixty votes on the Indian land sales within thirty years of the time when the land was granted in severalty. We are at no loss to conclude why some of these debts were contracted, nor does it surprise us that white men would trust Indians, so long as Indians owned land. When emergencies came, they could be persuaded or forced to part with it to satisfy the shrewd creditor. The Saxon greed and schemes for

land are not new with us. It was thought best to mingle the two races socially and civilly, and yet the fatal weakness in the policy of the council of 1749 was in permitting that nearness of the white man to the red man. Slowly, but inevitably, the shrewder and sharper race absorbed the property of the inferior neighbor, and so the life of the Indian commonwealth ran only for one generation.

In epitomizing this experiment of the Massachusetts Colony with the Housatonic or Stockbridge tribe of Indians, an author remarks: "The simple fact seems to have been that even without attributing deliberate intention of fraud in the premises, the natural and inevitable result of the contact of simplicity with shrewdness, of ignorance with intelligence, of indolence with industry, of barbarism with civilization, happened in this case, as methinks it will ever happen—the weaker party must go to the wall."¹

Mr. Dawes referred to this same adverse public sentiment on the border and in Washington, when he said, in his Mohonk speech: "I have been for years in a fight with western men, who are bent upon taking land from these Indians without the slightest regard to their

¹ E. W. B. Canning, "Mag. of Am. His.," August, 1887.

rights, or the obligations the government had entered into. . . . There is an organization in Washington of very excellent men, but their purpose is to perpetuate the existing state of things."

In the execution of the bill, a specific danger arises. The President has to do it through the Secretary of the Interior, and he through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and he through fifty or a hundred agents scattered among the Indians, and some of them a thousand miles off. If all are good men and true, competent, faithful to their trust, and in full sympathy with the Indian cause, it will be well with the bill. But the peril to the aim and end of the bill is obvious when the interests of white men are known to be in the ascendant. There is a large body of men East and West, land speculators and jobbers in Indian reservations and supplies, who wish to have the old conditions continued. This bill will put all their schemes and usages concerning Indian lands among the impossibles. Thousands will be thrown out of employment and fortunes.

But above all and more than all dangers and perils which cluster about the opening of this new Indian era, is the dominant white hostility to the Indians as neighbors. This becomes, practically, hostility to their preservation and

civilization, with a part of the American people. This is recognized in the phrases, in the preceding quotations: "The State is hostile to his coming," "public opinion holding back," "environments," "surrounding settlements." This obstacle is recognized in the speeches but not in the bill, since law cannot reach it. The appeals to the people for benevolent and moral and Christian aid, to make the law effective, are not too strong, are well put, and are recognized as carrying a force indispensable to success." After all, the public at large are to do the work. The tone of national feeling toward the Indian, and the prevalent habit of the nation in handling him, are indicated in two federal money facts. Last year the Interior Department had \$6,000,000 to use in caring for, educating, and civilizing the Indians, and the War Department had \$17,000,000 to use in subduing them, and in holding them in subjection by military force. Three times as much for enforcing subjection as to enlighten and civilize and lift him out of the ordinary chances for savagery. These two facts are a measure of the moral convictions of the government on the Indian policy; and the Indian severalty bill opens this new Indian era in the face of these facts. There is no lack of equity and humanity and Christian statesman-

ship in the scheme, but its "environment" puts its success in great peril. The American people are hardened into discouragement and apathy toward the Indian by successive and abortive experiments. Even philanthropic and philosophical men are drifting to the position that the Indians must be reckoned among the effete races, as the Pueblos, Aztecs, and some earlier ones, who have passed from our continent, leaving only graves without headstones or names.

More people than is generally supposed are willing that the Indians should perish utterly. Various causes operate to this: greed of land, a wanton, semi-civilized delight in warring on them, as on animals whose heads offer a bounty; an affected or real fastidiousness about Indian neighborhood, as elsewhere shown concerning a negro as passenger, or hotel guest, or occupant of a pew; impatience with their inferior grade as standing in the way of the progress and civilization of the nineteenth century. Hence the semi-serious judgment, felt by many more than express it: "The good Indian is the dead Indian." That is happening which is not novel in the growth of superior nations and under foreign invasions. In the agrarian military divisions of Italian Rome the immigrants and new settlers had only to say: — "Hæc mea sunt: veteres migrate

coloni." In our border and very vernacular English, this is rendered: "The Indian must go."

It is not apparent that neighborhood feeling in our border land is any more tolerant toward an Indian farmer on the other side of the fence than it was in Georgia under the Cherokee experiment. Indeed, lapse of years, with constantly failing experiments, have begotten the conviction that tolerant and kindly neighborhood between the parties may not be expected. Chapters one and three, made up so largely from official sources, are painfully full to aid this conviction. But, what is more — that neighborhood has not yet been established, except in rare cases, and those lack time to show that they are a success.

We have said that we are opening on a new Indian era, and, it is safe to say, the most hopeful one ever offered to this unfortunate race. It is with the superior race to make it a success or a failure. The whites are masters totally of the situation, though cumbered by much which Indian heredity has entailed, and by discouraging antecedents, and by various adverse circumstances and incidents now immediately pressing. Still, like all impediments to a good cause, these things are simply obstacles to be overcome. It is much to aid in doing it that

now, to a remarkable degree, the moral sense of the people is awakened, and the honor of the nation is under conviction, in view of mortifying failures in its policies for the Indian. And what is, probably, to become a strong auxiliary for success in this new era, is the wide and growing persuasion that we have not only organized wrongs thoughtfully for this prior and feeble race, but we have suffered wrongs to be extemporized and sprung on them by schemes of marauding and plundering. We have winked when we should have frowned, and we have hurried away the victims under the pretended convoy and protection of arms, when those arms should have been turned against the invaders of Indian rights and the violators of national pledges.

It is hopeful that we have come to some humiliation in view of what the fathers did, and the nation is taking unto itself some of the dishonor which it has allowed belts of territory and sectional masses of the people and greedy financial schemers to accomplish. Reparation is thought of by many, and that is hopeful; for the unwise and the unkind of the past always become, when discovered, a stimulus with good men to secure a better future. It is one of the proofs of the advancing civilization of the age that the nation is beginning to

show compassion and some sense of justice for the Indian.

At this critical epoch it will not be wise to look only to the future, since true progress is achieved by a large expenditure of study on the past. The simplicity and humanity and statesmanship and vigor in the new scheme, now a law of the nation, must not divert our study of the one fatal weakness in all preceding schemes. The first three chapters of this book have been made quite elaborate in historical research, and perhaps to the reader tedious, in unfolding the mutual relations of the two races. We have traced their relations along the line of neighborhood, and among the adjoining and intermingled farms of red and white men, for two centuries. We have also outlined the same relations in an eminent and protracted national experiment, to secure a conterminous if not intermingled neighborhood life. For the material for these chapters, we have not drawn from the resources of philanthropic romance, or hypothetical benevolence, or from the sympathies and æsthetics of unworking though most humane parties. We have worked mostly along the hard, cold line of official records in territorial and state and national dealings with the American Indians. With painful reluctance and with mortification, we are forced to the

conclusion, from these three chapters, that, for the perpetuity, elevation, and civilization of this race, the white man has stood in the way of the Indian.

It remains to be discovered whether this opposition to Indian civilization has been essentially abated. Here is the pivotal point on which the new policy will turn for good or evil, and the struggle will come, as always heretofore, along the dubious border where the two races meet.

From all that we have shown in this detail of official and other reliable information, it is evident that the power of the military forces and of the courts alone cannot carry the end sought for the Indians. If public sentiment on the border, where alone the question must become practical, and be wrought out practically, is unfavorable, it easily can and will put a veto on any proceedings, whether congressional, civil, or military. In any large sections of the domain, the people will have their own way in handling the Indian and his land; and the sections in question constitute the western front of our nation, extending in a deep belt from Mexico to the British dominion. No process of venue can remove the trial of the question from the vicinage of its origin, which is a thousand miles by five hundred.

When we have used the civil and military powers on this issue to their extent, we have exhausted the forces of the national government, since it cannot legislate and execute on questions of mere sentiment or public opinion. The new scheme is, apparently, eminently well adapted to the end sought, and it can be carried with all the efficiency which a United States statute can possess; but if the main difficulty of execution lies in the tone and temper of public sentiment, the scheme must be inadequate to overcome the difficulties. No man can be made amiable toward an Indian by Act of Congress, but unamiable neighbors make civilized and permanently settled Indians an impossibility.

Our labors, therefore, to make the new Indian era a success are narrowed to a few points. The work is to be done mainly on the Indian and white borders, and only indirectly and partially at Washington; it is to be extra-constitutional, that is, social and moral, and not mainly legislative and civil and executive; and it is to be wrought principally on white men. They must become tolerant and neighborly and patient and enduring with their inferior neighbors, and helpful toward unfortunate and abused native Americans. The bearing towards the Indian needs to become

like that which old States show, where all social and moral and educated and financial grades, and all bloods and colors dwell harmoniously together, within limits ample enough for the widest choice, and so constitute what is called a civilized society.

Reflections and regrets are perhaps vain, yet we may not be so near the end of this work as to make them valueless. The civilizing and Christianizing forces of the older States have been allowed to be scanty and feeble on our emigrating and propagating borders. The surplus of benevolent sympathies and funds and men have been put to the front timidly, and often with a crippling, impoverishing support. We have allowed patriotic heroes and heroines to depart quietly for picket duty, and a perpetual absence on small rations. If at the end of twenty or thirty years some of them have returned to visit only graves at the homestead, and incidentally to stir a holy crusade for a tier of new States and Territories, they have made the pilgrimage usually at their own costs, and out of scrupulously saved moieties. It is only to praise an eminently wise policy when we say that we have treated the islands of the sea, and idolatrous Asia, and the Dark Continent, with more worldly wisdom and with more of Christian tenderness. Now, in carrying this Dawes bill,

so humane and so Christian for a statute, into our American waste places, we are baffled, and painfully, by the scanty and feeble civilization which our administrations of benevolence have entailed.

While, therefore, governmental machinery is manufactured at Washington, — and vastly better we think of late than ever before, — a good moral and social and philanthropic public opinion must secure a fair chance for its working. The locomotives must have a good track, and kept clear. Indian associations will find the very best of causes for benevolent work in arousing popular feeling, and in organizing for frontier field work. Whenever a tribe adopts the Dawes bill, and resolves itself into a community of incipient American citizens, Indian friends should be ready and willing at once to surround those Indians with a social police, and to throw over their new homes and hopes a network of protective influences fully up to the intent and tone of the bill. This will require agents on the ground, of rare sympathy and energy, and watchfulness and prudence, and men too who know the border by experience. It will be turning to some practical account the enthusiasm of mass-meetings for the wards of the nation, and the work will be quite unlike that of cheering eloquent

speeches. We must not forget how much most excellent legislating has been done by Congress for the Indians since the Republic was founded, and designing, selfish, unprincipled men have made it inoperative, till hope of saving the Indians from extinction is very feeble. This bill awaits the same opposition in social dislike of the Indians, and in contempt of them, and in satisfaction at their decrease, and in a greed for their lands. Sympathy with the bill and for its object must make itself felt on the ground where it is proposed to execute it, and this sympathy must be organized and concentrated and made permanent by well supported agencies, constantly auxiliary to government, and never relaxing watch and ward.



NOTES.

I.

“The early Jesuit missionaries all write of well cultivated fields, cared for by the natives, who pursued the same course as our frontiersmen have followed ever since—girdling and then burning the trees, leaving the stumps to decay, grubbing up the bushes, and then planting.”¹

“The Pilgrims very often send their shallops to the coast of Maine to buy corn of the Indians,” and they used on the New England coast fish for fertilizers, as the whites have continued to do.²

The Indians in the region of the present Deerfield once took fifty canoe loads of corn to towns in the valley of the Connecticut below, which were in distress from famine.

When Governor Endicott raided Block Isl-

¹ *The Red Man and the White Man*, George E. Ellis, D.D., p. 175.

² *Ibid.*

and, he found and destroyed two hundred acres of "stately fields of corn." In the French wars, it was found that the Iroquois had on hand a stock of corn for two years, with good store of vegetables, and apple orchards; and the Abenakis of Maine were good farming Indians.

II.

As to the treatment of the Indians in the colonial East, some facts should be added, and they should be remembered, too, when their treatment in the new States and Territories is criticised. Governor Penn of Pennsylvania, grandson of the eminent philanthropist, offered, by proclamation, \$135 for a male Indian prisoner, and \$130 for a female. The Commissioners for that colony agreed to send to England for fifty couples of blood-hounds, to be used by the Rangers against the Indian scalping parties.

Official papers in the archives show that the Massachusetts Colony offered bounties for Indian scalps, — to the regular soldier ten pounds sterling, to the volunteer twenty, and to patrol parties fifty. These bounties were claimed, paid, and receipted for. Mrs. Dustin so received bounty for ten scalps, which she had taken with her own hands.

III.

As to the decrease of the Indians, some personal reminiscences will not be thought out of place. In 1840 the Indians were abundant in large sections of Michigan and Wisconsin, and the author found it a common thing to fall in with them in Missouri; and in 1841 they thronged him at Keokuk and in the present Iowa and Minnesota. Speaking generally the quadrant cornering on St. Louis and running north by the Mississippi to the British line, and west beyond the Rocky Mountains, the country in 1840 was alive with Indians.

In a ramble in and about that region this recent autumn the scene is wonderfully changed. The Reservations have some, but those vast spaces of plains and mountains and valleys show but very few. In a saddle ride of eight hundred miles on the heads of the Colorado and Columbia rivers, and near to those of the Missouri, and among the Big Horn, Wind River, Teton, and Bridger Mountains, only a few squads of the Snakes and Bannacks were met. Where Lewis and Clark met so many in 1803-6, and Lieutenants Pike and Long much later, and Dr. Whitman and companies from 1836 to 1843, and the Oregon and California emigrants afterward, and Frémont in all his

exploring tours, and the builders of the Union and Northern Pacific, and Kansas railroads, we have found the Indians almost as scarce as the buffaloes. A few times only we came on their tents, or the marks of their lodge-poles, in our dusty trail, where they had dragged them along on their lonely wanderings. The Delawares, whom the government once proposed to form into a State to enter the Union and sit in Congress, were reduced in 1884 to 74.

I N D E X.

- AGRICULTURE** for the Cherokees, 130.
Agriculture of Indians. pre-historic, 86.
 Early, 93-4, 197-8.
American and English Indian policy compared, 123.
American Board's opinion on decrease, 148.
American Board's testimony to Indian progress, 127-9.
Apaches in 1858 and in 1880, 149.
Ardent spirits for the Indians, 34-5, 156.
Arkansas totally extinct, 154.
Army costs and civil costs for the Indian work, 186.
Army and courts alone not enough, 191-2.
Army rule of the Indians, 44-8, 144-5, 155-7.
- BANCROFT, GEORGE**, on Indian farming, 99, 101.
Bancroft, H. H., and the Indians, 120-121.
Border civilization imperfect and unfriendly to Indians, 51.
Borthwick's Indian hunt, 107-8.
Bounties in Massachusetts, 198.
 Pennsylvania, 198.
Bowles' "Across the Continent," 31.
British Columbia and the Indians, 111-125.
Burnet, Judge, on Indian wrongs in Ohio, 37.
 Testimony to decrease, 144.
- CALIFORNIA** and Indian decrease, 157-168.
Canadian Dominion and the Indians, 111-125.
 Decrease of Indians in, 145-6.
Casenove, the last of a great tribe, 152-3.

- Catlin's wild estimate of numbers, 162.
 Census of the government defective, 163-6.
 Cherokees, etc., in 1820 and in 1880, 143.
 Cherokee lands east of Mississippi, 58-60.
 Experiment and failure, 56-84.
 Opinion on farming, 130.
 Progress in civilization, 127-9.
 Christianity negligent of the American Indians, 171-4.
 Christianizing, early success in New England, 18.
 Christians and outlawed Christian Indians, 124-5.
 Church of England inactive in Indian missions, 171.
 Church Missionary Society and the Metlakahtlans, 115-125.
 Church work of early colonists, Protestant and Roman Catholic, 20.
 Civilization destroys inferior nations, 45, 46.
 Civilization and Christianity of whites, how high, 124-5.
 "Civilized" Indians only entered in the census, 164-8.
 Conclusion, 175-95.
 Corruption of Indians by the whites, 156-7.
 Crawford, Gen. William C., on intermarriage, 28-9.
 Custer, General, on Indian civilization, 47-8.
- DAKOTA, farming by Indians in, 132-3.
 Dawes on struggle for Indian land, 33.
 On need of a new policy, 132.
 Dawes bill, what, 23-4, 175, 176.
 People must enforce, 176-91.
 The success of, where, 3-8, 176-8.
 Decrease of Indians west of Mississippi, 148-68.
 Delawares and an Indian State in the Union, 126-7, 200.
 Drake on failing to Christianize, 13.
 Dufferin, Earl, and the Canadian Indians, 116.
 Duncan, William, and the Canadian Indians, 111-125.
 Dwight's estimate of number in early New England, 139.
- EDINBURGH REVIEW on Indian traders, 41.
 Ellis, George E., D.D., on early farming, 197.
 English emissaries excite Indians to war, 170.
 English influence on decrease of the Indians, 170-4.
 English law and Indian rights to land, 121-2.
 Exile of 16,000, 74.

- FAILURE in home missions for whites, the radical failure for the Indians, 173-4, 193-4.
- Failure of Christianity in its administration, 173-4.
- Failure to civilize, why, 3-8.
- Farms of Indians the best farthest from whites, 101-3, 132-6.
- Farming, Indian, 87-9, 197-8.
- Farming and Indian migrations, 125-31.
- GEORGIA and her claim to wild lands, 56-60.
- Outlaws the Indians, 68-72.
- Present number of Indians in, 131.
- Gookin's estimate of number in early New England, 139.
- Government a fiction separate from the people, 39, 40.
- How much can it do for the Indians, 33-44.
- Still experimenting and preventing Indian farming, 132-135.
- Great benevolent work of the country to enforce Dawes bill, 177-80, 191-5.
- HENNEPIN on number of Indians, 145.
- Holston, Treaty of, 130.
- Home missions in Massachusetts in 1635-6, 21-2.
- Home missions too provincial to reach the frontier, 173-4.
- Too tardy, 53-5.
- Hostility of the English to Indians, 108-9.
- Housatonics and land in severalty, 180-84.
- Hunting Indians in California, 107-8.
- Hurons or Wyandots once and now, 142.
- ILLINOIS Indians once and now, 145.
- Increase or decrease of the Indians, which, 137-171.
- Indian and whites mixed in society, 61-5.
- Civilization of, and John Smith's Virginia colonists, 40.
- Cost of supporting wild, 147.
- Era, a new one, 188-90.
- Expelled from Georgia, 61-4.
- Fair at Muskogee, 43.
- Farmers and white neighbors, 56-9.
- Indian farming in New England, 89; in New York, 90; in Ohio and Missouri, 91-3; in New Mexico, 92; in Canada, 94; in Michigan, 95-7; in Florida, 97-8. *Notes* (1), p. 197.

- Indian farming a pretended discovery and novelty, 133-6.
 Indian judgment on white neighbors, 40.
 Lands, struggle for, 32-3.
 Indians, numbers of, east of Mississippi in 1820, 141-8.
 Indian rights in the soil conceded, 56-60.
 Safety only in distance from whites, 38.
 In Kentucky once and now, 143.
 Number of, in early New England, 138-40.
 Remnants of, in Massachusetts, in 1861, 140.
 Separation of, from whites, proposed and impossible, 51.
 Indian Territory, area, population, 76; design of, 127.
 Gloomy anticipation in, 81-85.
 Government in, 78.
 Indian titles to land, and the law of nations, 147.
 In Dominion of Canada, 116-125.
 Inter-marriage, 25-9.
 Introduction, 3-8.
 Iroquois as farmers, 95.
 Is Christianity able to Christianize Indians, 172-4.
- JACKSON, PRESIDENT, on the only chance for the Indians, 38.
 Jackson, President, on reservations, 126, 130.
- KANSAS, hostility to Indians in, 32.
 Kirkwood, Secretary, Indian policy of, 131.
- LAND in severalty, experiment of with Housatonics, 180-84.
 Law as the protector of the Indian, 48-51.
 Illustrative case of, 50.
 Lawlessness in the Indian Territory, 49, 77-81.
- MATHER, COTTON, his views of the Indians, 19-20.
 Marshpee Indians and Richard Bourne, 13-14.
 Massachusetts, hostile legislation of, 17.
 Massachusetts Indians, education of, in colony times, 17-18.
 Metlakahlans and the Canadian Dominion, 111-125.
 Missions, Franciscan, in California, 157-162.
 Monette on border men, 41.
 Montana, Indian farmers in, 133.
 Morse, Rev. Dr., estimate of Indians in 1820, 139.
 On Indian removals, 125-6.

Mound-Builders as farmers, 86.
Mournful journey, 74-6.

NARRAGANSETTS once 30,000, 138.
Nationality of Indians denied by Congress in 1871, 110-11.
Necessary for the people to enforce the Dawes bill, 176-91.
Newfoundland, last Indians in, 142.
Number of Indians, decreasing, 3, 138-166, 199-200.

OFFICIAL figures on their number, 163-6.
Opposition to the Dawes bill on the frontier, 184-9.
Opposition of Georgia to Indian elevation, 61-84.
Ordinance of the North-west Territory, 33, 34.
"Oregon: The Struggle for Possession" on Indian policies,
123-4.
Oregon Indians once and now, 150.
Osages crowded off their reservation, 41-2.
Outrage of drunken officer on Indians, 44, 45.

PENN-INDIAN treaties, peculiar, 15.
Penn's Delaware Indians, in 1810, 17, 126-7; in 1884, 200.
Personal testimonies to the author, 154-7.
Philip III. of Spain and Indian Missions in New Mexico, 20.
Plymouth Court and Marshpee Reservation, 14.
Policies, Indian, all a failure down to 1874, 23.
Pope Alexander VI. and Indian missions, 20.
Pynchon treaties for Northampton, the Hadleys and vicinity, 16.

RANDOLPH, JOHN, and soldiers to control Indians, 14-15.
Randolph, Richard, on government treatment of Indians, 14.
Reports and results of Indian work contrasted, 43-4.
Reservation system a failure, 56-84.
Reservations, change of, the ruin of Indian elevation, 125-33.
Rhode Island early crowded the Indians, 18-19.
Richelieu, Cardinal, and Indian missions, 20-21.

SCALPS bought of the Indians by the English, 171.
Bounties on Indian, in Pennsylvania, 198.
" " " in Massachusetts, 198.
Scotch society for Indian missions, 21.
Schoolcraft on number of Indians once, 138.

- Siletz agency and 13 pitiable remnants of tribes, 154.
 South Carolina Indians once and now, 144.
 St.-Clair, Governor, on Indian wrongs, 35-6.
 Stanton, Secretary, on iniquity of Indian system, 29.
- TRADERS, Indian, the character of, 111.
 Treaties, how many with Indians, 30, 104, 105, 111.
 Treaties broken by whites, 104-7.
 Treaty with Indians limited in 1871, 110-11.
 Treatment of Indians by the Missions in California, 158-61.
- UNITED BRETHREN, Mission of, ruined, 34-5.
 United States Court set at nought by Georgia, 72-4.
- VIRGINIA early crowded the Indians, 19.
- WALKER, COMMISSIONER, on law in Indian Territory, 49, 50.
 On decrease, 152, 157.
 Wall Street first for a protection against Indians, 110.
 White and border hostility to the Indians, 29-33.
 White encroachments on Indian farms, 104-11, 132-6.
 White men the great obstacle to Indian civilization, 51-5.
 Wirt, William, on Indian decrease, 146-7.



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