

increase of pension to Joseph Rouse, of Wilbur, Nebr.—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HEPBURN: A bill (H. R. 7759) granting a pension to Arlington W. Harrington—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MEREDITH: A bill (H. R. 7760) for the relief Nathaniel G. Sanford—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 7761) for the relief of Elizabeth R. Strother—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CUMMINGS: A bill (H. R. 7762) for the relief of John Carney—to the Committee on War Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DOCKERY: Petition from citizens of Harrison County, Mo., asking a pension for William J. Prater—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ELLIS of Oregon: Memorial from the Chamber of Commerce, of Astoria, Oregon, asking an appropriation to establish fish hatcheries on the Columbia River, in the State of Oregon—to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MORGAN: Petition of Newton Boughn, to accompany H. R. 7589—Committee on War Claims relieved, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PENCE: Petition of sundry citizens of Park County, Colo., asking the opening of South Platte forest reservation—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, petition of the Silver State Council, No. 3, and of Washington Camp, No. 1, asking the passage of House bill 5246—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition in the interest of the fraternal society and college journals—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of the Women's Equal Suffrage Association, asking the passage of a bill to increase the pension of H. L. Dent—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Logan County, Colo., asking the passage of the bill to change the preamble of the Constitution—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAY: Petition of citizens of the city of Binghamton, N. Y., against certain provisions of the income tax—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RUSSELL of Connecticut: Petition from citizens of Noank, Conn., against the application of the income tax to fraternal benevolent societies—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SORG: Petition of citizens of the Miami and Erie Canal Association, of Dayton, Ohio, relative to an appropriation to be added to the river and harbor bill—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. UPDEGRAFF: Petition of M. B. Doolittle and 200 other citizens of Howard County, Iowa, for a law subjecting express companies to the provisions of the interstate-commerce law—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, July 19, 1894.

Prayer by Rev. ISAAC W. CANTER, of the city of Washington.

On motion of Mr. MANDERSON, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of yesterday's proceedings was dispensed with.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate a communication from the Postmaster-General, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the Senate of the 2d instant, information concerning the failure of due and prompt delivery of Senate mail; which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, submitting estimates for an appropriation of \$28,560 for a new copper roof for the Pension Office building; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the printing of the communication be made special, so that we may get it back by to-morrow.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* also laid before the Senate a communication from the Attorney-General, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the Senate of the 14th instant, a list of all judgments against the United States by circuit or district

courts of the United States under section 11 of the act of March 3, 1887, providing for the bringing of suits against the Government of the United States which have not heretofore been reported to Congress; which was read.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that a special order may be made for the printing of that document speedily. Let the communication and accompanying papers be referred to the Committee on Appropriations. I want it printed as quickly as possible.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed, each with an amendment, the following bills:

A bill (S. 1209) to regulate enlistments in the Army of the United States; and

A bill (S. 1930) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near the city of Lexington, Mo.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 868) for the relief of Charles B. Stivers;

A bill (H. R. 2582) to authorize the appointment of James William Abert to the retired list of the Army;

A bill (H. R. 2637) for the relief of Eugene Wells, late captain Twelfth Infantry and second lieutenant First Artillery, United States Army;

A bill (H. R. 4452) adding the towns of Manchester and Vernon, in the State of Connecticut, to the customs district of Hartford, Conn., and making the city of Rockville, Conn., a port of delivery; and

A bill (H. R. 6060) to amend section 4853 of the Revised Statutes, and for other purposes.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SHERMAN presented a memorial of 28 citizens of Findlay, Ohio, and a memorial of sundry citizens of the State of Ohio, remonstrating against the support of the Government in maintaining the present system of sectarian Indian education, etc.; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PERKINS presented a petition of Stockton Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Stockton, Cal., praying for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CULLOM. I present three separate memorials, one signed by a large number of citizens of Fulton County, in the vicinity of Farmington; another from the town of Sheridan, and a third from Watseka, all extensively signed by citizens of Illinois, remonstrating against the violation of the American principle of separation of church and state, which is involved in making appropriations for or contracts with agents of sectarian institutions for Indian education, etc. As the bill to which this matter refers is now under consideration, I move that the memorials lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CULLOM subsequently presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Savanna, Ill., remonstrating against the violation of the American principle of separation of church and state, which is involved in making appropriations for or contracts with agents of sectarian institutions for Indian education, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. VEST, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 5478) to authorize the Biloxi and Back Bay Ridge Company to construct and maintain a bridge over that portion of the bay of Biloxi, in the State of Mississippi, known as Back Bay, reported it without amendment.

Mr. HAWLEY, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 1686) granting a pension to Margaret English, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4322) granting the use of certain land to the town of Castine, Me., for a public park, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 636) granting the use of certain lands in Wallawalla County, State of Washington, to the city of Wallawalla for the purposes of a public park, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. BATE, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1688) for the relief of Enoch Davis, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 528) for the relief of A. W. Wills, administrator, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2586) granting certain property to the city of Newport, Ky., reported it without amendment.

Mr. MANDERSON. I report from the Select Committee on Ford Theater Disaster an amendment intended to be proposed to the sundry civil appropriation bill, and I call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to the fact that this is to reach another case of those who were killed at the Ford's Theater disaster, the proof having just been made. We propose to add his name to the list of those who have been provided for in the amendment heretofore reported. I move that the amendment be printed and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. WASHBURN, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2151) to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota, approved April 24, 1894, reported it with amendments.

PACIFIC RAILWAY INVESTIGATION.

Mr. JONES of Nevada. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred a resolution proposing an investigation by the Committee on Pacific Railroads, to report it without amendment, and to ask for its present consideration.

The SECRETARY read the resolution (reported by Mr. BRICE on the 13th instant from the Committee on Pacific Railroads), as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Pacific Railroads be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed, during any recess of Congress preceding the regular meeting thereof in December next, to make a personal examination of the roads and other properties of the bond-aided Pacific railway companies and their branches and the country through which they pass, or which is immediately contributory to their income, with a view to ascertaining their present status and their ability to pay their indebtedness to the United States, and how that indebtedness can be adjusted and paid. In pursuing their investigation said committee are hereby further authorized, by subcommittee or otherwise, to sit during the recess or sessions of the Senate, at such times and places as they may deem advisable; and they shall have power to send for persons and papers, to administer the necessary oaths, and to employ a stenographer and such clerical and expert assistance as they may deem necessary. Said committee shall have authority to cause its proceedings and testimony taken to be printed from time to time as they may see fit; and such expense as may result from said investigation shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, upon vouchers to be approved by the chairman of said committee and by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. Any subcommittee appointed by the committee shall have all the powers of the full committee.

Mr. CULLOM. Where does the resolution come from?

Mr. BLACKBURN. From the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

Mr. FAULKNER. And indorsed by the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. CULLOM. I thought we had passed one or two such resolutions.

Mr. COCKRELL. It was referred to that committee—on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. FAULKNER. After having been reported from the Committee on Railroads.

Mr. CULLOM. It seems to me we are laying out a pretty big field for expenditure here.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the resolution be printed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be printed and lie on the table.

TARIFF STATEMENT.

Mr. VOORHEES. I am instructed by the Committee on Finance to report a comparison of the tariff act of 1890 and the bill H. R. 4864, as it passed the Senate, with the rates of said bill as it passed the House of Representatives, and of the Mills bill in 1888; which I ask may be received and be printed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be received and ordered to be printed, if there be no objection.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. CALL introduced a bill (S. 2237) requiring a patent to be issued to Edmond A. Lorbeer of certain land in Florida; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2238) for the relief of Edward M. Agee; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. WASHBURN introduced a bill (S. 2239) to amend an act entitled "An act for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. KYLE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. DOLPH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. GIBSON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

SPECIAL AGENTS OF TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Mr. GALLINGER submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to communicate to the Senate the names of all persons acting in the capacity of special agents of the Treasury Department, designating the nature of the employment and the compensation of each such special agent.

BUREAU OF INFORMATION FOR IMMIGRANTS.

Mr. ALLEN submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Immigration:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate if a station or bureau has been established on Ellis Island, in New York Harbor, or elsewhere on territory belonging to the United States or islands adjacent thereto, by the Italian, or any other Foreign Government, for the purpose of furnishing information to intended immigrants to this country on the subject of employment in the United States, if so, by what authority, and if the Government of the United States is bearing the expenses thereof, in whole or in part; also, that he be, and is hereby, directed to furnish the Senate copies of all letters, communications, and documents bearing thereon in any manner.

FISH HATCHERY IN FAIRMOUNT PARK.

Mr. QUAY submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries be, and is hereby, directed to report to the Senate the desirability of establishing a fish hatchery in the Zoological Gardens, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, Penn.

PROPOSED INCOME TAX.

Mr. HILL. Some time since I requested Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, to make an estimate in regard to the anticipated revenue that might be derived from the proposed income tax. He has completed that estimate, and his statement contains much valuable information. It has been only partially published. I now present it, and move that it be printed as a document.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is complete now?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANDERSON. We had better have it printed in the RECORD, unless it will take too much space.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be printed as a document. That is better.

Mr. MANDERSON. All right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The statement will be printed as a document, in the absence of objection. It is so ordered.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 18th instant approved and signed the following acts:

An act (S. 73) for the relief of William J. Cornell and Joseph M. Cornell.

An act (S. 1694) granting to the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company the right of way through the White Earth, Leech Lake, Chippewa, and Fond du Lac Indian Reservations, in the State of Minnesota.

DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. BLACKBURN submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6108) "making appropriation for the diplomatic and consular service of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 4, 5, 7, 9, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 48, and 52.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 23, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, and 67, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Omit the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$365,500;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$54,275;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$10,500;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$25,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 27, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$394,500;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 49, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "Belize (British Honduras);" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 56, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the matter inserted by said amendment, and in lines 16 and 17, page 20 of the bill, strike out the words "eight hundred;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 66, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$94,730;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 68, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the amended paragraph insert the following:

"Commercial Bureau of American Republics, \$10,000: *Provided*, That any moneys received from sale of the Bureau publications, from rents or other sources, may be paid into the Treasury as a credit in addition to the appropriation, and may be drawn therefrom upon requisitions of the Secretary of State for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the Bureau."

And the Senate agree to the same.

JO. C. S. BLACKBURN,
CALVIN S. BRICE,
EUGENE HALE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
JAMES B. MCCREARY,
ROBERT R. HITT,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was concurred in.

JOHN M. RICE.

Mr. BLACKBURN. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration at this time of the bill (H. R. 3978) for the relief of John M. Rice. I am sure it will not occasion a moment's debate, and there can be no difference of opinion about it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. SHERMAN. Let the bill be read for information.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$1,800 to John M. Rice, to be in full of expenses incurred by him as contestee in the Forty-first Congress.

By unanimous consent the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. BLACKBURN. I will say, Mr. President, that this bill has passed the House of Representatives unanimously and has been unanimously reported by the Committee on Claims of the Senate. It simply allows \$1,800 for expenses incurred in this contest. The party in whose interest the bill is to be passed had a contest for his seat in the House of Representatives, and it was decided in his favor. The contestant was paid \$2,000 for his expenses, and the contestee has never been paid anything. The committee of the Senate has agreed to the bill as passed by the House of Representatives, allowing the contestant \$1,800 for his expenses.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (H. R. 868) for the relief of Charles B. Stivers;

A bill (H. R. 2582) to authorize the appointment of James William Albert to the retired list of the Army;

A bill (H. R. 2637) for the relief of Eugene Wells, late captain Twelfth Infantry and second Lieutenant First Artillery, United States Army; and

A bill (H. R. 6060) to amend section 4833 of the Revised Statutes, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The bill (H. R. 4452) adding the towns of Manchester and Vernon, in the State of Connecticut, to the customs district of Hartford, Conn., and making the city of Rockville, Conn., a port of delivery, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6748) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore*:

A bill (S. 104) for the relief of Gen. Napoleon J. T. Dana;

A bill (S. 307) granting a pension to Earnest C. Emerson;

A bill (S. 322) to place Dunbar R. Ransom on the retired list of the Army;

A bill (S. 920) to pension Mary Brown, of Berlin, Vt.;

A bill (S. 1390) providing an additional circuit judge in the eighth judicial circuit;

A bill (S. 1513) for the relief of Maj. Gen. George S. Greene;

A bill (S. 2208) authorizing the construction of a bridge over the Monongahela River at the foot of Main street in the borough of Bellevernon, in the State of Pennsylvania;

A bill (H. R. 69) prescribing limitations of time for completion of title to certain lands disposed of under the act of Congress approved September 27, 1850, and the acts amendatory and supplemental thereto and commonly known as the "Donation act," and for the protection of purchasers and occupants on said lands;

A bill (H. R. 3458) extending the time for final proof and payment on lands claimed under the public land laws of the United States;

A bill (H. R. 4208) for the relief of the securities of John S. Bradford;

A bill (H. R. 4734) to authorize the Secretary of State to accept for the United States of America a painting by G. T. Watts, royal academician, entitled "Love and Life;"

A bill (H. R. 5525) authorizing John E. Johnson and others to accept medals of honor and diplomas from the Government of Spain;

A bill (H. R. 6424) to authorize Rear-Admiral John G. Walker and Surg. Gen. J. Rufus Tryon, of the United States Navy, to accept the decorations of the "Busto del Libertador," of the third class, from the President of Venezuela;

A bill (H. R. 7475) authorizing Commander C. H. Davis, United States Navy, to accept a decoration from the King of Spain;

A bill (H. R. 7498) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River, from a point within the limits of the city of Dubuque, in the State of Iowa, known as Eagle Point, to the opposite bank of said river, in the county of Grant and State of Wisconsin; and

A joint resolution (H. Res. 126) authorizing the President to appoint delegates to attend the meetings of the International Geodetic Association.

ALBERT E. REDSTONE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and ordered to lie on the table:

To the Senate of the United States:

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 18th instant (the House of Representatives concurring), I return herewith the bill S. 1105, entitled "An act for the relief of Albert E. Redstone."

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 19, 1894.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I ask unanimous consent of the Senate for the present consideration of the bill (S. 1191) making an appropriation for the completion of the light-house at Cape Arago, in the State of Oregon. It is a local measure, which I think will occasion no debate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I must insist that we take up the Indian appropriation bill, and finish it. It is the only appropriation bill we have before us, and there will be no appropriation bill ready for the action of the Senate for two or three days, so that we shall have that time for the consideration of bills on the Calendar.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri object to the request of the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. COCKRELL. I hope the Senator will withdraw his request until we can get the appropriation bill passed. I do not want to object to it.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I withdraw the request.

Mr. CALL. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6913) making appropriations for current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The pending question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE].

Mr. SQUIRE. Mr. President, I trust that those of the Senate who were not present during the concluding hours of the session yesterday will have an opportunity to understand what the question is, and I ask that the amendment be again reported.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "dollars," line 25, on page 49, it is proposed to insert:

That all lands heretofore constituting a part of the Puyallup Indian Reservation situated near the city of Tacoma, in the counties of Pierce and King, State of Washington, now held in severalty by the Puyallup Indians, patents to which have heretofore been issued by the United States to said Indians, said patents containing certain restrictions upon the sale and conveyance of said lands, are hereby declared to be the property and the estate of each of said allottees or their heirs in fee simple, free and clear of each and every restriction as to the sale, conveyance, or other disposition of the same heretofore imposed by the Government of the United States: *Provided, however,* That no sale of said lands shall be valid until the parties shall appear before the United States district judge in the district in which said lands are situated, and thereupon submit to him all the terms and conditions of such proposed sale for his approval, and if approved by such judge, he shall indorse his approval on the contract or other instrument evidencing such sale; thereupon such sale may be executed and completed in accordance with the terms and conditions so approved by said judge: *Provided further,* That the purchase price agreed upon, and as before mentioned, approved by said judge, shall be secured and paid as follows, namely, one-third of the purchase price shall be paid at the date of the final execution of said sale to said allottee, and the other two-thirds shall be secured by eight promissory notes of equal amount, each bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, and payable, respectively, in one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight years from the date thereof. Said promissory notes and each of them shall be secured by a first mortgage and lien upon the land sold, and neither said notes nor said mortgage shall be assignable or transferable to any person whomsoever, but shall remain the sole property of said allottee and his heirs until the indebtedness of said purchaser is fully discharged in accordance with all of the terms and conditions herein.

Mr. SQUIRE. Mr. President, I do not desire to tax the patience of the Senate at any length this morning, but I wish to call attention briefly to one point, which was not referred to in my remarks yesterday, and that is the language of the proposed amendment in reference to the times of payment. The impression conveyed by some of those who spoke yesterday might not have been quite in accordance with the terms of the amendment. Let me state them as found in the amendment itself:

One-third of the purchase price shall be paid at the date of the final execution of said sale to said allottee, and the other two-thirds shall be secured by eight promissory notes of equal amount, each bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, and payable, respectively, in one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight years from the date thereof. Said promissory notes and each of them shall be secured by a first mortgage and lien upon the lands sold, and neither said notes nor said mortgage shall be assignable or transferable to any person whomsoever, but shall remain the sole property of said allottee and his heirs until the indebtedness of said purchaser is fully discharged.

That provision in the amendment is in accordance with the suggestion and recommendation made by the Drake commission, which made a thorough examination of the Puyallup Indian Reservation and all the circumstances and conditions connected therewith. I beg to read a sentence from their report on page 24, as follows:

Our judgment is, that it would be promotive of their welfare (referring to the Indians) if Congress would, as a condition of the removal of the restriction in any case of a sale, require that the purchase money payable to an allottee should be deposited somewhere at interest, and be paid to him in annual installments, with interest, through such series of years as Congress should prescribe—we would suggest at least ten.

Two or three of those years have passed away since then, leaving about eight years now remaining, and certainly under the provision proposed there is no chance for the Indians to be defrauded, nor that they shall be left impoverished after a short time, as has been erroneously suggested, because they can not get the last of this money until after eight years. They can get only one-third of it when the sale is made, and one-eighth of the remainder thereafter for each of the eight years. They can not dispose of those promissory notes secured by mortgage. These Indians are absolutely protected in that way. After the eight years have expired, under the present law the Indians can alienate their property without any restriction whatever.

Is it not the best plan to permit them, under the supervision of the United States district judge, who is well acquainted with those Indians and with the reservation, who knows the whole history of it, a man who is *persona grata* to them, a man whom they admire, whom they choose, whom they desire—is it not best that this judge shall have the supervision, and that the other restrictions shall be made in the manner provided in the amendment? Would not the Indians in this way be amply protected, and is not that all that we want?

All we desire to accomplish by means of suitable restrictions is that these Indians shall be carefully guarded from wrong, from deceit, from fraud, from injustice, and this Drake commission over and over again in their report has testified to the character of those Indians, their intelligence, their cultivation, their schooling, their ability to read and write and to converse. All those things are stated over and over again in the report and collateral documents. I could read them for the edification of the Senate if it were necessary, but I think it is not necessary—

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator let me read one sentence? Mr. SQUIRE. I know the Senator might select some sentence, and in one place it is stated that these Indians are inclined to spend their money freely, which is probably true; but that is not truer of them than it is of many whites in that section of

the country, and in other sections for the country. It is also stated in the report that these Indians know how to make good bargains.

If you do not give responsibility to people, you do not educate them in the line of their care for property. Intrust them with responsibility, intrust them with property, and they will learn to take care of it. That is true of Indians as it is of white men.

Mr. President, there are only two or three points of view to be noted carefully. The first, and the main one, is the suitable protection of the Indian afforded, as I have stated, by the terms of this amendment. First, the supervision of the United States district judge; secondly, the provision relating to their inability to alienate their land until after the lapse of eight years; that is to say, they can part with the title to the land, but they can part with the consideration therefor only gradually, and not entirely, until the entire eight years shall have passed; and, thirdly, the question what ought to be done relative to the interests of the city of Tacoma and the counties of Pierce and King, in the State of Washington.

The bulk of the property is unproductive; it is paying no taxes. Therefore the present situation is seriously detrimental to the people of those counties. The valley of the Puyallup is the most productive land in the county. Perhaps there is no more productive land anywhere when it is cleared and cultivated.

Mr. HUNTON. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him a moment?

Mr. SQUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HUNTON. I understand from what I have heard of this debate, that the Government wants these lands sold, that the Indians want them sold, that the people there, especially in the city of Tacoma, want these lands sold, that a plan was devised by the committee a year ago to sell these lands, and that that plan has been a failure. If that be true, I am for adopting some other plan, and shall vote for the amendment of the Senator from Washington.

Mr. SQUIRE. I thank the Senator from Virginia for his good, hard sense and the decision to which he has come. I hope that the Senate generally will understand the matter in the same light as does the Senator from Virginia.

It is a fact—and I was coming to that—that the commission now there on the ground, going there in accordance with the terms of the act of Congress from three different States of the Union, far distant, far remote, thousands of miles away, going there entire strangers, undertake to know all about these Indians, to pick out the lands they shall sell, and say "You shall sell that, or you shall keep it," etc.

The law was passed, and it was the best we could do at that time. There is no reason for its continuance if it has not met our full expectations in the operations attempted under its provisions. Since the commissioners have gone there, as I understand, there has been absolutely no sale made and nothing done with respect to the allotted lands, except perhaps some surveys.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] yesterday said something indicating that he thinks the commission attended to the granting of patents of the lands to those Indians. I do not understand that they have anything of that kind to do. That business has all been disposed of, unless some adjustments as to the descent of the property of deceased Indians has required attention.

The patents were allotted in 1886. They were definite in number; there were 166 patentees at that time; and when the report of the Drake commission was made in 1891, 42 of those patentees had died, and probably to-day there are not 100 adult Indians remaining of those original patentees. True, there are altogether something like 600 men, women, and children constituting the entire population of that tribe of Indians.

The fact exists that this commission is not agreeable to those Indians. They state in their letters and dispatches, and they ask their representatives to protect their interests. They say, "We know the lands we want to sell, and we are able to make fair terms about them. If there is anybody going to supervise sales, let us take Judge Hanford, who is a man we respect and a judge whom we know all about; he will be fair."

If this commission had gone on and accomplished something in the way of sales of the allotted lands, if it were satisfactory to the Indians, I should not say a word. In that case, there would have been no effort to bring this question before the Senate of the United State at this session, but for the fact that progress is stopped because of the lack of coöperation and satisfaction on the part of the Indians in respect to this commission. That is the truth about it.

The commission has gone on, and, as I understand, has made some progress; but, as I am informed, that progress has been limited to its investigation, and, perhaps, to the arrangements that have been made by the commission in respect to the lands

not allotted. The land not allotted is a very valuable tract of land, worth \$585,000, which is reserved for agency, school, and cemetery purposes. The cemetery proper contains only 15 acres, being only a small portion of the large and beautiful agency tract of 585 acres, which was once appraised, as was stated here yesterday, at \$1,000 an acre. The average value of the remainder of the land was appraised at a time when land of that character was held very high, on account of its suburban character, at \$273.50 an acre.

Now, aside from the mere question of not having gone through the *modus operandi* of having the bill referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and having had their favorable report, there is nothing in the way. It is a mere question of technicality. It seems to me we all have sense broad enough to do the right thing. Why, after all, should Congress insist upon such a course as is detrimental not only to the Indians but to the white people of that country?

If the Indians will not sell their land to the commission, if they will not cooperate with the commission, why not make an arrangement whereby they will cooperate and under which they will go on and make the sale of the land and thus secure it for somebody who will cultivate it? The Indians can not even lease it now. It costs from \$75 to \$150 an acre, according to the report of the commission, to clear the land for agricultural purposes, and the Indians have not the means to do it.

When we send an ambassador to a foreign court we try to send a person who is pleasing to that court, in the technical language. Now, when we are talking about the Indians and are treating with them, why should we not send someone pleasing to them? If you are going to have anyone supervise their affairs, why not have some competent authority, who is pleasing to them, instead of a commission which is displeasing and with which and under which they will not act to carry out the purposes of the law?

The people of the city of Tacoma and the people of the county of Pierce wish that the land shall bear its share of taxation. There is no land in the vicinity of Tacoma equal to it for agricultural purposes except as you go further on in the valley. If you go in the other direction you have hill land, whereas this is very rich valley land, suitable for the cultivation of fruits and hops and all kinds of vegetables and market supplies and for truck farming. It seems to me that it is time that this millstone about the neck of that people and that city should be removed. Of course, we wish to act in a manner satisfactory to the Indians.

It seems to me that any objection which may be made here to-day can be only a technical objection, a mere question as to whether the Congress of the United States is going to maintain for an indefinite length of time this commission composed of three citizens from three different States, whom the people of the United States are paying to stay there, and whom the Indians do not want. Is it for the purpose of keeping men in office? Is that what you want to do? Is that why you decline to act upon this matter? Is it because the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the Department of the Interior have condemned the proposition?

I think not. I do not think they have condemned it at all. I think the Interior Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs prefer to keep the control, perhaps. That is natural. What bureau officer did you ever hear of who voluntarily declined to maintain an existing state of things when his power of appointment would be interfered with by a change of the law? I have no doubt that the Department is interested in it. I have no fault to find with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I merely say that the people of the State and the Indians are primarily interested. What would a Senator from one of the States of the East think of me, for example, if he had an Indian reservation in his State of the importance of this one and a similar state of affairs, and I, on the ground of public policy or through some sentimental notion, should object, should say, "No, you do not know what you want; your people do not know what they want?"

I should defer to that Senator if he had an Indian reservation in his State under such circumstances. I should say "Probably you know what your people require; you know what is right about it; you ought to know. You have studied the affairs of your State, and the interests of all your people. At least the presumption is strong that way."

There is only one voice from the people there so far as I have heard from them. All the communications I have received have been in the line of seeking the accomplishment of this needful legislation. I hope that the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations will not object to the amendment. I know his heart is not against us. I believe from the remarks he has made in my hearing that, while perhaps I ought not to say he is in full sympathy with this movement, he sees the justice of our position. The objection is based on a question of technicality.

Now that he has administered the castigation which he did yesterday, and has vindicated the dignity of the committee so far as relates to their action in failing to indorse a matter which has not gone through the mill of the Indian Bureau and the Indian Department, and has cleared the skirts of the committee, it seems to me he can acquiesce in what seems to be the general desire on the part of Senators, irrespective of party, to allow the amendment. I know that as a general rule of courtesy the members of the committee stand by the action of the committee, and we have an uphill road as relates not only to the Committee on Appropriations, but perhaps also as to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Senators have heard what has been said by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON], and I have heard statements made to me by several others. I am sure the good sense of the Senate is in favor of the adoption of the amendment, if its members free themselves from unnecessary technicalities. The object to be accomplished is the substantial good of the people of the State of Washington, including the Indians of the Puyallup Reservation.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Mr. President, I simply desire to say a few words in favor of the pending amendment. I am quite sure an impression has gotten abroad in the Senate that the purpose of the amendment is to enable a lot of speculators to get some advantage of the Indians, and perhaps the impression still further obtains that if this amendment should be adopted it would have the effect of enabling men who are disposed to take advantage of the Indians to take advantage of these Indians. I am quite sure that if those impressions can be dissipated every member of the Senate, including the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, will see the justice and propriety of the proposed legislation.

For one I do not believe there is any purpose on the part of the promoters of the amendment to get any advantage of these Indians. In the second place, if any such purpose exists in the mind of any person favoring the amendment, then it occurs to me that the proposed legislation on its face shows conclusively that no person would be able under it to get any undue advantage of these Indians, or any of them.

Mr. President, these are not a roaming band of Indians, or Indians of the plains. They are civilized Indians. We treated with these Indians forty years ago exactly. In 1854 the Government of the United States made a treaty with them, and the treaty on its face shows that the Government then supposed they were dealing not with wild savages, but with men who are civilized. They have been brought in contact with the whites for over seventy-five years. They and their ancestors first came in contact with the Northwestern Trading Company and subsequently with the people of the Hudson Bay Company. So, when in 1854 the United States came to treat with them, there were provisions put in the treaty, as Senators will find by looking at it, similar to provisions which we put in treaties with civilized nations. For instance, one clause in the treaty provided that these Indians should not go farther north than 101 miles across the waters of Puget Sound and the Straits of Fuca, for the purpose of trading with the Hudson Bay Company and other white traders in the British possessions. They were thus restricted by the provisions of the treaty. They had been in the habit of carrying on an immense trade there just as the whites subsequently carried on trade with the Hudson Bay Company and with the people of the great Northwest and the British territory.

Therefore I say provisions were put in the treaty not ordinarily put in treaties with Indians, because the Government felt and knew that they were dealing with civilized men. Under that treaty the Indians were to be paid a certain amount of money, \$34,000, I think, in installments. The last installment fell due and was paid in 1875, and from that day to this the Government of the United States has never paid a dollar for the subsistence of these Indians. The Government has appropriated for their schools.

It is a notable fact in connection with this matter that these people have had schools on their reservation continuously for over thirty-odd years. When the children of the white settlers, the pioneers in that country, could not get three months' schooling, the children of the Indians had schooling ten months out of the year every year. That has been the case for over thirty-four years. Consequently they have grown up an intelligent, civilized people. As long ago as 1871 the agent in charge of the agency reported to the Department here that the Indians had acquired the habits of the whites, that they had the customs of the whites, and wore the costumes of civilized people, and even as long as thirty-one years ago they conducted schools there.

In 1875 the agent in charge reported that about three-fourths of the marriageable people belonging to that tribe were married according to the laws and the usages of the country, and there was

a record made of their marriages. In all respects they had then conformed to civilized customs and civilized usages, and were virtually a civilized, intelligent, bright people. In 1885 the agent in charge made a report that these Indians were, in his judgment, better educated and infinitely better qualified to assume the duties of citizenship than one-half of the foreigners who came to this country and become citizens. That is the character of his report.

This, then, is the kind of Indians we are talking about. Now, is it likely, is it at all probable, that Indians who have had all these advantages, who have been in contact with the whites from their infancy, as these Indians have, and who have assumed all the habits of the whites, wearing the dress and conforming to the laws and usages of the whites, are going to be taken advantage of by a set of white men in any trade they may make with them? But I will come to that again. When the treaty of 1854 was made it was simply applying the provision of the treaty then existing with the Omahas, in which there was a provision that there should be a restriction in the deeds issued to the Indians to the effect that they should not sell their land for a certain length of time.

But there was this other provision, that the State at any time might, with the consent of Congress, remove the restriction. Why was that put in the treaty? It was done for some purpose, and the purpose evidently was to cover an exceptional case which might arise; just such a case as this is. It had some purpose. It was put in there for some purpose. It was evidently thought that a case might arise where the State in its good judgment, by presenting the matter to Congress, and getting the consent of Congress, would think the proper thing to do was to remove the restriction. Now, I undertake to say that this is such a case as was contemplated by the framers of the treaty when they inserted the provision, to the effect that the State might, with the consent of Congress, remove the restriction.

Here is a great city of between forty and fifty thousand inhabitants. This agency includes land which within the next twenty years will undoubtedly be covered by a portion of that city. It comes up to the very boundary of the city. According to one report it is within $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles of the city now, but I understand certain portions of the reservation come right up to the boundary or about that of the city. It is right there in sight. Those who are familiar with that country know the location of the reservation.

The State of Washington, I understand, by unanimous vote of the Legislature, on the 22d day of March, 1890, passed this act:

Whereas all the conditions now exist which said treaties contain and which make it desirable and proper to remove the restrictions in respect to the alienation and disposition of said lands by the Indians, who now hold them in severalty: Now, therefore,

Be it enacted, etc.,
All deeds, conveyances, incumbrances, or transfers of any nature and kind executed by any Indian, or in any manner disposing of any land or interest therein shall be by deed executed in the same manner as prescribed for the execution of deeds conveying real estate, or any interest therein, except that the same shall in all cases be acknowledged before a judge of a court of record. In taking said acknowledgment, the said judge shall explain to the grantor the contents of said deed or instrument, and the effect of the signing or execution thereof, and so certify the same in the acknowledgment, and before the same shall be admitted to record shall duly examine and approve the said deed or other instrument.

That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after the consent to such removal of the restrictions shall have been given by the Congress of the United States.

There is the voice of the State removing these restrictions so far as it was in the power of the State to do it and calling upon Congress to give its consent. Here is the Senator from that State, who was governor of the Territory while it was in a territorial condition, and is perfectly familiar with all the conditions. He is here earnestly advocating and maintaining this proposed legislation.

Now, what is the objection to it? I presume it will be said that it would enable somebody to get some advantage of these Indians. I insist not. This proposed legislation is to the effect that no Indian upon that reservation shall be permitted to sell a foot of his land until the provisions of the contracts of sale, the terms, the amounts, everything connected with them, are submitted to the United States district judge of that State for his examination and approval.

Is there a Senator on this floor who believes that a man occupying a position like that will permit any advantage to be taken of these Indians by any speculative man, by any person desiring to obtain some undue advantage of the Indians? Certainly not. Then what is the objection to the amendment? In view of the fact that these lands lie right in the shadow of the great and growing city of Tacoma, is it not advisable that there should be some provision by which the Indians may be permitted to sell their lands?

Mr. HILL. The question has been raised as to the power to impose that duty upon the district judge. I should like to hear what the Senator has to say upon that point.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I have no doubt from the universality of the feeling on the subject that the district judge of Washington is perfectly willing to assume this obligation. He might not regard it as a duty that Congress had the absolute right to impose, but there can be no doubt that he would assume the duties. He has already indicated, I understand, that he is perfectly willing to assume the duties.

Mr. HILL. Can Congress impose any other than strictly judicial duties upon such an officer?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I have already answered that question by indicating perhaps not; but other than judicial functions have frequently been conferred by Congress on the judiciary.

Mr. HILL. I only desire to hear the Senator's suggestion on that point.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. There may be some question about that so far as that is concerned; but, as I have said, I understand the judge is perfectly willing to perform the duty required. It is a matter that will not take any great deal of time.

Mr. DOLPH. If my colleague will allow me, I will state that it has often been done.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It has been frequently done.

Mr. DOLPH. For instance, in the appointment of inspectors of hulls and boilers a district judge of the United States acts in connection with the collector of the district and the supervising inspector.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I do not understand that there is a single solitary objection from any citizen of that great State to this proposed legislation. The only objection, if there is objection at all, is perhaps some suggestion from the Department.

I submit that the judge of the United States district court living in the State of Washington, performing his official functions in that State, perfectly and thoroughly familiar with these Indians, with their rights, with the value of the land and everything acquainted with it, without casting any reflection at all upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of the Interior, is infinitely better qualified to judge as to what is the proper thing to do in reference to these matters than either the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of the Interior, as far as that is concerned. There is a disposition, I suppose, on the part of the Department to hold on to everything connected with these Indian matters, especially the few offices connected with them, some commissioners to send out, etc., making some pap for somebody. That can all be dispensed with.

The legislation of the last Congress is a failure. It is a dead letter on the statute book. I understand that the Indians will never consent to the provisions of that law, and their consent is expressly required, as I found, after the remark I made yesterday, by an examination of the statutes providing for a limited sale of the lands.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT. I asked the question yesterday why the Indians would not consent. I did not get any very definite answer to the question. If the Senator from Oregon can inform me why it is that the Indians will not consent to sell their lands under the supervision of the commission that has gone out there I wish he would do so.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. There may be several reasons. In the first place, I understand under that statute the money is to be brought to Washington and deposited; that it is taken away from that part of the country. And there may be other considerations.

Another reason why the amendment should be adopted is because these valuable lands are there in that new State and not a foot of them is taxable to-day. The State receives not a dollar of revenue from these lands. They are not taxable as long as they remain tied up in the hands of the Indians.

Mr. President, I do not wish to take time, but I say, in view of all the facts, in view of the character of these Indians as to intelligence, and as to being able to take care of themselves, in view of the fact that these lands lie immediately adjacent to a growing city, in view of the fact that they are valuable lands and are not taxable at this time, in view of the action of the Legislature of the State, which is unanimous in favor of this proposed legislation, and in view of the earnest appeal of the Senator from that State, who understands thoroughly the whole situation, it seems to me that the amendment ought to be adopted. I am quite sure for one that if the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations could be fully satisfied that no advantage can be taken of these Indians, or would be taken of them under this proposed legislation, he would have no objection to the amendment; at least, I do not think he would, because I believe that is what is operating in his mind. He wants

to do what is right, and he wants to protect the Indians. If I thought any advantage was to be taken of the Indians, or any of them, I would not support the amendment for one moment. I hope the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, I will vote for the pending amendment for reasons which I shall attempt to give in brief fashion.

Some years ago in pursuance of an order of the Senate certain members of the Committee on Indian Affairs visited the Puyallup Reservation. They did so at the request of the Indians themselves. The members of the Committee on Indian Affairs at that time who were in the town of Tacoma were its very efficient and much beloved chairman of that day, Senator Dawes of Massachusetts, Senator Stockbridge of Michigan who has lately left us, Senator JONES of Arkansas, and myself.

The first communication we had with those men was in a room in the town of Tacoma to which we were invited. I remember how strongly we were all impressed with the fact that they were meeting men well able to care for themselves. They were dressed in the usual garb of the American citizen. They were intelligent men, evidently with business experience. I would no more hesitate to see them traffic and trade and have due regard for their own interests than I would hesitate to see the most intelligent white men do the same thing. They desired full citizenship. They urged upon us that they should be taken out of the strait-jacket the Government had imposed upon them; that the swaddling clothes should be taken from them; that they were no longer infants, but that they were able to stand up for their own rights and protect them.

They urged then upon us the action that is proposed in general terms by this amendment; that is, that they should be permitted to step outside of reservation limits as to their right to traffic; that they should be allowed to deal with those who wished to purchase their lands; that such of them as desired to sell might be permitted to sell without impediment and use the proceeds for the bettering of their condition. I for one saw no reason why that should not be done, and I think the unanimous feeling of those who were present, not only the members of the committee, but many white men who had gathered in to hear us, was that those Indians were able to stand upon their own feet and protect their own rights.

As the pending amendment is in that direction I shall vote for it.

Abundant reasons have been given by the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE], supplemented most ably by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL], why this action should be taken.

Mr. President, how long is it to take in the natural order of things before an Indian is to be civilized? The object of our appropriations for the care of Indians, the purpose of all treaties which we make with them, is for their advancement in civilization, that they may become self-reliant, fairly educated, able to protect themselves.

The Indian in his natural state is no mean trader. Any man who has seen the Indians of the plains particularly and observed the traffic that they have between the members of the tribe and between different tribes is forced to the conclusion that the Indian is a good natural trader.

No commission goes out to treat with Indian tribes and gathers with their headmen in council chamber which does not find that they usually drive with the Government of the United States an extremely hard bargain. They stick persistently to that which they believe is proper to demand. Aye, they even go further; their demands will exceed that which they believe is proper; and they reach for all they can get.

I think that in this process of civilization we have thrown about the Indians too many safeguards. We have kept them too long in leading strings. We give them the rights of citizenship; we give them the right to vote, and they vote, too, in very large number in the State I have the honor in part to represent; and yet we throw around them none of the duties of citizenship.

There came to me within five minutes in my mail a petition of the board of supervisors of Knox County, Nebr., praying for the enactment of legislation to provide for the taxation of land held by Indians in severalty. We allow Indians to take their lands in severalty; and we have said to the Indians who have thus taken the lands allotted to them "You shall not be permitted to alien these lands for twenty-five years; you shall not make contracts for sale." In many instances we do not permit them to make contracts for the leasing of their lands; and we do not permit them to pay their fair proportion of the local taxes they do so much to increase.

Mr. President, I will read a part of this petition before asking to refer it to the Committee on Indian Affairs. At a session of the county board of supervisors held in Niobrara, Knox County, July 13, they passed the following resolutions unanimously, ad-

ressed to the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

Whereas a large portion of Knox County, Nebr., covering about 120,000 acres of its most valuable land on what are known as the Santee and Ponca Indian Reservations, is held in severalty by Indians, and is therefore exempt from taxation; and

Whereas the fact that said Indian land so exempt works a great hardship to the taxpayers of said Knox County, as an expense of more than \$4,000 has been incurred on said Indian reservation in the last three years for roads, bridges, and lawsuits caused by the Indian settlers residing on said reservation. One case alone, known as the State of Nebraska vs. Benjamin Joseph Young, incurring an expense to Knox County of \$2,135.64, said Young being an Indian; and

Whereas, there is now a bill pending in Congress making such Indian lands subject to taxation: Therefore

Resolved, That we, the undersigned members of the board of supervisors of Knox County, Nebr., in regular session assembled, ask and pray that said bill or such other measure as may accomplish a similar object be enacted into law for the relief of said Knox County, Nebr.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the honorable Senators and Representatives of the State of Nebraska.

Signed by the members of the board:
Isaac Davidson, Geo. M. Bly, A. W. Crandall, J. S. Patton, James E. Miles, Chas. Cleveland, Julius Schindler, Danl. Graham, John Bruce, J. H. Ulrich, Oliver La Croix, Wm. Wieschendorf, T. M. Clark, John Dolphin, T. J. Buckmaster, Oscar Faith, J. T. Polcy, James Mettler, A. L. Jones, Nels Nelson, Edward West, A. B. Yantis, W. H. Needham, Robt. Lynn, Val F. Minarck, S. L. Whitmore, chairman.

And: the county officials S. Draper, county attorney; J. T. Lindsay, Jr., clerk of court; Chas. Crockett, sheriff; B. F. Chambers, county judge; Aug. C. Filter, county treasurer; Chas. Van Camp, county clerk.

STATE OF NEBRASKA, Knox County, ss:

I, Charles Van Camp, county clerk, and clerk of the board of supervisors, hereby certify that the above and hereto attached copy is a copy of the original resolution as it appears of record in my office.

Dated this 14th day of July, 1894.

[SEAL] CHAS. VAN CAMP, County Clerk,
By P. B. CLARK, Deputy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. MANDERSON. In the State of Nebraska there is another county, Thurston County, having within it 250,000 acres of land; 240,000 acres are occupied by Indians. Part of it has been taken by them in severalty. They are citizens. They vote at every election. The vote of every individual Indian counts just as much as the vote of any white man within the State. The white settlers in that county occupy the remaining 20,000 acres of land. Roads are maintained, schools are established, bridges are built, courts are run, and yet this handful of white men living on the 20,000 acres foots all the bills incident to such expenditure, and the Indians who receive the benefit of that civilization pay no part of it. The expense of the county organization, I see by a report I have in hand, is between ten and twelve thousand dollars a year, and between eight and nine thousand dollars of it annually is caused by the needs of the Indians themselves and the needs of the land upon which they live.

Mr. President, it seems to me that it is time for us to take steps in the other direction. With the rights and immunities of citizenship there should come some of the obligation and duties of citizenship. I think the best way to civilize Indians rapidly is to make them assume some of these obligations and get out from that condition of wardship and vassalage which keeps them as children.

For forty years, we are told, these Indians have been in contact with civilization in a greater or less degree. The good results of their residence near a thriving, growing Western town was readily seen when I visited them a few years ago. There is no reason, it seems to me, under the heavens why they should not be permitted to do that which they insist they ought to be permitted to do—traffic with their own, just as white men traffic with their own.

While I regret that this amendment has not had the consideration directly of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and while I regret that the legislation which has been had heretofore on the suggestion of that committee has not worked out its work, I shall vote for the amendment, believing it to be a move in the right direction, and I shall vote for it in the interest of the Indian himself as taking him rapidly yet safely out from under this condition of wardship to stand erect as an American citizen, exercising all the privileges of citizenship and at the same time paying his tribute and assuming his part of its duties and obligations.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. President, the arguments urged in support of the pending amendment prove too much or too little. It is said that these Indians are intelligent, and that they are entirely capable of managing their own affairs. If that fact is established, why the remaining portion of the amendment? If it is established by logic, which I suppose ought to be regarded as irresistible, for it comes from a number of sources, that the Indians are entirely able to take care of their own affairs and manage their own property, and that the burdens of

citizenship based upon property and intelligence, for those are implied, ought to be imposed upon them, why is it not done? The provision of the amendment which proposes to place the interests of these Indians under the extrajudicial authority of the judge of the district court concedes that they are not capable of managing their own affairs. Now, which horn of the dilemma will those who advocate the amendment take?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I think, as far as I am concerned, and I only speak for myself, that it is simply a concession to the sentimentalism which exists on this side of the Rocky Mountains to a very great extent, I am sorry to say, and I think it exists owing to the fact that the people on this side of the mountains know very little about the Indians, their habits or customs or anything else, which causes a great many men on this side, and some Senators, perhaps, to think that the Government must in some way or other have a supervisory control over anything and everything that the Indians do, no matter how capable they may be to manage their own affairs.

Mr. COCKRELL. There are as many Indians on this side of the Rocky Mountains as on the other side.

Mr. PALMER. The Senator from Oregon concedes entirely too much to us who live on this side of the mountains. In conceding so much to our sentimentality he belittles our judgment. An intelligent man on this side of the mountains is very much like an intelligent man on the other side of the mountains. We are not more humane than they. I do not think we have more liberality toward the unfortunate. But the fatal fact I have pointed out is conceded in the amendment.

I should hesitate very much before voting for the amendment, in view of the facts. There is a large and valuable tract of land almost adjoining the city of Tacoma, in Washington. I know it has been an object of very great interest. I know that gentlemen who speculate in lots and lands are exceedingly anxious to put their hands upon it.

I suspect very much that this is one of the schemes dictated much more by the cupidity of men who want to buy the lands than upon any theory of benefiting the Indians. That is my deliberate conclusion.

I realize the difficulty of watching the Indians in their transition from barbarism to civilization. In almost every instance, whatever may be said of Indian intelligence (and I was delighted with the views expressed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON], who has found the Indians to be so shrewd), I know as a matter of history that they have been the victims of white cupidity from the day that the Pilgrim fathers landed upon the rock until the present moment. I know that pretexts have often been urged to justify the habitual, constant, ever continuing, and never ceasing plunder of the Indians.

I insist that if the Indians are as intelligent as is claimed, that they themselves are capable of devising some system by which their lands may be disposed of for their separate and their common benefit. I distrust schemes which have been devised by benevolent white men, good men whose hearts bleed for the Indians, and who are longing to see them in the enjoyment of their rights. If these Indians are as intelligent as Senators claim them to be, why do not the Indians themselves devise some scheme for the sale of this land?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. They have done so, I can say in all candor to the Senator from Illinois. It is not very far away from Tacoma, and I understand from many sources that this proposition comes from the Indians.

Mr. PALMER. Then why is not this proposition coming from the Indians put in some authentic form?

Mr. MANDERSON. I fear the Senator from Illinois did not do me the honor to listen to the statement I made, that this suggestion, practically (not as to the detail of it, that the judge of the court should intervene by any process, but the proposition that they should be permitted to sell their lands) came from the Indians to the members of the Committee on Indian Affairs several years ago when a subcommittee of that committee visited them on their reservation at their request. There was no complaint from them which prompted the committee to visit them. The committee being in the town of Tacoma received an invitation from the Indians to go out and visit their reservation, and after that there was a talk in which they suggested substantially what is in the amendment, that they may be permitted to trade their land and act just the same as white men act with reference to their property.

Mr. PALMER. I listened to the remarks of the Senator from Nebraska to-day with that attention which I always give to whatever he may choose to utter on the floor of the Senate; but after all the Senator from Nebraska is not able to make that definite and clear which is in itself indefinite and uncertain. The Senator has not relieved the difficulty I have suggested. It is said that here are lands which belong to a number of in-

telligent, educated persons, I take it for granted, upon the endorsement which has been given to them by the Senator from Oregon and the Senator from Washington. I understand they have had schools, and that they have had advantages not enjoyed even by the whites around them. Is it not remarkable that those people, thus educated, thus intelligent, are not capable of themselves formulating some scheme for the disposition of these lands, or some scheme for the disposition of their own rights?

Is it supposed that in the State of Washington a court would undertake to act upon information so vague? It is a matter of mere partition. The courts require that the parties in interest in such a case shall file some formal statement setting out their rights and asking judicial action in aid of the rights of the parties. But the Senate is asked upon mere rumor, without any authentic information from the only persons who own these lands, to formulate a scheme for them. Not a single name is here of one of these proprietors who approves this formulation.

Mr. SQUIRE. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him for one moment?

Mr. PALMER. With the greatest pleasure.

Mr. SQUIRE. Of course it is impossible to arrange papers with reference to the action of Indians as we might do if they had the organization of white men sitting like chambers of commerce and boards of trade. But these do hold their meetings; they do confer; they do speak to their friends; they do write letters to their representatives in Congress, and even telegraph to them. We have all of that evidence, and in addition I remind the Senator that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] a few moments ago stated that when the Committee on Indian Affairs visited Tacoma and met these Indians for the purpose of listening to their statement it was exactly in the line of the proposition now submitted to the Senate.

Mr. PALMER. I understand the difference between a town meeting, either of Indians or white men, where individuals express their wishes in regard to the common property and the formal presentation of a case by the Indians. The Senator from Nebraska has not yet gone to the extent of asserting that the tribe, or the Indians, or the persons who were interested in this property, submitted to the committee any formal plan for the disposition of their several or their common property.

This large interest—worth a million or more, I am told—has not been made a subject of deliberate thought by anyone, so far as we have authentic information, or by any number of the parties who are interested; but Senators mature a plan satisfactory to themselves by which these lands are to be referred to the large discretion of the judge of a district court, who is, I suppose, to devise a scheme for the sale of these lands or for recognizing the sales already made; and the time of payment is to be extended over the period of eight years, without interest or with interest, as the case may be. It is a juggling scheme, and obviously one that will admit of infinite injustice.

Senators are committed as to the intelligence of these Indians, and I submit in all seriousness, when it comes to a settlement of this question as to their property, that it is remarkable that that intelligence has never been consulted.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. This is not the first time this matter has been up. During the last Congress the Puyallup Indians selected three of their most intelligent men, and instructed them to come to Washington to do what they could to secure some such legislation as this; and they did come here, and were here for a considerable time. They called on me personally and urged legislation providing for the removal of these restrictions.

Mr. CAFFERY. These Indians?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. These Puyallup Indians.

Mr. PALMER. There were a number of Puyallup Indians here during the last session of Congress. I met one of them and learned something of their general plans; but I knew nothing of their representative character, and there was no scheme matured, according to my recollection, so far as it was disclosed to me nor disclosed to the Senate.

The point I want to make is that these people who have attained this state of intelligence ought to be consulted, and that the Senate, before it practically breaks up the reservation and turns it over to the tender mercies of speculators, should have before it some authentic information as to the wishes of the parties interested. I would no more trifle with the rights of an Indian than with those of a white man.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator please inform me what were the restrictions for the alienation of the land held by the Indians in severalty by the terms of the treaty between them and the United States?

Mr. COCKRELL. Twenty-five years. The words of the

statute show upon their face that they were prohibited from alienation for twenty-five years. It was changed by a subsequent act to ten years, and two years of that time have elapsed.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Yes; two years have elapsed, and there are about eight years to run.

Mr. PALMER. The Senator from Louisiana, I trust, is answered.

I say I would treat the rights of these Indians with the same respectful care that I would the rights of every man or woman, white or black, and I would not do so important a thing as practically to remove the power of alienation, subject to this cumbersome machinery, which does not by any means, to my mind, insure a careful regard for their rights. I would not consent to do it, because it may be and probably will be abused in its administration.

Therefore I complain, as I have done before, of the loading down of appropriation bills with these special provisions. This amendment is not germane to anything contained in the bill. It is simply thrust in here because of the occasion.

I suppose it is an occasion which grows out of the loose interpretation of the rules of the Senate. It is thrust in here, because if it were presented singly and separately, certainly something more would be required from those who advocate it than these loose declarations by means of which the rights of the Indians are to be affected in a most important degree. I would not submit to it in the case of white or black men, and I see no justice in the application of it to these red men. Consult them; let them make their own schemes for the disposition of their property, and after the matter has been deliberately settled and decided by them, it will be time enough for Congress to act. It is said they are intelligent. Then let Congress express its approval of what they have themselves determined upon after a full consideration of their rights and the value of the interests affected.

Mr. HUNTON. Mr. President, one of the main objections made to the amendment consists in the fact that by its terms the ratification or approval of the contract is left to the judge of the district court, which is a mere *descriptio personae*, and makes it a duty imposed on an individual, which he may or may not accept. To avoid that criticism upon the amendment, I have prepared an amendment which I submit for the consideration of the friends of the measure, by striking out and interlining the amendment, so that it will read:

That no sale of said lands shall be valid until the parties shall appear by petition before the United States district court of the district in which said lands are situated, in term time or vacation, and thereupon submit to said court all the terms and conditions of such proposed sale for approval, and, if approved by such court, the approval thereof shall be indorsed on the contract or other instrument evidencing such sale; thereupon such sale may be executed and completed in accordance with the terms and conditions so approved by said court: *Provided further*, That the purchase price agreed upon and as before mentioned, approved by said court, shall be secured and paid, etc.

The Senator from Illinois criticises this amendment because he says there is no evidence that the Indians want this mode of selling their lands, and by implication he agrees that if the Indians were here ratifying and consenting to this mode of selling the lands, he would not object to it. If this amendment be adopted, there can be no sale of the land belonging to any given Indian without the approval of this plan by the Indian, because the first step to be taken must be a contract between the purchaser and the owner of the land, and when that contract is made, which goes before the district court, it is an approval of the plan set out by this amendment; and I make it necessary to go into court, because that imposes an additional judicial function upon that court which the court is obliged to discharge. I believe my amendment is satisfactory to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. SQUIRE. I will modify my amendment in the way suggested by the Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Washington will be so modified.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, I do not know that it is necessary for me to add anything to the full presentation of this case by the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE] and by my colleague [Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon], but I do not like to let a statement made by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER], which I can not repeat verbatim, but which was substantially that the Indians have been the victims of the cupidity of the white people of this country from the time this continent was discovered up to to-day, go without some answer.

When this continent was discovered, it was occupied by straggling Indian bands, who did not cultivate the soil, who lived by fishing and hunting, who were engaged in perpetual warfare, and if they had been permitted to occupy this continent undisturbed until this time, all the then great undeveloped resources of this continent would have remained undeveloped, and the continent would have been still as unfit for the habitation of civilized man to day as it then was.

Whoever asserts that the Indian tribes had the same equitable and just rights to the soil of this vast continent that civilized nations have to the territory they occupy, is governed by sentimentality, and not by reason.

The causes which brought about the settlement of this continent by civilized man, and which have impelled the wave of civilization which has swept from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were as imperative as the causes which impel the planets in their orbits. The principle which was early established in this country by this Government, and upheld by the courts, that the lands of this country belonged to the discoverer, that the United States would not permit individuals to purchase title to lands from the Indians, but would itself extinguish the Indian title and sell the lands, was a just, a proper, a reasonable, and the only practical solution of this question.

Whatever may have been the character of the dealings of the colonies with the Indians, or whatever may have been the character of early treaties between this Government and the Indians, since I have been old enough to know anything about the transactions of the Government with the Indian tribes, those tribes have been paid whenever we have purchased their lands, not only the full value, but in many cases double or even treble the value of the land, and to-day and ever since I have been in this body, whenever Congress authorizes a railroad company or a ditch company to acquire a right of way over an Indian reservation, instead of allowing a jury to determine the value, the companies are compelled to treat with the Indians, and that treaty has to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. So far as my observation and knowledge go, the result is that the Indians receive two or three times the value of the rights acquired.

Besides that, we have been annually for many years appropriating large sums of money for the education and support of the Indians, largely for sentimental reasons. I do not know how much the pending bill carries, but six or seven million dollars, I believe, for an Indian population of 250,000 in the United States, many of whom are self-supporting.

These Indians upon the Puyallup Indian Reservation are to-day worth individually and collectively many times what the same number of white American citizens would be worth if all the wealth of this country should be divided and distributed per capita.

You may take all the Indians upon all the reservations in the United States and they have more property and they are worth more money to-day than the white citizens of the United States would be if the property of this country were to be divided per capita among them.

Mr. President, I think we are making a mistake. I believe that the Indian Bureau—I do not speak particularly of its conduct here in Washington, but including the agencies and schools—has become topheavy. I believe there are too many employes for the services to be performed. I believe that the enthusiasm and the sentimentality of the people who are advocating Indian education have caused us to enter upon too elaborate a system of Indian education.

The education the Indian needs is a practical education; he needs an industrial education; he needs to be taught how to work, how to utilize his means, how to cultivate his land. He needs to be instructed in the duties of citizenship, and his book education ought to be that which will tend to fit him for these practical duties. I have always, however, voted for the largest sums for Indian education. If there have been wrongs in the past against the Indians I am willing to help make amends now to the present generation, and this Government is dealing with the Indians with a liberality unparalleled in the history of any country.

A few years ago this Government, after failure to civilize Indians by the course which was being pursued, after the expenditure of large sums of money, and when it became apparent that the reservations must be cut down, that they must be opened to the settlement of white men; that they must give away before the advance of civilization, determined to adopt a new policy, a policy of allotting lands to the Indians in severalty and making them citizens, giving them, when the lands were allotted, the right to citizenship, but absolving them from many of the duties of citizenship, giving them a right to vote, but exempting their lands from taxation and exempting them from the necessity of educating their children, proposing to still continue to appropriate money out of the Federal Treasury for their education, and passing no sufficient laws for the purpose of compelling them to cultivate their lands.

For fear that they would not be able to take care of their lands when they were taken in severalty, and might be defrauded out of them, a general rule was proposed in the law for the allotment of lands in severalty that the lands should not be alienable for twenty-five years. As a general rule that was a necessary precaution, but that prohibition can not be continued indefinitely.

The sooner the Indians are absorbed in the body politic the better; the sooner the duties of citizenship are imposed upon them the better; the sooner their children are sent to the district schools with the children of white citizens the better; and we shall never be able to solve the Indian problem until that is done.

Mr. President, the limitation of twenty-five years was a reasonable limitation probably, as a general rule, for all the Indian reservations in the country, but here is an exceptional case. Here are Indians who have been educated at the expense of the Government for a generation; here are Indians who have been in close contact with the whites for half a century; here are Indians, according to all the testimony, who are civilized and enlightened and intelligent; and their case was so exceptional that a few years ago Congress passed an act that their lands might be alienable at the end of ten years more. They were allotted in severalty about eight years ago. That would make about sixteen years that they would be required to hold their lands in this condition.

As has been said, this reservation is valuable. It lies right abutting one of the great growing cities of the West, and there is not a Senator upon this floor, if this was a case of a city in his own State, who would not see the justice of removing this bar to the settlement of these lands and expansion of that city; who would not see the justice of doing something which would secure the cultivation of the lands and the addition to the wealth of the State which would be caused by their cultivation and productiveness, and who would not see the justice of subjecting them to taxation.

This is a good case to make an experiment with. This is a case of a tribe of Indians far more advanced in civilization than many of the other tribes in the United States will be at the expiration of the twenty-five years after they have got their patents to their lands. This is a case in which the rule that the land shall not be subject to alienation for twenty-five years might be relaxed, and we can see what the effect will be of allowing these Indians to sell their lands, of allowing white men to go upon the lands within this reservation and build homes and cultivate the lands and establish schools, and of allowing the children of the Indians to go to the public schools with the children of their white neighbors. Let us experiment with this case, and then we shall know better what to do with the other tribes when the twenty-five years' limitation upon their power of alienation has expired.

The Indians want it. They have come here to present their case to Congress. Like my colleague I met them and I heard their story; like my colleague I have been interviewed by the authorities of Washington and of the city of Tacoma. I know the situation well. I have been for many years personally acquainted with the most excellent agent formerly on that reservation, and I know that all that has been said about the intelligence of these Indians, about the propriety of placing upon them some of the duties of citizenship when we have given them the privileges of citizenship, is true.

The Senator from Illinois complains about the eight years deferred payments. I hope Senators will observe that the eight years of the deferred payment make up the eight years that are to yet run under the existing law before these lands will be alienable. That provision is placed there for the benefit of the Indians. It is provided that neither the notes nor the mortgage shall be negotiable, but that this money shall be paid to the Indians. It is a proper provision to prevent the money being squandered and these Indians being left penniless; I think it is a very wise provision.

I hope the amendment proposed by the Senator from Washington will be adopted.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, it seems to me this amendment is absolutely indefensible under all the circumstances that exist. Some three or four years ago there was a contract made with these Indians by certain parties who wanted to buy certain parts of this land, and as I remember the contract—I do not undertake to state it accurately—but as I remember, it was a contract to lease the lands, and they had the authority to lease it for one or two years, and the leases were to be renewed indefinitely at the expiration of each lease, and by the operation of the paper that was given at the time, it was to revive itself and carry on the leases indefinitely until such time as the Indians should be allowed to dispose of their land absolutely, when the conveyance was to become absolute, and convey the property without further action on the part of the Indians.

It seems to me that if there is any effect whatever in this amendment, it is to make the approval of this contract, made between these people and these Indians three or four years ago—

Mr. SQUIRE. I should like to ask the Senator a question, with his permission?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. SQUIRE. Does the Senator believe that those contracts could be enforced under the law by any court of competent jurisdiction? Does he believe that contracts of that kind would be in accordance with public policy?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have heard some of the best lawyers of my acquaintance say that those contracts could be enforced. Those contracts I believe would be void. I do not believe they could be enforced; but why do you now propose to make an amendment here that would start this controversy? Why do you want to begin this sort of thing? There are people who, as I said awhile ago, are much better lawyers than I, who believe that these contracts can be enforced whenever the time shall come that the Indians have the right to convey absolutely; but if I should be wrong, and these better lawyers than I am should be right, it would be then too late to undertake to protect the Indians from their own indiscretion.

Mr. SQUIRE. Will the Senator allow me to interpose a word there?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. SQUIRE. I believe it is generally admitted now that there is no intention to try to enforce those contracts. It is so understood, at least, by those who have communicated with the Representatives in Congress here, who are getting communications from the people of Tacoma, and who tell me, privately of course, that it is not proposed to endeavor to enforce these contracts. The legislation I now propose is to cover the proposition of new contracts.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let me ask the Senator, in that connection, have those contracts made with these Indians been returned by the parties?

Mr. SQUIRE. I am not informed as to the details.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Until the contracts have been returned, we can not get rid of the assumption that this thing is being done for the benefit of those parties. It seems to me it would be easy enough for them to put the information in the hands of their friends that these contracts had been given up and canceled, for if they remain in existence it would be an exceedingly improper thing, in my opinion, for Congress to do anything which would make it possible that there should be any controversy about their ratification.

Mr. SQUIRE. Let me ask the Senator from Arkansas whether under existing law, relating to the action of the commission which is now in existence and is there in communication with the Indians, whether the suggestion as to the legal status of these contracts would not be equally applicable in case of contracts made under the supervision of that commission exactly as it would be in the case of the United States district court? Would there be any difference in regard to that feature of the matter? Not a particle. Then, again, let me say to the Senator that I do not believe any very great injustice would have been done the Indians if those contracts had been carried out. I have not gone into the details of that, but the Drake commission state in their report that for 9,000 acres or thereabouts the sum of \$700,000 was to be paid practically in cash or nearly cash.

That sum of money distributed among 140 or 150 of these patentees (and there was not that number at the time the commission was there; there were then 166 less 42, leaving 124 patentees) would give each one of them an average of between five and six thousand dollars. Even then they would have had a great part of the allotted lands, nearly half, still left, besides the agency land, 585 acres of which were ascertained to be of the value of \$1,000 an acre. Under such circumstances how is it possible to bring up this matter as an objection to the amendment? I can not see how it can be done with any show of reason. The Senator imputes a motive for the proposed legislation that, I am satisfied, does not exist. It is not right to assume for one moment that the beneficiaries of the proposed legislation would be the persons who made those contracts with the Indians several years ago, which he himself now believes are of no force or effect. It is quite doubtful if the Indians could make at the present time so large a sale of lands on such favorable terms.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator from Washington will allow me to interrupt him long enough, I will suggest that there certainly is a difference between him and the people who undertook to negotiate this arrangement, because they have made most extraordinary efforts to have a ratification or to put this matter in such shape that it should be ratified. These extraordinary efforts would not have been made if there had not been some result to come to somebody in connection with it. I have very little doubt that those men are more familiar with the facts and know the value of this property better than does the Senator himself from his own personal inspection.

But I wish to state, in connection with some other statements which have been made here, that this question has been before Congress in one shape or another for years. Contracts after con-

tracts with the Puyallup Indians have been brought here for ratification. They have been brought here to be examined. Committee after committee has been sent to the Puyallup Reservation to investigate the facts. I myself on two occasions have gone to the reservation for the purpose of examining the statements on the one side of the alleged greatest fairness and of the friends of the Indians on the other of the greatest unfairness.

I was with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] at the time of which he has spoken, when we were at Tacoma some years ago with Senator Dawes and Senator Stockbridge. There was one striking circumstance in connection with the meeting we had there then. We did not meet the Indians over on the reservation. The proposition was that we should meet them. We met them in a hall in the city. There were in the hall more of the real estate people who live in Tacoma than there were Indians. There were perhaps a dozen Indians, well dressed and intelligent, who were there to speak for their people, and they were all exceedingly anxious that they should be empowered with the absolute disposal of their property and should be allowed to do what they pleased with it.

I have never seen a man, I do not care how weak-minded he is, who would believe he was incapable of taking care of himself and defending himself; but I was satisfied by what I saw that night that those people would be absolutely helpless if they could alienate their property, and they would soon find that they did not know half so much as they supposed they did. They were surrounded by people who knew a great deal more. I left the room that night with the firm conviction that if we did not intend that the Puyallup Indians should become paupers, while they have one of the most valuable reservations on this continent, we ought to be exceedingly careful about allowing them to have the absolute disposal of their property while their surroundings were such as they were then. I have not changed my opinion on that point.

There are some other things in connection with this matter. The statement has been made here that these Indians are men of high character, that even as far back as 1854 they were evidently men of great intelligence. Now, there are a good many circumstances connected with this matter, and I recall just now one in particular, which prove very clearly how thoroughly these people understand the force of a moral obligation; and I say, to their credit, that they have shown the highest sense of obligation.

On one particular occasion a good man went down there and made a contract with them by which he got certain valuable rights. He had succeeded, I believe, in getting a bill passed through Congress for its ratification, provided the Indians approved it by a majority of their male adults. When that was done the present Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who was then an Indian inspector, was sent on the reservation for the purpose of holding the election. After he had talked to the Indians for some time, one of them stated that he was inclined to vote against the proposition, but that he supposed he could not. The inspector asked him why he could not so vote.

He said because the gentleman (calling his name) had given him two dollars and a half to vote the other way. When the election was held the next day, with the party in interest at one end of the table and the Indian inspector at the other, more than half of these people went in there and put down on the table their money, from \$2 to \$6, as I remember, returning it to the man who gave it to them, and voted the other way. That is a pretty high degree of morals. I have heard of cases of that sort, where such things have been done in this country.

Mr. SQUIRE. It shows the Indians had good sense and good morals.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It shows that these people are influenced by considerations which ought not to influence them. It shows that they have no conception of the value of what they possess, and that they ought not to be trusted with the absolute control of it.

The truth is that this reservation and the city of Tacoma lie side by side. A straight line divides the city of Tacoma from the reservation. The Indians have the water front on that great bay, which is invaluable. Nobody can estimate its true value.

I am willing for all of that property to be disposed of and to have it go into the hands of citizens of the United States to be used for the purpose of building up cities and so on; but I think it ought to be done with care and circumspection. It ought to be kept under the control of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior and the Government of the United States until they know that justice has been done and that such arrangements have been made with regard to these Indians as will prevent them from becoming paupers; and money

enough should be kept in their hands to support the Indians and educate their children and their children's children after them.

I hope the Senate will not agree to the amendment. I think it is utterly wrong in every respect.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I am very sorry that the necessity exists which compels me to talk on this case, and to talk plainly and frankly. The question before the Senate is not whether a distinguished gentleman shall be renominated for Congress. It is not a question whether Senators' importunities shall prevent other Senators from speaking and voting their honest sentiments and convictions. It is a question as to the present status of these Indian matters, and why shall they be changed?

In the first place, the Puyallup Indians had their lands allotted to them in severalty, except a certain reservation, and there was a clause in the deed prohibiting the alienation for twenty-five years. That was before the town of Tacoma was built up. Then the city was located there. It has extended its borders right up against the reservation, against the part held jointly and the allotments. Now, the people of Tacoma are very anxious to get it. They want the town to extend in that direction, and for years efforts have been made to get the disposition of the lands into the hands of the individual Indians. The proposition in different forms has been here before Congress for years. By the law of August 19, 1890, a commission was appointed. I will read from that law, as I wish Senators to understand exactly the situation. By the act of August 19, 1890, President Harrison was authorized—

To appoint a commission to consist of three persons, not more than two of whom shall be of the same political party, and not more than one of whom shall be a resident of any one State, whose duty it shall be to visit the Puyallup Reservation, in the State of Washington, and to make full inquiry and investigation regarding such reservation; the nature of the title to and value of the lands allotted in severalty; whether there are any common lands which have not been allotted, and if so, the value of the same, and of the interest of the Indians therein; whether such reservation embraces the land on Puget Sound, between high and low water mark; whether any restrictions now existing upon the power of alienation by Indians of their allotted lands should be wholly or in part removed; as to the manner in which lands shall be disposed of when the Indian allottees shall be vested with power to dispose of their individual tracts; in what manner, if at all, individual Indians shall be indemnified for damage to their individual holdings, if railroads shall be granted a right of way through the reservation; in what manner the tribe shall be compensated for the damage consequent upon the granting of such right of way through any tribal or common lands belonging to said reservation; in what manner and by whom the legitimate heirs of deceased allottees shall be determined; under what circumstances and upon what conditions contracts have been obtained from Indians for the sale of their allotted lands; and regarding all other questions and matters bearing upon the welfare of said Indians, and the wisdom or necessity of the disposal by the Indians of their interest, in whole or in part, in any individual or tribal lands belonging to said reservation.

There is the law. A commission was selected by President Harrison, composed of whom? I will read the names of the members of the commission. The members were Charles D. Drake, once a Senator from the State of Missouri, and for many years chief justice of the Court of Claims; George B. Kincaid, and B. F. Harness. They made a full and elaborate report. What do they say as to the condition of these Indians, and so on? I suggested the reading of their report on this point, but the Senator from Washington did not want to hear it at that time.

With every kind feeling toward the Puyallups, we can not disregard the testimony of many who know them well, that they have no just appreciation of the value of money, are prone to squander it, and many of them are easily duped, and many are prone to strong drink.

Mr. SQUIRE. From what page does the Senator read?

Mr. COCKRELL. From page 23.

Such being the case our judgment is, that it would be promotive of their welfare if Congress would, as a condition of the removal of the restriction in any case of a sale, require that the purchase money payable to an allottee should be deposited somewhere at interest, and be paid to him in annual installments.

Mr. SQUIRE. Is that not exactly what I ask the Senate to do?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes; but the Senator wants it left in the hands of the Indians, and not in the hands of the Government.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me? I am glad the Senator read the extract from the report, but I wish to ask the chairman of the committee whether at any place in the report the commission report against removing the restrictions?

Mr. COCKRELL. They do not report against removing the restrictions, but they suggest a modification to ten years. If the Senator will wait I will cover the whole ground, so that there will be no necessity for any questions to be asked.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. All right.

Mr. COCKRELL. What is the finding of the commission?

The first question, and in our opinion the highest in immediate importance, is connected with their disposal of their lands. We have shown that the total amount agreed to be paid them for the lands which they have contracted to sell is about \$700,000, all of which is to be paid them within ninety days, or other short period, after the restriction is removed.

For how much land? If the Senator from Connecticut is cor-

rect, and according to my recollection, it is estimated to be worth about \$4,000,000.

Mr. PLATT. Four million seven hundred thousand dollars in all, and more than half of this land was contracted to be sold.

Mr. COCKRELL. More than half of the land was contracted to be sold. I wish to read from pages 82, 83, and 84 of the report of the commission. Let us find what the commission recommend. They give a table showing the number of acres which each Indian ought to keep, the number of acres he ought to be allowed to sell, the value of the land, and the value of the land to be sold.

The aggregate number of acres which the commission recommend the Indians should keep is 4,684.27, and its value is \$1,419,224.70. Much of the land was appraised, some at \$350, some at \$425, some at \$500, some at \$200, and some at \$250 per acre.

Now, what did they say could be sold? They stated that the quantity is 12,778.45 acres. What did they appraise it at? They appraised it at \$3,322,184.50. Some of that land was appraised at \$500 per acre, some at \$1,000 per acre, some at \$700 per acre, some at \$400. Scarcely any of it was appraised below \$50 an acre.

Mr. SQUIRE. Will the Senator from Missouri kindly state how the appraised values were arrived at?

Mr. COCKRELL. They were arrived at by the three disinterested commissioners selected by President Harrison, men of the highest character and standing.

Mr. SQUIRE. How did they arrive at the values?

Mr. COCKRELL. They arrived at them from information derived from the people there.

Mr. SQUIRE. They took thirty people in that vicinity, perhaps some of them land-owners or speculators, who valued land highly and took their estimates.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly. As a matter of course the commissioners went to the honest, good citizens there and asked them to tell the commission how much the land was worth; and this is their report of the result.

Mr. SQUIRE. Is it not true that at that time the prices of real estate were very high, abnormally so?

Mr. COCKRELL. Will they not be so again?

Mr. SQUIRE. I hope so.

Mr. COCKRELL. What is the justice of compelling a sale now at depreciated prices?

Mr. SQUIRE. There is no compulsion to sell.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is the question.

Mr. SQUIRE. The Indians have never had an opportunity to sell the land at that appraisement.

Mr. COCKRELL. Here is the list of the tracts contracted to be sold and the amount contracted to be paid for each. Here is tract No. 3. It contains 120 acres and was appraised at \$60,000. Eighty acres of it were contracted to be sold for \$8,000. A tract of land appraised at \$40,000 and under contract to be sold for \$8,000! Senators may run through the list. Here it is. Each tract is given and the price, and the difference between the appraised value and the price at which each tract was contracted to be sold corresponds in about the same proportion.

This was the condition at that time. Here is a commission appointed by President Harrison, reporting back to Congress a full statement of their report. Their report is given in full in Senate Executive Document No. 34, Fifty-second Congress, first session. All the facts are there set out.

Now, what did Congress do? An effort was made to permit the Indians to sell their lands. What was the result? I will tell you. I shall not take time to read the law, but in the act passed in the last Congress, when the Senator from Washington was a member of this body with his colleague, provision was made for the appointment of a commission of three persons, almost in the same language as the other act.

That commission was to go there and to divide the lands adjoining the city of Tacoma into town lots, to lay off streets and to sell the lots. It was to ascertain how much land each allottee could part with, to appraise it, and then to sell it. It was to put into the hands of the Indians such part of the money as would be necessary and to deposit the rest in the Treasury, so that interest upon it could be paid to the Indians. There was the condition; that was the result.

We have been remarkably friendly to the good people Tacoma in these provisions, in granting extensions. In that law we limited the period in which the Indians should not alienate the land to ten years instead of twenty-five. We struck off fifteen years from the time specified in their patents during which the lands should not be sold and reduced it to ten years. Nearly eight years of that time has yet to run.

The commission was authorized to investigate the whole question from beginning to end, to settle the matter, and to lay this land off into town lots and sell them; that is, the land held in common. It was then to determine how much each allottee should

sell, the price at which the land should be sold, and to sell it subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. So it was an open transaction, and everybody could know it and understand it. There could be no very great delay, and no delay which would be deleterious to the Indians in the depressed condition of real estate there and elsewhere.

Why was the commission appointed? It was in consequence of the recommendation of Secretary John W. Noble, a man certainly not inimical to the people of Tacoma and certainly disposed to do justice to the Indians. He says in his letter of transmittal of the report of the Drake Commission:

In view of all the facts set forth in the report of the Commission and the other communications herewith transmitted, I have the honor to recommend that Congress be advised to authorize the appointment by the President of a commission of three, no more than two of whom should be of any one political party, to appraise, in appropriate parcels, the lands determined best to sell, and to superintend the sale, at not less than the appraisement, at public auction, on due notice; the appraisement and sale to be subject to approval of the Secretary of the Interior: to attend to the matter of ascertaining, through the proper courts of Washington, who are the heirs of deceased allottees, and have guardians appointed for minors: to make deeds of the lands to the purchasers thereof, which, when approved by the Secretary of the Interior, shall operate as a full conveyance of the land, subject to such terms of payment as may be authorized by Congress: to obtain the full value of this land the trustees should be authorized to sell either for cash, or, in case the purchaser desires it, for one-third cash and the balance in one and two years, with notes secured on the land sold, bearing interest at 5 per cent per annum: the whole amount, as collected, to be placed to the credit of the individual Indian entitled, and to be paid to him in such sums and at such times as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, upon the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, may determine best.

That is what that commission was appointed for. The commission was appointed by President Cleveland in September last and is now upon the ground discharging the duties imposed upon it.

I wish to read something about the commission. I hold in my hand a report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, dated May 5, 1894. The Commissioner says:

On October 30, 1893, a commission consisting of three individuals was appointed by the President to select and appraise certain portions of the lands in the Puyallup Indian Reservation, in said State, under the provisions of an act of Congress approved March 3, 1893 (27 Stats., 612). The Commissioners were instructed on November 6, 1893, the instructions being approved by the Department, to select and appraise such portions of the allotted lands as are not required for homes for the Indian allottees; and also that part of the agency tract, exclusive of the burying ground, not needed for school purposes in the Puyallup Indian Reservation, and when the agency tract shall have been selected to plat or cause the same to be platted under their direction and supervision into streets and lots as an addition to the city of Tacoma, and appraised at a certain value per lot, to obtain the written consent of the Indians in a certain manner to the sale of the same at a sum not less than the appraised value thereof, which written consent should constitute the said commission, or a majority thereof, trustees to sell said lands and make deeds therefor.

The commissioners were given full and explicit instructions in the premises and furnished with all the information in the possession of this office pertaining to the matter under consideration with a view to carrying out the provisions of the act last mentioned, to which I also specially invite your attention. The mission of those commissioners is one of great importance, not only to the Indians themselves, but to the city of Tacoma and State of Washington, and in fact to the whole Western country; and it is confidently believed that they will bring to the consideration and adjustment of the matter the most careful, intelligent, and conscientious judgment and from recent reports as to their labors it is thought that they will, in all probability, meet with success in their mission.

I read from another part of the same report:

It appears from information in possession of this office that certain parties at Tacoma, Wash., and in the vicinity thereof, are using their influence and putting forth certain efforts to prevent the Indians from giving their consent to the sale of the allotted lands, and to retard, in various ways, the progress of the work of the Puyallup commissioners among the Indian allottees.

Do the good people of Tacoma want this land sold at public auction to the highest bidder? Do they want these reserved lands laid out into town lots, with streets and alleys, and the lots sold to every man with a fair chance? If they do, then they want the commission to continue. If they want to get some advantage of the Indians, the only way they can do it is to destroy the commission and place the matter in other hands.

Mr. SQUIRE. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri a question, if he will permit me. Does he think the best way would be to advertise and have a public sale of lots to the highest bidder in the manner he has described, or would the more prudent and thrifty way be for individual owners of land to make sale in the best way they can? Why make a difference in this respect between the white man and the Indian? Why sell the Indian's property for him when he does not want to sell it, and not let him sell that which he wants to sell?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have no doubt but there are from fifty to one hundred town sites in the State of Washington that have been sold at public auction after flaming advertisements all over the States, and as a rule they bring higher prices in that way than any other.

Mr. SQUIRE. I wish to state most emphatically that the Senator is in great error. I have never heard of such a sale in the State of Washington, and I do not believe the Senator ever

did. He is certainly drawing on his imagination very largely for this class of facts.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then if I am mistaken, that it is not best to sell it at public sale, the commissioners were right to sell it at private sale. How can you get around that point?

Mr. SQUIRE. I ask the Senator if he has heard of a single instance where they have perfected a sale?

Mr. COCKRELL. They have not done it, because influences at work here and there have prevented them from agreeing to anything the commissioners might do.

Mr. SQUIRE. That statement is not well founded. There are no influences here against it, and I have heard of none there, except what the Senator read from the record in his hand. I do not know the authority for that statement. I have no doubt that many citizens of Tacoma are of the opinion that there is not justice being done either to the Indians or to the people of their city in the manner the business is now being carried on.

I have no doubt the people feel uneasy. Of course they do, or they would not send their representatives to us to endeavor to get a modification of the plan of conducting the business for the Indians. The Indians are not satisfied under it. They are not acting under existing law. They will not have it.

The result is that you are retarding the sale; you are retarding the development of the country, and you are keeping the city of Tacoma "cribbed, cabined, and confined" there with this great Indian reservation occupying the most fertile land in its vicinity, and with no means of getting help, because they can not compel the Indians. Yet Senators talk about trying to protect the Indians!

Mr. COCKRELL. I must ask the Senator not to repeat his speech, which he has already made three times.

Mr. SQUIRE. I beg most respectfully to resent both the impatience and the dictatorial manner of the Senator from Missouri. I am in the pursuance of a duty to the people of my State. He has no right to press me unfairly. It is true I have repeated some things, because Senators have come in who had not been present to listen to points presented by me heretofore in this debate. I desire only a minute longer. I do not think that the disposition of the people of Tacoma is at all as intimated by the Senator from Missouri. I do not so understand it. I understand the people of Tacoma to be very glad to have the Indians accept terms and make sales of the land.

Mr. COCKRELL. I read again:

It appears from information in possession of this office that certain parties at Tacoma, Wash., and in the vicinity thereof, are using their influence and putting forth certain efforts to prevent the Indians from giving their consent to the sale of the allotted lands, and to retard in various ways the progress of the work of the Puyallup commissioners among the Indian allottees.

In view of this fact, and all other circumstances in the case, I think that the commissioners should be encouraged in every proper way possible in the prosecution of their work, and that further legislation embracing the recommendation of the commission and embodying the desires and wishes of the Indian allottees as to the payment of the purchase money arising from the sale of their allotted lands should be had to facilitate their work, lessen the difficulties which seem to surround them, and make their mission a success and satisfy the Indians.

Mr. President, there is the whole case. The act was deliberately passed by the last Congress. A commission was constituted, and it is the second commission which has been sent there. The plan was sanctioned by Secretary Noble, and the proposed innovation upon it is opposed by the present Secretary of the Interior. We are simply carrying out the recommendations of Secretary Noble and the preceding Administration. These commissioners have been appointed. They are upon the ground. They have authority to adjust every solitary question, to sell all the lands held jointly, and the allotted lands, and then pay the Indians whatever amount is necessary for them and keep the balance in the Treasury. Now, can anything more be done for the Indians?

I admit that the good people of Tacoma want these lands. They look with longing eyes to them, and justly and properly so. Do they want this legislation to enhance the happiness and the wealth of these Indians? Certainly a white man will take care of himself. Is it anything more than their interest pecuniarily that this shall be done? There it is in a nutshell. It is to their pecuniary interest, and if it be to their pecuniary interest it is to the pecuniary loss of the Indians.

Why should we sell those lands now in this depressed market?

I am no sentimentalist about the Indian. If I had my way I would have the Indians agree to this matter, and agree to it promptly, and I would have the lands sold, as they should be sold, to the best advantage.

But, Mr. President, this matter is here in a peculiar shape. It is first proposed to the Committee on Appropriations. It has never had the sanction of the Committee on Indian Affairs. The distinguished chairman of that committee will tell you so.

The distinguished member of that committee from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], one of the oldest members, will tell you so. It comes to our Appropriation Committee without the recommendation of any head of a Department. It comes without the recommendation of any committee.

Mr. SHERMAN. Why does not the Senator from Missouri make a point of order against the amendment?

Mr. COCKRELL. I intend to do it.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is all right.

Mr. COCKRELL. The amendment comes to us in that way. It is not in order. It is legislation, pure and simple. It is legislation modifying and cutting in twain the work of an existing commission before its labors are completed. It is putting a gag upon the commission authorized by the law of 1893, signed by President Harrison.

Now, Mr. President, why did not the Committee on Appropriations report the amendment? Could we, with all these facts before us, dare to report it as an amendment to the appropriation bill—pure, simple, and unadulterated legislation, opposed by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; legislation not recommended by any standing committee of the Senate, and legislation which we believe will be to the detriment of the Indians as it may be to the pecuniary advantage of the whites?

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] and myself, he having been taken as a member of the subcommittee in the absence of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], gave this matter the fullest consideration. We heard the Representative from Washington longer than we heard all the Senators put together upon the pending bill. We both wanted to do something to relieve him and his people, if it could be done decently, and honestly, and properly. After we had gone into the matter with that disposition and had heard everything he had to say time and again, we told him frankly that the Committee on Appropriations could not report it as an amendment to this bill; that it was legislation; that it was legislation which had not received the consideration of the Committee on Indian Affairs; that we could not sanction it in the form it was in.

Now, notwithstanding all that, it is pressed here upon the Senate. We have had it discussed now for nearly a whole day. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the amendment proposes legislation pure and simple, and that it is not in accordance with the rules of the Senate, not being recommended by any standing committee.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President—

Mr. SQUIRE. I ask the Senator from Missouri to withhold the point of order for just one moment.

Mr. COCKRELL. If there is not to be an hour's discussion. I have been very patient.

Mr. HARRIS. I rose for the purpose of asking the Senator from Missouri to withdraw, for the present at least, his point of order, and allow me to move to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. I will do that.

Mr. HARRIS. But I will yield for a moment to the Senator from Washington. I shall seek the floor immediately upon the conclusion of his remarks.

Mr. SQUIRE. I thank the Senator for his courtesy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is withdrawn, and the Senator from Washington will proceed.

Mr. SQUIRE. Mr. President, I feel it my duty to protest against the imputation expressed here against the citizens of Tacoma. It seems to me that it is very unfounded and very unfair. The people of that city are as clean and loyal and honorable as citizens of any other city in the United States. They are a progressive, active people. They find themselves in a condition now where their growth is interfered with. The Drake commission, of which much has been said by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, has testified in its report, and has spoken of the disadvantages to the city of Tacoma.

If the Senator thinks it will be proper I would like to read a paragraph of that report. I shall not take up much time. The report says:

That it is a serious detriment to the city of Tacoma to have such a body of unoccupied land blocking its growth and hindering its commercial, manufacturing, and social development seems to us incontrovertible.

I read on page 16:

Ought this state of things to be permanent? Our judgment is that it ought not. We can not see any good reason why, for a community of only 600 Indians, there should be held a great body of land that stays the growth of a city of 40,000 people, if a way can be devised, without injustice to the Indians—

If a way can be devised, without injustice to the Indians—

to open it to the acquisition and occupancy of all who may be able and willing to pay a fair price for it, particularly when the Indians are very desirous to sell.

I omit one passage and come to another, which is as follows:

And now the grave question is presented, whether the state of things we have described ought, for the sake of either the Indians or the surrounding white population, to be allowed to continue. That it is injurious to the Indians seems to us clear, for they have on their hands a great quantity of wild land which they can neither make available for cultivation nor convert into money. If they could by the sale or mortgage of the wild land obtain money to apply to the improvement of their homesteads and the purchase of personal comforts and conveniences, they would have the means of bettering their condition, and the sale and improvement of that land would greatly enhance the value of the rest; but the terms of their patents bar sale or mortgage. They are therefore owners of a large territory which in the hands of white men could and would be made productive and valuable, but which in the ownership of the Indians, under the terms of their holding, may be said to be practically almost worthless, and which they are ready and desirous but unable to sell.

I ask the Senate if there is not enough reason for the people of the city of Tacoma to desire through the representatives of their State that additional legislation shall be enacted to relieve them from this condition of things without imputing motives which are discreditable to that people?

Is it right to impute motives that are unworthy of them when such great motives as these are apparent in the report of the commission, the great commission headed by Judge Drake that made such a painstaking and thorough examination? It seems to me that is reason enough. That is the reason why I have put forth my voice here in advocacy of this amendment. I have endeavored to find out what that people want. I have done my best. I have no motive in the world except to serve the people of my State and every part of it. I do not believe the people who make these reports to me are actuated by selfish motives. I believe they are actuated by motives that should actuate American citizens in promoting the interests of their State, of their county, of their city, in every honorable and proper way.

The state of things is admitted to be bad. The commission say so. We all understand it. There is no need of multiplying illustrations in regard to it. The question is how are you going to get out of it, the difficulty? As the Senator from Missouri has stated, there is a commission there which has been engaged in its function only about a year, and during that time it has been ascertained that it is a failure. It is a failure so far as relates to the land that has been allotted.

It has not been a failure in regard to the immensely valuable agency tract of 585 acres worth about \$600,000. Nobody objects to anything it has done about that; but so far as relates to inducing the Indians to part with their allotted lands upon terms that are mutually satisfactory and agreeable to the commissioners and Indians the commission has not succeeded.

Now, it having been shown that it is a failure, why continue this state of things? That is the position we have to confront. The question simply is, what are we going to do about it? Are you going to leave a useless appendage of the Government there, an agency that is not working out successfully the plan which was conceived by Congress? Are you going to leave the commission there doing nothing, comparatively idle? The Indians dissatisfied. That is all there is of it.

If the Indians are willing to sell their lands upon such terms as are provided in this amendment, taking eight years for the payment, one-eighth each year (and at the end of the eight years they would have the land without any kind of restriction under the present law), they would simply have one-eighth from year to year until the expiration of the eight years.

If they are satisfied with such a provision as that, and then with the supervision of an eminent jurist, a man who has jurisdiction over the most important interests of that State, a man high in the esteem of everyone, whose decisions are notable for their power and accepted value among great lawyers—if such a man as this, a man raised there from a boy, who has known these Indians and who has been known by them, is the man acceptable to them to supervise their interests—what is the reason why we can not accept their wish and carry it out?

That is all there is of it. If we were trying to do it against the wishes of the Indians it would be a different thing. It is what the Indian wants, and it seems to be the only practicable solution of the question. That is the main point. The present commission is not a success in its work. The Indians are not working in harmony with it. They are not selling their lands under the scheme now inaugurated and existing, but they would be willing to work in harmony under such an arrangement as is proposed in the amendment.

Now, for the sake of the people of Tacoma, for the sake of the people of the county and State who want this land improved, who want the opportunity that the city may expand, who want the land to be improved and to pay its fair share of taxes, and for the sake of the Indians who want to dispose of a part of their land, so that with the means thereby derived they may improve the rest of their property that is now lying idle and unproductive—I say, all these things considered, it seems to me these

merely technical objections are of small account, and I hope the Senators will not press them.

It is no matter if they have not had the opportunity to try our case fully in committee. There were reasons for that. We all know that the committees of the Senate have not been doing their customary work owing to the time which has been occupied in considering the tariff and other proposed legislation. With the Senate sitting for eight or nine hours a day committees did not convene in the morning; there was not the time to bring these matters up and have them properly discussed in committee; but the Senate of the United States is considering this question in committee.

It is considering the bill as in Committee of the Whole, and Senators have had information enough on the subject, just as much as would be needful to impress any committee with the value and importance of this proposed legislation. I submit from the facts here presented and the arguments and appeals made by distinguished Senators, there has been enough said to satisfy reasonable men that this legislation ought to be enacted.

Mr. HARRIS. I yield for a moment to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. COCKRELL. No one has cast a particle of reflection upon the people of Tacoma. They are just like any other good white people anywhere. They want to develop and expand their town, and they want to get this land. That is all there is about it. I do not blame them for it. I am not censuring them for it. The best way for them to get the lands is through the commission which is upon the ground with authority to lay the lands out this day; and whenever the people of Tacoma ascertain that they can not get the provisions proposed here, then the Indians will very quickly consent to the other plan. I move to lay the amendment on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri moves to lay the amendment of the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE] on the table.

Mr. SQUIRE. I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. I do not know how he would vote if he were present, and I withhold my vote.

Mr. CAMERON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I agreed with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] that I would pair with him upon this question. I should vote "yea" if the Senator from Rhode Island were present.

Mr. McLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. DIXON].

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DUBOIS. Has the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. DUBOIS. I withhold my vote, being paired with that Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am paired with the junior Senator from Texas, and withdraw my vote.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask whether the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. MANDERSON. I am paired with that Senator, and withhold my vote.

Mr. HARRIS. In order to make a quorum, notwithstanding my pair with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], I will record my vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER. With a view to make a quorum I shall vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. McLAURIN. I inquire if a quorum has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. McLAURIN. I will vote in order to make a quorum. I vote "yea."

Mr. DUBOIS. I have the privilege of voting in order to make a quorum. I vote "nay."

Mr. MANDERSON. I feel privileged to vote to make a quorum, notwithstanding my pair. I vote "nay."

Mr. MCPHERSON. I am paired with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 19; as follows:

YEAS—26.

Allison,	George,	Kyle,	Turpie,
Bate,	Gibson,	McLaurin,	Vest,
Blanchard,	Gorman,	Martin,	Vilas,
Cockrell,	Harris,	Mills,	Voorhees,
Coke,	Higgins,	Pasco,	White.
Cullom,	Irby,	Platt,	
Faulkner,	Jarvis,	Sherman,	

NAYS—19.

Allen,	Gallinger,	Manderson,	Power,
Caffery,	Gray,	Mitchell, Oregon	Pugh,
Davis,	Hill,	Patton,	Squire,
Dolph,	Hunton,	Peffer,	Washburn.
Dubois,	McMillan,	Perkins,	

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Lindsay,	Quay,
Berry,	Dixon,	Lodge,	Ransom,
Blackburn,	Frye,	McPherson,	Roach,
Brice,	Gordon,	Mitchell, Wis.	Shoup,
Butler,	Hale,	Morgan,	Smith,
Call,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Camden,	Hawley,	Murphy,	Teller,
Cameron,	Hoar,	Palmer,	Walsh,
Carey,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
Chandler,	Jones, Nev.	Proctor,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House insisted upon its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4864), to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes; asked a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. WILSON of West Virginia, Mr. McMILLIN, Mr. TURNER of Georgia, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. REED, Mr. BURROWS, and Mr. PAYNE managers at the further conference on the part of the House.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1930) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near the city of Lexington, Mo.

The amendment of the House of Representatives was, in section 4, line 5, to strike out the word "of."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is a mere verbal one, and will be considered as concurred in if there be no objection. It is concurred in.

THE REVENUE BILL.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, I rise to a privileged question. I ask that the communication received from the House of Representatives a few minutes ago in regard to a further conference on House bill 4864 be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives, which will be read:

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, July 19, 1894.

Resolved, That the House insists upon its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to H. R. 4864, entitled "An act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," and asks a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Ordered, That Mr. WILSON of West Virginia, Mr. McMILLIN, Mr. TURNER of Georgia, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. REED, Mr. BURROWS, and Mr. PAYNE be managers of the conference on the part of the House.

Mr. VOORHEES. I am instructed by the committee of conference between the two Houses to state that we have had House bill 4864 under consideration in full, free conference; that we have not agreed in regard to the amendments adopted in the Senate; and that the Senate conferees insist upon the amendments of the Senate. Having made this announcement, and after consulting somewhat with Senators who expect to take part in this matter in the way of discussion, I ask that the communication from the House of Representatives lie on the table, to be taken up to-morrow morning immediately after the reading of the Journal.

Mr. HILL. I desire to give notice that at that time I shall move to instruct the conferees on the part of the Senate to place coal and iron on the free list, and that I shall submit some remarks upon the question.

Mr. MANDERSON. In connection with the conference report, let me inquire if there is any message from the President of the United States which should be published in connection with it?

Mr. VOORHEES. None that I have.

Mr. MANDERSON. Perhaps the Senator from New York can answer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request of the Senator from Indiana is that the matter lie on the table until to-morrow morning, when the message from the House of Representatives is to be taken up. That will be the order of the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. I give notice, it being a privileged question, that immediately after the reading of the Journal to-morrow I shall call up the matter for consideration.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. COCKRELL. Now, let the appropriation bill be proceeded with.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6913) making appropriations for current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, and for other purposes.

Mr. KYLE. I wish to offer a few minor amendments. On page 35, line 1, after the word "exceed," I move to strike out "\$5,000" and insert "\$12,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated. The SECRETARY. On page 35, line 1, after the word "exceed," it is proposed to strike out "\$5,000" and insert "\$12,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary;" so as to read:

For subsistence of the Sioux and for purposes of their civilization, as per agreement ratified by act of Congress approved February 28, 1877, \$1,000,000: *Provided*, That a sum not to exceed \$12,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, may be used in completing three artesian wells at Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Standing Rock Agencies, this amount in addition to the sum appropriated for that purpose by act of March 3, 1893.

Mr. KYLE. The reason for this amendment is very plain. I have been out through that region recently, and found that the appropriation which was made for digging artesian wells is not sufficient for the purpose. A year ago an appropriation of \$15,000 was made for the purpose of putting down three artesian wells. I believe the lowest bid which was received for this purpose was \$5 per foot. It was given out by the Geological Survey that in that region it would be necessary to go down 1,800 feet, and therefore \$9,000 will be required for each well, and the three wells, one at Pine Ridge, one at Rosebud, and one at Standing Rock, will require \$27,000, instead of \$15,000.

It was thought when the bill was under consideration in the House of Representatives that \$5,000 additional would be sufficient, but on further consideration it is found that it will require \$7,000 more. Therefore I take it there will be no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KYLE. On page 36, at the end of line 6, after the word "buildings," I move the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 36, at the end of line 6, after the word "buildings," it is proposed to insert "at such points as he may think best for the Indians interested."

Mr. KYLE. This amendment refers to the location of ordinary schools around the reservation, and allows the Secretary of the Interior to proceed to erect such school buildings as he may think best for the Indians.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KYLE. On page 69, line 20, after the word "market," I move to strike out "may" and insert "shall, as far as practicable;" so that the sentence will read:

Provided further, That purchase in open market shall, as far as practicable, be made from Indians under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

I offer this amendment because I think it is right that the Government should purchase the stock which is raised by the Indians in preference to letting contracts to white people; in other words, to encourage stock-raising and the raising of ordinary agricultural products by the Indians.

Mr. CAREY. Let the amendment be stated from the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 69, line 20, after the word "market," it is proposed to strike out "may" and insert "shall, as far as practicable."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KYLE. On page 70, at the end of line 5, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 70, after line 5, it is proposed to insert:

And the Secretary of the Interior may, when practicable, arrange for the manufacture by the Indians upon the reservation of shoes, clothing, leather, harness, and wagons.

Mr. KYLE. The manufacture of shoes, wagons, harness, and

such things, is already carried on on the reservation to some extent. I think there will be no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KYLE. I offer another amendment, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 50, at the end of line 13, it is proposed to insert:

Provided, That Indians to whom lands have been allotted in severalty shall be permitted to lease their lands for a period of five years when thought best by the Secretary of the Interior, and under such regulations as he may prescribe.

Mr. KYLE. I think that is a proper safeguard to throw around such a lease. There are lands which are not specially fit for cultivation, which are taken up in severalty by the Indians, and which might be leased for stock purposes and some of them might be leased, perhaps, for agricultural purposes.

Mr. PLATT. I believe that amendment is liable to a point of order, and I make the point of order that it is general legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut raises the point of order against the amendment. The Chair will submit the point of order to the Senate. The question is: Is the amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota in order?

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, the practice and custom is, I believe, to allow the point of order to be stated by the Senator who makes it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for that purpose.

Mr. ALLISON. Before that is done, if the Senator will allow me, I should be glad to hear the amendment read in connection with the text so that we may understand what it is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be so read.

The SECRETARY. The clause beginning at line 5, on page 50, reads:

To enable the Secretary of the Interior to employ practical farmers and practical stockmen in addition to the agency farmers now employed, at wages not exceeding \$75 each per month, to superintend and direct farming and stock-raising among such Indians as are making effort for self-support, \$70,000; and no person shall be employed as such farmer or stockman who has not been at least five years immediately previous to such employment practically engaged in the occupation of farming.

To which the following is proposed as an amendment.

Provided, That Indians to whom lands have been allotted in severalty shall be permitted to lease their lands for a period of five years when thought best by the Secretary of the Interior, and under such regulations as he may prescribe.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut makes the point of order that the amendment is not in order. That question the Chair submits to the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, this is a proposition to put on an Indian appropriation bill legislation which entirely changes the allotment law as it stands upon the statute book, known as the Dawes allotment act. That law provided that Indian lands should be inalienable for twenty-five years. This amendment provides that any Indian to whom land has been allotted—

Mr. KYLE. If the Senator will allow me, I do not wish to violate the rule of the Senate, and I will withdraw the amendment. I thought it had passed as part of the Yuma bill.

Mr. PLATT. It did.

Mr. KYLE. And on the strength of that I supposed it might be admitted in the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands the amendment to be withdrawn.

Mr. PLATT. I wish simply to say another word about it.

This is a matter which, if it could receive the full consideration of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate and have proper restrictions put around it, might possibly be not so very objectionable; but we have a law now which allows the lands of minor Indian allottees and of female Indian allottees to be leased, and this amendment proposes to provide that all lands allotted to Indians may be leased under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior. It is, therefore, clearly general legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands the amendment to be withdrawn.

Mr. KYLE. I withdraw it.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I send to the desk an amendment to the pending bill to come in after the words "per capita," in line 13, on page 55.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After line 13, on page 55, it is proposed to insert:

For payment in full to the treasurer of the Chapter of Calvary Cathedral,

Sioux Falls, S. Dak., for amount due for two quarters ending, respectively, December 30, 1891, and March 30, 1892, for board and tuition for Indian pupils at the Hope Indian boarding school at Springfield, S. Dak., as per contract duly executed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated July 1, 1891, \$2,430.

Mr. CALL. We make no objection to that amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. COCKRELL. The question would be necessarily as to whether this is a private claim or not. The rule of the Senate reads:

No amendment, the object of which is to provide for a private claim, shall be received to any general appropriation bill, unless it be to carry out the provisions of an existing law or a treaty stipulation, which shall be cited on the face of the amendment.

As I understand this case, there was an Indian school at that place, and the agent of the Indian school appointed by the claimant was guilty of misconduct and was removed. He was the agent, but made the contract in his own name, and not as trustee. The bishop claims that he notified the Department that this man had been removed and that another man had been appointed as trustee, and that the Department after that sent this \$2,430. The Treasury Department deny that they had anything to do with any other person, and in the committee report, which was submitted here, there is nothing to show that any notice was ever received by the Treasury Department. There are letters there addressed by the bishop to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

I do not wish to be captious about these matters. This amendment has been reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs. I do not hold, however, that that makes it in order. It may not be in the nature of a private claim in the full sense of the word, but if it is, as my colleague on the committee in charge of the bill has accepted it, I shall not make the point of order. I do not, however, want it understood that I waive any point of order about private claims going on appropriation bills, for they have no place there.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I understand the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL], in charge of the pending bill, accepts the amendment, and I understand that my friend from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] makes no objection to the amendment other than he has stated. In view of that I shall not detain the Senate by responding to the argument submitted by the Senator from Missouri, further than to say that he is mistaken as to the facts in this case.

Mr. COCKRELL. I drew my facts from the report which was made and which is on file here, and I believe it was made by the Senator himself.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I hold the report in my hand, and I state that my friend from Missouri is mistaken as to his statement of the case.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, to come in as a separate paragraph after line 13, on page 22.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After line 13, on page 22, it is proposed to insert:

OMAHAS.

That so much of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for current and contingent expenses and fulfilling treaty stipulations with Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894," approved March 3, 1894, as amends an act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of a part of the reservation of the Omaha tribe of Indians in the State of Nebraska, and for other purposes," approved August 7, 1882, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior, with the consent of the Indians of that tribe, to allot in severalty, through an allotting agent of the Interior Department, to each Indian woman and child of said tribe born since allotment of the lands were made in severalty to the members thereof under the provisions of said act and now living, one-eighth of a section of the residue lands held by said tribe in common, instead of one-sixteenth of a section, and to allot in severalty to each allottee under said act now living who received one-sixteenth of a section thereunder, an additional one-sixteenth of a section of such residue lands, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I desire briefly to call the attention of the Senate to the necessity for the adoption of this amendment. On the 7th of August, 1882, Congress passed an act authorizing the allotment of the land belonging to the Omaha Indians in the State of Nebraska. The fifth section of that act is to be found on page 342 of volume 22 of the Statutes at Large. It provides that:

To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section; to each single person over 18 years of age, one-eighth of a section; to each orphan child under 18 years of age, one-eighth of a section; and to each other person under 18 years of age, one-sixteenth of a section; which allotments shall be deemed and held to be in lieu of the allotments or assignments provided for in the fourth article of the treaty with the Omahas, concluded March 6, 1865, and for which, for the most part, certificates in the names of individual Indians to whom tracts have been assigned have been issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as in said article provided.

The sixth section pertains to the issuance of patents to the allottees. The eighth section, which is important, I desire to read. It is as follows:

That the residue of lands lying east of the said right of way of the Sioux

City and Nebraska Railroad, after all allotments have been made, as in the fifth section of this act provided, shall be patented to the said Omaha tribe of Indians, which patent shall be of the legal effect and declare that the United States does and will hold the land thus patented for the period of twenty-five years in trust for the sole use and benefit of the said Omaha tribe of Indians, and that at the expiration of said period the United States will convey the same by patent to said Omaha tribe of Indians, in fee discharged of said trust and free of all charge or incumbrance whatsoever: *Provided*, That from the residue of lands thus patented to the tribe in common, allotments shall be made and patented to each Omaha child who may be born prior to the expiration of the time during which it is provided that said lands shall be held in trust by the United States, in quantity and upon the same conditions, restrictions, and limitations as are provided in section 6 of this act, touching patents to allottees therein mentioned.

That is perhaps all that is necessary to be read to show the condition of the law in 1882.

In 1893, on March 3, the following law was enacted and made a part of the Indian appropriation bill:

That the act of Congress approved August 7, 1882—

The act from which I have just read—

entitled "An act to provide for the sale of a part of the reservation of the Omaha tribe of Indians in the State of Nebraska, and for other purposes," be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to authorize the Secretary of the Interior, with the consent of the Indians of that tribe, to allot in severalty, through an allotting agent of the Interior Department, to each Indian woman and child of said tribe born since allotments of land were made in severalty to the members thereof under the provisions of said act, and now living, one-eighth of a section of the residue lands held by that tribe in common, instead of one-sixteenth of a section, as therein provided, and to allot in severalty to each allottee under said act, now living, who received only one-sixteenth of a section thereunder, an additional one-sixteenth of a section of such residue lands: *Provided*, That the allotments so made shall be subject to the same conditions, restrictions, and limitations provided for in sections 6, 7, and 8 of said act, touching allotments and patents to allottees therein mentioned: *And provided*, That the expenses incurred in making the allotments hereby authorized shall be defrayed out of the funds appropriated for surveying and allotting Indian reservations.

The necessity for this law is made apparent when it is remembered that by the act of 1882, 25,000 acres of these lands were set apart in a body and were to be held as sacred property for Indian children who were born after the year 1882. They were to be held in trust by the Government. The title to such land was to pass immediately to the Indian tribes. By the act of 1893 an attempt is made to divest the Omaha Indians of their land by an act of Congress, and to grant to each previous allottee one-sixteenth of a section more than he took under the act of 1882.

It will be observed that this is an attempt by legislation to take the title out of the tribe of Omaha Indians as placed there by the act of 1882, and give to certain individuals of that tribe additional property. In addition to that, it creates the office of an allotting agent, and authorizes that allotting agent to take of the residue land 25,000 acres, I think, lying in a body there, some of the finest land in the State, and allot it to these little children and the widows of annuitants of certain Indians, and by that means, under the act of 1882, passing the title of these lands out of the tribe of Indians and out of the Government into the names of the allottees, thereby placing these lands entirely beyond the control of the National Government. Under the act of 1882 these lands were allotted and set apart for the allottees, and from that moment they become the private property of the Indians.

It is for the purpose of preserving the interest of the minor Indians who have been born since 1882, or may be born before the period of twenty-five years from that time, that the provision in section 8 of the act of 1882 was adopted. The act of 1893, which I seek to repeal by my amendment, destroys the safeguard that those Indian children had under the previous law.

I have on more than one occasion talked to the officers of the Indian Bureau as to the propriety of repealing that act, and no later than last night I addressed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a letter, to which he responded this morning in a memorandum as follows:

Memorandum by Indian Office in reply to letter from Senator Allen, dated July 19, 1894.

Senator ALLEN'S communication is as follows:

"Calling your attention to the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska, I desire to state that in 1893 an amendment was attached to the Indian appropriation bill by which the law of 1882 was amended to the extent of authorizing a reallocation of the Indian lands among the Omaha Indians, and provide for an allotting agent. I understand that such an agent has not yet been appointed, and hope that no appointment will be made.

"Much complaint has reached me from the Indians that this amendatory act is entirely unsatisfactory, and if executed will work practical injustice to the Indians. I wish you would furnish me, by bearer, your opinion as to the propriety of repealing this amended act."

The law to which Senator ALLEN'S inquiries relate may be found in the 27th Statutes at Large, at the bottom of page 630 and the top of page 631.

This item of legislation, excepting the words "Indian women and," in the seventh line of the paragraph, was prepared in this office at the earnest solicitation of a small delegation of Omaha Indians then in this city, having one Mr. Peebles as spokesman. This was during the last Administration. The delegation, as I understand, represented that it was the earnest desire of the Omahas that such legislation should be enacted. This Office did not heartily indorse the measure, but in view of the fact that the consent of the Indians was required, it did not believe that any harm could come by the enactment of the law. Moreover, it was looked upon with favor by some members of Congress with whom the delegation had conferred.

No steps have been taken to make the allotments and readjustment of al-

lotments as provided in this law, although a year and four months have elapsed since its passage.

Statements have repeatedly been made to this Office to the effect—

I call the attention of the Senate more particularly to this language—

that there are big schemes underlying this whole plan, one of which is to have allotments made to minor children and married women, when they would be subject to lease under existing law for agricultural purposes; the main object being to secure voters in the interest of county improvement plans. Senator ALLEN himself will perhaps be better able than I to explain these things.

My own idea is that the law referred to (relating to additional allotments to the Omahas) might be repealed without damage to the interests of the Indians.

Under the act of August 7, 1882 (22 Stats., 341), the Omahas hold their surplus lands in common, and there is a provision authorizing allotments of lands (40 acres each) to children born during the trust period, which runs for twenty-five years after the date of said act. No allotments have as yet been made to children born since the original allotments were made, but this can be done at any time. If the clause in the last Indian appropriation act to which Senator ALLEN refers should be repealed, the whole subject could receive the most thorough and painstaking investigation and consideration and new legislation devised to carry out any further beneficial plans that may seem proper in regard to the Omaha allotments. Therefore, I say that I do not think that any harm could come from the repeal of the existing provision, and it might be altogether desirable that it should be repealed in view of the confusion and complications growing out of the illegal leasing both of allotted and unallotted lands.

D. M. BROWNING, *Commissioner.*

The Commissioner says here that statements have repeatedly been made to his office to the effect that there are big schemes underlying this whole plan. That statement is not entirely without foundation. There is organized in Thurston County, in the State of Nebraska, a company composed of two or three persons who are financially irresponsible, backed, perhaps, by some who are financially responsible, but who are not in sight, which has leases of thousands of acres of these allotted lands, and which has leases as well of the unallotted lands. But it requires the approval of the Interior Department to make the leases of any validity as to the unallotted lands.

I am safe in saying that there is an organized attempt upon the part of some persons, whom I shall not undertake to name, to have all of these unallotted lands of the Indian children and women allotted under the act of 1893, and after that is done to enforce their leases against them and turn over the lands to white settlers at \$1.50, or possibly \$2.00, per acre, because they are very valuable lands. They will then seek to settle upon the county of Thurston a great indebtedness. The Indian vote since the organization of that county has prevented certain persons from settling upon the people of that county immense debts. Repeatedly there has been an attempt to vote bonds to the amount of hundreds or thousands of dollars upon the settlers in and the property of Thurston County, where this reservation is, and in each instance it has been the vote of the voting Indians which has saved the settlers from that great debt.

Now, if these men who scheme to put the county in debt for the purpose of themselves making money out of it can have this great body of 25,000 acres of land allotted under the act of 1893, they having leased it of the Indians for 10 cents an acre, and if they can enforce their leases against the lands, as they are trying to do in the courts to-day, they can people this great body of land with irresponsible white settlers. Then, through their votes they can put upon the people of the county and the Indians of the county a debt which it will take them years to pay. Not only that, but if under the act of 1893 the 25,000 acres which are held under the act of 1882 for twenty-five years as a sacred trust fund, can be cut up and partitioned out to the children born since 1882 and the widows of the tribe, and that is all the act covers, any one can readily see that it will require guardians to handle the estates of these children and the women.

There is an opportunity for the guardian, to use the pat language of the day, to stand in with the man who wants to lease the land and approve the leases which have been made at 10 cents an acre. There is no more valuable land in the State of Nebraska than the Omaha reserved lands, and yet thousands and thousands of acres of that land are held under leases by these persons professing to be a corporation, on a rental of 10 cents an acre. The moment the lands are allotted and pass out of the hands of the General Government to the allottees and come under the law of the State, these persons expect to enforce their leases.

I might at this point, without consuming much time, call attention to another fact.

There is now pending in the circuit court for the district of Nebraska an action against this company or these irresponsible persons who hold the leases to the Indian lands. The Interior Department having repudiated the leases and having refused to ratify them, these men have gone into court and have enjoined Capt. Beck, the agent, who has undertaken to enforce the regulations of the Interior Department, from exercising his authority in keeping off the lands white settlers who were put there as sublessees.

Notwithstanding that the Interior Department refused to approve the leases, notwithstanding the fact that they are void upon their face, yet the people holding the leases have taken into that county and put on the land irresponsible white settlers, exacting from them a large rental. When Capt. Beck undertook to eject them from the land, in accordance with the instructions of the Interior Department, the lessees went into the Federal court and enjoined him from executing that authority, and the injunction is *pendente lite* to-day. Something must be done in reference to these lands. Something should be done to save the interest of the little children born since 1882. The act of 1882, I understand from the substantial men of the Omaha tribe, is entirely satisfactory.

I might refer in this connection to another matter which has been stated. I can not vouch for it, but I think there are witnesses in this city who know that one of the persons who was interested in having these leases ratified or in getting the land out of the control of the Government, so that the Government could no longer exercise its control and wardship over these little children, was instrumental in bringing a few of the younger and wilder spirits of the Omahas to the city at his own expense. He took them before the Indian Department with representations that they were desirous of having the act of 1893 passed. He brought them from the State of Nebraska; paid their railroad fare and their hotel bills here, and took them home.

If I am informed correctly he paid them for coming here. It is perhaps that to which the Commissioner refers when he says a delegation came here and it seemed to be their desire to have the act of 1893 passed. But the old men, the substantial men of the tribe, and the women are protesting and protesting daily in the interest of the little children who are involved under the act of 1882 against the enforcement of the act of 1893; and it is the provision in that act which my amendment seeks to repeal.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, I might upon full inquiry into the question find myself in entire accord with my colleague in his desire to repeal the section of the act of 1893. It is a matter, however, with which I have very little acquaintance, and I am lacking in that knowledge which would teach me to vote intelligently upon his proposition. It is an effort to repeal a piece of legislation which had its origin outside of an appropriation act, but finally had its due course in the appropriation law of last year. I wish I had that complete knowledge of the matter which my colleague seems to have; but unfortunately I have not. It is a matter which concerns a very large number of the constituents represented by my colleague and myself.

It is certainly, however, an unusual course of procedure that on an appropriation bill there should be an attempt to repeal such an enactment. The matter of the proposed repeal should go to the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which committee my colleague and I are both members, and there should be that full, calm deliberation and consideration which is given to matters of proposed legislation in that committee.

I always hesitate, unless I have exceptional knowledge in regard to a subject, to vote for that which is in the nature of general legislation upon appropriation bills. This is general legislation beyond a peradventure. It proposes a repeal of existing law, and it is not only subject to the point of order that it is general legislation on an appropriation bill, but it is also subject to the point of order that it is an amendment which has not received the sanction of one of the committees of this body. Although I feel loth to combat my colleague on a matter of this kind, my combat is because of my lack of knowledge and information upon the subject, and I feel it my duty to be informed in the regular methods and by the regular process. I therefore make the point of order upon the amendment.

Mr. ALLEN. I hope my colleague will withdraw the point of order.

Mr. MANDERSON. I withdraw it, so that my colleague may be heard.

Mr. ALLEN. I think that when my colleague thinks the matter over he will realize the importance of the amendment becoming a law.

Mr. MANDERSON. That is what I wish to do—to examine into the matter.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know that I have had an opportunity for knowing what has transpired on the reservation superior to that of my colleague. We both live about an equal distance from it. I do know, however, from talking with the attorneys on both sides of the case I mentioned, in which Capt. Beck, the agent, has been enjoined from ejecting these interlopers, that it is admitted that leases were obtained at 10 cents an acre. That is not disputed in the case, as I understand from counsel upon both sides.

It is maintained on the part of the claimant who brought the bill for the injunction that the leases are valid notwithstanding

the Interior Department refuses to approve them, and especially so far as they apply to the allotted lands. I am inclined to think that that contention on the part of the plaintiff is true, because when the lands are allotted the title passes to the allottee as completely and is as free from all restrictions as the title of a grantee under a warranty deed.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to his colleague?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. MANDERSON. Is the injunction proceeding now pending in court?

Mr. ALLEN. It was pending when last I heard from it.

Mr. MANDERSON. Does it not strike my colleague as an abundant reason why there should be no disturbance of the existing condition by legislation that the court shall have an opportunity to decide the pending case?

Mr. ALLEN. Not at all, because it does not involve the precise point reached by the amendment. The injunction reaches the cases where allotments have already been made.

Under the act of 1893 there is an attempt by legislation to take a 40-acre tract of the residue lands, the title of which by the act of 1882 was vested in the tribe at large as a legal entity, and give it to the former allottees under the act of 1882. Certainly no man will claim that the Legislature has the power to take the legal title of property out of one man and transfer it to another, especially when the act of Congress provides that the legal title shall rest in the tribe.

But, as I say, by the act of 1893 there is an attempt to take 40 acres of that land and transfer it by legislative enactment to the former allottees of other portions of the reservation. What does that mean? It means that of the allotments made under the act of 1893 by the new allotting agent the lessees of the fraudulent leases, or the leases which at least are void, get under the leases 40 acres more of the Indians who had taken their allotment under the former act. But that is not the particular point. The point I contend for, which is not involved in the lawsuit of which I speak, is that Congress ought to exercise some precaution as to control over the lands which were set apart for twenty-five years, to rest in the Government as a trust fund for these children and the widows of that tribe. There it was specified that the title to 25,000 acres, a great body of valuable land, should rest in the tribe for the benefit of the women and children. The Indians were content with it; they were satisfied with it.

In 1893, without the Indians knowing a thing about it, without their knowledge or consent, if their chief men are to be believed, this provision was placed in the Indian appropriation act. By that means this great body of land, reserved to the children and the widows for twenty-five years, where the Government should be responsible for it, where the Government should stand sponsor to the child and responsible to the tribe for it, is to be reallocated among the children and the widows and guardians appointed over them. I suppose that land also would be leased for 10 cents an acre to these fortune hunters.

Let me call attention to another matter. The unallotted lands can not be leased for agricultural purposes. They can be leased only for grazing purposes. But if these lands can be reallocated to these little children and the widows, these wards of the nation, and title pass out of the Government, the trusteeship of the Government cease and guardians be appointed by the State courts, how easy it is to avoid the law and to take the lands, rented for 10 cents an acre, and through the instrumentality of the private guardian lease them to some person for a dollar and a half or \$2 an acre or more for agricultural purposes; and land in that country is worth that much for agricultural purposes. Not only that, but the entire fortune of these women and children is turned over to the tender mercies of the sharks who are among them and are endeavoring to get their land from them as rapidly as possible.

I appeal to my colleague to withdraw his point of order. If the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] had been here he would have attended to the matter. He is a member of the Indian Committee and has looked into this question. But unfortunately he is not here now. I offer the amendment, and I hope my colleague will withdraw the point of order so that the Senate may vote upon the amendment.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, if anything were needed to emphasize the value of my point of order upon the amendment it has been afforded in the forcible and emphatic speech made by my colleague. It is so very evident that there are two sides to this controversy, it is so very evident that it is a matter needing deliberate exploration and calm deliberation, that I feel constrained to insist upon the point of order I have made. Therefore I renew it, and ask the decision of the Chair upon it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state his point of order.

Mr. MANDERSON. The point of order I make is, that this is in the nature of general legislation upon an appropriation bill; and further, that it has not the sanction or the favorable report of one of the committees of the body.

Mr. ALLEN. Before the Chair rules upon the point of order I wish to say a few words.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will hear the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not see how it can be claimed that this is general legislation. My understanding is, and I think all agree upon it, that general legislation is that which applies generally as distinguished from particular or special legislation, which pertains to a special individual or a special subject and which is merely tentative in its character. I do not know whether the distinction that is ordinarily observed in courts of law is to be observed in the construction of the rule, or whether the rule is to be taken as a mere matter of convenience, like a special appearance to enable a man to stay out of court when he does not want to go into court and meet the merits of his case.

There is nothing in the very nature of the amendment that is legislation in the sense of creating a new law. It does not create a new law. It is germane to the subject-matter of the bill. The bill pertains to Indian affairs, to the making of appropriations for the manifold Indian necessities recognized by law. The amendment, instead of being general legislation, as it is called—and I do not know exactly what that means—is the undoing of an act that was passed in 1893, and it is not the creation of law at all. It is the reverse of the creation of law.

It proposes to undo that which has been done before. It proposes to destroy, not to create, not to make law. As it pertains not to a general subject, not to all Indians under like circumstances, but pertains to the specific subject of repealing an allotment with reference to these particular Indians and a particular portion of them, it is not a general law. There is no rule known to our jurisprudence by which anyone can determine that it is general legislation. Certainly it is germane to the bill and certainly the merits of it require its passage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The purpose of the present amendment is to repeal a part of a general law, "An act making appropriations for current and contingent expenses and fulfilling treaty stipulations with Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894." The point of order raised by the Senator from Nebraska is under Rule XVI, section 3, which provides that—

No amendment which proposes general legislation shall be received to any general appropriation bill.

The Chair thinks that legislation is as active in repeal as in enacting a law, and is of opinion that the amendment is subject to the point of order raised by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON].

Mr. PERKINS. I desire to offer an amendment. I move to insert between sections 16 and 17 what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After section 16 insert:

To pay the amounts found due by the Court of Claims, as hereinafter set forth, for supplies furnished the Indian service in 1873 and 1874, and reported to Congress by Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 165, Fifty-first Congress, first session, to wit:

To Edward N. Fish & Co., \$1,800.

To Edward N. Fish & Co., assignees of W. B. Hugus, \$2,400.20.

To Bowers & Richards, assignees of James M. Burney, \$3,534.75.

To Sutro & Co., assignees of William B. Hooper & Co., \$3,479.32.

The payments to the assignees in each case being at the request of the original claimants as found by the Court of Claims.

Mr. PERKINS. These amounts are for rations furnished the Indians in Arizona at the request of a Government officer. The claim has been passed upon by the Court of Claims. The amendment was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and favorably reported. A bill to pay the claim was passed by the Senate in 1890, I think, but failed to become a law.

Mr. COCKRELL. Has the Senator a print of the proposed amendment?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRELL. I wish he would send me a copy. On what page of the bill does the amendment come in?

Mr. PERKINS. Between sections 16 and 17, page 138.

Mr. PLATT. What is the name of the first claimant to be paid by the amendment?

Mr. PERKINS. Edward N. Fish & Co.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. COCKRELL. One moment, Mr. President. I make a point of order on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will hear the point of order stated.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will recognize the Senator from California as soon as the point of order is stated.

Mr. COCKRELL. The point of order is that the amendment proposed by the Senator from California does not belong to this bill. It is a private claim which was taken to the Court of Claims, and there determined in favor of the claimants. It has no business on this bill. It is a deficiency. Such things are always considered on the deficiency appropriation bill. Clause 4 of Rule XVI provides that—

No amendment, the object of which is to provide for a private claim, shall be received to any general appropriation bill, unless it be to carry out the provisions of an existing law or a treaty stipulation, which shall be cited on the face of the amendment.

I hope the Senator from California will not press the amendment on this bill when it properly belongs to another bill which has not yet been considered in the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. PERKINS. I had reason to believe that the committee would accept the amendment at this time without raising the point of order. I think I could convince my friend from Missouri that perhaps his point of order is not well taken in this instance, but I will withdraw the amendment for the present and offer it on the deficiency appropriation bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. I will withdraw the point of order that the Senator may make an explanation of the amendment. I do not want to do him any injustice. If it properly belongs on this bill, if it is connected with Indian affairs, I have no objection to its going in; but I should like to see the document. Where is the executive document recommending the payment of the claims?

Mr. PERKINS. So much time has been occupied in the discussion of the various amendments offered to the bill, and as there are half a dozen other amendments yet to be submitted, if my amendment is to elicit any discussion I will withdraw it and let it go over.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let me see the document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands the amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. PLATT. I am not quite sure whether it is withdrawn or not. I remember about this claim in the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from California has withdrawn his amendment for the present. Let us go on with the bill.

Mr. PLATT. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from California is withdrawn for the present.

Mr. SHOUP. I am directed by the Committee on Indian Affairs to offer an amendment as an additional section to the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated. The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add the following as an additional section:

SEC. 19. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a commission of three persons to allot in severalty to the Uncompahgre Indians within their reservation, in the Territory of Utah, agricultural and grazing lands according to the treaty of 1880, as follows:

"Allotments in severalty of said lands shall be made as follows: To each head of a family one-quarter of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing land not exceeding one-quarter of a section; to each single person over 18 years of age, one-eighth of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing land not exceeding one-eighth of a section; to each orphan child under 18 years of age, one-eighth of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing land not exceeding one-eighth of a section; to each other person under 18 years of age, born prior to such allotment, one-eighth of a section, with a like quantity of grazing land: *Provided*, That with the consent of said commission, any adult Indian may select a less quantity of land, if more desirable on account of location: *And provided*, That the said Indians shall pay \$1.25 per acre for said lands from the fund now in the United States Treasury realized from the sale of their lands in Colorado as provided by their contract with the Government. All necessary surveys, if any, to enable said commission to complete the allotments shall be made under the direction of the General Land Office. Said commissioners shall, as soon as practicable after their appointment, report to the Secretary of the Interior what portions of said reservation are unsuited or will not be required for allotments, and thereupon such portions so reported shall, by proclamation, be restored to the public domain and made subject to entry as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 20. That the remainder of the lands on said reservation, except lands containing asphaltum, gilsonite, or other like substances, shall, upon the approval of the allotments by the Secretary of the Interior, be immediately open to entry under the homestead and mineral laws of the United States: *Provided*, That after three years actual and continuous residence upon agricultural lands from date of settlement the settler may, upon full payment of \$1.50 per acre, receive patent for the tract entered. If not commuted at the end of three years the settler shall pay at the time of making final proof \$1.50 per acre.

SEC. 21. That said commission shall also negotiate and treat with the Indians properly residing upon the Uintah Indian Reservation, in the Territory of Utah, for the relinquishment to the United States of the interest of said Indians in all lands within said reservation not needed for allotment in severalty to said Indians, and if possible, procure the consent of such Indians to such relinquishment, and for the acceptance by said Indians of allotments in severalty of lands within said reservation, and said commissioners shall report any agreement made by them with said Indians, which agreement shall become operative only when ratified by act of Congress,

SEC. 23. That said commissioners shall receive \$6 per day each, and their actual and necessary traveling and incidental expenses while on duty, and to be allowed a clerk, to be selected by them, whose compensation shall be fixed by said commissioners, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That the cost of executing the provisions of this act shall not exceed the sum of \$16,000, which sum is hereby appropriated for that purpose out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. PLATT. I should like to make one inquiry about the amendment. It provides that certain lands forming part of an Indian reservation shall be sold. It reserves the mineral lands for sale under the general law. The asphaltum lands are reserved, I understand, to be disposed of under the general mineral laws of the United States. I should like to know if there is any provision as to the price which is to be paid for mineral lands. I ask the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH], who is familiar with the mineral-land laws of the United States, how the mineral lands are disposed of? Is there a specific price which has to be paid for them?

Mr. DOLPH. Oh, yes; there is a mineral-land law. I would not be quite certain, however, whether the law refers to asphaltum.

Mr. PLATT. How much has to be paid for mineral lands—\$5 an acre?

Mr. DOLPH. I think from \$5 to \$10 an acre, I do not recollect the exact amount; I think it is \$5.

Mr. PLATT. I have an impression that Government mineral lands can be obtained by individuals for \$5 an acre.

Mr. COCKRELL. There are different prices fixed, I think. For coal lands, lands containing precious metals, and other mineral lands, there are different prices.

Mr. DOLPH. Coal lands which are not within ten miles or twenty miles of a railroad are sold at \$10 an acre, and if within ten miles of a railroad \$20 an acre; but I think gold and silver placer lands are sold for \$5 an acre.

Mr. PLATT. Whether asphaltum and gilsonite deposits would make these mineral lands I do not know.

Mr. ALLISON. I think they are excepted in the amendment.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let me read section 19 of the proposed amendment—

That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a commission of three persons to allot in severalty to the Uncompagire Indians within their reservation, in the Territory of Utah, agricultural and grazing lands according to the treaty of 1880, as follows:

It then describes the land.

Said commissioners shall, as soon as practicable after their appointment, report to the Secretary of the Interior what portions of said reservation are unsuited or will not be required for allotments, and thereupon such portions so reported shall, by proclamation, be restored to the public domain and made subject to entry as hereinafter provided.

Then section 20 of the amendment, proposed by the Senator from Idaho, provides—

That the remainder of the lands on said reservation, except lands containing asphaltum, gilsonite, or other like substances, shall, upon the approval of the allotments by the Secretary of the Interior, be immediately open to entry under the homestead and mineral laws of the United States.

So these lands are absolutely excepted, the way I read the amendment.

Mr. PLATT. All that I ask about the matter is that if the amendment passes the committee will pay careful attention to it in conference so that no one is going to get this valuable asphaltum and gilsonite land for a song.

Mr. COCKRELL. Would this language include it?

Mr. PLATT. I can not tell.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator can add to it and make it certain by inserting "except those lands which are reserved from sale."

Mr. COCKRELL. I will put in that clause. The amendment reads—

That the remainder of the lands on said reservation, except lands containing asphaltum, gilsonite, or other like substances—

I will insert the words:

Which are hereby reserved from sale.

Mr. PLATT. That is right.

Mr. COCKRELL. That makes clear the point the Senator from Connecticut makes. I was not sure but that the amendment did read that way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the Senator from Idaho will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Amend the second section of the amendment so as to read:

SEC. 20. That the remainder of the lands on said reservation, except lands containing asphaltum, gilsonite, or other like substances, which are hereby reserved from sale, shall, upon the approval of the allotments by the Secretary of the Interior, be immediately open to entry under the homestead and mineral laws of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair understand that the amendment to the amendment is accepted by the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. SHOUP. The amendment to the amendment is accepted. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment is accepted. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

Mr. PEPPER. I offer an amendment to be inserted on page 23, immediately after line 2, as a part of the matter relating to the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Add after line 2, page 23:

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to cause to be allotted, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved February 8, 1887, entitled "An act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes," to each and every child born of a recognized member of the Sac and Fox of Missouri tribe of Indians since the completion of allotments to said tribe, 80 acres of land within the reservation of said tribe in the States of Kansas and Nebraska, and upon the completion thereof to offer for sale the remaining lands of the said reservation, at the proper land office, upon such terms, conditions, and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may determine: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior shall inquire into the correctness of the appraisement made under authority of an act of Congress approved August 15, 1876, of lot 8 of the southeast quarter of section 19, township 1 north, range 17 east, Sac and Fox Reservation lands in the State of Nebraska; and if he shall be satisfied that said lot was appraised at more than its actual value, he may cause the same to be sold upon the same terms as the other lands are sold: *And provided further*, That before any sale shall be made of said lands the consent of a majority of the male adults of said Indians shall first be obtained.

SEC. 2. That the net proceeds arising from the sales of lands, as provided in section 1 of this act, shall be used for the benefit of said tribe or shall be paid to said Indians per capita, as the Secretary of the Interior may determine. The cost of the advertisement and sale of said lands shall be defrayed from the first proceeds arising therefrom.

Mr. PEPPER. In explanation of the amendment, I will state that some two years ago an allotment was made of the Sac and Fox lands lying on the northeastern portion of Nebraska and the northeastern portion of Kansas. Since that time some fifteen children have been born to the tribe. There are something less than 2,000 acres yet remaining of the reservation to be disposed of. The amendment proposes that to the children who have been born since the last allotment, there shall be an allotment the same as was made to their ancestors, and that what is left, which is estimated at the Indian Bureau to be about 600 acres, shall be disposed of as the rest of the lands have been disposed of.

The Committee on Indian Affairs have all the correspondence with the Department of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in relation to this matter. My information is that both the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs favor this proposition; and they state that after an allotment of 80 acres each is made to fifteen children, amounting in all to 1,200 acres, there will be about 600 acres left, as I understand, but the Senator from Connecticut thinks it will be a very small number of acres.

Mr. PLATT. I think 33 acres.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator from Connecticut suggests that there will be a small quantity left.

Mr. COCKRELL. How much?

Mr. PLATT. Thirty-three acres will be left.

Mr. COCKRELL. No, there are about 1,600 acres now, and when these allotments are made there will be about 575 acres left.

Mr. PEPPER. Then my information was correct. I put it at about 600 acres. This is all I have to say at the present time concerning the amendment.

Mr. PLATT. I believe I consented that this amendment should be reported pro forma by the Committee on Indian Affairs, but I think I told the Senator from Kansas I did not know that I should agree to the amendment. It raises a pretty important question in dealing with Indian lands. It is almost precisely such a provision as was put upon the Indian appropriation bill last year in regard to the Omaha Indians lands, which the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] has just attempted to have repealed this year by an amendment to the pending bill and which was ruled out of order.

I will state the question presented by the amendment: When a tribe of Indians concludes to avail itself of the provision of the act called the Dawes allotment act, and takes lands in severalty for all the members of the tribe, leaving a portion of the lands undistributed and still held in common by the Indians, and the land thus remains for a series of years until the Indians think they would like to dispose of the whole of it, or until they think they would like to have a new allotment of a part of it, shall there be a new allotment to children who are born after the first allotment takes place? There is no occasion for it in this particular case, probably, except what would exist in regard to every Indian reservation where allotments have been made under the Dawes act.

Mr. COCKRELL. And surplus lands have been left.

Mr. PLATT. And surplus lands have been left undistributed. It will be observed that where lands have been allotted under

the Dawes act there are surplus lands left in all cases, unless there has been some special provision made by Congress for the sale of the lands. Where allotments are made under treaties with the Indians there is usually included an agreement with the Indians that the land shall be purchased by the Government and opened to settlement; but upon the lands of almost all tribes where allotments have been made there are still undivided lands held in common. The amendment raises the question, What is to be done with those lands?

There is no provision in the Dawes allotment act which determines what shall be done with the lands which are left undistributed when an allotment takes place. The amendment seems to proceed upon the principle that so long as there are any lands left in common there are to be successive divisions or allotments made as children shall be born to the tribe. Of course this particular amendment provides for selling the lands which are not now to be allotted to the children who have been born since the first allotment, but that probably would not be done in all cases. So, under this principle we should have successive allotments at intervals of a few years, allotting to the children who should be born from time to time specific portions of the land. Whether that is what should be done in such cases, or whether one allotment having been made, it should be considered that the right of allotment and the power of allotment have been exhausted, and the rest of the land sold for the benefit of the whole tribe, is the question.

I do not like to dispose of this question on an appropriation bill. It is quite a large question, as Senators who are listening to me will see. When this allotment to the Sacs and Fox took place all the living Indians got an allotment, and there were left 1,600 acres of land. That land belonged to the whole tribe, including those who had received allotments. Now, it is proposed to take the greater part of it and give it to thirteen or fourteen or fifteen children, who have been born since. It seems to me that that is scarcely fair to the remaining members of the tribe who do not happen to have had children born to them since the first allotments were made.

I do not wish to decide that question now. That is my difficulty about it. I have not thought of it sufficiently to be fully determined in my mind which policy should be pursued, whether one allotment having been made, if the Indians want to dispose of the remainder of their lands, they should be sold for the benefit of the whole tribe, or whether allotments should be made as children shall be born until such time as the lands are fully disposed of. These allotments, of course, will go to the children of persons who received allotments originally, but there will be other persons who received allotments originally who will get no benefit of these lands.

As I say, my mind is not made up as to which policy should be adopted. My only reason for speaking at all is to say that I do not like to decide such a question upon an Indian appropriation bill without full consideration.

Mr. PEPPER. Just a word or two, Mr. President, in addition.

I have not personally given the point raised by the Senator from Connecticut very careful consideration. I have proposed the amendment because my information is, and I understand it to be entirely reliable, that the Secretary of the Interior recommends this disposition of the remaining land, recommends the course proposed in the amendment, and that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs approves it and recommends it; and, what would seem ordinarily to be better than both, the Indians themselves, who are personally interested in the matter, have recommended it.

In addition to that, the amendment itself provides that nothing shall be done along the lines laid down in the proposed amendment except with the consent of the Sac and Fox Indians.

Mr. PLATT. All of them?

Mr. PEPPER. All of them, as I understand, it is so provided. That being true, I do not see how there could be any mistake made. It might be that if there was a very large proportion of the reservation yet remaining undisposed of, there would be an opening for fraud.

Mr. PLATT. If the Senator will permit me to correct him with regard to what requirement is made for the agreement of the Indians, it is the consent of the Indian male adults. Without question the consent will be obtained of persons who have had children born, but it only requires the consent of a majority of the males.

Mr. PEPPER. I suppose that is the usual way. I have several times since my membership in this body proposed that the word "male" be stricken from bills and resolutions, but the motion has always been voted down.

Mr. PLATT. But it is a majority only that is required; it is not all of them.

Mr. COCKRELL. I regret exceedingly that such questions

as these have to be decided upon appropriation bills; but in view of the fact that the Committee on Appropriations did not propose the amendment, I regret that the Committee on Indian Affairs have referred this amendment to us, unless they wanted it to pass. We are in this predicament: We found the amendment referred to the Committee on Appropriations by the Committee on Indian Affairs, and found it recommended by the Department, and we left the Committee on Indian Affairs to present it.

Mr. PEPPER. It occurs to me, Mr. President, that in view of all this, the proceeding is not only regular, but eminently proper. Perhaps my excellent neighbor from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON], who is quite as familiar with the subject as any of us, will be able to enlighten us about it.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, it seems to me the great difficulty about the consideration of this amendment is that none of us have that familiarity with the subject which we ought to have to legislate understandingly upon it. The lands proposed to be allotted here, as I understand, are in the States of Kansas and Nebraska, and we have as yet no information as to the amount of land involved.

Mr. COCKRELL. Sixteen hundred and fourteen acres to be allotted to twelve or thirteen children, allowing 80 acres to each, will leave remaining 574 acres.

Mr. MANDERSON. I thank the Senator from Missouri. The Sac and Fox Indians are not living in either Kansas or Nebraska. Whether some remnant of the tribe has remained upon these old lands in Kansas and Nebraska and these children to whom lands have not been allotted are to be found there, or whether they are with the tribe, which has an agency in the State of Iowa, I confess I do not know. The Sac and Fox agency, for which I see there is an appropriation in this bill for the pay of an agent at \$1,000 per annum, is in the State of Iowa.

Can the Senator in charge of this bill inform the Senate whether the children, to whom these lands are to be allotted, are in the State of Kansas or in the State of Nebraska, or whether they are with the tribe which seems to have its habitat in the State of Iowa?

Mr. PEPPER. I am not able to inform the Senator upon that point. I presume, however, it is safe to rely upon the knowledge and information of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In addition to that I will state to the Senator that I do not see how that can affect this proceeding one way or the other. There is nothing in the law requiring an Indian to live upon land which has been allotted to him. He may choose to live there, or he may choose to live somewhere else. So it may be with the children. If the parents are in Iowa, I have no doubt the children are there. The probability is that if they were born within the last three years they are not yet able to take care of themselves.

Mr. MANDERSON. That may be so. I do not take issue with my friend from Kansas on that proposition, and I do not antagonize his amendment. What I rose to say, however, and as I have proposed to say it sometime during the deliberation upon this bill—this is perhaps as opportune a time as any, although it is not strictly germane to this amendment—is that here is another instance of a very flagrant abuse pervading our Indian policy. I refer to the Sac and Fox Indians in the State of Iowa. At their agency there is an agent who is continued under the terms of the pending bill at a thousand dollars per annum, and there is about as much, I perhaps might say there is not as much, reason why they should have an agent as there is reason for a guardian for the person and property of the Senator from Kansas or for myself.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have a petition from the Indians at this agency dated:

SAC AND FOX OF MISSOURI INDIAN RESERVATION,
June 24, 1894.

We, your petitioners, members of the Sac and Fox of Missouri tribe of Indians, assembled in open council on our reservation in Kansas and Nebraska, being included in the Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha Indians—

The Nemaha Agency, I believe, is just on the border extending into both Kansas and Nebraska.

Mr. MANDERSON. I am speaking now of the Sac and Fox agency in Iowa mentioned in this appropriation bill, and making their case an instance only of many others like them. There is abundant reason why this Sac and Fox agency in the State of Iowa should be abolished. I simply give this agency as an example of numerous other Indian agencies that might well be abolished, and the best way to abolish them will be to abolish in the Indian appropriation bill the compensation to the agents. Shut off their supplies and they will cease to be.

I turn to a very valuable publication of the Census Bureau, not yet generally issued, and perhaps not to be given full light by that Bureau, prepared by Mr. Donaldson, expert special agent, and I see as to these particular Indians this fact stated:

The Sac and Fox Agency, Iowa, should be at once abolished, as the Indians

under charge of the agency are not reservation Indians in fact. The so-called reservation is owned by the Indians in fee, and no one has a right to invade or molest it. All requirements of law can be attended to by the United States district attorney for the district in which the Sac and Fox lands are located, or by an inspector of the Indian Office, and like matters at most of the other agencies when abolished could be so attended to.

Here is a small tribe of Indians, comprising but a few hundred—397 in all—living upon lands which they own in fee, deriving no rations from the Government. What possible use is there for the continuation of that agent?

We had in 1890 139 Indian reservations, and there were 54 actual agents under salary, with numerous dependents. I believe it to be a fact that from one-half to two-thirds of these agents could be abolished with advantage, not only to the Government in the way of saving the expenditures incident to their maintenance, but to the very great advantage and material good of the Indians themselves.

I know that a most convenient place to locate some superannuated, played-out, ex-elite politician is to send him to an Indian agency as an agent. He must, of course, be a man of very small caliber and light capacity who will thus exile himself for the paltry thousand or twelve or fifteen hundred dollars a year which he receives, and that is the class of men who are usually selected. There is no civil service examination. Those agents are not appointed upon their merits, but usually upon their demerits. If a small-bore politician is objectionable in the community in which he lives, and the desire is to get rid of him, the political Botany Bay for him is to send him to some Indian agency where there is nothing to do, and pay him the paltry compensation incident to the place.

Mr. President, one of the crying ills and greatevils of our Indian system is that we are thus maintaining these so-called guardians but properly termed leeches of the Indians. We should wipe some of them out with a liberal hand; we should expunge from the appropriation bills the compensation which some of them are to receive, and that would result in their complete and perfect eradication and annihilation. Cut off from them that upon which they feed and they would soon expire.

Mr. President, there is abundant authority for the eradication of many of these agencies. Early in this session of Congress I introduced a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Interior to transmit to Congress a list of all Indian agencies, and to suggest to Congress what agencies might, in his opinion, with safety be abolished. The list came, and there was very cavalier disposition of the question by the statement from the Secretary of the Interior that at this particular time he saw no reason why any of these agencies should be abolished.

I now quote from much better authority, which I hold in my hand, and I propose before I get through to ask leave to insert it as a part of my remarks, for it is a very valuable contribution to our literature upon the Indians. It has not yet received publication except in very limited number. I have an advance copy, approved by Superintendent Porter, of this very valuable report, made to the Census Bureau by its accomplished agent, and I ask leave to attach it as part of my remarks. It is a part of the Report on Indians, Eleventh Census, 1890.

By so doing, I shall save much of the time of the Senate, for I am so filled with well-grounded antagonism and with righteous indignation at the way this subject has been treated, that I should feel warranted and tempted to expend much of the valuable time of the Senate in expressing that indignation. I shall not, however, do that, but shall ask leave to append this document to my remarks, reading just now, as pertinent to the matter in hand, one or two extracts from it.

Representative HOLMAN, in his report on the pending bill, says of this paper:

The very exhaustive, able, and interesting report of Hon. Thomas Donaldson, of Philadelphia, Pa., as expert special agent to take the census of the Indian tribes, furnishes a vast amount of valuable information in relation to the Indian service and the condition of all the tribes. He recommends the abolition of a number of the Indian agencies. While these recommendations have not yet been fully considered, it is believed that the report will greatly facilitate in the early future valuable improvements and positive reforms in the Indian service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska? The Chair hears none.

Mr. MANDERSON. Hon. Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his annual report for 1890, speaks of the present system of conducting Indian affairs under existing laws. Gen. Morgan continued as Commissioner of Indian Affairs for a time after he made this report, and I greatly fear that because of his contact with these officials and with those who had a deep and valuable interest in the maintenance of the present Indian policy of the Government, he never again used language so emphatic, so forcible, and so truthful as this that I shall now read. He said:

The entire system of dealing with them (the Indians) is vicious, involving as it does the installing of agents, with semidespotic power over ignorant,

superstitious, and helpless subjects; the keeping of thousands of them on reservations practically as prisoners, isolated from civilized life and dominated by fear and force; the issue of rations and annuities which inevitably tends to breed pauperism; the disbursement of millions of dollars' worth of supplies by contract, which invites fraud; the maintenance of a system of licensed trade, which stimulates cupidity and extortion, etc.

Mr. PEPPER. That is strong.

Mr. MANDERSON. It is strong, Mr. President, as suggested by the Senator from Kansas, but it is as true as it is strong.

I know our sentimental brethren in the East, who know little of the Indian except as they read of him in Leather Stocking Tales, who do not come in contact with him and do not know him as he is, who do not know his weaknesses and do not know his strength—for he has both weaknesses and strength—I know that these sentimentalists believe in the maintenance of the present system; they think there must be safeguards thrown about the Indians; they think you must protect him from the rapacious hand of his white neighbor.

Mr. President, there is no greater friend of the Indian, no man who desires his advancement more than the white man who lives by his side. The Senator from Kansas, the Senator from South Dakota, my colleague, and I, who have seen much of the plains Indians, know them for what they are worth; we know they have the capacity to make most excellent citizens if you let go the leading strings with which we hold him. We would teach him to swim and yet keep him out of the water.

Mr. President, you could take the best white men and put them under this sort of tutelage, this objectionable vassalage and weakening bondage, and you would degenerate them to such an extent that they would be hardly worthy the name of men, and yet as to the Indian we go on year after year in these appropriation bills appropriating money to maintain worse than useless agents. It is about time there was a turn in the wheel.

As I suggested in the early part of the day, we have given to the Indians who have dissolved the tribal relation, who have taken lands in severalty in their allotment, the right of citizenship. Let us impose upon them the corresponding duties of citizenship.

The contrast that is afforded in my own State and adjoining States, where the white man goes and takes 160 acres of land, and with wife and children settles upon it, and struggles for years and years for a bare subsistence, with the Indian, who right across the line of an Indian reservation, is allotted his lands, furnished the materials with which he shall build his house, furnished the implements with which he shall plow the soil, with the seed that he shall plant, the implements and tools with which he shall reap the harvest, and even the horses and wagons receiving pay, as they do at Pine Ridge and at Rosebud, for hauling with them the rations to be consumed—the contrast, I say, between the Indian thus pampered and thus sustained, and the white man, who on the very next farm struggles for life is most marked and most significant, and we of the West are growing tired of it. We want no abuse of the Indian, we would protect him with our lives if necessary, but we want to give him the chance for self-sustaining manhood, a chance to struggle for his own advancement and to aid in his own progress.

Mr. President, I read further:

The remedy of Kit Carson—

A pretty good frontiersman—

one of the bravest and most humane of Indian fighters, for the Indian question was to stop the Indian from running at large, place him on reservations of good land, and let him fight the problem out himself.

The only true remedy * * * is to compel the savages to form settlements by themselves, then and there assist and teach them to cultivate the soil; in time they will be able to gain a maintenance independent of the General Government.

That is the object to be attained, a maintenance independent of the General Government, to stop being wards, to come to the time when reaching their majority they will take upon themselves the full responsibility of manhood.

And to a certain extent they will become responsible for their acts.

This is, as has been noted, the present Canadian Indian policy.

We afford a most marked and dreadful spectacle as compared with the course that has been pursued by our wiser Canadian neighbor. They owe no more duty to the Indian of Canada than we owe to the Indian of the United States, but they pursue the other policy. They said, "Work and you shall receive pay; take care of yourselves, and if necessity compels we will help you." That was the motto. As suggested by a friend near me, it was "Root hog, or die;" and it is a pretty good motto for either the animal or the man creature. I quote:

The Indians of Canada are placed upon reservations of land which will maintain them, of course with a small area for each, and they are aided to a start in life. They are now practically self-sustaining. The Canadian Indian knows when he goes on the land that it is to be his; the American Indian knows, if experience is worth anything, that it is not to be his, or the chances are largely that it will not be, and in addition it may be a sand bank. Ninety per cent of the present American Indians on reservations are not agriculturists, but the most of them will work in other fields

when paid for it. The Indian is too much of a child of nature to wait for slow-growing crops. He wants to see an immediate result from his labor. He will work as a laborer provided you board him and pay him cash besides. This has been tested. Money is an actual visible result to him. (See the reports of the special agents as to this.) The Navajoes did much of the work of grading the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in Arizona and New Mexico.

A strange fact in connection with the administration of the Indian Office is, that as the Indians decrease in number and the civilized Indians become more numerous, according to the reports sent out, the number of employes and dependents and the expenditures for Indians increase.

I have a report here made by Mr. HOLMAN from the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives, showing the amount of the Indian appropriation bills. Here it is. The appropriations for the Indian service in the year 1891 were \$7,262,016.02; in 1892, \$16,386,284.86. That very large increase in that year was because of the payment under certain treaties for certain lands. I think it involved, perhaps, the payment of the lands that were in the Indian Territory that constitute Oklahoma.

But the next appropriation in 1893, when there was no such exceptional increase, but simply the natural increase referred to by the writer from whom I have read, the appropriation was \$7,664,047.84; and in 1894, \$7,854,240.38 by the bill as it came from the House, which is to be increased, I presume, by the bill as it will pass the Senate.

Mr. President, there is this constant ever-recurring increase, and it is an unnecessary and useless increase. We could bring it down very materially if we would abolish some of these valueless agents. Mr. Donaldson goes on to suggest:

In some cases the consolidation of Indian agencies, reduction of reservations, and the Indians' removal would be of service to the Indians and profit to the United States. This would better the Indians' moral and physical condition. For illustration: The Jicarilla Apaches of Northwestern New Mexico could be removed to the Mescalero Agency in the southwestern portion of the Territory. These are ration agencies and both reservations are wretchedly poor in agricultural resources, and are without irrigation. If combined the expense of one agency would be saved and civilization aided. The Jicarillas number 808 and the Mescaleros 513, which would be a total of 1,321 Indians for a combined agency.

Yet each one of this aggregate handful of Indians, the Jicarillas on one reservation and the Mescalero Apaches upon another, have an Indian agent with but 1,321 Indians on both of them; two Indian agents, with the farmers who do not farm, the blacksmiths who do not forge, the matrons, and all the attendants and employes incident to an Indian agency, that swell so enormously the amount of the appropriation in these bills.

The Rosebud and Pine Ridge Sioux Agencies in South Dakota, and the Brule Sioux Agency and the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Agencies are unfit for agriculture by reason of lack of water; and hot winds and drought also make them dreadful for living purposes. The Fort Berthold Reservation is also a miserable one for agriculture.

Many agencies should be abolished, some reservations abandoned, and tribes consolidated and removed to localities where it is possible to make a living. Congress should at once take this in hand, as proper action in this will save millions of dollars, and tend to the bettering of the condition of the Indians. When agencies are ordered abolished the inspectors of the Indian Office can take charge and close them up.

The following agencies at different points, as shown by the reports of the special agents, should be abolished as useless—

Now, mark this language, Mr. President. These special Agents were sent out to view the land; have explored it, and it is upon their recommendation and conclusions, and personal observation and knowledge, that this writer says these agencies should be abolished—

The Six Nations of New York; Eastern Cherokees of North Carolina; Lapwal, Idaho; Pueblo, New Mexico; Round Valley, California; Hoopa Valley, California; Siletz, Oregon; Umatilla, Oregon; all agencies in Washington, viz, Colville, Neah Bay, Puyallup, Tulalip, and Yakima; Quapaw, Indian Territory; Osage, Oklahoma, and Sac and Fox, Iowa; all agencies in Minnesota; all agencies in Wisconsin. Some of the agencies named were recommended for abolishment by officials ten or fifteen years ago.

And yet, notwithstanding the fact that the Secretary of the Interior recommended the abolishment of many of them years ago, we maintain these useless places, these houses of refuge for those it is desirable to get rid of in other localities.

Mr. President, I have ventured to take the time of the Senate that I might emphasize these things, and that I might give them additional emphasis by publishing in the RECORD, that it may be seen of all men, this valuable contribution to Indian literature, and the abundant reasons that are here given for improvement in the direction of the bettering of the Indian himself, which I have advocated.

The Report referred to by Mr. MANDERSON, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

(ALASKA EXCEPTED.)

[By Thomas Donaldson, expert special agent, Eleventh Census.]

The history of the American Indians prior to European occupation of this continent is veiled in obscurity, and the theorist now finds abundant material for his speculations. This obscurity would be in fact total oblivion but for the remnants of nations or tribes found by the whites, and these were, by their own stories, the survivors of once great nations. While the pre-Columbian North American Indian left no monuments of iron, stone,

or brass, and but few if any carvings or inscriptions, he left a varied posterity whose descendants are now pregnant with stories, and constantly tell of the grandeur of alleged past Indian nations.

"One of the safest conclusions reached in the study of North American archaeology is that graphic art on bark, bone, shell, or stone never reached a higher stage than simple picture-making, in which no attempt was made to delineate form in three dimensions, and in which hieroglyphs never appear."—*J. W. Powell, 1890.*

The Indian legendist, while not having the faculty or facility of expression of the otherwise cultured white man, excels him in most cases in improbabilities, and the amusing thing in this connection is, that this same white man frequently believes more of these improbabilities than the Indian, and sometimes enlarges on them and furnishes probabilities where the Indian fails to connect the links.

"Nothing is more misleading than Indian tradition, which is of the least possible value as evidence."—*Francis Parkman, in A Half Century of Conflict, 1892.*

Much of what is now written about the pre-Columbian period is but a repetition of old fancies, legends, and traditions; as a rule nothing new, simply a cunning rehabilitation of these old legends and theories, a dressing of them in stately and harmonious periods, and in some cases the application of recent rules to old facts. There are a few mud mounds, or graves, with their contents, some inscriptions (when or where made or their meaning no one knows), and some pottery resembling present tools and implements common to the world; excepting these and his descendants and their legends the pre-Columbian aboriginal stands a myth. Indian history begins with the memory of the oldest native first found by the whites.

"Man has dwelt in the United States, so far as we yet know, only during the latter half of pleistocene time. There are no evidences of races of people occupying the country anterior to the Indian tribes. Pre-Columbian culture was indigenous; it began at the lowest stage of savagery and developed to the highest, and was in many places passing into barbarism when the good Queen sold her jewels."—*J. W. Powell, 1890.*

Modern authors have searched the earth, dragged rivers, climbed mountains, contracted wasting fevers, and martyred themselves on sea and land to learn something of the American pre-Columbian period. The most thorough research finds only the things first known when the European arrived or which have been discovered from time to time as the country has been opened up. The aborigines could tell nothing of these things; but in view of the Indians' well-known secretiveness and love of mystery, it had best be said that they would not tell of them.

For several hundred years learned pundits have continued to threaten to astonish the world with revelations as to races of men who peopled the portion of the New World now known as the United States anterior to the present Indians. Mystery, myth, and superstition have been employed to impress the public with expectant discoveries in this line. Thus far these discoveries have not materialized, and each year adds to their uncertainty.

If one fact is now more apparent than another in relation to the North American Indians it is that those found by the Europeans were the legitimate descendants of an ancestry which Dr. Daniel G. Brinton has called "the American race," the original inhabitants of the American continent.

The mounds or earthworks of the Indians found by the Europeans in New York, Virginia, Eastern Tennessee, and Kentucky have been called by ethnologists military structures. The mounds of the river valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi basins were for defense, residence, or burial places. Being along streams, they were frequently in the vicinity of cornfields. The cave and cliff dwellings of the rivers, streams, and canyons of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona and the ruins of towns or pueblos on the plains in the same regions were also for defense and residence. Some of the ancient ruins, which have been restored on paper from the foundation lines, are stated as having once been communal houses. These three grades or kinds of structures, each conforming to the demands of climate, were found by the Europeans on their entering the United States. The age or antiquity of any of these three classes of pre-Columbian structures was not determined by the first Europeans. The probabilities are decidedly against any age now being fixed.

The mounds in the central portion of the United States have frequently been cited as evidence of another (but an extinct) race on this continent. Much has been predicted, but nothing substantial has been discovered to prove that these mounds were built by a people other than the ancestors of the present Indians. Extinct nations usually leave something behind, a memory at least, if not language, traditions, buildings, excavations, ruins, or monuments. The alleged races of men anterior to or distinct from the ancestors of the present Indians left nothing visible.

Mr. Warren K. Moorehead, in *Primitive Man in Ohio, 1892*, says that "some writers have misrepresented and distorted field testimony to uphold theories previously formed."

The rocks lie not, neither do the mounds and burial places when opened. One of the most exhaustive researches thus far for testimony of a race of people prior to and not ancestors of the present Indians of the United States was made of the mounds in the Ohio Valley in 1890-1891 by Warren K. Moorehead. The result of these researches, given in *Primitive Man in Ohio, 1892*, was that the persons buried in the mounds, presumably their builders, were of the American race, and necessarily the ancestors of the present North American Indians.

Mr. Moorehead, in the work cited, states the purposes of his book and gives his conclusions, as follows:

"For many years the great majority of readers upon American archaeology and ethnology have believed in the existence throughout the Mississippi Valley of a nation called, for want of a better name, 'the mound builders.' Hasty explorations of tumuli and inclosures in various parts of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys have been made by those desiring to further the popular belief. Books and numerous articles have been published in which the imagination was permitted to range unchecked. Statements were made without proper authority, speculations freely indulged in, and hypotheses were built upon foundations as unstable as those of sand. As a natural result many persons were led to attribute a high degree of civilization to the mound-building tribes of the Mississippi Valley. Fine relics or carved images taken from the mounds, the significance of which the collector could not satisfactorily explain, were accepted as evidence in support

*Indian: One of the aboriginal inhabitants of America. In general, Indians have no political rights in the United States; they can not vote at the general election of officers nor hold office. In New York they are considered as citizens and not as aliens, owing allegiance to the Government and entitled to its protection (20 Johns., 188, 633); but it was ruled that the Cherokee Nation in Georgia was a distinct community (5 Pet., 515; 8 Cow., 189; 9 Wheat., 673; 14 Johns., 181, 332; 18 *id.*, 506). The title of the Indians to land was that of occupation merely, but could be divested only by purchase or conquest (2 Humphr., 19; 1 Dougl., 544; 2 McLean, 412; 8 Wheat., 571; 2 Washb. R. P., 521; 3 Kent, 378).—*Bowling's Law Dictionary, edition 1890.*

†We are in favor of Dr. D. G. Brinton's term, "the American race."

of the high status of these people. In spite of investigation and publications upon the part of learned institutions and private individuals, tending to dispel such deceptions, many intelligent people still retain false impressions while reading works that treat of primitive man.

"It is the purpose of our book to do away with certain of these illusions. In attempting this we are aware that a herculean task has been undertaken. But the time has arrived when men prefer facts to flights of fancy. We are therefore quite confident that our material, so carefully collected and thoughtfully weighed, will not be cast aside and its place usurped by the rash statements of hasty and incompetent investigators. Why there should be so much speculation and uncertainty concerning the life of our aborigines is inexplicable to us. No question of equal importance could have been more easily determined had the early writers given as much care and patience to mound exploration as is given at the present time.

"Conclusions: The skeletons of the brachycephalic people in the collections examined from the Great and Little Miami Valleys and those of the Scioto and Ohio suggest that they were strong and well built, and in stature slightly superior to the dolichocephali.

"No skeletons of gigantic size were discovered, and there is but little doubt that the progenitors of the American race were in height subject to the same variations in stature which are to be remarked among our recent tribes.

"In anatomical peculiarities the people of the Scioto, Ohio, and Great and Little Miami Valleys closely resemble those of the stone-grave people of Tennessee, and are in all probability but a prolongation of that short-headed stock northward in the localities named.

"In some of the large mounds, especially those of Hopewell's earthwork in the Scioto Valley and mounds of the Little Miami Valley, the crania are remarkable for their great thickness and low, retreating, narrow foreheads, with heavy superciliary ridges, these at times being replaced by a flat plane * * * running backward somewhat horizontally, and then losing itself in the rest of the frontal bone as it mounts toward the parietals. * * *

"We can not overlook the fact that the crania and skeletons examined by us, many of them excavated by our own hands, approached somewhat the negro in their anatomical characteristics. They are those of an inferior race, with strong mesocephalic and brachycephalic affinities. None of the characteristics of the Mongolian or of Mongoloid types are present in any of the Ohio crania which we have examined. They are evidently those of a people whose racial type was created and fixed on the American continent; in other words, the American race."

The ruins, cave towns, and cliff dwellings on the plains, in the cliffs, or along streams in Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona, and in some cases adjacent to the present Mogai Pueblos and Pueblos, have long been peopled by romance with legends of a race anterior to the ancestors of the present Indians. Much mystery has therefore attached to these ruins or dwellings. They have been mapped, plated, described, painted, and photographed until nothing new can now be given about them. Investigation shows that the pueblos were built of adobe, or sun-dried bricks, or stone blocks broken from the sandstone adjacent, or rubble or bowlders taken from the rivers or streams, and never of dressed stones as known to the whites; that they were the homes of the ancestry of the present Indians of the towns of the vicinity, a part of the American race.

The great area of the country covered by these ruins or dwellings is no evidence that it contained a vast population, for the country itself, its resources and features, prevented a large population, and a small population, abandoning easily built houses from time to time for economical or natural reasons, or flying to cave or cliff dwellings for protection against a foe or to escape sudden inroads of water, will account for the great number of ruins or dwellings. The present Mogai Pueblo Indians of Arizona and Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, living in the region of these ruins, are not a mysterious people nor a more ancient people than other portions of the North American Indians. Six of the Mogai towns are inhabited by Shoshone Indians. The people of the seventh town (Tewa), originally from the valley of the Rio Grande, are probably also Shoshone, as well as the nineteen pueblos of New Mexico. They are all probably a portion of the down drift of the Shoshone movement of centuries ago, which came from the north and went south down the valleys on the east and west of the Rocky Mountains to the Rio Grande, thence to the Gila, and thence to the Pacific Ocean.

The uncertainty surrounding the origin of the North American Indian raises several questions of interest: Are the American Indians within the present area of the United States and the cognate tribes adjoining, now in the Dominion of Canada, an original people? If so, when and how and where did they originate? If created on this continent, where was their Garden of Eden? If spontaneous in origin, why on this portion of the American continent and not elsewhere and everywhere? Is the Turanian theory of origin correct? Is the North American Indian of the brotherhood and unity of man? If so, he is an anomaly, and his origin, considered broadly, must be recent, as his thought, progress, and the results therefrom were in the first stages of savagery when discovered; and if he is of the brotherhood, why generally a nomad? Besides, his color and habits indicate an entirely different class of aboriginal man from any yet known, for he is the highest type of the wild man. Is he a proof that man first began about the north pole by reason of that portion of the earth cooling first and becoming tropical and inhabitable, and that from that point man spread over the world.

The great variety of life among the various tribes or peoples on the American continent when first noted by the whites is confusing on review, and furnishes but little ground for comparison. The varying degrees of progress or of detail of daily tribal life are perplexing; still, the climate of the several sections in which the aborigines were found in these varying conditions will account for much of the difference in customs, forms, and modes of life. Was the continent populated at different points by a different ancestry? The ruins of buildings in Central America are puzzling when compared with the tepees, or wigwams, of the aboriginal population to the north. The Mexican condition of life presents a problem not easily solved by comparison with the ruins of Central America. The life and government of Peru and Chile present another phase, and so on until Cape Horn is reached.

From the Arctic regions to Patagonia on the American continent human life, when viewed beneath the surface, defies dates as to its origin, duration, or any positive knowledge from whence it sprang in its great variety, and after all study, investigation, and the acquirement of and deductions from all possible knowledge, the safest conclusion as to the North American Indian is that at the advent of the whites he was and in 1890 he is.

It is in evidence that many Indian nations have become extinct from various causes, especially war, famine, and disease, since the European has come extinct long prior to the white man's arrival, and since the white occupation not one Indian tribe has been made, save where tribes or bands have been consolidated; so that by observation and tradition, as well as their own statements, the thought is forced that the Indian nations or tribes or bands were on the decline at the date of the arrival of the whites under Columbus. Still, with all this presumably large aboriginal population in

the United States, not a column of an aboriginal architectural structure is kissed by the sun; not a certain ancient ruin rises up to attract the traveler; not a vestige, except now and then a mud mound, a fort, or a grave; only traditions and legends remain to tell of the so-called pre-Columbian men and women.

As to the origin of the Indian, in 1836 Albert Gallatin, in his *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes*, wrote:

"The uniformity of character in the grammatical forms and structure of all the Indian languages of North America which have been sufficiently investigated indicates a common origin. The numerous distinct languages, if we attend only to the vocabularies between which every trace of affinity has disappeared, attest the antiquity of the American population."

Nothing to seriously change this view of a common origin for the North American Indian has been presented from 1836 to 1890, except the published opinions of Maj. John W. Powell, United States geologist and ethnologist. Maj. Powell, after a study of the North American Indians of more than twenty years, in the seventh annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, of which Bureau he is the chief, gives as to these Indians the following conclusions, which are entitled to much consideration. It will be noted that Maj. Powell differs essentially from several other authorities:

"First. The North American Indian tribes, instead of speaking related dialects originating in a single parent language, in reality speak many languages belonging to distinct families, which have no apparent unity of origin.

"Second. The Indian population of North America was greatly exaggerated by early writers, and instead of being large was in reality small as compared with the vast territory occupied and the abundant food supply; and, furthermore, the population had nowhere augmented sufficiently, except possibly in California, to press upon the food supply.

"Third. Although representing a small population, the numerous tribes had overspread North America and had possessed themselves of all the territory, which, in the case of a great majority of tribes, was owned in common by the tribe.

"Fourth. Prior to the advent of the European, the tribes were probably nearly in a state of equilibrium, and were in the main sedentary, and those tribes which can be said with propriety to have been nomadic, became so only after the advent of the European, and largely as the direct result of the acquisition of the horse and the introduction of firearms.

"Fifth. While agriculture was general among the tribes of the eastern United States, and while it was spreading among western tribes, its products were nowhere sufficient wholly to emancipate the Indian from the hunter state."

Some scientists class the Indians at the date of European occupation as being in the lowest condition of man, some in a state of savagery and barbarism, the next highest condition, and others (notably the Atlantic coast tribes) as just touching in habits and methods the verge of the shadow of civilization. These classifications are useful, even if not true; but for a comprehensive view, having in mind the history of all the tribes, the one generic statement of a "wild man" best applies to these Indians. There is no evidence since European occupation that the Indian within any reasonable time would have developed into a civilized man, as the Anglo-Saxon defines it. He had no incentive to such a development. The country was large, and its resources natural and varied. Here and there may be isolated instances of Indian sagacity or ingenuity which promised something of advance, but, as with other races, an Indian to show progress usually had to be of a different tribal parentage. Keokuk is said to have had a French father and a Sac mother; Tecumseh, a Shawnee father and a mother of another tribe; Logan, an Iroquois father and a Delaware mother; Osceola, an English father and a Creek mother.

So of the Sioux of to-day. When they are leading men they are usually of a cross of blood within the bands of Sioux or with one parent from a different tribe. Have our ethnologists given this the weight it deserves? If probable that this mixture of blood is an essential element of Indian progress or greatness, why, then, are not the several tribes of different origin? The degrees in the original condition of the Indians at the advent of the whites are not essential to ascertain their condition in 1890, but if the fact be conceded as established that he is a "wild man," and fearfully wild at times, and the entire horizon of Indian life shows this, then much is gained toward changing and improving his condition. It is a matter of no moment, for the purpose of improving his condition, whether he dropped from the clouds, came out of the ground, just grew, is the result of evolution, came from Asia by way of Bering Sea, or came from Europe across the Atlantic over a dike now out of sight.

The facts of his origin are not now so essential to a proper future treatment of the North American reservation Indian as the one fact yet to be ascertained, and his condition demands it, which is, "What shall the Government do with him?" His physical condition is of more moment to the National Treasury than his origin. His present and continued existence is serious enough to occupy attention without the theory of his origin, for theory it must always be, the witnesses on this point being as silent as Memnon, and Memnon speaks not. The North American Indian is one of the few races of man who has not a reasonable theory of his origin. Indians seldom, if ever, in their legends, account for their origin from a single individual or a pair of individuals. It is usually, if not always, by nations. At present the most of the 133,417 reservation Indians are more troubled about what the Government of the United States is going to do with them than who their ancestors were or from whence they came.

The Indian's daily bread is now his serious burden. The past or the future weigh little with him compared to the wants and needs of the present. His origin is vague and unknown to himself, his future the same, while tranquilly he leaves the present in the hands of the Government and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives; yet he scans the newspapers to learn who the chairman of the Appropriations Committee is, as his rations largely depend on that chairman and his colleagues of the Indian Committee. The North American reservation Indians sum up their origin in the words "I am" and their future in "I want."

The European found the Indians self-sustaining and self-reliant, with tribal governments* and many forms of worship, with ample clothing of

*The legal definition of an Indian tribe is: a separate and distinct community or body of the aboriginal Indian race of men found in the United States. Such a tribe, situated within the boundaries of a State, and exercising the powers of government and sovereignty under the national Government, is deemed politically a State, that is, a distinct political society, capable of self-government; but it is not deemed a foreign state in the sense of the Constitution. It is rather a domestic dependent nation. Such a tribe may properly be deemed in a state of pupillage; and its relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to a guardian (3 Pet., 1, 16, 17; 20 Johns., 198; 3 Kent, 308-318; Story, Const., § 1096; 4 How., 507; 1 McLean, 254; 6 Hill, 546; 8 Ala., N. S. 45). No State can, either by its constitution or other legislation, withdraw the Indians within its limits from the operation of the laws of Congress regulating trade with them, notwithstanding any rights it may confer on them as electors or citizens (3 Wall., 407; 5 Id., 737, 761).—*Bowyer's Law Dictionary*, edition 1890.

skins and furs, and food fairly well supplied. In fact, they were in nowise in need of the white man's care, nor did they desire it. They were wild men and women, to whom the restraints of a foreign control became bonds of steel.

RANK AND GRADES OF MEN IN INDIAN TRIBES.

In 1832 George Catlin, the eminent ethnologist, from observation, gave the rank and grades of men in the various Indian tribes, which, with some slight modifications for local forms and necessities, were general. The United States, since establishing the reservation system, has done much toward doing away with these grades. The United States Indian agents now approve or reject the selection of chiefs, if any be selected, and when there is a chief his power is nominal, no matter who selects or approves him. The constant hunt for the near necessities of life by the Indians has somewhat removed the old sense of dependence on the chief, because they find that instead of planning and executing raids on game preserves or other tribes for food and plunder, he is now as busy as they in hunting his daily bread. Indians are very much like other people; they know when their bread is buttered. The following are the grades given by Mr. Catlin:

"1. War chief: The first man of the nation; the first to whom the pipe is handed on all occasions, even in councils or treaties; the man who leads in battle, is first in war, speaks first in council of war and second in peace councils or treaties.

"2. Civil chief: The head man of the nation, except in times of war; speaks first and smokes second in peace councils; is chief orator of the nation.

"3. Warrior: A man who is not a chief, but has been on war parties and holds himself ready at all times for war excursions.

"4. Braves: Young men not distinguished as warriors, but known and admitted to be courageous, who stand ready at home to protect their houses and firesides."

As our Anglo-Saxon ancestor moved across the continent from the east to the west he met several types of the Indian; Indians living upon cultivated corn, grain, and vegetables, wild grains, fruits, and roots; flesh eaters, root diggers, and fish eaters. Everywhere he found the Indian conforming through necessity to his surroundings, taking advantage of the situation, and ingenious with the elements around him.

The highest intelligence was found among the Indians of the Atlantic coast and east of the Ohio River, this intelligence gradually decreasing, until the most squalid Indian was found beyond the Rocky Mountains and to the Pacific coast and northward, and in regions where the natural resources were limited.

Civilizations start to die, and to die where they are the oldest. So our Indian civilization, judged by this rule, began on the Pacific coast of the United States (being found virtually entire there 300 years ago), and proceeded across the continent to the Atlantic coast, where our ancestors found it fresh and vigorous, as indicated by the Indians they met.

Albert Gallatin, in 1836, wrote as follows of the North American Indians as agriculturists, hunters, fishers, and nomads:

"All the Indians of North America, north of the civilized districts of the Mexican Empire, may be arranged in two classes: those who cultivated the soil and those who derived their subsistence exclusively from the natural products of the earth and the sea. The territory over which cultivation had extended is that which is bounded on the east by the Atlantic, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the west generally by the Mississippi, or perhaps more properly by the prairies; on the north, it may be said, by the nature of the climate. The northern boundary of cultivation was, near the Atlantic, that which divided the Abenakis from the Echemins, including certainly the river Kennebec, and probably the Penobscot. With the exception of the Hurons and other kindred tribes on the northern shores of Lake Erie, there was no cultivation north of the Great Lakes; nor does there appear to have been any among the Chippeways, who occupied the country along the southern banks of Lake Superior. They and the Menomones depended for vegetable food principally, if not altogether, on the wild rice or wild oats, as the plant is called.

"The few tribes west of the Mississippi which attend at all to agriculture have already been designated, as well as those which, extending thence to the Pacific, derive their principal means of subsistence either from the buffalo or from roots and fish. Nor were the inhospitable regions of the north destitute of those means. Innumerable lakes cover perhaps one-third of the inland country, and would afford an abundant supply of food to an industrious and provident population. The musk ox and the American reindeer are found under those latitudes where the buffalo and the common deer can not exist. Even along the shores of the Arctic Ocean and of its numerous bays, the Eskimaux appear to be as well provided as the more Southern Indians. Immense quantities of salmon are caught in the summer, and are easily preserved till the ensuing year. The seal, which is taken even during the winter, supplies the Eskimaux with food, fuel, light, and clothing; and even where there are neither trees nor driftwood, and where subterranean abodes are not resorted to, or can not be excavated, the ice itself affords materials for winter dwellings as comfortable and as quickly constructed as the leather lodges or the bark huts of the erratic tribes.

"It is obvious that the population of nations which for their subsistence depend exclusively on natural products is necessarily limited by the quantity naturally produced. A nation of hunters, living exclusively on game, can not increase the quantity which a given extent of territory can sustain. All they can at most effect for that purpose is the destruction of carnivorous animals. If at any time their population should be so increased as to require a greater consumption of food than is afforded by the natural production of game, this would be checked, and the population would soon be diminished till the equilibrium was again restored. In order to keep up their numbers the Indians must resist any encroachment on their hunting grounds. They must fight in their defense against invaders as for existence. On the other hand, the great extent of ground necessary to sustain game sufficient for the subsistence of a very moderate population compels them to separate and to form a number of small independent communities. It may easily be perceived that the perpetual state of warfare in which neighboring tribes are engaged had its origin in the same cause which has produced the great diversity of American languages or dialects. We may also understand how the affections of the Indian became so exclusively concentrated in his own tribe, the intensity of that natural feeling, how it degenerated into deadly hatred of hostile nations, and the excesses of more than savage ferocity in which he indulged under the influence of his unrestrained vindictive passions.

"It is worthy of remark that the population of those hunting nations does not appear to have ever reached the maximum of which it was susceptible. We have the proof of this in the undiminished numbers of the buffalo in the prairies, and even of the deer in the north, and in the facility with which the numerous servants of the European and American trading companies derive their means of subsistence in those districts from the natural resources of the country, from the chase, or from the product of the lakes. The only species of animals which have decreased are those which supply furs and skins, for which commerce has created an extraordinary demand. The intestine wars of the Indians may have checked the increase of population, but this is not the only cause, and we may find another in their in-

erate indolence, united, as it is, with that habitual improvidence, occasionally attended with the greatest privations, and even with famine.

"War and the chase are the only pursuits which the men do not think beneath their dignity. This is the uniform characteristic of all our Indian nations. When not thus engaged they sink into a state of mental apathy and physical indolence, from which strong stimulents alone can arouse them, and to this cause may be traced their excessive passion for gambling and for ardent spirits. Women are everywhere slaves and beasts of burden. Independent of that portion which naturally falls to their share, the cares of maternity and of the household, every other species of labor falls upon them; and this alone has prevented the beneficial effects which would otherwise have flowed from the introduction of agriculture.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

"It has already been seen that cultivation is exclusively confined to that portion of the country clothed with forests, which, between the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, extends from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and hardly beyond it. This territory and Chile, in South America, might in some respects be considered as centers of an incipient civilization. But the Araucanians appear to have ceased to be hunters, and to have derived their subsistence exclusively from agriculture. Their long and successful resistance against the Spanish invaders proves them to have been a numerous and united people; they were not, like the Peruvians and Mexicans, under the yoke of a civil or religious despotism, and although they had not made the same progress in arts or knowledge, they may perhaps be considered as the most favorable specimen of the American race. The social state of the semi-agricultural nations of North America presents a very different picture. Cultivation among them appears to have been confined to the maize, some species of beans (phaseolus), and pumpkins (cucurbita), and in some quarters the sweet potato (convolvulus), the watermelon, and tobacco, all which plants were also cultivated in Peru. Maize, which constituted the most important article, is decidedly of Southern origin, but whether the cultivation first took place on the continent or in the West India Islands can not be ascertained. It would seem more probable that it originated in the favored elevated plains of the torrid zone, and that in its gradual progress it was introduced from the neighboring islands of the Gulf of Mexico into the country which lies along its northern shores. Its extension northwardly would be a natural process, and may have been favored by the greater difficulty of obtaining food where there is no fish, and the game, consisting principally of deer, is comparatively less abundant and obtained with greater labor than in the prairies. But the introduction of agriculture produced little alteration in the habits or manners of the men. They still continued to be hunters, and being too indolent to attend to the daily and tame labors of agriculture these were again thrown upon the women."

This last social condition continues, notwithstanding the efforts of the United States Government and philanthropists to change it. The North American reservation Indian is not a farmer.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS AT THE ADVENT OF THE WHITES.

Peaceful and genial at first, then murderous (on the Atlantic coast) at the advent of the whites, the Indians became more murderous, wild, and savage as our ancestors proceeded westward, this fierceness increasing and being aggravated by the advancing lines of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

The aboriginal American Indian furnishes a theme for poet and author. Most of the Indians of the present day furnish no theme save doubt and neglect. Cooper's novels, delightful and heroic, along with other Indian romance, have produced in the American mind a belief in a higher type of Indian than ever existed, or is even possible. So with all romance of Indian life. The high type demanded by false types in literature and poetry has worked gross injustice to the present North American Indian. It has created in the popular mind, in sections where he is not actually known, a false impression of his capacity, his manhood, and his fitness for the demands of Anglo-Saxon life. In fact, by reason of this false teaching, we expect too much of him. He has been placed upon a high pedestal in literature, story, and song, and at a distance, like the great statue, he shows neither defect nor lack of symmetry. On close inspection the present Indian clearly indicates a great decadence from his reputed ancestors, and convicts many of the writers contemporaneous with his forefathers of exaggeration. Most of the present North American reservation Indians are no credit to their ancestors of romance. If these ancestors were as pictured these modern descendants are certainly a most degenerate offspring.

As a rule, the present reservation Indian does not change unless compelled by necessity or force. Outside surroundings do not weigh upon nor affect him as they do other people. He welcomes death, but resists the tendered civilization. Indian life and civilization from his point of view are perfect, and have always been so. The continent was his, and he, an uncontrolled child of nature, the perfection of a wild man. What a life was his! He roamed without restraint. In early days he received cordially the few whites who visited him, and cheerfully divided his food with them.

Along streams in the interior prior to the advent of the Europeans the dugout canoe was the Indian's conveyance. He moved in his canoe, and the mounds of the Western and Southern States were his places of rest, defense, and burial. These mounds, generally along streams, are in the vicinity of rich alluvial soil, where corn or other crops were easily raised; besides, the streams gave fish and mussels for food.

The Spaniards brought the modern horse to America. Some of the horses escaped in the Southwest and ran wild in bands. The Indians soon captured and adopted them, and so after a time the canoe was partially abandoned, and as a result the roaming plains Indian followed. The new means of locomotion, the horse, became the Indian's inseparable companion. The interior of the country was thus easily explored, and tribes became migratory. The plains where the horse was found running wild became of value as horse-producing grounds, and almost incessant war was the result. In fact, if tradition was to be believed, war seems to have been the normal condition of the Indian tribes of North America. The horse, enabling him to follow the buffalo (used for food and clothes), and the claiming of the lands by the tribes encouraged his nomadic habits, and paved the way for his continued unsettled life. The buffalo grounds were also battlefields where the southern Comanche fought the northern Sioux and the Pawnee and the Cheyenne met in deadly conflict.

The wandering habits of many tribes and their varied manners and customs may account for the great number of tribal languages. Permanent and isolated tribal settlements also aided the growth of distinct speech. Then the ideal Indian life existed, for there was in fact no labor. The battle for the necessities of life was not a struggle as now, because game was abundant and people not so numerous. Skins and furs for clothing and for making lodges, tents, or tepees were plentiful; and the flesh of the fur animal was good for food. The streams abounded in fish, and the seasons brought the unfailing crops of roots and nuts. War, theft, and laziness in the males were virtues, and labor by the females a duty. The workers in the tribes were few, and the breadwinners were the decoy, spear, and bow and arrow.

Individuals, as a rule, knew no law of personal property. The patient squaw was then, as now, the stay of the family, being in fact a beast of burden and both camp guard and keeper, while the males loafed, hunted, stole horses, fished, or made war. Nature was supreme. Wants were compara-

tively few and easily supplied. Waste of flesh food was then the rule; still, with all his carelessness, the Indian had some idea of economy in the killing of beasts for food, as the buffalo herd or game preserves were invaded only in season.

In illustration of Indian life, consider the conditions and surroundings of lake and river Indians of the middle United States. The Pottawatomie, Chippewa, Ottawa, Huron, Wyandotte, Miami, Shawnee, and Kickapoo roamed along the lakes, rivers, and streams of what is now Ohio, Indiana, Northeastern Illinois, and Michigan. This was to them an ideal home. The water yielded fish, the trees shelter and fuel, the plains food and clothes. Why should man work in such a beautiful region? What use for labor where nature planted, reaped, and harvested? Why strive for more or for another life when abundance came with the seasons? The environments of civilization did not prevent the following of inclination. The Detroit River was then the favorite passageway and rallying point for the northwestern Indians. On it the canoes came and went, and it was an artery in the system of aboriginal life. Game was abundant, including bear, elk, moose, wolves, beaver, otters, muskrats, and rabbits. Wild berries were indigenous. The sugar maple contributed to the luxury of the savage taste.

The wild rose, honeysuckle, and clematis made the forest air fragrant, and along the waterways and lakes the lily waved its welcome of beauty in myriad blossoms. Night came as a time of rest, and while nature worked the Indian slept, and on the morrow, as the sun's rays kissed the longing earth, he arose to a bountiful repast not created by man. The incoming of the white man changed all this. The first sentence of the Latin tongue spoken in the Northwest ordained the death of the Indian. He felt it, and neither honeyed speech, tuneful song, nor gilded vestment and protecting church could reconcile him to the foreign invasion and control. The green wood soon echoed to the ax of the settler, and the stalwart son of the forest who had walked through his own possessions, alert and erect as the towering pine, became of necessity a stealthy or hiding outcast in the land of his fathers, and crawled by night amidst the groves where, prior to the advent of the whites, he had boldly walked by day as a man. Of this region Cadillac, who settled Detroit in 1701 (and was afterwards, in 1710, made governor of Louisiana), wrote:

"Its borders are so many vast prairies, and the freshness of the water keeps the banks always green. The prairies are bordered by long and broad rows of fruit trees which have never felt the careful hand of the vigilant gardener. Here, also, orchards, young and old, soften and bend their branches under the weight and quantity of their fruit toward the mother earth which has produced them. It is in this land, so fertile, that the ambitious vine, which has never wept under the knife of the vinedresser, builds a thick roof with its large leaves and heavy clusters, weighing down the top of the tree which receives it, and often stifling it in its embrace.

"Under these broad walks one sees assembled by hundreds the timid deer and fawn; also the squirrel bounding in his eagerness to collect the apples and plums with which the earth is covered. Here the cautious turkey calls and conducts her numerous brood to gather the grapes, and here also their mates come to fill their large and glutinous crops. Golden pheasants, the quail, the partridge, woodcock, and numerous doves swarm in the woods and cover the country, which is dotted and broken with thickets and high forests of full-grown trees, forming a charming perspective which sweetens the sad loneliness of the solitude. The hand of the pitiless reaper has never mown the luxuriant grass upon which fatten woolly buffaloes of magnificent size and proportion.

"The fish are here nourished and bathed by living waters of crystal clearness, and their great abundance renders them none the less delicious. Swans are so numerous that one would take for lilies the reeds in which they are crowded together. The gabbling goose, the duck, the widgeon, and the bustard are so abundant that to give an idea of their numbers I must use the expression of a savage, whom I asked, before arriving, if there was much game there: 'So much,' he said, 'that they drew up in lines to let the boats pass through.'

The North American Indians, in their aboriginal condition, had no slaves, and, in fact, no tribe had until about 1800. This fact largely accounts for their continued aboriginal condition and nonprogressive methods. Slaves from without their tribes, doing servile labor within them, and in sufficient numbers to be factors, would unquestionably have materially changed their condition. Of this and the possibilities suggested Albert Gallatin wrote in 1836:

"The annals of every nation of which we have any ancient and authentic records exhibit to us a state of society of which slavery constituted a component and important part. Such was the case with the Romans, with the Greeks, and with the Eastern nations, without excepting the Jews. It seems as if, after man had departed from the first ordinance given to him, conquest and slavery had become necessary ingredients in order to bring him within the pale of civilization.

"Had the Five Nations, or any other conquering Indian tribe, instead of murdering or adopting prisoners of war, reduced them to a state of slavery and made them their helots, they might have attained a Spartan civilization. That of Peru and Mexico was avowedly the result of conquest, and in both cases had for its foundation the abject servitude or submission of the many, the military power of the conquerors, and the yoke imposed by a false religion.

"The only well-ascertained instance among our own Indians of their having, at least in part, become an agricultural nation, meaning thereby that state of society in which the men themselves do actually perform agricultural labor, is that of the Cherokees (and Creeks), and it is in proof that in this case also cultivation was at first introduced through the means of slavery. In their predatory incursions they carried away slaves from Carolina. These were used to work, and continued to be thus employed by their new masters. The advantages derived by the owners were immediately perceived. Either in war or in commercial intercourse, slaves of the African race became objects of desire; and, gradually assisted by the efforts of the Government and the beneficial influence of the missionaries, some among those Indians who could not obtain slaves were induced to work for themselves."

That the North American Indian was a seafaring man prior to the advent of Europeans there is no evidence. He was not met with at sea or at a distance from the coast by the Europeans; he did not, as a rule, sail on the lakes, and his sailing on the rivers was in dugouts or rudely made craft. If he originally came by water across the sea his descendants early lost the trade of their fathers. Capt. Howard Stansbury mentions the launching of a boat in 1849 on Great Salt Lake, and the surprise it awakened among the Indians dwelling along its borders, and ventures the suggestion that it was the first boat they had ever seen. The North American Indian was a land lover. He held to the earth. The forest and plains had more charms for him than the roar of breakers and the crush of waves. He considered lands to be tribal, not individual property. He used lands he found vacant and fitted to his wants, but the individual use was merely possessory. The tribal lands, or claim for them, were held to most tenaciously, and the invasion of hunting grounds by other tribes was resisted, and frequently war followed. These national or tribal Indian land claims present a curious study of the beginning and protection of natural land rights.

"The lands of Indians, however, are owned, so far as owned at all, by the whole community, and in the case of the Algonquin tribes the chiefs had no real authority to alienate them without the consent of the tribesmen."—*Francis Parkman, in A Half Century of Conflict, 1892, volume I, 214.*

Investigation shows that the Indians prior to the coming of the whites had partitioned out the surface of the country fairly well, and that by consent or tacit agreement separate sections of the country were occupied by tribes of the several stocks. In illustration: the Sioux, in a broad swath down the valley of the Mississippi, reached the far southeast; the Catawbas, of Siouan stock, were in North and South Carolina; the Biloxis in Louisiana, while the Tutelos, of the same stock, lived in Eastern Virginia. The Shoshonean stock roamed down through the middle basin between the Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountains, in Idaho, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, to the Pacific Ocean, the Indians of the San Luis Rey Mission, in California, being of this stock.

Lands thus claimed were respected by the other tribes. The leagues of the Iroquois and the Dakotas seem to have been the comprehensive leagues, while in other instances adjoining tribes leagued as emergency required for attack or assault. Tribes were sometimes found in perpetual league, as for instance the Hurons and Shawnees.

Indian nomadic life prevented large families. The various Indian tribes were generally nomadic within the areas claimed by or conceded to them by other tribes. They moved with the seasons, following the game or going to corn-growing grounds, and large numbers of children would have been an incumbrance. Those who depended most upon agriculture were the most permanent, because the climate of the agricultural sections was unusually good, and the country, generally limestone, abounded in root crops and birds, and the streams contained fish.

These natural resources made this class of Indians less nomadic than those who were mere flesh eaters, depending on game. Indians were good judges of natural resources and possibilities, and they never of their own choice selected a desert on which to live. The Jesuits in North America never made a settlement which died out, except perhaps one, and that on the Missouri River. In fact, they almost all became cities. The prefix *St.* to a city in the present United States is pretty sure to designate an original Catholic location. These fortunate locations were due to the fact that the priests sought the Indian settlements or towns and always found them favorably located for fish, flesh, and water, and grain and root crops. If the Indian had not been so careful in his selection of the best lands he would not have so soon become an object of attack by "land-hungry" people. It remained for the white man to discover that the Indian was fitted for deserts and mountain tops, as is shown in many of the reservations upon which he is sojourning at present as a ward of the nation (leaning heavily upon the Treasury meanwhile) in some of the Western States and Territories. It may be asserted, as a rule, that the Indian has thrived fairly well upon lands where a white man could make a decent living.

INDIAN LANDS AND THEIR PURCHASE.

The early European doctrine was, that although the Indian was placed on the land by the Almighty it was only his to use until the white man should come over and claim it. This curious doctrine the Indian did not seem to understand, and does not understand to this day. The Supreme Court of the United States solemnly declared that the Indian had the possessory or occupancy title merely (though he was born on the land), and so he only held the fee in keeping for his white brother beyond seas.

After the reservations were established by executive order or by law they were and are still being diminished, by an actual decrease of reservation lines, either by the demands of settlers, forcing reduction, or by the modern method of allotment, the Indians, by the latter method, being paid for the excess of the reservation they occupy. When reservations are diminished in gross the Indians are paid for the area of the reservation which the Government takes possession of and disposes of under the various laws. The Indian does not, as a rule, get paid for the areas claimed originally by him, but for the area fixed for him as a reservation by the nation. There have been some limitations to this, however, prior to the days of reservations, when grants of money (divided pro rata) were made to small bands of Indians for civilization and support by reason of cession of lands, etc., and removal to other lands belonging to the Government; these removals were generally called "perpetual and permanent." Many of the tribes have had several such removals upon the same fiction of permanent homes.

The land that the nation now buys is not the lands embraced in the original claim of the Indians, but reservations, upon some of which the Indians have been arbitrarily placed. Some tribes, notably those in California, did not receive one dollar for their lands. Of course the Indian had to assimilate or remove. He could not assimilate, so he removed, and is now being allotted.

The Indian nations were divided into clans or gentes. Of this Albert Gallatin wrote in 1836:

"The Indians, as individuals, have preserved a much greater degree of independence than is compatible with a more advanced state of civilization. They will hardly submit to any restraints, and it is well known that the nominal title of chief confers but little power, either in war or peace, on their leaders, whose precarious authority depends almost entirely on their personal talents and energy. Yet we find that nominal dignity of chief, sachem, mingo, or king to have been, with but few exceptions, among all the Indians, not only for life but hereditary. But another institution belonging to all the southern, and of which traces may be found among the northern, nations deserves particular consideration.

"Independent of political or geographical divisions, the division into families or clans has been established from time immemorial. At what time and in what manner the division was first made is not known. At present, or till very lately, every nation was divided into a number of clans, varying in the several nations from three to eight or ten, the members of which, respectively, were dispersed indiscriminately throughout the whole nation. It has been fully ascertained that the inviolable regulations by which those clans were perpetuated among the southern nations were, first, that no man could marry in his own clan; secondly, that every child belongs to his or her mother's clan. Among the Choctaws there are two great divisions, each of which is subdivided into four clans, and no man can marry in any of the four clans belonging to his division. The restriction among the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Natches does not extend beyond the clan to which the man belongs.

"There are sufficient proofs that the same division into clans, commonly called tribes, exists among almost all the other Indian nations; but it is not clear that they are subject to the same regulations which prevail among the southern Indians. According to Charlevoix most nations are divided into three families or tribes. One of them is considered as the first and has a kind of preëminence. Those tribes are mixed without being confounded. Each tribe has the name of an animal. Among the Hurons the first tribe is that of the Bear, the two others of the Wolf and the Turtle. The Iroquois Nation has the same division, only the Turtle family is divided into two, the Great and the Little.

"The accounts are not so explicit with respect to the Lenape tribes. Mr. Heckewelder, indeed, says that the Delawares were divided into three

tribes, but one of them, the Wolf or Minsi, had altogether separated from the others and was a distinct nation or tribe, and not a clan in the sense now under consideration."

Much study has been given this subject since Mr. Gallatin's time and most satisfactory results have been reached.

Wild and free life made the Indian improvident. It gave him no care for the future. Even now a week's rations is consumed in two days, for he eats prodigiously, and besides he is not certain there may be any on the morrow. Nature has also conspired to make the Indian thriftless and unstable. In his free condition he was the ideal wild man, pure and simple, and to this day many of them are but little changed in their wild instincts. Then the restraint upon his appetite, physical or otherwise, was satiety, and death was met with nerve and as a condition of life. Cunning and ingenious, and with some mechanical skill, he placed nature under tribute for arms, weapons, decoys, and game traps. As a hunter he was more adroit than the wildest game, more fleet of foot than the elk or deer, and more stealthy than the wolf.

The Indian camp life was then ideal, or almost so; but now the ideal has fled and only dirt remains. Peace reigned amid trees, which bore acorns or pine nuts for food and furnished shade and rest; in the mountain fastnesses or along the sides of valleys fern and flower joined hand in never-ending sleep; down moss-covered rocks trickled gleeful streams to join the music of children's laughter, and warriors planned murder, theft, and attack on rich and distant foes. The nights were lurid with the light of camp fires and the air shook with the shouts of men, as, in the dance, they invoked all powers to aid their designs.

The Indian village is the unit of organization in almost all the tribes. The individual is merged in the village. All classes of North American Indians had a village life. With the agricultural Indians the villages were of a permanent character. With the nomadic Indians lodges or tents, with their live stock and property, composed the village.

In peace the nomadic village was placed in a favored retreat, and here the Indians remained until war or the seasons forced them to remove. By marks or signs a band could tell what Indians had preceded it. As a rule, the bands of a tribe had their well-defined camping grounds, which were sacred to them. A tribe seldom, if ever, camped or lived in a compact mass. The villages were frequently remote, and in war were signaled with fires or alarmed by runners. In war old men and women cared for the camp and protected it. When a war party returned, one of their number was selected to bear a pole upon which were suspended the scalps taken from the enemy. Victorious Indians do not bring banners back to camp, because tribes have none; they bring scalps.

The Indian village or camp (town it was called by the Creeks) was and is now the seat of education, culture, comfort, and power with the Indian tribes. The individual who led a band was the head of the village, and his power in the council of his tribe depended upon the number of warriors in his village, just as civilized nations have their influence in the world by reason of their armies or navies. This Indian village life, the growth of centuries, is now partially perpetuated on large reservations, and the love of it is one of the chief causes of the Indian's resistance to the white man's customs. The Indian does not like to live isolated.

Dances preceded and followed all their movements, good or bad. There was then no right, by the Saxon rule, with the Indians. Necessity and inclination made laws for them, and with some of them it is the rule to this day. From the camps or villages the warriors sets out to acquire new honors or to meet death (killing and stealing then made honors). To them he returned alive, or his story came with the survivors. This was the life of the ancestors of the present North American Indians, and with some tribes it still continues.

The Latin and Anglo-Saxon life which poured in upon the Indian has been to him invasion. The pale face to him was a robber, who despoiled him of his lands and game, and so became for all time his enemy. From the Indian standpoint, Sitting Bull's bleached and upturned face, dead on the plains of Dakota, was the face of a hero, a patriot, who died for his race. The Indian's first impression of the white man was not very favorable, and to him the white man has not changed, except to be looked upon as more grasping. He found in the first white man the same instincts of trade and desire to oppress the lower orders of men that he finds now, together with much assertion of personal goodness.

How hard to make some white men understand the necessities of the age and to consent to changes essential to the march of progress, progress meaning in the case of the Indian, as in the case of other people, the engraving of ideas, habits, and manners of one people upon another. Such a thing can not be done in a day.

The Indian of romance and story is an ideal Indian; the Indian of to-day is real, a serious problem, and a decided matter of fact. While not a producer in the economic sense, he is intensely alive in producing disorder at times, keeping the frontier in terror and the army in motion.

While the Indians in past ages had all the benefits arising from contact with beautiful scenery, all that bounteous nature could give to please, ennobles, or entrance, in an area so great that all climates were within his domain, and all altitudes, from the lowering mountain sublime in its upreaching to the low and poetic ranges of hills where verdure lay the year round and the wild flower blossomed with each succeeding rain, no Indian was ever inspired to great deeds or excited to the softer ways of life by these grand effects of lavish nature. None of these beauties seem to have raised an Indian to ways of refined peace by the unrolling before him of nature's golden stores. Always the materialist, he seems to be ever content with material things.

It may be asserted that Indian eloquence has been aided by the beauties of nature, and his love of his country, as depicted in his interpreted speeches, shows the influence of scenery. Interpreters are usually ignorant men, and their interpretations may be correct or not; still there is the curious fact that this wild man has a love for the spot on which he was born, even though it be but a rock, and he sticks to it most tenaciously.

The Navajo women in 1867-1868 saved their tribe from being deported to a distant country by reason of their love of country and appeals to Gen. W. T. Sherman and the famous peace commission of 1868. The incident is given in the report of Special Agent Marmon, page 376.

Experience shows that the Indian's so-called eloquence lies chiefly in his gestures. Words are usually put into his mouth by interpreters, and his speeches are carefully edited before being put in print. The Indian vocabulary does not admit of much true oratory in speech, but his tones and gestures are always eloquent. Except an Indian be educated out of the Indian tongue, his periods are not musical and his ideas do not come forth in the compact Saxon method. An Indian is frequently eloquent with his eyes and hands, but seldom in his ideas, as expressed in the Indian tongue. Still, metaphors are much used in the speeches and conversation of Indians, particularly the Iroquois in New York.

When the weather is very cold the Iroquoian says "it is a nose-cutting morning; of an emaciated person, "he has dried bones." A steamboat is "the ship impelled by fire." A horse is "a log-carrier." A cow is "a cud-chewer." In old times these Indians kept warm by covering themselves with boughs of hemlock; and now if an Indian is about to repair his cabin he says

"I will surround it with hemlock boughs," meaning that he will make it warm and comfortable. When a chief has made a speech he finishes with saying "the doors are now open, you can proceed." The Iroquois call themselves "the older people" and the white man "our younger brother."

Indian graphic art shows the meagerness of his constructive power or idea, and his lack of mathematics accounts for his want of power of concentration.

As individuals the Indians sometimes show virtues which the whites could imitate with profit. Scores of incidents can be related of their faithful friendship to the whites during the present century, and many of them are capable of becoming good and industrious citizens with proper encouragement and aid, provided usually that the Indian father and mother are of different tribes.

Angelina Seattle in 1890 (supposed to be more than 100 years of age) resided in a cabin at Seattle, Wash. She is a type of the Puget Sound Indian. The illustrations of the Puyallup Indians show the irregular features of these Indians. Angelina is the daughter of Chief Seattle, whom Governor I. I. Stevens made a chief, and after whom the present city is named. She is known as the friend of the whites and as being the person who saved the early settlers of Seattle, along in the fifties, from massacre. The Indians of the region had confederated for an attack on the town. Angelina pushed her way into the settlement and informed the people. The man-of-war Decatur, lying in the harbor, shelled the woods about the town and drove the concealed warriors away. This old Indian woman has since been the favorite of Seattle, and is called the "Princess Angelina." Visitors look upon her with awe and wonder, both in respect to her person and her garments. She roams about at will, a general and welcome town charge. "Old Betz," a famous squaw in the Minnesota Sioux massacre of 1862, saved scores of whites from murder, and is gratefully remembered by the people of Minnesota. She died in 1873.

VARIOUS OPINIONS AS TO THE INDIANS.

A great variety of opinions, curious, quaint, and vague, can be found in historical travels and ethnological works upon almost all the Indian tribes. It is almost impossible to form a correct judgment from published opinions as to the Indians of the whole country, especially of those west of the Missouri River. The following as to the Shoshones is the opinion of Hubert H. Bancroft. (Native Races—Wild Tribes, 1886, volume 1, pages 440, 441.) The grass-eating Shoshones, whom he mentions, would be singular kind of men, and their exact location would be of value to ethnology at this time:

"The character of the better Shoshone tribes is not much worse than that of the surrounding nations: they are thieving, treacherous, cunning, moderately brave after their fashion, fierce when ferocious, will avail anything, and exceedingly cruel. Of the miserable root and grass eating Shoshones, however, even this much can not be said. Those who have seen them unanimously agree that they, of all men, are lowest. Lying in a state of semitorpor in holes in the ground during the winter, and in spring crawling forth and eating grass on their hands and knees until able to regain their feet; having no clothes, scarcely any cooked food, in many instances no weapons, with merely a few vague imaginings for religion, living in the utmost squalor and filth, putting no pride on their passions, there is surely room for no missing link between them and brutes."

Mr. Bancroft then, in the work named, gives the following authors as to the Shoshones:

"The Shoshones of Carson Valley 'are very rigid in their morals.'—Remy and Brenchley's Journal, volume 1, page 85. At Haw's ranch, 'honest and trustworthy, but lazy and dirty.'—*Idem*, page 123. These Kusi-Utahs 'were very inoffensive, and seemed perfectly guileless.'—*Idem*, volume 2, page 412. The Pai-utes 'are considered as mere dogs, the refuse of the lowest order of humanity.'—Farnham's Life and Adventures, page 376. The Timpanigo Yutas 'are a noble race, * * * brave and hospitable.'—*Idem*, page 371. The Pi-utes are 'the most degraded and least intellectual Indians known to the trappers.'—Farnham's Travels, page 58. 'The Snakes are a very intelligent race.'—*Idem*, page 62. The Bannacks are 'a treacherous and dangerous race.'—*Idem*, page 76. The Pi-Edes are 'timid and dejected,' the Snakes are 'fierce and warlike,' the Tosawitches 'very treacherous,' the Bannacks 'treacherous,' the Washoes 'peaceable, but indolent.'—Simpson's Route to California, pages 45-49. The Utahs 'are brave, impudent, and warlike, * * * of a revengeful disposition.'—Graves, in Indian Affairs Report, 1854, page 178. 'Industrious.'—Armstrong, in *idem*, 1856, page 233. 'A race of men whose cruelty is scarcely a stride removed from that of cannibalism.'—Hurt, in *idem*, page 231. 'The Pai-utes are undoubtedly the most interesting and docile Indians on the continent.'—Dodge, in *idem*, 1859, page 374. The Utahs are 'fox-like, crafty, and cunning.'—Archuleta, in *idem*, 1835, page 167. The Pi-utes are 'teachable, kind, and industrious, * * * scrupulously chaste in all their intercourse.'—Parker, in *idem*, 1836, page 115. The Weber-Utes 'are the most worthless and indolent of any in the Territory.'—Head, in *idem*, page 123. The Bannacks 'seem to be imbued with a spirit of dash and bravery quite unusual.'—Campbell, in *idem*, page 120. The Bannacks 'are energetic and industrious.'—Danilson, in *idem*, 1859, page 283. The Washoes are 'docile and tractable.'—Douglas, in *idem*, 1870, page 96. The Pi-utes are 'not warlike, rather cowardly, but pilfering and treacherous.'—Powell, in *idem*, 1871, page 562. The Shoshokoes 'are extremely indolent, but a mild, inoffensive race.'—Irving's Bonneville's Adventures, page 257. 'The Snakes 'are a thoroughly savage and lazy tribe.'—Francher's Narrative, page 150. The Shoshones 'are frank and communicative.'—Lewis and Clarke's Travels, page 306. The Snakes are 'pacific, hospitable, and honest.'—Dunn's Oregon, page 325. 'The Snakes are a very intelligent race.'—White's Oregon, page 379. 'The Pi-utes are as degraded a class of humanity as can be found upon the earth. The male is proud, sullen, intensely insolent; * * * they will not steal; the women are chaste, at least toward their white brethren.'—Farley, in San Francisco Medical Press, volume 3, page 154. The Snakes have been considered 'as rather a dull and degraded people, * * * weak in intellect and wanting in courage; and this opinion is very probable to a casual observer at first sight, or when seen in small numbers, for their apparent timidity, grave and reserved habits give them an air of stupidity. An intimate knowledge of the Snake character will, however, place them on an equal footing with that of other kindred nations, either east or west of the mountains, both in respect to their mental faculties and moral attributes.'—Ross's Fur Hunters, volume 2, page 151. 'Les Sampetches, les Pagouts et les Ampayouts sont * * * un peuple plus miserable, plus dégradé, et plus pauvre. Les Français les appellent communément les Dignes-de-pitié, et ce nom leur convient à merveille.'—De Smet, Voyages, page 28. The Utahs 'paraissent doux et affables, très-polis et hospitaliers pour les étrangers, et charitables entre eux.'—*Idem*, page 30. 'The Indians of Utah are the most miserable if not the most degraded beings of all the vast American wilderness.'—Domenech's Deserts, volume 2, page 64. The Utahs 'possess a capacity for improvement whenever circumstances favor them.'—Scenes in the Rocky Mountains, page 180. The Snakes are 'la plus mauvaise des races des Peaux-Rouges qui j'ai fréquentées. Ils sont aussi paresseux qu'en peupuyants.'—Saint-Amant, Voyages, page 325. The Shoshones of Idaho are 'highly intelligent and lively * * * the most virtuous and unsophisticated of all the Indians of the United States.'—Taylor, in California Farmer, April 27, 1880. The Washoes have 'superior intelligence and

aptitude for learning.—*Idem*, June 14, 1861; see also *idem*, June 20, 1863. The Nevada Shoshones 'are the most pure and uncorrupted aborigines upon this continent; * * * they are scrupulously clean in their persons and chaste in their habits; * * * though whole families live together, of all ages and both sexes, in the same tent, immorality and crime are of rare occurrence.'—Prince, in *idem*, October 18, 1861. The Bannacks 'are cowardly, treacherous, filthy, and indolent.'—Schoolcraft's, volume 4, page 223. 'The Utahs are predatory, voracious, and perfidious; plunderers and murderers by habit; * * * when their ferocity is not excited their suspicions are so great as to render what they say unreliable, if they do not remain altogether uncommunicative.'—*Idem*, volume 5, pages 197, 198. The Pa-Vants 'are as brave and improvable as their neighbors are mean and vile.'—Burton's City of the Saints, page 577. 'The Yuta is less servile, and consequently has a higher ethnic status than the African negro. He will not toil, and he turns at a kick or a blow.'—*Idem*, page 581. The Shoshones 'are harmless, and exceedingly timid and shy.'—Brownell's Indian Races, page 538."

The real North American Indian sometimes dresses in highly colored blankets, when he can buy them, or in the Government blue blankets sometimes furnished him, but when in the vicinity of towns or settlements he wears the rags cast off by the whites.

Delegations of Indians visiting Eastern cities and the Indians usually seen in the East are well dressed and present a fantastic appearance. They impress with their picturesque garb. What a magnificent sight! we exclaim. To see a tribe, in their native condition on the plains, thus dressed would be a sight indeed. The truth is, the dress is borrowed, and the entire wardrobe of a tribe is drawn upon to fit out the visiting statesmen, the several owners of the traveling wardrobe remaining at home tightly rolled up in blankets. Photographs of Indians kept on sale are those of Indians fixed up for artistic effect and to catch the popular eye. When at home, rags and feathers or nature are the usual dress and decoration of the reservation Indians, except where the Government provides. A visiting Indian is a very different person in appearance from an Indian at home.

The squaws in winter roll their lower limbs in gunny sacks, presenting a most curious side and front view; they capture all the cast-off female clothing of towns in their vicinity on the frontier. Buckskins and furs are now almost gone. In fact, anything will do for body covering.

On the bank of a river stood an Indian (in the land of the Plutes) some years ago in the bracing air of an early May morning, dressed in an abandoned society coat, buttoned backward, a pair of eyeglasses, and a high, white hat with a black crepe band. This costume was really startling. He was an Indian dude, the envy of his tribe. The possession of so much personal wealth caused his death. In the night time he was murdered by a fellow Indian, his body thrown in the river, and the next day the murderer appeared in the dress coat.

The real reservation Indian is usually filthy in his person, habits, and methods. He eats uncooked food (food unfit for swine) and vermin, and changes his clothes when they drop off from decay or lack of buttons or straps. He is offensive in odor and thrifless in all things pertaining to the economy of life. He is the constant and agreeable companion of every kind of vermin. Virtue is lost with some of the Indians, if it ever existed.

When a squad of Indian youths arrive at an industrial or training school, fresh from a reservation, the hose and water cans are made ready. In one case the coachman who drove the wagon from the depot to an Indian school (not his first experience with a load of red children from a Western reservation) insisted upon leaving the wagon seat and riding one of the horses while on the way to the school with a load of children, and the gentleman who was sent to receive them insisted upon walking behind the wagon to the house. It was not hospitable, but it was personal safety.

Upon the arrival of the wagon the boys were taken back of a building, hosed down, and given new clothes, which they put on, and their recent coverings were burned. Dirt and the average reservation Indian seem to have formed a partnership at birth, and thus far no means have been discovered to divorce the combination. With all their filth and dirt, however, they are not the only dirty people in the world. They live no worse than the very poor class of the great cities of Europe and America. See the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for a description of the personal habits of the members of the several reservation tribes.

"The most powerful Southern nations appear to have been, upon the whole, less exterminating than the Northern Indians. It is also probable that the impenetrable swamps and the multiplied channels or bayous by which the delta of the Mississippi and the Red River country are intersected have afforded places of refuge to the remnants of conquered tribes."—*Albert Gallatin*, 1836.

The American colonists had a severe experience with the Indians, and Mr. Jefferson, in writing the Declaration of Independence, expressed the prevailing opinion of them when he wrote in that instrument of the "merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions."

The European did not teach the Indian the brutalities of war. From the statements made to the first (and as for that to the last) white men with whom he came in contact, the normal condition of the North American Indians prior to the advent of Europeans was war, cruel and bloody. The several tribes, when they fought, fought to exterminate. They had no firearms or swords of steel, but they used with cunning brutality the club, spear with stone point, bow and arrow, and the stone blunderbuss; rude but effective weapons. These wars were generally for encroachments on fish or game preserves or territory.

The Europeans taught the Indians the use of firearms. They also taught them the value of cunning and diplomacy in transactions with men; and so after a time under this tutelage the Indian laid aside his club and spear and depended more upon deceit, words with double meaning; as he puts it, "speaking with a forked tongue." The Caucasian also initiated him into the mystery of drunkenness, for it is not noted that the Indian had an intoxicant prior to the time the Europeans first methim. Smallpox and venereal diseases were also the white man's contributions to his red brother's ills.

At the advent of the Europeans, and especially in Virginia, the Indians, according to their own statements, were exterminating themselves. They told fabulous stories of great tribes of Indians once in existence, but now extinct; of vast hordes of large-sized men and women in the west of the continent, who were overcome and destroyed. Their imaginations from time to time increased these exterminated tribes and their numbers.

After the white men came to the continent they put a stop, where possible, to the Indian tribes fighting one another, and the Indian became so busy in watching the white man and his movements that he had no time to battle with his fellow Indians; and so for the first one hundred years after the white man came the Indians probably increased.

It may be safe to say, keeping well in mind the Indians' stories and legends of their wars and results, that had the white man delayed his appearance a hundred or more years, many tribes of Indians would by their own acts and policy have ceased to exist.

"There is a disposition to assume that events like that just recounted were a consequence of the contact of white men with red; but the primitive Indian was quite able to enact such tragedies without the help of Europeans. Before French or English influence had been felt in the interior of the con-

tinental part of North America was the frequent witness of scenes still more lurid in coloring and on a larger scale of horror. In the first half of the seventeenth century the whole country, from Lake Superior to the Tennessee, and from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi, was ravaged by wars of extermination, in which tribes, large and powerful by Indian standards, perished, dwindled into feeble remnants, or were absorbed by other tribes, and vanished from sight. French pioneers were sometimes involved in the carnage, but neither they nor other Europeans were answerable for it."—*Francis Parkman*, in *A Half Century of Conflict*.

Still, along the Indian trail to oblivion, the white man, in many cases, has been as brutal and fiendish as the Indian, and with less excuse, for one is cultured and the other wild and untutored. There has been up to within a few years past but little humanity, charity, or justice in much of the white man's treatment of the American Indian. No apology can be offered for it; no excuse, save the domination for a time of the brute in our superior white race and the attempt to out-Herod Herod, for at times Indians have been wantonly murdered or used like beasts. The Indian is a coward in warfare, because he fights behind rocks and bushes, and usually begins his wars with the murder of white women and children. He is at all times treacherous, and fights like a wild animal, stealthily creeping and crawling up to his prey, but when cornered he fights like a devil incarnate. Indians who are brutally brave in battle are at other times arrant cowards.

The fierce and warlike Apache of Arizona, cruel and brutal in his warfare, hides like a coward at night, and traveler or soldier is always safe from attack from him after nightfall. The darkness to the Indian is peopled with evil spirits and dreaded and dangerous forms, so he hides away until daylight. The once cruel and dreaded Brule Sioux on the Brule Reservation, South Dakota, will not venture abroad at night, and, when forced to do so, will keep up an incessant hallooing, and will not go far unless answered by a friendly shout.

As an interesting and curious fact, almost all the superstitions and customs recorded of the Indians during the past four hundred years still exist, or traces of them can be found among both the wild and so-called civilized tribes, and frequently with Indians taxed not in tribal relation or their descendants. Of course, this embraces reliable and authentic superstitions and customs, and not the idle fancies of imaginative Indians.

In illustration of Indian tenacity in holding to old customs, an Indian and his moccasins are yet almost inseparable companions. He seems born in them; he walks and sleeps in them, and he is buried in them. An Indian may be habited in a dress suit, but the chances are that his feet are covered with moccasins. In the Army he dresses in uniform, but almost always insists on the moccasins. At the training and industrial schools it is with difficulty that he can be induced to discard them. Even after Indians are known as civilized they will be seen with moccasins.

Most of the American Indians are pigeon-toed, growing out of the fact, probably, that having no heels on their moccasins and walking on the ball of the foot, the foot turns inward; the male Indians also have a habit of crossing their feet when they sit.

INDIAN KNOWLEDGE OF MEDICINE AND INDIAN MEDICINE MEN.

For a long time it was believed that the North American Indian possessed positive and useful knowledge of the medicinal properties of plants, roots, and herbs, and certain portions of animals or birds indigenous to their country. Marvelous stories have been told of this knowledge and the cures made through it. Many white men have become rich from the sale of supposed Indian remedies, which, of course, the Indians never saw or even knew of. Investigation shows that if they possessed any such knowledge it was exceedingly limited. Their surgery was and still is of the crudest character, and in some cases almost brutal. Superstitions, appeals to charms, incantations, and trickery were and now are the chief remedies used by the Indian medicine man, or shaman, as will be seen by the reports of the special agents. Childbirth is attended to by women. The report of Special Agent Reuben Sears, page 454, inferentially shows what has been known to a very few Indian quacks, that the polygamy of most Indian men is largely in the nature of lechery. The Indian medicine men are simply the vilest of quacks, working upon the credulity of the people. Through their acts and advice many deaths and some murders have recently been committed. They should be abolished wherever it is possible for the United States authorities to reach them.

N. B. Meacham, in "Wi-ne-ma," writes of the medicine man as follows: "The medicine man of the Indian is not selected in the same manner as are the medicine men of the white race. He does not choose the profession as an easy way to make a living; he knows too well the fearful responsibility of his position. He has seen the medicine man too often slain on account of his failure to cure. Hence the position is one not sought, but, as they believe, is forced upon them by the Great Spirit. The indications of the selection appear at various ages: sometimes in childhood, sometimes in middle life, and again in old age. The first intimation of being towed is by bleeding at the mouth or by becoming crazed with jerking and twitchings of the muscles. When these manifestations appear the tribe or band is notified and a council is called, on which occasions the older doctors officiate. It is one of great importance to all the people, inasmuch as the medicine man has so much power.

"The candidate is very solicitous because of the fearful responsibility involved in assuming the office. He dare not resist the spirit, as doing so would imperil his life forever, present and future. Hence he comes to the examining council with trepidation, sometimes like the man in civil life called of God to preach the gospel comes, when he hears those words which have driven thousands of men into the ministry, 'Woe is me if I preach not the gospel.' Such a conviction has the Indian medicine man; and though he may not hear those same ominous words he feels them with as much reality and obeys with as much faith as ever candidate for ministerial orders went before a board of deacons and elders.

"When the council is convened the preparations are completed by the older doctors making prayers and offering sacrifices, killing white-haired dogs and hanging the skins upon a pole which is raised above the council. On the top of the pole are placed the tail feathers of the great medicine hawk, which is called the 'king hawk' because of his mastery over all other birds. The skins of the white weasel, the otter, the mink, and black fox, all of which are said to be 'sacred,' are also hung upon the pole. These sacred skins are supplied by the older doctors, or the friends of the candidate, and they are his after the ceremony is over if he shall be found to be a doctor of the right kind; for with these people some of them are called of the good spirit and some of the bad spirit. The authority under which they act is a matter of great concern to all parties and more especially to the candidate himself; for should he prove to be called of the evil spirit his ministry is of short duration, ending his life as soon as the authority is clearly recognized, unless he escapes. It may be easily understood why 'the bringing out' of a medicine man is a great event."

In November, 1892, "Runs With," a famous medicine man of the Sioux at Rosebud Agency, South Dakota, in testifying before a grand jury at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., in the case of Ghost Hawk for the murder of his wife, thus detailed how he became a medicine man. He was one of the medicine men called in to see the woman:

"My heart told me that I should be a medicine man, and I went upon a mountain and fasted and prayed for two days awaiting a sign from the Great Spirit. At the end of the second day as the sun was going to sleep, I saw a great light which blinded my eyes and heard a noise as of a rushing of many waters. I looked again and around me were four animals; a black-tailed deer, a white-tailed deer, a wolf, and a buffalo. They all spoke the speech of men. They said the Great Spirit had heard my prayer and had sent them to me. The animals then took me over the prairie and told me what plants were hurtful and what were good for my people. They told me what diseases of men the good herbs would cure, and then they vanished as suddenly as they had come. I returned to my people and told the chiefs what I had seen, was made and have since been a medicine man."

The medicine man's theory of the death of Ghost Hawk's wife was that the arteries in the arm were broken by the twisting of the arm, and that the arteries kept on breaking until the patient's heart broke.

Experience has shown that the deportation of warlike Indian tribes is the most effectual way to make them peaceable. The Sioux were removed from Minnesota to various States and Territories after 1863; the Modocs, from California to Indian Territory in 1874; the Nez Percés (Joseph's band), from Idaho to Indian Territory in 1877; and Geronimo's Apaches, from Arizona to Mount Vernon barracks, Alabama, in 1887. Removing Indians from their ancient haunts deprives them of natural methods, and knowing nothing of the topography of a new country by experience or maps, and surrounded by whites, it takes them years to learn hiding places and food and water resources. On his native heath the Indian fights for the graves of his ancestors, and his roaming ground, in fact, his home. Removed, he sits and mopes, a stranger in a strange land. Deportation, however, is a costly thing, for after deportation the Indians must be fed.

The use of force with Indians is frequently the effective method; in some events, the only method. One fight with the whites won by Indians awakes their vanity, arouses their pride, and means death to unwary travelers. Runners are sent out after such events and neighboring tribes or warriors invited to join the victors. When once whipped soundly after an outbreak, Indians send out runners to advise their friends of their defeat, just as they do in case of victory. When whipped an Indian's first demand is for a "big talk," a council. By these councils the Indians usually get a temporary relief from control, get some presents, and then go back to their old ways. Of course, a treaty is made, or some kind of an agreement. The Indian, however, when he has the power, hears no cry but the groans of the dying. He hears no appeal until the last soldier is dead. Scores of instances of his barbarous methods in battle, when he has power, can be found during the last hundred years. The Dade massacre, the Fort Fetterman massacre, and the Custer massacre are striking illustrations. In these three affairs only one white man got away alive, and he in the Dade massacre. Sentiment is wasted on an Indian when his blood is up; the bullet only can then obtain his attention; starvation will also cause him to stop.

The Indian is the embodiment of cruelty. Boy or man, he enjoys torturing all living things, and the women in this respect far excel the men. Cruelty is born in them in many cases. The prolonging of human suffering while torturing a white captive the Indian can accomplish with rare dexterity.

The Indian squaw is the tenderest possible mother, affectionate, loving, and even going hungry for her child; at the same time she is a fiend in war with the whites, and is the embodiment of cruelty in her methods of torturing the captives, men, women, and children. The American Indian squaw is the inventor of more kinds of torture for women and children than one can well enumerate.

The ancestors of the present Comanches at Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency, Oklahoma, were noted for their cruelty to prisoners. The Comanches in the olden times, or in early Texan days, were known as Comanches of the Woods (those who lived in the timber) and Comanches of the Prairies (horse Indians).

Senator Sam Houston, in the Senate of the United States, December 31, 1854, in speaking of them, said:

"There are not less than 2,000 prisoners (whites) in the hands of the Comanches, 400 in one band in my own State. * * * They take no prisoners but women and boys (killing the men). The boys they treat with a degree of barbarity unprecedented, and their cruelties toward the females are nameless and atrocious."

Many illustrations of the habits of the Sioux and other tribes in mutilating the dead whites after battle or massacre may be found in official reports of Government officers.

Squaws and children actually engage in war when necessary. In a fight which the Mojaves had with the soldiers near Fort Mojave, Arizona, in 1866, their chief got up into a cottonwood tree so that he could direct their movements. The soldiers ran out of ammunition and fixed their bayonets. The old chief called out to his men: "The soldiers are squaws; they are stopping up their guns; they won't fight any more." Just then another detachment came and opened a cross fire. A private shot the old chief out of the tree, and the soldiers were victorious. During the fight the old women formed a line in the rear of the warriors and held them up to the work, seizing and throwing them back when they tried to run. The squaws frequently fight in the line along with the men, and children of 10 years of age have been found with rifle in hand.

The North American Indian, unlike other races, possesses no affection, love or gratitude for his fellow-man. The Indian has an insatiable greed for money, and change in his condition can be aided by giving him a chance to acquire it. The conclusion at which close students have arrived is that he is a wild man (not a brute), and intermarriage with whites or negroes, or force, large quantities of beef, work, or death can alone disperse him. The iron gong of civilization has long since called him, but he refuses to be garnered.

The average Indian, while low in his instincts, has the basis for much intellectual development. He is at all events the beginning of a man. Considering him from the Anglo-Saxon standpoint, he is in his native condition most dangerous and unlovable.

Indians as a class are egotists. Their egotism asserts itself in their tribal as well as personal matters. Each tribe asserts itself to be "the people," the other tribes being mere "raise ups" or "drop offs." The medicine men are unusually oppressive egotists. One of the special agents of the Eleventh Census while at a Sioux reservation was imperturbed by a medicine man not only to attend his medicine lodge and see the ceremonies, where, said he, "you will see the greatest Indian medicine man in all the world, myself," but was asked by him to attend a special dinner at his tepee. His inducement was that he had obtained a delicacy of great gastronomic value which he alone could properly cook and serve. This was on beef or issue day; he had the delicacy in a gunny sack on his pony. He further informed the special agent that he had asked seven chiefs and headmen to dine with him at the same time.

The agent accepted the invitation and expected not only to enjoy a true Indian dinner, but to see much of Indian society, as the guests were noted Sioux of the Missouri. Curious as to the dinner, the special agent mentioned it to the reservation butcher. The latter informed him, in a note of warning, that the medicine man had secured from him that day, as a rarity

for his guests' dinner the next day, and was carrying it home in the gunny sack a tumor of 30 pounds' weight cut from a cow. It is hardly necessary to add that the special agent did not dine with the greatest medicine man in the world.

With all his lack of reasoning powers, the Indian has rare perceptive faculties in the matter of the retention of his own property, and he discovers dangers to it at the proper moment. These faculties are inborn. It is the faculty common to all men and animals, that of protecting life and property.

In one of Raleigh's expeditions, the first to New Albion, one of his captains (Amidas or Barlow) upon landing met a band of Indians who lived in houses built of wood. The chief wore upon his head a platter-shaped or bowl-like helmet of shining metal. The captain, thinking it gold, wanted to inspect it, and tried to take it off the red man's head. The Indian, with rare judgment (born with him) promptly declined and retired in haste. He probably desired to retain the helmet. He knew the white man at sight.

This lord of the forest and plains, strange to say, has become under present influences, on most of the reservations, a persistent, constant, and unceasing beggar. No matter what his rank or station, when you visit his reservation, he meets you with a begging proposition, and he esteems you in proportion to your giving qualities. Your yield is his measure of affection for you, and he never questions about the object given. He will receive anything. He possesses the faculty of looking the expectant donor squarely in the face. By the Homeric rule that "shamefacedness is a bad quality in a beggar," the North American reservation Indian is well qualified for begging.

The noninvestigating humane people of the East look upon the Western citizen as the hereditary enemy of the Indian. In looking at this proposition now, it is well to remember that times change and that railroads and telegraphs have united all places, and that around almost all of the Indian reservations (save, say, twelve) can be found the same civilization and the same moral forces as in any city in the East. The pioneer is a man of the past. The mountain men are few in number, and the white cutthroats and murderers are seldom seen. Men with love of greed are plenty, but what point is free from them?

The Indians occupying large reservations are frequently allowed to go to towns and cities, but usually have a pass or permit to do so from the agent, giving the time they are to be absent. An Indian, when off the reservation or on the plains, on approaching travelers, at once produces his "paper" or permit to leave the reservation, or a letter from a white man certifying to his character. At times these papers are very necessary, as white men have frequently begun shooting when the Indian could not produce a leave of absence from an Indian agent or a certificate from a white man.

The expert special agent in 1863 met a Shoshone Indian named Taytober (and whose son he found on the Bannock Reservation twenty-two years afterward in Idaho) near the Boise River who carried "a paper." He was a splendid type of man, eloquent in gesture and honest in purpose. The following is the paper:

"ROSE FORK, IDAHO, July 4, 1863.

"This Indian's name is Taytober. He is a thoroughbred. He goes without the bell tapping. He is also a gentleman, and you can bet your life he will do what he agrees to do. Make him your friend, for he is a good one. Do the square thing by him and he is a honey-cooler. Do anything mean to him, and he is a johan, and he will get even. Brace him up with food when he hands you this, as he is always hungry; no rum, but beef, and plenty of it."
"WILLIAM TROTTER AND UNCLE."
("GEORGE SMITH.")

The following are other Indian "papers:"

"JUNE 30, 1871.

"To whom it may concern: The bearer of this note is a Sho-sho-ne. He has no name; he has few of the necessities of life, and tries hard in an honest way to procure more. He always appears to be satisfied with his lot, and has nothing in his appearance to recommend him to your attention, but he has traits in his character that are worthy of imitation. Study him, and you may see them.

"J. P. GIBSON."

"BRIDGER, UTAH, June 1, 1867.

"This will be presented by Moss Rose, or 'Dirty Pete,' a Washakie Shoshone. Keep him away about 5 feet when he presents it; also lock your valuables up in your fireproof when you see him coming, for he is a great beggar. In the meantime, if you have any jerked meat turn him loose at it. He don't care whether it's cooked or not. Ten to 12 pounds of good meat, bear, elk, deer, or buffalo, lunches him. He don't want any trimmings with the meat, and you needn't hand him a napkin, either. He is not a bad Indian, but he is so dirty. He counts in dirt for two Indians when the agent rounds up the band for issue. Treat him well; his faults are few, and vices small ones. His word's good.

"JAMES BRIDGER."

Indians can by law abjure their tribes and become citizens when they like. When once off the reservation they work, beg, or go about as they please; but the whites usually do not like to pay an Indian as much for his work as they do other men.

The Western people, being the party most directly interested, want the Indian question settled. Believing the Indian to be a savage, and that thus far the Government has not civilized him, they want to be relieved of the danger of being murdered and having their wives and children also butchered and slaughtered. These people can not understand why a law is passed to prohibit them from carrying a pistol, while the Indian can roam at large with a repeating rifle in his hand.

Many people in looking at the Indians see only the men, women, and children, and not the surroundings, their habits, and vices. These people have the theory, but not the experience.

Since 1776 the North American Indian has cost the people of the United States about \$1,100,000,000, and he has killed more than 10,000 persons, of whom over 2,000 were women and children.

Indian history shows heroism, endurance, treachery, murder, tribal patriotism, great war leadership, and adroit political management. No man ever had the hold on a people that the medicine man has upon the Indian. What a league this Indian tribal resistance is to the white man's civilization! Still, has the white man's policy assisted the Indian to love him or make him his friend? Sitting Bull some years ago said to the commanding officer at Fort Buford: "The Indian that says he likes a white man is a liar, and the white man that thinks an Indian likes him is a fool."

INDIAN NAMES.

Indians frequently have several names. George Catlin in 1832 wrote this: "Nothing is more embarrassing for the traveler through the Indian countries, both of North and South America, than the difficulty of obtaining the real names of Indians, owing chiefly to the singular fact that no Indian in either country will tell his name, but leaves it for occasions or for other Indians to reveal.

"The Indians have generally their family names in the idiom of their

tribe, and having no Christian names, they often attach to them significations which are wrongly supposed to be their interpretations. A great proportion of Indian names (like Jones, Bailey, Roberts, etc., in English) admit of no translation. In these cases the interpreters give their family names, joining to them the qualifications for which the individuals are celebrated, as, Oon-disch-ta (the salmon spearer), Oon-disch-ta (the tiger killer), as we would say, Jones (the shoemaker), Jones (the butcher), etc.; and yet another difficulty still more embarrassing, that most Indians of celebrity have a dozen or more names, which they use according to caprice or circumstances.

"I recollect that when I was painting the portrait of a Comanche chief I inquired his name, which another chief, sitting by, gave me as Ish-a-ro-ye (he who carries a wolf). I expressed my surprise at his getting such a name and inquired if he had ever carried a wolf, to which he replied: 'Yes, I always carry a wolf,' lifting up his medicine bag, made of the skin of a white wolf and lying by the side of him as he was sitting on the ground.

"How curious (Indians) names and how pleasing. Among the Mandans, the reputed belles when I was there, were Mi-neek-e-sunk-te-ca (the mink) and Sha-ko-ka (mint), daughters of two of the subordinate chiefs; among the Riccarrees, Psh-an-shaw (the sweet-scented grass); among the Minatarrees, a few miles above the Mandans, Seet-see-be-a (the midday sun); among the Assinnaboinces, Chin-cha-pee (the firebug that creeps); among the Shawanos, Kay-te-qua (the female eagle); of the Ioways, Ru-ton-ye-wee-nee (the strutting pigeon); and among the Puncas, Hee-la-dee (the pure fountain), and Mong-shong-shaw (the bending willow); among the Pawnee Piets Shee-de-a (wild sage), and among the Kiowas Wum-pan-to-me (the white weasel)."

Mr. Catlin in the same work also calls attention to the variety and singularity of the names of Indian men, as shown in his catalogue, such as "The very sweet man," and "The grass, bush, and blossom."

This duplication of names of Indians continues to this day. In fact, many Indians have merely nicknames given them by the whites or for reservation use. Some go by numbers, as Jim No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, etc. Indians have no family names which white men understand. For the past two or three years the agents on the reservations have been giving them names. The census rolls of 1890 show the continuance of curious Indian names.

There is much romance in ideal Indian names. Minnehaha, abbreviated in the West to Minnehaw; Hiawatha, Toyaba (pure white spirit), Eufaula (falling water), Weewoka, are soft and euphonious. The names of some of the real Indians of the present time are: Among the Creeks and Cherokees, Man-Afraid-of-his-Horse, Tom Potato, Hog Shooter, Pig Mike, Samuel Walking Stick, Samuel Poor Boy, Adam Dirt Seller, David Bull Frog, James Tin Cup, Archie Big Foot, Thomas Rooster, Robin Dirt Pot, Walter House Fly, Liar, Samuel Squirrel, Two Strikes, Hump, One-Eyed Sam, Old Bolly, Mouse, and Little Horse Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

The following are Indian and white names of Bannock Indians taken from the ration list of the Bannock tribe at Fort Hall Agency, Idaho, in November, 1890: Weed-ze-we, Teton Bill; Coppe-que-tan, Coffee Ground; We-hedin, Iron Mouth; Se-to-po-ku-wak-i, Chinaman's Family; Ca-nave, Johnny Stevens; Egi, Little John; Pah-a-give-ta, Big Mack; Saw-a-hun, Little Old Man; Pi-ze, Pit Piper.

The following are Indian and white names from the ration list of the Shoshone Indians at the same agency: Pe-ah-go-un-dimmu, Andy Johnson; Jee Hooker; To-gum-bot-se, John Hair; Pe-ah-toon-yip, Big Man; Nolsy Sam; Lazy Joe; To-sa-man, Slim Jim; Na-ho-ne, Big Jimmy; Quar-ree-sho-van-go-nip, Pompey Jack; Charley Sumner.

The names of Indians at Red Cloud Agency entitled to receive rations is given in Executive Document No. 145, House of Representatives, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, March 1876. Among them, of the Sioux, there were American Horse, Big Weeds, Biting Dog, Black Bull, Takes Things, Washerwoman, Frog, Big Belly Wolf, Sand, Bald Face Bull, Captain Long Dog, Cherry Seed, Chicken Packer, Hole in the Ground, Lightning Strikes, Screw or Little Moon, Turkey Legs, Thunder Hawk, Died in Lodge, Mule Head, Man-Afraid-of-his-Horses 1 and 2, Pumpkin Seed, Louse, Spotted Cow, Old Beads; of the Cheyennes, Timber, Red Neck, Bull A, Slow Horse, Split Nose, Crow, Poor Bull, Itching, Dull Knife, One-Eyed White Man, No Account, Never Full, Old Slab, and Wild Hog; of the Arapahos, Feather on Head, Sharp Nose, Died Old, Short Shoulder Blade, Road of the Sun, Dog Chief, Kill, Curly Hair, Friday.

The following names are found at Pine Ridge, S. Dak.: Of Sioux, Onsiyanka, Sits Pitiful; Waseocin, Begs for Paint; Winkle Onaso, Pacing Morphadite; Wakan, Holy Imahewicoll, Village in the Mouth; Wakankiwin, Comes Holy; Lecawakan, Just Holy; Woptura, Jefferson Chips; Woptura, Geoffrey Chips; Mirci Wanica, No Water; Copa Wanica, No Fat; Tacepa, Marrow Bone; Newton Cancatanka, Newton Big Road; Iye Psa, His Sneezes; Sam Wikan Yusapa, Samuel Broken Rope; Scill, Pawnee Leggings; Asa Wagmu Su, Asa Pumpkin Seed; Clarence Wicarp, Yamni, Clarence Three Stars; Levi Sunk Hinto, Levi Blue Horse. Northern Cheyennes, Hohkot, Grasshopper; Tahouosaso, Bites; Wolnsceya, No Brains; Wokaus, Crooked Nose; Mockete, Loves his Knife; Mochtaoyesin, Black Whetstone; Awsir, Hair.

The names of some of the Lower Brule Sioux are: Hind Dog, Grinder, Bobtail Crow, Small Forked Tail, Thin Belly, From Above, John Logan, Pretty Voice Hawk, Tom Red Leaf, Come Out of the Woods, Bucket Ball, Quick Jealousy, Joshua Good Eagle, Rude Dog, and Gunny Sack Lodge.

The Indian will be remembered in the coming centuries from the fact that he has impressed himself upon the laws of the Republic, and given names to many of its States and Territories, cities, towns, rivers, and mountains.

The following are Indian words, with their meanings, used for names of some of the States and Territories:

"Alabama, here we rest; Alaska Territory, great country; Arkansas, arc, a bow, prefix to Kansas; Connecticut, up the long river; Idaho, gem of the mountains; Illinois, Franco-Indian, tribe of men; Indiana, Iowa, Franco-Indian, drowsy; Kansas, smoky water; Kentucky, at the head of river; Massachusetts, about the great hills; Michigan, a weir for fish; Minnesota, cloudy water; Mississippi, great long river; Missouri, muddy; Nebraska, water valley; North Dakota, leagued; Ohio, beautiful; Oklahoma Territory, beautiful land; Oregon, great river of the West; South Dakota, leagued; Tennessee, river of big bend; Texas, friends; Utah Territory, named after a tribe of Indians; Wisconsin, wild rushing channel; Wyoming, the large plains. On coats of arms of States: Alabama, here we rest; Washington, Al-Ki (bye-bye)."

It has been quite the mode recently to drop Indian names for places and natural objects and adopt names of modern persons or designations from the ancients. American names, however, have special import, and should be retained. Centuries ago the continent was fairly well explored, and while the several nationalities stamped their sufferings, glories, or prowess upon the topography of the country with the names of sovereign leaders, they in many cases adopted the Indian names.

"The American people wrong their own country by obliterating the Indian names which made rivers, mountains, and valleys expressive of their beauty, their location, and their power. Hebrew writing alone, throughout the ages, has so dignified human qualities and the works of nature, as has the history, unwritten though it be, of the native American. The attempt to obliterate Indian names and to silence Indian tradition, is to obliterate landmarks which the American people should be more disposed to rescue and perpetuate. This feature of American civilization is neither enlight-

ened nor Christian, but essentially pagan. The unity of history is despoiled of its royal prerogative, that which identified nature in all its forms and man in all his capacities with one superintending Great Spirit over all."—*Special Agent H. B. Carrington, 1890.*

That the North American Indian (undoubtedly all of one original stock) has any well-defined religious views or beliefs as we understand them remains yet to be ascertained. The ideal Indian has a religion, but the real Indian has none. "God," a word he first heard from Europeans, has to him in fact no special significance. It means anything around and above him. His mythology is crude and embraces the natural features about him: Fire, water, the air, earth, the sun, moon, and stars, and all animated nature. The real Indian hangs to his mythology, which is ingenious for its elements but unsatisfactory as a theory, with desperate tenacity, and herein lies the nut of the Indian question, which is hard to crack.

No attention is paid as yet to the fact that the religious creeds of the Indians over the whole American Continent were moulded on the same pattern; that their social organization was fundamentally the same among the Cherokees, the Pueblos of New Mexico, the Mexicans, and the Peruvians; that the system of government of the Iroquois differed from that of the Mexicans but very little, and that the same principles pervaded aboriginal architecture from one arctic circle to the other, varying only in degree and not in kind. It is constantly overlooked that the fact of a certain class of buildings being of stone and another group of wood does not necessarily imply a superiority of the builders of the former over the builders of the latter, and that the long house of the Iroquois shows as much mechanical skill, if not more, as the honey-combs in which the New Mexican Indians still live in part; that the carved dwellings of the Northwest coast denote an advance in art not behind that of aboriginal Yucatan."—*H. O. Ladd, in History of New Mexico, 1891.*

It is curious that while the North American Indians, according to some authors, have a complete system of religion and forms most ingenious and mathematical in its sequences, these same Indians are incapable of inventing, constructing, or building anything that requires the mental power of combination. They can not smelt iron or copper, or carve stone or wood (except in imitation and in a feeble way, save the Alaska Indians, who are probably of Tartar origin), or do other mechanical things. In fact, they have no mathematics in their methods, and many of these alleged singular and complex religious and other systems would not be known save for their exhumation, development, or invention by white men. The Indians could invent a religion, but not a language to preserve it, nor a method to mark it! They could invent and develop myths, but could not build a house for their devotees, nor perpetuate their doctrines by signs or marks! With all other races the faculty of preservation is found with invention. It remained, in many instances, for white men to tell the Indian what his methods and systems were.

The Indian has the faculty of being led in conversation. In fact, he likes to be so led, provided he sees any food or largess at the end, and any ingenious ethnologist or investigator wedded to a theory can, if he has a vivid imagination and a stock of money and food, obtain ample proof of that theory from an Indian. Left to himself the Indian has no theories to propose to white men; and while the most garrulous people among themselves, they become silent at the approach of the white man, their natural enemy. Approach an Indian camp quietly and unobserved, and you hear the clatter of tongues and the laughter of children. The women chatter like white gossips and the children bubble over with fun. Indian children seldom if ever cry, and a brutal Indian father or mother is most unusual.

It is amusing to see an Indian mother unstrung the cradle from her back, take the child out, fill her mouth with water, eject it in a spray, and wash the vermin or dust from the child, which never even whimpers, carefully replace it, string it to her back, and trot along to catch up with the moving band. Again, she will take the child out when hot and cool it by blowing over it, and when cold in the winter she will also warm it by blowing her hot breath over it. Indian children seem to have the same secretive instincts as young mice and rats; they do not make any noise and give no sign of their presence. This is common to most wild animals. Young cats, puppies, colts, and calves, being domesticated animals, and white infants, make much noise from their birth. The silent Indian will, however, on the production of money, food, or clothing, forget his animosity to the whites until after the ownership of the visible object is settled, when he will become talkative; during this time almost any theory can be proven.

There is a theory or a legend that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona are daily waiting and watching for the coming of Montezuma. Rose-colored descriptions have been given of how the Indian rises from his couch, just before the orient blazes forth, and rises him up a ladder to the roof of his house, and there, in kneeling posture, with a longing look to the East, and with weary body awaits the rising of the sun and the coming of the expected Montezuma. Pictures have been painted of this scene, and much beautiful language used complimentary to the red man for this example of devotion and faith. The fact is, that this Pueblo red man rises from his couch (usually a sheep skin) and scrambles to the roof of his house, made of mud, because he is hungry and wants his breakfast. From the top of his castle, as the sun rises, he searches for his herd of goats and cows, which furnishes him with milk. After he discovers their location he returns to earth, rounds up his live stock, and gets his food; and another reason is that these pueblos or houses have no ventilators or windows, and the red men, women, and children rise and escape early in the morning to get a breath of fresh air, or are called by the town crier, under assignment to labor.

Like many Indian legends made by white men, this Montezuma waiting story is pretty, but it is not true. These same self-supporting Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, citizens of the United States and progressive, while nominally Catholics, are at heart self-reliant wild men and women, and hold to their ancient forms and beliefs. In some of the New Mexico pueblos there are Catholic churches with priests, but at the same time there are estufas for old Indian religious ceremonies, which are carefully looked after by the people.

The priest in some cases marries them by the ceremonies of his church, charges for it, and frequently immediately afterward they are remarried in the old Indian way. Sometimes prior to the dance and estufa ceremonies, lasting several days, the priest is removed to a safe distance, placed under guard, and held a prisoner until the affair has ended, occasionally he is picketed on a hillside like a donkey.

The Indian is superstitious, but superstition is not by any means common to savage races. In fact, many are lead to believe from observation that culture frequently breeds superstition. The Messiah craze of 1890 among the Indians was no worse than some of the isms among the whites.

The Indian is tenacious of his belief and customs. In past years too many attempts have been made to correct Indian forms and observances, not heeding the fact that many of these are the results of long established and serious beliefs.

In an account of the state of the missions newly settled by the Jesuits in California, by Father Francis M. Picolo, made to the royal council at Gaudalaxa, in Mexico, February 10, 1702, is this reference to the religion of the Indians of California in 1697:

"The Californians [Indians] are a very lively people, and fond of joking. This we found when we first began to instruct them. They, whenever we committed any error in speaking their language, laughed at and jeered us;

but now, that we are better acquainted, they correct us, whenever we commit a fault, in the civillest manner, and whenever we explain some mystery or article in morality which interfered with their prejudices or ancient errors, they wait till the preacher has ended his discourse and then will dispute with him in a forcible and sensible manner. If cogent reasons are offered they listen to them with great docility, and when convinced they submit and perform whatever is enjoined on them. They did not seem to have any form of government, nor scarce anything like religion or a regular worship. They adore the moon, and cut their hair (to the best of my remembrance) when that planet is in the wane, in honor of their deity. The hair which is thus cut off they give to their priests, who employ it in several superstitious uses. Every family enacts its own laws at pleasure, and this possibly may be the cause of the frequent contests and wars in which they are engaged with one another."

Some of the surroundings of the attempts at christianizing the American Indians in later days were not calculated to inspire particular confidence in the promised "peace on earth and good will to men" to come from the adoption of the creed preferred by the white man. The nonprogressive, those who believed in holding on to the old Indian ways, frequently had strong arguments to use with their people against change and conforming to the ways of the whites. Willing ears listened to the recital of these incidents and willing hearts carried them over the plains or in the groves to roaming Indians from the Gulf to the Lakes. The story of the massacre of the Christian Indians at Gnadenuhuten, in what is now Ohio, March 8, 1782, was a treasured morsel by the old Indians, and was repeated to admiring listeners along the northern frontier from 1782 until 1810, and greatly aided Tecumseh and his Winnebagoes in inciting the northern frontier Indians to revolt. The story of the murder of the ninety men, women, and children at Gnadenuhuten threw the cause of Indian christianization back fifty years. Of this massacre Charles McKnight, in *Our Western Border One Hundred Years Ago*, says:

"The whole massacre leaves a stain of deepest dye on the page of American history. It was simply atrocious and execrable, a blistering disgrace to all concerned, utterly without excuse, and incapable of defense. It damns the memory of each participator to the last syllable of recorded time; all down the ages the massacre of the innocents will be its only parallel."

The North American Indian, a child of nature, seems to possess a peculiar logic, and it seems to have been born in him.

"On a visit to the Dacotah mission, in 1859, a scalp dance was held near the mission house. I was indignant. I went to Wabasha, the head chief, and said: 'Wabasha, you asked me for a missionary and teacher. I gave them to you. I visit you, and the first sight is this brutal scalp dance. I knew the Chippeway whom your young men have murdered; he had a wife and children; his wife is crying for her husband; his children are asking for their father. Wabasha, the Great Spirit hears his children cry. He is angry. Some day He will ask Wabasha, 'Where is your red brother?' The old chief smiled, drew his pipe from his mouth, blew a cloud of smoke upward, and said: 'White man go to war with his own brother in the same country; kill more men than Wabasha can count in all his life. Great Spirit smiles; says, 'Good white man; he has my book; I love him very much; I have a good place for him by and by.' The Indian is a wild man; he has no Great Spirit book; he kills one man; has a scalp dance; Great Spirit is mad, and says, 'Bad Indian; I will put him in a bad place by and by.' Wabasha don't believe it.'"—*Bishop H. B. Whipple*, Minnesota, April, 1860.

The Indian usually soon perceives the attempt to convert him to the white man's creeds and resists it with vigor.

On the reservations the Indian is cunning enough to see that he may reap some personal advantage by getting the agent and missionary at loggerheads, and to this end he frequently works. All the reservation Indian's aims and means are directed toward the acquisition of material things, things brought to him by others. A church on a reservation which clothes its Indian school children and has other material aids gets a full attendance. Komo, a Ute Indian, while explaining that he and his people were nominally Christians, unwittingly gave the reason when he said, "Oh, we go down to Salt Lake City once a year, get baptized, and get blankets!" At the present time church-attending Indians on the reservations are called by the whites "pork and flour Indians," as these commodities are sometimes distributed to them.

In connection with the ghost or messiah dance during 1890-1891, an Indian wrote to the editor of the Chicago Tribune as follows:

"QUAPAW MISSION, IND. T., December 2, 1890.

"You say, 'If the United States Army would kill a thousand or so of the dancing Indians there would be no more trouble.' I judge by the above language that you are a Christian and do all in your power to advance the cause of Christ. You are doubtless a worshiper of the white man's Saviour, but are unwilling that the Indians should have a messiah of their own. The Indians have never taken kindly to the Christian religion as preached and practiced by the whites. Do you know why this is the case? Because the Good Father of all has given us a better religion, a religion that is all good and no bad, a religion that is adapted to our wants. You say, if we are good, obey the Ten Commandments, and never sin any more, we may be permitted eventually to sit upon a white rock and sing praises to God forevermore, and look down upon our heathen fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters who are howling in hell. It won't do. The code of morals as practiced by the white race will not compare with the morals of the Indians. We pay no lawyers or preachers, but we have not the one-tenth part of crime that you do."

"If our messiah does come we shall not try to force you into our belief. We will never burn innocent women at the stake or pull men to pieces with horses because they refuse to join in our ghost dances. You white people had a messiah, and, if history is to be believed, nearly every nation has had one. You had twelve apostles; we have eleven, and some of those are already in the military guardhouse. We also have a Virgin Mary, and she is in the guardhouse. You are anxious to get hold of our messiah so you can put him in iron. This you may do. In fact, you may crucify him as you did that other one, but you can not convert the Indians to the Christian religion until you contaminate them with the blood of the white man. The white man's heaven is repulsive to the Indian nature, and if the white man's hell suits you, why, you keep it. I think there will be white rogues enough to fill it."

"Hoping that our messiah will come soon, and prove all that his prophets have proclaimed him, I remain your most obedient,

"MESSE HADJO OR JOHN DAYLIGHT."

An Indian headman in 1891, when visited by an official, who mentioned that dancing among the Indians was not looked upon with favor by the authorities, said:

"White men dance when they please; why shouldn't an Indian? When I was down in Washington, some years ago, I called at the council house and saw the President. It was at nighttime, and a lot of women were walking around. They were about half dressed, the top of their bodies being exposed in such a way that an Indian woman would be ashamed to do; yet I found that these half-dressed women were the wives of big chiefs, and called themselves good women and went to church. I expect they were the wives,

too, of some of the church men who want to stop Indians from dancing. White man takes mighty good care of himself and his own people; he better let other people alone with their harmless amusements."

It will be noted that the North American Indian is a person of much intellectual power, undeveloped or uncultivated as we understand it; he is as cunning as the wild beast or reptile; he holds tenaciously to what he believes to be his religious duty, and resists the white man's civilization or Christianity with all his power. He seems to have had no stages of progress as other recorded peoples have had; he appears not to have had the ambition or incentive to invent or construct beyond the merest minimum limits of wants and needs. If he is not a wild man, how is it that after years of education there are so many instances showing that he at the first opportunity returns to his old habits and traditions? As a rule, he is eminently a destructionist, not a constructionist, in the economic sense.

In considering the present reservation Indians, it is well to recall that it is several hundred years since Massasoit, Philip, or Powhatan lived; a shorter period since Brandt, Red Jacket, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, and Osceola were ruling chiefs; while Little Crow, Rain in the Face, Red Cloud, Scar Faced Charley, Joseph, Bannock Jim, and Sitting Bull are near neighbors.

There is no doubt or mystery about most of the North American reservation Indians in 1890. The Indian one now meets is a plain, every day, always present fact, and he is found to be eminently open and plain in one purpose, and that to get a living with as little effort as possible, in which purpose the present system of affairs aids him. The Indian is never so much in earnest as when at the national trencher. He begins when the food is before him and ends when it is all consumed; still, when compelled, Indians can live upon as little food as any people upon the earth.

A hundred or more years ago, in a report to the French academy, written by a competent and famous investigator, it was stated that "the North American Indian is an enigma," and this can in truth be written to-day. While an enigma he is of a magnificent race, and if civilized would be the ancestor of a mighty people. When we consider the ravages of disease, intermarriage, exposure, starvation, and the white man, and then consider the number of Indians now here, as against the number at the advent of the European on this continent, the Indian would seem to be a startling example of the survival of the fittest. War fits his nature, is his occupation by selection, and apparently by design, and gives him fame. His heroes are warriors, and so tradition and fact encourage him to follow war as a recreation or profession.

The key to the American Indian's resistance to the white man occupying his country and utilizing its resources, and then attempting to control him, lies in the fact that being the original occupant and owner of the lands he can not see why he should give way, go to the wall, or move to parts unknown. He can not understand the profit to come to him and his by his being despoiled first and absorbed afterwards. With his limited experience he can not understand why so much should be exacted of him, and so little be done of a practical nature by those receiving most of the benefits. Centuries of living by roaming, war, and the consuming of the wild products of nature have not especially fitted him for readily accepting Anglo-Saxon civilization. What is offered him in place of his old life? What other means of support are given him? What chance is he to have in the battle of life against the culture of the white man?

The Indian's battle has been for the control of the heart of a continent. As the white man presses him and certain death or absorption stares him in the face, his tribal history, his past life and methods rise before him. He could not, would not, and does not, with few exceptions, realize the necessity for change. It was bred in his bone that labor is dishonorable. The approach, demands, and requirements of civilized life foretold to him the end of the old Indian life, and the curling smoke from the settler's hut the doom of his unrestrained liberty. Up to this time the Indian had been a good man, there being no Anglo-Saxon standard of good or bad for comparison, for sin comes with the law and definition. Moral training such as we know he never knew, and he does not know to this day. His method of warfare, fierce and brutal, was born in him. Then he met force with force, reason with the knife, and logic with his club or gun, and he uses the same methods now. Then he was a good man until something he did not like or understand met him, and then, as now, the good man became a howling savage. The first tender of our advancing civilization he met with surprise and then resistance, and so for almost three hundred years unceasing war has followed. If quiet in one place, he is growing or in revolt in another.

In almost all of the pioneer movements to the West the crack of the rifle was heard while the glitter of the hoe was seen. As the Indian felt the presence and weight of this new civilization all of his past history and present life crowded upon him and he revolted, because he could see that his race was about to be covered with a cloud that would eventually engulf it. The white man's clutch was on his throat; the ideal Indian life was about to become practical. With the advancing lines of white men it took no prophet to proclaim the Indian's doom. With clenched teeth, and club or gun in hand, he places his back to the rock and dies in resistance. And such a death!

As has been stated, it is not probable that the present area of the United States since the white man came has contained at one time more than 500,000 Indians. High estimates were made in early days, but the average even then was about 1,000,000. In 1890 we have about 248,000 civilized and uncivilized Indians.

Through almost four centuries warlike bands resisted, and many of these Indians are still resisting progress. How defiantly they met death! They died silently, without a groan, amid the shouts of murdered white men and women, the groans of butchered children, the roar of the cannon, and the crack of the rifle.

Over the old hunting ground, across the silvery streams which thread the brown barrens and plains, up the tall mountains among the towering pines to the snow-capped and sun-touched summits, in the land once the home of his people, the Indian of to-day can cast only a longing eye, and reflect. The plains are silent to the tread of the old Indian host; no monuments or structures tell their story, no footprints in the rocks, no piles of carved or sculptured stone speak of their patience, ingenuity, or their presence. The streams run as of yore, but, while softly creeping to the sea, sing no song and speak no word of the olden times. The nodding pine and ash along the mountain side bend and bow a welcome to the newcomer, but are silent as to the past. The canyon and mountain recess shelter as of old, but speak not.

For the remaining Indian the painter, the museum, and the art preservative alone can tell the story. Even nature, the Indian's god, is silent as to him, and speaks not. Such has been his life, such the results, that if the entire remaining Indians were instantly and completely wiped from the face of the earth they would leave no monuments, no buildings, no written language (save one), no literature, no inventions, nothing in the arts or sciences, and absolutely nothing for the benefit of mankind. A few small graves and unimportant structural ruins and enigmas met the gaze of the white man four hundred years ago. The past of the Indian was sealed even then, and apparently to the Indian as well as to the white man; and this condition remains to this time. Thus far the North American Indians have been (judg-

ing by conditions and results) the God and man forsaken race of the earth, and through circumstances useless beings in the economy of nature.

All of the Indian past is now largely reflection and retrospection, an epic preserved by legend and story. Crooning squaws and tottering old men on reservations, in most cases in squalor, rags, and hunger, retell the fierce battles of their people, each tale exaggerated with age, every person mentioned being a hero; all now legend and myth. These past Indian splendors and glories can never come again; but the Indian does not realize it, and so he invokes their return with his ghost or messiah dance.

Events, incidents, and great war feasts may be mentioned, but the absorbing and destroying Anglo-Saxon has his deadly grip upon the North American Indian, and time alone is wanted to set his eyes in death; and for the Indian, even while living, the glory of Egypt hath departed.

There are not ten tribes of any of the two hundred or more now in the United States but what have been in revolt, and those existing as tribes are now remnants, with a few exceptions, too poor or too few to fight, or they consider it too dangerous.

Governmental Indian policy, although intended otherwise, has gone arm in arm with war, murder, and failure, and the Government is at present engaged in trying to civilize and control the remnants of these once powerful tribes on reservations. Its hardest struggle is with the original Indian "nomads," the Indians of the plains or "fish eaters."

The Atlantic coast Indians (except a handful of Seminoles in Florida, semicivilized), the Cherokees in North Carolina, and some Indians on the Northern lakes, and the tribes of the Six Nations remaining in New York have long since ceased to be troublesome. Death, removal West, whisky, restraints of civilized life, and smallpox and other diseases have destroyed the great mass of the North American Indians from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River.

The Pacific coast fish-eaters and root-diggers are now peaceable, having been thoroughly whipped, and are progressive and almost entirely self-supporting.

The Five Civilized Tribes (the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles in Indian Territory), once warlike and fierce, furnish no guide for comparison in the question of reservation Indian civilization. Because of being left to control themselves, intermarriage with whites and negroes, and the adoption of others into the tribes, the pure Indians are few, and the people are progressive. The Sioux, Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Navajos, and the Bannocks are on reservations, and doing as well as the poor country they occupy will permit.

The other reservation Indian tribes, even if disposed to war, are so surrounded by white settlements that a war would be of short duration.

The question of the moral and physical condition of the reservation Indians will not here be considered or presented in detail. This question would take volumes, especially if considered from the Anglo-Saxon view as to what moral condition is. In time there may be some relief; meanwhile death will remove many of the victims of fearful affliction. In our anxiety to keep the Indian quiet, having failed to civilize him, the moral and physical condition of these people has been considered secondary. Allotment, keeping him quiet, and education seem to be the methods now most popular.

The disappearance or removal of some tribes of Atlantic coast and Mississippi Valley Indians is given under "Tribes and Stocks," "Removal of tribes west of the Mississippi River," and "Reservation Indians." The section on "Citizen Indians" also gives data on the same and in a measure details as to the present condition of tribal remnants on the Atlantic coast.

The Indian service of the United States up to 1869 was the weakest branch of the civil service, morally and otherwise. Before that time, to get an Indian agency was considered by some as leading to wealth and comfort in old age. During the war of the rebellion the nation had but little time to see to the civil side of the Indian service. A few earnest men and women, however, held on to the subject. Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, in April, 1890, thus wrote of his efforts for the Indian in 1861-1865:

"In those early days my visits to Washington were oft-repeated stories of blighted hopes. I found President Lincoln a willing listener. I told him the story of the massacre of 1862, when 300 miles of our border was one track of blood. As I repeated the story of specific acts of dishonesty, the President said: 'Did you ever hear of the Southern man who bought monkeys to pick cotton? They were quick; their long, slim fingers would pull out the cotton faster than the negroes; but he found it took two overseers to watch one monkey. This Indian business needs ten honest men to watch one Indian agent.'"

"From the martyred President I received the highest compliment ever paid to me. He said to a friend: 'As I listened to Bishop Whipple's story of robbery and shame, I felt it to my boots; and, rising to his full height, he said: 'If I live, this accursed system shall be reformed.' He would have done it."

"Secretary Stanton said to Gen. Halleck: 'What does Bishop Whipple want? If he came here to tell us that our Indian system is a sink of iniquity, tell him we all know it. Tell him the United States Government never redresses a wrong until the people demand it. When he reaches the heart of the people the Indians will be saved.'"

When President Grant, in 1869-1870, placed his hand upon the Indian system it was about at its worst. It was a makeshift and an emergency result. Nomadic tribes were recognized and solemn treaties were made with wild men, of which, through imperfect interpreting, they knew but little, and these same treaties were frequently the lever to open the public treasury to the white man's plunder. The advisory power of chiefs had been put away. The system was powerless to punish crimes against Indians, and it gave no protection to Indian property, person or life, and by the practical operation of the reservation system the Indians were made paupers and continued so up to 1869.

What the United States Indian service was prior to 1869 can be imagined upon reading the following statement by Bishop H. P. Whipple, who, in his Appeal for the Red Man, thus spoke of the Indian service and policy of the United States prior to 1869:

"There is not a man in America, who ever gave an hour's calm reflection to this subject, who does not know that our Indian system is an organized system of robbery and has been for years a disgrace to the nation. It has left savage men without governmental control; it has looked on unconcerned at every crime against the law of God and man; it has fostered savage life by wasting thousands of dollars in the purchase of paint, beads, scalping knives, and tomahawks; it has fostered a system of trade which robbed the thrifty and virtuous to pay the debts of the indolent and vicious; it has squandered the funds for civilization and schools; it has connived at theft; it has winked at murder; and at last, after dragging the savage down to a brutishness unknown to his fathers, it has brought a harvest of blood to our door."

The last sentence referred to the Sioux massacre in 1863, and was the good bishop's view of that dreadful event.

One of the most absurd and senseless cries that has recently gone up about our Indian policy is the present one of the "dishonest Indian agent." The agent is made responsible for all wrongs and failures; he is called a thief, a robber, and a maltreater of the poor red man. There are 133,417 Indians living on reservations; to these there are about fifty-four active agents;

they are administrative officers only; they do not usually purchase articles of food for the Indians, except in emergencies, and then by order of the Commissioner; they have no money belonging to the Indians, and are bonded officers; if they steal they can not sell the plunder without detection. The old-time Indian agent sometimes had an open field. The system as to Indian agents and their opportunities has entirely changed within twenty years. The cry of "dishonest Indian agent" is an old one, and comes from conditions changed many years ago. The present Indian agent is closely watched by missionaries, by agents of the Indian Rights Association, by school teachers, by a special corps of inspectors, by army officers (when on the reservations), and by the Indians themselves. The suggestion is here made that these agents are as honest as any other fifty-four citizens of the United States.

It is unjust to lay the shortage of rations or clothing or supplies for the Indians on the men who never receive them; who never have them to issue, and who only issue what is sent them, provided by Congress; especially is it unjust to charge the failure of an inefficient or slow system on men who have only to execute it. Congress alone can change the present system; and in view of the facts it is cowardly and unworthy to denounce a body of worthy men who stand with their lives in their hands in their daily intercourse with and control of the North American reservation Indian. From personal knowledge, the present system (excepting one feature) is as good and efficient as it can be made under existing law.

In 1890-1891 there was much discussion as to the employes of the Indian service, and it was asserted that they were dishonest and inefficient. Many really earnest people believed this. The Cambridge (Mass.) Civil Service Reform Association, becoming alarmed, on January 31, 1891, sent a letter to President Harrison on the subject. The President replied as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, February 4, 1891.

"GENTLEMEN: I have received by the hand of Senator HOAR the communication addressed to me by the officers of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, and in reply beg to say that your suggestions will have my respectful attention. Your reference to the recent outbreak among the Sioux as affording convincing evidence of a necessity of a change in the manner of appointing the officials of the Indian Bureau, leads me to say that I have not found, in a very full examination of all the facts from all sources, evidence of any deterioration in the Indian service. On the other hand, the Board of Indian Commissioners, through Merrill E. Gates, their chief, have, as a result of close observation, declared to me, under date of January 10, last, 'that upon the whole the Indian service is now in better condition than ever before.'"

"The object of their communication was to urge the extension of civil service rules to the Indian service, but they were careful to recognize that the argument was not to be found in any special or recent incident, but in the broader fact that the work among the Indians is educational and philanthropic, and should therefore be separated from party politics.

"I may add that before any special appeal had been made to me from any source the subject of including Indian agency clerks and employes in the classified service had been under consideration.

"Very respectfully yours,

"BENJAMIN HARRISON."

The following rule was made in relation to certain of the Indian service employes, October 1, 1891:

"The classified Indian service shall include all the physicians, school superintendents, assistant superintendents, school teachers, and matrons in that service, classified under the provisions of the act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States, approved January 16, 1883."

THE COLONIAL AND NATIONAL INDIAN POLICY TO 1890.

The Europeans who first met the Indians had no policy in their treatment of them. Some came to convert heathen, others for gold and silver, others for religious liberty, and others for the glory of their sovereigns, and to add new domains to home areas. The Indian wondered at these variety of interests and at the many and curious kinds of white men. His wonder grew when he became better acquainted with the whites, and during the past four hundred years his amazement has not decreased. When the colonies were organized, the Indians within them were managed by the separate colonial authorities. There was but little difficulty then in managing the Indians, considering the large area of unoccupied lands and the small number of whites. After 1789 the United States Government assumed charge of the Indians.

All nations in control of this continent and north of Florida, excepting what is now California, New Mexico, and Arizona, recognized the Indian as primarily the owner of the soil, and considered that his title to the land must be extinguished before any disposition could be made of it, which was usually done by a treaty between chiefs and headmen of tribes and representatives (generally soldiers) of the contracting nation.

The United States has never considered public domain public lands and extended the land disposition or settlement laws over them until the Indian title was extinguished. The United States only permits Indian tribes to sell their own lands to itself. No citizen can purchase land of an Indian without authority from Congress. The right and supremacy of the Government to do this has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, and is now an accepted fact.

Up to 1890 the United States has made about 450 treaties and agreements with 157 tribes of those once or now within its borders. How many of these have been kept? Have any been kept? The policy, begun in 1789 and continuing up to 1869, of recognizing the Indian tribes as separate nations was bad for the Indian. Treaties between nations generally depend for their proper execution on the fact that they have about the same sized armies and navies. The Indian had neither. In 1869 President Grant, at the suggestion of Gen. P. H. Sheridan, put an end to treaty making with the Indian nations, which action was confirmed by Congress in 1871, and they became wards of the nation. Since 1789 the Indian has had eight distinct kinds of policies tried upon him by the United States Government:

First. They were treated as separate and independent nations, and treaties were made with them by the War Department.

Second. The frontier was so extensive, and the area of land so large back of it, that early in the century the Government saw but little of the Indians, except when they came into the forts and posts. It then presented them with swords, guns, knives, pistols, and tomahawks, and red paint to deck themselves for war, probably in the hope that they would kill one another. A line of houses, posts, or warehouses were built on the frontier and occupied by Government agents called factors, and the Government was alone permitted to trade with the Indian and receive the profit of the trade with him. This was abandoned in 1822. A general superintendent of Indian affairs, authorized by law in 1822, resided at St. Louis, Mo.

Third. His control in an indefinite way by the War Department until 1849, and being under the generals commanding departments, districts, divisions, or portions of the country, and being used sometimes in Indian wars as an ally, the War Department also supplying him with arms and ammunition. A civic commissioner was over him in the War Department after 1832.

Fourth. The creation of the home or Interior Department in 1849 necessitated the transfer of bureaus from several departments to make this new one. The Indian Bureau was among those transferred, and the Indian came under civil rule, where he still continues. Commissioners appointed from civil life now made treaties with the Indians.

Fifth. The organizing the Indians within a State or Territory under a superintendency. In Territories the territorial governor was sometimes the superintendent, but in the States the superintendent was appointed by the President. The agencies and reservations were under an agent who reported directly to the superintendent, he reporting to the Indian Office at Washington. Under such a system there was a fine opportunity for gathering much plunder. In 1869 President Grant took up the Indian question, and soon abolished the superintendencies and made the agents directly responsible to the Indian Office at Washington. The experiment was tried in 1869-1870 of assigning the several reservations to denominations. The churches selected the agents and President Grant appointed them. It proved a failure in two years and was abandoned.

Sixth. The reservation system: Insisting by treaty and otherwise, beginning extensively in 1868, that the Indians stop roaming, assigning them reservations of land upon which they moved, and agreeing solemnly, in most cases with the Indian, that such reservations should be permanent. Public necessity, constant demand of the settlers, encroachment of the whites, the objection to a large number of wild Indians living as tribes within the center of population, caused the Government in 1887 to pass the allotment act, forcing the Indians to take lands in severalty, and paying them a compensation for the remainder of the reservation, thus destroying their reservation and tribal condition, the amount to be paid being fixed by the United States, also agreeing to many other things for the Indian, and still retaining the agent on the reservation.

Seventh. The agriculturalizing of Indians by Congressional enactment: Since 1849 issuing food and clothes and agricultural implements and some cattle to the Indians, the payment of annuities and the establishment of schools and a number of experimental efforts (such as trying to make Indians farmers and mechanics, whether fitted or not), now discovered to be mainly in the wrong direction, has been the Indian policy. In this there has been a shifting from point to point and drifting with the Indian, and only when running up against his gun or knife was there a halt to look the field over, and take an account of stock.

Eighth. The educational and allotment policy now in full operation and the enlistment of Indians in the United States Army. The educational policy began in 1819 with an appropriation for \$10,000, which was increased in 1876 to \$20,000. In 1891 the cost was about \$2,000,000 per year. It embraces several features, the education of children of citizen Indians, reservation Indians, in fact all Indian children; this policy contemplates the education of about 18,000 children. No one can now estimate its future cost (not less than \$3,000,000 per year for ten years) or its practical results. There are Indian schools on the several reservations conducted by teachers paid by the nation, and Indian schools on the reservations or near them conducted by denominations, who receive \$150 per year or more for each Indian pupil. There are also a number of industrial schools, like Carlisle, Pa.; Genoa, in Nebraska, and the one near Salem, Oregon, where the pupils cost \$157 or \$180 each per year. These are solely under the charge of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Some private schools throughout the country are also paid an annual sum for the care of Indian pupils, as are local school boards in some of the States and Territories.

Seven of the above policies have been emphatic failures, one succeeding the other as a necessity. Will the eighth or present one prove a failure also? Will the education of 12,000 or 18,000 Indian school children civilize more than 110,000 adult Indians?

The educational policy also contemplates the building, or, when built, the extension, of industrial or Indian schools at all of the present agencies, the superintendent of the schools to be bonded, and to receive a small additional annual compensation, thus taking the place of the Indian agent. This has been done at the Hoopa Valley, Eastern Cherokee, and Moqui Agencies. It is a change of name merely and not of the system in the matter of the Indian agent.

As to allotment and its origin, the principle is an old one with the Indians. Cadillac put it in active operation in Detroit in 1701-1710. In 1880-1883 the expert special agent, in the Public Domain, suggested the following:

"The settlement of the question as to whether lands are to be given to the Indians in severalty for settlement. It is immaterial for this purpose whether they are to be allotted to the individual or the tribe. The area is the question. It is probable that almost two-thirds of the area at present embraced in Indian reservations will be thrown into the public domain for settlement or disposition. The remainder, above the wants of the Indians, should be taken by the nation, say, at \$1.25 per acre, and a trust fund created with the proceeds. The interest, payable four times a year, will be ample, coupled with the results of their own labor, to maintain the Indians. An army officer could disburse it, and the Indians be at once removed from the need of annual legislation."

The enlistment of Indians as soldiers in the United States Army has proved a success. In 1892 more than 800 Indians were enlisted.

A great difficulty, and probably the greatest, in Indian progress or attempts at their civilization, is the fact that practically all such efforts come from outside sources, either from the Government or from white people, which are met usually by the serious opposition of the Indians. These tenders, coming from those the Indian considers his natural enemies, arouse his suspicion. No aid to any extent for a long time past in this struggle has come from the Indians excepting the Indian police, paid by the nation, who have for ten years past aided a little. Revolutions do not begin from the outside. To be effective they must arise and be led and carried into effect from within a people, government, or nation. The governmental educated reservation Indian has not as yet appeared as the Moses to lead his people in new ways of peace and progress.

ADVANCE OF RESERVATION INDIANS, 1890.

Ability to support themselves alone is not proof of advance of Indians toward civilization, because they might support themselves by the chase or hunting and fishing. The best tests of Indian advance toward civilization are their adoption of the white man's dress and habits, of their engaging in agriculture or the mechanical arts, and in consenting to the education of their children. Judged by two of these three standards, the reservation Indians of the United States to June 30, 1890, have made but little progress toward Anglo-Saxon civilization. Of the about 60,000 who wear citizens' dress, about 10,000 have adopted the white man's best habits. Only a nominal number of the unallotted 133,417 reservation Indians are put down as agriculturists, and these are included in the 98,632 who earn their own living on the reservations by hunting, fishing, and root-digging. Four-fifths of these are of the last three classes.

As to the schools, the reservation Indians are not partial to them, and, under the authority of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in past years rations have been withheld from the adults to force them to send the children to school. Several wars growing out of these school matters have been averted by President Harrison, Secretary Noble, and Gen. A. McD. Cook during the past two years. It is not easy to tell how much the majority of

the present reservation Indians have advanced up to 1890. It is to be hoped that the Indian census of 1890 will be a starting point from which many things may be determined as to the progress or retrogression of the reservation Indians. At present many of them are in a most dependent and wretched condition, viewed from an Anglo-Saxon standpoint.

One of the best evidences that some of the reservation Indians are approaching the lines of civilization is that they are beginning to place a value on their time. In 1889 or 1890 Chief John Gail said to Hon. Charles Foster, ex-governor of Ohio, who was a member of a commission to treat with the Sioux, that his time was valuable, and if he must talk with the commission it would cost \$10 per day.

Indian Commissioner T. J. Morgan, at the Yuma Reservation, California, was informed in October, 1890, by Chief Magill (Miguel or Spakoter) of the Yumas that it would cost \$5 to converse with him.

The actual progress of reservation tribes can only be ascertained by reading the reports of Indian agents for twenty or thirty years back and then visiting the reservations. From year to year rosy and expectant views were found in these reports. The reforms promised are lovely. Each succeeding agent makes many promises of change and reform, and tells how he intends to improve things. From these reports one necessarily expects much, and imagines that an Arcadian condition of life exists on reservations. Visit one of these modern Arcadian resorts, and you will usually find the same old Indian described by our fathers. The truth is, the adult Indian who has advanced the most is the one whom the Government has had least to do with. The education of 12,000 to 18,000 reservation Indian school children alone will not feed and civilize 60,000 or 70,000 adult dependent reservation Indians; neither will sand banks or deserts furnish them with homes on which to make a living. The tables of statistics and the special agents' reports will answer as to the reservation Indian's actual condition in 1890.

Has the Government of the United States done anything for the Indians? The nation has done a great deal for the Indian; but no nation has ever before had such a man to civilize. His intellectual capacity, of a high order, coupled with the instincts and brutalities of an unrestrained wild man, has made him the most savage of men. The Indian has hated the nation intensely, and the white people of it he has made his victims. The Army alone has had any respect from him, and this because it is the embodiment of force.

"The Indians do not and can not love us; and seeing the little regard paid to engagements which they at least had considered as binding on both parties, they look on all the acts of Government with a jealous eye."—*Albert Gallatin, 1836.*

To illustrate the Indian's resistance to the civilization of the white man, and his indisposition to even go upon a reservation, the following extract from an article by Gen. Nelson A. Miles, published in the *North American Review* for January, 1891, is of value:

"The first time the writer met Sitting Bull was under a flag of truce between the lines, when he had a thousand warriors behind him; and during the conversation I think he expressed in a few words the true sentiment of the Indian. He was what might be considered a devout man, frequently offering a little prayer and saluting the Great Spirit. One remark of his is certainly significant. Raising his eyes toward Heaven, he said: 'God Almighty made me an Indian, and he did not make me an agency Indian, and I do not intend to be one.' That remark was indorsed by huge grunts of the stalwart savages within hearing, and it is the sentiment of the montreaty, disaffected Indians of every tribe in every section of the great West. They prefer to be Indians in their wild and independent life rather than to be confined to the limits of any agency."

During the past century, considering all the Indian's shortcomings from an Anglo-Saxon standpoint, and reviewing his life, no author of character or speaker of note has been found bold enough to even attempt to excuse or vindicate the Indian policy of the colonists or of the nation.

The language of some of the Indian treaties, considered with the subsequent facts, are humorous. A reader would suppose from the language of these treaties that the Indian was in the hands of a just and equitable people. The facts are exactly the reverse. For confirmation of this, see the report of the Indian peace commission of 1868.

THE RESERVATION INDIANS, 1890.

The North American Indian was the finest type of the wild man the white man had ever met. He differed from the African wild man in this: The African in many cases looked up to and imitated the white man; the Indian looked down upon the white man with the utmost contempt, and does to this day.

The Government of the United States, in war, legislation, or peace, has been in mortal combat with a man and not a child in this Indian question, especially in trying by act of Congress to make him forget, and to change his life, his habits, and characteristics.

In the final settlement of the Indian question there need be no mistake made, and the idea of reparation can be lost sight of. Instilling such an idea in the Indian's mind in the past has worked great injury to his progress. In illustration, an official circular of instructions to Indian agents in regard to inculcation of patriotism, of December 10, 1889, after directing that Indian school children be instructed in the elements of American history and as to worthy historic characters, says:

"While in such study the wrongs of their (the Indians') ancestors can not be ignored, the injustice which the race has suffered (from the Americans) can be contrasted with the larger future open to them, and their duties and opportunities, rather than their wrongs, will most profitably engage their attention."

The constant repetition to the Indians of their people's wrongs, or alleged wrongs, was hardly ever the best way to inculcate in them feelings of kindness toward a dominant ruling class. The American Indian of the present day, however, is not caring as much about the wrongs of his ancestors as he is about his daily bread. As long as the nation will feed, clothe, and care for him he does not care much about what or how his grandfather suffered. Still, such reminders to a people accustomed to running amuck with gun and pistol would not seem to be judicious; and besides, the Indian is quick enough to perceive the error in this and to take advantage of it.

There is no sentiment involved in the closing up of the Indian question. It is not necessary to recall Indian wrongs nor to tell lying children of the wickedness of their ancestors. It is now a question of right and justice, and of the commonest kind. The equity of the case lies beneath a load of useless treaties, laws, and obsolete customs. This nation needs no sentimental appeal to do its duty. Congress simply needs hammering at by night and by day by earnest men who have a complete and satisfactory plan of settlement of this question, a plan which will close up the entire matter and cause the disappearance of the word Indian from our statutes; administration will then follow.

The word American should be large enough to inclose the man, woman, or child whose ancestors once owned the lands of the continent. We welcome foreigners to citizenship, why not native Americans? The best friend now to the Indian is the man or woman who desires that he be removed from the control of the nation and away from official contact. Knowledge of the

Indians is not now confined to a few, but his control is in the hands of a few. The railroad, telegraph, and printing press are in the vicinity of every reservation in the United States, and (but 15 or 16 of all the reservations are more than a day's travel from a railroad) these modern agents of civilization are affecting the Indian as they do the white man.

In the West the railroad and the telegraph now precede the immigrant, and the demand for lands for settlement forces the curtailment of the areas of Indian reservations and the allotment of the Indians to small holdings. All the conditions affecting the white people in the country about the reservations affect the Indian, and so a final policy should now be adopted, both as an act of justice and as a matter of right.

One of the absurdities in Indian administration is the constant recurrence in addresses of expressions of this kind: "The Great Father loves his Indian children." "The Great Father expects his Indian children to do this and that." "The Great Father chides his erring Indian children reluctantly."

Such expressions are puerile when addressed to these most cunning of men, many of whom have murdered in cold blood white women and children, the stains of the blood of their victims being still on their garments and the echo of their dying groans still in the ear. These same innocents, great, stalwart, able, thoughtful men, thus treated and lovingly addressed, at intervals take the United States Army and double it up in a scroll of fire, and have had the ability, for the last century, to outtalk and sometimes to outwit the ablest white men sent to them as commissioners. An evidence of the intellectual capacity of the Indian can be seen in the treaty the Cherokees made with a national commission in 1891.

Every Indian on a reservation above 10 years of age knows that the President is the President, and that he resides at Washington, and is to the Indian, in consequence of the mistaken policy of the past making the Indian a dependent, a deity who gives out things, and also pardons the red man after outbreaks, and who, answering and acting on the maudlin sentiment of mistaken sentimentality, frequently does great wrong to the Indian by not severely punishing some of them. This "Great Father" expression dwarfs men into children. Another feature of the present time is that the Indians on reservations read morning papers, discuss the news of the world, watch the acts of Congress, and in case of an outbreak, get the movements of the troops.

One visitor to a reservation in the fall of 1890, and just after the Congressional election, was taken aback at seeing an Indian wearing eyeglasses, sitting with his feet upon a table, reading a city journal of the same day, and he was partially paralyzed when this Indian, evidently with an eye to his food supply for the future, asked the visitor: "Do you think Mr. HOLMAN will be the next chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations?"

Many reservation Indians keep an eye open to the condition of the several reservations in their vicinity. When food is in abundance at a reservation there is at once a movement toward it by Indians of other tribes. The agent of the invaded reservation repels the invaders, aided by the Indian police. Unless this were done a well-supplied agency would be overrun.

The efforts of the United States toward a proper ending of Indian affairs should be directed entirely to the reservation Indians. The reservation Indians, other than those taxed (including the Six Nations of New York, the Eastern Band of Cherokees, the Five Civilized Tribes, the Moquis of Arizona, and the Pueblos of New Mexico), numbering 133,417, including allottees under charge of the Indian Office, are in twenty States and Territories, the administrative office being in Washington.

The reservation Indian's condition does not now require the shedding of tears for the past or promises for the future. Let us now do the just thing with these Indian remnants on reservations. There are less than 95,000 of them, not including the civilized and allotted Indians. We have tried almost every idea suggested to civilize and control them. Let us now make a general plan of right and justice and work to it rapidly.

We can learn much of value from the methods of the Dominion of Canada in handling its reservation Indians, 122,000 in number. (See elsewhere for the Indian policy of Canada.) There are within 11,000 of as many reservation Indians in the Dominion of Canada as there are in the United States. The total annual expense of this large number is but \$1,057,531.50. The reason for this is: (1) The Indians are considered and treated as men; (2) all treaties are kept with them, and (3) they are on good lands and are practically self-supporting. In the United States the reservation Indians in many cases are on sand banks and deserts, and in consequence of their many removals to make way for land hunters they have become almost natural tramps.

A proper Indian policy embraces both humane and business propositions, even if force has to be employed at times, which is frequently most effective. In the seventies Gen. George Crook, called Gray Fox by the Indians, the greatest Indian fighter the country has produced, had occasion to reprimand an Apache Indian named Manuel for inciting the young men to revolt on an Arizona reservation. Manuel, a smart Indian, but idle, worthless, and dangerous, became impudent. Crook knocked him down, called an officer and a squad of men, and placed him in the guardhouse. A week afterward Manuel was in a casement at Alcatraz, in San Francisco Harbor. There he remained two years. Gen. Crook after this wrote to Gen. John M. Schofield to send Manuel back to Arizona. Manuel, thinking he was to be executed on his return to Crook, when brought out of prison, said he preferred to be shot at Alcatraz. He was taken to Arizona and to Crook's headquarters. Crook said, "Ah, Manuel, you are back; come along, I want you."

Taking him to the river bank he said, "Here are arms, two horses, a bunch of cattle, and food enough for a few months. That house is yours, and also the land staked out around it. Now go to work and take care of your property." Surprised and astonished, the Indian went to work and became a man of means and was afterward a great aid to Gen. Crook in settling Apache Indian troubles. A year or so after this event another Apache, one Fonti, became troublesome, and one day was engaged in a row in the presence of Manuel. "Oh," said Manuel, "I know what you are after; you want Crook to knock you down, send you to Alcatraz, keep you two years, bring you back, and give you a ranch and a bunch of cattle. Oh, you want to be civilized by Crook."

The mental, physical, and moral condition of all reservation Indians does not fit them to the exact demands of laws made for cultivated Anglo-Saxons.

There are serious obstructions in the way of changing our Indian policy, and it is most difficult to make any essential changes in the Indian system of the United States. Interested parties prevent changes; besides, Indian agencies and reservations are a source of much profit and revenue to persons in their vicinity. The patronage is large. In 1873 Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, Secretary of the Interior (see House Executive Document No. 106, first session Forty-fourth Congress), sent to the House of Representatives a bill for the transfer of the Indians in the States of New York, North Carolina, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa from the control of the United States to the control of the several States named, within which said Indians were located. His reasons for the transfer were:

"In my opinion the Indians referred to have made such progress in the acquirement of education and industrial skill as to enable them to support themselves and to render it wise and proper to separate them from the guardianship and control of the Federal Government, that they may be made subject to the restraints and be endowed with the rights and privileges granted by State laws and regulations."

The scheme of transfer is set out in full in the bill. The United States

still hangs on to the unfortunate Indians in all of the above States except Michigan, where they are now caring for themselves, although not as well fitted to do so as the Indians of the other States named.

There is a mistaken idea in the inexperienced mind as to what an acre is west of the Missouri River. When orators and writers state the great number of acres contained in the 135 reservations of the 54 agencies at which live the 133,417 Indians in the 20 States and Territories, to wit, about 78,000,000 acres, the area seems simply enormous. Usually a reservation acre is not an arable acre as an acre East. Acres on most of these reservations mean huge sand banks, deserts or barrens, not one of which can be cultivated without irrigation. The great size of these reservations is due to the fact that it requires an immense area of such land to sustain life, and on some of the largest reservations (some of them 60 and 80 miles square) there are only 1 or 2 small streams and a few springs.

The condition of much of the reservation land is the cause of the Indian continuing a roamer. To get a livelihood he moves about on these reservations from point to point for water, grass, and fuel, living the meanwhile in tents or tepees of brush (when of canvas it is furnished by the Government). Only by this nomadic life can the Indian live upon most of these reservations. In Eastern minds acres are associated with productivity. An Eastern agricultural acre will usually sustain five cattle; in Utah, Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, Montana, and other arid regions 1,000 acres frequently will not sustain more than one head of stock. There is no growth without irrigation, except some native grasses, which are short lived when in season. The allotment of land to Indians on most of these reservations means giving them a desert or a piece of desert or a sand bank to starve on; land from which a coyote runs in howling terror and birds which are said to live on air hardly dare fly over.

Before lands are allotted to Indians it should be known and made a fact that they are arable. Build ditches, bore wells, and make them fit to live upon before you place the Indian on them. If the whites get control of the ditches make them deed a perpetual water right for the Indian lands. A large source of revenue to the Indian on many reservations is now derived from the sale of wild hay. This hay grows on marshes or lands close to river or stream banks which are subject to overflow. Under the allotment system the Indian could not live on the hay lands, and will be allotted on higher ground, so that unless irrigating ditches are built and the land made fit for cultivation the white man will secure the hay land and the money therefrom and the red man get the sand bank. Lands are not made to bear and blossom like the rose by act of Congress; and to make them fit for cultivation where there are no showers of rain it takes showers of gold. The irrigation of land is costly.

In 1886 the total number of Indian reservations was given as 144, containing 135,478,345 acres. Of this it was estimated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that 15,236,536 were tillable. In the 144 reservations were included the Pueblo grants, the Six Nations lands, and the holdings of the Five Civilized Tribes. The area of bad or arid land within the lines of these reservations was simply enormous.

As a curious fact, in this desert country of the West, or arid belt, one is constantly met with the cooing of doves. There are great numbers of these birds, no part of the American desert being free from them. They fly very rapidly in pairs, and their peculiar coo sounds like mourning notes. The Indians are superstitious as to these doves and their cooing.

The present system of allotment will abolish the reservations, and the sooner the better; still, the reservations are of service, as on them are gathered the nomadic Indians. The reservations were originated by John C. Calhoun while Secretary of War.

The reservation Indians are now governed by laws made by Congress and by rules laid down by the Indian Office. The Indians are punished or controlled by the agents, sometimes after the manner of school boys. The reservations on which the Indians live, although mostly within States, are not subject to all the State laws. They are almost "empires within an empire," and the Indian agent is supreme over them. Felonies committed on them are tried in State or United States courts. The Indian not being considered a citizen of the United States, but a ward of the nation, he can not even leave the reservation without permission.

In the past, at intervals of three, four, or five years, this civic control has proved ineffectual. When civil authority fails the soldiers are called in, and murder of settlers and war follow. When the Indians are whipped, they are again placed on the reservations under the control of the civic administration. The Indians rest, get tired of control, and after they fatten their horses, get good arms, and a supply of ammunition, another outbreak follows. We have had nine Indian wars in sixteen years. In ten years, up to March 4, 1882, Indian wars alone cost the Government of the United States \$202,994,506. In most of these wars the fault was not always with the Indian, but sometimes the result of two controlling powers in one government. The Indian should be controlled either by war or peace. In this enlightened age, and with all our past experience, we ought to be able to invent a plan of control for our Indians which should be as peaceful as that which controls other Americans. The last outbreak at Pine Ridge, in December, 1890, was not caused by the encroachments of settlers, but by the neglect of the Government to keep its treaties and its word.

The Indian has always been cunning enough to see the weak spots in the armor of our Indian policy and to take advantage of them. He has whetted his appetite for blood on Government rations, and at stated times satisfied it on settlers first and soldiers second, because our system permitted him to do so. In an outbreak he goes off the reservation to kill; when he gets through he returns to it and looks over the boundary and laughs at the settler, who can not come over after him. The soldiers are to keep the settlers off the reservations and the Indians on them.

The Indians on the reservations retain some old-time customs. Of the 133,417 reservation Indians, 1,534 men are given as polygamists, with 3,458 women living with them. With the male Indian polygamy is largely a means of gratifying a bestial appetite. Notwithstanding the rule with polygamists is 2 wives, with the Navajos there are reported 492 men living in polygamy with 1,080 wives, 413 of whom have 2 wives, 70 have 3, 7 have 4, 1 has 6, and 1 has 8. In 2 of the Navajo districts the polygamists were not reported, but they can be safely estimated as 103. There are probably with the Navajos 600 polygamists with at least 1,188 wives.

Let all the past in Indian matters be considered ancient history; the present and the future are enough. To force a closing up of this question there must be Indian aid societies of all creeds and opinions organized in the States and Territories where the Indians are as well as where they are not; but in this work do not let the Indian know much about them, or he will lean on them and live on them, for he is both a boarder and lodger when boarding and lodging are free. Congress while paying expenses will never consent to give citizens or associations of citizens control of Indian affairs, but citizens can demand of Congress justice for the Indian and do much in aiding officers to discharge their duties, but not by condemning them without a hearing and casting stones at them on mere suggestions.

The idea must be gotten out of the head of the Indian that because he lives on a reservation he is entitled to more consideration than the people of the surrounding States and Territories. Let the allotted wardship continue for a term in the United States courts after the nation is through, and let the local Indian rights associations keep the courts and officers up to their work. With this in view at least a third of the members of the con-

trolling boards of these several associations should be women. They usually keep things moving. Let the allotment of land go on; but see to it before the land is allotted that it is arable, and that it will sustain life in a grass-hopper or a crow.

See to it that irrigating ditches are built or artesian wells are sunk in cases where the lands are arid, and that white speculators and thieves or corporations do not get control of the water rights. Pay the Indian for the rest of the land above the allotment embraced in the reservation. Do not give all the money to him, but use a portion for farm implements, seeds, a house, cattle, horses, and a fair start in life, or move him entire where the land will not cost too much to improve. Most treaties have agreed to do this. Considering the allotted lands, and deducting them from the total area embraced in the present reservations, the remaining land would be worth about \$50,000,000, at \$1.25 per acre. This would be ample to put the Indians on their feet. Consider the bulk of the male Indians as mixed farmers, that is, with a house and some arable lands, and a herd of cattle, sheep, or horses to run on grazing land. Stop the children learning the Indian language.

Experience has demonstrated that not 1 in 10 of the present male reservation Indians want to be or can be farmers. Many can and will be laborers, say 1 in 80 mechanics, and 1 in 100 professional men. Not one Indian, it is said, shows even a disposition to become a lawyer. Along streams or on the ocean front Indians become fishermen, but the white man usually drives them off. Let the tendencies and habits of these people be considered and taken advantage of, and success must follow. Pay the Indian to build his own house; let him understand that the house, stock, agricultural implements, and land are his. Let the Indian know that he must work with head or hands; aid him to work, and, if necessary, force him to work. Depend upon the squaw as a great aid in this reform. Teach her to keep house, to cook, to sew and mend. Spend much of the time and money on her; make her the head of the house.

Millions have been wasted on the men. Try some on the women. Give them a start on a piece of land as well as the men. Remove the bad-natured, those indisposed to work, and entirely lazy Indians from reservations; send them far away to other Government reservations or distant States, and put them to work on fortifications, ditches, or roads. Care for the very young, the crippled, aged, and feeble in hospitals, or contract for the care of the same with the authorities in States and Territories; but above all these things, for the redemption and salvation of the Indians and the preservation of national honor and the public peace, as soon as possible, place the Indian beyond the necessity of control or handling by Congress. All movements, efforts, and actions should be directed to this end.

Work, which to other people means money and its benefits, many Indians utterly repudiate. Many of them, by nature, by training, and by cultivation (from the Anglo-Saxon standpoint) are ideal vagabonds. The Indian in his attempt at ease and elegance is the savage parallel of the Saxon, except in wealth. The vagabond Indian's idea of work was well given by Chief Jack to Maj. Steele of the Army in 1879, a few days before the Utes of Colorado murdered one of their friends, N. G. Meeker. Meeker had encouraged to ask the Utes to work; he was the agent in charge of them. Chief Jack in this matter of work spoke for most of his Indians: "Meeker say 'Ute must work.' Ute say 'Meeker, plow no more.' Ute no work. Ute no like work. Ute no school. Ute hate school. Ute fight. Ute heap fight." The Utes did fight. Mr. Meeker was murdered and some scores of soldiers killed.

This is the class of men the Government is expected to make earn their own living by manual labor and by farming, an uncongenial work. Except labor be congenial, white men even fail. Why should not an Indian fail when tied to uncongenial pursuits? If he is not a farmer, and he is not, make him a laborer or a herder. Let the squaw attend to the home, and teach her and the children to tend the garden and raise food enough for the family, while the male Indian tends the herds; but turning the Indian loose without horses, cattle, sheep, or land will not help him to work; by providing him with these things he is shown the necessity for work; to save and care for his own property. Give him some responsibility in a money sense, guarding it legally for a time after you do so. If this be not done grants to him will only be gifts to whites in his neighborhood.

One of the current errors is that the United States Army lies awake devising means to kill the Indians. The fact is that the Indian would have long since been a thing of the past but for the Army. The Army on the frontier has kept the settlers from destroying him; the Army has been the Indian's best friend. What honor is there to the officers or men of the United States Army in an Indian war? What honor in fighting wild men, who use every artifice known to the savage? It is a mistaken idea that the Army wants to kill or murder the Indians. No brave man seeks a fight. It is about the last thing he desires. A soldier knows his fate if he gets into the clutches of the Indian, and so in war he tries to prevent torture and suffering by exterminating him root and branch.

When the Army fights Indians its best policy is to clean up all in front of it. The Indian does not respect the Army if it does not do this. The Indian kills all, from the strong man to the unborn infant. In Indian wars, the United States Army, both officers and men, to be successful must come down to the exact level of the Indian and use his methods. In this connection the query arises, What do we keep an army for? Why, mostly to govern and kill the Indians. A nation which governs a portion of its people by the rifle and cannon would seem to be a little out of joint in this age of the world. Settle the Indian question properly, and a large portion of the Army can be dispensed with. Each soldier costs \$1,000 a year. Every Indian costs about \$25 a year; so that under the present methods we hire a \$1,000 soldier to watch a \$25 Indian.

Idleness is the condition of two-thirds of the North American reservation male Indians. Their stomachs are empty and their head and hands are idle. If these two conditions would not ruin an Anglo-Saxon and make a bad citizen of him history and example are entirely false. The progress and salvation of any people depend upon the head and hands being busy and their stomachs full. Feeding the intellect is of no service unless the stomach be filled at the same time.

One of the greatest difficulties in executing any Indian policy on behalf of the Government is the fact that the executive officers charged with the duty of control have not enough discretionary authority, and they are far removed from the seat of war. The annual Indian appropriation law names the tribes, the service, the number of agents, and the amounts to be expended for each tribe; it fixes the entire system; Congress is very tenacious as to this. In many cases of emergency neither the President nor the Secretary of the Interior has sufficient discretionary power to act. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, so far as real power goes, is frequently no more than a chief clerk. The position is supposed to be important, and the occupant is frequently charged with neglect and lack of duty when he simply stands in the position of an officer with a large title and small powers.

Congress should give these officers full authority to act in emergencies. A just Secretary of the Interior in Indian matters must do his duty both to the people and the Indian. He must recognize the fact, which is frequently lost sight of, that there are two sides to the Indian question, and that while much equity and justice lies with the Indian, the white men, women, and children on the frontier, and the taxpayers and the public Treasury are entitled to a day in court. A great difficulty that administrative officers at

the head of Indian affairs have to contend with is the neglect of Congress to act promptly on the recommendations sent to them in matters connected with the Indians; cases of urgent necessity are pigeonholed when received and not acted upon for months and sometimes years.

Tribal relations is almost a myth in all but three or four tribes. The United States Indian agent is now the virtual chief of the tribes under him. If a tribe selects a man as chief his selection must be affirmed by the agent. President Grant, in 1869-'70, in refusing to make further treaties with tribes as tribes or nations, or to recognize them as such, gave the death blow to the chief's authority, and the subsequent order making the selection of chief depend upon the approval of the agent virtually aided and increased the chief's power with his people, who could see the material benefits to come from the agent. The Indian medicine man, or shaman, controls many Indians through superstition, and will continue to do so for years, but tribal relations, as known in the past, are not now in practice. The fact that Indians reside together in a bunch does not make "tribal relations," which imply the controlling power of a chief. The most potent influence now with reservation Indians is the old men and women, who control and advise the children and young people. They train the Indian youth.

The Indians became tired of the domination of chiefs and headmen. They found that these dignitaries who made treaties for them frequently sold them out to the whites, making profit and annuities in some cases for themselves. The Sioux in 1867-'68 petitioned the peace commission to abolish their chiefs and have but one chief for all the Sioux Nation, and that no treaty be of force unless signed by two-thirds of a tribe. The commission acted favorably on these suggestions.

INDIAN TRAINING OF YOUTH.

The Indian reservations are now ideal homes for Indian youth. Many of them absolutely do nothing in the way of labor or work until 12 or 14 years of age. They roll about in the dirt, play games, ride ponies, and copy the manners and ways of the older Indians. Indian mothers, who, as stated, are most affectionate, have control of their children. The Indian father never strikes nor attempts to control his children. The Indian boy, when ready to become a warrior, passes under the control of his father.

In tribal or reservation life the young are taught the glories and legends of Indian life. The boys are taught to hunt and trap, the splendor and horrors of war, to scorn manual labor, and to consider women as beasts of burden. The girls are taught to labor for man, and the value and beauty of obedience to man. Cunning old men fill the minds of the youth with hatred of the white man and his methods. The Indian youth educated at national institutions, away from tribes or reservations, upon their return are hounded, threatened, ridiculed, and in many cases forced into a return to the breach-clout and blanket, and to again take up the Indian language. From all his surroundings and education with his tribe the Indian boy when he reaches manhood is usually unfit to cope with the youth of like age among the whites. The sooner the Indian youth is thrown among the whites the better his chance for making a livelihood when a man. The Indian is essentially imitative, and will soon learn the white man's ways when forced to; besides the Indian likes money, and many of them will work when they are paid for it.

THE EDUCATED INDIAN ON THE RESERVATIONS.

Unfortunately, so far, the returned educated Indian has not led the mass of reservation Indians in any movement toward Anglo-Saxon civilization. The reports of the special agents show this in detail. The following data by Mary McHenry Cox, of Philadelphia, Pa., one of the most noted and earnest friends of the Indian youth in this country, is of value. In addition to zeal she has good sense and business capacity of a high order. Her Indian school work at Philadelphia has been noted for results. In September, 1890, she visited Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations, in South Dakota, and made the results known in the Philadelphia Ledger of September 30, 1890. Her suggestions as to returned Indian school children are practical. She shows how difficult it is for educated Indians to apply their knowledge, and their position on Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations can be taken as a type of the condition of those on a score or more reservations:

"PINE RIDGE RESERVATION.

"As there were fifty-two pupils to return from the Lincoln Institution and the Educational Home to their reservations, and sixty to be brought back to fill the vacancies in the school, and desiring to see for myself what homes they had and how they were to be employed on their return, besides being told that the Indians would give their girls to a lady sooner than to a superintendent, I decided to accompany Mr. Lewis and Miss Knotwell, our superintendent and teacher, who were taking the pupils back. So we started on August 26 from Philadelphia and arrived at Pine Ridge Agency on August 30. The weather was fair and the railroad accommodations comfortable; the meals served on the train and at the station are excellent.

"There is a small hotel at Pine Ridge kept by Mrs. J. A. Findly, clean and well kept; nothing was left undone to make us comfortable. We were fortunate in meeting there Mr. A. T. Lea (special Indian agent appointed to take the Indian census) and his wife; the latter aided me much by her kind sympathy and by writing my official letters to the Commissioner on her typewriter. I visited all our returned pupils I could and found all dressed in citizens' dress, and most of them attending the church services. I invited all to meet me at the hotel in the evening; about thirty came; they were nicely dressed; we had cake and ice cream and all seemed to enjoy the reunion very much.

"The Indian's home.

"But about their homes. These girls that we found so gentle, so refined, so modest, and so neat in their persons while with us, were living with relations, some in tents, some in log cabins, sometimes only one room, sometimes two rooms, ten or more sleeping in a room. The mother in most cases had had four or five different husbands, the father also having had a number of wives; their food consisting of fat bacon, Rio coffee full of grounds, no butter; heavy and oftener sour bread; dried wild cherries, black and unsavory looking in most cases; no table to eat off, no dishes but tin ones; beef killed while running, cut up in thin slices and dried.

"This is the kind of home that awaits these children that we have taught to be good cooks, good washers and ironers, good sewers; about whose food we have been so careful, watching that their meat was fresh, their bread sweet. They are forced in many cases to marry against their will some man who may have other wives, but who can give their parents a pony or two for them. One of the returned pupils, a boy of 17, told me that since his return a year ago several Indians had tried to make him take their daughters and give them a pony for them. Many of our girls wanted to return with us to the school, but their parents would not allow them, and no people that I ever heard of have such influence, or rather authority, over their children as the Indians under similar circumstances.

"A white boy or girl in their teens would defy their parents and run off. These children will simply say, I want to go back. I have coaxed hard, but my father or grandmother says I can not go; and one reason they are so determined that they shall remain is because the family is benefited by the rations they draw. I often heard it charged about returned students that they went back at once to their idle habits. What else can they do? I obtained positions for several of our best girls at the agency, but after a few

days their relatives insisted upon their returning home, and gave them no peace until they did. Then there are not six places on the whole agency that require the service of girls; there are no dressmaking or millinery establishments, no work at all for more than a few, even at the Government buildings; no private families to employ them.

"What have they to do then but go to ruin, as we would term it; but it is not so looked upon here. A woman may have a dozen husbands and the man as many wives, and they are treated the same as the others; and, strange to say, there is little quarreling among them. Children of the same mother, but all with different fathers, will live and love each other even better than many of one family with the same parents. No scolding or jealousies that we could see, even between the several wives living with the same man. Several of our girls, I was glad to see, had married white men, and seemed, so far, to be kindly treated; but what their future will be it is hard to say.

"Distributing rations.

"The great curse of the Indian system is this ration business; it is a most demoralizing sight to see a string of hundreds of women standing in line with their children around them waiting for their rations, and coming to their wagons with a bag of flour on their back, a piece of fat unsavory looking bacon in their hands, sugar, rice, etc., in bags, scrambling into high wagons and driving to their homes, some 10, and oftentimes 70 to 150 miles distant. These rations are given out by the agent once a week to those near, and every two weeks or a month to those at a distance. Some Indians spend most of their time coming for and driving back with their rations; then once every two weeks they have a beef issue, and no Spanish bullfight is more brutal than this method of killing the cattle. You see wagons of women and children around the corral where the bullocks are kept. The men, young and old, on horseback with rifles in their hands, form two lines.

"At a given signal a bullock is driven out of the corral and through this line, and the names of the families to whom it is given called; immediately the men representing them gallop off after the unfortunate brute and run him about half a mile, then shoot him down; the women of the family watch anxiously until the poor beast is down; then they whip up their horses and drive furiously after them, to assist the men to butcher the animal. The hide is taken off at once; the meat, still warm with life, cut up; the liver and all the entrails eaten in their heated state. Imagine such a scene in our Christian country, and think what a demoralizing effect it has upon the rising generation, who, to the youngest, take part in this most brutalizing affair. It was a sickening sight, and I realized how these people are so sickly, so scrofulous, so consumptive; and my great amazement is how, trained up among such surroundings, they can be as gentle, as kind, as affectionate as they are.

"Taking the census.

"I spent a day with Mr. Lea when he went to take the census, and camped out with the party. I never saw anything done more thoroughly than he is doing this work. Not one member of the family is allowed to slip; he will not enumerate anyone who is in the least painted; they must wash it all off before he will take their name. We tried to get some children from the camps. Such a scene! As we approached the camps we could see lots of children running wild over the plains like wild deer, and with scarcely any clothing on. On our approach they would run and hide behind their tents, and, do all that we could, their parents could not be induced to send them to school. The rations they draw for them is more to their mind than all education. By the census now being taken there are hundreds of these children running in this wild way over the plains.

"No chance for school.

"The law is that all children of a proper age should be sent to school some place, but how can the agent enforce this on a reservation covering some 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 acres, with only an allowable police force of fifty Indian men.

"The agent does the best he can, but even the reservation board and day schools are not full, because the children are so near home they are constantly staying away. The only hold the agent has on them is to refuse the parents rations if they do not send them to school, and yet, as he says, he has not the heart to enforce this, as he knows how they would suffer without them. He is not allowed to give us any children that have been enrolled into the reservation school for the past year. We have no authority to take these wild ones of the plains, so we are hindered very much in collecting pupils, while, if allowed to take those who are entered in the schools here, and whose parents are really anxious for them to go to the East, the agent could fill up his vacancies from the camps, and there would not be room enough in all the agency contract schools East and West for half the children of age to be educated.

"Some former pupils.

"Four of our returned male students are employed at the agency; one at a trader's store; one girl as a servant in a minister's family. A good many of the girls are married. We spent one night with one of these, Alice Pousin, married to a half-breed, Joe Brown. We drove 30 miles along the prairie hoping to find children, and when we reached her home, nearly dark, where we were not expected, her face fairly beamed with joy at seeing us. She gave us her room, which was a large one, with a board floor, a melodeon in one corner, sewing machine, bedstead, chairs, etc. She at once proceeded to prepare supper for us, at which she told us she would christen some of her wedding presents. The table was spread with a clean white cloth, clean white linen napkins, nicely plated spoons, forks, and knives. We had tea, bread, tomatoes, meat, bacon, potatoes, and plum jelly. There was a very nice hanging lamp into our room, basin, pitcher, soap, etc. The bed was soft and clean, and we slept very comfortably.

"In the morning we had as good a breakfast and served as nicely as the supper. We had to leave early for our 30 miles return drive, and I am sure our visit gave all the family much pleasure. As for ourselves, we were delighted with our hospitable reception and to find Alice so comfortably fixed. Her husband seems a good, industrious man, and capable of supporting her well. He has not the education she has, and regrets he did not go to our school some years since. This visit repaid us for a good deal of our labor. Another of our girls, Jennie Palardy, is married to Robert Pugh, a white man, who is freight agent at Pine Ridge. She also lives comfortably. She brought her 3-months-old child in a baby coach (there is only one other in Pine Ridge) to see us, and it was as nicely and cleanly dressed as any child East. She was constantly with us while we stayed at the agency, and expressed her appreciation and love for our school very strongly.

"Another of our pupils, Julia Sanders, is married to one of our students, Charles Clifford. Julia met us on our arrival at the depot in Rushville, the railroad station 25 miles from Pine Ridge. She had ridden over with the friends of the children who were returning to meet us. Her husband and she came to see us often. They seem happy in each other, and he is trying to get an appointment for teacher at one of the schools on the reservation.

"Idleness and poverty.

"We did not see the husbands of the other girls, but they are all poor, because there is no place for them to work. No tin shops, no tailor shops, no blacksmith (except the Government one, a small affair, which requires no

help). The only work for boys is herding and breaking horses; the others stand around all day idle. If there were flour mills, sawmills, etc., there would be plenty of work for them, but no one can start any such industries on reservations without consent of the Indian Department. We had many of our boys taught farming, but the land is a barren desert. There has scarcely been a good shower of rain for a year. What corn, potatoes, and other things were planted has all dried up and is useless. The Government supplies all kinds of farming utensils, but they are useless. The whole reservation that I saw is a desolate plain, incapable of cultivation on account of the drought.

"Miss Drexel's school.

"The only flourishing kitchen garden we saw was at the Roman Catholic school built by Miss Catherine Drexel, and the only way they have succeeded has been by irrigation. They have gone to much expense, and have the water now running all through their vegetable garden. There is no investment that has been made of Miss Drexel's fortune that is paying as good solid interest as this. Here are gathered one hundred and fifty of these ignorant, neglected, but intelligent boys and girls, who are clothed, fed, and educated under the care of a good, kind father and an earnest Christian mother. The contrast between them and their Arab brothers and sisters is indescribable. Father Jutz and the mother superior are doing a great and good work well; their hearts are in it, and it is blessing many with Christianity and civilization.

"Difficulty in collecting children.

"We had the promise of many scholars. Red Shirt, who was so courted in Europe by crowned heads, etc., came to see us at once. He was most anxious for his children to go to our school, which he had visited, but they had in his absence been enrolled into the boarding school, and neither he nor the agent had any control over them. Many others were similarly situated. The orders from the Commissioner prevent any being transferred from a reservation school to any other. Another cause for the difficulty that all the schools have had this season in collecting children is this unfortunate fanaticism that has seized upon the Indians that Christ is about to come in person. A party of Mormons have been sending their emissaries among the Indians, telling them that Christ is about to come on earth to destroy the white people and give them back their lands, buffaloes, and all the possessions they formerly had, and they have started all over the reservation a dance called the Messiah dance.

"On Friday, when we crossed the plains on our return from our thirty-mile drive, there was scarcely an Indian man, woman, or child to be seen, where on the day before hundreds were roving around. They had all gone to the messiah dance, where they were to remain perhaps a week, dancing and cutting themselves and refraining from all food until they fell prostrate. Then they thought they saw visions. In connection with this the chiefs held a council lately and decided that no children should be sent East to school for the present. They could not say they should go to no school at all, for they know the rule of the Government, but they also know that there is not room for half in the reservation schools, and this resolve of theirs prevents them attending any school. The agent is doing his best to break up these dances. When he went out to them to stop it, about a week since, they drew their revolvers, and had he not put on a bold front there might have been serious trouble. Every Indian nearly has a rifle or revolver. Very many of the bucks have a large revolver and belt filled with cartridges, which they wear at all times. No man East is allowed to carry openly loaded weapons. These Indians, old and young, carry them openly.

"For these reasons we were obliged to leave Pine Ridge with but two girls. There were plenty of boys of 16, 17, 18, and 20 who wished to come, but our experience is that after 15 years of age we can do only temporary good to these pupils. By that time they have been so accustomed and trained in their parents' ways that a five-years course at school can not change their tastes so as to enable them to resist the home influences on their return. Although we found none of our children had gone back to the Indian dress, because perhaps we never had many of the older ones, still we saw enough to convince us that we could do the greater good by taking both boys and girls under 12 years of age.

"A hospital badly needed.

"There is one thing much needed on the reservation; that is a hospital. The sick have no chance of recovery, having no care; their medicine man is sent for and he puts charms on them and says some chants, then demands a pony for payment of his services. In all our missionary efforts now the hospital is considered the strongest agency of civilization; there should be no delay in having them established.

"We left Pine Ridge on the 7th for Rushville, to take the train for Valentine, 30 miles from Rosebud Reservation, and arrived there on the 8th.

"ROSEBUD RESERVATION.

"On our arrival at Rosebud we called at the agency, and were most kindly received by Miss Wright, the sister of Maj. Wright, the agent, and were comfortably quartered at their house, which is quite commodious and nicely furnished. Rosebud Agency is in a valley, surrounded by hills; the roads around are steep and very sandy; no trees of any account to be seen and vegetation all dried up. No rain except a few showers has fallen here all summer. The streams, few in number, are mostly dry. It took us from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. to drive from Valentine to Rosebud. The country we rode through was not as barren as about Pine Ridge, but for miles we did not see a habitation or a living thing.

"We started out the day after we arrived to visit the camps, and met three of our returned scholars, all in citizens' dress; but the same old story of no employment met us, and, of course, idleness brings in its train all kinds of evils. The agency proper is surrounded with a stockade, into which none can pass without an order or for some good reason. This is to keep the Indians from loitering around and preventing the employes attending to their duties.

"During our whole journey so far, with the exception of one or two days, the heat has been most oppressive, but it does not cause perspiration as with us; while very warm your clothes are dry and comfortable.

"Looking for pupils.

"We started the next morning among the log houses and tents to try and induce the parents to send some of their children home with us. There is no boarding school on this reservation, and as there are but a few Indians residing near the agency, only a limited number can attend the day school, which is under the efficient charge of Miss Wright, assisted by Luther Standing Bear, a returned Carlisle student. The various camps are at some distance from the agency and we had to ride miles before reaching them. We found here, as at Pine Ridge, the Indians unwilling to part with their children, indeed many were so sickly that we did not want them.

"We met one of our old pupils, Prairie Chicken; he was the first of our scholars whom we have met that wore the Indian dress; he was not painted, but his hair was long and his costume Indian. He was with us at school only about six months, when we first commenced our work; he was transferred to Hampton, where he remained 2.5 years. He was driving with his wife, a full Indian squaw, but recognized me at once, stopped his horse and rushed over to shake hands; he has not forgotten his English. He after

wards came to see us at the house to ask us to take his wife's brother to our school.

"We visited St. Mary's school, established by Bishop Hare, under the charge of Miss Ives, and found forty-nine bright, intelligent children, with kind, efficient teachers. The influence of this school is telling upon the people and too much can not be said in its favor.

"The white man's bad faith."

"One of our difficulties in procuring children has been, I think, caused by the Indians feeling sore with the white people on account of the Government not carrying out the pledges made to them by the Sioux commission, and on which pledges they signed the late treaty. Gen. Crook, Governor Foster, of Ohio, and Gen. Warner, the acting commissioners, gave not only verbal promises, but written ones, that if they would sell their lands and sign the treaty founded on the Dawes bill, that their rations should not be reduced and that nothing which they now received should be taken from them; not more than a month after the treaty was signed at Pine Ridge the beef issue was reduced 1,000,000 pounds for the year, and at Rosebud 2,000,000 pounds; their annuities were also reduced. It is said that Gen. Crook felt so badly about this that, it is thought, it hastened his death, as he had always kept his word in his dealings with the Indians, and it was their confidence in his integrity that made them sell their lands and sign the treaty. All who desired to benefit these people are now looked upon with renewed distrust; and who can blame them for this?"

"Maj. Wright vindicated."

"We read in the papers before coming here severe comments on Maj. Wright, the agent, on account of the number of rations having been issued for 7,500 people, while, when the census was taken this year there were found to be only 5,500 Indians on this reservation. Maj. Wright received his appointment on September 14, 1889, and he acted on the census taken by Mr. Spencer, his predecessor; he could not, of course, take any other basis for his estimate of rations; he received orders from the Department to take a new census immediately after June 30, 1890, the end of the fiscal year; he pressed all his employes into the service, and having stationed his assistants at different points, took the count on the 7th and 8th days of July and had it all completed by the 15th of that month. Acting under orders from the Interior Department, his count was made without regard to that of Special Agent Lea, whose returns were not made until August 5. The two reports do not materially differ. Agent Wright shows on the reservation about 150 more Indians than Mr. Lea; both reports prove 2,000 less than the number reported as receiving rations.

"The Indians are diseased here; many die of consumption; last year la grippe and measles were fatal among them. With no hospital, their camps miles from the physician, there is scarcely any hope for the sick Indian, man, woman, or child, to recover. Unless those who take the census know these people's ways they will likely number the dead in the count, for if you ask an Indian how many children he has, he will tell you he has ten; when asked to see them he will show you five; the others, he will tell you, are upon the hill, meaning that they are buried there. The doctor reports that during the last year only nineteen died; that means only those he had attended.

"The number who died in the far-off camps he can not possibly know about. Maj. Wright naturally feels annoyed at the misunderstanding in regard to his position in this matter, but a simple explanation is all that is needed to set him right before the community. Even if a man desired to be dishonest in regard to these rations, situated as the Rosebud Agency is, it would be almost impossible for him to do so. Think, 5 miles from any town or railway station, with no means of transportation to or from the place except in open wagons, up and down sand hills difficult for a light carriage even to go; besides, all goods from the storehouses would be seen and recognized by every Indian and employe on the road.

"We remained at Rosebud until Tuesday, September 15, securing only six children, whom we sent on to school. The agent said he was surprised that we got any, as he had, under orders from the Indian Commissioner, tried to get a class for Carlisle and could not get one."

"MRS. COX'S IMPRESSIONS."

"I would sum up the impression made on me by my visit to these two Sioux reservations and the opinion I have formed from my experience there in regard to the best method of civilizing these people in a few words. They are not to be censured for their mode of living, as that is incident to all nations and people of the same class. I have seen in Great Britain, on the continent, in Philadelphia itself, families living in one room and in as squalid a condition. What I do think should be insisted upon in the first place is that they should be made to obey the general law of our land in regard to marriage; that they should be made to contract lawful marriage, and plurality of husbands and wives should be punishable; that education of all children of over 5 years should be compulsory; that hospitals should be established on all reservations, and all the sick obliged to report there, and, if possible, treated there, and so to dispose of the medicine man; that the men should be obliged to cut their hair and wear the citizens' clothes which the Government provides for all; that no man should go about enveloped in white sheets, covering, as they do, their hands and faces, which is a common sight among them, looking exactly like a statue. They consider a proper costume for courting, as they term it. In this disguise they follow the young girls, and throwing the sheet over them, force them to go with them. We saw, I suppose, hundreds of young bucks in this dress. Then, if the children were sent away to school, the younger the better, where they could not see or feel the influence of the older ones, there would be a greater chance of their never returning to the old ways.

"District schools better than reservation schools."

"Of course, the reservation schools do much good, but in every school we visited there were one or two police constantly on hand to hunt up children who had run off to their homes; and also a great drawback to these schools is that the friends of the children come and tent near them, and expect the school to provide provisions for them. The superintendent of one school near a reservation told me that they did not want children from the neighborhood, they were so annoyed by the visits of their friends and relatives. It would be a wise thing, in my opinion, if the Government, instead of giving them rations, clothing, stores, implements, etc., would allow them each so much money per week, so that they would learn to take care of themselves.

"The Government, of course, in giving them what it does is only paying them for the land purchased from them, but let it be money and they will soon learn the value of dollars and cents, which now they know nothing about. It seems hard to say, 'Take the young children from their parents,' but is it wise to allow generation after generation to be trained as the young Indian is? Is such training ever going to fit them for citizens? Is it not better for one man or woman to suffer than a whole nation to be demoralized? As soon as the parents see that they must act differently or lose their children for a time, they would soon yield to the inevitable, and this great problem would solve itself.

"Amusements for the Indians."

"Another suggestion I would make is to have a large room or hall on every reservation for the purpose of concerts, tableaux, and other civilized amuse-

ments. Human nature is the same in men and women of every color; young, middle-aged, old, all need recreation and entertainment. Nothing of this kind is provided for the Indians, and they naturally cling to their wild dances, the only amusement they know of. At their homes they sing their weird songs. And yet they are capable of attaining a high standard of vocal and instrumental music, as anyone can ascertain if they will call at our school and hear the sweet chanting of the Episcopal service. That most difficult of pieces, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' and other music is sung by our pupils.

"Why it never occurs to those undertaking the training of any people in Christian and civilized ways to provide proper amusements has always been a surprise to me, and when I found these people rushing to see the Messiah, the Omaha, and other dances, I was reminded of the thousands of our best educated people, even royalty itself, who flocked to such entertainments as Buffalo Bill and other similar shows. Take from our people their public amusements, and in a short time they would institute the same wild entertainments as the Indians have.

"Employment and farming for the men."

"In an experience of thirty-two years of work for poor children I can hardly say that in the seven years of that time that has been devoted to the Indian children I have felt more has been accomplished in spiritual, intellectual, and industrial education than in any other seven years of that period, thus showing the great capability of these people for civilization. I would also suggest that employment be found on the reservation for all able to work. It can be done. The wagons, the tins, and many other goods now purchased by the Government could be manufactured by the people themselves and would be a great saving of expense. Put a competent white mechanic at the head of each department or manufactory and he would soon have plenty of workers.

"Just one word about farming. The reservation lands that I have seen are unfit for agriculture. The drought of South Dakota would not allow of successful farming, even if the land was good. Two thousand bushels of potatoes were distributed by one agent last year, all planted, and not any result; all dried up. Think of the waste. A fair chance is all the Indian wants. Good land, workshops, good laws enforced, money, not supplies, and in a short time the now uncivilized will become honest, industrious, well-behaved citizens. We have found it so with our pupils here. They would carry it out at home if we could give them surroundings that would encourage and strengthen them.

"I returned home strengthened in my interest in these people and my firm belief of their capabilities under proper treatment."

"The conclusion is inevitable, after thorough investigation of the condition of the reservation Indian, after seeing and being with him, studying and observing the laws and their application and execution, with due regard for the several experiments which have been tried upon him by the nation, and the failure of them all so far, that certain radical changes in the present Indian policy must be made. With an eye to the present experiments of allotting him, and the gigantic educational scheme now being tried upon him, in some cases preferring him to other worthy dependent children of the Republic, the following suggestions are made:

First. Let the Government keep its word with the Indian. In studying the North American Indian let us abandon the imaginary and study him in the light of facts.

Second. That a white man can much easier adopt Indian life than an Indian can the white man's customs. In illustration: the squaw man can become virtually Indians in three months, while it takes an Indian years to get to the level of the white man.

Third. Every change of policy by the United States in relation to its Indians, although the Indians decrease, results in an increase of annual expenses.

Fourth. Let the Indian understand that at a date quite near the United States will cease to be his "Good Father," that he must look out for himself, and that allotment precedes his removal from Government charge. A total change of system in Indian affairs is needed, not a mere change of officers. Congress could hasten the final settlement of this Indian question by at once passing a law that after a given date all Indians born in the United States are "Indians taxed." This would make them citizens without technicalities or legal machinery. The reservation Indians are not now citizens. The fear that being "wards of the nation" they will be taken advantage of by the whites or that they will become independent of the United States prematurely has heretofore prevented this. If such a law were passed and the Indians told that they were free and had equal rights with other citizens the inducement would cause thousands of them to start to work for themselves. The fact that they are not citizens and have the reservations and the United States to fall back upon makes them dependent and stifles manhood and personal independence. If such a law were passed there would soon be less Indian agency employes and fewer contractors to furnish Indians with supplies.

Fifth. That the Indian is now governed too much.

Sixth. That he is more interested in his earthly future than he is in theology.

Seventh. That he is now an asset on the wrong side of the national ledger. Eighth. That his salvation, physical and otherwise, depends upon his getting from under Government control.

Ninth. That allotting Indians on sand banks and saying by law "Indians must be farmers" does not make them so; crops will not grow on barren lands for Indians by act of Congress where they will not grow for white men.

Tenth. That the sooner the Indian gets into the school and other systems of the States and Territories in which he now resides on reservations or allotments the better for him and the whole nation.

The above suggestions must be considered with the limitations that before any permanent settlement of the Indian question can take place the nation must by purchase or otherwise close out all Indian trust funds in its hands, amounting to \$25,491,430.177, and certain liabilities of the United States to Indian tribes under treaty stipulations, which on June 1, 1890, amounted to \$7,441,666.64, in all \$32,933,096.817. This large amount will have to be paid by the nation to the Indians, or white men for them. The class of claims known as Indian depredation claims, when liquidated, are paid from the amounts due to tribes committing depredations on the property of the whites. They are now of an indefinite and enormous amount. Unless care is had they will eat up the entire amount held as cash due the Indians. The necessity for the above changes is apparent to all who observe the condition of the Indian.

Hon. Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his annual report for 1890, thus speaks of the present system of Indian Affairs under existing laws:

"The entire system of dealing with them [the Indians] is vicious, involving as it does the installing of agents, with semidespotic power, over ignorant, superstitious, and helpless subjects; the keeping of thousands of them on reservations practically as prisoners, isolated from civilized life and dominated by fear and force; the issue of rations and annuities, which inevitably tends to breed pauperism; the disbursement of millions of dollars' worth of supplies by contract, which invites fraud; the maintenance of a system of licensed trade, which stimulates cupidity and extortion, etc."

The condition that the reservation Indian now needs is a condition of prompt and rapid change in most of the incidents of the system now current, and the creation of new laws to meet changed conditions. The reservation Indian is governed in many ways. Congress, the Department, the Indian Office, the State courts, the citizens, and men and women's associations are constantly at him. There are only 133,417 reservation Indians, but they take up much valuable time.

The method now of getting him out of control of the nation is to allot him. Some of his best friends, however, fear that this is merely getting him deeper into the embrace of red tape. When you put an Indian into severalty you place him out of his reservation status at once, at least, in name. Then you say, "You are allotted." The Indian goes on the land ignorant of agriculture as an art or profession, uncultivated, not a worker; and then you provide that neither State or Territory shall tax his land for twenty-five years. Can they tax his personal property? Certainly.

The Indian does not like taxation; he has to give something up; he has been a receiver for many years past; the habit of receiving has grown on him. Who is to teach the Indian to farm? Is a costly establishment to be kept up, either under the school system or agency? Is not the agency, with all its employees, to be maintained as long as you keep this quasi control over the Indian? Is he always to be a dependent? Is he never to be alone?

Let Congress pass a law similar to the law of Canada that allotted Indian lands, in cases where the allottee by reason of illness or lack of means or experience can not utilize them, may be leased for the benefit of the allottee. The United States judge for the district in which the land lies should have this jurisdiction, and the land in such cases would afford the allottee a support.

In allotting lands to the Indians in arid regions the nation does not seem to have considered the necessity or expense of a system of irrigation sufficient to make the allotted lands fit for cultivation or residence. Where the Indians have been permitted to remain on as good land as the whites occupy, as a rule, when in tribal relation, they have succeeded. In illustration of this, see the present condition of the Six Nations of New York, the Eastern Cherokees, the Five Civilized Tribes, the Moquis of Arizona, and the Pueblos of New Mexico.

No separate laws for Indians or Indian reservations are necessary. A law good enough for a white man is good enough for an Indian. Instead of passing a separate code for Indians, pass a law placing them under the control of the laws of the several States and Territories. If the Indian is put upon his own resources, he will not want agents or other persons. What the reservation Indians want is the actual application of things good for them: Adopt useful things, not theories, and practical things will follow.

The present North American reservation Indians, collectively and individually, and their special friends, such as has been their tutelage and dependence, seem to be about the only portion of our people who have an exact idea of the possible capacity of the United States Treasury. At all times and in all places, like the white man, he wants money. The reservation Indian will work if he is paid for it. He likes money, wants it, and will work for it. Pay him promptly and as much as any other man for like work and he will do it.

Cadillac at Detroit, in the Northwest, from 1701 to 1710, attempted the only successful method of civilizing Indians: showing them how and teaching them to work; giving them the proceeds of their labor and keeping faith with them. He considered them men and so treated them. He began a settlement for "habitation and the growth of civic institutions." He had a grant of land and upon this he began operations. He bought seed wheat from France, and gave the Indians each a little land to work. He was the father of allotment. In 1718, after he had left, the Indians about Detroit were reported as harvesting wheat and raising corn, beans, peas, squashes, and melons; but the almost constant war between England and France, in which the Indians were used as allies, prevented the growth of the Cadillac idea in the upper Northwest.

Cadillac's idea was the reverse of the clerical; the latter founded missions to convert Indians, near which were trading posts to enrich the owners. The church sought to control the Indian by appealing to his heart and sympathies, which were supposed to be alike in men, and the traders frequently intermarried with the Indians, and thus obtained influence over them. These methods neither aided the Indian to better his actual condition nor tended to the founding of permanent homes or communities.

Cadillac showed the Indian a result from his labor, gave him the proceeds and stimulated his ambition with gain. He appealed to his material side, which order of appeal has been potent with man in all ages; besides, at that time the Indian had not as yet become a dependent upon the public treasury. He had not been debauched by gifts of fire-arms or whisky. The grip of the white man was not then on his throat, his tongue in his ear, nor his touch in his palm.

The remedy of Kit Carson (one of the bravest and most humane of Indian fighters) for the Indian question was to stop the Indian from running at large, place him on reservations of good land, and let him fight the problem out himself.

"The only true remedy * * * is to compel the savages to form settlements by themselves, then and there assist and teach them to cultivate the soil; in time they will be able to gain a maintenance independent of the General Government and to a certain extent they will become responsible for their acts."

This is, as has been noted, the present Canadian Indian policy. The Indians of Canada are placed upon reservations of land which will maintain them, of course with a small area for each, and they are aided to a start in life. They are now practically self-sustaining. The Canadian Indian knows when he goes on the land that it is to be his; the American Indian knows, if experience is worth anything, that it is not to be his, or the chances are largely that it will not be, and in addition it may be a sand bank. Ninety per cent of the present American Indians on reservations are not agriculturists, but the most of them will work in other fields when paid for it. The Indian is too much of a child of nature to wait for slow growing crops. He wants to see an immediate result from his labor. He will work as a laborer provided you board him and pay him cash besides. This has been tested. Money is an actual visible result to him. (See the reports of the special agents as to this.) The Navajos did much of the work of grading the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in Arizona and New Mexico.

A strange fact in connection with the administration of the Indian Office is, that as the Indians decrease in number and the civilized Indians become more numerous, according to the reports sent out, the number of employees and dependents and the expenditures for Indians increase. Each change of policy costs more money.

The Indian Office now has, in fact, charge of 133,417 Indians, of whom but 31,785 receive rations from the nation, and most of these are on barren lands. About 27,000 of the total are allotted Indians. If the Sioux were removed to good lands they might become self-sustaining citizens, or self-reliant at least, and the ration Indians reduced to a nominal number.

The efficiency of the Indian police at the various agencies is due to the fact that they are paid for their work, are mounted and armed, and have authority. Indians like places of command, as such positions increase their personal influence with the members of their tribe, who believe they have the ear of the agent. To be on terms with the Indian police is frequently

to be influential with the agent, as that official mainly obtains his knowledge of the condition of the Indians from the police. Gen. William S. Harney originated the Indian police in a treaty with the Sioux at Fort Pierre, Nebraska Territory, in March, 1856.

The enlistment in the United States Army of about 5,000 able-bodied Indians from among the competent men of the reservation Indians and then their removal as soldiers to distant parts of the Republic, away from the possibility of their marrying or coming in contact with Indian women, would utilize useless material and decrease the reservation Indian population in the matter of births. There are 800 Indian soldiers, and fairly efficient ones, in the service now.

The red man's journey from east to west, poetically described as the "red man journeying toward the setting sun," was in fact making way for the white man to absorb and utilize the arable or productive lands, and has ended in many of the reservation Indians being anchored on sand deposits and sagebrush forests, with coyotes and rattlesnakes for companions.

On many of the reservations the Indian is now a corraled ox, waiting to see what the nation is going to do with him. He is, in fact, merely penned up, and until allotment was devised in 1887 his future was enveloped in a mantle of doubt and he was a most troublesome asset.

There are now about 139 Indian reservations and 54 actual agencies. In some cases the consolidation of Indian agencies, reduction of reservations, and the Indians' removal would be of service to the Indians and profit to the United States. This would better the Indians' moral and physical condition. For illustration: The Jicarilla Apaches of Northwestern New Mexico could be removed to the Mescalero Agency in the southwestern portion of the Territory. These are ration agencies, and both reservations are wretchedly poor in agricultural resources, and are without irrigation. If combined, the expense of one agency would be saved and civilization aided. The Jicarillas number 808 and the Mescaleros 513, which would be a total of 1,321 Indians for a combined agency. The Rosebud and Pine Ridge Sioux Agencies in South Dakota and the Brule Sioux Agency and the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Agencies are unfit for agriculture by reason of lack of water, and hot winds and drought also make them dreadful for living purposes. The Fort Berthold Reservation is also a miserable one for agriculture. The reports of special agents as to reservations, pages 350-717, give much data as to this.

Many other Indian reservations are utterly unfit for occupation by Indians or anyone else. Congress is frequently called upon, through crop failures, to aid whites living adjacent to them, notably in Arizona and South Dakota. The lands of almost all the Indian reservations in North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Eastern Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California lie in a region which requires artificial irrigation to produce crops. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been or will have to be spent to construct irrigating canals and ditches on these reservations. The Crow Reservation in Montana is an example of the expenditures to procure water for the Indians. The United States has paid this expense, and an irrigating engineer has been employed. Who is to keep up this expense? Who will care for the ditch when the Indian is allotted? Even the lands capable of being irrigated, owing to the small supply of water, are limited in extent, as are those in small valleys adjacent to the streams. Almost all the tribes of Indians on reservations lying in the arid belt in the States and Territories above named are ration Indians. What they are to do for food when present treaties expire is a question.

As an evidence of the character of the land given to Indians in Arizona for reservations to live upon and become self-supporting, the following is taken from the report of Gen. A. McD. McCook, commanding the department of Arizona, September, 1891. On the White Mountain Apache Reservation, San Carlos agency, there are 2,121 Apaches; in fact, it is the chief Apache reservation.

"The location of the San Carlos Reservation (agency) is the worst piece of land I know of where so many Indians are concentrated for an attempt at self-support and civilization.

"San Carlos is situated on the north bank of the Gila River, at the Apache Indian agency. It is 77 miles from Fort Grant, via Fort Thomas. This is an important post, being at and near the homes of the Apache Indians, and will continue a military station as long as the present system of management of the Indians there is continued. Heretofore the troops have been in camp, but temporary shelter is now being made for the officers and men. San Carlos is the most uncomfortable station in the department, on account of the intense heat of summer and dust storms in the spring and autumn. The usual tour of duty at this post is six months.

"There is no grass in this country to make hay sufficient for the use of the public animals. Heretofore a coarse pine grass has been cut and delivered by the Indians. It is not hay. The horses and mules will not eat it. When dry it is hard and rough and without a particle of nutriment. The consensus of opinion of all the officers is that it is not fit for food, injuring the horses who try to eat it."

Number of ration Indians in the several States and Territories where reservations are situated, June 1, 1890.

States and Territories.	Total reservation Indians.	Male.	Female.	Ration Indians.	Remarks.
Total.....	133,417	65,575	67,842	34,785	
Arizona.....	28,452	14,066	14,386	1,519	In desert country.
California.....	5,064	2,589	2,475	175	To old and poor Indians.
Colorado.....	985	484	501	493	In arid country.
Idaho.....	4,062	1,997	2,065	409	Do.
Indian Territory.....	1,224	597	627	8	To old and poor Indians.
Iowa.....	397	211	186		
Kansas.....	939	496	443		
Minnesota.....	8,208	3,884	4,324	333	
Montana.....	10,336	4,978	5,358	6,763	In arid and desert country.
Nebraska.....	3,536	1,767	1,769	95	To old and poor Indians.
Nevada.....	1,552	794	758	404	In desert country.
New Mexico.....	6,490	3,232	3,258	735	Do.
North Dakota.....	7,980	3,903	4,077	3,514	In arid country.
Oklahoma.....	13,167	6,324	6,843	5,001	In arid and desert country.
Oregon.....	3,705	1,718	1,990	308	Eastern Oregon, arid country.
South Dakota.....	10,068	9,271	9,797	12,183	In arid and desert country.
Utah.....	2,847	1,497	1,350	1,149	In desert country.
Washington.....	7,516	3,812	3,704	152	To old and poor Indians.
Wisconsin.....	6,085	3,071	3,014	643	Do.
Wyoming.....	1,801	884	917	901	Desert country.

Rations to Indians, it will be noted, are in most cases issued to Indians living on reservations lying in arid desert sections where white men without irrigation could not make a living.

The Indian Office in its report for 1891 gave the following table of Indians receiving subsistence in 1890, some a pound of beef a week, some a pound a day. The Census Office table for 1890 shows the amount of food equal to a day's rations received by reservation Indians, while the Indian Office table shows the number of Indians to whom food is issued, not specifying quantity, and embracing a large number of Indians not actually under charge of the Indian Office. This table shows worse for the continuance of the desert reservations than the census table. When the area of these reservations is decreased by allotment the Indian's hunting, fishing, and root grounds decrease, and these sources being closed to him, he will become more dependent, unless the allotted land, at a large expense, be prepared for agriculture. Number of Indians who do not and number who do receive subsistence from the Government.

Receive no subsistence supplies.	Number.	Receive subsistence supplies.	Number.
ARIZONA.			
Mohaves of reserve.....	1,077	Mohaves on reserve.....	640
Chemehuevis and Hualapais.....	900	San Carlos.....	4,819
Pimas and Papagoes.....	8,099		
Navajoes.....	15,000		
Suppals.....	214		
	25,290		5,459
CALIFORNIA.			
Mission and Tule River, and Yumas.....	4,056	Hoopa.....	475
Not under agent.....	6,995	Round Valley.....	582
	11,051		1,057
COLORADO.			
		Utes and Apaches.....	1,793
NORTH DAKOTA.			
Sioux at Devils Lake.....	1,041	Fort Berthold Indians.....	1,183
Chippewas, Turtle Mountain.....	1,439	Standing Rock Sioux.....	4,096
	2,480		5,279
SOUTH DAKOTA.			
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux.....	1,509	Cheyenne River Sioux.....	2,823
Poncas and Flandreau Sioux.....	569	Crow Creek and Lower Brule Sioux.....	2,084
		Pine Ridge Sioux.....	5,701
		Rosebud Sioux.....	5,345
		Yankton Sioux.....	1,725
	2,018		17,678
IDAHO.			
Nez Perces.....	1,715	Shoshones and Bannacks.....	1,492
Not under agent.....	600	Shoshones and Bannacks (Lemhi).....	443
	2,315		1,935
INDIAN TERRITORY.			
Quapaws, etc.....	1,225		
Five civilized tribes.....	67,000		
	68,225		
IOWA.			
Sac and Fox.....	399		
KANSAS.			
Pottawatomies, Kickapoos.....	1,016		
MICHIGAN.			
Chippewas and Pottawatomies.....	7,482		
MINNESOTA.			
Chippewas.....	6,403		
MONTANA.			
		Blackfeet.....	2,173
		Crow.....	2,456
		Flathead.....	1,784
		Gros Ventres and Assinaboines, Fort Belknap.....	1,722
		Fort Peck Sioux and Assinaboines.....	1,842
		Nothern Cheyennes.....	875
			10,842
NEBRASKA.			
Omahas and Winnebagoes.....	2,385	Santee Sioux.....	869
NEVADA.			
Indians wandering.....	6,815	Pah Utes (Pyramid Lake and Walker River).....	973
		Shoshones and Pi Utes.....	587
			1,560

Number of Indians who do not and number who do receive subsistence from the Government—Continued.

Receive no subsistence supplies.	Number.	Receive subsistence supplies.	Number.
NEW MEXICO.			
Moqui Pueblo.....	2,200	Mescalero Apache.....	513
Pueblo.....	8,285		
	10,485		
NEW YORK.			
Senecas, Oneidas, etc.....	5,112		
NORTH CAROLINA.			
Eastern Cherokees.....	3,000		
OKLAHOMA.			
Osages and Kaws.....	1,778	Cheyennes and Arapahoos.....	3,372
Poncas.....	605	Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas.....	4,121
Otoes.....	358		
Pawnees.....	804		
Tonkawas.....	76		
Shawnees, Sac and Fox, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos.....	2,062		
	5,683		7,493
OREGON.			
All Indians in.....	4,507		
TEXAS.			
All Indians in.....	290		
UTAH.			
Wandering.....	390	Utes.....	1,821
WASHINGTON.			
All Indians in.....	9,830		
WISCONSIN.			
All Indians in.....	9,152		
WYOMING.			
		Shoshones and Northern Arapahoos.....	1,638
INDIANA, FLORIDA, AND MAINE.			
All Indians in.....	1,302		
Total receiving no subsistence supplies.....	185,574		
Total receiving subsistence supplies.....	57,960		
	243,534		

It will be observed that the Census Office report on rations issued to Indians in 1890 relates to the 133,417 reservation Indians who are actually under charge of the Indian Office, but the Indian Office total of 243,534 embraces all Indians in the United States carried on the books of that office, self-reliant and independent as well as reservation Indians. The Census Office returns for 1890 made by sworn officers, and they the agents of the Indian Office, show that food equal to a ration for each day for 34,785 Indians was issued, while the Indian Office returns show that subsistence was issued to 57,960 Indians, or that the actual food supply for 34,785 Indians for one day was given to 57,960 for the same time, or about half rations.

The natural surroundings of some of the present reservations and their resources unfit them for residence. Nature never smiles bountifully on a precious metal mining region. Gold and silver are usually found in barren regions and distant lands raise food for the miners. Arizona, rich in precious metals, is no exception to this rule. The Indian reservations there are deserts, and the mountains upon and about them the depositories of rich ores. The Apaches on the several Arizona reservations should be removed to a country where they can sustain themselves, and the mines upon the reservations turned over to men who can develop them.

The Sioux on the Standing Rock, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge Reservations could be removed from the barren and arid lands they occupy and the lands turned over for cattle ranging or to those who will irrigate by canals or artesian wells, provided sufficient water can be found. Irrigation is a costly system, both to establish and maintain.

The 1,811 Piegans of Blackfeet Agency, Montana, are all ration Indians and have been since 1855, a period of thirty-five years. But little advance has been made by them toward self-support; they are simply staled oxen, fed on a reservation by the United States. The area of this reservation permits of roaming, and its physical features do not permit of agriculture to the extent of feeding these people. Wise and prudent administration would have long since looked to the removal of this tribe to a location of such a character that advancement toward self-support would be possible. The cost of this tribe to the United States in the thirty-five years past has been simply enormous.

Many agencies should be abolished, some reservations abandoned, and tribes consolidated and removed to localities where it is possible to make a living. Congress should at once take this in hand, as proper action in this will save millions of dollars and tend to the bettering of the condition of the Indians. When agencies are ordered abolished the inspectors of the Indian Office can take charge and close them up.

The following agencies at different points, as shown by the reports of the special agents, should be abolished as useless: the Six Nations of New York; Eastern Cherokees of North Carolina; Lapwai, Idaho; Pueblo, New Mexico; Round Valley, California; Hoopa Valley, California; Siletz, Oregon; Umatilla, Oregon; all agencies in Washington, viz. Colville, Neah Bay, Puyallup, Tulalip, and Yakima; Quapaw, Indian Territory; Osage, Oklahoma, and

Sac and Fox, Iowa; all agencies in Minnesota; all agencies in Wisconsin. Some of the agencies named were recommended for abolishment by officials ten or fifteen years ago.

The Sac and Fox Agency, Iowa, should be at once abolished, as the Indians under charge of the agency are not reservation Indians in fact. The so-called reservation is owned by the Indians in fee, and no one has a right to invade or molest it. All requirements of law can be attended to by the United States district attorney for the district in which the Sac and Fox lands are located, or by an inspector of the Indian Office, and like matters at most of the other agencies when abolished could be so attended to.

The 300 Chippewas at the Turtle Mountain Reservation should be removed and allotted or made to work somewhere else, and the reservation promptly abolished.

The illustrations in this volume, showing types of Indians of almost all the reservation tribes, should be convincing as to the propriety of dropping many of the present reservation Indians from wardship. Thousands of American citizens are not half as well dressed or cared for as some of these wards, who still hold on with a death grip to the nation's purse.

Reservation Indians in the following States and Territories, as shown by the illustrations, should be forced to take care of themselves, and, as suggested, for bettering the condition of the Indians the agencies therein should be abolished: in Washington, Oregon, California (except the Yumas), Idaho (except the Bannocks and Shoshones), Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, and some in Oklahoma.

Many of the tribes in North Dakota and Montana also show about the same dress and condition as the average Western whites.

The Six Nations of New York, Eastern Cherokees of North Carolina, Moquis of Arizona, and Pueblos of New Mexico, and the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory have agents, but what for no one knows, except for nominal duties or as ornaments. Their duties could be performed by inspectors from the Indian office at stated times once or twice a year.

Still, no general inflexible Indian system can properly settle the Indian question or change the condition of the reservations. There must be much discretion allowed in the execution of any system, as the conditions surrounding most of the tribes differ.

In illustration of the difficulties ahead in the national Indian policy, the Navajos of New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona may be cited. They occupy a reservation of 3,174,720 acres in the three Territories named. The most of it is desert or mountainous, and a system of irrigation to make it fit for agriculture will cost a vast sum.

The Navajos now have large bands of horses and herds of sheep which they can only keep by having an enormous area to pasture them on. If they are allotted under existing laws their herds must go, as the area allotted would not maintain them. The herds gone, then Government support must follow. At the present time, and for years past, they have been entirely self-supporting. A new policy toward them will be an attempt to at once change a pastoral people, 17,204 in number, into an agricultural people by act of Congress. Such attempts have utterly failed in the past; the expense will be enormous, and the failure must be correspondingly great. In the matter of the Navajos Reservation, the probabilities are that it is better employed now in sustaining 17,204 people by a pastoral life and their herds than it can be made to do in any other way, except at an enormous outlay.

The reports of Dr. Washington Matthews and Special Agents Walter G. Marmon and Julian Scott, pages 375-390, can be read with much profit.

Bvt. Maj. Gen. A. McD. McCook, commanding the department of Arizona, in his report for 1892 devotes much space to the Navajos. Gen. McCook is a man of wide experience, and has given the subject thorough investigation. He was a member of the commission appointed by President Harrison in 1891 to visit the Navajos, and joined in the report which showed that there were no precious minerals in the Carrizo Mountains. In the following extract he indicates the large expense which the Government must incur to make the Navajo lands fit for agriculture:

"The conditions surrounding the Navajo Indian Reservation are a constant source of anxiety to the Indian Bureau, the Army, and the civil authorities of Arizona and New Mexico. There are 9,000 Navajo Indians living beyond the limits of the reservation set aside for them, where they have been living upon the unsurveyed lands for generations and claim these locations as their homes. They know nothing of the land laws and it is hard to make these people understand that they are trespassers outside of their reservation. In addition, they claim their people were in full possession of these lands before any white men were in this country; that they should have the same rights in the unsurveyed public lands as the white men. The white men deny this, claiming that the unsurveyed public lands are in spirit and fact for their use only, and the Indian having large tracts of lands set aside for occupation and use, he should be driven back upon them and compelled to stay there.

"This last proposition seems reasonable and right to those who do not understand the situation and circumstances governing in this case. Those portions of the Navajo Reservation with which I am familiar consist of timbered mountains known as the Navajo forest, high table-lands, sandy valleys, but with little living water upon the whole area. In the dry seasons this country presents a desolate appearance. The Navajo Indian is a nomad, and has for his reservation the northeastern portion of Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, and the strip of the Territory of Utah lying south of the San Juan River, containing in all 3,205,440 acres of land or 12,821 square miles. They number 16,102, of whom 9,241 are living on the reservation, and together they own 9,189 head of cattle, 118,798 horses, and 1,583,754 sheep, making this large tribe self-supporting. There is not sufficient water upon the present reservation to support these people together with their large herds and flocks.

"In order to assist this people, and make it possible for them to withdraw to the lands allotted them, I submitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a plan to divide this large reservation into districts of proper size and numbers, having an officer of the Army, with proper escort, sent into each of these districts to make examination with a view to establishing and maintaining a system of irrigation and developing a stock-water supply sufficient for the Navajo Indians, together with suitable places for artesian wells, bore-wells to be worked by windmills, reservoir sites, or where springs, etc., may be developed.

"These places are known to be limited in number and extent, but for all practical purposes it will be sufficient to report in detail upon all such localities, giving maps, drawings, etc. Such localities can be carefully marked upon the existing maps of the geological survey, which have been made with great care and labor, and which represent the topography faithfully. This plan having met with the approval of the President, it is recommended that one party be charged with reporting upon all waters flowing into the Little Colorado on the Navajo Reservation, also Chinlee Valley as far north as the mouth of the Cañon de Chelly. A second party should be assigned to that portion of the reservation east of the Cañon del Muerto, and east of the Tumbicha, Lukachukai, and Carrizo Mountains.

"A third party should examine the northwestern portion of the reservation, including the remainder of the Chinlee Valley, the western slope of the Lukachukai and Carrizo Mountains, and as far west as the boundary of the

reservation. The San Juan River should be divided between the second and third parties. The officers in charge of these parties will be instructed to locate upon the map of the geological survey the points at which any work recommended is to be done. This work will be made in detail, and as far as possible estimates be made of the amount of labor required for the work. In case it is reported that sufficient water for irrigation can be obtained, it is recommended that this plan be elaborated.

"The above plan was suggested by me, first, in the interest of peace, for a conflict with Navajos, who are great in numbers and are well armed, would be a serious business; second, for the welfare and prosperity of this most interesting people; third, to eliminate from the civil and military administration of the affairs of this tribe the constant anxiety existing, produced by large numbers of these people living off their reservation, and the friction made thereby with their white neighbors."

The Navajos favor schools, but want them on their reservation, as assured by the treaty of 1866; while now a peaceful and quiet people, anxious to increase their herds and flocks, they watch closely any attempt to invade their reservation by unauthorized persons, and are ready to resist such an invasion. The wool grown by the Navajos has for almost a quarter of a century been dyed or marketed at Philadelphia, Pa., and the bright-colored blankets of this people are now principally made from Eastern dyed wool. The Navajos are superior Indians, and their material condition now makes them anxious for peace. War with them will be begun by the United States. Several times during the past two years there has been danger of war with the Navajos, but not brought on by themselves. The census of 1890 was taken with some difficulty, as is shown below.

NAVAJO CENSUS OF 1890.

The census of the Navajos was taken in 1890-1891 under many embarrassments, the great difficulty being the attitude of these Indians in the matter of the school children. The following report of Special Agent John Donaldson, who was in charge of the census, indicates a serious condition of affairs:

"GALLUP, N. MEX., April 22, 1891.

"In January, 1891, during our council with the Navajo chiefs at Fort Defiance, Arizona, in relation to the census of their tribe, they had a great grievance about their school children. Indian Inspector Junkin, on the part of the Indian Office, heard the complaint of the Indians. He promised to call the attention of the proper authorities at Washington to the matter. Some time ago Indian Inspector Lewis came to Fort Defiance, and, without the consent or knowledge of their parents, took a number of Navajo school children from the Fort Defiance school to the Indian school at Grand Junction, Colo.

"Some of these children ran away from the school at Grand Junction and returned to their parents on the reservation. They walked home over deserts and mountains, suffered severely from exposure and the hardships of the journey of several hundred miles, and of course they had a serious tale to tell of bad treatment and abuse while at the Grand Junction school; whether true or not, they tell it.

"The Navajos, already incensed at the removal of the children from Fort Defiance to Grand Junction without their consent, were terribly aroused when the children returned with their long stories, and consider the whole matter an outrage. They talked this to Mr. Junkin during the entire time of the council with him.

"The last Congress, he said, had passed a compulsory educational law for the Indians, or rather gave the Commissioner of Indian Affairs authority to force compulsory Indian school attendance, and the Indian children must attend school. This law and its proposed execution is going to make trouble. The Navajos are men of means and sense. It is useless to try to frighten them by threats of using soldiers to take their children to distant schools. If the Government will keep its word with these people there need be no soldiers sent here. It is a funny thing to hear the agents of the Indian Office threatening war about so trivial a matter as the attendance of a few children at a boarding school when the Government is in default to these Indians on a contract made years ago to give them schools on their reservation.

"I question if Congress intended to give a bureau office the power to order out an army to kill men because they will not send their children to school; besides, the Grand Junction school is a long distance off, and is a failure as to its location, because there are no Indians around it to draw from for scholars; but I presume the school must be kept up to please local interests. I venture that Gen. A. McD. McCook, who commands this department, will not favor using the army with which to collect school children. Such proceedings seem to me to smack too much of an empire for our day and country.

"Personally, Mr. Parker is a good, square man, and officially he is a 'rustler.' He gets about rapidly, has seen most of the big men among the Navajos, and is deadly in earnest to get these children for the school. He has raised much excitement among the Indians, and it is hurting our census.

"I explained to the chiefs at the council in January that we were here to get their names, and for no other purpose; that we did not mean to tax or remove them or in any manner interfere with their children.

"I have just returned from Fort Defiance, where Mr. Parker had a council of the big men of the Navajo people, including Mannelito, last Monday. The Navajos like Mr. Parker because he is a thoroughbred, but are down on his Grand Junction school scheme. They are not opposed to the education of their children; on the contrary, they are a unit in favor of education, and everything that will elevate their children, but they want them educated on the reservation where they can see them occasionally and know their condition. They want day schools at home.

"A great many of the parents of the children taken to Grand Junction by Agent Lewis now believe their offspring dead, not having heard from them since their departure.

"The last treaty with the Navajos provides that the Government shall provide a school upon the reservation for every 30 Navajo families; of course none have been provided under the treaty. The Indians want this carried out. They want education here, not in Colorado. The Indians are excited over the matter, and are very suspicious of any official from Washington, believing that all are working against them.

"Mr. Parker, in his talk Monday, threatened to use the troops, if necessary, to get school children. The Navajos did not like this. If soldiers are sent to their reservation it wants to be 5,000 to 6,000 men, or the Navajos will clean them out. They have recently held two or three powwows among themselves over this matter, and last Monday night I counted over forty of them in a room at Fort Defiance discussing it. The conference lasted almost all night. I was ordered from the room when I entered.

"The presence of Mr. Parker upon the reservation for this school business is hurting our census work. The damage, however, is done and can not now be rectified. The Indians now suspect everything and everybody.

"If Mr. Junkin made a report to his chief of the council held in January, I can not conceive how the Department came to send Mr. Parker here to further excite the already aroused Navajos about their school children and the Grand Junction school. The Navajos say that it is a queer system which threatens to use soldiers to obtain school children.

"The Navajos support themselves, are independent, and receive little or

no Government aid. What they receive they do not ask for, and will fight for their children. Troops moved to this reservation means war. The people are able and honest. Reason will reach them better than bullets.

"One of our enumerators, George Sampson, informed me yesterday that a Navajo woman threatened to kill him with a knife when he called at her hogan for census information, supposing that he was there for the purpose of getting her children for a distant school. Col. W. G. Marmon, who is working district No. 9, told me yesterday that the day before he stopped at a hogan to enumerate, and got but two names, the Navajo and his squaw. They stated that they had no children. After he left the hogan he was joined by an Indian policeman, who was present at the hogan during the enumeration, and the policeman informed Col. Marmon that the family contained three children, who were concealed under a blanket in a corner of the hogan while the enumerator was present, the parents fearing to give their names for fear that the children would be taken from them and sent to the Indian school at Grand Junction. Some of the enumerators state that upon their approach the Navajo women conceal their children or hurry them off to the hills.

"Owing to this excitement I fear that we will fall short of the estimate in the total returned.

"If the Government wants a war with the Navajos it can get the accommodation on sight; no days of grace are requisite in the matter. These Indians are peaceable, industrious, earnest, and keeping faith with the nation under all treaties made. They kill no one and mind their own business. In case of war the Government must begin the killing. The Navajos are about the best armed and equipped Indians on the continent, and, including men, women, and children, can put 6,000 to 7,000 fighting people in the field. Their herds of cattle, horses, and sheep will be a good commissary for them in case of war. I hope sincerely that the Government will not send an army here to make a show of force or go to killing these people for a civic offense or for disobeying the Indian Office. By the way, was a compulsory Indian education law ever passed by Congress? What an extraordinary way of enforcing it!

Indian children on reservations should be placed as soon as possible into the public school systems of the States and Territories in which they live and where English alone is taught. There is no objection to their going to these public schools, for there is not the prejudice existing against the Indian that there is against the negro; still, the Indian is not usually a taxpayer; and this might be an objection. The nation could see to this. Public schools are not denominational schools, and creed is not taught in them, so this would be an advantage. Indians should have a school system where necessary under their own authority or the authority of the States and Territories in which they live after they have ceased to be wards of the nation, and industrial education should only be given where the Indian children show mechanical taste.

In the case of the allotted Indians, who are not taxpayers, local school privileges would probably be reluctantly given. The solution of this is the abolishment of the large reservations and the placing of the Indians somewhere on lands on which they can make a living, and then allotting them, and the payment by the United States for, say, 10 years, to the States and Territories in which the Indians are, of a monthly allowance for each child equal to the cost of schools for white children in the several districts.

The establishment of an Indian industrial training school is an event in a community. It adds immensely to the revenues of the adjacent city or town. It also increases population and booms things generally. As long as Congress gives liberally, the policy of increasing the number of such institutions will be popular with the people where they are located and aid some public men in retaining popular favor.

No thorough investigation of the best method of educating Indian children resulting from the several attempts has yet been had. The Government has been experimenting for many years in Indian educational matters, but no one plan has yet been settled upon as the best; still, the existing system is a great advance on previous systems, and is the best we have had. This is largely due to the efforts of President Harrison, Secretary Noble, and Commissioner Morgan. Congress makes or unmakes plans in the annual appropriation laws. The denominational question is always at the front in Indian education. The truth is, that for the past half century or more the various churches have been the most interested of all organizations in the Indian question, and have largely framed the Government's several Indian policies.

Their several boards and societies and the religious press have enabled them to reach and arouse the interest of the mass of the people, and being prominent and influential, they have exercised an enormous influence in this matter. They deserve credit and thanks for their efforts. In fact the Government has largely relied upon the churches in Indian matters, and while they deserve thanks and commendation, the result of the various denominations reaching out for the Indians' spiritual welfare has been on many reservations discord and contests among themselves, which the Indians have closely watched.

The greatest and most difficult problem now of Indian education is what to do with the Indian boys and girls belonging to reservations after they have been educated in Government boarding or industrial schools away from reservations. Shall they be sent back to the reservations? If so, what will they do when they go back; and once back, will they resume their Indian customs?

The Indian boy fresh from Carlisle or some other Government Indian school goes back to his people and reservation. He has learned a trade, perhaps that of a slater, a tinsmith, or harness maker. Such trades are useless among his people. His clothes wear out; he sees no employment at hand; he has no money. Soon a blanket takes the place of a coat, then leggings of blankets for trousers, and finally he is an Indian in appearance. The Indian boy educated at the United States Government boarding and industrial schools should only be sent back to his people when the conditions warrant it, and unless these conditions are as favorable to his remaining as they were at the school he left, he should be encouraged to live among the whites. The educated Indian girl is at a greater disadvantage than the educated boy, as she can only become the wife of a buck.

As stated, the prejudice that exists among whites against the negro does not exist against the Indian, and this should be weighed at its full value in the question of the final disposition of the Indian. The Indian, left to himself, should invoke sympathy and get a helping hand from the whites, both on account of his being the original American and because he will help himself when he knows he is to be paid for his work. The Indian likes money and will work to get it and the comforts which come from its possession.

If a national system of Indian education is to continue in schools away from the reservations, then the Indian youth so educated should be encouraged to remain with the whites until his people are allotted, when he can become an allottee. Indian school children are enrolled for allotment.

The statements of the special agents, pages 351-710, show conclusively that many Indian boys and girls educated at Government industrial or boarding schools away from reservations, after returning to their people have not realized expectations, and have not assisted the mass of Indians on their several reservations in the march of progress, but that they are usually overpowered in sentiment by the old Indians, and are either forced to their old ways and habits or go back to them of their own motion.

Employ Indian men and women as teachers, where competent, in Govern-

ment schools and in every position possible about the agencies or on the reservations, while they exist, and when so employed pay them as much as you do whites in like positions.

[Daniel Dorchester, D. D., superintendent of Indian schools, in his annual report for 1890, after an extended tour over the several Indian reservations, arrived at the following conclusion in connection with the question of church schools for Indians under Government aid, the argument in which is that it is the correct thing in Indian administration to civilize Indians before Christianizing them by creed:

"While the Government can not organically promote Christianity, it can, nevertheless, open the way for the churches, remove obstacles, and encourage them, irrespective of sects, in their work. This is important, because the Indians are thoroughly controlled in all their ideas and customs by their pagan notions. It is surprising to how many very common customs these old beliefs apply and how firmly they are held by them. Their pagan beliefs therefore constitute the chief basis of life."

Let the Indian's harmless games, dances, and customs alone. He dances because he believes it is his duty. He dances; we pray. Leave the Indian a little personality, a little independence, and teach him a little manhood while you are reconstructing him. The sun, scalp, and war dances, all exciting and brutal, have long since been abandoned; the remaining dances are merely for pleasure or duty.

On almost all of the reservations are some aged, crippled, deformed, and otherwise dependent Indians. These should be cared for, and no permanent change in the present system should take place without this being seen to. Of course, these dependent Indians are allotted, and the United States court of the district in which they are could lease their allotments for them, the proceeds going toward their support; or it might be best to make an appropriation direct for their care to the States and Territories in which they reside, or to gather them all in one locality and maintain them. There are only about 1,500 of them.

The nation should at once consider the Six Nations of New York in the matter of the Ogden Land Company's claim. The fee to the land in question, it is said, is claimed by the Ogden Land Company. The United States guaranteed a right of occupancy to the Indians. At present a clear title does not rest in the Ogden Land Company, these Indians, or the United States. The United States will have to initiate a movement to quiet and perfect this title, perhaps by purchase of the Ogden Land Company claim. Nothing in the way of a division of this land among the Indians can be done until the nation so acts. To properly allot the remaining unallotted Indians and cash the trust and other funds, which are about \$33,000,000, will cost in round numbers \$100,000,000.

In all future dealings with the reservation Indians let them understand that they must become self-sustaining; make them understand this by the law; show them the way; give them the means to become self-sustaining and they will succeed. Teach the Indian that it pays to be clean, to be industrious, to have one wife, to have property, to have but one family of children, and teach him to follow the best habits of white people. Show him that it is to his interest to be like other men.

Whatever it is to be done with the reservation Indians, do it at once. Ten years can close this question up. Do not dole this out through another fifty or one hundred years at a cost of \$200,000,000 or \$300,000,000.

In the final settlement of the Indian question an equity lies with the citizen Indians of California, who were never paid for their lands. Something should be done for them by the nation in the matter of homes and schools from public lands, or with money derived from sales of public lands. Perhaps the nonreservation Indians of Nevada should also be included.

Finally, the changes necessary in the Indian policy to improve the Indian's condition are: Enforced education under authority of the nation or the States and Territories; enforced labor, by making the reservation Indians work for themselves, either as laborers, herders, or farmers; enforced allotment on proper land, with allowance for houses, cattle, and horses prior thereto from the proceeds (perhaps) of their surplus lands; in fact, a start in life, especially for the squaws and children, thus securing for them settled homes.

This is the culmination of the success and failure of the entire Indian administration for the past one hundred years, and the earthly salvation of the remaining reservation Indians depends upon it.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, the Committee on Appropriations considered this bill very carefully in the light of the estimates and of the action of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. The proposition of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] that Congress should, upon the opinion of a single inspector, however intelligent he may be, change the whole policy of the Government, notwithstanding the reports of the heads of Departments and the action of the two Houses of Congress in respect to the administration of the Indian service, is certainly somewhat extraordinary.

I shall not at this time undertake to go into any argument upon this subject, but I will say that in respect to having agents for Indians who have allotments, and who are not upon reservations, I know by the experience of the Indians in Florida that they do require an agent as much if not more than those who are upon reservations.

I think the Government has a duty to perform to these half-civilized, and some uncivilized people, and that the policy of the Government in respect to Indian agencies is one that ought to be preserved, and not be ruthlessly abolished without consideration by a committee of this body, and without reference to the reports of the heads of the Departments.

I hope the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEPPER] will withdraw the amendment, which certainly ought to have the consideration of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and have a bill reported and acted upon deliberately by the Senate in reference to the allotments of the reserved portion of the reservation. In view of the difference of opinion which exists here, I do not think there can be any intelligent disposition of the subject. I therefore hope that in order to avoid the further consumption of time we may act upon the remaining amendments and that the Senator from Kansas will not press his amendment.

Mr. PEPPER. As I said before, I think this is a very easy way of disposing of the matter, and I therefore insist upon my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to

the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEPPER].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. At the end of line 7, on page 68, I move to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to discontinue contract schools as rapidly as the same can be done without interfering with the education of the Indian children, and that he submit to Congress, in his next estimates, proposals for substituting Government schools for contract schools in all places where, in his judgment, the same can be substituted without detriment to the education of the Indian.

Yesterday when the matter of contract schools was under discussion every Senator who spoke on the subject put himself on record as being in favor of accomplishing this purpose as speedily as it is possible to accomplish it, the objection being urged that under existing law and the administration of the appropriations of Congress it could not be done suddenly without detriment to the education of the children. The amendment simply provides that we shall make a beginning in that direction, and at sometime in the future it is to be hoped the full result may be brought about, the matter, however, being largely left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

I have no disposition to prolong this discussion, but I wish to read just a few words from the utterances of the Senator from Florida, [Mr. CALL] yesterday touching this point. He said:

Mr. President, there is not a member of the Committee on Appropriations who does not agree with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], that whenever it is possible to do so, in deference to the growing public sentiment of this country, it would be better that all Indian schools should be under the direct control of the Government. He does not differ—

Alluding to myself—

from the committee in that respect, nor the committee from him. The public opinion of this country, of the great masses of the religious people of all churches, is opposed, I believe, to the policy of sectarian schools.

I could not have expressed my own convictions any more clearly, nor could I have stated them as well as the Senator from Florida expressed them in the paragraph which I have read from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The amendment which I have offered looks to the beginning of a scheme under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior which, if honestly carried out, will ultimately take the appropriation entirely out of the hands of sectarian institutions and cause it to be spent wholly in schools controlled by the Government, in which sectarian teachings will presumably and probably be excluded.

This, as I view the matter, is something which ought to be done. It can not be done abruptly. We were told yesterday that these schools should not be discontinued arbitrarily, for the reason that contracts exist which can not and ought not to be summarily repudiated; but there seemed to be a consensus of opinion in the Senate yesterday that the suggestions made in the discussion were in the right direction, and that the ultimate purpose to put the schools under the control of the Government is correct in principle and ought in some way in the future to be worked out.

I never knew anything accomplished that was not begun. Rhetoric does not amount to anything in dealing with a great public question. Oratory never solved a great problem. If this is to be accomplished it must make a beginning. I submit to the Senate, and especially to the committee having the matter in charge, that the amendment I have offered is one which can not do any harm and that it properly, as I look at it, commits us to a policy which will result in great good. I hope the amendment will be accepted by the committee, and if it is not accepted I trust it will be adopted by the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senate can do as it chooses in regard to the matter.

Mr. CALL. I suggest to the Senator from New Hampshire whether his purpose would not be better advanced by not interfering with the matter in that shape. Would it not be better to adopt by legislation some practical method prescribing exactly what schools should be established by the Government, where they should be established, and the means provided for them? The amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire is an empty declaration. It simply declares that the Secretary shall as rapidly as possible discontinue the use of contract schools. It has always been the duty of the Secretary to provide Government schools wherever it could be done.

The main question will occur to the Senator just as much after his amendment is adopted, if that be the desire of the Senate, as before. Here is a school established by private charity. What shall the Government do, establish another one immediately alongside of it, and let the two schools be in competition? Will the Indians be withdrawn from one school and carried into the other? Shall we have no school there at all, or shall we leave it entirely to private charity? The whole subject is an important one, and in order to advance the idea of the Senator from New Hampshire and others, looking to the establishment

of nonsectarian schools for the adequate education of Indian children, it seems to me there ought to be a system and a plan carefully considered and reported, and then acted upon by both Houses of Congress, with whom the responsibility lies.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have been somewhat impressed with the suggestions of the Senator from Florida, and I will modify my amendment so that I think it will be agreeable to the Senator from Florida as well as to myself, and, I trust, to the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, I do not know that there has been any declaration of policy on the part of Congress, by any formal action, relating to this matter. I think it very proper that in some way and by some amendment to the pending bill Congress should declare that it is its purpose to do away with all schools for Indians except Government schools.

I think it is a very great mistake that Congress ever permitted the Indians to be educated in schools outside of the Government schools. I suppose it grew out of the disposition of a great many charitable, benevolent, and religious people to do missionary work among the Indians, supposing that missionary work could best be done through the medium of educational schools. However laudable that idea may have been, I think that as it has been carried out it has been greatly to the disadvantage of the Indians. Either the Government should leave the whole work to denominational associations or it should do the whole work itself. I can think of no reason why the Government should have schools for the education of the Indians and then allow a portion of the Indians to be educated in private schools.

I do not know why religious bodies should establish, maintain, and carry on schools among the Indians any more than that private individuals should carry on schools among the Indians. The Senator from Florida says this is the work of private individuals in some instances, and that in all cases contracts are made with individuals; but the fact nevertheless remains that these schools, conducted and carried on by the different denominational associations of the United States, are really understood to be a part of the work of the churches among the Indians. The object of the persons and the denominations engaged in it is to Christianize the Indians according to their idea of Christianity.

As I said, it may be a very laudable wish, but it seems to me sadly to interfere with the Government system of education of the Indians. The Government is not responsible for what is done in these schools, and whatever may be the nominal supervision which the Government exercises over them, they are not directly under the supervision and care of the Government as our Government schools are.

My own idea about Indian education is that the Indians need very much more work in the line of special education and training; manual and industrial education. Of course, that is to a certain extent foreign to the object of the private denominational schools. I have been hoping that the Government Indian school might assume more and more the feature of being a training school or an industrial school, carried on with the idea and purpose of enabling the Indian child, who is educated in the Government school, to earn a living and to learn how to work in connection with learning the letters and the rudimentary branches of education. I deem it very much more essential that that should be done than that the Indians should be educated along the lines of a common-school education simply and entirely.

To do that the Government should control all the schools. As I said, that can not be to any extent the purpose of the denominational schools. These are established with a kind of missionary object and missionary enterprise, to convert the children rather than to educate them. Just as long as that goes on, the education of the children will not be that which is best adapted to make them citizens and to enable them to take part with other citizens in the race of life.

I am very glad to observe that very many of the denominations of the country are adopting this idea with regard to Indian education. I believe that the Government schools can be best adapted to teaching the Indians those things which it is necessary they should learn in order to become self-sustaining and useful members of society. It does very little good to educate the Indian child above and away from the surroundings to which he or she must be relegated when his or her school life closes.

When the child thus educated goes back to his or her place among his or her associates, then he or she must adopt the customs, manners, and, so far as such a word can be used in connection with the Indian, the aspirations of the other Indians, or life is to be made a burden to them. So, looking at it in whatever way you will, from whatever standpoint you will, the denominational schools are, in my judgment, a hindrance to the civilization of the Indian; and the first great object is civilization, and giving them such an education as will enable them to

make their way in life. This is not new talk; this is not a new doctrine. It has been repeatedly affirmed here, it has been repeatedly affirmed by Indian Commissioners and by Secretaries of the Interior, and yet in some way the system of contract schools goes on, and the tendency all the while is to the enlargement of the system rather than to the diminution of it.

Therefore I think it is very proper that we should express in some way on the pending bill the determination of Congress to reduce the contract school system as rapidly as it can be done without leaving the Indians without the means of education at all, and to substitute in place of the contract schools, as rapidly as it can be done, Government schools under the direct care and supervision of Government officials.

Mr. GALLINGER. I desire to modify my amendment. I will state in connection with it that I have received valuable assistance from the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in formulating the amendment in its modified form. I desire to modify the amendment so that it will read as follows:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to inquire into and investigate the propriety of discontinuing contract schools, and whether, in his judgment, the same can be done without detriment to the education of the Indian children; and that he submit to Congress at the next session the result of such investigation, including an estimate of the additional cost, if any, of substituting Government schools for contract schools, together with such recommendations as he may deem proper.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I offer an amendment, to come in after line 24 on page 56.

The SECRETARY. Add after line 24 on page 56:

That the proper accounting officers of the Treasury Department be, and they are hereby, authorized to examine the accounts of James A. Cooper, late special agent of the Interior Department, upon the principles of equity and justice, and allow him such credits as he is entitled to and incurred by him under direct authority and orders of his superior officer, the Secretary of the Interior, and give him credit for the per diem due him while detained here in Washington under orders of the Interior Department.

Mr. MARTIN. In regard to the amendment I desire to say that I have submitted it to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations as well as the Senator from Florida, having the bill in charge, and I think it meets with their approval. As the only explanation of the amendment which is at all necessary I submit a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, explaining the whole situation.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, July 16, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of 14th instant, calling for a report as to the work done by Special Indian Agent James A. Cooper, for the commission appointed by act of July 13, 1892, to negotiate with the Yankton Indians in South Dakota.

All such commissions require that one of its members be designated as a disbursing agent under bonds, so that funds can be placed to his credit to meet the expenses of the commission. For this purpose Mr. W. L. Brown, one of the commissioners, was so designated, and the necessary funds were placed to his credit from time to time; but under date of December 24, 1892, he resigned.

Neither of the other members of the commission being under bond, funds could not be remitted to them for the compensation and expenses, and as it was believed that they had nearly completed their duties, it was thought to be better to detail a special agent already bonded to act for them until the end of the work.

Therefore, under date of February 8, 1893, Special Indian Agent Cooper was directed by this office to proceed to Yankton Agency and assume the duties of disbursing agent for the Yankton Commission.

He was specifically instructed to pay all legitimate claims incurred by the commission if he was satisfied that they were necessary and proper for the speedy execution of the work, provided each claimant swore to his claim and the chairman of the commission indorsed his approval thereon.

The commission having finished its duties in February, 1893, the Secretary of the Interior telegraphed Agent Cooper to accompany the members to this city, which order he complied with, remaining here with them, assisting them in completing their work and settling their accounts until the 17th of the following May, when he was ordered to proceed to New Mexico on special duty.

As it appears that Agent Cooper acted entirely under Department authority, even in the payment of the commissioners, Adams and Cole, in full, without deduction for absence from duty, and as he was detained here until ordered to another post of duty, I think that his accounts as presented in accordance with the regulations of the Department, and in compliance with the specific instructions above referred to, should be allowed, which would include the commissioner's compensation in full and his per diem while detained in this city as above explained.

Respectfully,

D. M. BROWNING, Commissioner.

HON. JOHN MARTIN, United States Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I also offer an amendment, in relation to certain homeless Wyandotte Indians, to follow line 2, on page 40. I will state that I have submitted this amendment also to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and some of the

other members, as well as to the Senator having the bill in charge, and I think they have no objection to it. The amendment is recommended by the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Kansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After line 2, on page 40, insert:

Whereas there is due the Wyandotte Indians from the Government of the United States, as ascertained and reported by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his letter to the Secretary of the Interior of February 17, 1894, a balance of \$15,686.80; and

Whereas there are absentee Wyandotte Indians, who are poor and homeless, numbering between 150 and 200 persons, and for whom no provision has been made:

Therefore, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to purchase for said absentee Wyandotte Indians 80 acres of land per capita, or so much thereof as said sum of \$15,686.80 will purchase, at a sum not to exceed \$1.50 per acre; such lands to be purchased from the Quapaw Indians in the Indian Territory, or, if this be found impracticable, then such lands shall be purchased of other Indians in the Indian Territory, where the land may be most conveniently and advantageously obtained by the Secretary of the Interior; said lands to be taken in allotments, as provided in the severalty act of Congress of February, 1887, and amendments thereto. And the sum of \$15,686.80, so due the said Wyandotte Indians, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of making the purchase of the lands herein and hereby provided for.

Mr. MARTIN. I submit a letter from the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs in relation to the matter, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without being read.

The letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, February 17, 1894.

SIR: I have the honor to state that I am in receipt of a communication from Hon. WILLIAM S. HOLMAN, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, dated February 9, 1894, in which he incloses copy of a letter from this office to R. B. Armstrong, esq., dated January 8, 1891, relative to the claims of certain Wyandotte Indians, and a proposed amendment to the Indian appropriation bill, and asks for my views in relation to the claim.

With the papers submitted by Mr. HOLMAN is the draft of what appears to be an item intended for insertion in the Indian appropriation bill, as follows:

"Whereas there is due the Wyandotte Indians by the Government of the United States, as ascertained by a report of special commissioners appointed by Congress to investigate the claims of the Wyandottes, transmitted to Congress March 19, 1869, the sum of \$24,811.50; and whereas there are absentee Wyandotte, Indians who are poor and homeless numbering between 150 and 200:

"Therefore the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to purchase for said absentee Wyandotte Indians 80 acres of land per capita, such purchase to be made of the Indians comprising the Quapaw Agency in the Indian Territory, or if found impracticable, of other Indians in the Indian Territory, said lands to be taken in allotments as provided in the severalty act of February, 1887, and amendments thereto, and to be paid for at the maximum price of \$1.50 per acre; and the sum of \$25,000 is hereby appropriated, out of the general fund not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of carrying out this provision."

The thirteenth article of the treaty of February 23, 1867, known as the Omnibus treaty (15 Stats., 516), as originally agreed upon, provided "that there shall be recognized as due and paid to the Wyandottes of all classes the sum of \$83,814.40," as shown by a schedule attached to the treaty.

The items in said schedule were as follows:

1. Annuity due under the sixth article of the treaty of January 31, 1855.....	\$8,750.00
2. Amount discounted on \$53,594.53 in State bonds on the 13th of May, 1859.....	15,187.03
3. Interest on the above \$15,187.03 from May 13, 1859, to February, 1867, at 5 per cent.....	6,150.87
4. Amount discounted on \$83,000 in State bonds, March 24, 1860.....	11,130.09
5. Interest on above \$11,130 from March 24, 1860, to February 24, 1867.....	4,618.95
6. Moneys heretofore appropriated in fulfillment of treaty stipulations, but transferred to surplus fund.....	3,635.05
7. Amount for depredations on Wyandotte property, claim approved by Secretary of the Interior, March 21, 1862.....	34,342.50
Total amount.....	\$83,814.40

The schedule also contained the following statement:

"The above-named total sum is designed to represent the full claim of the Wyandottes against the United States under former treaties.

"The first, second, and fourth items, together with another named in the fourteenth article of the foregoing treaty, were examined and approved by the House Committee on Indian Affairs, and their payment recommended. (See Congressional Globe, page 1037, part 2, second session, Thirty-eighth Congress.)

"The third and fifth items constitute the interest on the moneys discounted on the bonds mentioned in items 2 and 4. Although the committee did not recommend the payment of this interest they acknowledged its justice, but said that its allowance would possibly endanger the passage of the appropriation, as the general feeling was averse to paying interest on claims."

"In ratifying the treaty the Senate struck out the above provision of the 13th article and inserted the following in lieu thereof:

"And the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and required to appoint three persons whose duty it shall be to ascertain and report to the Department the amount of money, if any, due by the United States to the Wyandotte Indians under existing treaty stipulations, and the items mentioned in Schedule A, appended to this treaty, and the report of the persons so appointed, with the evidence taken, shall be submitted to Congress for action at its next session."

This amendment was accepted by the Wyandottes, and Messrs. James H. Embury, Julius A. Fay, and James P. Taylor were appointed commissioners thereunder. March 2, 1869, these commissioners submitted their report, in

which they found the following sums justly due the Wyandottes from the United States, to wit:

A. Interest on deferred payments.....	\$11,612.00
B. Loss on sale of bonds, May, 1859, with interest.....	18,547.00
Loss on sale of bonds, March, 1860, with interest.....	12,620.00
C. Money heretofore appropriated in fulfillment of treaty stipulations, but transferred to the surplus fund.....	3,844.69
D. Taxes unjustly collected by the Territorial government of Kansas in 1859 and 1860, to be refunded with interest.....	14,582.62
E. Grant of \$5,000 for Wyandottes to establish themselves in their new homes.....	5,000.30
Total	66,206.31

This report was transmitted to the Senate by the Secretary of the Interior, March 17, 1869 (Senate Executive Document No. 6, Forty-first Congress, first session).

In a supplemental report the commissioners allowed for claims of various parties for losses by depredations committed on their property..... \$6,293.50
Making the total amount allowed by the commission..... 72,499.81

It will be observed that there are three items of interest included in the above amounts:

First. A. Composed entirely of interest on deferred payments.....	11,612.00
Second. In B. Interest on loss on bonds, which is found to amount to.....	11,444.50
Third. In D. Interest on taxes illegally collected found to amount to.....	2,879.06
Total	25,935.56

It also appears from the records of this office that item C included the sum of \$1,755.18 for interest.....
27,690.74

The draft submitted with Mr. Holman's letter appears to be composed of these several items with the exception of No. 3, the correct amount of the other items being \$24,811.68.

By the act of May 29, 1872 (17 Stats., 165), the sum of \$16,703.50 was appropriated to refund the taxes unjustly collected, being item D of the commission's report, less interest, \$1,703.56, and for the payment of the \$5,000 for removal, being item E.

By the act of March 3, 1881 (21 Stats., 421), the sum of \$28,109.51 was appropriated to be paid to members of the Wyandotte-tribe of Indians, which appears to include the following items:

Losses on sale of bonds, May, 1859.....	\$11,592.50
Losses on sale of bonds, March, 1860 (being item B with interest omitted).....	8,130.00
Money heretofore appropriated but transferred to surplus fund (being item C without interest).....	2,089.51
And depredation claims (being amount allowed by commission in supplemental report).....	6,293.50
	28,105.51

The commissioners allowed the sum of \$44,809.07, exclusive of the items for interest, and Congress had up to 1891 appropriated the sum of \$44,813.01 in payment.

It having been ascertained that, in the payment of the foregoing appropriations, the citizen Wyandottes had not received the amount to which they were entitled, Congress, on March 3, 1891 (26 Stats., 1009), appropriated the sum of \$13,000, or so much thereof as might be necessary, to pay balances due the citizen Wyandottes.

There has, therefore, been paid to the Wyandottes of all classes, in carrying out the provisions of the amended thirteenth article of the treaty of 1867, the sum of \$57,813.01, leaving a balance, according to the report of the commission, of \$15,686.80.

I see no reason to differ from the conclusion of the Committee on Indian Affairs, as referred to in Schedule A attached to the treaty of 1867, and of the commissioners appointed under the amended thirteenth article of that treaty, that the Wyandottes are justly entitled to the items of interest.

I think, however, that the tribal Indians should be charged with the \$13,000 paid to the citizen class, to equalize the payments to each, as full payment of their entire share of the amount found due by the commission, the balance to be paid the citizen class in full discharge of their share of said amount. This would reduce the proposed appropriation from \$25,000 to \$15,686.80.

It is understood that the latter Indians will be satisfied with the proposed disposition of the money, but regarding this I have no other information than that conveyed by Mr. Armstrong.

It is probable that such disposition would be for the best interests of the Indians referred to in the item submitted.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

FRANK C. ARMSTRONG,
Acting Commissioner.

The Honorable The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the letter of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs be also printed as a miscellaneous document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so ordered. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT. As I am obliged to leave the Chamber, I wish to return to an amendment which was made on page 49, in lieu of the matter contained within line 15 to line 25, inclusive. The last clause of the amendment which was adopted reads:

But this provision shall not apply to any lands now held by either of the five civilized tribes.

I wish to add at the end of the amendment "nor to any of the lands within the Quawpaw Indian Agency."

That agency is in the Indian Territory, and the same reason exists for it.

Mr. CALL. We accept the amendment.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the amendment be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT]. The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole. Is it the wish of the Senate that the vote shall be taken on concurring in the amendments in gross?

Mr. JARVIS. I ask that the amendment made in line 24, page 59, reducing the appropriation for the Cherokee training school at Cherokee, N. C., from \$1,400 to \$1,200, may be reserved. I wish to speak about three minutes on that amendment, and ask the nonconcurrence of the Senate in it.

Mr. CALL. I ask that all the rest of the amendments be concurred in.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is a separate vote desired on any other amendment? The amendment indicated by the Senator from North Carolina will be reserved for a separate vote. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole with that exception.

The amendments were concurred in.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendment reserved at the request of the Senator from North Carolina. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 59, line 24, before the word "hundred," the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, struck out "four" and inserted "two;" so as to read:

For support and education of eighty pupils at the Cherokee training school at Cherokee, N. C., at \$167 per annum each, \$13,360; for pay of superintendent, \$1,200.

Mr. JARVIS. Mr. President, I desire to call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to a fact which I presume has been overlooked. I would have done so before the amendment was made as in Committee of the Whole, but I happened not to be in my seat at the time.

Prior to 1892 there was at the Indian training school at Cherokee an agency. The agent received \$800. The superintendent of the school received \$1,200, making in all \$2,000. The act of 1892 abolished the agency and imposed the duty of the agent upon the superintendent of the school, increasing his compensation from \$1,200 to \$1,400. It gave the superintendent of the school \$200 for the discharge of his duties as agent, and required him to give a bond. The provision will be found in the Statutes at Large, page 122, of the acts of 1892. I will read it.

The superintendent of the Indian training school at Cherokee, N. C., shall, in addition to his duties as superintendent, perform the duties heretofore required of the agent at said Cherokee Agency, and receive in addition to his salary as superintendent, \$200 per annum, which sum is hereby appropriated for the purpose, and shall give bond as other Indian agents, and that the office of agent be, and the same is hereby, abolished at that place.

The same act fixed his salary as superintendent at \$1,200, in the very language which is now copied in this proposed act. The attention of the House of Representatives was called to the dual duty he performs, and they put in his salary at \$1,400. The committee of the Senate struck out \$1,400 and made it \$1,200, and the Senate as in Committee of the Whole agreed to the amendment. To reduce this salary, as the officer is under bond, it seems to me would be doing him a manifest injustice for the sake of saving \$200 a year. As I said, I presume the fact that the act of 1892 imposes these other duties upon him escaped the attention of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. COCKRELL. I will state to the Senator frankly that he is exactly correct in some particulars. I will give a statement of the case showing the exact condition of the matter.

In the appropriation laws for the fiscal years 1891, 1892, and 1893 we find for the Eastern Cherokee Agency \$800. In the law for the fiscal year 1893, we find the following:

The superintendent of the Indian training school at Cherokee, N. C., shall, in addition to his duties as superintendent, perform the duties heretofore required of the agent at said Cherokee Agency, and receive in addition to his salary as superintendent \$200 per annum.

The other House, in this bill, on page 2, retained that clause. It reads:

Additional compensation to superintendent of said school for performing the duties heretofore required of the agent at the Cherokee Agency, \$200.

Then evidently by an oversight they put his salary at \$1,400, which was intended to be the aggregate amount. The committee of the Senate cut it down to \$1,200, just what it has been all the time, leaving \$200 to be paid to the superintendent acting as agent, as it was in the former law.

Mr. JARVIS. Then I learn from the chairman of the committee that the appropriation for the duties of the superintendent as agent has been made.

Mr. COCKRELL. It will be found at the top of page 2 of the pending bill.

At the Cherokee School, North Carolina: Additional compensation to superintendent of said school for performing the duties heretofore required of the agent at the Cherokee Agency, \$200.

There was evidently a mistake made in the other House. I thought the Senator was right until I discovered the reason why we reduced the appropriation from \$1,400 to \$1,200. That is the reason why we struck it out. We wanted to leave it just as it was.

Mr. JARVIS. The explanation of the Senator from Missouri is entirely satisfactory. I withdraw the objection to concurring in the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the reserved amendment.

The amendment was concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the reports of the committees of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the following bills:

A bill (H. R. 5894) making appropriations for the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895; and

A bill (H. R. 6108) making appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, and for other purposes.

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. MANDERSON. Personally I would feel very greatly obliged to the Senator from Missouri, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and I know the Senate generally would be very glad for information from him concerning the probabilities as to the remaining appropriation bills. I understand that all the appropriation bills are now disposed of, so far as original action in the Senate is concerned, except the sundry civil appropriation bill and the deficiency appropriation bill. Can we have any intimation as to whether the bills I have named will be out of the committee before next week, and if not, about what time next week?

Mr. COCKRELL. The subcommittee, consisting of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], and myself, have been at work on the sundry civil appropriation bill, preparing it for the full committee at every leisure moment we have had for some days past. Unfortunately yesterday and to-day we had no time except a short while before the Senate met at 12 o'clock. The subcommittee on the deficiency appropriation bill, consisting of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE], and myself, have not looked at that bill. We have not had time to get to it. We hope to get the sundry civil appropriation bill reported to the Senate on Saturday, but it is not a certainty.

We can not tell how much of the time of the Senator from Iowa will be taken up to-morrow in the tariff discussion. That has been the trouble. We could not consider the sundry civil appropriation bill at any time as the other bills were considered, because the Senator from Iowa could not leave the floor of the Senate while the tariff bill was under discussion. We shall have that bill before the Senate, and hope to get it through early in the coming week, but it will be impossible to name the exact day when it will be reported.

Mr. MANDERSON. I am aware of some of the difficulties which have attended the consideration of these bills, especially the sundry civil appropriation bill. It occurred to me that time might perhaps be gained if the subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations having in charge these two particular bills might be disengaged entirely during to-morrow and Saturday, which could very easily be accomplished, and at the same time we could give that prayerful and careful consideration which the action to-day elsewhere demands at the hands of the Senate by adjourning over until Monday. Of course, I simply make it as a suggestion for the consideration of the majority.

Mr. COCKRELL. I wish we could do it as far as the labors of the Committee on Appropriations and our individual convenience are concerned, but it would not be just or proper under the circumstances to do it, as the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], the chairman of the Committee on Finance, has given notice that immediately after the reading of the Journal in the morning he will call up the message from the House of Representatives on the tariff bill. Otherwise I would be perfectly willing to do it.

I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After thirty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 6 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, July 20, 1894, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate July 19, 1894.

MINISTER TO RUSSIA.

Clifton R. Breckinridge, of Arkansas, to be envoy extraordi-

nary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Russia, vice Andrew D. White, resigned.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Walter I. Carter, of New York, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Patchogue, in the State of New York, to succeed Robert Mills, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

INDIAN AGENT.

Horace M. Rebok, of Toledo, Iowa, to be agent for the Indians of the Sac and Fox Agency in Iowa, vice Wallace R. Lesser, term expired.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Eugene J. Trippel, of Yuma, Ariz., to be register of the land office at Tucson, Ariz., vice Frank W. Walls, deceased.

POSTMASTERS.

Charles L. Shipton, to be postmaster at Marengo, in the county of Iowa and State of Iowa, in the place of David M. Rowland, whose commission expired April 22, 1894.

George E. Le Tourneau, to be postmaster at Windom, in the county of Cottonwood and State of Minnesota, in the place of Joseph McMurtrey, deceased.

Charles W. Arner, to be postmaster at Wellington, in the county of Lorain and State of Ohio, in the place of Elmer E. Husted, whose commission expired June 14, 1894.

Frank Cooper, to be postmaster at Ravenswood, in the county of Jackson and State of West Virginia, in the place of James F. Stone, removed.

John Hoberg, to be postmaster at South Kaukauna, in the county of Outagamie and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Frank M. Charlesworth, whose commission expired July 12, 1894.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

Infantry arm.

Second Lieut. Marcus D. Cronin, Twentieth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, July 15, 1894, vice McMartin, Twenty-fifth Infantry, dismissed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 19, 1894.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Medical Department.

Lieut. Col. Francis L. Town, deputy surgeon-general, to be assistant surgeon-general.

Maj. Joseph R. Gibson, surgeon, to be deputy surgeon-general.

Capt. Marshal W. Wood, assistant surgeon, to be surgeon.

Infantry arm.

Second Lieut. Arthur B. Foster, Nineteenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

POSTMASTERS.

C. B. Popejoy to be postmaster at Lexington, in the county of McLean and State of Illinois.

Joseph B. Boyle to be postmaster at Westminster, in the county of Carroll and State of Maryland.

Martin C. Walter, to be postmaster at Niantic, in the county of New London and State of Connecticut.

Nun McCullick, to be postmaster at Montpelier, in the county of Blackford and State of Indiana.

William H. Lightle, to be postmaster at Gas City, in the county of Grant and State of Indiana.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, July 19, 1894.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Rev. J. H. McCARTY, D. D., of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege. If I am correctly informed, the statement of the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. BAKER], made yesterday, which like statement is always accepted in the House, shows that there was not a quorum present at the time when action was taken on what I think was the bankruptcy bill. If that be the case, and there are no corrections to be made otherwise, it will show that there was not a quorum present; and it will become the duty of the House to commence where the error occurred.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will call the attention of the gentleman from Maine to the fact that on yesterday the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MARTIN] corrected the RECORD and the Journal by having his name recorded as present and voting, he having been present.