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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF  
CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

AT THE  
NINETEENTH ANNUAL SESSION HELD IN DENVER, COL.,  
JUNE 23-29, 1892.

EDITED BY  
ISABEL C. BARROWS,  
Official Reporter of the Conference.

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## THE ADVANTAGES OF MINGLING INDIANS WITH WHITES.

BY CAPTAIN R. H. PRATT.

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

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

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

An old Cheyenne chief, named Minimic, nearly sixty years of age, who had been the head of the war forces of his people for many years, led them in their fights against the government and had been leader in their savage rites and ceremonies, was among the prisoners under my care in the old fort at St. Augustine, Fla., from 1875 to 1878. While there, he became a favorite among the gentlemen of the yachting club; and from time to time I permitted him to go to the club-room and out sailing with different gentlemen. He soon learned

to express himself a little in English; and no gentleman ever paid more attention to his toilet than Minimic did, when he was permitted to accept one of these invitations. He learned to imitate, so far as he was able, the dress of the gentlemen he associated with; and his manner became wonderfully improved and civilized. His regular duty at the old fort was to be captain of the wood squad, and it was his delight to keep a large stock of wood ready cut and nicely piled ahead. After his release in 1878, and his return to his home, he gathered about him the men that he had led in battle before, and the first year undertook and filled contracts for the cutting and the delivery of fifteen hundred cords of wood to the military post near and to the Indian agent.

Howling Wolf, another of the prisoners, was threatened with blindness. Mrs. Senator Pendleton, who visited St. Augustine, became interested in him, got the consent of the authorities in Washington, and sent him to Boston, where he was placed under treatment in an eye hospital. He was gone about five months. My house fronted the bay, and persons going to and from the fort generally passed along the sea wall in front of us. We saw a dapper gentleman, with hand satchel, Derby hat, and cane, pass up the sea wall into the fort with quick step; and I went to the fort to see who it was, and found that Howling Wolf had returned unannounced, his eyes greatly benefited, and in addition, in his dress, manner, and conduct, he had imbibed a large stock of Boston qualities. In fact, I was not long in finding out that, in some respects, he had taken on altogether too much Boston for his resources and future good. He became insubordinate and insurrectionary, and I was forced to discipline him. Since his return home he has been persistently demanding that he be considered a great man, and has pestered the situation not a little by his assumed superiority.

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

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.

We are just now making a great pretence of anxiety to civilize the

Indians. I use the word "pretence" purposely, and mean it to have all the significance it can possibly carry. Washington believed that commerce freely entered into between us and the Indians would bring about their civilization, and Washington was right. He was followed by Jefferson, who inaugurated the reservation plan. Jefferson's reservation was to be the country west of the Mississippi; and he issued instructions to those controlling Indian matters to get the Indians there, and let the Great River be the line between them and the whites. Any method of securing removal — persuasion, purchase, or force — was authorized.

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

Washington's policy was one of association, equality, amalgamation,—killing the Indian and saving the man. Jefferson's plan was segregation, degradation, destruction. Washington's plan meant health, self-help, economy, hope, increase in every way. Jefferson's plan meant and has proven destructive to the Indians, vastly expensive, hopeless, and productive of inertia, disease, and death.

At no period in the history of the country and in no case has Washington's plan been honestly tried. At every period we have blindly and remorselessly followed Jefferson. We have bought the Indians into moving; we have harassed them into moving; we have fought them into moving; and we have imprisoned them upon reservations, and then most carefully guarded and hindered their intercourse in any way, shape, or manner with us and our best civilization. "A Century of Dishonor" has been written against us, but far less than half of the real fact has been laid before the public.

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

Tacitus says, "The human mind is so constituted as to make us hate those whom we have wronged"; and having wronged the Indian by our driving out and segregating methods, denied that he is human and capable of development, we have little compunction at his death in any form, and the man who will lead battalions against him and destroy him, either in fair fight or shoot him down when he is a prisoner and helpless, we publicly applaud, and reward with the gift of every

office from President down. Governors, senators, representatives, generals,—all have reached place and fame through destroying Indians.

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

Samuel Milroy, agent for the Miami Indians, making his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, from Delphi, Ind., on Sept. 19, 1839, accounting for the loss in numbers in that once powerful and most warlike tribe, stated: "The large amount of their annuities compared with their numbers is the leading cause of their rapid decline. One of their principal chiefs indicated the fact to me, through the interpreter, Captain Andre, that in his knowledge in eighteen years 450 men and 36 women had perished by the knife. Perhaps in the whole history of man, savage and civilized, there is not an instance of a nation being exterminated by assassination, or as nearly so, as in the case of the Miamis; and this national suicidal propensity is wholly occasioned by intemperance, and there is, perhaps, no instance of killing amongst them except when intoxicated."

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

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

A few weeks ago I asked one of my young graduates of the Osage tribe how he accounted for the great decrease among the Osages, from 3,490 in 1868 to about 1,500 at the present time. He at once and promptly replied, "Whiskey and idleness"; and he was right. The Osages receive about \$250 per annum from the United States government for every man, woman, and child in the tribe. They have a home in the north-eastern part of the Indian Territory, of nearly fifteen hundred thousand acres of excellent land. They are bordered on all sides by an aggressive, scheming, money-making population, which in a very large portion of its elements is destitute of any human principle towards the Indians, and ready to resort to any debauching means to enrich itself. Having a border of about two hundred miles, the best of laws and the most ample policing care cannot possibly protect them from the surrounding influences.

I asked one of my Osage girls if her people got drunk. "Oh, yes," she said. "Do they ever kill each other when they are drunk?"

“Oh, yes: often the men kill each other, and the women, too, sometimes.” Being carefully segregated, away from the observation of the almost omnipresent newspaper correspondent, and being only Indians, these facts never get before the public.

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

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

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

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

It should be borne in mind that the money expended at these Indian schools is put at once into circulation in their immediate vicinity,—and the employees are mostly white people, men and women carefully chosen; that the money they receive for this work enters largely into the financial growth of their respective communities, and

becomes a part of the general prosperity of the country. A great burden rests upon the Western States and Territories which embrace Indian reservations; for Indian lands are not taxed, and Indians not only do not contribute to the advancement of these growing communities, but the progress of the State or Territory is often, and sometimes necessarily, hindered to a greater or lesser extent by their presence. It would therefore seem only a matter of equity that the burden of these Western States and Territories should be lightened by the distribution among them of such money as may be necessary for the education of the Indians.

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

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

Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. Horrible as were the experiences of its introduction, and of slavery itself, there was con-



cealed in them the greatest blessing that ever came to the Negro race,— seven millions of blacks from cannibalism in darkest Africa to citizenship in free and enlightened America ; not full, not complete citizenship, but possible — probable — citizenship, and on the highway and near to it.

There is a great lesson in this. The schools did not make them citizens, the schools did not teach them the language, nor make them industrious and self-supporting. Denied the right of schools, they became English-speaking and industrious through the influences of association. Scattered here and there, under the care and authority of individuals of the higher race, they learned self-support and something of citizenship, and so reached their present place. No other influence or force would have so speedily accomplished such a result. Left in Africa, surrounded by their fellow-savages, our seven millions of industrious black fellow-citizens would still be savages. Transferred into these new surroundings and experiences, behold the result. They became English-speaking and civilized, because forced into association with English-speaking and civilized people ; became healthy and multiplied, because they were property ; and industrious, because industry, which brings contentment and health, was a necessary quality to increase their value.

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

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

For every male above ten captured . . . . .	\$150
For every male above ten scalped, being killed . . . . .	130
For every female or male under ten captured . . . . .	130
For every female under ten scalped, being killed . . . . .	50

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

North Carolina in 1760 passed an act of giving ten pounds for each and every Indian killed by any man or woman of that commonwealth ; and, if the person was in the actual pay of the province at the time, he or she was to receive only five pounds. All plunder

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that such persons could capture from the Indians was to be their own property.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We shall have to go elsewhere, and seek for other means besides land in severalty to release these people from their tribal relations

and to bring them individually into the capacity and freedom of citizens.

Just now that land in severalty is being retired as the one all-powerful leverage that is going to emancipate and bring about Indian civilization and citizenship, we have another plan thrust upon us which has received great encomium from its authors, and has secured the favor of Congress to the extent of vastly increasing appropriations. This plan is calculated to arrest public attention, and to temporarily gain concurrence from everybody that it is really the panacea for securing citizenship and equality in the nation for the Indians. In its execution this means purely tribal schools among the Indians; that is, Indian youth must continue to grow up under the pressure of home surroundings. Individuals are not to be encouraged to get out and see and learn and join the nation. They are not to measure their strength with the other inhabitants of the land, and find out what they do not know, and thus be led to aspire to gain in education, experience, and skill,—those things that they must know in order to become equal to the rest of us. A public school system especially for the Indians is a tribal system; and this very fact says to them that we believe them to be incompetent, that they must not attempt to cope with us. Such schools build up tribal pride, tribal purposes, and tribal demands upon the government. They formulate the notion that the government owes them a living and vast sums of money; and by improving their education on these lines, but giving no other experience and leading to no aspirations beyond the tribe, leaves them in their chronic condition of helplessness, so far as reaching the ability to compete with the white race is concerned. It is like attempting to make a man well by always telling him he is sick. We have only to look at the tribes who have been subject to this influence to establish this fact, and it makes no difference where they are located. All the tribes in the State of New York have been trained in tribal schools; and they are still tribes and Indians, with no desire among the masses to be anything else but separate tribes.

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

neglect and inability to make use of their large and rich estate. It was asserted on the floor of the House of Representatives, and not contradicted, that some time in the fifties we paid one of these tribes \$300,000 for a certain tract of land, and again in the sixties we paid \$800,000 more for the same land, and a recent session of Congress passed a law giving them nearly \$3,000,000 for the same property. What else but demoralization and destruction of principle and manhood could follow in the train of such a course of action towards any people? Yet they were educated in home schools, and have a certain sort of civilization, if we keep along the lines of travel and away from the back woods.

Indian schools are just as well calculated to keep the Indians intact as Catholic schools are to keep the Catholics intact. Under our principles we have established the public school system, where people of all races may become unified in every way, and loyal to the government; but we do not gather the people of one nation into schools by themselves, and the people of another nation into schools by themselves, but we invite the youth of all peoples into all schools. We shall not succeed in Americanizing the Indian unless we take him in in exactly the same way. I do not care if abundant schools on the plan of Carlisle are established. If the principle we have always had at Carlisle — of sending them out into families and into the public schools — were left out, the result would be the same, even though such schools were established, as Carlisle is, in the centre of an intelligent and industrious population, and though such schools were, as Carlisle always has been, filled with students from many tribes. Purely Indian schools say to the Indians: "You are Indians, and must remain Indians. You are not of the nation, and cannot become of the nation. We do not want you to become of the nation."

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

vanced, those who have a desire to become civilized, and to live like white men, who would with little encouragement go out into our communities, are the first to join the missionary's forces. They become his lieutenants to gather in others. The missionary must necessarily hold on to every help he can get to push forward his schemes and plans, so that he may make a good report to his Church; and, in order to enlarge his work and make it a success, he must keep his community together. Consequently, any who care to get out into the nation, and learn from actual experience what it is to be civilized, what is the full length and breadth and height and depth of our civilization, must stay and help the missionary. The operation of this has been disastrous to any individual escape from the tribe, has vastly and unnecessarily prolonged the solution of the question, and has needlessly cost the charitable people of this country large sums of money, to say nothing of the added cost to the government, the delay in accomplishing their civilization, and their destruction caused by such delay.

If, as sometimes happens, the missionary kindly consents to let or helps one go out and get these experiences, it is only for the purpose of making him a preacher or a teacher or help of some kind; and such a one must, as soon as he is fitted, and much sooner in most cases, return to the tribe and help the missionary to save his people. The Indian who goes out has public charitable aid through his school course, forfeits his liberty, and is owned by the missionary. In all my experience of twenty-five years I have known scarcely a single missionary to heartily aid or advocate the disintegration of the tribes and the giving of individual Indians rights and opportunities among civilized people. There is this in addition: that the missionaries have largely assumed to dictate to the government its policy with tribes, and their dictations have always been along the lines of their colonies and church interests, and the government must gauge its actions to suit the purposes of the missionary, or else the missionary influences are at once exerted to defeat the purposes of the government. The government, by paying large sums of money to churches to carry on schools among Indians, only builds for itself opposition to its own interests. Years ago, under the orders of the Department, I went to New Mexico after children for Carlisle. I found there communities aggregating eleven thousand Indians. They were not nomads: they were village dwellers, agriculturists, stock-raisers, and their communities were the oldest within the limits of the United

States. They had been under the influence of a church for two hundred and fifty or more years, and at this time the power of that church over them in all their affairs was absolute. They paid taxes and tithes to it alone, and yet there was not one single Indian in the whole eleven thousand that could either read or write in English or in any other language. When I brought up the subject of education, I was met at once with the strongest possible opposition, and confronted with the fact that the Indians had been commanded by the officials of that church not to send their children to school, not to allow them to learn the language of the country. Every step that has been taken towards getting the youth of these Indians into schools, and every attempt that has been made to Americanize them, has met with opposition from this church of the most insidious and imperious kind.

We make our greatest mistake in feeding our civilization to the Indians instead of feeding the Indians to our civilization. America has different customs and civilizations from Germany. What would be the result of an attempt to plant American customs and civilization among the Germans in Germany, demanding that they shall become thoroughly American before we admit them to the country? Now, what we have all along attempted to do for and with the Indians is just exactly that, and nothing else. We invite the Germans to come into our country and communities, and share our customs, our civilization, to be of it; and the result is immediate success. Why not try it on the Indians? Why not invite them into experiences in our communities? Why always invite and compel them to remain a people unto themselves?

It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life. We, left in the surroundings of civilization, grow to possess a civilized language, life, and purpose. Transfer the infant white to the savage surroundings, he will grow to possess a savage language, superstition, and habit. Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit. These results have been established over and over again beyond all question; and it is also well established that those advanced in life, even to maturity, of either class, lose the already acquired qualities belonging to the side of their birth, and gradually take on those of the side to which they have been transferred.

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

The school at Carlisle is an attempt on the part of the government to do this. Carlisle has always planted treason to the tribe and loyalty to the nation at large. It has preached against colonizing Indians, and in favor of individualizing them. It has demanded for them the same multiplicity of chances which all others in the country enjoy. Carlisle fills young Indians with the spirit of loyalty to the stars and stripes, and then moves them out into our communities to show by their conduct and ability that the Indian is no different from the white or the colored, that he has the inalienable right to liberty and opportunity that the white and the negro have. Carlisle does not dictate to him what line of life he should fill, so it is an honest one. It says to him that, if he gets his living by the sweat of his brow, and demonstrates to the nation that he is a man, he does more good for his race than hundreds of his fellows who cling to their tribal communistic surroundings.

The result of the Carlisle system is that we have the most economical Indian school in the country, East or West, because large numbers of our pupils go into the public schools, live in families, work for their own support and schooling, become really independent of government support, and join the productive forces of the country. What they earn is theirs. Their earnings for the past year aggregate \$21,603.79. They are taught to save. Over seven hundred have bank accounts, and their total credits from these earnings at the close of May was \$15,980.69. They work principally on farms and as house-helpers. Very many have become first-class workmen and work-women, and get first-class pay. There is a great demand for them. More than double the number we could supply were asked for this year. The testimony as to qualification and character is "good" or "excellent" in nineteen cases out of twenty.

No evidence is wanting to show that, in our industries, the Indian can become a capable and willing factor if he has the chance.

What we need is an Administration which will give him the chance. The Land in Severalty Bill can be made far more useful than it is, but it can be made so only by assigning the land so as to interperse good, civilized people among them. If, in the distribution, it is so arranged that two or three white families come between two Indian families, then there would necessarily grow up a community of fellowship along all the lines of our American civilization that would help the Indian at once to his feet. Indian schools must, of necessity, be for a time, because the Indian cannot speak the language, and he knows nothing of the habits and forces he has to contend with ; but the highest purpose of all Indian schools ought to be only to prepare the young Indian to enter the public and other schools of the country. And immediately he is so prepared, for his own good and the good of the country, he should be forwarded into these other schools, there to temper, test, and stimulate his brain and muscle into the capacity he needs for his struggle for life, in competition with us.

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

Theorizing citizenship into people is a slow operation. What a farce it would be to attempt teaching American citizenship to the negroes in Africa. They could not understand it ; and, if they did, in the midst of such contrary influences, they could never use it. Neither can the Indians understand or use American citizenship theoretically taught to them on Indian reservations. They must get into the swim of American citizenship. They must feel the touch of it day after day, until they become saturated with the spirit of it, and thus become equal to it.

When we cease to teach the Indian that he is less than a man ; when we recognize fully that he is capable in all respects as we are,



and that he only needs the opportunities and privileges which we possess to enable him to assert his humanity and manhood ; when we act consistently towards him in accordance with that recognition ; when we cease to fetter him to conditions which keep him in bondage, surrounded by retrogressive influences ; when we allow him the freedom of association and the developing influences of social contact,—then the Indian will quickly demonstrate that he can be truly civilized, and he himself will solve the question of what to do with the Indian.

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## THE PREPARATION OF THE INDIAN FOR CITIZENSHIP.

BY ALICE C. FLETCHER.

The Indians in the United States hardly exceed two hundred and fifty thousand,—a small group compared with each year's foreign immigration. These two hundred and fifty thousand Indians are so scattered that no one State or Territory will have a large number added to its citizen population ; nor is it likely that the enfranchisement of the Indians will be felt nationally. Some States may be affected through counties where a present political preponderance may be increased or lost by the new voters. Others may find the red men something of a burden to a pioneer community. Nevertheless, the change which citizenship will bring to the Indian, and indirectly to his white neighbors, will be considerable, and properly demands attention.

Through the history of our country the Indian as a man has occupied a very small place in public affairs. Such importance as he has obtained has been due to his large landed possessions and his property held in the Treasury of the United States. Were it not for this wealth, the Indian would hardly figure outside the records of philanthropic societies. It is through the influence of the philanthropic spirit of the country that the man himself has come to be cared for by the government, and the forces held in check that would otherwise crush him out of sight. "The Indian Problem" is not a