

Sept- 1881 -

just passed as an idle dream, and all that. And I do not see why we should not put ourselves back to where we were two years ago, when we might have understood ourselves so much better if we had only looked a little deeper into ourselves. And therefore —"

"No, no, Allen, you must not speak any further in that way. It cannot, it must not be—that is, as yet."

The words of limitation fell from her lips ingenuously and unguardedly. Possibly she might have wished, the instant after, to have recalled them; but after all it was best as it was. There was nothing that she could have better said to lay open the whole position of affairs. The Colonel understood it so, and immediately felt his heart quite at rest. He rightly looked upon it as no repulse to his plea, but rather as her unwitting confession of assent. He must not as yet speak about love—so he interpreted her words. Not at this first interview, certainly, when her heart was so bewildered

with the sudden surprise of seeing him, and when she could not comprehend, perhaps, what answer she ought really to make, or how to clothe it in proper terms. Not now, at having seen him only this once—and so give a suspicion to the ever-watchful world around her, that she must have carried her regard for him locked up in her secret heart of hearts through all the past months of trial, ready to leap forth at the very first appeal. Rather should they wait a little longer; so that it might seem as though from his continued presence a newer love had been suffered to grow up. Then, perhaps —

"Enough, Stella. I will not press you for an answer now. But to-morrow—well, to-morrow I will come back again."

He strained her once more to his heart; and then, aware that he had not been very eloquent in his avowal, but all the same well satisfied with the result, slipped away into the garden, and thence into the high road, and so became lost to her sight.

LEONARD KIP.

[CONTINUED IN NEXT NUMBER.]

## THE INDIAN PROBLEM—MR. SCHURZ REVIEWED.

This article had, in the main, been prepared for the press when the *North American Review* for July was issued. In that an article on the same question appeared from Hon. Carl Schurz. From the superior advantages derived in the Interior Department during the Hayes administration, not less than from the known ability of the author as writer and statesman, his review of the subject is opportune and valuable. Four years of intimate relation and practical experience with the present status of the Indians have given him both ample opportunity and exhaustive knowledge of the facts of Indian life within the territory of the United States. But while we would approach a review of a paper from so prominent a statesman with hesitancy, resulting from admiration of the genius dis-

played in the victories of a remarkable life, the magnitude and importance of this question should be a license, even in a forum of taste, for the free expression of the opinions of every American citizen.

To a certain extent we think Mr. Schurz's theory, in substance, a correct solution of the problem. To devote the affections and attach the interests of the Indian to the soil, by granting him fee-simple estates in severalty, is the first general step in his advancement. Yet there are grave considerations opposed to placing him at once in the midst of the whites, unprepared as he is to contend with them in the arena of their own civilization. That he has shown the natural capability of embracing a higher standard of life, as cited by Mr. Schurz in the examples



of the educational institutions at Carlisle, Hampton, and Forest Grove, establishes only that abstract fact. When, however, those instances are relied upon to sustain his theory that Indians would as readily embrace and adopt the methods of life of the whites, when settled in severalty among them, we think the proofs signally fail. We must not overlook the conditions environing those pupils, of fostering care, of the guidance and guardianship that is the proper purpose of those institutions; nor fail to compare that with the condition of less-protected Indians, struggling for subsistence among the clashing and strifes of more-educated whites, with many of whom to win bread is the sum of victory. Under Mr. Schurz's system he would have no guardian to lead him, no hand whose sole purpose would be to protect and direct, no superior wisdom to think and plan. He would find himself thrown into a contest, ignorant of its conditions and methods, and powerless to comprehend its intricacies. It would present to him a mystery of mysteries. He would cease to struggle, accept the inevitable, and fail. The imposing presence of civilization would be too much for him at once to grasp; instead of stimulating, it would paralyze his powers. Such has been the fate of the few left in Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama, when their tribes were carried to the Indian Territory. They made miserable failures in the midst of the whites, and the only remnants left of them are in the everglades of Florida, hid from contact with civilization. The trouble consisted in too much being demanded of them at once. The condition in which they found themselves demanded that they lay aside barbarism and take up civilization, as one coat is laid aside and another put on. The bow and arrow, the war-hatchet and war-paint, the love of revenge, the thirst for blood, the chase, wife-slavery, and all the habits and traditions of ages, must be laid aside, and at once. They must as readily adopt civilized life; one bound was to take them from one extreme to another; each must skip an era, an age, in natural process; must, by his own will, like the fisherman's genius, transform his life, his character, his thoughts, from shad-

ow and smoke to a well-proportioned individuality. It was impossible. Nature never permits such things. And so it would be with the Indians under Mr. Schurz's remedy. They would be swallowed up, annihilated in the contest, for which they are unprepared and from which there would be no escape. Their fate would be scarcely less cruel and inevitable than that of the gladiators, who were sent into the arena without armor or weapon, to be slain in an unequal contest with the armored and armed Roman emperor. Mr. Schurz establishes the existence of power in the Indian, capable of receiving civilization, but at the same time admits the weakness of his remedy by the confession that even their ablest men, as Chief Ouray, are unable at present to cope with the whites. While the Government may protect them on the reservations, even surrounded by whites, it could not in the same way protect them when mingled with whites, holding lands as they, and otherwise bearing the same relation to the common social organization, which they were entering. Such a special protectorate of individuals would not only be a hurtful practice for Government, but would defeat its own object. To apportion the lands in severalty to the Indians, and admit the whites to purchase of all reservation lands not actually occupied by the Indians, would be as fatal to the Indians as if sent into the heart of Ohio and dispersed to do as they could. To feed, foster, educate, and protect them, requires that special attention and care which demands reservation of the territory, so that they may learn the ways of civilized life, uncrushed by its power in an unequal contest.

The Indian question has ceased to be one of special importance to the soldier, and is relegated to the consideration of the statesman. The scattered fragments of once-powerful tribes, unemboldened by numbers and with their wild spirits broken, are lounging around reservations, trying to learn to become citizens by first being paupers; or awaiting that death that inevitably follows ignorance and indolence. The days of Minnehahas and Leeluenas, of Osceolas and Tecumsehs, of Captain Jacks and Cachises, of the heroic and



poetic in fact and dream, have passed away forever. The problem now is, How shall we deal with a broken, scattered, whipped, dirty, brutal, ignorant, and semi-vicious race; a race whose record places them low in the scale of mankind; a race that would fight now because blood-thirsty; that is at peace because cowardly; that, from choice or natural inaptitude, but slowly adopts civilized methods, even under the most favorable circumstances?

But be their faults and defects what they may, we have them, and must do something with them. There is no appreciable difference, in the consideration of this question, between the motives, purposes, means, and methods of the philanthropist, the philosopher, and the political economist. From each stand-point all roads lead to the same conclusion; for, consider it in the interest of the Indian, of an unfeeling mathematical solution, or from considerations of public economy both for the near and the distant future, the solution seems to lie in the same general remedy. Though armed resistance against the ever-pressing and inevitable tide of white encroachment, each year drawing closer the cordon of invidious life-methods, is ended, the Indian question is almost as far from a successful and permanent solution as it was twenty years ago. The death of Captain Jack and Cachise, the defeat and overthrow of Sitting Bull and Victoria, (the last brave heroes of a barbaric race) but mark the era of a new method of dealing with this question. So far from being its solution, it environs the Government with responsibilities greater and more delicate than ever before. It is now not to deal with an enemy in the field, but to discharge a guardianship; to protect an ignorant, thriftless, defenseless people, and lead them from the darkness of barbarism to the light of civilization: a task far more difficult than to kill them. It is the difference between the methods of the bayonet and the plowshare—the power to tear down, and the art to build up.

We need not regret the repression necessary to deal with barbarism, or recall the old abstractions concerning original domain.

These questions have been settled by the process of natural laws. It is a useless waste of time to consider, in this practical age, as living elements in human affairs, any event or policy settled by those natural processes that constitute the "destiny" of mankind—the inevitable of the world. "America for the Americans" is not only the shibboleth of the demagogue, but as well the certain voice of nature. Not only America, but the rich and fruitful places of earth, all belong, by the laws of human life, to those who can use and hold them. When Pluribustah gave Liberty his reason for enslaving Cuffee—"He has no right and no business to be a nigger"—he spoke the doctrine of natural laws as practiced by mankind, and crystallized the philosophy of America's Indian policy for the last two hundred years. While we do not subscribe to the morality of the doctrine, we recognize that life is too short to quarrel with the inevitable, or live in castles builded upon abstractions. From the dawn of recorded time this selfish doctrine has robbed Might in the raiment of Right. The powerful have always indulged in the luxury of refuting pure morality with man's decrees, even to the extent of forcing the weak to go to heaven a particular way, and often try to justify it by sophistry that the blunted intelligence of a Digger Indian could penetrate.

Almost all the acts of the Government at Washington, in Indian affairs, except alone those of actual hostility, have been under the express declaration of consideration for the Indian; which he has been, in his weakness, forced to assent to, and appear to believe, though he knew them to be arrant falsehoods. Always coming—always invading, pushing, encroaching; advancing under the strong arm of power—the significance of this white tide has been understood by the Indians, and they have fought it until the flower of savage heroism bleaches the expanses of a thousand lilled plains. They have simply done as other people in the face of aggressive foes, whose methods of life were separated too widely for willing assimilation.

This phase of the contest is passed. Small bands of desperadoes may here and there



break out, but such will be only the spasmodic efforts of a doomed people—the last surge of the waves in a dying storm—the last whistle of the subsiding winds. There is no autonomy left among them; tribes are decimated and broken, not only in spirit, but, in most instances, in tribal relations; and often fragments of several tribes are found on one small reservation. On the White Mountain reservation in Arizona are Aravapais, Chirikahwas, Koioteros, Mienbres, Magollons, Mohaves, Pinals, Tontos, and Yuma Apaches. On Hoopa Valley Reservation are Hunsatungs, Hupas, Klamath Rivers, Miskuts, Redwoods, Saias, Sermaltons, and Tishtanatans. The former reservation contains three thousand nine hundred and fifty square miles, the latter one hundred and forty. From British America, down the mountain ranges, through all the Territories, are scattered these small reservations, upon which the fragments of tribes are penned in. There they live, mostly in a state of vagabondage, upon the bounty of a Government whose hand wrought their downfall, and which feeds them more from a shame that they should starve, than from all other considerations combined.

The present Indian system, stripped of fancy and bombast, is to set apart by executive order a tract of land for a reservation, and appoint an Agent to reside somewhere thereon, who is invested with power to protect, feed, and look after the Indians. He is the governmental representative, to whom is intrusted the duty of discharging such treaty obligations as the Government may be under. He receives and issues the supplies, and has general control over everything done on the reservation. These agencies are generally in the heart of the reservations, and far removed from civilization. Here, almost alone, with his band of Indians, the Agent is supposed to labor to comfort them for the loss of the free life of the plains; and if their reports are to be taken as true, the cause of Christ *and* civilization is either flourishing or just about to bloom, while the Indians are tractable and progressing. One remarkable feature of all these reports is the fact that,

if they had been written for the purpose of retaining positions, they are masterpieces. Every one knows that ordinary human nature would not go into those wilds and repulsive associations for health or pleasure; and unless Indian Agents are of a superior material, they must be held to this truism. Coupling this with the fact—the fact well-known to the average American—that but few posts on this earth admit of so many chances and such latitude for speculation, and we may have an explanation why so much heart-ache for the welfare of the Indian, is expressed by agents in their reports. The temptation to feed the wards on damaged supplies at short weight is stimulated by two considerations. First, the Indian has probably never had better, and oftentimes worse; second, the vouchers can be as easily returned, covering a more liberal supply of "creature comforts." Far from the prying eyes of an interested, intelligent population; dealing with those who neither read nor write, whose ignorance and poverty tie both hands and tongue when they would right the wrong by appeals to the Government; this temptation becomes too strong for poor, frail humanity—especially that portion that believes in original depravity and falling from grace. The writer has twice heard an Indian Agent pray, and was each time impressed by the prominence given by the petitioner to the frailty of human nature when subjected to the temptations of this wicked world; and he wondered by what singular psychological process that particular idea of all others weighed so heavily upon him.

It is practically impossible to prevent speculations in the management of these reservations. From the nature of the employment the Agents are generally men of such mental caliber as to be unable to make a living in the competition of industries, and of such flexible morals as to believe there is such a thing extant as a "legitimate steal," and hence believe its application to themselves as their due for their banishment from civilization. With all the appliances and favorable conditions afforded by such positions, it is not a difficult matter to receipt contractors for beef-cattle weighing 400 pounds at 800



pounds, and cover up the speculative tracks by issuing beef rations short, till the issuance covers the deficit. A lively appreciation of future turns in the same way keeps up a first-class code of honor among thieves.

Insufficient food has played a part in the affairs of the world more than once; and while high living conduces to the gout, even among people for a hundred generations accustomed to it, nothing can be plainer to the acute mind of the scientific Agent than that a lower grade of food is necessary to prevent the prevalence of gout among the Indians, and their advancement toward civilization be thereby materially retarded. Besides, the culture of the brain has been supposed to be stimulated by a very simple and moderate diet. Such has been taught at our boarding-schools, where the idea is traced back to the poet who cultivated Roman verses on a little oatmeal. And if we needed any further proof of its wisdom, and the peculiar benefits to be derived therefrom, the example of Mr. Squeers at Dotheboys Hall, places the question outside of the debatable, and elevates the abstemious system of the Agent into the shining guild of philanthropy. It has been urged, and may hereafter be mentioned by the mendacious, that the Government should not pay for full rations when not received by the Indian. Here again the logic and humanity of the Agent is seen. It would be a source of great pain and uneasiness to many individuals in the East, who have the welfare of the Indian at heart, and who believe implicitly in the reservation system, to know that short rations were being issued to the nation's wards. The sleepless nights and visions of their grandmothers that a conscience remorseful for a nation's failures would visit upon them, is happily saved by the reports of the Agents, who wisely conclude that these things are too long to explain to a public not posted on Indian affairs; and hence they crown the good work with just such reports as will make agreeable reading by the Eastern fireside, and which will instill into the minds of the rising generation reverence for a generous Government, and a desire to emulate the

noble work of those who suffer the privations of frontier life for the benighted savage.

We can scarcely overestimate the loss of time and money, and delay to enterprise, caused by the obstruction of reservations, and the settling of bands of Indians along the frontier. Whenever on the two frontiers, of Eastern industry pushing westward, and Pacific industry pushing eastward, any enterprise is originated, it often finds an impediment in some phase of the Indian question. If a railroad, its most natural route is blocked by a reservation; if a wilderness to explore, a band of Indians interposes with the fear, often well-founded, of the frailty of treaty regulations. These obstructions demand at once of the originators of those enterprises an abandonment, or their removal. To effect the latter over the opposition of Agents, (and such opposition will generally be met) by a prosecution through the departments, hedged by red tape as they are, involves a loss of time that may be often fatal to the enterprise. Besides, it is expensive, and as the relief rests at last in the peculiar views held by the head of the Indian Department, and after all the expense, delay, and labor, the opportunity of usefulness and profit may be lost.

Yet with all this, the Indian is giving way; his rights exist more in name than in substance or observance; while the reservations are being reduced, shifted, and opened up. As the conditions of the contest will remain much the same, it is not difficult to see that this system must end, and that, too, disastrously to the Indians; and—if the past give us a criterion from which to judge—without his having received any permanent benefit. If enterprise is to be impeded, some benefits should go to the Indian. If our purposes are to develop and better him, we should adopt any other system sooner than the one we have. The herding of bands of Indians upon prescribed tracts leaves the impress of captivity upon the red men's natures, while that of feeding them in idleness upon Government's bounty makes them more and more each year thriftless paupers. The American people have had enough bitter



and recent experience of the brutalizing effects of captivity and subjection upon human nature, to have a wholesome fear of any more of it. We take it for granted that the only decent purpose to be entertained in this matter is to so manage the Indian as to relieve legitimate industry from the depression of his opposing presence, as much as may be, and at the same time to environ him with such conditions as will in every way stimulate him to adopt the ways of industrious civilization. The writer has seen the Indian in his life on the reservation, and has been unable to discover more than one good result likely to flow from the system, and that a temporary one. It gives him employment so far as his appetite for eating goes, and with the government ration removes from him the incentive to murder and pillage that hunger gives man in a savage state. But for cultivating those arts and methods of life that will remove the cause of the trouble—his savagery—it is a dismal failure. It is no wiser than the policy of the physician who administers only narcotics to the patient who is suffering from gangrene. Though savage, and ignorant of many of the motives and sentiments so well-understood in men of advanced culture, he has still that quality of a common humanity that feels a sense of humiliation and degradation at being penned upon reservations like so many cattle. And that sentiment will forever keep him back. It hampers efforts in the strong, it palsies them in the weak. It takes from him the senses of individual importance and self-confidence, both of which are absolutely necessary to his success. With such a system thrown around him, extermination is his lot. Were he stronger in moral and intellectual powers, he would find it scarcely possible to rise above them. Weak as he is, powerless as his hands are, the work of extermination will be rapid and inevitable.

While his tenacity to the bloody traditions of his people are strong, it is the strength of ignorance that knows no better, being the resultant of education and congenital defects. He may be made a factor in American life. Not a high or very important one; not one

that in the near or distant future can rival the white man in arts and sciences, but one valuable in a humble way. It may, and doubtless would, under favorable auspices, require many generations of attrition with civilization to bring him up to that standard in the industrial scale, to that individual importance in the economy of the nation, that is to-day held by the negro. He has adopted some of our customs; why not the rest? He has learned the use of the gun; why not that of the plow? That it will require time, those who even faintly comprehend the science of human progress will not deny, nor will they be disappointed and despondent when he plods slowly along the weary, ascending hill. If left upon the reservations, time will be wasted, opportunities squandered, and each year close its cycle with the problem no nearer successful solution than before. If nearer a solution, it will be alone because nearer in point of time when the surplus population of the Atlantic and Pacific States shall meet in an inevitable impact, and crush him out forever.

To talk of treaty rights for so defenseless a people is to commit a folly: they bind duplicity with a rope of sand. To believe that any treaty can devote a section of country to a few Indians, and that future Congresses, filled with the representatives of a constituency demanding those lands for themselves and their children, will forever respect that devotion of soil, is to fly in the face of human avarice and history—especially American history on the Indian question. It is a cardinal fact of human relations, that the only protection the weak have against the strong, under such circumstances, is to assimilate in methods of life. They must have common purposes, common hopes, and common aspirations; they must have the same kindred or coordinate industries; and, in fine, so adapt themselves to the strong, that they prevent those jars and conflicts of antagonistic elements which the strong will never fear or shun. Thence it follows that the only tenure of soil by which the Indian can perpetuate his race must be that which will enable him to assimilate its uses to that of white civilization.



How often it is said on the frontier to-day, when valuable minerals are discovered on a reservation, "If the Indian could or would use them, it would be all right to protect him; but it is an outrage to permit him to play dog-in-the-manger with them." And in the spirit of selfish acquisition that has always characterized man, and to the greeds and wrongs of which we largely owe our present wealth and greatness, it is a correct enunciation of men's ideas of *meum* and *tuum*. To say the least, right or wrong, it is folly to quarrel with it: better not make its opposition a life-mission. The destiny of a nation, so far as human power is concerned, is inevitable. Individuals, to say the most, even when great, only hasten, retard, or in a sense shape what nature, in obedience to her own rules, has already destined. Great men, by fortuitous conditions, are assigned the function of applying the match to the magazine of combustibles, already prepared by the antecedents of their people, and which if not performed by them would be by others; for nature always raises up fit instruments for her work. The Rubicon of Roman downfall would have been crossed had Cæsar fallen in Gaul; and the Empire, by virtue of the forces of reaction, would have risen on the ruins of the Reign of Terror had Napoleon died while teething at Ajaccio. It is but another name for Necessity, in its remorseless march. Caught in the automatic state of reservation life—widely separated—for the most part degenerated by pauperism—untaught in the tastes that would render assimilation in contact possible, in a destiny of impending contest with whites drawing closer, cruelly closer—no fate seems probable for them save that of being ground to powder, annihilated, between the mill-stones.

It may be urged that the safety of the whites demands the reservation system, thus parceling the Indians into small bands patrolled by troops. In reply it may be safely stated that no condition would so stir to life a desire to get free; and to get free means to take the war-path. The reservations are generally large enough, and of that peculiar character to arouse this desire. But few of

them are adapted to industries the Indians are capable of pursuing. Too remote from the example of scientific labor; hemmed in by the solitudes of nature; ruled by Agents, too often utterly incompetent; with no tenure in the soil, but having only a use in the few spots of good land; covered by the shadows of executive orders, ill-defined, and subject at any time to change—they have not a single incentive to permanent industry and improvement. The incentives claimed by the friends of the system are such transparent humbugs as to make even the savage smile. Wastes of sage-brush, cactus, and alkali; barren, sun-scorched rocks; mountain ranges; places where scarcely a raven or coyote can find subsistence; where the mule-rabbit has to exert himself for a bare subsistence—constitute the chief characteristics of most of the reservations. The valleys of which we read in the sophomoric reports of Agents, whose fertile imaginations stretch them away for miles, blooming in virgin verdure, upon which herds in numbers graze and fatten, are mostly narrow, untillable gorges, not large enough for grazing, and if tillable, so in such homeopathic proportions as render success, under the most fortunate conditions, highly problematic. Such are the Elysiums of the Agents' reports under the lens of reality. Could the Eastern enthusiast on Indian affairs, after reading of the Happy Valleys in the heart of the great mountain chains, quit his cosy fireside, and lay aside the dream for a view of the reality, he would forevermore be a skeptic. The smiling valley would become a narrowed waste of yellow *socation*; the genial landscape would bristle with cactus; the laughing river would shrink to a muddy, sluggish branch; while the whistling birds would give place to the croaking raven; and a sun-scorched, blistered chain of volcanic rocks rear around their eternal cordon, saying with their Sphinx voice, "There is no change."

Under such conditions the Indian cannot really advance in permanent civilization. Why he cares nothing to erect comfortable houses and prepare fields, is found in the uncertainty as to whether he will be permitted



to enjoy them. The labor of years—in the event of his desire to have a decent home—of love and care, may be swept away at any hour, without so much as observing, "By your leave." It may be laid down as a fundamental maxim, that no people can advance without homes. As agriculture furnishes the first arena for action in the progress from barbarism to civilization, the two conditions of land fitted for that industry, and of sufficient tenure therein, become imperative. Human advancement is marked by the appearance of the homes of people more than by any one other thing. Churches are but incidents. Cemeteries speak louder than they. Regard for death and the memories it entombs proclaims regard for achievements in life, and tells the story of emulation in a generous contest for a higher existence, that belong to the rising people. The "*vermis sum*" of the church may not indicate progress. It walks with, but does not create its comrade. It may polish and round off, but never is of the essence. Faith never made a people. It may under certain conditions arouse to even the sharpest activity the manhood that has existed dormant perhaps for centuries. It conserved for the purposes of temporal empire the restless manhood of Arab and Copt under Mohammedanism; it aroused feudal Europe to the Crusades. But in the ways of peace—the ways that lead to the plow, reaper, hammers the engine, or chains the lightnings—skepticism, the spirit that does not believe in the dogma of "*vermis sum*," the restlessness that says to itself, "Not in eternity alone, but here on earth as well, shall be my kingdom," becomes the motive power of progress. To work well and quickly this spirit must have the tools and the material at hand. In the case of the Indians, agriculture must come first; the plow must be his first implement. Husbandry grows up as the first fruit of progress. It follows upon the heels of the last stage of barbarism—that of the grazing nomad. From the earliest days of which we have any account, the aspirations of men for a higher life sought it in the soil. Agriculture gave plenty at home, and opened

the avenues of commerce and manufacture. The fruits of the earth, corn, oil, and wine, were the first factors of commerce. What is true of the early days of the world is true of each nation. They all began at the same rung of the ladder. Those who came first had to grope in darkness from rung to rung. Their story became light to those who followed. The Indian is no exception to the destiny of all people. In this dawn of his progress he must begin to climb from the bottom. The way through agriculture to mechanics and the higher and ornamental arts and sciences is for him lighted by experience. The child of the most favored genius must in effect pass the same way. Not through the rudiments of dawning civilization, but through the grand elementary principles that form the basis. Before the sails of commerce bent their folds to the winds of the English Channel, yellow grain-fields smiled in Kent and filled the granaries on the banks of the Thames.

To wisely administer the Indian Department, the conditions for successfully adapting this first industry should be presented in manner and method most conducive. Give him the soil that will yield fruits for his efforts, and in its rich sheaves prove the wisdom of his new life. None but visionaries and Indian Agents believe it possible to grow wheat, corn, and potatoes among sun-bleached rocks and on cactus barrens. We read of the swarms of northern Europe pouring across the Rhine to plunder the rich cities dotting the fertile and sunny plains of southern Europe, and finding them good remained and founded empires. Southern Europe, rich in natural agricultural resources, grew rich, and profligate because of the plenitude of wealth, while north of the Rhine was too poor to be known. Thus was demonstrated the advantage of favoring conditions, in the progress of development, on the grandest scale of which history gives account.

While some Indian bands occupy fertile sections sufficiently watered and extensive to enable them to rear everything necessary to sustain life and further their development, for the most part the reservations upon which



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they are herded are entirely unfitted for agriculture. And it matters not in what other respects they are rich, such resources cannot be utilized by their unskilled labor. For instance, the White Mountain Reservation, in Arizona, covers a vast district of 3,950 square miles, or 2,528,000 acres, which is held for the benefit of 4,878 Indians. This gives to each Indian man, woman, and child, 518.20 acres. If the soil, or even one-fifth of it, were good for anything for which the Indians could use it, this would constitute a handsome patrimony. But it would not be much, if any, under a correct estimate to put the agricultural land in this vast area at 5,000 acres. The remainder is hills, mountains, cañons, and barren *mesas*. In the mountains is untold mineral wealth, but so far as its benefits to them are concerned it had as well not be. The Indian is not a miner, and never will be. He must be educated for years before he can enter this field. What folly then to keep this country for the benefit of the 4,878 Indians, when it is not of the character they can use; while other and appropriate lands can be given them, in the use of which they can make plenty, become satisfied with peaceful methods of life, and learn how to prepare themselves for a civilized and competent existence. When they cannot use the boundless resources of copper, silver, gold, and coal on the reservation, and when other qualities of the reservation are not sufficiently favorable to their welfare and advancement as to outweigh the other considerations aroused by the demands of enterprise, the reservation ceases to be a wise devotion of the land, and should be set aside. If, as Mr. Schurz suggests, the reservations were to be conveyed in severalty to the Indians, which under proper conditions is advisable, what could the Apaches of the White Mountain Reservation do with their land? Not more than one-tenth of them would have water on their portions, and hence grazing as well as agriculture would be impossible. They could then only sell the tracts in their unimproved condition, and if it should occur that from peculiar circumstances any one holder should

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realize a fortune in the sale, what would he do with it? Because powerless to protect himself, he would become the prey of sharpers and swindlers, and in ~~two~~ years would be as poor and miserable in fortune as before.

The true solution of the trouble is to remove all the Indians occupying reservations not purely agricultural, wherever found, to some section where lands of that character may be had, and then vest in each one title in fee simple to such sized tracts as may be necessary to enable them to pursue agriculture successfully. To protect them in their ignorance, in their possession, until such a time as will reasonably enable them to make homes and become attached to them as an inducement not to alien them, inhibit sales for twenty or twenty-five years. Nothing gives man a better sense or conception of his own importance, or more surely lays the basis of good citizenship, than ownership of land. It localizes his interests and attachments, while every effort remains as an accretion for future use or comfort. It gives that independence that perfects manhood, and strengthens the character, while it generates love of peace both as a sentiment and a precaution of interest.

There are in the United States 240,136 Indians. Of this number 76,585 are in the Indian Territory, and of these 59,187 belong to civilized tribes. In the settled and agricultural States of Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, and New York are 22,517 more. This leaves 141,034 in the sparsely-settled States and Territories, exclusive of the Indian Territory. Of these it may be safely assumed that 10,000 are settled on agricultural lands, and are doing as well as could be expected. These it would not be advisable to move, or in any wise molest. They, as well as the 22,517 in the above-mentioned States, having begun to practice the arts of civilization, should be given lands in severalty fee simple where they are, and otherwise aided in developing themselves as may be advisable in each particular instance. The 131,034 left from this estimate as unprovided with agricultural lands, should have that necessity supplied, and the reservations which are



mostly valuable for mining opened for skillful labor to render fruitful.

The Indian Territory furnishes the best lands, in large quantities, and best adapted to the use of these Indians. In almost every light in which it may be viewed, this is the most favorable country for them. This country is a natural water-shed, traversed by numerous streams, which, with a generous and uniform rainfall, fructify and grow to splendid perfection one-third of the vegetables of prime use to man. Its eastern and middle portion is covered with a splendid growth of forests upon a soil of great and durable richness, while to the westward stretch the same rolling prairies of north-west Texas and Kansas, upon which innumerable herds can be grown and fattened for market upon the products of untilled virgin soil, and which will some day wave in ripening wheat like a billowy sea. The genial seed-time and fruit-time meet the gulf winds, warming vegetation to life and richness; while the winter winds from the north-west bring cold, not to freeze and destroy, but to harden animal tissues, and thoroughly repair the laxity of summer. In the numerous streams are teeming supplies of trout, bream, perch, jack, pike, cat and buffalo fish; while their waters idly await, with amplest facilities, the day when the factory will chain them to its wheel, and the hum of mechanical industry break upon the almost virgin solitudes. In the forests abound deer, hogs, turkey, and other smaller game; while the bison, fleeing before the impetuous march of Saxons, have gathered on her western plains, as if to say to the Indian: "We knew you first; we come to you in the twilight of our race."

In this Territory at present are 76,585 Indians, of which number 59,187 are called civilized. They are far advanced, and each year are making rapid strides toward a high and successful state of industry and education. These for the most part occupy the eastern portion of the Territory, along the head waters of the Wichita and Red Rivers. Those tribes colonized there from Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and

Florida, consisting of the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles, have already practically solved the troublesome part of the problem placed before them. Towns have sprung up, school-houses abound, postal routes obtain, and even the newspaper has sprung up, printed in both Indian and English.

Southward lie the rich cotton and wheat fields of northern Texas; northward are the grain plains of Kansas. Here agriculture has kept pace with the restless genius of invention, always keeping before the inhabitants of the Territory the greatness that crowns the advancement of agriculture and mechanics. Touching them on either side are achievements that prick aspiration into its liveliest pace. Indeed, nowhere on the map of North America can be found a land better adapted for their purpose than this. By soil, climate, geographic location—by every consideration—it invites the adoption of civilized methods.

By giving to each his lands in severalty, there would be scarcely any reason to fear troubles among the tribes, or across the border. The troops at present kept stationed at forts along the great chains of the Rockies, from British Columbia to Mexico, would be quite enough to patrol and preserve quiet among them.

It may be objected that it would be too expensive to transfer them from the many distant reservations to the Indian Territory. Let us see. There would be in round numbers 131,000 to thus settle. Taking into consideration all the probable cost of transportation—distance, some more and some less—the numbers of those very remote—the sum necessary to effect this colonization is not so great as to stand in the way of a wise provision for the Indian. When the Cherokees were moved from north Georgia to westward of the Mississippi River, in 1838, it cost \$65,880 to every thousand persons; and at those figures 18,000 Cherokees were colonized in the South-west. That made an expenditure of \$65.88 to the individual. It is remembered that so far back as forty-three years many dangers and troubles attend-



ed such an exodus. Nearly everywhere the country was new, for the most part sparsely settled; roads in precarious condition; broad rivers to cross; morasses and swamps to bridge and causeway; and, in fine, all the trouble incident to the movement of a large body of men, women, and children through a half-wilderness for many hundreds of miles. Taking into consideration the improved methods of transportation, and that transportation of a private character across the open country, necessary to be traversed to reach the Indian Territory from the reservations, is much easier and less laborious and expensive than would be such as taken by the Cherokees in 1838, and we may conclude that \$100 per head would be sufficient to carry every one of the 131,000 Indians safely into the Indian Territory. This makes an aggregate of \$13,100,000; a large sum, but insignificant in comparison with the advantages to be derived. Settled in a land where every inducement to civilizing and civilized pursuits are almost forced upon them, it is not too much to assume that from the first the cost of maintaining them would be decreased by their own labor and industry; until, as in the case of the Cherokees and Choctaws, it would ultimately cease entirely, or become only nominal. It is equally as certain, settled as they are on unproductive reservations, that the cost annually of supporting this 131,000 Indians will be equal, if not larger, than the cost of transporting them to

the new home. And when we consider that this maintenance must go on as long as they remain on these reservations—for generations, if they still are kept there, that there will be no rebate of that annual charge upon the national treasury—a still greater consideration arises in the future of the Indian himself. We see no avenue that he can travel on the reservations that leads to a higher and self-sustaining existence; and it is folly to expect him, uneducated in the arts of life, to wring by his crude efforts a success where skillful labor could but fail. If the development of the Indian into civilized, industrious, self-sustaining citizenship be an element in the problem—a matter desirable to the Government—then the mere temporal cost of this transportation, with its incidents, should not deter action. The opening up for mining purposes of the reservations, with their millions of gold, silver, and coal; the destruction of the annoyances of petty reservations contending with advancing civilization; the saving of the immense sum spent in transporting supplies over long distances by trains; the peculations of Agents and contractors; the future development of the Indian into a self-reliant and competent factor in American industry;—all alike go to prove that this is perhaps the plainest and most advantageous of all proposed solutions of the vexed question, What will we do with the Indian?

JAMES WYATT OATES.

## THE PADRE ROMO.

The year of our Lord 1789 puffed away its summer along the bay of Monterey in idle western breeze. The tiny cove of Salinas, even out to where the open ocean flecks the Pinos Point with foam, was smooth and peaceful; its swell shimmered lazily the white, reflected shadows of the adobe walls; the breeze was heavy with sweet odors wafted from the Mission gardens; and as the Padre

Romo gazed thoughtfully across the low wall of the church inclosure, he saw the fragrant air from the distant pinery ruffle the golden lakes of grain to oft-succeeding waves.

The Padre, I have said, was looking musingly from the door-way of the cathedral. He may have been recalling the incidents of the half-year just passed; for, like the unregenerate of his flock, there were many to give