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ART. I.—OUR INDIAN AFFAIRS.\*

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WE give this paper a title taken from the official phrase in use at Washington. Each house of Congress has its Committee of Indian Affairs, and one of the Bureaus is so called in the Department of the Interior. The publications referred to below will serve to bring several Indian matters of moment to our consideration; a brief notice of these Reports may be of interest to our readers. The first two of them have probably seldom fallen under their notice. The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and its accompanying papers, furnish a great amount and variety of information concerning Indian matters. Its index, a new and valuable feature in these Reports, contains the names of one hundred and twenty-nine tribes of Indians, some of them so divided into separate bands as to make fifty-eight more; in all, nearly two hundred tribes or independent bands are treated of in this volume. This is done on no uniform plan, with details often not well arranged, and far from being complete, yet sometimes full and clear. The Report of the Commissioner himself, Gen. F. A. Walker, must be excepted from this remark; it is one of the ablest of these Indian Commissioner Reports, occupying the first hundred pages of the

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\* Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, for the year 1872. Washington. 8 vo., pp. 471.

Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the President of the United States, 1872. Washington. 8 vo., pp. 202.

Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Presented to the General Assembly, May 1873.

book, and it makes one regret that the services of its author could not have been retained by the Government. As will be seen further on, neither the country nor the Indians are well served in a method of official administration which places duties of the highest moment in the hands of a mere bureau officer, and then gives him the salary of a clerk.

This report gives a general idea of the Indian Policy, so called, of the Government, showing its two-fold application to the peaceful or friendly tribes, and to those which are savage or hostile; with remarks on the use of the military, the temporizing treatment often called for, and other topics; followed by a general statement of the present situation and condition of the Indians, in the different States and Territories. It is of course impossible to give here any satisfactory account of this information, our limits being quite inadequate; but we may note, in passing, the Commissioner's estimate of the Indian population. Not counting the 80,000 natives of Alaska, 300,000 will include all that are left of the once numerous Aborigines of this country—living east of the Mississippi, about 32,500; in Nebraska, Kansas and the Indian Territory, 70,650; in Dakota, Montana, Wyoming and Idaho Territories, 65,000; in Nevada and the Territories of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, 84,000; in California, Oregon and Washington, 48,000. About one half of the Indians are settled on reserved lands, and are under the control of their Agents; 95,000 make occasional visits to their Agencies, but are mostly engaged in hunting or fishing; and 55,000 never visit an agency, are little under the control of the Government, but are mostly peaceful. "As to civilization, . . . as follows: civilized 97,000; semi-civilized, 125,000; wholly barbarous, 78,000."

The report next gives a tabular view of the organization of the Indian service, showing that 878 persons are employed in the different Agencies, as clerks, physicians, teachers, farmers, blacksmiths, &c., whose compensation amounts yearly to \$564,360. If the salaries of the Superintendents and Agents, not here reported, were included, over \$100,000 more should be added, and \$59,080 for the Indian Bureau in Washington, making upwards of \$700,000 for salaries in the Indian service. To this must be added some millions for the purchase of supplies under the treaties with the Indians, and tens of millions for

every little "Indian war," provoked often by men who find large gains from such expenditure of the country's funds. It is a costly thing, this Indian department of our Government.

Returning to the Report we find a statement of the Indian Service ; then the Religious Societies and the Statistics of the Agencies assigned to Missionary Boards for nomination ; the Indians and the Railroads ; Indian Lands ; Legislation for the Indians of the previous year ; Military Operations ; Special Commissions—(a subject that needs some consideration, we think) ; Indian Delegations visiting Washington ; Legislation recommended. These matters are treated with various degrees of completeness, and the Report, as a whole, is a satisfactory document. Its writer evidently intends to deal fairly and kindly by the Indians, and considerately as well as conservatively by the white people,—doing justly by all.

The rest of the volume is an omnibus—"Papers accompanying the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872." Nearly a hundred pages are given to the reports of gentlemen appointed as "Commissioners" for special purposes, their warrant of appointment usually appearing to be the "request" for their services of some government officer of high grade. Nearly two hundred pages of reports of Superintendents and Indian Agents contain a vast number of details, referring to the condition of each tribe or band, ranging from a high to a very low degree of value. Over seventy pages follow giving tabulated statistics—of the number of Indians on reservations, enumerated by tribes or bands, specifying males, females, boys and girls in school, etc.; their property, acres cultivated, kinds and value of crops, and also of stock, houses—frame or log. These returns show 97,500,000 acres reserved, 273,753 acres cultivated by Indians, 2,449 frame houses, 12,718 log houses, 265,965 bushels of wheat, 6,894,716 bushels of corn, 231,842 bushels of oats, 513,453 bushels of potatoes, over 11,000 bushels of barley and rice. Then follow tabulated statements respecting the Funds held by the Government for the Indians. These extend through many pages, and foot up as follows : Annual sum to meet stipulations allowed, but liable to be discontinued, \$2,154,874 ; amount needed for payment of limited annuities, \$15,819,310 ; amount of permanent annual liabilities, \$371,776, and to provide for these, amount held in trust, \$6,524,048. These financial statistics

are given with great fullness of detail, and apparently with perfect exactness. They deserve and will well repay careful study.

The second and third of these Reports can receive but a brief notice here. The Board of Indian Commissioners is composed, as our readers are aware, of gentlemen of high standing in business and benevolent circles, who serve without pecuniary remuneration. Their duties, as prescribed in the Act of Congress constituting this Board, relate to the purchase of supplies for the Indians, and they have already effected the most beneficial changes in this matter. It is no longer practicable for unscrupulous contractors, in concert with corrupt officials, to defraud the country of immense sums of money, and the danger of outbreaks by the Indians for the impositions practiced upon them have been equally lessened. The province of the Board seems to have been practically enlarged so as to embrace other things. This Report goes over, in some respects, the ground more fully covered by the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but gives prominence to the work of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians. In addition to the proceedings, and remarks on various subjects, of the Board itself, or of some of its members, we find here statements concerning Indian Agencies, and many miscellaneous papers. There is much in this volume that possesses only transient interest, but one such letter as that of General Sully, on page 180, cannot be too well weighed; and there are other letters of special value. This Report is throughout in sympathy with the missionary work of the churches for the Indians.

The third of these Reports represents the element of church work for this people. Its twelve pages concerning the Indian Missions of the Board may be taken as applicable, in greater or less degree, to the measures pursued by various denominations of Christians for the spiritual benefit of the Aborigines—all conducing directly to their civilization. This missionary work has been in progress many years, and has often been without much apparent fruit; yet it has been the main agency for good among most of the Indians now classed as civilized, as is evident in the case of the Senecas, the Cherokees and others.

We come now to the main object of this paper, which is to consider how the Country can best order its relations to the Indians, and then what more the Church should do for them. This object will not require the discussion of the policies and



measures of former years, though the humane intention of our General Government in its treatment of the Indians from the beginning should be fully recognized. We need not dwell on the evils they have suffered from our countrymen, but it is well for us to remember that these have commonly sprung from narrow and oppressive State legislation, from unprincipled officials, and still more from the contact of the worst class of white people with the Indians on the frontiers. The general aim of the Government at Washington, representing well in this respect the country as a whole, has been marked by the spirit of conciliation and kindness. We give all honor to the Indian policy of peace pursued by the President; but its special features, in the method of appointing Indian Agents and the constituting of a Board of Indian Commissioners, form its chief new elements, and the practical importance of these can hardly be overrated; the general policy of humane treatment remains what it always has been. Indeed, it may be questioned whether some of our earlier Presidents did not express stronger pacific purposes than the public sentiment of our day would sustain; see the policy of Washington, in Sparks' *Life*, page 432: "He aimed to conciliate them by good usage, to obtain their lands by fair purchase, to make treaties with them on terms of equity and reciprocal advantage, and strictly to redeem every pledge. . . . But their faithlessness, ravages and murders were not to be tolerated, from whatever cause they arose. After failing at every attempt at pacification, he was convinced that war was the only alternative." This was the true policy of peace. Still stronger is the language of Jefferson—see his works, *passim*. We cite a few words from his speech to the Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatamie, Wyandot, and Seneca chiefs, April 22, 1808: "Your lands are you own; your right to them shall never be violated by us; they are yours to keep or sell as you please. . . . You are always free to say 'No,' [to the requests to buy their land], and it will never disturb our friendship for you." Jefferson advocated the principle involved in our modern phrase, that it is better to feed the Indians than to fight them, when he said, in a letter to Charles Carrollton, April 15, 1791, "The most economical as well as the most humane conduct towards them is to bribe them into peace, and to retain them in peace by eternal bribes," and then he goes on to deprecate a recent military expedition against them, as costing

enough "for presents on the most liberal scale for one hundred years."

It is, however, the living questions of the hour that must now engage public attention. Among these, incredible as it may seem, we meet the idea of extermination; flippant speakers and writers rejoice over "the dead Indian" as their type of perfection; more earnest men wish they were "out of the way;" others still would fold their hands and "let them pass away;" covetous men want their land, and do not care by what means its possession can be secured; many who would do them no harm yet regard them only as objects of fear and aversion. All these shades of opinion end in a common result—the extinction of the Indian race. It must be owned that some things seem to justify this direful theory. The wild Indians are mostly savages, cruel, treacherous,—people whose vicinity awakens only feelings of apprehension and even terror. They, and far too many of the half-settled tribes, are most undesirable neighbors, idle, lazy, thievish, dirty, every way disagreeable—the furthest removed from "the noble red men" of our writers of romance. Nevertheless, they are men of like passions with us, capable of improvement, and of living a Christian life. As to "killing them off," or "shooting them down like wolves," we have not so learnt the lesson of humanity, to say nothing of religion. We are a civilized people. We do not sanction murder, violence, nor inhumanity. We cannot adopt even the policy of doing nothing, letting them pass away, only punishing them for acts of violence against white people—a part of the theory of extermination, a policy worthy of him who asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" This method does not meet the exigencies of the case. It does not save the lives of our own people, nor protect our advancing railroads, nor make the wilderness to become a fruitful field; it does not make friends and fellow-citizens of those who are capable of becoming intelligent, industrious, well-ordered Christian people.

As a means to this end, we can no longer adopt the theory of regarding the Indian tribes as foreign or independent powers, with whom our Government should form treaties. Whatever may have been expedient at the beginning of this century, it is not now best, either for the Indians or for ourselves, to conduct our intercourse with them upon this idea; though we should certainly fulfil all the engagements we have made with them by

treaty. We note with some surprise the reports of some of the "Commissioners" in the second of these volumes, which refer to negotiations which look like the old-fashioned treaties. This kind of proceeding may well be regarded as obsolete. It may answer a temporary purpose, but in the end it will probably embarrass all parties. A "Commissioner" may obtain several hundred thousand acres of land from some tribe, on the promise that the Government will pay some hundred thousand dollars, the Senate to approve the arrangement; but the money thus payable may do more harm than good, falling mainly, as it will, into the hands of a few self-appointed chiefs and head men. The land not thus purchased, and impliedly confirmed as Indian territory, may not be the best reserve either for the Indians or the white people. And at any rate this matter should not be settled by piece-meal, as we shall see presently. On the other hand, we cannot yet deal with the Indians as in many respects good American citizens. Those amongst them who have become intelligent and industrious, in a word, civilized, should be admitted to the rights of citizenship. We need be embarrassed by no doubts on this subject. Whatever reasons may have led to the clause in the Constitution excluding "Indians not taxed" from the count of our people in the apportionment of members of Congress, these reasons should equally weigh against the enumeration of any other non-taxed class; but the clause itself clearly implies that Indians who are taxed are to be counted, and so recognized as citizens. The theory that the Indians are foreigners has no place in the Constitution, and our action on this theory has been merely a usage which was apparently proper at the time. Our States will readily accord to them the rights of citizenship as soon as they are prepared for it; some of the States, we believe, have already admitted them to these rights. But in regard to Indians not yet civilized—especially to those who are still in a savage or wild state, the idea of citizenship is inadmissible. They ought, however, to be placed under the protection of law, and certainly their testimony should not be excluded in judicial cases. That they could be held and treated as responsible to our courts of justice for their conduct does not seem practicable, considering their ignorance of our language, their own dialects unknown to most of our magistrates, their habits of life, their want of acquaintance

with the elementary principles of our legal system. Still, they must not be left in a lawless state, and they need not be so left, as will appear further on.

The true idea of the relation between the country and the Indians is now that of Guardian and Wards. Not in every strict legal particular, but in the general sense expressed by Blackstone, who describes a guardian as having "charge of the maintenance and education of the minor," or as defined in one of our dictionaries, "who has the custody or property of . . . a person who is incapable of managing his own affairs;" so, a ward is "one who is guarded." This relation in the case before us has grown up as naturally almost and as inevitably as that between the State and its orphan, lunatic and pauper classes of people. It is Christian guardianship that is needed now, to be exercised on broad views of statesmanship, looking to the welfare of the people of all classes, white or red, but ever aiming to do what is wise, humane and just towards its Indian wards. On this basis, we believe, all Indian questions can best be solved; on any other, we do not see how they can be well settled.

This theory, and any theory, must stand the test of practical difficulties. First among these is the question of land. The possession of the land now occupied in some measure as "reservations," and in larger measure not occupied in any definite sense by roving Indians, lies at the foundation of many of our Indian troubles, and tests severely our own character as a Christian nation. Jefferson truly said in 1786, "The want [of attention to the rights of Indians, chiefly in respect to their land] is a principal source of dishonor to the American character," and so it has been too often since his day. The Indians themselves, the railroad companies, the speculators in lands, the hardy laboring men ever pressing to the front, are all involved in the settlement of this subject. Let us ask, how would a guardian, at once wise, benevolent, and sufficiently powerful, act in this matter? He would, to begin, certainly fulfill to the letter all his own engagements, and take not an acre from any ward to whom he had assigned it, without his own full and free consent. But, to go to the basis of title or ownership of the land, in all regions not closed against inquiry by his own acts, we can hardly believe that such a guardian would recognize his Indian wards as having anything more than a posses-



sory right to the land. Such right was important to them, when they depended on the chase for subsistence, but it is of little value when the buffalo or the deer no longer rewards their skill. On the method of supporting themselves by industry, which they must henceforth adopt, a few hundred good acres are worth more to their owner than hundreds of square miles held as a hunting ground.

The setting apart of land in reserve for the Indians will of necessity have to be continued. The Government, having the right of eminent domain, and acting as public guardian in this case, should make the selection of these reserves so as to secure homes for the Indians on land capable of yielding them a support, and so placed as make the intervention of military force if need be readily practicable. No more mistakes should be made, as in placing the Winnebagoes at Crow Creek and the Navajoes at the Bosque Redondo—costing the country millions of dollars and the Indians great suffering and discouragement, and ending in their removal at great expense to new reserves—all attributable to the want of intelligent consideration by the Government officials, if not to less creditable reasons. Almost equally to be shunned is the mistake of making the reservation too large, giving to a few thousand Indians a district as large as the State of New Jersey. These reserves should be chosen, not only for the benefit of the Indians, but also with reference to military operations, which will be indispensable for a time in the government of wild tribes, and the protection of the peaceful Indians. A carefully considered line of policy should be adopted in this matter, at the earliest day; the hasty though well meant action of "Commissioners," Agents, or military officers, does not meet the exigencies of the case. Their action may still be of much use under the direction of the Government, but it should be conformed to the requirements of a wise and comprehensive policy, and not sporadic, partial, embarrassing in the future, often doing great harm, as in the Bosque Redondo case already mentioned. The reserved land should be allotted to Indian families in severalty, a suitable tract to each, with title inalienable unless by the consent of the Government. Then should follow the encouragement of farming, stock raising, &c., the fostering of schools, and especially the encouragement of the religious and benevolent agencies of our Missionary Boards.

All directly religious efforts for the conversion of the Indians should of course be made at the expense of the churches ; but the government may well charge itself with the cost of education, providing suitable buildings, paying the salaries of the teachers, etc., in a word, sustaining to the Indians in education the relation which most of our State Governments sustain to our common school system. It may well admit the co-operation of our Missionary Boards, calling on them to nominate persons for appointment as teachers, providing them with houses free of rent, but in no case giving them land in fee. Other matters of detail would of course receive due consideration.

On the reservations, the United States Indian Agent represents the government, but his functions need to be defined, his authority limited, his official course regulated by statute, as far as possible. Perhaps too much is now left to the mere discretion of these important officers. We would give them the functions of our magistrates, empowering them to hold courts of limited jurisdiction, their proceedings being of record, and to be reviewed by superior officers appointed for the purpose. All this requires what has been too long delayed, the enactment of laws,—the fewer, the simpler, the more easily understood and enforced, the better for all parties. We cannot expect good results from the absence of law among the Indians, as is at present the case in too many tribes ; their usages make a poor substitute for good laws. In this matter, we should think, the best legal minds of the country, under the direction of the best common-sense, might find an interesting sphere of study, and render invaluable service to our poor wards.

The intervention of the military power would no doubt have to be invoked, even under the most humane guardianship,—indeed, as a resource of humanity itself. The reserves being properly grouped, and military posts chosen with reference to probable duty, no large part of our army need be held in readiness for Indian service. Indians in some tribes are now employed as policemen, to good purpose. We would employ them as soldiers also in the regular army, in rank and file, with promotion for good conduct to the grade of sergeant or even higher ; enlisting those who can understand the few English words needed, and taking them from the settled and civilized or semi-civilized tribes ; continuing, however, in central positions detachments of the

troops as now organized. These native soldiers would make splendid troops, as was abundantly shown during the late Rebellion ; even in the recent Modoc conflicts our Indian allies seem to have rendered the best service on the side of the authorities. Such soldiers would seldom desert the service, and so an immense expense to the government would be avoided ; they would rarely invade the purity of Indian homes or so maltreat their own people as to bring on the outbreaks which now frequently occur from this cause ; they would be themselves in a good school, learning habits of obedience to authority, respect for each other's rights, punctuality, neatness in dress. We would not have them arrayed in full regimentals, but merely in the simplest military costume ; perhaps the old Indian hunting shirt, not dissimilar to the French *blouse*, with slight trimming or ornament, would make the best uniform. The example of the British, governing India largely by its own natives as soldiers, will not apply in some material respects to the case before us ; but in other respects, especially referring to the Hill troops, or Irregular Battalions, with but few European officers to each, we think this example instructive and worthy of imitation. We would of course wish our Indian military force to be organized, equipped and trained by our accomplished military officers on an American basis, not on that of British India, with all the adaptations which our special circumstances require. All this we suppose to be included in the idea of a wise and humane guardianship. Without protection and peace, the Indians can no more reach settled prosperity than a community of prisoners or lunatics unguarded.

All these things should be so ordered as to lead to the result of the Indians becoming disbanded, losing their tribal relations, as soon as they are civilized. 1. It is not advisable in this country to foster class sections among our people ; we want here no Irish, no German, no Indian party. 2. Our political system is comprehensive and flexible enough to embrace people of all nationalities and fuse them in a common brotherhood. 3. Indians, once intelligent, moral and industrious, will make as good citizens as any other people. 4. Our States will readily grant them, when so qualified, the rights of citizenship ; or else incur the risk of having a useless, improvident, burdensome class of persons to be governed by force and supported by charity. 5. We can see no reason for not leaving this matter of citizen-

ship to be settled by the common principles which control political rights in this country.

If, however, the Indians do not become civilized, and fitted to be citizens, abandoning tribal relations, and seeking their support like other people in whatever pursuits they may choose, then we have a more difficult problem to consider—What shall be done with the uncivilized tribes? Those of them who are savage and wild, we apprehend, must be dealt with under the general idea of prisoners, somewhat at large. They must be restrained by sufficient power, and not allowed to prey on other Indians nor on white people. There is little use in trying to reason with savages; it is no part of any true "peace policy" from the time of Washington downward, to withdraw the military arm from the settlement of Indian questions; but we now see clearly that this policy of armed peace involves feeding the wild Indians. They cannot be expected to remain quiet in restricted territorial limits if they are starving. And it is far less expensive to the country to send them needed supplies of beef and flour than to keep up costly military, and still more costly commissariat, establishments for incessant Indian wars. On the plan of supplying their wants, small detachments of troops will suffice to keep the peace. We agree with the late Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that this is a low view of a grave state of public interests, but as a provisional arrangement it is certainly wise for us and humane for the savages. It is dealing with them as we deal with prisoners in our penitentiaries, restraining them, and supplying their wants. And then, our good Government acting towards them uprightly and in good faith, on a liberal policy, and our benevolent people going amongst them as traders and friends, giving particular kindness to their children, we may confidently hope for a great change in their character. Before long they will pass from the condition of wild Indians to that of somewhat settled if not yet civilized communities—such, for example, as most of the tribes now living in Nebraska. These tribes are living on reservations, certainly to their great advantage in many respects. Yet they cannot and do not feel settled. Their reserves are but islands in the midst of the white population. Too many of their neighbors covet their land. The Omahas, for example, men, women and children, about 1,000 souls, the remnant of the tribe, have



reserved land, of a quality equal to any in the State, and capable of supporting a population of 50,000 engaged in farming. They owe their large advance over other tribes to missionary labor amongst them. But still too many of them live in earthen lodges, and their cultivation of the ground, with an occasional exception, is not worth describing. These Omahas would be in better circumstances if they removed to the Indian Territory. Their land, 345,600 acres, would sell for a good price; every dollar of the proceeds of sale should be held by the Government in trust for them, after deducting the expense of removal, which need not require a large sum. In their new home they would be in better circumstances than they can expect to be in Nebraska. And the same is true, no doubt, of other tribes, now somewhat settled, but not civilized.

The Indian Territory, we have thought for years, might become the home of all the Indians in our States and Territories, excepting those prepared to give up their tribal condition and to become citizens. This Territory is so large and it has a soil and climate so excellent, that it could easily support three times as numerous a population as all the Indians, and still have fewer inhabitants than are found in the State of Missouri, which lies partly on its northern boundary. There are many and difficult questions in connection with this Territory, which cannot here be considered. Its relations to the general government, its geographical position as to our railroad system, its inter-tribal interests, its questions of land in common or in severalty, and as to the districts to be assigned to tribes that may wish to live within its boundaries—these we must leave in abeyance. But we must not forget that this territory is held by certain tribes on the faith of the Government expressed in repeated treaties; it has been conveyed to the Indians in the most unqualified terms for perpetual possession. Every condition entered into by our Government must be fulfilled. No change is to be thought of, excepting such as may be made with the consent of the Indians, freely given. No grants of lands to railroads should be made by Congress in its bounds any more than in the State of Pennsylvania. No white person should be allowed the right of residence, except in special cases with the consent of the Indians. It has long been supposed by many, especially before the late Rebellion when slavery existed in this Territory, that

eventually an Indian State could be created, and the districts occupied by different tribes would then become counties. Though some of the Indians would prefer a Confederation, each tribe remaining independent, yet for reasons already suggested, this project should not be adopted. But this fine Territory must be kept for the red men now there, and we hope it can become the abode of other tribal Indians, until a state of things better for them as well as for us brings to pass a change from special Territorial to our common State condition. As the case now stands, we see no alternative but that of testing the experiment of fostering this Indian community, unless we would break the sacred faith of the country as pledged to this people. We regard it as an experiment. In the end one of two things will come to pass—the experiment will be so manifestly a failure that all parties, the best of the Indians included, will be prepared for some great change as a matter of inevitable public necessity; or else, the experiment will succeed so well, that the then civilized and Christian people of this Territory will take their stand on the common broad basis of the other States, and be welcomed as equal sharers of our American heritage.

We must look for a moment at the administrative methods by which the Government as the guardian of this people is fulfilling its high trust. Here the first thing that strikes us with surprise is that such great, varied, costly and difficult matters should be placed in the care of a mere bureau of one of the Departments, superintended by a subordinate officer. The Secretary of the Department is indeed held responsible for the proper administration of Indian Affairs by this bureau. For a long time, the Indian bureau was placed in the War Department, expressing, we suppose, the idea of many persons then and since that the chief function of the Government towards the Indians was to fight them! This bureau was afterwards very wisely placed in the Department of the Interior, where it now remains, and where it receives as full a measure of supervision from the head of the Department as can be given to it by a Secretary, who has also to superintend the Pension, General Land, Patent, Census, Education, and other matters of national interest, some of them of broad import and multitudinous details. So far as able and upright statesmanship is concerned, the Indian Department need desire no better Secretary than the gentleman now at the head

of the Department of the Interior ; but it seems manifest that it should be a Department, not a Bureau, with its Secretary receiving the full salary of such high office, and held responsible for its administration, in like manner as other Secretaries of Departments. The large outlay of public money in our Indian Affairs itself would warrant this arrangement—an outlay likely to increase for some time. But it is chiefly for the varied and difficult duties requiring the attention of the Government that it is expedient. We may believe that after a number of years these duties will cease, the Indians being then citizens ; but these affairs now have come to such a state as to affect seriously some of our largest business interests, especially those connected with railroads and the settlement of our ever advancing white population ; to involve the peace of our frontier communities more than in former years, and thereby the lives of many persons, both white and Indian ; and more than ever to color with bright or dark shades the reputation of the country itself. We would place one of the best statesmen in the nation at the head of this Department ; and the people may reward with the highest honors him who shall conduct these Indian Affairs to their right settlement.

Without entering on the consideration of other points in the administration of our Indian Affairs, we may refer briefly to the Board of Indian Commissioners, and to the Indian Agents, not to examine their functions, but to suggest two or three practical matters. We regard the appointment of the Indian Board as a marked step forward. It seems desirable to increase the number of its members, so as to lessen the burden now resting on the Board by enabling it to work through sub-committees of its members, and also to secure the aid of public men not mostly of the commercial class, but representing our professional and other classes, and particularly men of legislative and judicial experience. The country could no doubt obtain the services of such gentlemen, who would bring to the work the noble aims and disinterested zeal of the members now enrolled. We would not, however, place on this Board, nor in any office connected with Indian affairs, gentlemen of the clerical profession ; it is not expedient that the ministers of religion should receive offices or salaries from the Government in this service unless as teachers ; it is of some moment to guard against denominational

rivalry in these matters ; and there are laymen well qualified in sufficient numbers. The law enacted by Congress last winter, which created a number of Visiting Inspectors, should be so modified as to place the nomination of these Inspectors in the charge of the Board of Indian Commissioners ; otherwise these Inspectorships will become posts for mere politicians, often not in sympathy with the country in its purpose of civilizing the Indians, and perhaps even less friendly to the efforts of our religious people to Christianize them. As to the Indian Agents, a marked change for good has been already effected by the appointment of upright men on the nomination of the Missionary Boards. Their salaries, to come at once to practical matters, are by no means large for the service required, but if a house were provided for each, as at some of the Agencies, or a special grant to defray house rent, we should not care to see the salaries increased. They are more liberal now, when houses are provided, than the salaries of missionaries in the same tribes—men quite equal to Agents. The Agencies must not be “run” for the benefit of the Agents or employés, but of the Indians ; and there are thousands of men of Christian devotedness, and in all respects well-qualified, whose services can be obtained whenever the case is properly laid before them. Let us enter a protest, however, against the appointment of merely *good* men ; in no stations are men of capacity, business training, energy, and sterling common-sense more indispensable than in these Agencies. Only such men should be nominated by our Missionary Boards for appointment, only such men should be recommended to the Board for nomination. The Indian Department must remove unsuitable men, and the Missionary Boards should ask for their removal, but it is better to nominate for appointment only men who will not need to be removed. When the right men are found, their services should be retained as long as practicable. No change of administration at Washington should be allowed to displace a well-qualified Agent ; and in order to this permanence in office, nothing should be made of political preferences in the appointment thereto, but the best men of all parties should be sought for these self-denying posts—self-denying if their duties are rightly performed. It is our conviction that no measure ever adopted by the Government is more benign in its practical influence on all our relations



with the Indians than the present method of nomination and appointment to these Agencies.

We have but little space left for the second general subject, to inquire what more the Church can do for the Indians. First of all, our Christian people should discard the idea that it is a hopeless work to convert this people. They are not "a soft race," like the Sandwich Islanders, but possess a wonderful degree of native energy, endurance, and capacity of improvement. They are not a people destined to "die out," unless through the vices and mal-treatment of the white people; on the contrary, where they come under Christian influences they increase in number, as witness the Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, and others; and where they become even partially settled, they do not decrease, as is shown by the Omahas, Winnebagoes, and Navajoes. But were we to concede their short existence as a race, we shall only find a stronger plea for giving them the benefits of our holy religion without delay. Next, the Christian churches of this country should recognize the special claims of this poor people upon their prompt and vigorous benevolence. By how many bonds are we related to them—of neighborhood, of almost exclusive access, of indebtedness for land once theirs, of manifold good for evils inflicted on them by our countrymen; of the highest obligation of all, that of seeking their eternal well-being? The happiest results have already followed the missionary efforts of different churches; thousands of converts are enrolled as communicants, and beautiful have been many Christian lives, and many peaceful deaths, of Indian church members.

All our Christian denominations should take a part in the work of Indian evangelization. We would have them all represented in the Indian Agencies; and to lessen sectional feeling we would assign some of the nominations to Agencies for northern and northwestern tribes to denominations as yet unhappily only southern in their organization, and *vice versa*. Whether our churches should conduct their missions to the Indians through their Home Conferences and Associations, like the Methodists and Baptists, or their Foreign Boards, like the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, or an Indian Commission, like the Episcopalians, or a Quarterly or Yearly Meeting, like the Friends, we deem to be a matter of minor interest—provided in every

case the work of supporting missionaries, teachers, schools, etc., be conducted with efficiency and thoroughness. We fear there are great defects in this respect in existing missions. And there are numerous tribes not yet reached by missionary laborers. We close with the hope that special consideration may be given to the case of this people, who, if they ever receive the gospel, must receive it at the hands of our American Churches.

## ART. II.—THE SINFULNESS OF SELFISHNESS.

By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., LL.D., Amherst, Mass.

SELFISHNESS is ever sinful, but it works itself out in different degrees of enormity; and it will open this subject the most favorably in the direction we design to discuss it, to give some examples which rise from incipient openings of selfishness upwards to that state of wickedness which has become incorrigible and unpardonable.

After the miracle of feeding the five thousand, given in the 6th chapter of John, Jesus and his disciples passed over to Capernaum on the opposite side of the Sea of Galilee. The people in great multitudes, learning of his departure, took shipping and passed over also seeking for Jesus. Their earnestness was manifest in the sacrifices they made. They leave their homes and their business and follow him till they find him, and then most admiringly and respectfully they ask, "Rabbi, when camest thou hither?" All might seem to others, and probably they deemed themselves, to be very devoted and quite disinterested in their great show of attachment. But Jesus knew their secret selfishness. "Ye seek me not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled." The majesty of my divinity does not control you, but the inward motive is, you get your living by it. Perhaps we may nowhere find a more plausible or less openly offensive outworking of selfishness than in this example.