

PRESERVATION AND CIVILIZATION OF THE INDIANS.

**LETTER**

FROM

**THE SECRETARY OF WAR,**

TO THE

**Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs,**

ACCOMPANIED BY A BILL FOR THE

**Preservation and Civilization**

OF THE

**INDIAN TRIBES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES.**

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FEBRUARY 21, 1826.

Laid before the House by the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and  
ordered to be printed.

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1826.

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIANS

LETTER

THE HISTORY OF WAR

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONS

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONS

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONS

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

*February 3d, 1826.*

SIR: The duty assigned me by your letter of —, enclosing “a bill for the preservation and civilization of the Indian Tribes within the United States,” is one both delicate and important. I have discharged it to the best of my judgment, by preparing, and herewith sending you, the project of a bill for your consideration, and a report in elucidation of its purposes. I seek shelter from what otherwise would be a painful responsibility, under the superior wisdom of those to whose judgment it is committed.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES BARBOUR.

Hon. JOHN COCKE,

*Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs.*

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR

February 24, 1880.

Sir: The following is a copy of a letter of — enclosing "a bill for the better regulation and discipline of the Indian Tribes within the United States" is one both delicate and important. I have discussed it in the light of my judgment, by presenting, and herewith submitting, the report of a bill for your consideration, and a report in relation to its purpose. I hope either from what otherwise may be a more complete study, under the superior wisdom of those to whom the matter is referred.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES H. HARRISON

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Secretary of the Committee on Indian Affairs.

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

*February 3d, 1826.*

The condition of the aborigines of this country, and their future destiny, have long engaged the attention of the philosopher and statesman, inspiring an interest correspondent to the high importance of the subject. The history of the past presents but little on which the recollection lingers with satisfaction. The future is not more cheering, unless resort be speedily had to other councils than those by which we have heretofore been governed. From the first discovery of America to the present time, one master passion, common to all mankind, that of acquiring land, has driven, in ceaseless succession, the white man on the Indian. The latter reluctantly yielding to a force he could not resist, has retired from the ocean to the mountains, and from the mountains to more inhospitable recesses, wasting away by sufferings, and by wars, foreign and intestine, till a wretched fragment only survives, of the numerous hordes once inhabiting this country, whose portion is to brood in grief over their past misfortunes, or to look in despair on the approaching catastrophe of their impending doom.\*

It were now an unprofitable task to inquire, on what principle the nations of Europe were justified in dispossessing the original proprietor of his birth right. They brought with them their own maxims, which recognized power as the only standard of right, and fraud and force as perfectly legitimate in the acquisition of territory. It has been done, and time has confirmed the act.

In the contest for dominion, the milder qualities of justice and clemency were disregarded. But that contest has long since ceased, especially in the United States, where, on the one side, are seen a great people, familiar with arts and arms, whose energies are increased by union, and directed by an efficient government; on the other, a few ignorant and divided tribes of barbarians. It is necessary only for the former to express its will, to receive or enforce immediate submission from the latter. The suggestions of policy or necessity should no longer stifle the claims of justice and humanity. It is now, therefore, that a most solemn question addresses itself to the American people, and whose answer is full of responsibility. Shall we go on quietly in a course, which, judging from the past, threatens their extinction, while their past sufferings and future prospects, so pathetically appeal to our compassion? The responsibility to which I refer, is what a nation owes to itself, to its future character in all time to come. For, next to the means of self-defence, and the blessings of free government, stands, in point of importance, the character of a nation. Its distinguishing characteristics should be, justice and moderation. To spare the weak is its brightest ornament. It is, there-

\*The whole number of Indians within the United States is estimated, in round numbers, at 300,000; of which 120,000 reside in the States and Territories.

fore, a source of the highest gratification, that an opportunity is now offered the United States to practice these maxims, and give an example of the triumph of liberal principles, over that sordid selfishness which has been the fruitful spring of human calamity.

It is the province of history to commit to its pages the transactions of nations. Posterity look to this depository with the most intense interest. The fair fame of their ancestors, a most precious inheritance, is to them equally a source of pride, and a motive of continued good actions. But she performs her province with impartiality. The authority she exercises in the absence of others, is a check on bad rule. The tyrant and the oppressor see, in the character of their prototypes, the sentence posterity is preparing for them. Which side of the picture shall we elect? for the decision is left to ourselves. Shall her record transmit the present race to future generations, as standing by, insensible to the progress of the desolation which threatens the remnant of this people; or shall these unfriendly characters give place to a generous effort which shall have been made to save them from destruction. While deliberating on this solemn question, I would appeal to that high Providence, whose delight is justice and mercy, and take council from the oracles of his will, revealed to man, in his terrible denunciations against the oppressor.

In reviewing the past, justice requires that the humane attempts of the Federal Government, coeval with its origin, should receive an honorable notice. That they have essentially failed, the sad experience of every day but too strongly testifies. If the original plan, conceived in the spirit of benevolence, had not been fated to encounter that as yet unabated desire, to bereave them of their lands, it would, perhaps, have realized much of the hopes of its friends. So long, however, as that desire continues to direct our councils, every attempt must fail. A cursory review is all that is necessary to show the incongruity of the measures we have pursued, and the cause of their failure.

Missionaries are sent among them to enlighten their minds, by imbuing them with religious impressions. Schools have been established by the aid of private, as well as public donations, for the instruction of their youths. They have been persuaded to abandon the chase—to locate themselves, and become cultivators of the soil—implements of husbandry, and domestic animals, have been presented them, and all these things have been done, accompanied with professions of a disinterested solicitude for their happiness. Yielding to these temptations, some of them have reclaimed the forest, planted their orchards, and erected houses, not only for their abode, but for the administration of justice, and for religious worship. And when they have so done, *you* send *your* Agent to tell them they must surrender their country to the white man, and re-commit themselves to some new desert, and substitute as the means of their subsistence the precarious chase for the certainty of cultivation. The love of our native land is implanted in every human bosom, whether he roams



the wilderness, or is found in the highest state of civilization. This attachment increases with the comforts of our country, and is strongest when these comforts are the fruits of our own exertions. We have imparted this feeling to many of the tribes by our own measures. Can it be matter of surprise, that they bear, with unmixed indignation, of what seems to them our ruthless purpose of expelling them from their country, thus endeared? They see that our professions are insincere—that our promises have been broken; that the happiness of the Indian is a cheap sacrifice to the acquisition of new lands; and when attempted to be soothed by an assurance that the country to which we propose to send them is desirable, they emphatically ask us, what new pledges can you give us that we shall not again be exiled when it is your wish to possess these lands? It is easier to state, than to answer this question. A regard to consistency, apart from every other consideration requires, a change of measures. Either let him retain and enjoy his home, or, if he is to be driven from it, abstain from cherishing illusions, we mean to disappoint, and thereby make him to feel more sensibly the extent of his loss.

Having pointed out the incongruities of this system, so unhappily organized, that it contains within itself the causes of its own abortion, I proceed to review the more modern plans of removing the different tribes from the East to the West of the Mississippi. That this plan originated in that benevolence for which its author is so distinguished, is cheerfully admitted; but that *it* too, is obnoxious to many objections, I fear, is no less true. The first objection is the impracticability of its execution, if that is to depend on treaties alone. Some of the tribes in whose removal we are most deeply concerned, have peremptorily refused to abandon their native land. Those who may be persuaded to emigrate, will carry with them the same internal feuds which are so destructive to their kind, and for which no remedy is proposed. Different tribes are to be placed in juxtaposition without a *controlling* power, between which, hereditary and implacable hostilities have raged, and which are not likely to be appeased, till the one or the other is exterminated. But these difficulties surmounted, in what relation are they to stand to the United States? The history of every age teaches us how difficult it has been to maintain tranquillity between conterminous and independent states—though civilized. How must that difficulty be increased, when one of the parties is Savage? Thefts and murders, and numberless causes of discord, must inevitably precipitate collisions which cannot but prove fatal to the weaker party. And the same propensity which has conducted the white population to the remote regions they now occupy, will continue to propel the tide, till it is arrested only by the distant shores of the Pacific. Before this resistless current, the Indian must retire till his name will be no more. It would be, however, worse than useless to waste *your* time in multiplying objections to existing plans—I have the refore, supposing it to be within the duty assigned me by the Committee, submitted the project of a

bill, with such provisions as I think, under all the circumstances, are best calculated to effect the desired object.

In performing the service assigned by the Committee, whose wishes alone would have been a sufficient inducement on my part to render a cheerful compliance, I have a further reason—a desire to comply with the requests of the People of the United States residing in the neighborhood of Indian settlements. The Department is continually pressed with applications, from New York to Arkansas, to adopt measures to extinguish the Indian titles to their lands, and remove the Indians. An unavailing attempt to obtain a cession of their lands is sometimes ascribed by the disappointed to ignorance, or a want of zeal, or some worse motive on the part of Agents employed—and new attempts to negotiate are solicited with unabated importunity. The obstinacy of the Indians, arising from their partial civilization, whose removal we most wish, fully equals the zeal of those who wish to procure their lands—and hence, an insuperable difficulty presents itself of effecting, by *treaties*, the object which is so desirable, of putting an end to this fruitful source of collision.

I am not arrogant enough to suppose that it is free from all objections. For I am aware that no plan, which human ingenuity could suggest, would be altogether exempt, as the subject is encompassed on every side with difficulties. The utmost reach of my hopes is limited to a diminution of these difficulties, both in number and extent. It is only by comparison I am satisfied that my scheme can solicit a preference. I submit the outlines of the bill, the principles of which are the following:

First. The country West of the Mississippi, and beyond the States and Territories, and so much on the East of the Mississippi as lies West of Lakes Huron and Michigan, is to be set apart for their exclusive abode.

Secondly. Their removal by individuals, in contradistinction to tribes.

Thirdly. A Territorial Government to be maintained by the United States.

Fourthly. If circumstances shall eventually justify it, the extinction of tribes, and their amalgamation into one mass, and a distribution of property among the individuals.

Fifthly. It leaves the condition of those that remain unaltered.

In offering a few remarks upon these different heads, I beg to call the attention of the committee to the leading principle of the bill, namely: That nothing is proposed to be done, in reference to the Indians, *without their own consent*. In making this a preliminary to our acting, I have been influenced rather by a desire to relieve the proposed plan from objections, than from any settled conviction of its necessity. The relations between the United States and the Indians, are so entirely peculiar, that it is extremely difficult to refer to any well settled principles by which to ascertain the extent of our authority over them. Our ancestors, as well as every European nation that seized upon their country, denounced them as Heathens, utterly out



of the pale of civil society, and as a consequence, disposed of them according to their will and pleasure. From the adoption of the Federal Government, however, they were regarded, to some extent, as an independent people. Hence, treaties were made with them for a surrender of the usufruct of their lands. On the other hand, they were denied the exercise of this right as it respects other nations, and were even restrained from selling their lands to our own citizens. And beside regulating their trade, Congress went so far as to punish, by the decisions of our own courts, for offences committed within or without their own territories. In forbearing to go further, it is left to conjecture, whether it arose from a want of authority, or the expediency of exercising it. To avoid, therefore, any difficulty which different opinions might produce on this point, their consent has been made necessary by the bill, as a requisite to its operation.

The first provision looks to the procurement of a country for future residence beyond the settlements of the whites. Fortunately, that object can be easily effected. In adopting the limits prescribed in the bill, I have pursued the plan heretofore proposed. In including the lands as a part lying between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and the River Mississippi, I have been governed as well by the above consideration, as the fact that it is now in the occupancy of the Indians, and, from its natural features, is not desirable at present for the habitation of our citizens.

The principal recommendation of this plan, next to the advantages to be gained by ourselves, is, that the future residence of these people will be forever undisturbed—that there, at least, they will find a home and a resting place. And being exclusively under the control of the United States, and, consequently, free from the rival claims of any of the States, the former may plight its most solemn faith that it shall be theirs forever, and this guaranty is therefore given.

The second provision referred to is that of effecting their removal by portions less than whole tribes, when the latter is impracticable. Some of the tribes, in whose immediate removal we are particularly interested, have expressed a fixed determination against an exchange of their lands. This difficulty is said to arise from the influence of their chiefs, who have appropriated the most fertile lands to themselves, and have become wealthy. *Their* consent to remove cannot be obtained; but the majority, or large portions of the tribe who have no such inducement to remain, it is asserted by those who know, or pretend to know their wishes, may be persuaded to emigrate. By the proposed plan the fact can be ascertained, and whatever portion may be willing to go, will, under this provision, be removed.

The third object of the bill is, the establishment of a Territorial Government by the United States for their protection and their civilization. The bill proposes a Governor, three Judges, and a Secretary, to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and such modifications in detail as the President shall ordain, subject to the approbation of Congress.

I have already intimated, in a former part of this report, the consequences of sending the Indians to the country destined for their final abode, without some controlling authority. Without this they will be exposed to endless mischiefs. It is not necessary to prescribe particularly in the bill their government. Its organization may safely be deposited in the hands of the President, subject to the control of Congress. I will, nevertheless, suggest, that, as soon as the civilization of the Indians would admit of it, I would give them a legislative body, composed of Indians to be selected in the early stages by the President, and eventually to be elected by themselves, as well for the purpose of enacting such laws as would be agreeable to themselves, as for the purpose of exciting their ambition. Distinction being the object of universal pursuit with man, whether barbarous or civilized, it is presented to the Indians in this scheme. They will be taught, that there is another road to it than through blood and slaughter. The objection on the part of the most intelligent, to an amalgamation with the whites, is, that they can never rise to offices of trust and profit. Here this difficulty will be removed. In time, let us indulge the hope, that they will be competent to self government, when they may be left entirely to themselves, and when, in consequence, their ambition will find its proper theatre, and be gratified; then none will have any adequate motive to remain among the whites.

A fourth object of the bill is, the division of their lands in such manner, and at such times, as the President may think proper. The object of this provision is, to give the power to the President, when, in his judgment, circumstances will justify it, to distribute the land among the individuals by metes and bounds, in contradistinction to its being held in common by a tribe. Nothing, it is believed, has had a more injurious influence on our efforts to improve the condition of the Indians, than holding their land in *common*. Whether such a system may succeed on a very limited scale, when under a beneficent patriarchal authority, is yet to be ascertained. Past experience has left the strongest evidence against its practicability under less favorable auspices. The attempt of that kind in the first settlement of Virginia, and, I believe, in the early settlements elsewhere, conducted the colonists to the very brink of ruin, from which they were rescued only by abandoning it. The distribution of the soil, and the individuality imparted to the avails of its cultivation, history informs us, instantly gave a new and favorable aspect to their condition. How far the strong motives of human action may be modified by education and habit, may be left in the hands of the speculative philanthropists. The only safe rule for governments is, to act on human nature as it is, and conform its changes of policy to new, but well ascertained developments. If, therefore, the position be a just one, that every attempt at a community of property has eventuated unsuccessfully, even with civilized man, it is no matter of wonder that it should have been equally so with the savage. To the lands thus granted, add liberally all that is necessary to enable them effectually to succeed in their new condition—implements of husbandry, mechanics for re-

pairing them, domestic animals, and supplies of food. By directing a part of the funds at present paid for annuities, judiciously, under proper Agents, to be appointed by the United States, and as long as necessity required it, the Indians might be brought, by degrees, to a love of civilized life, and be reconciled to the performance of its duties. And although the difficulty of inducing him to labor, is duly appreciated, yet, when its benefits are once realized in the individuality of its productions, and by increasing his comforts, the hope can scarcely be deemed desperate which places him under the same influences as the white man. I refer to the document B as disclosing interesting information on this branch of the subject. The principal fixed, the time of its application to different tribes might be left to the discretion of the President, who, in its exercise, would conform to circumstances, commencing with those most convenient and most civilized, and cautiously extending its application till the whole be embraced. The money we annually expend on our Indian relations, and frequently not very profitably to them, from the manner of their appropriating it, would furnish an ample fund to meet any probable expense arising from the execution of this plan. By reference to document A, it will be seen that this year we have had to pay for this object \$781,827 14.

To those advantages may be added the consideration, that, after an individual distribution, the effort of the whites to dispossess them of their lands thus held must cease. The individual appropriation of land gives a sanctity to the title which inspires respect in nations the most barbarous. It would repress, with us, any thought of disturbing it. When this is effected, their distinction of tribes may easily be abolished, and the whole consolidated into one great family. And lastly, the bill leaves those that remain to the wisdom and justice of posterity. If, as is believed, the number disposed to emigrate is comparatively great, those that remain will be so few that their condition may be regulated without committing violence on their wishes or their interests, and yet reconciling their residence with the prosperity of the whites. It is obvious, from causes that need not be enumerated, they must soon surrender their distinction of race for the resemblance of the white man, and accept, as an equivalent, the blessings which that resemblance cannot fail to bring with it—a peaceful but sure remedy, which may be safely left to time alone to produce.

I will add, that the end proposed is the happiness of the Indians—the instrument of its accomplishment—their progressive, and finally, their complete civilization. The obstacles to success are their ignorance, their prejudices, their repugnance to labor, their wandering propensities, and the uncertainty of the future. I would endeavor to overcome these by schools; by a distribution of land in individual right; by a permanent social establishment which should require the performance of social duties, by assigning them a country of which they are never to be bereaved, and cherishing them with parental kindness.

In looking to the possible results of this plan, I am cheered with the hope, that much good may be effected with comparatively little injury. Our difficulties in their present form, will be diminished, or entirely removed. The desire to acquire Indian lands will cease, and no longer produce collisions. The Indians will at last know their lot with certainty. That many will avail themselves of this arrangement so as to arrive at the blessings of civilization, I think there can be no reasonable doubt; that all will not, I readily admit. The imprudent of our own people are equally beyond the reach of legislative protection.

To this may be added the consolation furnished by the recollection, that, in the efforts we had made, we had acquitted ourselves of a debt of justice and humanity; and if they should even fail by the overruling influence of an inscrutable destiny, whose fulfilment requires their extinction, however it may fill us with sorrow, we shall be relieved from remorse.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES BARBOUR.

[To be annexed to the Report of the Secretary of War in relation to the Preservation and Civilization of the Indian Tribes within the United States.—Doc. No. 102.]

A.

*Extract from the Second Auditor's statement, shewing the amount of requisitions drawn by the Secretary of War on the Treasury of the United States, in the 1st, 2d, and 3d quarters of 1825, the amount of which that has been accounted for on the settlement of accounts, and the balance which remains to be accounted for, as appears from the books of the 2d Auditor of the Treasury.*

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.						Amount drawn from the Treas- ury.	Amount ac- counted for in the set- tlement of accounts.	Balance to be account- ed for.
Indian Department	-	-	-	-	-	143,014 59	131,138 30	11,876 29
Pay of Indian agents	-	-	-	-	-	43,318 19	42,506 69	811 50
Pay of sub-agents	-	-	-	-	-	19,461 65	18,893 78	567 87
Civilization of Indians	-	-	-	-	-	11,032 91	4,246 05	6,786 86
Presents to Indians	-	-	-	-	-	18,728 23	15,158 97	3,569 26
Annuities to Indian tribes	-	-	-	-	-	221,518 98	200,518 98	21,000 00
Claims against the Osages	-	-	-	-	-	2,748 00	2,628 92	119 08
Carrying into effect the treaty with the Creeks	-	-	-	-	-	23,000 00	23,000 00	
Do do Choctaws	-	-	-	-	-	3,748 72	3,748 72	
Extinguishment of Indian title to Quapaw lands	-	-	-	-	-	373 91	373 91	
Running the line of the land assigned to Florida Indians	-	-	-	-	-	362 44	362 44	
Expenses of rations to be furnished to Florida Indians	-	-	-	-	-	31,854 25	26,430 25	5,424 00
To defray the expenses of treating with Choctaws for a modification of the treaty of 18th October, 1820	-	-	-	-	-	9,723 44	7,937 94	1,785 50

[Doc. No. 102.]



# EXTRACT—Continued.

14

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	Am't drawn from the Treasury.	Amount accounted for in the settlement of accounts.	Balance to be accounted for.
To defray the expenses of making treaties with the Indians beyond the Mississippi - - - - -	3,716 21	216 21	3,500 00
To defray the expense of holding treaties with the Sioux, &c. - - -	6,400 00	6,400 00	
Claims of Choctaws for services in the Pensacola campaign - - -	16,972 50	16,972 50	
Towards the execution of any treaty with the Creeks that may be ratified prior to the next session of Congress - - - - -	225,853 12	34,484 21	191,368 91
	781,827 14	535,017 87	246,809 27

[Doc. No. 102.]

NOTE.—See report accompanying the President's message, explaining the balance which appears to be unaccounted for.



## B.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,  
*Office of Indian Affairs, December 13, 1825.*

HON. JAMES BARBOUR,  
*Secretary of War.*

SIR: I now proceed to report upon the remaining parts of your directions of the 3d October last, to wit: "The effects, as already developed, of the present system for civilizing the Indians, and its probable and ulterior consequences upon them as a race, viewed both in relation to their present situation and that which contemplates their future and permanent residence upon lands west of the Mississippi."

The effects of the present system for civilizing the Indians are, every where, within the limits of its operations, salutary. The reports from the schools all testify to its excellence. Its superiority over all other plans for their improvement, and its exact adaptation to the end for which it was devised, will appear by comparing it with other efforts heretofore made for the accomplishment of the same benevolent object, and by a more detailed exposition of the consequences which are flowing from those now making.

The wise and the good have never ceased, from the earliest periods of our intercourse with the Aborigines of this country, to attempt, in one form or other, their rescue from barbarism, and to introduce among them the conveniences and the blessings of civilized life. But those kind designs were limited in their operations, and partial in their effects; so much so, indeed, as to confirm in many, and even in some who were reluctant to admit a conclusion involving such distressing consequences, the belief that the Aborigines of America were incapable of receiving and of practising the lessons of civilization! But this problem has since been solved; and these failures are now known to have been occasioned by existing and long established habits, (and which are no less difficult to subdue, where they strike deep in the white man, than in the Indian,) to the game which every where abounded in their native forest; to the interminable war which avarice has waged against them, and to the defects in the plans which were resorted to for their enlightening and reformation. The most that was accomplished by the missionaries of those earlier and interesting periods, was to reform, comparatively, a few Indians, and control, in some degree, the savage ferocity of others; maintain and keep alive the spirit of kindness towards them, and secure to themselves, as laborers in a cause so holy, an enviable immortality.

It is now easy to see at least some of the causes of their want of more abundant success. I will notice but one: that, however, next to the want of means and of teachers, is a principal one, and upon which all the rest, in a great degree, depended. Instead of instructing the Indians in a knowledge of the language of the country, and, by means of that mighty instrument, making avenues for their direct approach to, and intercourse with, the whites, and for their immediate acquaint-

ance with the arts and conveniences of cultivated life, the missionaries adopted the plan of first learning the Indian language, and, by means of it, conveyed their instructions to them. They moreover confined themselves chiefly to lessons of morality and virtue. It is true, that, without the practice of these, no people, whether civilized or savage, can attain to the excellencies of which our nature is capable, yet it is equally true, that the savage man must be instructed also in the arts and conveniences of cultivated life, and made to feel the superior benefits which are to be derived from an ownership in, and cultivation of, the soil, and from the social virtues, over the uncertain and isolated and homeless condition of the mere hunter state. It was reserved for later times, if not to discover, at least to practice, this more practical and certain method of civilizing the Indians: hence the present system, whilst it maintains the dignity and purity of moral and religious instruction, keeps also in constant operation the means which are now leading so many Indians to an acquaintance with the domestic arts, with mechanics and with agriculture. It has been by the union of these, aided, it is true, by the absence of game, that the present system for civilizing the Indians has, in the course of a very few years, produced such a striking change in the habits and practices of several of the tribes, among whom it has been put in operation. Upwards of eleven hundred children, as has been shewn in my report of the 30th ultimo, are now having imparted to them, and successfully too, the blessings of civilized and christian life, whilst the older Indians, struck with its transforming effects, are themselves practising, to a very great extent, the lessons which they receive from their more fortunate offspring; and, in proof of their admiration of it, have, in many instances, contributed from their own scanty resources to its support. Several tribes have placed, at the disposal of the superintendents of the schools, under the direction of the General Government, large annuities. The Choctaws have allotted twelve thousand dollars of their means, per annum, for nearly twenty years, towards the support of this system; and the Chickasaws have given one year's annuity, amounting to upwards of thirty thousand dollars, as a fund for the same object.

The Cherokees on this side the Mississippi are in advance of all other tribes. They may be considered as a civilized people. Their march has been rapid. Less than thirty years ago they were so insensible to the conveniences of roads, as to have grown jealous of the missionary who had entitled himself to their confidence, and justly too, for recommending them to open a wagon road from one of their villages, for the advantage of an easier intercourse with another. Something, it is true, had been accomplished in the instruction of a few Cherokees in letters, and in the domestic arts, by the aged and venerable Moravian Missionary, who yet resides in the Cherokee nation; but the *first* school established there, under the present system, was in 1817. I cannot better illustrate the results of this system, than by introducing, here, a statement of the present condition of the Cherokees, from the pen of a young man, a *native Cherokee*, who is in-

debted to this system for his improvement, and who was, eight years ago, as he told me himself, "*a savage*," without any knowledge of our language, or the principles of that sublime religion, to the cause of which he has devoted himself for the benefit of his countrymen. I shall not only be excused, but justified, I am sure, in introducing the following extracts from his letter, addressed to the editor of the *Family Visitor*, at Richmond, in September last. It is truth we are in quest of, and facts are the best instruments for its development. Theory, and all previously conceived opinions, which are adverse to Indian capacity and Indian improvement, must give way to the stubborn demonstrations of such facts as David Brown discloses, even if there were no others; but there are many such.

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"*Willstown, (Cherokee Nation,) Sept. 2d, 1825.*

"In my last letter, from Creek Path, to you, I stated that there was some probability of my returning to Arkansas, &c. &c. and referred to the improved condition of the Cherokees, on this side of the Mississippi, in a moral, intellectual and religious point of view, &c. to the slow progress I make in translating the New Testament, in consequence of the non-existence of a dictionary, or complete grammar, in Cherokee—and to the philological researches of one in the nation, whose system of education had met with universal approbation, &c.

"Allow me, dear sir, now the pleasure to fulfil the promise I made you, that I would pick up and send you what I had omitted. Recently I have been travelling a good deal in the nation, in order to regain my impaired health. My heavenly sovereign permitting, I expect to return to Arkansas in the month of October next. I have made a hasty translation of the four Gospels, which will require a close criticism. On my arrival at Dwight, I shall pursue the delightful work, and I hope the day is not far distant, when the Cherokees, my brethen and kindred, according to the flesh, shall read the words of eternal life, in their own tongue. I will here give you a faint picture of the Cherokee nation and its inhabitants. In the mean time, however, it must be borne in mind, that it is the mass and common people, that form the character of a nation, and not officers of government, nor the lowest grade of peasantry.

"The Cherokee nation, you know, is in about 35 degrees north latitude; bounded on the north and west by the state of Tennessee; on the south by Alabama, and on the east by Georgia and N. Carolina. This country is well watered; abundant springs of pure water are found in every part. A range of majestic and lofty mountains stretch themselves across the nation. The northern part of the nation is hilly and mountainous. In the southern and western parts, there are extensive and fertile plains, covered partly with tall trees, through which beautiful streams of water glide. These plains furnish immense pasturage, and numberless herds of cattle are dispers-

"ed over them. Horses are plenty, and are used for servile purposes. Numerous flocks of sheep, goats and swine, cover the valleys and hills. On Tennessee, Ustanala and Canasagi rivers, Cherokee commerce floats. The climate is delicious and healthy; the winters are mild. The spring clothes the ground with its richest scenery. Cherokee flowers, of exquisite beauty and variegated hues, meet and fascinate the eye in every direction. In the plains and valleys, the soil is generally rich; producing Indian corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat, oats, indigo, sweet and Irish potatoes. The natives carry on considerable trade with the adjoining states; and some of them export cotton in boats, down the Tennessee, to the Mississippi, and down that river to New-Orleans. Apple and peach orchards are quite common, and gardens are cultivated and much attention paid to them. Butter and cheese are seen on Cherokee tables. There are many public roads in the nation, and houses of entertainment kept by natives. Numerous and flourishing villages are seen in every section of the country. Cotton and woollen cloths are manufactured here. Blankets, of various dimensions, manufactured by Cherokee hands, are very common. Almost every family in the nation grows cotton for its own consumption. Industry and commercial enterprise are extending themselves in every part. Nearly all the merchants in the nation are native Cherokee. Agricultural pursuits, (the most solid foundation of our national prosperity,) engage the chief attention of the people. Different branches in mechanics are pursued.—The population is rapidly increasing. In the year 1819, an estimate was made of all the Cherokees. Those on the west, were estimated at 5000, and those on the east of Mississippi, at 10,000 souls. The census of this division of the Cherokees has again been taken within the current year, and the returns are thus made—native citizens 13,563; white men married in the nation, 147; white women do. 73; African slaves 1,277. If this summary of Cherokee population from the census, is correct, to say nothing of those of foreign extract, we find that, in six years, the increase has been 3,563 souls. If we judge the future by the past, to what number will the Cherokee population swell in 1856?

"White men in the nation enjoy all the immunities and privileges of the Cherokee people, except that they are not eligible to public offices. In the above computation of the present year, you perceive that there are some African slaves among us. They have been from time to time, brought in and sold by white men: they are, however, generally well treated, and they much prefer living in the nation, to a residence in the United States. There is hardly any intermixture of Cherokee and African blood. The presumption is, that the Cherokees will, at no distant day, co-operate with the humane efforts of those who are liberating and sending this proscribed race to the land of their fathers. National pride, patriotism, and a spirit of independence, mark the Cherokee character.

"The christian religion is the religion of the nation. Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Moravians, are the most numerous sects.

“Some of the most influential characters are members of the church,  
 “and live consistently with their professions. The whole nation is  
 “penetrated with gratitude for the aid it has received from the United  
 “States government, and from different religious societies. Schools  
 “are increasing every year; learning is encouraged and rewarded.—  
 “The young class acquire the English, and those of mature age, the  
 “Cherokee system of learning. The female character is elevated and  
 “duly respected. Indolence is discountenanced. Our native lan-  
 “guage, in its philosophy, genius, and symphony, is inferior to few, if  
 “any, in the world. Our relations with all nations, savage or civi-  
 “lized, are of the most friendly character. We are out of debt, and  
 “our public revenue is in a flourishing condition. Besides the amount  
 “arising from imposts, a perpetual annuity is due from the United  
 “States, in consideration of lands ceded in former periods. Our sys-  
 “tem of government, founded on republican principles, by which jus-  
 “tice is equally distributed, secures the respect of the people. New-  
 “town, pleasantly situated in the centre of the nation, and at the junc-  
 “tion of Canasagi and Gusuwati, two beautiful streams, is the seat of  
 “government. The legislature power is vested in what is denominat-  
 “ed, in native dialect, *Tsalagi Tinilawige*, consisting of a national com-  
 “mittee and council. Members of both branches are chosen by and  
 “from the people, for a limited period. In Newtown, a printing press  
 “is soon to be established, also a national library and a museum. Im-  
 “mense concourse of people frequent the seat of government, when  
 “*Tsalagi Tinilawigi* is in session, which takes place once a year.”

The success which has attended the philological researches of “one  
 in the nation,” and whose system of education has met, among the Che-  
 rokees, with universal approbation, certainly entitles him to great con-  
 sideration, and to rank with the benefactors of man. His name is  
 Guess, and he is a native and unlettered Cherokee. Like *Cadmus*,  
 he has given to his people the alphabet of their language. It is com-  
 posed of eighty-six characters, by which, in a few days, the older In-  
 dians, who had despaired of deriving an education by means of the  
 schools, and who are not included in the existing school system as par-  
 ticipants of its benefits, may *read and correspond*! I have the honor  
 to accompany herewith, in paper marked C, this alphabet, together  
 with an example in the word “*friend*,” and also, the sound of each  
 character, numbered from 1 to 86.

The probable and ulterior consequences, upon the Indians, *as a race*,  
 of the system for their civilization, whether viewed in relation to their  
 present situation, or that which contemplates their future and perman-  
 ent residence upon lands West of the Mississippi, will partake, it is  
 reasonable to presume, more or less, and according as circumstances  
 may be favorable or otherwise, of those which have already been de-  
 veloped. This is the necessary conclusion, if any regard be had to  
 the effects which have already been produced. But the system to be  
*universally operative*, and speedy in accomplishing the objects designed  
 by it, should be so enlarged as to embrace the entire body of Indian  
 children to whose tribes it may be extended. Without this, they will



have to contend with opposing influences, and their progress will be less rapid. The examples of those not embraced by it, will be necessarily felt. It is in the nature of man to imitate, and it being easier to imitate bad habits than good, the former will predominate, and especially among a people where the checks arising out of public opinion, and which apply to social and moral actions, are less regarded than are those which demand the exercise of self-denial and the sterner virtues. Whether, therefore, the Indians maintain their present location or emigrate West of the Mississippi, and there settle under some congenial and paternal government, as was proposed by our late venerable Chief Magistrate, it cannot be otherwise, if the present system for their civilization be sustained, but that they will continue to derive from it, effects similar to those which have been disclosed. It is, however, in my opinion, very certain, that, should they retain their present location, they will, in the course of a few years, *be lost as a race*. The very improvement which is now making; the refinements which it creates, and the conceptions which it inspires, cannot, whilst they retain their present relation to us, but produce in them feelings of deep humiliation. It is true the Cherokees have a government of their own; and they aspire, among themselves, to places of honor and trust. But the more enlightened of them feel that these honors, when attained, suffer in the comparison with those which are bestowed in the States; or however gratifying their attainment may be, that they are never free from the terrible apprehensions which arise out of the uncertainty of their continuing where they are. Indeed, those of them who have thought most upon this subject, and who feel, with the return of every year, the swell of the same ocean, that has swept off so many of their tribes, breaking at their feet, have no objection to pass, at once, under the laws of the States, and into permanent repose, except that which arises out of their apprehension that a portion of their people are *not yet prepared for it*. But this portion are receiving, in their turn, the enlightening influences of the system of education, and a little time only will be required, so far at least as it regards the Cherokees, to destroy this fear, when the whole tribe will, no doubt, seek to place themselves under the laws of the States, and, by that act, prepare the process for their extinction *as a race*. The same may be said of the other tribes as they shall, in succession, advance to the same state of improvement. But a different result may be anticipated in regard to the question of their extinction or preservation as a race, were the entire Indian population, now within the limits of our States and Territories, (and which does not exceed one hundred and thirty thousand,) collected and placed under the kind of government which has been referred to, and upon lands West of the Mississippi. They would be thus embodied, as *a separate people*. The humiliating feelings arising out of their present relation to the whites, and to our Government, would be changed and elevated by the connexion which would be formed between them; and they would be secured, as well by their separate state as by the power of the government under which they would live, and of which they would form part, from all further



encroachments and insults, and freed from the apprehension which is so paralyzing to them, of any future removal. Under such circumstances, it is reasonable to suppose that they would give full scope to those feelings which characterize them *as a people*, and which lead them to struggle so for their preservation *as a race*. To this day the fragments of tribes within the States, in the North and East, cling to the exterior characteristics, in their leggins and belts of wampum, thus demonstrating their devotion to their race. They are not ashamed of their origin nor of their complexion. They glory in both. Remove the existing causes that operate to humiliate them in their own eyes and to depress their energies; give them, under our laws, an assurance of protection in that Western home, and a share in the government, and of the public honors; make them, in a word, *part of ourselves*; and their improvement, in such a state, under the existing system for their civilization, so far from producing their extinction, as a people, would tend to their *preservation* as a race.

The question of policy as to which of those measures would conduce most to the public welfare and the happiness and prosperity of the Indians, and which now presents itself, is left for discussion to those who are more competent to it. But the age, I may be permitted to add, in which it is our happiness to live, has, by its enlightening and humanizing influences, decided that *mercy* shall rule, and liberality and kindness minister to these unfortunate people, in whatever relation it may be determined they are to stand to us.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

THO. L. MCKENNEY.

## C.

RDWEG IOPN OYAB  
 P O M S F C & WB A A  
 W H G T A J V A F G W W  
 U Z L O C R H S A H E  
 O T O O P C R J K W A O  
 C G V A G S S G I O U L  
 S O P F H G D G A L t J  
 J O I E

- |                     |                    |                  |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. A short.         | 30. Tsoo.          | 59. Naa.         |
| 2. A broad.         | 31. Maugh.         | 60. Loh.         |
| 3. Lah.             | 32. Seh.           | 61. Yu.          |
| 4. Tsee.            | 33. Saugh.         | 62. Tseh.        |
| 5. Nah.             | 34. Cleegh.        | 63. Tee.         |
| 6. Weeh.            | 35. Queegh.        | 64. Wahn.        |
| 7. Weh.             | 36. Quegh.         | 65. Tooh.        |
| 8. Leeh.            | 37. Sah.           | 66. Teh.         |
| 9. Neh.             | 38. Quah.          | 67. Tsah.        |
| 10. Mooh.           | 39. Gnaugh (nasal) | 68. Un (French.) |
| 11. Keeh.           | 40. Kaah.          | 69. Neh.         |
| 12. Yeeh.           | 41. Tsahn.         | 70. —.           |
| 13. Seeh.           | 42. Sahn.          | 71. Tsooh.       |
| 14. Clanh.          | 43. Neeh.          | 72. Mah.         |
| 15. Ah.             | 44. Kah.           | 73. Clooh.       |
| 16. Luh.            | 45. Taugh.         | 74. Haah.        |
| 17. Leh.            | 46. Keh.           | 75. Hah.         |
| 18. Hah.            | 47. Taah.          | 76. Meeh.        |
| 19. Woh.            | 48. Kahn.          | 77. Clah.        |
| 20. Cloh.           | 49. Weeh.          | 78. Yah.         |
| 21. Tah.            | 50. Eeh.           | 79. Wah.         |
| 22. Yahn.           | 51. Ooh.           | 80. Teeh.        |
| 23. Lanh.           | 52. Yeh.           | 81. Clegh.       |
| 24. Hee.            | 53. Un (French.)   | 82. Naa.         |
| 25. Ss (sibrilant.) | 54. Tun.           | 83. Quh.         |
| 26. Yoh.            | 55. Kooh.          | 84. Clah.        |
| 27. Un (French.)    | 56. Tsoh.          | 85. Maah.        |
| 28. Hoo.            | 57. Quooh.         | 86. Quhn.        |
| 29. Goh.            | 58. Noo.           |                  |

The following characters, when put together, spell "Friend"—  
 Y A S T and are sounded thus—*Keek-naa-leh-eeh*. "Keek" is  
 sounded short; "naa," broad;" "leh," short; and "eeh," short.