

**The American Indian Agent, 1791-1861**  
**Questioning the Literary and Cinematic Stereotype**  
**as well as Historical Narratives to find**  
**the real Indian Agent**

Ann Fayles

Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of

Philosophy

Swansea University

2022

## **Abstract**

The American Indian Agent is a known figure in the national drama. Originally defined by nineteenth century political opponents, settlers, frontier business interests, the American military, Indian policy reformers and even Indians, the Indian agent ranges from inept to cupidinous; cruel to inhuman. Western fiction writers, screenwriters and episodic television dramatists of the twentieth century took the agent's tarnished reputation and created a stereotype stock character for Westerns emphasising all his malevolent attributes. The historical profession has largely perpetuated the cultural and literary perception of the Indian agent, until some historians began to identify individualized exceptions to agent perfidy. As examples of benevolent agents grew, the profession revised its analysis allowing that some agents assisted Indians while most remained obdurately delinquent.

Most historical research on Indian agents has focused on the period from 1861–1888, the Civil War to the end of the Apache Wars. Large swaths of history remain lightly explored as the Indian agent existed from 1791–1908. This thesis examines the Indian agent in the early years of the Republic, from 1791–1861, interacting with Indians from New York to Puget Sound, from Georgia to New Mexico and the vast Great Plains in between. Crucially this thesis places the agent in the world of the Indian agency as well as the competing worlds of politics, business, religion, settlement, and government administration of which he was also a part.

The results are surprising. Although there were a few criminals and several men overwhelmed by conditions, most agents of Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, and Antebellum America were honest, sincere public servants, many coming to favor the Indians and spending their own money, and in a few cases, their blood to aid Indian development and freedom.

This conclusion runs counter to both popular and historical perceptions. It seems almost everyone has adopted the old Aristotelian idea of *petitio principii* or “begging the question”. The bad and inept Indian agent must be bad and inept. No longer. These are the real Indian agents of 1791–1861.

## Declaration and Statements

### DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed Anna Foyles..... (candidate)

Date March 29, 2022.....

### STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed Anna Foyles..... (candidate)

Date March 29, 2022.....

### STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed Anna Foyles..... (candidate)

Date March 29, 2022.....

## Table of Content

Abstract	ii
Declaration and Statements	iii
Acknowledgments	1
Introduction	2
Chapter 1	7
Beginnings The First Indian Agents, 1791–1849	17
Frontiersmen, Factory Men, Border Agents, Veterans and Scientists	26
The Indian	26
The Interpreter	29
The Factory Man	30
The Border Patrol	33
Trapper and Trader	37
The Fur Company Opponent	47
The Veteran	48
The Doctor	52
The Mormon Opponent	53
The Missionary Opponent	54
The Scientist	56
Politicians, Elder Statesmen, the Connected, Good Guys and Bad Guys	60
The Elder Statesman	60
The Multiple Man	64
The Connected	67
The Office Seeker	75
The Politician	76
The “Spoilsman”	86
Friend of the Indian	94
The Removal Man	112
Dazed And Confused	119
The Malefactors	121
Chapter 2	136
The Indian Agents of “Manifest Destiny” 1849–1861	136

Reprising the First Agents:141  
End of the Elder Statesman141  
The Connected II142  
The Politician II146  
Eastern Democrat146  
Eastern Whig148  
Frontier Democrat150  
Frontier Whig152  
Friends and Enemies of James Buchanan155  
The Doctor II159  
The Removal Man II162  
Multiple Man II163  
Trappers and Traders II171  
The Agent of the Frontier Nexus180  
The Agent of the Frontier Nexus Mas Grande184  
The Developer185  
The Convenient191  
The Placeholder193  
The Inept194  
Dazed and Confused II195  
The Malefactor II196  
The Schemer196  
The Crook198  
The Devilish Magician200  
The Friend of the Indian II202  
The Bureaucratic Battler210  
The Indian Expert213  
The Melting Pot219  
The Newspaperman219  
The Failed Businessman224  
The Union Organizer226  
The Health Seeker228

The Petition Victim	229
The Mormon	231
The Mormon Friend	232
The Hispanic Agent	233
The Texian	235
The Martyr	238
The Racist	243
Defender of the “Peculiar Institution”	246
The “White Indian”	248
Conclusion	251
Finding the American Indian Agent	251
Bibliography	254
Books	254
Government Documents	277
Journal Articles	281
Newspapers	297
Newspapers Original to the Period	297
Later Newspapers	298
Contemporary Newspapers	299
Online Sources	300
Original Sources	317
Theses and Dissertations	318

## Acknowledgments

The following is a culmination of the efforts of many people to assist and guide me in the study of History.

First is R. Russell Fayles, my father; a man of towering intellect and business acumen with a not-so-secret love of History. I learned the presidents and monarchs as well as studied many historical persons and events before the age of nine, in his office or his workshop in the basement. I was born with a speech defect and he pushed me into public speaking at age six. I never inherited his general intellect or business skills but got his History abilities. When I finally bested him in History, I knew I was an adult.

Helen Marshal – my sixth-grade teacher always challenging me to do better and try teaching others and even writing plays. Nothing was beyond my abilities

David DeFroschia – my eleventh-grade American History teacher taught me how to teach and that a teacher’s stage expanded beyond the classroom. He brought in students to contest me and I just studied harder to get better grades. We debated everything after class.

William Henry Harbaugh, Populism and Progressivism University of Virginia – Professor Harbaugh and I agreed on little but he was open for debate, even admitting once or twice I had a better answer. I hope universities still have teachers like him.

Herbert Weaver, Vanderbilt University – a “gentleman of the old school” who taught me the importance of the old “Middle Period” and to research constantly.

Robert Hunt, Middle Tennessee State University – a brilliant professor who found value in everybody’s ideas and could weave it into a fantastic but truthful narrative. A joy to hear and observe.

Donald Pisani, University of Oklahoma – a fantastic historian of the American West who allowed me to grow historically even though I was then pretty old. I failed him as well as my father and this I hope shows his support was not misplaced in my ability to write an advanced paper.

## Introduction

The American Indian agent is a known figure in the national drama, a man corrupt, evil, cruel, avaricious, weak, fearful, often inept, and overwhelmed by frontier conditions. In addition, he was enmeshed in a larger politically controlled Indian Bureau which was permeated with grafters handling large sums of money simultaneously cheating starving Indians and ignoring struggling farmers and ranchers. Former Secretary of State and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger is reputed to have once said, “It is not a matter of what is true that counts but a matter of what is perceived to be true.” To determine if the perception of the Indian agent is historically true or simply part of a comfortable and convenient historical narrative, this paper will examine the Indian agent. both in depth and breadth. In order to find an answer, it was first necessary to determine who served as Indian agents. Research determined the first “true” Indian agent was appointed in 1791 and historical facts showed the post was abolished in 1908. Having the parameters in hand, several sources were used to discover the names of agents including *The Office of Indian Affairs 1824–1880: Historical Sketches by Edward Hill*; all Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1826–1908; *Journal of the Senate of the United States 1825–1908*, as agents had to be approved by the Senate after 1825; and Register of All Officers and Agents Civil, Military and Naval in the Service of the United States, 1816–1907. By perusing these and other sources, it was established that slightly over one thousand men had served as some type of agent in the Indian Bureau and I have subsequently produced mini-biographies for each man.

Having an unreasonable number of subjects for a thesis, the historiography and cultural history of the Indian agent was investigated and I have found that most articles and books as well as literary and cinematic representations refer to the period 1861–1886, or the Civil War until the end of the Apache Wars. The twilight years of the Indian agent 1887–1908 contained a limited number of civilian examples, as many 1890s agents were military officers. Because of this, it was decided to study the Indian agents from 1791–1861, who number around four hundred but whose tenure cover sixty percent of the existence of the Indian agent. Still having too many persons, parameters had to be established to reduce the numbers while avoiding any suspicion of attempting to “rig” the choices to achieve a pre-determined outcome.

The nineteenth century Indian Bureau had a surfeit of varieties of agents—agent, sub-agent, special agent, removal agent, superintending agent, supervising agent, disbursing agent,



local agent, assistant agent, acting agent and agent without portfolio. Since this is a story of Indian agents, only Indian agents are included although Sub-agents were so numerous in the early years and often independent actors that some are covered. (Sub-agents officially reported to an agent and were paid half the agent's salary).

Secondly, it made sense to only cover individuals who had served at least one year. Several appointees never served at all. Ioway Sub-agent Charles Bent, later first New Mexico Territorial Governor never arrived but at least took no salary. One of his predecessors, Martin "The Ring-Tailed Panther" Parmer, with his own personal song grabbed part of the annuity payment and headed south to organize the "opera-bouffe" Fredonian Rebellion in Texas. Anson G. Henry, a physician for Abraham Lincoln, was appointed Oregon agent in 1850 but was commandeered as he traveled the Isthmus of Panama to treat men working on the Isthmian Railway. It was also a challenge discovering exactly how long agents served, as some arrived well after their Senate confirmation, and a number had been appointed during a Senate recess, meaning they were already serving when officially confirmed. It took a lot of time cross referencing Commissioner Reports and Registers to obtain accuracy. Samuel Stambaugh, a Green Bay agent, is included though never officially confirmed by the Senate, as he negotiated an important treaty and every Great Lakes Menominee thought he was agent.

Finally, as "Manifest Destiny" carried the nation quickly westward, incorporating many new Native peoples, it was thought imperative to focus on the Trans-Mississippi West for the second section 1849–1861. Only agents from today's second-tier states west of the Mississippi are included. Thus, one hundred fifty-five men and their administrations will be examined.

Indian agents of the 1791–1861 period also suffered calumnies and innuendos demonstrating that the perception of Indian agent misconduct had a long history. On the floor of the House of Representatives in the 1820s, the American Cato, longtime Jeffersonian Congressman, and self-proclaimed descendant of Pocahontas John Randolph declared "it would corrupt the angel Gabriel to be an Indian agent."<sup>1</sup> Indian inspector, author, and western gadfly J. Ross Brown, assuming the worst in Indian agents, defended Klamath California agent (1858–1860) David Buel by stating, "He was an honest Indian agent, the rarest work of God that I know

---

<sup>1</sup> *Cong. Globe* 42<sup>nd</sup> Cong., 3<sup>rd</sup> Sess. 1081 (1873)

of.”<sup>2</sup> In 1862, Minnesota Episcopal Bishop, Henry Whipple, wrote President Abraham Lincoln “deploring the foul character of the Indian agents, the corrupt practices of the contractors and government officials and the generally bad effects of the spoils system in Indian affairs.”<sup>3</sup> He declared that “tradition on the border says that an Indian agent with fifteen hundred dollars a year can retire upon an ample fortune in four years.”<sup>4</sup>

Even though both the historical profession and popular perceptions seem to point to the corrupt, evil, cruel, avaricious grafter Indian agent, it’s important to take a brief look at three aspects of his story. First, the nineteenth century Indian agent engaged in activities that, though legal and often helpful for the Indians, made him powerful and influential enemies. Beyond that, we must ask what Indian agents did or perhaps did not do, as the common perception appears to be that he had plenty of time for nefarious activities. Secondly what part did literary and cinematic portrayals play in perceptions of the Indian agent? Finally, how has the historical profession accepted or challenged present perceptions?

Although the American Indian agent was assigned several general duties, such as distributing annuities, monitoring the Intercourse Laws to guarantee fair trading, keeping the peace, as well as assisting in treaty negotiations, his real responsibilities covered a multitude of challenges which, in the process, provided numerous opportunities for opponents, enemies, and rivals to discredit him either directly or indirectly. It began with his successor who often in his first report depicted the agency in a bad light allowing him to show “progress” to his superiors in later accounts but lowering the reputation of the past agents.

Agents often first faced antagonists right at the agency, which included staff he had to hire and fire. Terminating drunk or incompetent blacksmiths, farmers, or teachers might lead to challenges by the former or their family and friends. Some agents actually attempted to use Indians in vocational positions. Interestingly, several agents spoke Indian languages, but the majority of agents had to rely on interpreters. Frontier linguists were perhaps the most diverse government employees, including Frenchmen, Spaniards, all kinds of immigrants from the British Isles, freed African-Americans, as well as Indians. The agency’s language needs were

---

<sup>2</sup> Tom Mahood *The History of David Buel’s East Fork Flume, San Gabriel Canyon*

<https://www.otherhand.org/home-page/archaeology/dave-buel’s-east-fork-flume-san-gabriel-canyon/.3>

<sup>3</sup> George H. Phillips “The Indian Ring in Dakota Territory, 1870-1890” *South Dakota History* 4 No.2 (Fall, 1972) 345

<sup>4</sup> Phillips “The Indian Ring,” 345.

astounding. John Jamison, a Red River agent, needed a French interpreter; Spanish and Mexican born Abiquiu agents Lorenzo Labadi and Diego Archeluta wrote their reports in Spanish; functionally illiterate frontier icon “Kit” Carson dictated his missives to a clerk but did speak English, Spanish, French and nine Indian languages besides being adept in sign language; and short-term Seminole sub-agent and French emigre Jean Penieres did not know English at all. As America thrust further westward into new areas occupied by unknown tribes, agents pleaded for monies to hire good interpreters but the government, with a set salary for linguists, could not compete with private business and often got second-rate translators. Finally, the appointment of an agent’s relatives to a government position, no matter how mundane, sometimes led to charges of nepotism.

On occasion, agency missionaries caused problems for agents over issues as diverse as the use of corporeal punishment to advocacy of abolition of slavery. Agents could expel missionaries, but the denominational objections as well as their newspapers made that a rare occurrence. It’s important to remember that Indian tribes were not cohesive monoliths but often divided by personalities and issues. Two Indian agents married chiefs’ daughters, William Wells among the Miami and Thomas Twiss, the Upper Platte agent among the Sioux, experienced hostility from opponents of their fathers-in-law. Many agencies and reservations were composed of numerous tribes, often with a dominant member and smaller adjuncts. The powerful sometimes preyed on the weak, stealing food and supplies, forcing the agent to mediate or at least provide succor for the starving few. He sometimes worked to transfer small tribes to safer agencies. James McKissick Jr. inherited an intra-tribal Cherokee vendetta war between the “Old Settlers” and those recently arrived along the Trail of Tears, a conflict which resulted in many murders. In the Pacific Northwest, mixed reservations included some whose treaties had been ratified and some whose had not. The former got annuities while the latter received just enough to stay alive, thus provoking constant dissension. Agents begged for ratification to prevent inter-tribal conflict or distressed groups from leaving. Indians could and did petition the Indian Bureau for a new agent. Robert Calloway, an Osage sub-agent, engendered competing petitions asking for his removal and his retention while Omaha agent William Wilson was supposedly castigated by the Indians for being “old and infirm” and hiring an incompetent engineer. Finally, the frontier was awash in those of mixed race, and these so called “half-breeds” caused the agent no end of problems, as the tribes sometimes demanded they be settled at some distant point away

from the agency and treaties occasionally singled them out for special treatment. Conversely, mixed race Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek controlled tribal governments, and by extension the Indian nations in Indian Territory, but not without opposition from their poorer, full-blood brethren.

Located on the border of the agency or reservation and sometimes within, Indian traders or perhaps a single merchant providing goods for the settled tribes. At times, the agent controlled the issuance of trading licenses thereby potentially angering important local businessmen with political connections by his selections. Additionally, agents had to monitor sales for price gouging and dishonest credit practices, making him a target for chagrined sellers. Sundry agents saw the traders as one of many conduits involved in the liquor traffic. Sometimes the agents were pitted against powerful commercial interests like John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company. For contesting the AFC, Mackinac agent William Puthuff lost his job and St. Peters agent Lawrence Taliaferro received death threats.

Settlers and miners along the frontiers of agencies also led to problems. Farmers claimed Indians stole cattle while Indians maintained the settlers stole timber, destroyed game, and trespassed. One of the youngest agents, John Montgomery at the Kansa agency, burned the cabins of illegal settlers but was charged with arson and threatened with tar and feathers. Prairie du Chien agent Joseph Street had a French logger jailed for taking Winnebago timber. The logger sued and won judgment against Street for \$1,374, which the government reimbursed but refused to pay his \$750 legal bill. As an adjunct, agents demanded their charges have access to the courts to get redress stymied by local laws preventing Indians from testifying in cases involving whites. A Utah agent studied law to help the Indians in court, another accompanied an Indian woman to the courthouse allowing her see justice done and one agent suggested a federal attorney be located at each agency to give the Indians legal protections. Despite agent pleas, the Tabeguache Utes simply went to war with the miners in western Colorado.

Agencies along the emigrant routes had similar problems of theft and overuse with the added difficulty that defendants vanished before any legal action could be considered. Despite agent admonitions, the Lummi on Puget Sound sold all their canoes to men rushing to the new mineral finds along the Fraser River in Canada, found them hard to replace and soon faced starvation as they could no longer fish. In 1860, Nez Perce agent Richard Lansdale cautioned the Indians against allowing too many miners to use their ferries while hurrying to the new gold

fields on Orofino Creek. The lure of profits proved too great and Nez Perce country was ravaged by those same miners.

Located near some Indian agencies were military installations which were supposed to protect all parties but often failed Indians, settlers, and agents. The Cherokee wanted Fort Gibson closed; Upper Platte agent Thomas Twiss, a West Pointer, felt Fort Laramie useless; another Upper Platte agent, famed trapper Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick, believed the Indians had no respect for any of the Great Plains fortifications. The forts were often undermanned and officers felt agents called on the military too quickly for trivial problems like ousting illegal white settlements, controlling rowdy Indians, and guarding the transport of annuity monies from potential brigands. The agents averred the military responded too slowly and were another channel for illegal liquor. The tension between agent and military officer remained throughout the century with both sides issuing unflattering reports about the other.

Another problem for agents was the proliferation of paramilitary organizations in lieu of a stronger military. California and Oregon were rife with militias aimed at “bad” Indians; Texas had “ranging companies” or “rangers;” while Kansas was awash in vaguely political armies reputedly supporting slavery or anti-slavery politicians but sometimes bordered on brigandry. All Kansas agencies promoted neutrality for their residents, although Potawatomie agent George Clarke saw his agency attacked by northern forces of James Lane in 1856 after an unsuccessful assassination attempt. In Texas, vigilantes commanded by former Comanche agent John R. Baylor threatened Brazos agent Shapley Ross with death and assaulted his agency but were driven off by the Indians in 1859.

At times, Indian agents even had to be international diplomats like first agent James Seagrove who was charged with keeping the Creek Nation from being influenced by Spain. Red River agent John Sibley had to counteract the same nation in Louisiana while Cherokee agent Montfort Stokes protected American interests in treaty negotiations between the Indians and the upstart Texas Republic. Several agents attempted to limit Texan cross-border contacts but the government, aiming at Texas annexation, thwarted any anti-Texas objections. Green Bay agent John Bowyer had to maneuver carefully, as ninety percent of the local traders were British subjects, and Prairie du Chien agent, French Canadian Nicholas Boilvin, used “shuttle diplomacy” trying to detach “his” Indians from an alliance with Great Britain during the War of 1812.

Some Indian agents were castigated for not living at the Agency but a constant agent refrain was the horrible agency quarters which many agents refused for family housing, thus forcing some to commute or visit home on weekends. Agents for Texas, the Upper Arkansas, the Upper Platte, and the Upper Missouri had huge areas of the Great Plains to patrol resulting in yearly treks looking for the Indians to negotiate treaties with and receive annuities from. Missed connections caused consternation.

The agent's job was inherently political and major party changes as in 1801, 1829, and 1861 resulted in wholesale personnel replacements regardless of performance. The rise of the Second Party System 1841–1853 precipitated constant rotation in office, making urban political parties like the Whigs search sedulously for applicants. Sac & Fox agent Thomas Forsyth, generally thought to be one of the most capable and conscientious of agents, was fired in 1830 partly for being a vocal critic of Jacksonian Indian policy. Politics forced the Indian agents to tread carefully and many failed to survive changes in administration and the commentary that accompanied dismissal.

Occasionally, strong willed contemporary agents like Winnebago Rock River sub-agent Henry Gratiot, Fort Winnebago sub-agent John Kinzie, and Prairie du Chien agent Joseph Street argued over issues ranging from annuity distribution sites to the centrality of Indian “civilization.” In Oregon and Washington Territory, the chain of command was so confusing agents were constantly cited by others for intruding on their territory. John Dougherty, the agent for Upper Missouri and later Council Bluffs, continued his old trapper feud with Joshua Pilcher who followed William Clark as Central Indian Superintendent. Pima, Papago, and Maricopa agent John Walker had to contend with Special agents Godard Bailey and Sylvester Mowry as well as the Butterfield Stage Lines Silas St. John all of whom were charged with governmental authority and made agreements and offered gifts to the pleasantly surprised Indians. Having four agents for the same tribes was a bureaucratic nightmare.

A number of Indian agents were accused of misappropriation of funds and several agents were charged with owing monies after they had left office but most were exonerated or the amount significantly reduced upon discovering accounting errors rather than fraud. More common was governmental failure to pay salaries or reimburse agents who had covered expenses with their own funds, a number of agents suing the government for unpaid expenses or back salary after leaving office. Frederick Dodge, agent at remote Carson Valley, Nevada, tired of

having government vouchers “bounce” and spending \$5000 of his own money to buy supplies for the Paiute and Washoe, accosted regional superintendent Jacob Forney at his apartment in Salt Lake City in 1859. When Forney refused to open his door, Dodge broke it down, pummeled Forney and got another \$5000 voucher which later “bounced.”

Utah agent Jacob Holeman once commented he had gotten no mail between October 1852 and May 1853. Of all the complaints of pre-Civil agents, this was by far the most common. The silence forced agents to make controversial decisions on their own and thereby engender even more enemies. The belated responses might answer questions that no longer existed.

Not only did agents have to contend with Indians but also other “outsiders” like Mexicans and Mormons. Abiquiu and Navajo agents had to account for two hundred years of intermittent warfare between the Mexican citizenry and the Indians, while Utah agents had to either collaborate with Brigham Young as Governor and ex officio Utah Indian Superintendent or contest the “Saints.” Dr. Garland Hurt chose the latter, complaining that the Mormon attempt to contrast themselves with the Americans for the Indians was inimical to good policy. After Hurt discovered Mormon involvement in the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre, he along with his Ute guides avoided the Nauvoo Legion, the Mormon military for twenty-seven days before finding the American Army and possibly escaping execution. Being an Indian agent was challenging, complex, often improvisational, and sometimes downright dangerous.

In the period following the focus of this paper, the government responded to constant complaints from reformers and others to improve the quality of the agents by employing Army officers as agents, 1869–1870 and again 1889–1898. The “Grant Peace Policy” relying on recommendations from various Christian denominations in selecting agents was attempted from 1870–1882 with sporadic success. Finally in the 1890s, a program was created to rename the agent as superintendent and special disbursing agent, putting him and her (Lara Work Utah Shivwits Superintendent became the first woman agent in 1905) under Civil Service. Late nineteenth century Eastern reformers, both secular and ecclesiastical, represented by groups like the Indian Rights Association and the Lake Mohonk Conference pummeled the serial failures of Indian policy and by extension the assumed neglect and misbehavior of the agent. Supported by the press, governmental commissions, missionary observations, and even Indians, the crimes of the agents crescendoed into tirades like the 1899 IRA description of Osage agent William

Pollock as a “man of violent temper and of erratic and brutal habits”<sup>5</sup> and Paiute Sarah Winnemucca’s statement that agents profited by leasing portions of the reservation and selling government annuity goods.<sup>6</sup> The *Civil Service Reformer* opined in 1888 “so the term Indian agent has become almost synonymous with thief and defrauder.”<sup>7</sup>

As the exhausted agent drifted into the mists of antiquity, he gained a new level of opprobrium in “dime novels” and “Westerns” where he was compacted into a one dimensional “stock villain” in a new presentation of a more heroic and “cleaner” West.

A “stock character” is a stereotypical type of person in a work of art like a novel that audiences recognize and the author need take little time to develop. In the Western genre there are many “stock characters,” such as the camp cook, the town drunk, the scout, the schoolmarm, the “good” prostitute, the “noble savage,” the cattle baron, the city slicker, the frontier doctor, the banker, the travelling preacher, the Confederate officer, and the Indian agent. Readers know who are the good, the bad, and the hesitant. A century of assumed dishonor trapped the agent in his new character.

From Will Levington Comfort’s *Apache* (1931) to Peter Dawson’s *Gunsmoke Masquerade* (1942); from Luke Short’s *Trumpets West* (1945) to Elmore Leonard’s *Hombre* (1961) the Indian agent is crooked. Although Mari Sandoz’s *Cheyenne Autumn* (1953) has the Quaker agent as ineffective, Zane Grey’s *The Vanishing American* (1922) depicts him to be a brutish rapist. Time has not improved his image noting Stephen Overholser’s *Molly and the Indian Agent* (2004) depicts him as ruthless and corrupt.

If the Indian agent portrayal in novels is poor, in cinema it is absolutely awful. In George H. Fenin and William K. Everson’s *The Western: From Silents to Cinerama* (1962) mention is made of “unscrupulous Indian agents,”<sup>8</sup> while in *Toward a Sociology of the Cinema* (1970) Ian Chester Jarvie reminisces “I remember seeing several B-westerns whose names I cannot even trace, which centered much of their story on the machinations of corrupt Indian agents who practically drove the innocent Indians on the warpath.”<sup>9</sup> Scott Simmon’s *Invention of the Western*

---

<sup>5</sup> The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of The Indian Rights Association For the Year Ending December 15, 1899 Philadelphia : Office of the Indian Rights Association No. 1305 Arch Street 1900 10.

<sup>6</sup> Early Native American Literature <http://nativeamericanwriters.com/winnemucca.html>

<sup>7</sup> The Civil – Service Reformer Vol IV April 1888 Baltimore: Press of Isaac Friendenwald 45-46

<sup>8</sup> Fenin, George and William Everson, *The Western: From Silents to Cinerama* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1962) 37

<sup>9</sup> Jarvie, Ian Charles *Toward a Sociology of the Cinema* (London: Routledge, 1970) 154



*Film: A Cultural History of the Genre's First Half Century* (2003) praised “The Invaders” (1912) for omitting several cliched figures including “the predatory Indian agent.”<sup>10</sup> More recently in *Imagining the American West: Through Film and Tourism*(2015), authors Warwick Frost and Jennifer Laing describe a type of film in which “a lone White hero attempts to prevent the Sioux or Apache from going on the warpath. Pitted against the hero was a corrupt villain, usually an Indian agent.”<sup>11</sup>

In movies, character assassination of the Indian agent came early and often. He is either crooked, corrupt, or dishonest in *The Flaming Frontier* (1926), *The Law Rides Again* (1943), *Indian Agent* (1948), *Apache* (1954), and *Sitting Bull* (1954). In the John Ford Trilogy he sells the Indians bad liquor in *Fort Apache* (1948) and repeating rifles in *She Wore A Yellow Ribbon* (1949). In *Geronimo* (1962) he is not only a crook but “Bible-thumping” while in *McClintock!* (1963) he is both a thief and inept. Hedley Lamarr in the comedic western *Blazing Saddles* (1974) includes “Indian Agents” among the western criminals he wants assembled.

The stereotype then seeped into television Westerns of the 1950s and 1960s. He is either corrupt, dishonest or a drunk in episodes of *The Lone Ranger* (“The Renegades”, 1949), *Range Rider* (“Cherokee Round-up”,1955), *The Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp* (“The Man Who Rode with Custer”, 1955) and *Bronco* (“Legacy of Twisted Creek”,1960). An agent sells repeating rifles to the Indians in *The Rifleman* (“The Wyoming Story”,1961) and is political and dictatorial in *Gunsmoke* (“The First People”,1968) Even more extreme, he is a murderer in *The Lone Ranger* (“The Condemned Man”,1952) and engineers a massacre in *Have Gun, Will Travel* (“One, Two, Three”,1962). Although the television western had all but disappeared by 1995, an episode on the cloyingly politically correct *Dr. Quinn Medicine Woman* entitled “Indian Agent” features a cast character who, after being made agent, plans to feed the Indians and stop the liquor traffic, assuming previous agents did not.

In 1952, a Hopalong Cassidy episode titled “Black Waters” had a good Indian agent trying to help the tribe gain oil rights and in the 1950 movie *North of the Great Divide*, singing agent Roy Rogers protects salmon fishing Canadian Indians from evil cannery interests. Of

---

<sup>10</sup> Simmon, Scott *Invention of the Western Film: A Cultural History of the Genre's First Half Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 70

<sup>11</sup> Frost, Warwick and Jennifer Laing *Imagining the American West Trough Film and Tourism* (New York: Routledge, 2015) 243

course, one has to account in some fashion for Broken Arrow, both the 1950 movie starring James Stewart and the later 1956–1958 television series starring John Lupton. Based on the 1947 novel *Blood Brother* by Elliot Arnold this is the only cinematic offering focusing on an Indian agent. The portrayal is positive, and Tom Jeffords appears to be a friend of the Indian and is often disparaged by local Arizonians. At least one scholar maintains it was an example of Hollywood's goal of depicting tolerance and racial equality in the Cold War era.<sup>12</sup> Regardless, the literary and cinematic representation of the Indian agent from 1900 to the present has generally ranged from inept to corrupt to murderous.

As American academic historians began to examine both nineteenth century agents and policy from a later perspective, original materials like government investigations, newspaper articles, Indian Rights Association booklets, and constant agent turnover, when combined with the still unresolved question of the place of the American Indian in society, all act to colour our perspectives. Most early accounts followed the long standing animus against the agents as reported in “The Last Indian Uprising in the United States” by Louis H. Roddis in the *Minnesota History Bulletin* of 1920 claiming “the injustice and peculations of the Indian Agent”: “A Problem of Church and State in the 1870s” by Martha L. Edwards in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of 1924 asserting “first the need of honest and capable men to act as Indian agents” and “Irregularities at the Pawnee Agency” by Stanley Clark in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly* of 1943 accusing agent William Burgess of fraud.

A more nuanced and objective depiction by historians began in the 1950s with “Moses N. Adams: A Missionary as Indian Agent” by Everett W. Sterling *Minnesota History* (1956) continuing with “Tom Jeffords—Indian Agent” by Harry Cramer III in *The Journal of Arizona History* (1976) and “Edwin Eells, U.S. Indian Agent, 1871–1895”, the longest serving agent by George P. Castile, *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (1981). Even the generally accusative “The Indian Ring in Dakota Territory” by George H. Phillips in *South Dakota History* (1972) admitted “It is difficult to determine whether the Indian agents themselves were generally crooked.”<sup>13</sup>

A seminal article driving later research was William E. Unrau's “The Civilian as Indian Agent: Villain or Victim” in the *Western Historical Quarterly* (1972) asserting that

---

<sup>12</sup> Jeff Smith, *Film Criticism, the Cold War and the Blacklist: Reading the Hollywood Reds* Berkeley: University of California Press (2014) 206

<sup>13</sup> Phillips, “The Indian Ring” 366

Congressional fear of the new Interior Department kept funding for Indians low and limited the activities of the agents. Others began to examine agents in depth like Robert A. Trenner's "John H. Stout and the Grant Peace Policy among the Pimas" in *Arizona and the West* (1986) and John Bret Harte's "The Strange Case of Joseph C. Tiffany: Indian Agent in Disgrace" in *The Journal of Arizona History* (1975). Later John Dibbern added further research on Tiffany with "The Reputations of Indian Agents: A Reappraisal of John P. Clum and Joseph C. Tiffany in the *Journal of the Southwest* (1997) Both discovered that previous depictions of Tiffany had relied on the Diaries of John Gregory Bourke who in turn had relied on commentary from a newspaper editor who hated Tiffany.

In general tribal histories as well as studies of Indian policy, the nefarious and corrupt agent dominates. In *The Struggle for Self-Determination: History of the Menominee Indians Since 1854*, author David Beck writes "Bonesteel (Augustus Bonesteel agent at Green Bay, 1859–1860) was one more in a long line of Green Bay agents who perpetuated an already established tradition of fraud, incompetence and corruption."<sup>14</sup> In *History of the Santee Sioux* Roy Meyer narrates "Hill's successor in 1890 was James E. Helms (Dr. James E. Helms Santee agent (1890–1894) who was a young man who speedily got himself into difficulty with the Episcopal missionary and others. Although he was investigated, he was let off with a 'very pointed message of reproof and counsel'".<sup>15</sup> Examining the Lincoln years, David A Nichols in *Lincoln and the Indians Civil War: Policy and Politics* commented "Commissioner Dole (Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole) knew his agents were corrupt".<sup>16</sup> Albert Hurtado in *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* averred "all the federal Indian agents were involved in questionable practices".<sup>17</sup> However, Kent Carter in *The Dawes Commission and the Allotment of the Five Civilized Tribes, 1893–1914* (1999) penned "Kelsey(Dana Kelsey Union agent at Muskogee, Indian Territory) was widely considered to be extremely honest and competent".<sup>18</sup> Will Bagley stated in *From Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the*

---

<sup>14</sup> David M. Beck *The Struggle for Self Determination: History of the Menominee Indians Since 1854* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005) 10

<sup>15</sup> Ray Willard Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968) 185

<sup>16</sup> David Allen Nichols *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 15.

<sup>17</sup> Albert L. Hurtado *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) 140

<sup>18</sup> Kent Carter, *The Dawes Commission and the Allotment of the Five Civilized Tribes, 1893-1914* (Orem,: Ancestry. 1999), 204.

*Massacre at Mountain Meadows* concerning a figure in this paper Dr Garland Hurt. “When Franklin Pierce named Garland Hurt to the Utah Agency, he picked one of the most honorable men ever to serve the federal government.”<sup>19</sup>

Although the historical profession appears divided, personal stories tended to accentuate the positives while policy and Indian histories focused on the accusations, textbooks, and general histories say little if anything and if mentioned, it is generally inculpatory. As far back as 1950, the textbook *An American History* maintained “The national government’s civilian Indian agents sometimes helped but often fleeced those in their charge.”<sup>20</sup> Sixty-one years later, the online *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln maintains “some agents did their jobs honorably ... many others were corrupt taking advantage of the remoteness of their situation by skimming their annuities and colluding with settlers to steal Indian lands.”<sup>21</sup>

Some contemporary historians of Indians and Indian policy have pushed the dubious concept of that policy being akin to genocide.<sup>22</sup> A few of the studies make no mention of Indian agents or are primarily concerned with events after 1861. Perhaps surprisingly the agent is never seen as some evil taskmaster ushering the Indians and their culture into oblivion but rather an abettor of Removal and often commentator on the plight of the Indian. This study will show that some Indian agents opposed Removal until the tribe reality forced them to change their and their charges opinion to save the tribe and his job. Jeffrey Ostler’s *Surviving Genocide* a book with references to a number of pre Civil War agents references them about twenty times mostly or comments on Indian lifeways and contains only one negative comment about an Indian agent – Ottawa agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was “mistrusted”<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Will Bagley *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) 46

<sup>20</sup> Merle Curti, Richard H. Shryock, Thomas C. Cochran, Fred Harvey Harrington *An American History* Vol.1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1950) 13

<sup>21</sup> David Wishart (ed) *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* University of Nebraska-Lincoln 2011 Indian Agents Plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.pg.032.xml

<sup>22</sup> Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987); Benjamin Madley *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Jeffrey Ostler *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States from the American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019); Claudio Saunt *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2020) Patrick Wolfe “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native” *Journal of Genocide Studies* (Vol 8 no 4 2006 ) 387-409

<sup>23</sup> Jeffrey Ostler *Surviving Genocide* 316

Additionally some historians have resurrected old concepts involving frontiers and borderlands and its adjunct contest of cultures.<sup>24</sup> The Indian agents of this thesis were quite cognizant of international borders, be they Spain, Mexico or British Canada and their stories reflect operating on the borderland. Some of these modern historians seem to inflate the power of the Indian nations in this contest but in reality the only really powerful Indians were the distant and unknown like Blackfoot. The early Creek and Cherokee agents actually encountered fairly powerful entities but the majority of the Indian agents interacted with tribes rent by divisions and problems with half breed tribal members exacerbated by disease, inability to adapt to a changing economic base, overwhelmed by enemy tribes and challenged by the US Army, private militias and a seemingly endless number of scruffy settlers with tired wife and ten children in tow. Again many of these books say little about Indian agents, are too late late or in one case too early so outside the framework of this study. Pekka Hamalainen's *The Comanche Empire* does reference at least two men in this thesis, Horace Capron and Robert Neighbors showing them to be insightful, caring and unafraid to criticize government policy.<sup>25</sup>

In 1815, Creek agent Benjamin Hawkins, horrified at the injustice toward the Creek Indians of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, resigned in protest; in 1859, Comanche agent Matthew Leeper rode between the skirmishing Comanche and a mounted military patrol and stopped the fight; in the late 1850s, Nome Lackee California agent Vincent Geiger was discovered to be indenturing agency Indians as laborers and servants; Maxwell McCaslin, Osage River agent turned "whistleblower," exposed the Oxford (Kansas) Voting Frauds in 1857 and was removed and in 1856 Secretary of War Jefferson Davis refused a report from Southern Apache agent Michael Steck, as he was "biased because of his compassion for the Apache".<sup>26</sup> The lives and administrations of the American Indian agent are not only revealing but are a history of the American western frontier from the Finger Lakes to the Indian Nations; from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the mouth of the mighty Columbia. These are their stories.

---

<sup>24</sup> Maurice Campbell *These People Have Always Been a Republic: Indigenous Electorates in the U.S.- Mexico Borderlands 1598-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019); Pekka Hamalainen *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Jeffrey P. Shepherd *We Are An Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); Alan Taylor *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderlands of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006)

<sup>25</sup> Pekka Hamalainen *The Comanche Empire* 279,299,310

<sup>26</sup> William Kiser, "Dragoons in Apacheland: Anglo-Apache Relations In Southern New Mexico, 1846-1861 (MA Thesis, Arizona State University, 2011) 126

The biographies which follow present the historical Indian agent detached from the rantings of personal and reformist enemies and the grotesque depictions of literary and cinematic writers. It is the unvarnished truth no longer wedded to a questionable “historical narrative” but stands exposed to the illuminations of impartiality. Beyond fair historical analysis, this paper will also examine some reasons why the Indian agent has so long been mired in historical purgatory.

## Chapter 1

### Beginnings The First Indian Agents, 1791–1849

In 1791, Irish immigrant, former Georgia state legislator, delegate to the Georgia Ratification Convention (1788), 1789 Congressional candidate, and frontier trader, James Seagrove (1747–1812) commenced a special assignment from President George Washington to negotiate an agreement with the Spanish Governor of East Florida for the mutual return of runaway slaves. Seagrove had attempted a similar arrangement for the State of Georgia in 1787, but the Georgia Assembly soon forgot his efforts and nothing was accomplished. He would attempt another fruitless negotiation in 1797 and even wrote the Spanish governor as late as 1807 suggesting they try again. He had been chosen for these posts because of his ties to merchants in Havana and his friends in the Spanish colonial capital at St. Augustine. During the Revolutionary War, Seagrove had acted as a spy for the Georgia Council of Safety and the Continental Congress, operating among both the Southern Indians and inside British held New York City. He was also aide-de-camp to General Benjamin Lincoln, but was captured in 1780 and exchanged in 1781, spending the remainder of the conflict in Havana where he developed further contacts.

Later that same year, Washington appointed Seagrove ““a temporary agent to reside among the Indians’ as agent to the Creeks”,<sup>27</sup> thus making him the first United States Indian agent. During the Revolution the American government had attempted to keep the Indians at peace, but British Indian agents like Guy Johnson and John Stuart were much more successful at allying them with the crown. Although the back country Indian conflicts accompanying the Revolutionary War were not integral to the final outcome, both Indians and the American government found themselves in a new world in 1783. Except for a small sliver of tribal bands along the Canadian border, the British crown had left their erstwhile allies to the clutches of the new American nation. The Treaty of Paris did not end any conflicts with Native peoples. In addition, the nascent American republic was fragile and needed agreements with all the Indians to prevent wars that might damage the new nation. European powers waited hungrily on the borders while the avaricious American settlers/farmers pushed westward into Indian lands, looking for the New Eden.

---

<sup>27</sup> Robert S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 92.

Between 1784 and 1790, the American government and various Indian tribes/nations negotiated a series of treaties which both sides interpreted differently, the United States seeing the Indians as a defeated opponent while the Indians assumed national authorities would keep the settlers from trespassing on their lands. The only thing really settled was that Indian relations was a federal, not state responsibility and that Indian treaties were subject to Senate approval. This was finalized by John Marshall's Supreme Court opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). For better or worse, the Native American found he was now dealing exclusively with the national government. To facilitate these treaties, negotiators were sent among the tribes, sometimes bearing bribes. However, these men had only limited goals. The true Indian agent might be involved in treaty making but had broader responsibilities including preventing conflict between settlers and Indians, monitoring violations of the Intercourse Law, co-operating with the military, and finally disbursing treaty annuities either in cash or goods via chiefs or individually. The Second Trade and Intercourse Act, March 1, 1793, actually established the position of "temporary agent" to Indian tribes, meaning that James Seagrove's assignment from George Washington pre-dated the establishment of the position, but bureaucratic fluidity was a hallmark of the new nation. Besides treaty negotiators, the 1790s also saw the existence of military agents and anti-liquor agents. The American Indian Agent would eventually shoulder all of these duties, face conflicting interests, and encounter potential enemies before and after every decision. An examination of the career of "first agent" James Seagrove will highlight some of these realities.

Trader/author James Adair maintained that the Creek Confederacy was the most powerful Indian nation known to the English.<sup>28</sup> However, powerful does not mean monolithic and new agent Seagrove faced a nation divided between Lower and Upper Creek Towns as well as supporters and opponents of Alexander McGillivray, a mixed-race Scotsman/Creek whose skills in dealing with the white world and understanding of the Creek's new commercial connections had brought him to power. However, McGillivray had enemies both human and liquid and he had negotiated the infamous Treaty of New York (1790). His renunciation of the Treaty left its future in limbo but his death in 1793 brought new opportunities. Seagrove wrote one of his agents,

---

<sup>28</sup> James Adair. *The History of the American Indians*. (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775).



“McGillivray’s death gives a favorable opening, and if we cannot improve it, the Spaniards will”.<sup>29</sup>

Like several early agents, Seagrove not only had to deal with Indians but needed to thwart the goals of foreign nations abutting native lands. Under the new Acting Governor of Louisiana and West Florida Baron de Carondelet (1791–1797), the Spanish saw Seagrove as their chief obstacle in allying themselves to the Creeks. In a letter to George Washington, Seagrove described the activities of Carondelet’s agent to the Creeks, Pedro Olivier, who traveled among the Creek towns telling the Indians “not to have anything to do with the Americans”.<sup>30</sup> Seagrove and Olivier met by accident in 1793 in a Creek town where the latter offered his Spanish credentials to Seagrove who returned them without comment and did not offer his in return. The Indians noticed the affront and saw the Americans as the more powerful ally.

Other players in the Creek drama included William Augustus Bowles, an adventurer, former British soldier, spouse of a Creek woman, and adopted member of the Creek nation, now plotting to establish an independent Indian (Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw) state tied to Great Britain. The Spanish eventually captured Bowles, but his tirades against The Treaty of New York and Alexander McGillivray kept the Indians agitated. After the 1791 defeat of the Army of Arthur St. Clair by Miami and Shawnee in today’s western Ohio, nine Shawnee came south, carrying white scalps and looking to form a large Indian confederacy. A shaken national government depended on Seagrove to prevent this combination. Using a mixture of threats and patience, the agent got the nine Shawnee expelled.

Perhaps Seagrove’s most obstreperous opponent was the State of Georgia and its frontier denizens. Georgians condemned Seagrove as being “pro-Creek” and one man reported that several inhabitants “declared ‘they would kill the Agent as soon as any Indian’”.<sup>31</sup> For his part, Seagrove depicted the Georgia frontiersmen as “disreputable and ungovernable”, reported crimes by the Georgia militia and believed they opposed the central government.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Randolph C. Downes, “Creek-American Relations, 1790–1795” *The Journal of Southern History* Vol.8, No. 3 (Aug. 1942): 364

<sup>30</sup> To George Washington From James Seagrove, 5 July 1792 Founders Online, National Archives Source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 3, 15 June 1789–5 September 1789, ed. Dorothy Twohig. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press of Virginia, 1989.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel M..Smith “James Seagrove and the Mission to Tuckaubatchee, 1793” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 44 No. 1 (March 1960) 51

<sup>32</sup> John K. Mahon “Military Relations Between Georgia and the United States, 1789–1794” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 43 No. 2 (June 1959) 144.

Although Seagrove was required to live in the Creek Nation, he chose instead to reside at his brother's trading post, Traders Hill on the St. Mary's River. He lived just outside its boundaries, using traders like Timothy Barnard and a Lower Creek chief Jack Kinnard as deputy agents on the ground. Some criticized him for this arrangement but it worked well. When he had to meet the Creeks on their own ground as seen in his 1793 Mission to Tuckaubatchee, the Creek "capital." Despite threats from the Georgia militia and segments of the Creeks, he journeyed there, residing and speaking and negotiating from November 1793 to April 1794. Seagrove spent one night hiding in waist deep water after his house was attacked by Lower Creek leader the Old Tallassee King and his men.

James Seagrove was both patient and pro-active depending on the situation. He waited out the threats from Bowles and the Shawnee, but when the Creeks suffered drought and loss of their corn crop in the summer of 1792, he immediately requested famine relief for several hundred Creek families. The Federal government spent between \$10,000 and \$13,000 on this project and increased Seagrove's prestige as well as that of the United States exponentially, diminishing Spain's in the process.<sup>33</sup> Most importantly, James Seagrove kept the peace for the new republic and tied the future of the powerful Creek Nation to that of the United States. He was relieved in 1796.

One thousand and twenty miles north in Canandaigua, New York, Israel Chapin Sr. (1740–1795) received a commission from President Washington in 1792 to attempt to solve the issues surrounding lands of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy and keep the peace. A brigadier general in the Revolutionary War, Chapin had been involved in the complex issues surrounding the Phelps and Gorham Land Purchase in western New York and had a reputation for honesty and fairness. He pushed for a council and treaty, telling the Indians on June 18, 1794, "Brothers, you must be sensible that I am obliged to look to the interest of the States and the Indians and consider myself accountable to both for whatever I do."<sup>34</sup> The Treaty council met in October 1794, where Indian lands were defined, the government promised payment and annuities, and they returned one million acres of Iroquois lands while the Indians ceded claims in

---

<sup>33</sup>Downes "Creek-American Relations 1790-1795" 360

<sup>34</sup> John Robortella "Keeping Peace in the Finger Lakes" *Democrat & Chronicle* Oct. 28, 2015 Accessed May 22, 2018 <https://www.democratandchronicle.com/story/rochester-magazine/finger-lakes/2015/10/28/keeping=peace-finger-lakes/74651282/>

Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley. Chapin became ill soon after the signing and died March 7, 1795. At his funeral, Seneca chief Red Jacket cried “We have lost a good friend”.<sup>35</sup>

The average age at appointment for the eighty-five agents included in the initial hiring period was about forty-two and a half years. The youngest appointees at twenty-five were John Kinzie and Lawrence Talliferro; the oldest, Montfort Stokes, was seventy-four. Two served a year; twenty five continued in office for a decade or more, either totally or consecutively. Nineteen or 22 percent died in office generally from disease although two were killed by Indians.

Based on records from *The Official Register of Officers and Agents of the United States*, which was first published in 1816–1817, Indian agents between that date and 1837 were paid from \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year depending primarily on location. Those east of the Mississippi were generally paid less than the few men west of the River. Salaries tended to increase from \$1,000–\$1,200 to \$1,300–\$1,500 over that period. The single highest yearly salary was \$2,000 paid to Creek Agent David Mitchell in 1817. The highest continuously salaried man was John Dougherty Upper Missouri Agent who received \$1,800 yearly from 1827–1833.

Included in this study are those sub-agents who acted somewhat independently of the agent or agents who were simply given that title. Sub-agent appointments had the advantage of paying the man less and also were not subject to Senate approval, making them a simple presidential appointee. Andrew Jackson, who had a couple of his appointments rejected, seemed to utilize the sub-agent.

Although Indian policy was constantly in flux during these seventy years, this paper is *not* specifically about changes in strategy but about the men who carried out the often confusing bureaucratic plans or lack thereof. Excellent books like *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 1984 by Francis Paul Prucha and *Indian Affairs and the Administrative State in the Nineteenth Century*, 2010 by Stephen J. Rockwell as well as numerous articles exist on the broad topic. A short survey of policy may help the reader. Initially, the bureaucracy of the Indian Department was loosely organized within the War Department, with Indian agents reporting through superintendents to the secretary of war. The agent’s job was often reportorial but included co-operation with the military and solving individual problems.

---

<sup>35</sup> Granville Ganter, ed. *The Collected Speeches of Sagoyewatha or Red Jacket* (Syracuse, NY Syracuse University Press 2006), 69.

Because of this, he demanded respect from Indians, traders, and settlers alike. His authority was rooted in character and creative problem solving. In 1824, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun created the Bureau of Indian Affairs or Office of Indian Affairs by executive fiat appointing Quaker Thomas L. McKenney, who had been Superintendent of Indian Trade from 1816–1822 to head the office. Congress formalized the system in 1832 which would remain until 1849

Initially, the Federalist administrations of George Washington and John Adams focused on treaty negotiations, advancing “civilization” programs including exclusive reliance on farming for men and “homemaking” for women in situ while developing a commercial system to protect Indians from predatory traders. From 1796 to 1822, the United States government maintained a system of non-profit trading houses or factories to provide goods to Indians at “fair prices” and simultaneously prevent private traders from charging exorbitant rates. Since it required private merchants to obtain licenses, an adjunct effect was to limit the power of British traders who were often a civilian arm of British imperial policy. Congressional and private business opposition finally doomed the system.

Government Indian policies from 1792 to 1849 also included erratic enforcement of a series of laws and proclamations against liquor finally culminating in a complete prohibition of alcohol in Indian Country in 1832. Federal, territorial, and state authorities struggled to define the legal rights of perpetrators and victims involved in interracial personal and property crimes, whether committed in the United States or in Indian Country. An area that often involved Indian agents was the expulsion of “white intruders” on Indian lands. American policy was, in a sense, at odds with itself, proclaiming protection for Indians from intruders while assuming an eventual American displacement of Native peoples. It was to be done without disorder and injustice but eventually, it was done.

Although the United States followed a course of military conquest against the Indians in the Northwest Territory culminating in the 1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers and the subsequent Treaty of Greenville gaining about two-thirds of present-day Ohio, the fragility of the new nation combined with international opponents at its borders who were enmeshed in the Napoleonic Wars militated the nation against armed conflict. Although Indian agents played a minor role in the Indian wars attached to the War of 1812, they would later be key players in attempting to get justice for the Creek Indians arising from the complicated aftermath of the conflict. In the

Black Hawk War of 1832, Indian agents would play a pivotal role in limiting its spread and recruiting Indians to fight other Indians.

Two facets of Indian policy present from its very beginnings that directly involved Indian agents were payments of annuities and escorting Indian delegations to the nation's capital. European colonial countries had long given gifts to Indians and the United States followed suit both as a matter of national competition and in some cases "moral obligation" to assist peoples whose lands had been taken. Eventually, annuities negotiated in the myriad treaties completed in exchange for land replaced gift giving and became one of the primary activities of the Indian agent and one that caused him innumerable complications.<sup>36</sup> Whether the payments were in goods or money and made to chiefs or individual family heads, there were always complaints and always the possibilities for corruption, real or imagined. Chaperoning tribesmen eastward to negotiate, present grievances, or just observe the power of the young Republic was an onerous task for many agents, but the Indians demanded it.

Thomas Jefferson and the Republican Virginia Dynasty that followed him, 1801–1825, continued Federalist policies advocating the Indians adopt a domestic agrarian civilization. Based on Enlightenment ideas of a linear movement from savagery to barbarism to civilization, the government pushed expansion of "civilizing" programs to meet these theories, intending for the Indians to not only become "Jeffersonian farmers" but participate in government in the future. In 1819, Congress inaugurated the Civilization Fund of \$10,000 to assist in educating Indian children. It's important to realize that not only were the Indians changing, so were the those who ran Indian policy. Now the secular Jeffersonians were being challenged by Evangelical Christians, children of the Second Great Awakening who also believed in the "unity of man" but rooted in Biblical Christianity. As so often happened in early America, Jefferson's "wall of separation" was often breached in the case of Indian affairs, as seen with the aforementioned federal Civilization Fund Act, most of which went to religious schools. For the Indian agent whose religious opinions might not correspond with local teachers/missionaries, both procedures and policy implementation often led to disagreements. It is important to note that some of the most disparaging comments on Indian agents seemed to have roots in

---

<sup>36</sup> Henry Whipple, *Light and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (New York: Macmillan, 1899) Appendix pp.510–514.

ecclesiastical sources as represented by Bishop Henry Whipple's attack on Indian agents in an 1862 letter to Abraham Lincoln.<sup>37</sup>

However, the key event in Indian affairs during the first half of the nineteenth century was Indian Removal. It has been discussed as both a failure and success of the civilization movement; as a product of frontier greed; as a necessity for Indian salvation; as a military requirement; as a key to Indian Christianization; as an issue in state-federal power disputes; as the basis for the formation of the Whig Party; and as an adjunct to the Nullification Crisis of 1830. Its roots were old. Thomas Jefferson suggested removal or "exchange of lands" as early as 1803, once the Louisiana Purchase was finalized. A quarter of the Cherokee Nation had migrated west to the Arkansas River by 1812.

Removal confuses any study of Indian agents, as a surfeit of men denominated as "agents" were involved in the process. There were those working with the powerful Indians who avoided removal. West of the Mississippi, other men prepared for the arriving Indians. Then there are the "emigration agents" paid per capita to actually escort the Indians westward. Some Indian agents in this study take on these jobs, but any man who is just involved in removal is not included.

The American Indian agent is forever tied to literary, cinematic, and episodic television depictions and after a movie marathon of 1940s–1960s-presentations, it is clear the Indian agent was well dressed; had a nice office with books, ledgers, and safes; seemed to have a coterie of lackeys who were usually civilian but might include a military man or deserters; and was a smoker. In one case he was a drunken flunky for land speculators. Although technically illegal, a number of these cinematic agents had trading posts, with one even having a grist mill and stealing supplies intended for the Indians. Most plots involve the agent starving or injuring the Indians, hoping to start an Indian war which will drive the Indians away or to destruction so that he may get land or gold. The military is generally opposed to the agent, but the story normally depends on the white hero to save the day. Although John Wayne in *Fort Apache* claims the agent was sent by the "Indian Ring," politics is rarely mentioned.

In order to analyse the veracity of the journalistic, literary, and cinematic depiction of Indian agents as eastern "tenderfoots," ill-prepared for the frontier; chosen solely for political

---

<sup>37</sup> Whipple, *Light and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*.

reasons who either joined powerful western business interests or aided relatives in cheating the Indians and the government alike and retired with their stolen lucre, this chapter will examine eighty-five agents who served from 1791–1849. This will be done through a prism of typologies rooted in the background, politics and actions of the agent. It's it vitally important to look at individualized agents because each agent, agency, Indian tribe, business interest, local settler and situation was different. Looking at the agents as a large group allows stereotyping to re-emerge and the complexities of the true history is lost.

## Section One

### Frontiersmen, Factory Men, Border Agents, Veterans and Scientists

In 1880, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny published a book entitled *Our Indian Wards*. It was part of a defence advocating the retention of the Indian Bureau in the Department of the Interior, where it had been since 1849. Opponents like General of the Army William T. Sherman posited that the bureau should be returned to the War Department and military officers be appointed as Indian agents, replacing the corrupt civilians. This debate continued for at least forty years after the Civil War. In 1869, President Grant appointed military officers to replace civilian Indian agents at about two thirds of the agencies, but the use of active-duty officers was abolished by Congress the following year. However, by 1892, Congress would recommend the use of military officers as agents if possible. In his book, Manypenny made an interesting suggestion, “Competent men, to act as Indian agents, are to be found in many tribes, and it would be well to give some of these positions as such”<sup>38</sup> i.e., appoint Indians as Indian agents. However, the idea received no support. Previously Seneca attorney and engineer as well as US Grant’s Civil War adjutant/secretary, Ely S. Parker had served as Commissioner of Indian Affairs under President Grant from 1869–1871. Although he was involved in the development of Grant’s Peace Policy, his tenure as Commissioner was ill-starred. Only two “Indians” later served as Indian agents, James Chestnut Bread Blythe (1861–1920) at the Eastern Cherokee Agency in North Carolina in 1889 and Robert Latham Owen (1856–1947) at the Union Agency in Indian Territory 1885–1889. Both were mixed race Cherokees, Blythe also serving as interpreter and clerk at the local Indian school while Owen was a lawyer and local “mover and shaker.” Blythe married the chief’s daughter, and their son Jarrett Blythe was the 16<sup>th</sup> Chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokee 1931–1947. Owen was one of Oklahoma’s first United States Senators serving from 1907–1925.

#### The Indian

William Wells (1770–1812) was orphaned on the Kentucky frontier at the age of eleven. Shortly after, he and three other boys were captured by Miami Indians. Although the others escaped, Wells settled comfortably into Indian life, receiving the name Apekonit or “wild carrot” for his red hair. His older brother Samuel finally made contact with him, but he chose to remain

---

<sup>38</sup> George W. Manypenny *Our Indian Wards* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1880) Introductory XV



with the Miami. He married and had a child, but his wife was taken captive by American forces in 1791. Later that year, Wells fought on the side of the Indians at St. Clair's defeat. However, for a variety of reasons ranging from family ties to depression over the insecurity of Indian life to hope for a comfortable living, Wells decided to return to the white world the following year. He was hired initially as an interpreter but his "forest" skills and Indian connections were invaluable. For a salary of \$300 plus \$200 more if he could convince the Indians to negotiate, he set off into the Indiana wilderness trying to have a council. Although unsuccessful, he did join Anthony Wayne's Army as a scout and was wounded in a skirmish just before the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Wells was also the chief interpreter for negotiations, resulting in the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. As his wife was still held captive, he married a second time to the daughter of the powerful Miami Chief Little Turtle and fathered five children. Wells' relation to his father-in-law helped drive his successes as agent yet caused him innumerable difficulties. Neither the Miami Nation nor the other Indians of Ohio and Indiana agreed on how to deal with the ubiquitous white settlers, and Wells' "connections" with Little Turtle caused some of these Indians to attack him. In 1808, a Delaware and Shawnee Black Hoop named Beaver made charges against Wells; the most serious by Beaver involved accusations of cheating the Delaware of annuities. They proved to be false. However, Wells' major problem was an inability to run the gamut of American political bureaucracy.

With Indian support, Wells lobbied the Adams' Administration to become Indian agent which was successful in 1798. As both interpreter and agent at a salary of \$300, Wells and his family moved into a farm at Fort Wayne, just across from the agency buildings. He temporarily lost his position in 1800, but Thomas Jefferson re-appointed him in 1802 at a salary of \$600. Dealing with Miami, Delaware, Weas, Eel Rivers, and some Potawatomie, Wells was busy distributing annuities, granting trade licenses, holding councils, and pushing his favorite program-developing "civilization." His first personal problem was his relationship with factor<sup>39</sup> John Johnston who immediately saw the inter-married frontiersman Wells as an "unprincipled

---

<sup>39</sup> A factor was a government trader at one of the government factories or trading posts located in the South and Old Northwest to provide quality goods and fair prices for the Indians through a barter system. See David A. Nichols *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Royal B. Way "The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1796-1822" *The Mississippi Historical Review* Vol. 6 No.2 (September 1919) pp.220-235.

bad man.”<sup>40</sup> Wells returned the animus and historian Paul Hutton declares “Their corrosive relationship dominated the operation of Indian affairs in northern Indiana until 1812”.<sup>41</sup> Wells association with Indiana Territorial Governor (his immediate superior) and future President, William Henry Harrison, was confusing. Initially Harrison saw Wells as “a sober, active and faithful public Servant”.<sup>42</sup> However, Harrison’s goal of securing as much land as possible through treaties clashed with Wells’ concern for the future of the Miami. Harrison complained to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn that Wells was not doing enough to “pacify” those Indians opposed to the new treaties and that his warnings about the development of messianic movement among the Indians were lies. Harrison saw the rise of a conspiracy against his treaties headed by Wells and his personal secretary reported to the Governor that Wells was “more attached to the Indians than to the people of the United States”.<sup>43</sup> Using some of Johnston’s allegations, Harrison accused Wells of dishonesty and corruption without any evidence. Wells was in real danger of losing his job which he feared above everything, so he and his father-in-law met with Harrison and temporarily patched over differences.

An even more dangerous and distant enemy was Secretary of War Henry Dearborn who, having constantly heard complaints from both Harrison and Johnston, believed Wells was deceitful, dishonorable, and possessed “no kind of useful influence with the chiefs”.<sup>44</sup> During 1807–1808, Wells had worked successfully to discredit Tecumseh among the Miami but their flirtation with the movement had left them with insufficient food. Wells requested extra supplies but Dearborn reprimanded him, believing if the Indians were idle “they ought to suffer”.<sup>45</sup> Fearing Wells would try to feed them anyway, he instructed Factor Johnston to observe Wells closely, claiming he had lost “Confidence in his Integrity”.<sup>46</sup> In 1809, Wells was dismissed by Dearborn now poisoned by private complaints from the Beaver that Wells had often defaulted on Delaware annuities and refused to translate complaints about his agency. He was replaced by John Johnston. As they had for so many years, the two men continued to conspire against each

---

<sup>40</sup> Paul A. Hutton “William Wells: Frontier Scout and Indian Agent” *Indiana Magazine of History* 74, no 3 (1978): 206.

<sup>41</sup> Hutton “William Wells.” 204

<sup>42</sup> Hutton “William Wells” 204

<sup>43</sup> Hutton “William Wells.” 206

<sup>44</sup> Hutton “William Wells,” 210.

<sup>45</sup> Hutton “William Wells,” 212.

<sup>46</sup> Hutton, “William Wells.”212

other, and Wells attempted once again to get Harrison's support. The Governor secured him an interpreter's job, rationalizing that it was better if he was part of the government than potentially conspiring against it. Johnston resigned in 1811 and Harrison appointed Wells as sub-agent for the Miami and Eel River Indians. As border conflicts roiled, the Old Northwest was at the dawn of the War of 1812, Fort Michilmacikinac had fallen, and Detroit was besieged. With one corporal and thirty Miami, William Wells rode to aid Fort Dearborn at Chicago, which was commanded by his niece's husband, Captain Nathan Heald. Despite Wells advocating a stand at the Fort, Captain Heald had been ordered to evacuate and thus he did. On August 15, 1812, William Wells was killed by Potawatomi attackers as he came to the rescue of women and children in the baggage train. William Wells was a unique Indian agent, born white, raised Native, married to the chief's daughter, knew several Indian languages, and was at home in the forest. Still, he was met by some Indian opposition because he favored his father-in-law's ideas; he had mortal enemies in government service like John Johnston; constantly irritated his boss William Henry Harrison because each had different goals; and was distrusted by government bureaucrats like Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn. William Wells was caught between two worlds, comfortable in neither.

#### The Interpreter

Accurate communication was essential for the Indian Department in order to avoid incidents and misunderstandings that could prove deleterious to peaceful relations. Generally, the Indian agents and other bureau employees did not know the Indian languages, so the Department carried a lot of interpreters on its rolls. For instance, according to the 1833 Register of Officers and Agents, there were eighteen agents; twenty-eight sub-agents and thirty-seven interpreters in the Indian Department. It was probably the most diverse in government, with men named Paddy Carr, Baptiste, Clement Lessert, Antoine LeClerc, Amable Grignon, HJ Granerot, Pierre LeClerc, L. Rencourt, Jacques Metter, Toussaint Charbonneau (husband of Sacagawea and member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition), and Cudjoe, a black Seminole.<sup>47</sup> At times, the babelian American Frontier required the Indian Bureau to make some bizarre assignments. As French was used everywhere in Louisiana, non French-speaking John Jamison, Red River Agent 1816–1819,

---

<sup>47</sup> William A. Weaver, *A Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval in the Service of the United States* (Washington DC: Johnathan Elliot, 1833): 88–92. John Adams Library at the Boston Public Library <https://archive.org/details/registeroffice00adam11/page/n11/mode/2up?view=theater>

required not only an Indian interpreter but also a French interpreter. An even more ludicrous example must be Jean Penieres, Seminole Sub-Agent in 1821, who needed a second interpreter because he spoke no English!

Other men followed the examples of Jasper Parrish, sub-agent for the Six Nations, and William Wells, Miami Agent and moved from interpreter to agent or sub-agent. Francis Audrain appears to have been the son of Pierre Peter Audrain (1725–1820) a French immigrant who came to the Old Northwest with Anthony Wayne’s Army and was one of the first settlers in Detroit. Francis Audrain served as both sub-agent and interpreter at Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac from 1827–1833, although not listed as interpreter in 1829. He is sometimes designated as a French interpreter, meaning he would interpret the French patois used by some tribes and traders around the Great Lakes. Audrain’s major problems seemed to be soothing the hurt feelings of the Ojibwa, who threatened to move to Canada, and surviving the bureaucratic agency shuffling associated with Henry R. Schoolcraft, longtime Sault Ste. Marie/Mackinac agent. Apparently serving as sub-agent and interpreter did not preclude holding another government job as Audrain was appointed Chippewa County’s first Judge of Probate in 1827.

#### The Factory Man

Both contemporaries and later researchers have debated the merits and failures of the factory system which attempted to protect Indians from price gouging by private traders between 1796 and 1822. However, there is no question it added another layer of bureaucracy to the Indian Department, which might cause antagonisms between two strong willed men. The “conflict” between Agent William Wells and factor John Johnston at Fort Wayne, in the Indiana Territory, discussed previously is an example. Since the romantic and sympathetic Wells has drawn several biographic accounts, his *bête noire* Johnston has turned into an almost stock villain. Perhaps this man who served the Indian Bureau for twenty-six years and became a strong advocate against removal needs to be re-examined.

John Johnston (1775–1861), an Ulsterman, migrated to America at age eleven with his tutor but not his family, who arrived five years later. He became a merchant in both Kentucky and Pennsylvania; supervised transportation for Anthony Wayne’s Army 1794–1795 and returned to Pennsylvania where he was a law clerk. Apparently, he had some political connections, because Thomas Jefferson appointed the twenty-seven-year-old factor at Fort Wayne in 1802. He also married a young Quaker woman that same year and strongly supported the Friends efforts

between 1804 and 1833 to bring “civilization” to the Midwestern tribes. Johnston felt Wells tried to impede those endeavors. Johnston’s Fort Wayne Factory was perhaps the most successful in the Northwest, and he was a close observer of Indian buying habits, discovering they were discriminating consumers. Unlike Wells, he maintained excellent relations with ecclesiastical, territorial, and federal leaders and when Wells was dismissed in 1809, Johnston became agent and factor. Here he failed, fooled by the false promises of Prophet Tenskwaawa and overwhelmed by his duties, he resigned as agent in 1811, keeping his position as factor. However, in 1812, Indians burned the Fort Wayne factory and it was closed.

A new agency was established at Piqua, Ohio, in 1812 to monitor and assist the Shawnee and later Wyandot and Delaware, and the ever-ready Johnston got the position, holding it until 1829. Here his skills and connections brought greater success. He enjoyed a good reputation with the Indians, consistently acted in their best interests, spoke Shawnee, continued to command respect with governmental authorities, and was able to better assist the Quaker mission. Shawnee chief Black Hoof, who had been critical of William Wells, wrote Johnston in 1815, communicating his appreciation that Johnston had returned and requesting the Quakers do the same. At times, Johnston reacted swiftly and vengefully to protect the Indians. In 1824, he pursued five white men who had killed nine peaceful Seneca in Indiana. Four of the perpetrators were hanged. He also came to the conclusion that the government had to change policies to save the Indians. In 1826, in a report on his agency for the Piqua Gazette, Johnston wrote “The frequent removal of the natives of the soil to make way for our population, and the consequent distress and misery entailed upon the race, calls loudly upon Congress to provide for them a country, from which they will not again have to be removed.”<sup>48</sup> Long into his retirement, he wrote a piece for the Niles National Register, January 3, 1846 advocating a permanent homeland recommending “a territorial government exclusively for Indians ... to be established southwest of Missouri”.<sup>49</sup> Additionally, Johnston supported depoliticization of appointments and choosing “Honest, faithful and capable agents”, concluding “we owe the Indians much by way of

---

<sup>48</sup> Max Carter, “John Johnston and the Friends: A Midwestern Indian Agent’s Relationship with the Quakers in Early 1800s” *Quaker History* 78, no. 1 (1989) 46

<sup>49</sup> Letter Piqua (Ohio) December 4, 1845 John Johnston Niles National Register. (Washington D. C.) January 3, 1846 – States of the Union 274

atonement for the manifold evils visited upon them by our race.”<sup>50</sup> Johnston, a burgeoning Whig who would go on to be an Ohio delegate to the 1844 Whig National Convention, was relieved by the arrival of the Jackson Administration in 1829. Reality trumps rhetoric. By 1829, many of the Shawnee had headed for Kansas; by 1830 Piqua was closed; by 1833 all the Shawnee were west of the Mississippi.

Johnston’s retirement years were stellar, serving as Ohio Canal Commissioner for eleven years; as a trustee of Miami University; a member of the Board of Visitors at West Point 1859; as one of the first presidents of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society; and helping to found Kenyon College in 1824. He continued to advocate for the Indians; wrote a book on the Ohio tribes; and long after his tenure as Indian agent, negotiated the 1842 Treaty of Upper Sandusky, ironically removing the remaining Wyandots from Ohio and Michigan.

Another factor-to-agent story was that of William McClellan (1779–1829) agent for the Choctaw West 1825–1829. An officer veteran of the War of 1812 and son-in-law of John Sevier, the “father of Tennessee” and its first governor, McClellan asked Cherokee Agent Return J. Meigs to be considered for a position as early as 1817. In 1821, he accepted the post of factor at the Sulphur Fork Factory in what is now southwestern Arkansas. It had been established in 1818 to service the Indians of the Red River Valley and contest Spanish influence from Texas. McClellan found shelves of goods damaged by moths and rats; peltries infested by “the worms;”<sup>51</sup> an unfinished building; no furniture, as it had been stolen by clerk Landon Edwards; and a guard of only ten soldiers and George Gray, the Red River Indian agent living nearby. Despite all these complications, McClellan got the building completed, rebuilt his inventory, and did an excellent business in 1821–1822, ironically much of it with white settlers. The factory closed in 1822 with the abolition of the program but McClellan remained until 1823, now finding himself adrift on the American borderlands.

Suggested by Tennessee Congressman, Sam Houston, McClellan was appointed Agent for the new Choctaw West Agency, those Choctaw who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, in 1825. His experiences as a factor put him in good stead, as he had to move supplies to the new

---

<sup>50</sup> Letter Piqua (Ohio) December 4, 1845 John Johnston Niles National Register. (Washington D. C.) January 3, 1846 -States of the Union 274

<sup>51</sup> Clarence Edwin Carter (ed), “William McClellan to Thomas L. McKenney,” *The Territorial Papers of the United States* XIX (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953): 293–294.

Agency and initially attempted to rebuild the remnants of decrepit Fort Smith to house his headquarters. Eventually, he moved eighteen miles west to Pebble Spring, present day Oklahoma, to erect the new Choctaw Agency. This had the advantage of placing him outside Arkansas Territory, so he could deal directly with the Indian Commissioner or the Secretary of War without involving the Arkansas Territorial Governor. Aside from a struggle with the military over who would run the local ferry, McClellan was faced with two major problems: the land was awash with white settlers and most importantly, he had almost no Indians. The Choctaw initially migrated west in small groups, settling away from both white settlements and the resident Osage. The Indian Bureau felt McClellan was “honest”<sup>52</sup> but continually berated him for not getting the Indians to vacate Mississippi. He was located 350 miles away from the eastern Choctaw. Finally, he was demoted in 1829 to sub-agent, reporting to the Cherokee Agent, Edward Duval. Arkansas Territorial Delegate, Ambrose Sevier (a distant relative), declared McClellan had been treated shamefully and averred he should not have taken the job. Before his sudden death, McClellan charged his new boss, Duval, with “corruption.”<sup>53</sup> It’s important to note that the essential trait needed by all Indian agents was adaptability. The Washington bureaucrats might perceive the agent as handing out rakes, corn, and money, but the job itself was conspicuously more complex as this thesis constantly details.

#### The Border Patrol

Some early Indian agents like the previously discussed James Seagrove were as much concerned with international affairs as simple Indian relations. Included in this category would be John Bowyer (?–1831), John Sibley (1757–1837), and Pierce Mason Butler (1798–1847). The former was agent at Chicago 1815–1816 and at Green Bay 1816–1821. He actually exchanged agencies, as the Green Bay agent wanted to go to Chicago. Bowyer had been a military officer since 1792 and veteran of the War of 1812, being honorably discharged in 1815, just before his appointment. His three goals were to get Indian land via treaty, enforce the Trade and Intercourse Acts, and bind the natives to an alliance with the United States. Bowyer investigated the local tribes finding the Menominee staggered by the outcome of the War, with insufficient food, scant

---

<sup>52</sup>Richard B. McCaslin, Donald E. Chipman and Andrew Torget(eds) “*This Corner of Canaan: Essays in Honor of Randolph W. Campbell* (Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2013) 91

<sup>53</sup>Edwin C. Bearess and Arrell Gibson *Fort Smith, Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) 57

male tribal members, and a lack of leadership. He further pronounced the Winnebago were “unfriendly to the government” and “great liars and robbers”.<sup>54</sup> As a career military officer, Bowyer followed orders perfectly, perhaps too perfectly. Asked to negotiate with the Menominee for 25 to 30 square miles of land for use by the military garrison, Bowyer actually got eighty times that amount for only \$800. The treaty was never ratified. He opposed the idea of an American factory at Green Bay as a waste of money because ninety percent of the white locals were British subjects or British traders. As long as there was a preponderance of the latter, Indian allegiance could never be assured, so he wielded his power in granting trading licenses by denying them to all non-American traders.<sup>55</sup> However, pressures from above reversed the ban and Bowyer began to selectively issue licenses.

John Sibley, Red River Agent 1804–1815, was a veteran of the Revolution; Massachusetts doctor; Fayetteville, North Carolina, newspaper editor; and debtor who migrated in 1803 to the far reaches of the American republic, settling in Natchitoches in what is today northwestern Louisiana. He practiced medicine; made friends with important men like W.C.C. Claiborne, first Governor of the Orleans Territory and later first Governor of Louisiana; and kept copious notes on everything from river courses to the town of Natchitoches, “a small irregular and meanly built village”<sup>56</sup> inhabited by Frenchmen who knew nothing about anything “mechanical.” He even kept notes on topics ranging from international boundaries to the local Indian tribes and how they can be detached from Spanish influence. Sibley also began to write President Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn about the Burr Conspiracy, General James Wilkinson, Spanish intrigues, and Indians. Both were sufficiently impressed to make Sibley first temporary and then official Indian agent, asking him to concentrate on those tribes which might be “useful or mischievous”<sup>57</sup> in case of conflict with Spain. By observing, writing and suggesting policy, like putting a factory at Natchitoches to attract Indian consumers, Sibley became not only the expert on western Louisiana, Red River Indian tribes, and Spanish Texas, but he became invaluable as well.

---

<sup>54</sup> Martin Zanger “Conflicting Concepts of Justice: A Winnebago Murder Trial on the Illinois Frontier” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 73, no 4 (1980) 265

<sup>55</sup>John D. Haeger “A Time of Change: Green Bay, 1815-1834” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 73 no 4(1980) 265

<sup>56</sup> Penny S. Brandt “A Letter of Dr. John Sibley, Indian Agent” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 29, no.4 (1988) 368

<sup>57</sup> Brandt “A Letter of Dr. John Sibley” 369



As agent, Sibley compiled tribal vocabularies, licensed American traders to undersell the Spaniards and attracted many Indians with empathy and diplomacy. In 1807, he held a Grand Council where he claimed Americans felt themselves “natives of the Same land that you are, in other words, white Indians, [who] therefore Should feel and live together like brother and Good neighbors”.<sup>58</sup> He continuously pushed the War Department to take an activist policy to counteract Spanish activities.

In 1805, Sibley applied for and received an appointment as local military contract surgeon in addition to his agent’s duties. Simultaneously with his appointment, the Orleans Gazette published a story casting aspersions on Sibley’s character as he had never brought his wife and family from North Carolina. Jefferson and Claiborne felt that as long as he had never tried to marry, it was inconsequential, as he was a man of “unquestionable good sense and information”.<sup>59</sup> His wife died in North Carolina in 1811, he remarried in Louisiana in 1813. In February 1814, a petition appeared for President James Madison from the citizens of Natchitoches claiming also to speak for the local Indians, requesting the removal of Sibley as well as the factory.<sup>60</sup> In the fall of 1814, a similar petition arrived signed by fifteen members of the Louisiana legislature. Ironically, calls for Sibley’s firing may have had some roots in his opposition to the Gutierrez-Magee filibustering expedition in 1812–1813, which began in Natchitoches and attempted to overthrow Spanish control of Texas. He convinced a thousand Indian warriors not to join the abortive undertaking. Sibley was summarily fired in early 1815.

Pierce Mason Butler, son of Congressman William Butler and brother of US Senator Andrew Pickens Butler and US Representative William Butler, was a graduate of South Carolina College and had gotten a military commission partly because of family connections to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun. The young South Carolinian served on the frontier from 1819–1829, rising in rank from Second Lieutenant to Captain while assisting in the building and initial garrisoning of Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, and mapping the road between Gibson and Fort Smith. Resigning his commission, he returned to his 154-acre cotton plantation but almost immediately left to become cashier of the Columbia branch of the Bank of South Carolina, eventually being elevated to bank president 1833–1836. The Second Seminole War took him

---

<sup>58</sup> Brandt “A Letter of Dr. John Sibley” 375

<sup>59</sup> Brandt “A Letter of Dr. John Sibley” 374

<sup>60</sup><https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/03-07-02-0243>

from his bank duties, as he spent 1835–1836 as Lieutenant Colonel Butler, commanding the munitions depot at Tampa, Florida Territory. Butler was a strong “nullifier,” opposing the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 and supporting the rechartering the 2<sup>nd</sup> Bank of the United States, but beyond those two issues, his political positions were vague. Despite or perhaps because of his limited stands, he was chosen as governor of South Carolina, calling in his inaugural address for South Carolinians to “forget divisive issues”.<sup>61</sup> He left office in 1838 and spent the next three years touring “the southwestern states” in an attempt to regain financial solvency either with a private or public position, including an unsuccessful bid to become collector of customs at Charleston. Finally in 1841, the new Whig Administration rescued Butler with an appointment as Cherokee agent

Historian Grant Foreman says of Butler, “He was of that small class of intelligent Indian agents” and “He was intensely loyal to the Cherokee Indians.”<sup>62</sup> Ironically, he supported the Cherokee desire to not move to nearby Fort Gibson, a fort he had helped build eighteen years earlier, because of its baleful influence on Cherokee life. For his stand, Butler was attacked by locals in the *Arkansas State Gazette*. It is important to remember he was familiar with the area from his service in the military.

Aside from issues like requesting a full-time clerk and relocating the blacksmiths and wheelwrights at the request of the Cherokee, Butler was engaged in international negotiations and machinations. He renewed the treaty first negotiated with the “wild Indians” by Montfort Stokes, acted as US Commissioner to protect American interests in treaty negotiations during the year of 1843 between the Republic of Texas and the Indians, and reported the following year that Mexican agents were inciting the southwestern Indians against Texas. Despite his own desire to remain as agent and support from the Cherokee as well as their tribal newspaper, *The Cherokee Advocate*,<sup>63</sup> politics prevailed and Butler returned to South Carolina in 1845, awaiting a local or national appointment or another war. War came first and Pierce Butler was chosen commander of the Palmetto Regiment in the Mexican War. He was killed August 20, 1847 at the Battle of Churubusco.

---

<sup>61</sup> Miles S. Richards “Butler, Pierce Mason” *South Carolina Encyclopedia* Accessed September 17, 2018 <http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/butler-pierce-mason/>

<sup>62</sup> Grant Foreman *The Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.388

<sup>63</sup>Niles National Register September 6, 1845 6 *Indian Journal*

### Trapper and Trader

In novels and movies, the Indian agent is typically an Easterner who struggles to exist in the West, but a number of the early agents already resided on the American borderlands and were actively involved in the Indian trade. John Hays (1766–1833), the first Jewish Indian agent,<sup>64</sup> actually had to travel 370 miles east to reach his assigned post. Born of a prominent New York City family, Hays sought his future on the edge of America, settling in Cahokia on the Mississippi River in 1793. It was an auspicious choice for the bi-lingual New Yorker, as most of his local customers spoke French. He prospered as a farmer and merchant, branching out into the Indian trade to the north. Hays served as Sheriff of St. Clair County from 1808–1818, was postmaster of Cahokia, and received a presidential appointment as Collector of Internal Revenue for the Illinois Territory in 1814. These internal taxes were to support the War of 1812, but all the positions were eliminated along with the taxes in 1817. Hays sought extra income because his adopted home town was in steep decline and his businesses were faltering.

In 1820, he was appointed agent at Fort Wayne, Indiana with a salary of \$1,200. Hays actually “commuted” each year from Cahokia to Fort Wayne, arriving in the Spring, conducting business, and returning home in the late fall. In his absence, sub-agent/interpreter Benjamin Kercheval handled any problems. His administration pleased almost everyone, the government found him a man of notable integrity who kept meticulous records, his insistence on overseeing the annuity payments and not allowing Chief Richardville to divvy out monies as he saw fit irritated the Chief but pleased the Miami. Some Indians actually began farming under his tutelage. However, Hays hated his job. The government was slow in sending annuity payments, slower in reimbursing monies Hays expended, and yearly budgets were reduced. In addition, the central event each year was a bacchanal masquerading as an annuity payment punctuated with drunkenness and several murders. Fearing for his life, Hays resigned in 1823, retreating to the somnolent shores of Cahokia.

John H. Kinzie (1803–1865) was the son of one of the founders of Chicago; grew to manhood on the Great Lakes frontier; began working as a clerk for the American Fur Company at age 15 at Mackinac Island; spoke Ottawa, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, and Winnebago or Ho-Chunk;

---

<sup>64</sup>Max Kohler “Some Jewish Factors in the Settlement of the West” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 16 (1907) Johns Hopkins Press 28-29

was private Secretary to Michigan Territorial Governor Lewis Cass; compiled a dictionary of the Wyandot language; and led a delegation of Winnebago to visit President John Quincy Adams in 1828. All this was done before age 26. Because of the so-called Winnebago War of 1827 and the continued recalcitrance of the tribe to allow American entry onto their lands for lead mining/settlement as well as opposition to removal, it was decided to create a new Sub-Agency located nearer the tribe. Fort Winnebago Sub-Agency was sited at the Portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers in contemporary central Wisconsin and served both Winnebago and Menominee. Kinzie's duties included consulting with Indians, gathering information, providing food during difficult times, and distributing annuities. His Potawatomie name was "Shaw-nee-au-kee" or the "Silver Man" for the coins he dispensed. In 1832, Congress passed legislation providing smallpox vaccinations for Native Americans, and Indian agents were charged with providing this service. It was a difficult process finding a doctor to administer it and Indians to be vaccinated. The post surgeon at the Fort refused, as insufficient funds had been appropriated and he was not sure he would be reimbursed. So Kinzie, with the help of a local French trader, did it himself.<sup>65</sup>

Still, the major complications of Kinzie's five-year tenure were the Black Hawk War and struggles with other Indian agents. Kinzie stressed neutrality with the confusions of the Black Hawk War and was applauded by the Indians if not the government. In 1832, Chief Little Priest announced that he wished he had not followed another agent's advice and supported the Americans, stating that "In the future, I will listen to Mr. Kinzie".<sup>66</sup> The "turf war" problems emanated from differing perspectives exacerbated by personality and bureaucracy. The Fort Winnebago Sub-Agency was under the Prairie du Chien Agency located 122 miles west. In 1827, there was a new du Chien agent named James Street who did not see eye to eye with his subordinate. Street pushed government programs including civilization and removal while Kinzie took a forbearing approach, allowing the Indians to be Indians. One source claimed "John Kinzie was a white man gone Indian".<sup>67</sup> In 1831, another sub-agency at Rock River, 117 miles southwest of the Fort was added and the sub-agent Henry Gratiot got along with neither. Adding

---

<sup>65</sup>Peter Shake "The Silver Man: John H. Kinzie and the Fort Winnebago Indian Agency" *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 96 no 3 (Winter 2012-2013) 9-10

<sup>66</sup> John W. Hall *Uncommon Defense: Indian Allies in the Black Hawk War* (Harvard University Press, 2009): Notes on 239-241; Note 11 on 338.

<sup>67</sup> Hall *Uncommon Defense* 125

to the contentiousness was the fact that Street and Gratiot reported to Superintendent William Clark in St. Louis while Kinzie was under the authority of his old mentor Lewis Cass in Detroit, the departmental dividing line being just west of Fort Winnebago. For a variety of reasons ranging from a lack of interest in removing the Indians to pending charges he had as postmaster, slowed delivery of dispatches for General Henry Atkinson during the War, Kinzie resigned in 1833. He later ran unsuccessfully for mayor in Chicago's first mayoral election in 1837.

Nicholas Boilvin (1761–1827), a French Canadian Indian trader who migrated to the Old Northwest in 1783, served as Prairie du Chien Agent 1811–1827. Like others, he began work as an interpreter and then sub-agent at Des Moines after working initially for the Spanish in 1797. His great skill was akin to today's "shuttle diplomacy," as he gathered the Indians for councils at Prairie du Chien or traveled to villages, attempting to prevent wars between whites and Indians as well as between Indians and Indians all while attempting to detach them from their alliance with the British.<sup>68</sup> He had about 8,700 Indians attached to his agency including Sioux, Sac and Fox, Winnebago, and Menominee, the last being 250 miles away. In October 1815, he reputedly met with 6,000 Indians at Prairie du Chien. They trusted and had faith in him because he did not lie. He also was adept at quickly answering questions. In 1811, sixty men hired by the estate of Julien Dubuque appeared to work the Dubuque lead mines but the local Fox Indians opposed their landing. Boilvin appeased them saying the mines were only to be worked in order to pay Dubuque's debts. The chiefs agreed to allow them to begin while they formally presented grievances. In the winter of 1820, as conflict loomed with the Winnebago, Boilvin trudged many miles alone through the snow to meet the angry Indians. By June, peace reigned along the upper Mississippi. The War of 1812 kept Boilvin away from his post from 1812–1814 and he had another hiatus in 1817–1818. He had many more problems with American officials than with Indians. He clashed with the military and some other Indian agents, being particularly concerned with the agent Pierre Choteau among the Osage. As a small Indian trader, he had misgivings about any close connections of large trading houses with the government. Understanding the

---

<sup>68</sup> P.L. Scanlan "Nicholas Boilvin, Indian Agent" *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* Vol. 27, No.2 (Dec., 1943): 155,157; George F.G. Stanley "British Operations in the American Northwest, 1812–15" *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* Vol. 22, No. 87 (Autumn, 1943): 95; Patricia K. Ourada *The Menominee Indians: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) 56,58; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Prairie du Chien, in, letter from Nicholas Boilvin, Indian Agent to William Eustis, Secretary of War*. Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers. Retrieved from the Library of Congress.

norms of frontier commerce, he pleaded with the War Department for more gifts or monies to buy entry such as an introduction to conversation. Ironically, his most determined enemy was his next-door neighbor at Prairie du Chien, British trader Robert Dickson, who worked tirelessly to ally the Indians with the Crown, distributing gifts of tobacco, medals and whiskey all along the American frontier.

Boilvin's main administrative difficulties were an inability to write in English and difficulties in preparing accounts. He wrote all his reports in "bad French," making it almost impossible for the War Department to read. By the time they were translated, conditions had changed. He once remarked, "I must get the first honest man I can to prepare my accounts, as I cannot do it".<sup>69</sup> Nobody ever accused him of dishonesty.

Another Indian trader/Indian agent who played a role in the complex prelude to the Black Hawk War was Thomas Forsyth (1771–1833). Born on the Michigan frontier the son of a man imprisoned as a Loyalist in the Revolution, Forsyth migrated to the Peoria area of Illinois and achieved success as an Indian trader with the Potawatomie. During the Peoria War of 1813 (part of the War of 1812) he acted as a spy for the Madison Administration and kept the Illinois River Potawatomie neutral during the conflict.<sup>70</sup> He was so "deep" as a spy, the Illinois militia who captured him assumed he was British.<sup>71</sup> He also worked to gain the release of American prisoners. After the War, he was appointed Indian Sub-Agent for the Missouri Territory 1816–1818 and then Sac and Fox Agent at Rock Island 1818–1830.

Historians are fairly unanimous on Forsyth as agent. John H. Hauberg called him "Perhaps the most efficient officer of his rank employed by the Indian Department of the frontier",<sup>72</sup> while John W. Hall asserted "he was renowned as one of the most capable and conscientious Indian agents".<sup>73</sup> Famed nineteenth century historian Lyman Draper maintained that if Forsyth had been kept as agent, he could have prevented the Black Hawk War. He sympathized with the Indians stating in a letter to William Clark in 1829 that he hoped "our

---

<sup>69</sup> Scanlan, "Nicolas Boilvin," 168.

<sup>70</sup> John H. Hauberg, "U.S. Army Surgeons at Fort Armstrong" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Vol. 24 No. 4 (Jan. 1932):615

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Forsyth "Journal of a Voyage from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1819" Collections of the State Historical Society Of Wisconsin Vol. VI Being a page-for-page Reprint of the Original Issue of 1872. (1908): 188 fn.

<sup>72</sup> Hauberg "U.S. Army Surgeons" 615

<sup>73</sup> Hall, *Uncommon Defense* 38

Government will render justice to those Indians, and not encourage those intruders”.<sup>74</sup> The Indians trusted him and more importantly respected him. Like Boilvin, he constantly traveled great distances trying to find compromises. He accompanied the Yellowstone Expedition as far as the mouth of the St. Peter’s River carrying \$2,000 in presents to negotiate with the Sioux. He often irritated settlers but could defy Indians if they tried to bully him. He knew several Indian languages, wrote about Indian customs and locations and made suggestions on Indian policy.<sup>75</sup> However, he had one great failing, he was stubbornly insubordinate. He did not go where directed, criticized policy and personnel, maintained a home in St. Louis where he appeared at various times seeking interviews with his exasperated boss, William Clark. The killing of several Sac and Fox by Sioux/Winnebago was the catalyst that allowed a relieved Clark to fire Forsyth in 1830 for “negligence and laziness”.<sup>76</sup> His constant insubordination and his strong letters to Department officials on Indian behavior and removal also underlay his dismissal.<sup>77</sup>

Baronet Vasquez (1783–1828) was born in St. Louis the son of a Spanish father and French mother. Well educated, he was selected by Zebulon Pike as interpreter for the Second Pike Expedition seeking the headwaters of the Arkansas River, 1806–1807. After military service from 1808–1814, Vasquez followed in the footsteps of his father and brother, becoming an Indian trader. His store was located near present day St. Joseph, Missouri and he focused on the Kansa tribe, continuing from 1814–1824. In 1822, he was appointed interpreter and acting sub-agent for the Ioway as needed. Finally receiving a permanent post, he was selected the first Kansa or Kansas agent in 1825, living in a government rented house in present day Kansas City. It is hard to imagine a better prepared person for the Kansa. However, his term was cut short by his death from cholera in 1828.

Although an Indian trader, both independently and with the Missouri Fur Company, Benjamin O’Fallon (1793–1842) probably owed his position as Indian agent more to family connections than commercial prowess. Orphaned in Kentucky as a young boy, he came to St. Louis in 1808 to be raised by his uncle, William Clark, the famed explorer and Indian superintendent. Exasperated by O’Fallon’s lack of discipline and persistent ill health, Clark tried

---

<sup>74</sup> William Thomas Hagan, *The Sac and Fox Indians* (The University of Oklahoma Press, 1958) 111

<sup>75</sup> Ora Brooks Peake, *A History of the United States Indian Factory System* (Denver, Sage Books) 190

<sup>76</sup> Hall, *Uncommon Defense*, 103

<sup>77</sup> David Newberg “*In the Name of Civilization, Jackson, Forsyth and the Indian Removal Act of 1830*” (Senior Thesis, University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire 2006), 8–11,23

to push him into a merchandizing position in St. Louis and then gave him an outfit to trade with the Sioux at the St. Peter's River in 1816. He soon demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of the customs and habits of the Indians and a flair for diplomacy and oration. His quick temper remained a part of his personality, as he dueled an Army officer in 1818 and shot him in the jaw.<sup>78</sup> Clark appointed O'Fallon the first Upper Missouri agent in 1819 which encompassed a huge area along the Missouri River and included the Pawnee, Otoe, Missouriia, Omaha, Ponca, Cheyenne, Cree, Crow, Mandan, Arikara, Gros Ventre, Blackfoot, Assinboine, and different bands of Sioux. His job was primarily diplomatic—holding councils, negotiating treaties, thwarting the British traders, and introducing a non-threatening America and American military to wary natives on the far borders of the old Louisiana Purchase, now denominated the Unorganized Territory. Establishing his headquarters at Council Bluffs, on the east side of the Missouri River, he moved about holding conferences at Prairie du Chien, Falls of St. Anthony and negotiated a Treaty with the Sioux at Fort Lookout in 1825. His most complex mediation was establishing a permanent peace between the Pawnee and the Republic of Mexico in 1825.<sup>79</sup> One source calls him, “one of the most efficient United States Agents for Indian Affairs”.<sup>80</sup> However, some traders and Indians found him “crusty and hard to deal with”.<sup>81</sup> Dogged by ill-health, he resigned in 1827 but remained interested in western expeditions.

Benjamin O'Fallon's interpreter and sub-agent John Dougherty (1791–1860) replaced him as Upper Missouri agent, serving from 1827–1837. Dougherty later served as Council Bluffs agent 1837–1839. A Kentuckian, he trapped in the Rockies from 1809–1816 and was proficient in seven Indian languages, French, and English and got the name “Iron Leg” for his endurance.<sup>82</sup> Dougherty continued O'Fallon's diplomatic journeys, meeting new challenges like the scourge of smallpox among the Pawnee, who died in such large numbers they did not even bury their dead, as well as a failure to develop agriculture and parental fear of sending their children to Bureau schools because they felt the children would abjure their poverty and abandon them in their old

---

<sup>78</sup> “James O'Fallon: (1749–bef. 1795)” Trade Goods, Accessed May 25, 2018, <http://users.usinternet.com/dfncls/ofallon.htm>

<sup>79</sup> Chester L. Guthrie and Leo L. Gerald “Upper Missouri Agency: An Account of Indian Administration on the Frontier,” *Pacific Historical Review* 10 No. 1 (March 1941):48–49.

<sup>80</sup> Trade Goods, “James O'Fallon: (1749–bef. 1795).”

<sup>81</sup> James A Crutchfield, ed., *The Settlement of America: Encyclopedia of Westward Expansion from Jamestown to the Closing of the Frontier* Vol 1–2 (Abingdon Oxon OX Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2015): 360.

<sup>82</sup> Charles Clark, “John Dougherty,” Kansas Bogus Legislature, Accessed April 14, 2018, [http://kansassboguslegislature.org/mo/dougherty\\_j.html](http://kansassboguslegislature.org/mo/dougherty_j.html)



age.<sup>83</sup> His messages were often pessimistic, but artist George Catlin in 1832 was more impressed, saying that Dougherty “by unrelenting endeavors, with an unequalled[sic] familiarity with Indian character and unyielding integrity of purpose, has successfully restored and established a system of good feeling between them (the Pawnees) and (the whites) upon whom they looked naturally and experimentally as their destructive enemies”.<sup>84</sup> Being agent required a variety of skills. In 1827, he once rode into a Pawnee village with a few associates to save a Cheyenne woman from being executed but failed. In 1837, the government asked him to recruit a thousand Indians to go to Florida and fight the Seminole.<sup>85</sup> As a local resident of northwest Missouri, Dougherty also pushed to aid his neighbors by backing the Platte Purchase of Indian lands and construction of the Western Military Road from the upper Mississippi to the Red River of the South.

Like so many agents, his real dilemmas were rooted in personality, bureaucracy, and politics. He and Joshua Pilcher, the president of the failed Missouri Fur Company, seemed to constantly occupy the same space on the almost empty American frontier. While Dougherty was sub-agent at Council Bluffs, his neighbor was the obstinate but consistently failing Pilcher. The latter followed Dougherty as Sub-agent and later as Upper Missouri agent. In 1827, the War Department moved the military garrison from Council Bluffs to Leavenworth and Dougherty begged to follow. The change was granted but when ordered back to Council Bluffs in 1829, he refused, remaining at Leavenworth and citing a need to enforce the laws, protect government property, and control the Indians.<sup>86</sup> It was finally determined the old Upper Missouri Agency was too unwieldy and thus it was divided in 1837. Dougherty received the Council Bluffs/Bellevue Agency, monitoring the Otoe, Missouriia, Omaha, Pawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi. He continued in this position for two years until the Van Buren Administration removed him in 1839. He was elected as a Whig to the Missouri State Senate in 1840.

Dougherty had an active post-agent career as a freighter and sutler at forts like Kearny and Laramie. He traveled extensively on the Great Plains until 1855 and also invested in

---

<sup>83</sup> Landon Y. Jones *William Clark and the Shaping of the West*, (New York: Hill and Wang 2004:306–308

<sup>84</sup> John Dougherty KansasBogusLegislature.org

<sup>85</sup> “Indians For Florida” Niles National Register, Sept. 2, 1837, 2 <https://booksgoogle.com>

<sup>86</sup> Ray H. Mattison, “The Indian Frontier on the Upper Missouri to 1865” *Nebraska History* 39 No.3 (Sept. 1958): 247.

Missouri lands. Successful, he built a large house in Missouri, owned 56 slaves and aided the pro-slavery forces in neighboring Kansas Territory.

Joshua Pilcher (1790–1843), Dougherty’s opponent, was a persistent if generally unsuccessful trapper/trader who explored much of the American northwest and led several brief careers as Sioux sub-agent 1835–1837, Upper Missouri Agent 1837–1839, and Western Indian Superintendent 1839–1841. A native Virginian, he was raised in Kentucky and in 1812, he found himself as a hatter in St. Louis, the epicenter of the burgeoning American fur trade. In 1819, he invested in the new Missouri Fur Company and upon the death of chief owner, Manuel Lisa in 1820 took control of the struggling organization. His base of operations was among the Omaha in present eastern Nebraska where he married an Indian woman, but upon her death, he turned over their son to be raised by Omaha chief, Big Elk. Despite competition, he managed to produce profits for the Missouri Fur Company until a Blackfoot attack on the Upper Missouri in 1823 shattered the organization and it failed the next year. Following a stint as the first US Consul to Chihuahua, Mexico, 1825–1827, Pilcher returned to fur trading ventures exploring extensively, once going across western Canada to Fort Vancouver and commenting positively on the Oregon Country and recommending South Pass as a route west. Pilcher faced a difficult problem in 1837—the spread of smallpox among Missouri River tribes decimating many villages including the Mandan who Pilcher estimated were reduced from 1,600 to 31. He first recorded this as Sioux sub-agent and warned of the need to vaccinate as many Indians as possible. He continued as Upper Missouri agent to monitor other outbreaks and continued he would “cheerfully risk an experiment to save 15,000–20,000 lives” and “render the situation of every white man in the country unpleasant and even hazardous”.<sup>87</sup> He knew both the American Far West and the Mexican borderlands as well as many Indian tribes, both as enemy and friend.

In his many letters to both the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Central Superintendent and former explorer William Clark Pilcher seems as if he was auditioning for the Superintendent’s job. Although there are mundane requests like moving the agency headquarters or seeking sufficient funds to get some Indians back home after visiting Washington DC, much of the material offers suggestions on improving Indian Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi west.

---

<sup>87</sup> NARA RG75 (Letters Received in the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881) Upper Missouri Agency 1836–1851 Letter 27<sup>th</sup> February 1838 Joshua Pilcher, St. Louis to William Clark Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Image 295–297

Included are recommendations to move all Indians south of the Missouri River to prevent future co-ordination with potential British enemies in Canada; abolish all sub-agencies and no more cash annuity payments. If he was indeed auditioning for the Superintendent's position, he got it but as a Democratic partisan he was removed by the Whig administration of Harrison/Tyler. Apparently, he also had some bookkeeping difficulties as Superintendent and was still trying to resolve those when he died in 1843.

Following Pilcher as Upper Missouri Agent was his former trapping associate Andrew Drips (c. 1789–1860) Born in Ireland, raised in western Pennsylvania, and a veteran of the War of 1812, Drips found himself in St. Louis in 1817, investing in the Missouri Fur Company in 1819. He, Pilcher, and others kept the small company going after Manuel Lisa's death, operating from present eastern Nebraska. Drips also married an Otoe woman, fathering four children and, after his first wife's death, he wed a French-Sioux Métis and produced five more children. After the collapse of the Missouri Fur Company in 1824, Drips traded extensively with the Pawnee before joining the American Fur Company in 1830. In modern parlance, he was not only a "jack of all trades" but a master of many. He trapped in the mountains; led trapping brigades; directed the 1838, 1839, and 1840 caravans bringing supplies to the yearly rendezvous; and with his bookkeeping skills was instrumental in the American Fur Company's purchase of the Rocky Mountain Fur company in 1837.<sup>88</sup>

Drips' tenure as Upper Missouri agent was primarily aimed at removing the liquor traffic among the Western Indians, travelling extensively and restricting sales from the Missouri to the Arkansas rivers.<sup>89</sup> He rescued a Pawnee woman from the Yankton Sioux and returned her to her village; presented a petition from the Yankton asking for money to cover depredations by other Sioux; had problems in hiring an interpreter as the trading/fur companies paid higher salaries; maintained it was impossible to prevent Sioux-Pawnee conflicts while noting ten Pawnee scalps, mostly women, in a Sioux village; he visited and attempted to stem liquor coming from Taos and

---

<sup>88</sup> Soft Tracks: Celebrating history and skills of the outdoors Accessed May 25, 2018 <https://softtracks.org/2017/06/27-andrew-drips-brief-biography-noteworthy-mountain-man/>; Andrew Drips, *The Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson*, ed. By Dale Morgan, Eleanor Towles Harris, San Mateo, (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1967), Accessed May 25, 2018 <http://www.3rd1000.com/history3/bibliography/adrips.htm>; Harvey L. Carter "Andrew Drips" in *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West, Eighteen Biographical Sketches* ed. LeRoy R. Hafen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 332–346

<sup>89</sup> Carter "Andrew Drips" in *Mountain Men and Fur Traders* 342–343

Santa Fe through a “mongrel crew” of Americans, French, Mexicans, and “half-breeds” trading whiskey to the Cheyenne for buffalo robes. Drips did suggest an agent be placed on the Upper Arkansas, as it was too difficult for him to cover the entire Great Plains. He had a long-standing feud with trader Fulton Cutting, who rendered several accusations against Drips which he countered and blamed on “malice and revenge” for Drips’ “presence on the Yellow Stone” which “prevented him from selling spiritous Liquor to the Indians”.<sup>90</sup>

After his service, Drips returned west to manage trading posts at Fort Pierre, Fort Laramie, and Fort John at Scott’s Bluff and also guided famed Catholic Missionary Father Pierre-Jean De Smet on his western journeys. Adjectives used to describe Drips were very popular, polite, very kind, and most of all: honest.<sup>91</sup>

Another trapper/trader, closely allied to the American Fur Company was Joseph V. Hamilton (1811–1867), the agent at Council Bluffs (1839–1841) for the Otoe, Missouri, Omaha and Pawnee. Born at Fort Madison (present day Iowa) as the son of an army officer, his entire life was spent on the frontier and he was constantly involved with trade, trapping, or Indians. He served briefly as sutler at Fort Snelling and later in the same position at Fort Leavenworth where he was appointed postmaster 1838–1839. Seemingly having some political connections, he moved on to be Council Bluffs agent the same year.

As agent, he complained about the condition of the agency buildings. This was due to the fact that the Omaha blacksmith was afraid to live among the Indians, as they behave “so badly,” and the Pawnee blacksmith had run off.<sup>92</sup> During his time in office, Hamilton rescued seven “Spanish boys” from the Pawnee and simultaneously acted as Great Nemaha sub-agent, at least for the purposes of distributing annuities.<sup>93</sup> He was accused of allowing some traders to bring in liquor illegally but he vehemently denied the charges and was backed by the local white population, most of whom were traders.<sup>94</sup> One source claimed Hamilton was an American Fur Company man “temporarily acting as an Indian agent” while The New World claimed the Omaha

<sup>90</sup> NARA RG75 M234 Upper Missouri Agency 1836–1851 Letter April 4<sup>th</sup> 1845 Andrew Drips to Thos. H. Harvey Superintendent of Indian Affairs Image 403–495

<sup>91</sup> Carter, “Andrew Drips,” in *Mountain Men and Fur Traders* 344.

<sup>92</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Council Bluffs Agency 1836–1843 Letter 4<sup>th</sup> October 1839 J.V. Hamilton Fort Leavenworth to Joshua Pilcher, Supt. Indian Affairs, St. Louis; Image 445–446;

<sup>93</sup> “From the Frontier” Niles National Register. June 20, 1840 <https://booksgoogle.com>; NARA RG 75 M234 Council Bluffs Agency Image Letter August 1st 1839 J.V. Hamilton St. Louis to Joshua Pilcher. Supt. Indian Affairs St. Louis Image 419–420.

<sup>94</sup> Richard E. Jensen “Bellevue: The First Twenty Years” *Nebraska History* 56(1975) 367

had “the greatest confidence” in him but as the political administration changed, Hamilton was removed in 1841.<sup>95</sup>

In his post agency career, he did work for the American Fur Company trapping and trading on the Yellowstone River. In 1843, anti-liquor paragon Andrew Drips had him appointed sub-agent at Fort Laramie primarily to confiscate whiskey from regional installations.<sup>96</sup> Hamilton retired in 1859, living with his two sons. At some point, local histories reported Hamilton gained the reputation among the Indians as the “man that fears nothing” for reportedly sitting on a keg of dynamite with a torch, threatening to blow everybody to bits if the Indians continued to threaten Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny and his men.<sup>97</sup> In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he thanked the department for the appearance of Kearny, averring that it helped strengthen his position among the Indians.<sup>98</sup> Like so many historical figures, he was a little bit “folk hero” and a little bit pragmatist.

#### The Fur Company Opponent

The relationship between the Trans-Mississippi agents and the fur companies, particularly the American Fur Company, was complex. Both government/agent and private company/trader operated in the same region and interacted with the Native population. The men knew each other and sometimes, like with Joseph Hamilton, had a foot in both camps. It is important to remember that the great era of the fur trade and the “mountain man” was relatively short, extending from about 1815 when the United States established geographical limits on English/Canadian traders and the early 1840s when over-trapping, changes in fashion, and international competition brought its slow demise.<sup>99</sup> A few agents contested the fur companies for the benefit of the Indian.

An example would be Gideon C. Matlock (?–1856), the Upper Missouri Agent of 1847–1849. A strong Tennessee Democrat and partisan for James Knox Polk, Matlock was constantly quarreling publicly with Whig candidates and officeholders like future Tennessee Governor James C. Jones. In 1843, Whig adherent Jesse Bryan, whom Matlock did not know, took

---

<sup>95</sup> “Fort Tecumseh and Fort Pierre Journal and Letterbooks Abstracted by Charles Edmund DeLand South Dakota Historical Collections Compiled by State Department of History Volume IX 1918:177 fn. 129; Benjamin Park editor The New World Volume 1 New York: J. Winchester, Publisher “Indian Captives” June 13, 1840 29

<sup>96</sup> LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834–1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1938), 87–88

<sup>97</sup> George W. Kingsbury *History of Dakota Territory* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company. 1915), 154–155

<sup>98</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Council Bluffs Agency 1836–1843 Letter August 15, 1839 Jos. V. Hamilton Fort Leavenworth to Major Joshua Pilcher Superintendent Indian Affairs, St. Louis Image 428–429

<sup>99</sup> Encyclopedia.com “Fur Trade and Trapping” (Accessed 2021)

exception to the latter's comments in the local press, which he called "false and slanderous".<sup>100</sup> He constantly told friends he was going to force Matlock to take laxative pills "to work the Polk juice out of him" and pursued Matlock around Nashville finally accosting him at the Nashville Inn.<sup>101</sup> Witnesses claimed Matlock tried to avoid the confrontation but fired on the pursuing Bryan and killed him. He was indicted for murder but a local jury found him not guilty.

Although, he had escaped the murder charges, Matlock found Tennessee inhospitable and like many others he moved west to start anew. He found employment with the American Fur Company in combination with small federal appointments in the new James K. Polk Administration such as acting Seminole West sub-agent in 1845 and commissioner to treat with the Potawatomi in 1846 to reunify the Indian nation. Finally, he was selected as Upper Missouri Agent in 1847.

As agent, Matlock was fearless in dealing with the Yankton, threatening military retribution if the Indians would not negotiate without the obligatory presents. He was insightful in demanding talks between the Pawnee, Otoe, Omaha, and their enemies the Sioux. He was also observed to be even-handed in revoking the trading licenses of both the American Fur Company and Harvey, Primeau & Co. for paying Indians to wreak havoc.<sup>102</sup> For good measure, he personally warned Brigham Young to prohibit the semi-tee totaling Mormon trekkers from carrying whiskey to trade or buy off local Indians.<sup>103</sup> The political Matlock was relieved with the advent of the new Whig administration in 1849. He retired quietly to Council Bluffs, Iowa, having gained redemption through service.

#### The Veteran

The "Peace Dividend" argument was employed in the late 1860s to help justify the use of military officers as Indian agents. As the memories of the need for a professional army faded

---

<sup>100</sup> Brian Allison, *Murder and Mayhem in Nashville* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2016) Bad Medicine (section); "Fatal rencontre" Arkansas Intelligencer, Van Buren, Arkansas Aug. 26, 1843; Wayne Cutler and Carese M. Parker, eds., *Correspondence of James K. Polk Volume VI, 1842–1843*, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1983) 330 fn 1, 331; *Criminal Court of Davidson County, Tenn.*, Oct. Term, 1844 *State of Tennessee vs. Gideon C. Matlock from South-Western Law Journal and Reporter*. Edited by Milton A. Haynes Vol. I Nashville. 1844 211–213.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Lesley Wischmann *Frontier Diplomats: Alexander Culbertson and Natoyist-Siksina Among the Blackfeet* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004) 166–168

<sup>103</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Upper Missouri Agency 1836–1851 Letter March 25<sup>th</sup> 1848 G.C. Matlock Upper Missouri to B. Young President of the Church of Latter day Saints Camp Israel. Image 567

after the War of 1812, some officers who found themselves without a commission sought an appointment in the Indian Department.

William H. Puthuff (1779–1824) had joined the Army in Ohio in 1812 and rose to the rank of Major in the 2<sup>nd</sup> US Rifles commanding the post at Detroit. Michigan Territorial Governor Lewis Cass asked him to serve as Indian agent at Mackinac to which he agreed holding the position from 1815–1818 while simultaneously serving as Mackinac village president 1817–1821 and Mackinac County chief justice 1818. His major problem was not with Indians but with the richest man in America: John Jacob Astor.<sup>104</sup> Despite the recent conflict, Astor used many British trappers and traders in his American Fur Company and Puthuff felt duty bound to oust them from the Great Lakes trading system. Perhaps acting overzealously, he developed a network of informers who reported Astor’s traders with fake licenses or who engaged in illegal activities.<sup>105</sup> Warned by Cass that American business required use of British traders, he pushed harder. Puthuff wrote Cass June 20, 1816, “I wish to god the President knew this man Astor as well as he is known here. Licenses would not be placed at his discretion to be distributed among British subjects, Agents or Pensioners”.<sup>106</sup>

At the behest of Astor, who had the ear of Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, Cass fired Puthuff in 1818.<sup>107</sup> He remained popular at Mackinac holding office as Mackinac probate judge and a member of the Michigan Territorial Legislature, 1823–1824.

Retired naval officer John Jamison (?–1819) was appointed Indian agent at Red River in 1816 and faced two major issues. The Indians complained of “intruders” or white hunters, settlers, and traders on the upper reaches of the Red River. He assembled a military expedition in 1817, marching upriver, expelling settlers, and confiscating the goods of illegal traders. A different but equally troubling dilemma was inter-tribal conflict exemplified by the murder of two Choctaw by a Pascagoula Indian. The culprit committed suicide but the Choctaw demanded retribution from the other Pascagoula present. Jamison wrote the Secretary of War, “The accused,

---

<sup>104</sup> *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1883) 362 Accessed April 29, 2019 <http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/mimack/1883historyupperpen361-366.aspx>; Alec R. Gilpin *The Territory of Michigan* (1805–1837) Michigan State University Press, 1970) 118–120

<sup>105</sup> John D. Haeger “A Time of Change: Green Bay, 1815–1834” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 54, no 4 (Summer, 1971) 288; Lawrence B.A. Hatter “The Jay Charter: Rethinking the American National State in the West, 1796–1819” *Diplomatic History* 37 no.4 (September 2013) 714

<sup>106</sup> Frank E. Ross “The Fur Trade of the Western Great Lakes Region” *Minnesota History* 19 no.3 (Sept. 1938) 305

<sup>107</sup> Gilpin, *Territory of Michigan* 120

his wife, child, mother & sister have thrown themselves under my protection, & protect them I will, until I have contrary instructions”.<sup>108</sup> Jamison arranged a peace by distributing gifts. He opposed a government plan to move the agency, claiming it was too distant from the Indians. He died of typhus October 1819. He had kept the peace.

Gad Humphreys (1786–1859) began his career as the first Seminole Indian agent in controversy, arriving a half year after getting his appointment in 1822 and the squabbling never ended until his dismissal in 1830. He had served in the Army from 1808–1821, suffering a wound at the capture of York and rising to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. In Florida, he made it clear that he fundamentally disagreed with government policy as it related to the Indians and runaway slaves.<sup>109</sup> Sources call him a “sympathetic agent”; a “trusted ally” of the Indians; “Seminole benefactor”; “champion of the Indians”; and an opponent of removal.<sup>110</sup> At the 1823 Treaty of Fort Moultrie, the Seminole specifically granted him one square mile of land “as evidence of their gratitude and humane treatment and brotherly attention to their wants”.<sup>111</sup>

An article of the Treaty attempted to keep the Indians within a circumscribed area and the settlers constantly complained he allowed them to wander outside the boundaries.<sup>112</sup> Humphreys also opposed the law permitting punishment of Seminoles found away from the “reservation.” Another issue that rankled planters and Florida Territorial Governor William P. Duval was Humphreys permissive attitude in allowing runaway slaves to become “Black Seminole” tribal members.<sup>113</sup> The “white population despised him”.<sup>114</sup> In 1824, he maintained it was “not wise or humane” to move the Indians too hastily.<sup>115</sup>

Local planters and Governor Duval brought charges against Humphreys for everything from slave stealing to interfering with the capture of runaway slaves to misuse of government

<sup>108</sup> Joyce Purser Louisiana State University Vignettes [Indian Agent] John Jamison to the Secretary of War Red River Indian Agency Natchitoches December 6 1818 Louisiana History: *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 2 no. 2 (Spring, 1961) 254–255

<sup>109</sup> Kevin D. Kokomoor “Indian agent Gad Humphreys and the Politics of Slave Claims on the Florida Frontier, 1822–1830” Graduate Theses and Dissertations Accessed May 19, 2018 <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/342> iii

<sup>110</sup> Thom Hatch *Osceloa and the Great Seminole War: A Struggle for Justice and Freedom* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2012) 71, 72, 74; John K. Mahon *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842* (University Press of Florida, 2010) 59, 54

<sup>111</sup> John T. Sprague *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* New York; D.Appleton & Company, 1847) 22

<sup>112</sup> Hatch, *Osceloa* 71

<sup>113</sup> Hatch, *Osceloa* 74.

<sup>114</sup> Hatch, *Osceloa* 74.

<sup>115</sup> Hatch, *Osceloa* 72; Mahon *Second Seminole War* 54



funds. The John Quincy Adams administration sent Alexander Adair to investigate the complaints but found no one except Governor Duval willing to testify.<sup>116</sup> Humphreys was completely exonerated, much to the chagrin of his opponents. Duval attempted to withhold part of the 1828 annuity payment to prod the return of runaway slaves. Humphreys appealed the case for the Seminole and got a judge to declare the action illegal. His opposition to removal and to Andrew Jackson led to his dismissal in 1830.

Use of retired officers continued into the 1830s with Gaines Kingsbury (1810–1839) the first Chickasaw West agent 1837–1839. A graduate of West Point, he rose to the rank of 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant in the 1<sup>st</sup> Dragoons. Much of his career was spent on the Great Plains, including being the Reporter for the Second Dragoon or Dodge Expedition of 1835. The 1,600-man undertaking involved travelling up the Platte River, going south to the Red River and returning east all the while holding councils with all Indian tribes encountered. Kingsbury retired in 1836, tried civil engineering in Wisconsin Territory, and then received his appointment. His job included meeting the removed Chickasaw, seeing to their needs, and establishing supply depots. Both contemporary and later sources maintained Kingsbury was competent and caring.<sup>117</sup> Choctaw agent William Armstrong wrote in 1839, “Mr. Kingsbury understands the character of Indians, has the confidence of the Chickasaws and will be able by his presence on Blue [River] to know correctly what is going on”.<sup>118</sup> A recent researcher of Chickasaw Removal relates Kingsbury was “a man who had served the Beloved Warriors [Chickasaw] well during removal”.<sup>119</sup> He immediately saw the Chickasaw District west of the Choctaw Nation was too dangerous for settlement without a strong American military presence. “Wild Indian,” Texian, and even Mexican raiders promised constant forays. Kingsbury surveyed routes for settlement, made sure the Chickasaw got sufficient and quality rations including feed for horses, and was one of the few agents to make a special effort to care for the “incompetents” or the mentally ill and aged who were without families.

---

<sup>116</sup> Kokomoor, “Indian Agent Gad Humphreys” 112–119; Hatch 73; George Klos” Blacks and the Seminole Removal Debate, 1821-1835” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 no 1 (July 1989) 64

<sup>117</sup> Wendy St. Jean *Remaining Chickasaw in Indian Territory, 1830s–1907* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011) 16–31; Monte Lee Ross “Chickasaw Removal: Betrayal of the Beloved Warriors, 1794–1844” (PhD Diss., North Texas State University, 1981) 145–146; 161–162, 174, 190–191, 237, 245, 249

<sup>118</sup> Letter- May 25, 1839 William Armstrong Acting Supt W.T. (Western Territory) to T. Hartley Crawford Esq. Comm. Indian Affairs Chickasaw File A600-605 Choctaw Agency A-608

<sup>119</sup> Ross, “Chickasaw Removal” 237

Henry Bregaw Brevoort (1775–1858) was a hero, being awarded two silver medals, one in 1823 and again in 1827 for his actions at the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813. A New Yorker, he had settled in Detroit in 1796 and joined the military in 1798. From 1802 to 1812, he commanded the US Army transport fleet that carried provisions, soldiers, and Indian annuities to the various remote forts and agencies bordering the Great Lakes. Captured by the British at Detroit during the War of 1812, he was paroled in 1813 but rejoined the conflict as commander of the Marines aboard the USS Niagara. If he had been captured after being paroled, it would have meant immediate execution. Retiring in 1817, he returned to Detroit and in 1821 was appointed Register of the Land Office and a year later Indian Agent at Green Bay, serving until 1830.

His tenure included involvement in several lawsuits involving rival traders; assisting with the Treaty of Butte des Morts in 1827; and somehow trying to navigate the morass that was the re-settlement of the New York Indians on Menominee lands. The government tried to allow the Indians to settle the issue on their own but everyone complained including the largely French-Canadian Metis citizens of Green Bay. Wisconsin politician Morgan L. Martin found Brevoort “intelligent” and a “gentleman of the old school,”<sup>120</sup> but Elizabeth Therese Baird whose home was the centre for Green Bay society described him as a “strange man never mingling with other people”.<sup>121</sup> After retirement, he was chosen as a customs inspector at Springwells, Detroit.

#### The Doctor

In the post 1861 period, several doctors served as Indian agents putting an extra physician at the agency. An example from the 1820s was Yale graduate Dr. Alexander Wolcott (1790–1830) Chicago agent 1819–1830.

After service as a doctor in the War of 1812, he received an appointment as Chicago Indian agent in 1818, continuing until his death in 1830. He arrived at Fort Dearborn as a member of the Cass Expedition, which had been searching for the source of the Mississippi River, and became Chicago’s first resident physician. Fellow explorer Henry Rowe Schoolcraft described Wolcott as a “gentleman commanding respect by his manners, judgment and

---

<sup>120</sup>Morgan L Martin “Narrative of Morgan L. Martin: In an Interview with the Editor” *Wisconsin Historical Collections* Volume XI (1888) 391

<sup>121</sup> Elizabeth Therese Baird and State Historical Society of Wisconsin *Reminiscences of life in territorial Wisconsin* Madison: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1900 Accessed May 20, 2021 Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/28012412/>. 210

intelligence”.<sup>122</sup> In an 1820 missive to his brother-in-law he lamented the misfortunes of life as an Indian agent as “being unprosperous, eating bad food and facing dangers”.<sup>123</sup>

Wolcott helped negotiate the First Treaty of Chicago in 1821, securing lands in the Michigan Territory and around Lake Michigan from the Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi. Hearing rumors of attacks during the Winnebago War, Wolcott and his young wife, who was the sister of agent John Kinzie, fled the unmanned Fort Dearborn to the safety of Peoria where he was a local Justice of the Peace. He is listed in the 1830 Census as still residing in Peoria County.

#### The Mormon Opponent

A few Indian agents in Utah and along the western trails had the added responsibility of dealing with migrating and proselytizing Mormons, a white religious sect founded in America and hardened by discrimination and violence from Kirtland, Ohio, Independence, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois. Now seeking the “Promised Land” in the remote Salt Lake Valley, they were determined to establish a new society. John Miller (1782–1866), Council Bluffs Agent 1846–1849 made his mark defending the Indians from Mormon interlopers.

Born in South Carolina, Miller migrated through Tennessee and Kentucky, finally settling in Missouri in 1818. After several intrastate moves, he chose Cooper County in central Missouri where he farmed, became a stalwart Cumberland Presbyterian, and pursued political preferment as a partisan Democrat serving in the State Senate, 1828–1836 and State House 1838–1840. James K. Polk appointed the sixty-four-year-old Miller Council Bluffs agent in 1846.<sup>124</sup>

Miller conducted normal agency business, from hiring personnel to dealing with problems of missionaries, teachers, and traders. Because his agency lay athwart the Overland trails, he also had to recommend military placement to protect “Oregon emigrants” and most importantly face the difficult dilemma of dealing with the Mormon “Winter Quarters” on Omaha land. It was a complex issue that predated Miller’s arrival, involving the politics of Iowa statehood; promises made by the military in recruiting the Mormon Battalion for the Mexican War; a phony treaty negotiated by the Mormons with the Omaha primarily to protect the latter

---

<sup>122</sup> Wolcott, Alexander (1790–1830) *American Medical Biographies* eds. Howard A. Kelly and Walter A. Burrage (Baltimore: The Norman, Remington Company, 1920) 1253

<sup>123</sup> Wolcott, Alexander, Jr. HistoryWiki Accessed April 11, 2018  
[https://www.rpwrhs.org/w/index.php?title=Wolcott\\_Alexander,\\_jr.2](https://www.rpwrhs.org/w/index.php?title=Wolcott_Alexander,_jr.2)

<sup>124</sup> Eugene Allen Cordry *History of New Lebanon Cooper County Missouri* (1976) Chapter III  
[www.mogenweb.org/cooper](http://www.mogenweb.org/cooper) 10–11

from the Sioux; and a persecution complex among the Mormons attributing any opposition to religious discrimination.<sup>125</sup> The question of the “Quarters” rose to the highest levels of government and the Mormons even had their own lobbyist in Washington.<sup>126</sup>

Unlike most of the Overland Trail immigrants, the Mormons were highly organized and had established an area, initially on the east side, then on the west side of the Missouri River to prepare for the summer migration to the Salt Lake Valley. Although the Omaha had initially supported temporary Mormon settlement, it soon became onerous as the three to five thousand Mormons cut timber needed for winter heating and destroyed local game needed for food. The Indians retaliated by killing Mormon cattle.<sup>127</sup> Despite the complexities of the situation, Miller constantly took the side of the Indians, demanding the Mormons depart for the Salt Lake Valley. Miller found a determined foe in Brigham Young and as the Mormons finally left in 1848, Young cursed Miller saying “may his soul be damned”.<sup>128</sup>

Politics saw Miller’s removal in 1849 and he returned to Missouri to run unsuccessfully for Congress in 1850. A small slave owner with three slaves, he attended a pro-slavery Missouri convention in 1855. Author Judith A. Boughter wrote “A true friend of the Indian, Miller never failed to defend their interests.”<sup>129</sup>

#### The Missionary Opponent

Problems between religious folks and Indian agents was not limited to upstart believers but might include traditional denominations. Missionaries at the agency or on a reservation were always a potential ally or a possible adversary. He or she was one of the few white individuals not reporting to Washington and although technically an agent could banish a missionary, the power of the Mission Boards and their adjunct presses made that option a rare occurrence. Both agent and missionary desired “civilized” agricultural and Christian Indians but for the missionary, the adoption of Christianity even though it might cause intra-tribal rivalries was the goal. For the agent communal calmness with some change was preferred. Sometimes it was just

---

<sup>125</sup> Robert A. Trennert Jr., “The Mormons and the Office of Indian Affairs: The Conflict Over Winter Quarters, 1846–1848 *Nebraska History* 53 (1972) 386–389

<sup>126</sup> Trennert “The Mormons” 389 (Thomas L. Kane, a political friend of President James Knox Polk)

<sup>127</sup> Trennert “Mormons” 390–391

<sup>128</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Council Bluffs Agency 1847–1851 Letter 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1847 John Miller Ind. Agent to President Young (Brigham Young) Copy Image 76–77; Judith A. Boughter *Betraying the Omaha Nation, 1790–1916* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1998) 52

<sup>129</sup> Boughter *Betraying* 52

personal animus that divided them. For the Council Bluffs Agency of the early 1840s and specifically the Presbyterian mission to the Pawnee, it was a little of everything.

Daniel Fry Miller (1814–1895), Council Bluffs Agent 1841–1846 was born in Maryland, moved to Ohio at age two, taught school; worked for a newspaper and moved to Pittsburgh where he was a store clerk. After studying law, he was admitted to the bar in 1839 and settled far to the west in Fort Madison, Iowa Territory where he was elected to the Territorial legislature in 1840.

Appointed agent by the new Whig administration, Miller nominated agency personnel; promised to get the Omaha and Pawnee to adhere to agreements they had made with the Sioux; struggled to prevent the introduction of “spiritous liquors”; and attacked trader price gouging by threatening to revoke licenses of culprits.<sup>130</sup> However, the *Niles National Register* reported that Miller’s strong stances led to Pawnee demands for his expulsion and a council meeting ended in “fisticuffs”.<sup>131</sup> Some saw Miller as a “man of intelligence” while his depiction of “my Otto [Otoe] children” reveals a paternalistic streak.<sup>132</sup>

However, it was his entry into the disputes ravaging the Pawnee nation, between the old Presbyterian missionaries and teachers pitted against the government appointed hired men, and the consequent investigations that were his undoing. Initially, Miller deferred to long-time missionary Rev. John Dunbar but as the situation between Dunbar and the mission station personnel and the recently appointed government farmers and blacksmiths (as recommended by the Mission Board) degenerated into personal attacks, Miller came to investigate. One issue was the use of corporal punishment or whipping of Indians who were caught stealing. The missionaries eschewed such action but the government men advocated for its application. Third party reports mentioned Indians being whipped but the cause célèbre was the shooting of a Pawnee stealing corn by Carolan Mathers, son of the agency farmer. Miller took depositions in the “unholy affairs amongst the whites”<sup>133</sup> and came to the conclusion Dunbar was at the root of

---

<sup>130</sup> NARA RG75 M234 Council Bluffs Agency 1844–1846 Letter February 18<sup>th</sup> 1844 Danl Miller Indian Agent to D.D. Mitchell Esq. Supt. Indian Affairs, St. Louis, Missouri; Image 93–94 “Fort Tecumseh” *South Dakota* 183; NARA RG75 M234 Council Bluffs Agency 1844–1846 Letter June 17<sup>th</sup> 1844 Danl. Miller Indian Agent Council Bluffs Agency to Th.H. Harvey Supt. Indian Affairs Image 189–190

<sup>131</sup> *Niles National Register* Sept. 16, 1843 National Affairs “Indian Troubles” 36; *Niles National Register* Nov. 9, 1844 States of the Union 3

<sup>132</sup> “Fort Tecumseh” *South Dakota* 183 and f.n. 196

<sup>133</sup> Richard E. Jensen ed. *The Pawnee Mission Letters, 1834–1851* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2010) 458

the controversy. He sided with the government men and soon seemed to become unhinged, removing teacher Samuel Allis, threatening banishment for Rev. Dunbar and charging defiant Pawnee chiefs with whipping all repeat offenders.<sup>134</sup> Finally, an exasperated St. Louis Superintendent, Thomas Harvey came to the Pawnee country to make firsthand observations. After his investigation, Miller was removed for a laundry list of reasons including being a Whig in a Democrat administration; Pawnee trader Peter Sarpy whose liquor he destroyed desired his ouster; and well traveled missionary Timothy Ranney related in 1844 encountering a man going to Washington to get Miller's job<sup>135</sup> and finally being part of the anti-missionary coalition, which made him unfit for solving this bizarre Indian agency mess. After his service as Indian agent, Miller was Iowa's first Whig congressman 1850–1851, as well as mayor of Fort Madison. Here, he helped organize the state Republican Party but later became a Democratic state legislator.

Daniel Miller remains a controversial figure mainly because of the “missionary problems” and the adjunct “whipping debates.” In editor Richard Jenson's *The Pawnee Mission Letters*, Miller is depicted as treating all with “fairness” and “impartiality” and being governed by “correct motives”.<sup>136</sup> However in George Hyde's famous *The Pawnee Indians*, he is represented as being akin to Simon Legree. Hyde wrote that, as he was born in a slave state, Miller believed all “colored people” must be handled forcefully and “harangued” like “a southern slaveholder”.<sup>137</sup> However, these opinions seem to be extrapolated from thin gruel. Miller left Maryland at age two and was raised in Ohio. He later lived in Pennsylvania and Iowa, was a northern Whig, helped organize the Republican Party, and is listed in the Annals of Iowa as being opposed to slavery. Daniel Miller was a complicated man caught in extraordinary circumstances.

### The Scientist

In the late Nineteenth Century, some Indian agents like Horatio N. Rust in California were accused of being “pot collectors” masquerading as amateur anthropologists.<sup>138</sup> A few of the

---

<sup>134</sup>Richard E. Jensen “The Pawnee Mission, 1834-1846” *Nebraska History* 75 no 4 (Winter 1994) 306-307

<sup>135</sup>“Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country, Near Bellevue, Neb.1831-1849” *Kansas State Historical Society* 14 (1915) 761

<sup>136</sup> Jensen, *Pawnee Mission Letters*, 442–443.

<sup>137</sup> George E. Hyde, *The Pawnee Indians*. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1951) 206-213

<sup>138</sup> Donald Chaput “Horatio N. Rust and the Agent-As-Collector Dilemma” *Southern California Quarterly* 64 No.4 (Winter 1982) 281–295; Jane Apostol “Horatio Nelson Rust: Abolitionist, Archaeologist, Indian Agent” *California History* 58 no.4 (1979) 304–315

early agents also had a scientific interest in the Indians most notably, the long serving but controversial Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793–1864)

Schoolcraft served as Sault Ste. Marie agent in Michigan 1822–1832 and continued as Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac agent 1832–1841. His story is one of failure and rebirth co-existing with confidence, a sense of adventure, and interest in Native Americans. He studied mineralogy and geology privately with a professor at Middlebury College, failed at the glass-making business, headed west in 1819 exploring the mineral potential of the Ozark Plateau in the Missouri and Arkansas territories, and published *A View of the Lead Mines in Missouri*, published in 1819.<sup>139</sup> He produced two more books on his “expedition” and drew the attention of Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun who described Schoolcraft as “a man of industry, ambition and insatiable curiosity”.<sup>140</sup> He was chosen geologist for the Cass Expedition of 1820, surveying the shores of the Great Lakes and attempting to find the source of the Mississippi River. He published an account in 1821 and was a member of another government survey of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio that same year.<sup>141</sup> He would accompany the 1832 excursion that discovered the true source of the Mississippi at Lake Itasca.

Appointed Indian agent in 1822, he married a mixed-race Ojibwa woman, Jane Johnston, the following year. She and her mother spoke English and taught Schoolcraft not only the Ojibwa language but a whole range of topics on local native ethnology.<sup>142</sup> The couple produced a family magazine with their own poetry. He was ethically challenged by his apparent hypocrisy, favoritism, and nepotism. He attacked Indian traders for using whiskey to appease the Ojibwa but reputedly he did the same in council meetings. He favored Presbyterian missionaries over Baptist. During the Treaty of Fond du Lac in 1827 he inserted a section which granted land to half-breed women and their children which would have included his mother-in-law and wife. The Senate struck down the “half breed” land grants.<sup>143</sup> Schoolcraft was also accused of aiding

---

<sup>139</sup> David J. Krause “Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and the Native Copper of Keweenaw” *Earth Sciences History* 8 no 1 Monuments To Geologists And Geological Practices (1989) 6.

<sup>140</sup> Krause, “Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,” 68.

<sup>141</sup> Richard G. Bremer “Henry Rowe Schoolcraft: Explorer of the Mississippi Valley, 1818–1832” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66 no.1 (Autumn, 1982) *Narrative Journal of Travels Through the Northwestern Regions of the United States* 48

<sup>142</sup> Sean P. Harvey “‘Must Not Their Languages Be Savage and Barbarous Like Them’ Philology, Indian Removal and Race Science” *Journal of the Early Republic* 30 no 4 (Winter 2010) 516–517

<sup>143</sup> Jeremy Mumford “Mixed Race Identity in a Nineteenth Century Family: The Schoolcrafts of Sault Ste. Marie 1824-1827” *Michigan Historical Review* 25 no 1 (Spring 1999) 14

his brother James who was owed a debt by an agency employee, by paying it out of agency funds and assisting his brother-in-law George Johnston by hiring him as an interpreter after his sub-agent's job was eliminated.<sup>144</sup>

However, he carried out most of his duties with minimal controversy—limiting licensing of British traders, travelling extensively to keep the peace particularly between Ojibwa and Dakota, accompanying a surgeon to vaccinate against smallpox, and simply exploring to assure more accurate maps. Schoolcraft served on the Michigan Territorial Council 1828–1832. His finances were ruined by the Panic of 1837 and his adherence to Andrew Jackson and the Democrats led to his removal by the new Whig Administration in 1841.

The death of his first wife and the development of rheumatic paralysis in his hands seemed to spell an end to his career but with the aid of his second wife, he was able to complete his opus: *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, comprised of six volumes published from 1851–1857.<sup>145</sup> His *Alcic Researches*, comprised of two volumes c. 1839, a book of Indian legends and allegories also aided Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in his epic 1855 poem, “The Song of Hiawatha”.<sup>146</sup>

Eccentric land speculator, Indian linguist, mineralogist, leader in the “Toledo War,” and great nephew of Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin F. Stickney (1773–1852) served as Fort Wayne agent 1812–1818 as well as a sub-agent from 1819–1823 at Blanchard's Fork and at Port Lawrence, Michigan Territory, 1827. The inter-agency conflicts at Fort Wayne involving William Wells, John Johnston, and several Indian leaders continued upon Stickney's arrival. By that point, Wells was dead but Johnston now turned his attention to injuring Stickney's reputation and thereby combining the Fort Wayne and Piqua agencies, the latter of which he controlled. No two sources seem to agree on Stickney's performance. General Duncan McArthur writing to Secretary of War, James Monroe in 1815 “The Indians are generally displeased with Mr. Stickney as agent ... He is certainly not well qualified to discharge the duties of an Indian

---

<sup>144</sup>John T. Fierst “Return to ‘Civilization’ John Tanner's Troubled Years at Sault Ste. Marie” *Minnesota History* 50 no 1 (Spring 1986) 33

<sup>145</sup> Henry Rowe Schoolcraft *Historical and statistical information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co.) 1851–1860

<sup>146</sup> Kyhl Lyndgaard, “Landscapes of Removal And Resistance: Edwin James's Nineteenth Century Cross-Cultural Collaborations” *Great Plains Quarterly* 30 No. 1 (Winter 2010) 47



agent”.<sup>147</sup> However, Michigan Territorial Governor Lewis Cass addressing Secretary of War John C. Calhoun in 1819, “I consider [Major Stickney] a very zealous and honest agent”.<sup>148</sup> Stickney raised Indian armies during the War of 1812 to aid the Americans and, according to some, was respected by the Indians for his knowledge of their language and concern for their well-being.<sup>149</sup> He mastered the Ottawa and Wyandote languages, supposedly knew twenty Indian dialects, and wrote a history of the Ottawa.<sup>150</sup>

Edwin James (1787–1861) a graduate of Middlebury College, studied medicine, geology and botany and was chosen to be the surgeon/botanist for the Stephen Long Expedition across the Great Plains where he became the first known white man to scale Pikes Peak while collecting alpine flora.<sup>151</sup> James authored the Expedition Report in 1823 describing his collection of 700 plant species and his naming of many new examples including the Mountain Columbine.<sup>152</sup> After ten years as an Army Assistant Surgeon among the Ojibwa, during which time he learned the Indian language,<sup>153</sup> he retired to edit a temperance newspaper in Albany New York from 1833–1836. He sought an Indian agent’s position and was appointed Sub-agent at Council Bluffs, Iowa to assist the recently removed Potawatomie. His short administration, 1837–1839 was marred by constant administrative wrangling over insufficient resources for the Potawatomie and attempts to transfer him to the Osage. He resigned and was immediately chosen to be a corresponding member of the American Aborigines Protection Society, soon settling on an Iowa farm where he became an ardent abolitionist and involved in the Underground Railroad.

Do the men in Section One reflect at all those from literature and cinema? Thirteen were frontiersmen, six military veterans, three scientists, and one intermarried to a chief’s daughter. Only two seemed to have a minor political background while just three had family connections. Politics and family might play a role in appointment but not always. Most worked hard to serve both the government and the Indian.

## Section Two

---

<sup>147</sup> B.J. Griswold *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* (Chicago: Robert O. Law Company, 1917) 251

<sup>148</sup> Griswold *Pictorial History* 252

<sup>149</sup> George Tanber Benjamin Franklin Stickney: his remarkable life and times Toledo Blade December 24, 2000 <http://www.toledoblade.com/local/2000/12/24/Benjamin-Frankin-Stickney-His-remarkable-life-and-times.html> 9

<sup>150</sup> Tanber “Stickney” 11

<sup>151</sup> Thomas G. Lammers, “Edwin James: First Botanist For Iowa” *Journal of the Botanical Research Institute of Texas* 10 No 2 (December 14, 2016) 479;

<sup>152</sup> Edwin James (scientist) Wikipedia [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edwin\\_James\\_\(scientist\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edwin_James_(scientist)) 4

<sup>153</sup> Lammers “Edwin James” 481

## Politicians, Elder Statesmen, the Connected, Good Guys and Bad Guys

### The Elder Statesman

At an age when many nineteenth century men were either in their dotage or dead, several individuals in their sixties and seventies were selected by the Indian Bureau to administer Indian agencies, particularly the Chickasaw East. James Neely (1741–1821) was sixty-eight when appointed Chickasaw East agent in 1809. The poor and generally unsuccessful member of a prominent Middle Tennessee family was selected at the request of the Chickasaw, who may have interacted with Neely while he was engaged in laying out a road from Franklin, Tennessee to the Muscle Shoals in Alabama, across Chickasaw lands. His major duty was to travel to Fort Pickering, modern day Memphis, obtain the delinquent annuities for 1808 and 1809 and distribute among the Chickasaw. Neely did just that but at Fort Pickering, he met a man and passed into American folklore. That man was Meriwether Lewis, explorer, governor of the Louisiana Territory. Lewis had been depressed for a host of reasons; it seemed that he could not finish his account of the Corps of Discovery, could not find a wife, and suffered from an array of issues: sick from malaria and addicted to alcohol and/or drugs.<sup>154</sup> The men traveled together but Neely was not present when Lewis mysteriously died at Grinder’s Stand on the Natchez Trace, but the Chickasaw agent reported the famous American’s death to President Thomas Jefferson.

Neely did report in 1809 that the Chickasaw “are very well pleased with their annuity”.<sup>155</sup> He was apparently a “competent Chickasaw Agent” but with war looming with the British, General James Robertson was chosen to replace him.<sup>156</sup> Neely begged the Secretary of War for some other position without success. In 1817, the Chickasaw asked for him to be reappointed.<sup>157</sup>

James Robertson (1752–1814) was sixty-years old when chosen to be Chickasaw East agent in 1812. Denominated “The Father of Tennessee,” Robertson was a founder of Nashville; drafter of the Tennessee Constitution in 1796; state senator; and a brigadier general in the militia; and an associate of Daniel Boone, a key figure in the Watauga settlements. He had also been an

---

<sup>154</sup> Clay S. Jenkinson “The Last Journey of Meriwether Lewis” Part 5 Weighing Evidence, Part 6 Suicide or Murder? Lewis and Clark Trail Foundation. Discovering Lewis and Clark Accessed May 28, 2019 2019www.lewis-clark.org/aericle/3176

<sup>155</sup> Thomas C. Danisi “The Real James Neely: Meriwether Lewis’s Caretaker” *We Proceeded On* Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation 40 no 4 (November 2014) 12

<sup>156</sup> Danisi “Real James Neely” 17

<sup>157</sup> Danisi “Real James Neely” 17 Library of Congress Manuscript *Tishoming[Native American] to Andrew Jackson November 8* November 8, 1817 Manuscript/Mixed Materia Accessed May22, 2021 [https://www.loc.gov//resource/maj.01046\\_0044\\_0045\\_/?sp=2](https://www.loc.gov//resource/maj.01046_0044_0045_/?sp=2).

“agent” to the Chickasaw in the 1790s concerning their conflicts with the Creeks.<sup>158</sup> He served about two years, falling ill and dying while traversing swollen creeks between Nashville and the Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis).<sup>159</sup>

Following Robertson as Chickasaw East agent in 1814 was sixty-six-year-old William Cocke (1748–1828), who had been Tennessee’s first United States Senator from 1796–1797, who served again, 1799–1805. Another associate of Daniel Boone, Cocke served in the Virginia House of Burgesses; was chosen to be the abortive State of Franklin’s Delegate to Congress; presided as a Tennessee judge; and after moving to the Mississippi Territory, was a member of the territorial assembly. On a July 2, 1816, the Chickasaw sent a letter to Andrew Jackson, then military commander on the southern border, to complain that Cocke was “not diligent” in removing intruders from their lands.<sup>160</sup> Cocke who was not friendly with Jackson, denied the allegations but was soon replaced.<sup>161</sup>

Apparently fixated on sexagenarians for the Chickasaw, sixty-nine-year-old Rhode Islander Henry Sherburne (1748–1824) was chosen to replace Cocke. An honored veteran of the Revolutionary War, Sherburne led a bayonet charge at the Battle of Trenton and had his own named unit, Sherburne’s Additional Continental Regiment, 1777–1781.<sup>162</sup> His post-war career had been less distinguished, serving fifteen years as the Treasurer of Rhode Island and petitioning for a variety of federal jobs. “Sherburne, the New Englander” better fits the Indian agent stereotype, having come 1,200 miles to Mississippi to assume the position. However, an interesting letter from Andrew Jackson to Secretary of War George Graham, December 1, 1817 mentions that the Chickasaw, after working with three Tennesseans/famous frontiersmen, are requesting an agent “from the Eastward”.<sup>163</sup> Jackson hoped the job would go to New York politician Jonas Platt but he declined.<sup>164</sup> Sherburne did not arrive until mid-1818 and had to confront a myriad of problems ranging from treaty negotiations to Chickasaw robbers to a

---

<sup>158</sup> [https://dig.usg.edu/record/dig\\_zina\\_hp023](https://dig.usg.edu/record/dig_zina_hp023) Digital Library of Georgia 1795 Letter to James Robertson

<sup>159</sup> <https://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entries/james-robertson> 2

<sup>160</sup> Rufus Ward “Ask Rufus, Intruders in the Chickasaw Nation” Columbus, Mississippi Dispatch September 17, 2016 Accessed May 1, 2019 [dispatch.com/opinions/2016-09-17/ask-rufus-intruders-in-the-chickasaw-nation/](http://dispatch.com/opinions/2016-09-17/ask-rufus-intruders-in-the-chickasaw-nation/)

<sup>161</sup> Ward, “Intruders” ask-rufus-intruders

<sup>162</sup> Sherburne’s Additional Continental Regiment Wikipedia Accessed April, 1, 2018 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherburne%27s\\_Additional\\_Continental\\_Regiment](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherburne%27s_Additional_Continental_Regiment)

<sup>163</sup> The Papers of Andrew Jackson: Vol. 4 1816–1820 Edited by Harold D. Moser, David R. Hoth, and George H. Hoemann. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994) 152 Andrew Jackson to George Graham 12/1/1817

<sup>164</sup> The Papers of Andrew Jackson 152.

\$37,500 annuity payment. He requested a transfer but completed his term. He died insolvent in 1824.

Sixty-five-year-old Joseph McMinn (1758–1824) a three-time Governor of Tennessee, 1815–1821 accepted the position of Cherokee East agent in 1823, serving until his death in 1824. McMinn was an extremely popular Tennessee politician serving in the Tennessee State Senate, 1797–1801 and 1803–1811, elected Speaker 1805–1811, almost transcending politics with a rustic authenticity. As Governor, he pushed penal reform, internal improvements and belatedly bank reform but most importantly fostered treaties with the Cherokee in 1817 and 1819 to remove them from Tennessee. As agent, McMinn was both feared and hated by the Cherokee for his part in the treaties.<sup>165</sup> His tenure was mercifully short as he was quite ill exacerbated by recent divorce.

Finally, there was the oldest agent of the pre-civil War period seventy-four-year-old Montfort Stokes (1762–1842). Born in Lunenburg County, Virginia, he went to sea at thirteen, was captured by the British during the Revolutionary War, and spent seven months on a prison ship in New York Harbor.<sup>166</sup> After the Revolution, he settled in Halifax, North Carolina where he studied law under his older brother John and made the acquaintance of another young attorney, Andrew Jackson. Despite serving as assistant clerk of the North Carolina senate 1786–1790 and 1790–1808, and trustee of the University of North Carolina 1805–1838, much of his political career had a veneer of insecurity. Although he held high national and state office, his positions were constantly contested and never safe sinecures. It was only when he went west to live among the Indians that he found safety.

Stokes declined a United States Senate seat in 1804, moved to western North Carolina in 1810 as his second wife had inherited land in Wilkes County, and soon became a spokesman for the state's mountainous regions. He was a supporter of internal improvements, opposed Nullification and wrote North Carolina Governor John Branch in 1820 that he would join any movement toward a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery.<sup>167</sup> Elected United States

---

<sup>165</sup>Edwin M. Murphy, Jr. "Joseph McMinn Governor of Tennessee 1815-1821 The Man and His Times" *Tennessee Historical Magazine Series II* no 7 (October 1930) 12-13

<sup>166</sup> United States Congress. Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, – present. [Washington, DC:United States Congress, 1998] Stokes, Montfort Accessed January 5, 2919  
Web..<http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=s000949>

<sup>167</sup> William S. Powell (ed) *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*: Vol. 5 P–S (The University of North Carolina Press, 1994) 454.

Senator from North Carolina, he served 1816–1823, flirted with “Crawfordism,” and finally became an ardent Jackson supporter, serving as an Elector in 1824 and 1828. After being Chairman of the Reform Convention in Raleigh in 1823, he ran for and lost the governorship in 1828 and the US Senate seat in 1829 and 1830. Interspersed with his defeats, he won a seat in the North Carolina Senate 1826–1827 and House of Commons 1829–1830. Representing western interests, Stokes finally was chosen as Governor in 1830, re-elected in 1831, and served until 1832 when he resigned, having been appointed chairman of the Federal Indian Commission to negotiate treaties with several western tribes. He settled at Fort Gibson, Arkansas Territory (today Oklahoma) and would remain there the rest of his life. One source claims he had a gambling problem and a hot temper resulting in his being wounded in at least one duel.<sup>168</sup> How this may have affected his Indian service is not clear.

Arriving at Fort Gibson in February 1833, Stokes joined fellow commissioners attorney and Western traveler, Henry Ellsworth and minister Rev. John F. Schermerhorn. The somewhat dysfunctional commission did manage to secure treaties with the western Cherokee and Creeks and met with the Osage and Seminole as well as trying to arrange a council with the Comanche and Pawnee. A split developed with Ellsworth and Schermerhorn on one side and Stokes and Samuel Stambaugh, commission secretary and former Indian agent, on the other. Stokes did not like Schermerhorn and the missionaries that seemed to follow the commission while Stokes’ obvious sympathies for the Indians and their plight, in addition to his card playing, irritated the New York reverend. He had a particular sympathy for the Osage and their opposition to removal from their homeland to poorer lands to the north. Stokes sent many long communiques to Indian Bureau officials with observations on improving the Indians plight. By June 1834, both Ellsworth and Schermerhorn had returned east and Stokes pleaded for money, as he had not been paid in a year. The seventy-three-three-old continued to push for a council with the “wild Indians” which he accomplished in August 1835.<sup>169</sup>

In early 1836, he was appointed Sub-agent for the Cherokee at the meager salary of \$750 a year. Ill during much of his tenure, he complained of impractical regulations, inadequate funds to administer the agency, which included not only the Cherokee but the Seneca, a Mixed Band of

---

<sup>168</sup> *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 455.

<sup>169</sup> Grant Foreman “The Life of Monfort Stokes in the Indian Territory” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 16 no 4 (October, 1939) 373-381

Seneca and Shawnee and the Quapaw, and a constant refrain of low pay hoping the position could be returned to full Indian agent status. In March of 1837, the new Van Buren Administration appointed Stokes Cherokee agent at \$1,500 per year. As agent, he constantly listened to Indian complaints and offered advice. A botched government buying program for “emigrating” Indians resulted in excess supplies and rations and the authorities tried to substitute these spoiled goods for the monetary annuities promised the Indians. Stokes was reprimanded for his support of the Indians’ refusal to accept the supplies.<sup>170</sup> His later letters report his attempts to find common ground between the older Western Cherokee and the new arrivals from the Trail of Tears and defending the Cherokee from rumors of potential warlike behavior and even temporarily losing his job due to a declaration of martial law. Stokes was replaced by the Whig administration in 1841. He sought the Arkansas Land Register’s job and finally, at age eighty, accepted the Neosho Sub-Agency assignment. Far from the North Carolina statehouse and the Halls of Congress, Montfort Stokes had found his home in the ramshackle log cabin along Bayou Menard at the Cherokee Agency.

Although most of these men served a minimal tenure, several were persons of historic importance in developing Tennessee or serving at the highest levels of government. The Chickasaw request for a man “from the Eastward” is a reminder that Indians might intervene in agent selection and perhaps prefer a stereotypical option. James Neely’s reporting on the death of Meriwether Lewis puts the Indian agent as he often was at the nexus of important frontier events.

#### The Multiple Man

##### Or Those Agents Serving at Multiple Agencies

Born in Pennsylvania, raised in Tennessee, and going on to become a veteran of the War of 1812, Richard Waller Cummins (1786–1860) emigrated to Missouri Territory in 1817, finally settling in Cooper County in the central portion of the new state, attended the Missouri Constitutional Convention and served in the first Missouri State Senate in 1820. In 1830, he was appointed Delaware and Shawnee agent, which also included Kickapoo and other scattered peoples on both sides of the Kansas River. The agency was discontinued in 1834 and he was re-assigned to the new Northern Agency which included the Delaware, Kansa, and Kickapoo, but his headquarters did not change, so Cummins stayed put while the Shawnee left and the Kansa

---

<sup>170</sup> Grant Foreman “The Life of Montfort Stokes”: 389–390.

were added. However, in 1835 the Shawnee were returned and the Ottawa, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Piankeshaw, and Wea were added. In 1837, the Northern Agency was abandoned to be replaced by the Fort Leavenworth Agency overseeing the Delaware, Shawnee, Kansa, and Kickapoo, but again the headquarters never moved from the Kansas River. In 1839, some Munsee and Stockbridge were settled on Delaware land. The Wyandot arrived in 1843 and in 1847, the Kansa were detached, while in 1848 the Potawatomi were added. Richard Cummins served nineteen years as Indian agent overseeing fourteen tribes at three agencies without ever changing his desk.

His long tenure saw Cummins deal with a myriad of issues, including choosing an interpreter, procuring wagons and oxen, as well as determining the Shawnee blacksmith shop and house were non-repairable and nominating blacksmiths and assistant blacksmiths, including two Shawnee Indians. He examined claims for stolen horses and mules, a home burglary by a young Kansa, and Indian claims that 13 head of cattle and 107 hogs were lost as they were driven between the agency and Kansa villages.<sup>171</sup> Cummins struggled with the Shawnee over a mill site and their desire to oust both Baptist and Methodist missionaries and well as other Indians living on Shawnee lands.<sup>172</sup> Cummins also claimed to have problems with Delaware annuities in 1837 stating it was the first difficulty “I have had with any of the Indians”.<sup>173</sup> He dealt with Kickapoo complaints that articles from the 1833 Treaty were not being fulfilled, and stated the Kansa refused to submit to regulations in 1843.<sup>174</sup> He was also a real estate agent dealing with Delaware opposition to a reserve for Kansa half-breeds, encouraging the Delaware to sell land to

---

<sup>171</sup> NARA RG75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter Oct 28, 1844 Rich M. Cummins Delaware Village Ind Agent to Francis McCouse (horse owner) Image 396; NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter August 28, 1847 Rich. W. Cummins Indian Agent to Major Th. H. Harvey, Supt. Ind. Affairs St. Louis, Mo Image 711–712; NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter July 30, 1847 Rich. W. Cummins Indian Agent, Fort Leavenworth to Maj. Th. H. Harvey Supt. Ind. Affairs, St. Louis, Mo. Image 703–704; NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter February 21, 1844 Rich. W. Cummins, Indian Agent, Fort Leavenworth to Col. Thomas H. Harvey Supt. Ind. Affairs St. Louis, Mo Image 218–219.

<sup>172</sup> NARA RG 76 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1837–1842 Letter June 16, 1837 Rich. M. Cummins Northern Agency Western Territory Ind. Agent to Gen. William Clark, Supt. Indian Affairs, St. Louis Image 76–78.

<sup>173</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1837–1842 Letter January 31, 1838 Rich. M. Cummins Agency of Fort Leavenworth Ind. Agent to Gen. William Clark Supt. Ind. Affairs St. Louis Image 150–151;

<sup>174</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter February 3, 1843 Rich. M. Cummins Fort Leavenworth Agency Ind. Agent to Major D.D. Mitchell Supt. Indian Affairs, St. Louis Mo. Image 67.

settle the Stockbridge, and trying to get Shawnee land for the Wyandot.<sup>175</sup> He negotiated treaties with the Kansa in 1846 and between the Delaware and Wyandot in 1843; registered vaccinations among the Kickapoo and Kansa; and attempted to find a home for immigrating Delaware from Canada.<sup>176</sup> In addition, Cummins complained about low wages paid by the government making it difficult to find good employees, and went on to oppose trader S.C. Roby who he saw as the perpetrator of Delaware problems, and presented “silver medals” or peace medals to two Kansa chiefs.<sup>177</sup> Finally he produced his “Cummings Vocabulary of Shawnee,” featuring 338 terms, which was included in Henry Schoolcraft’s Indian Tribes collection.<sup>178</sup> In 1831, Cummins gave Mormon missionaries twenty-four hours to leave Indian country.<sup>179</sup> Declaring in 1847 of the Kansa, “these people are favorites of mine” he volunteered to lead them westward seeking new lands but determined it was too dangerous because of Comanche opposition.<sup>180</sup>

At one point in 1845, he mentioned four men from Ohio preferred charges against him but the accusations seemed to disappear.<sup>181</sup> Cummins did defend his hours on the job, saying all

---

<sup>175</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1837–1842 Letter January 15, 1840 Rich.M. Cummins, Fort Leavenworth Agency Indian agent to Major Joshua Pilcher Supt. Indian Affairs, St. Louis, Mo Image 592–593.; NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1837–1842 Image Letter March 26, 1840 Rich. M. Cummins Fort Leavenworth Agency Indian Agent to Major Joshua Pilcher. Supt. Ind Affairs St. Louis, M Image 601; Letter from Richard W. Cummins to Crawford (Thomas Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs) February 13, 1839 Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma Digital Collection Accessed February 22, 2020

<https://ohiomemory.org/digital/collection/p16007coll27/id2560/>

<sup>176</sup> Agreement with Delaware and Wyandot Dec. 14, 1843; Accessed February 22, 2020 <https://www-wyandotte-nation.org/culture/treaties/treaty-of-1843> ; NARA RG75 M234 6785 Register of Kickapoo Indians vaccinated by Dr. Chute in May, 1838; 6785 Register of Kansas Indians vaccinated by Dr. Chute May and June, 1838; NARA RG 75 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1837–1842 Letter Feby 12, 1839 Rich. W. Cummins Fort Leavenworth Agency Ind. Agent to Mr. T Hartley Crofford Com. Washington City. Image 416

<sup>177</sup> NARA RG 75 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1837–1842 Letter March 15, 1837 Rich. W. Cummins Northern Agency Western Territory Ind. Agent to the Hon. C.A. Harris, Comm of Ind. Affairs Washington City Image 40; NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter February 22nd, 1844 Rich. W. Cummins Fort Leavenworth Indian Agent to Col. Thomas H. Harvey Supt. Indian Affairs St. Louis Image 206–208; NARA RG 75 M234 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter September 25, 1843 Rich. W. Cummins Fort Leavenworth Agency Ind. Agent to Hon. T.H. Crawford Com. Ind. Affairs Washington City, DC Image 18

<sup>178</sup> Requested by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to gather information on the Shawnee Vocabulary, Cumming’s [misspelled] Vocabulary was part of Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States. It has been reproduced independently, most recently in 2001

<sup>179</sup> Warren A. Jennings, “The First Mormon Mission to the Indians” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn, 1971) 298.

<sup>180</sup> NARA RG 75 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter January 14, 1847 Rich. W. Cummins Fort Leavenworth Agency Ind. Agent to Major Th. H. Harvey Supt Ind. Affairs St. Louis Mo Image 634–635.; Ronald D. Parks, *The Darkest Period: The Kansas Indians and Their Last Homeland, 1846–1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014) 9

<sup>181</sup> NARA RG 75 Fort Leavenworth Agency 1843–1848 Letter July 14, 1845 Rich. M.. Cummins Fort Leavenworth Agency to Hon. T. Hartley Crawford Comm. Ind Affairs Washington City DC Image 398



employees received 60 days off a year and stating that initially he and his family lived at the agency but later they moved a short distance away and he spent each Sunday with them.<sup>182</sup> He apparently carried on some private business in Missouri while agent, including land purchases and in 1843 his son John provided the Indians with \$3,500 worth of oxen and cattle.<sup>183</sup>

Cummins, a slaveholder, who had at least a dozen slaves working for him on a farm near the agency seemed preternaturally concerned about the arrival of northern Indians imbued with abolitionist ideas. He recommended the hiring of a “black boy” slave owned by mixed race Shawnee chief Joseph Parks as assistant blacksmith.<sup>184</sup>

The Whig Taylor Administration removed Cummins in 1849 and he retired eastward to Missouri, still concerned about the slavery issue in Kansas and asserting the Indians will refuse to obey the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. A local Kansas historian has said of Cummins, he “was sympathetic to the Indians’ interest”.<sup>185</sup> The long-serving Cummins shows a man with one dropped accusation and a potential nepotism charge but in nearly twenty years was almost exclusively involved in constant challenges and mundane duties.

#### The Connected

In a large but underpopulated nation like the United States was in 1830—with 12,860,702 or 7.4 people per square mile<sup>186</sup>—having personal and family connections was essential in procuring appointments as well as new job opportunities or bank loans. A number of Indian agents appear to owe their post to some sort of connection. Sometimes it was pretty direct. Israel Chapin, Jr. (1764–1833) succeeded his father Israel Chapin Sr. as Agent/Superintendent for the Six Nations in New York in 1795. He understood Indian policy and his responsibilities to “protect the tribes”, “promote their comfort”, and “apply public monies” with “integrity and

---

<sup>182</sup> NARA RG 75 Fort Leavenworth 1837–1842 Letter February 9<sup>th</sup> 1838 Rich. W. Cummins Agency of Fort Leavenworth Ind. Agent to Gen. William Clark Supt. Of Ind. Affairs St. Louis Mo. Image 173–174

<sup>183</sup> An Act for the Benefit of Richard W. Cummins December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1846 Laws of the State of Missouri Passed at the First Session of the Fourteenth General Assembly City of Jefferson 1847 236; Message Boards Indian Agent Ricard W. Cummins -Mo.(Kan?) Accessed February 22, 2020

<https://www.ancestry.com/boards/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=7798&p=surnames.cummins>

<sup>184</sup> William Clark Papers Kansas Historical Society Letter from Indian Agent, Fort Leavenworth (R.W. Cummins) to S.I.A. St. L. (D.D. Mitchell) 1843-02-02 Volume 8 Page 94 (Microfilm reel MS-95)

<sup>185</sup> Lenape Delaware History Accessed February 22, 2020 <http://lenapedelawarehistory.net/mirror/chronology1.htm> June 1, 1830

<sup>186</sup> The United States Census: Through the Decades [census.gov/history/www/history\\_the\\_decades/fast\\_facts/1830/fast\\_facts.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/history_the_decades/fast_facts/1830/fast_facts.html)

prudent economy”.<sup>187</sup> He even told the State of New York that trying to buy Indian lands was illegal.<sup>188</sup> However, Jefferson considered him a Federalist partisan and he was removed in 1802.

David McClellan (1783–1858), who had been sub-agent under his brother William McClellan at the Choctaw West agency, continued in the same position after his brother’s death in 1829. His brother had actually been reduced to sub-agent under the Cherokee East agent, so David became sub-agent again. He spent much of his tenure pleading to be made agent so he would have sufficient funds to support his brother’s widow and children, while also complaining about the combined Choctaw/Cherokee agency and urging action against “unscrupulous whites who were trying to defraud the Choctaw”.<sup>189</sup> He was considered “honest”<sup>190</sup> but made no headway against bureaucratic inertia or infamy. He served from 1829–1833 and the widow McClellan opened a tavern in Arkansas.

Sometimes just a name might open doors. Reuben Lewis (1777–1844) younger brother of explorer Meriwether Lewis, accompanied his older brother and now Governor of the Louisiana Territory to the frontier in 1808. He was hired by William Clark without official salary to be sub-agent for the Osage at Fort Osage, being paid \$45 a month with daily rations of food, the money had been intended to buy presents and drink for Indians during councils.<sup>191</sup> From 1809–1813, Reuben Lewis toiled as Indian Sub-Agent in the upper country along the Missouri River and occasionally worked for the Missouri Fur Company at Fort Raymond at the confluence of the Bighorn and Yellowstone rivers. By 1816, he was back at Fort Osage, employed by the factor. Finally in 1817, he was designated Assistant Agent for the Cherokee living between the White and Arkansas rivers in present day Arkansas and tasked with reporting to the Cherokee Agent in the east. A year later he became the full agent, serving until 1820. His previous experience among the Osage prepared him well for the continuing conflict with the newly arrived Cherokee.<sup>192</sup> Other tasks as agent included trying to protect a white woman among the Osage,

---

<sup>187</sup> Jack Campisi “New York-Oneida Treaty of 1795: A Finding of Fact” *American Indian Law Review* 14 no. 1 (1976) 75

<sup>188</sup> Campisi “New York-Oneida Treaty” 76

<sup>189</sup> *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell* Richard B. McCaslin, Donald E. Chipman and Andrew J. Torget (eds) (Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2013) Carol A. Lipscomb “Sam Houston, Indian Agent” 91

<sup>190</sup> *This Corner of Canaan* 91

<sup>191</sup> John C. Jackson “Reuben Lewis: Fur Trader, Subagent, and Meriwether’s Younger Brother” *We Proceeded On* (November 2012) 9

<sup>192</sup> Jackson “Reuben Lewis” 15

keeping the Cherokee from attacking whites, trying to guard the slave of a Cherokee woman, and running boundary lines. Family difficulties called him east to Albermarle County, Virginia in 1820 and he labored many years, trying to support his extended family with dwindling success.

Marston Green Clark (1773–1846) was a cousin of William Clark, of the Corps of Discovery and Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. His large Virginian family, consisting of 31 children, moved to Vincennes in the Northwest Territory in 1786. Clark was active in campaigns against the Indians, both with Anthony Wayne in 1794 and fighting under William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe in 1811. He was an Indiana businessman; town developer of Jeffersonville and Salem; possessor of the ferry charter for Jeffersonville 1802–1815; and consistent office holder in the Indiana House of Representatives 1820 and 1835; as well as a member of the Indiana Senate, 1821–1822 and 1826–1828. His tenure for the Indian Department consisted of short-term assignments, staying no longer than three years at any job and closing two agencies all near Fort Leavenworth or the Kansas River. Clark was Kansa (Kaw) Sub-Agent at Fort Leavenworth, 1829–1832; Kansa Agent 1832–1834 at Fort Leavenworth (Agency closed) and Agent for Shawnee, Ottawa and other tribes north of the Kansas River 1834–1835 (Agency closed).

Clark tended to take a tough stand against Indian demands. When the Kansa challenged the quality of the goods he had bought in St. Louis and demanded cash instead, he threatened them militarily if they did not accept “his” purchases.<sup>193</sup> A Shawnee request to remove all missionaries and non-Shawnee Indians from the agency was peremptorily rejected. However, his primary antagonist was French trader Francois Chouteau of the famous Chouteau family at the Kansa Agency. They were constantly battling over the quality and pricing of goods, with Chouteau calling Clark a “scoundrel” while Clark protested that Chouteau’s trading post was too close to the agency, leading to Indians hanging around the headquarters, killing livestock, and begging.<sup>194</sup> Clark made at least four requests for indemnification for losses on provisions purchased as Kansa agent, the last in 1842.<sup>195</sup>

---

<sup>193</sup> Shirley Christian *Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty that rules America’s Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004 354–356

<sup>194</sup> Christian *Before Lewis and Clark* 356

<sup>195</sup> Miscellaneous Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States December 2, 1848 201[67] Two were discharged, his attorney withdrew in one case and one was approved August 11, 1842

Brotherly concern also might weigh heavily. Richard Graham (1786–1857) a veteran of the War of 1812 and friend of William Henry Harrison had a brother, George Graham, in the War Department serving as Chief Clerk 1814–1816; Acting Secretary of War, 1816–1817; and as head of the American mission in 1818 to Champ D’Asile, the short-lived Bonapartist community on Galveston Island. A Washington insider, George was president of the Washington branch of the Bank of the United States 1819–1823 and Commissioner of the General Land Office 1823–1830. In 1815, Richard received an appointment as Indian agent for the tribes in the Illinois Territory, holding the job until Illinois statehood in 1818. He later served as agent for the Osage, Delaware, and Kickapoo 1821–1824 and the Delaware and Shawnee 1824–1829. Graham resided at his home in St. Louis rather than with the Indians which was normal departmental policy and re-iterated in a circular he received in 1827.<sup>196</sup>

Graham had the normal duties and problems associated with being an Indian agent, from paying annuities to negotiating treaties like the Illinois Indian Boundary in 1816 and the Osage of 1823; from reducing friction between whites and Indians to conciliating a Missouri farmer who claimed an Indian encampment had destroyed 156 of his trees.<sup>197</sup> However, the key to understanding most of Graham’s problems was his disinclination to leave the confines of St. Louis. Upon appointment in 1821, he opposed separate annuity, distributing points for the Osage and suggesting concentration somewhere nearer the city. He justified his position fearing the eastern Delaware, Shawnee, and Kickapoo would unite with the arriving Cherokee to contest the native Osage and this inter-tribal warfare would spread. Only a united Osage could defend themselves. No one liked his idea—neither Arkansas territorial authorities nor the long-divided Osage.<sup>198</sup> Reversing course, he then advocated allowing the Indians to wage war, stating that “a more speedy and lasting peace and friendship effected by it, besides I am certain that in the end it will be more humane”.<sup>199</sup> Although no hint of scandal touched Graham, he retired wealthy to his

---

<sup>196</sup> Circular Letter William Clark to Richard Graham 26 July 1827 Accessed June 22, 2019  
[https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection-search?field\\_people=Graham%2C=Richard%2C=1786-1858](https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection-search?field_people=Graham%2C=Richard%2C=1786-1858)

<sup>197</sup> Letter N. Daismenue to Richard Graham 5 February 1829 Accessed August 22, 2019  
[https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection-search?field\\_people=Graham%2C=Richard%2C=1786-1858](https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection-search?field_people=Graham%2C=Richard%2C=1786-1858)

<sup>198</sup> Stephen Warren *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008) 88

<sup>199</sup> Arrell .M. Gibson *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963)

St. Louis farm. He was able to perform his job as agent, perhaps through proxies, and still focus on his own businesses.

An influential old neighbor and family friend certainly helped Charles Jouett (1772–1834) in his push for preferment in the Indian Department. Born in Albemarle County, Virginia, his older brother John was the “Southern Paul Revere” who rode from Louisa to Charlottesville, Virginia to warn Governor Thomas Jefferson and the Virginia legislature of the approach of British Colonel Banastre Tarlton and his Legion. Charles Jouett studied law and became a member of the Albemarle County bar in 1798. In 1802, his old Charlottesville neighbor-turned-President, Thomas Jefferson, appointed him Indian agent at Detroit where he served from 1802–1805 and then moved to Chicago where he held office from 1805–1811. His duties were numerous, including census taking, producing reports on the lands of the Indians, and negotiating treaties like the Treaty of Fort Industry in 1805, which was the successor of the Treaty of Fort Greenville in 1795 and bought much of north central Ohio. His duties even included describing the barely known white settlements along the northern Great Lakes. His Indian charges comprised the Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, Chippewa, Wyandot, Ottawa, and Miami, to which he distributed annuities and held councils. Although Jouett reputedly rendered kind and honorable treatment toward the Indians and was known as “White Otter,”<sup>200</sup> he could be honest in private conversation and fearless in personal confrontation. In a letter to Zebulon Pike in 1806, he discussed a previous attack by the Potawatomie against the Osage and advised Pike to warn the Osage that their enemies were planning to strike again. Of the Potawatomie, he declared, they are “troublesome and insolent”.<sup>201</sup>

Resigning in 1811, he moved to be near his older brother in Kentucky where he was appointed a judge. With the War passed, Jouett aimed to return to the Indian service and appealed to Jefferson in 1815 after failing to see President James Madison or Secretary of State James Monroe. He re-iterated his devotion to Jeffersonian principles and concluded, “If I go back to Kentucky without employment, I shall be ruined”.<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>200</sup><https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/197368400/charles-jouett>

<sup>201</sup> Herbert E. Bolton (ed) “Papers of Zebulon M. Pike, 1806–1807” *The American Historical Review* 13 no. 4 (Jul 1908) 820

<sup>202</sup> “Charles Jouett to Thomas Jefferson, 12 June 1815,” *Founders Online* National Archives Accessed April 10, 2018 <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson03-08-02-0430> {Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series vol.8 1 October 1814 to 31 August 1815, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011,p,530}

The appeal worked as he was selected the first agent at Green Bay in 1815 but some problems arose and he switched jobs with John Bowyer in 1816, returning to his old job at Chicago where he remained until 1819. Despite complaining vociferously about his agency quarters, a fourteen square foot structure which he described as “a little hut that a man of humanity would not suffer his negroes to live in”,<sup>203</sup> he continued annuity payments, asking that all Potawatomi payments be directed to Chicago, as five sixths lived nearby.<sup>204</sup> He even mediated the Treaty of St. Marys, Ohio, which acquired a large segment of land in Indiana. Jouett resigned in 1819, probably because of bureaucratic changes, and returned to Kentucky, but he soon received an appointment as a judge of the new Arkansas Territory. Suffering in the debilitating climate, he resigned again and returned once more to Kentucky.<sup>205</sup>

Published in 1881, this commentary on Jouett supposedly dates to the time of his death. “The management, finesse, and double dealing by which so many Indian Agents have enriched themselves from the spoils of the Indians, whose rights it was their duty to maintain, had no place in the school of honor where he was educated”.<sup>206</sup>

Sometimes just the family name allowed consideration for preferment. The Biddle Family of Philadelphia has had a long history of conspicuous achievement in business, government, and cultural activities and John Biddle (1792–1859) was one of several brothers who were prominent. Nicholas was a Pennsylvania legislator, amanuensis to William Clark in producing the journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and longtime President of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Bank of the United States; his brother James was a commodore in the Navy and took over the Oregon country for the United States in 1818; his brother Thomas was a captain in the Army, hero of the War of 1812, a member of the Yellowstone Expedition in 1819, and Director of the St. Louis branch of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Bank of the United States; lastly, his brother Richard was an author and congressman. John had an uncle who served in the Continental Congress, another who was one of the first captains in the United States Navy, and a nephew who was a Civil War congressman.

---

<sup>203</sup> Milo Milton Quaife *Chicago and the Old Northwest 1673–1835: A Study of the Evolution of the Northwestern Frontier, together with a History of Fort Dearborn* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press), 1913 270

<sup>204</sup> R. David Edmunds *The Pottawatomies: Keepers of the Fire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978) 217

<sup>205</sup> Neil Gale Digital Research Library of Illinois History Journal “Charles Jouett, The First U.S. Indian Agent Residing at Chicago” Accessed May 24, 2021 <https://drloihjournal.blogspot.com/2018/07/charles-jouett-first-us-indian-agent-residing-at-chicago.html> 4

<sup>206</sup> Henry H. Hurlbut *Chicago Antiquities: Comprising Original Items and Relations. Letters, Extracts and Notes Pertaining to Early Chicago* (Chicago: Printed for the Author, 1881) 107

A graduate of Princeton, John Biddle enlisted in the Army at the outbreak of the War of 1812, advancing from 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant to Major, serving on the staff of Winfield Scott on the Niagara Frontier, and finally commanding Fort Shelby at Detroit. In 1821 he was appointed paymaster and Indian agent at Green Bay. Much of his year tenure was spent attacking the factory system and defending private traders, calling the former a “useless institution” with poor-quality, high-priced goods.<sup>207</sup> His recommendation advocating schooling for “mixed race” children soon led to the establishment of missionary schools.<sup>208</sup>

Contradicting conventional assumptions about Indian agents, Biddle’s post agency career was a continuous pursuit of public service. Although he was a bank and railroad president, he served as mayor of Detroit 1827–1828, Michigan territorial delegate to Congress 1829–1831, and president of the Michigan Constitutional Convention in 1835. Biddle spent much time assisting organizations that brought culture to the Northwest frontier, being vice-president of the Detroit Athenaeum (a reading room), as well as serving as long-time vice president of the County Bible Society, president of the Historical Society of Michigan in 1837, and being an active supporter of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the City of Detroit.

Felix August Antoine St. Vrain (1799–1832), the brother of famed Rocky Mountain trader Ceran St. Vrain, had become a sawmill operator in Kaskaskia, Illinois on the Mississippi River. Constantly irked by the actions of the contentious Sac and Fox agent, Thomas Forsyth, Superintendent William Clark was looking for a replacement in 1830 and upon the suggestion of Illinois Senator Elias Kent Kane, St. Vrain was tapped for the position. He had a powerful name but lacked the necessary skills to thwart the onset of war. Arriving at Fort Armstrong, near Rock Island, St. Vrain received complaints from both Indians and whites, but when he attempted to negotiate with the Indians, he found none would talk with him except Quashquame, an ancient Sac chief who had signed the detested Treaty of 1804. He simply did not know what to do and urged some type of new peace negotiations.<sup>209</sup> Events moved too fast and Black Hawk’s determination to remain on the east side of the Mississippi River at whatever cost almost surely

---

<sup>207</sup> David Andrew Nichols *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016) 163

<sup>208</sup> David Beck *Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634–1856* (University of Nebraska Press, 2002) 125

<sup>209</sup>Hall *Uncommon Defense* 103; Hagan *Sac & Fox* 126

meant conflict. In May of 1832, St. Vrain, carrying dispatches from Dixon's Ferry to Galena, was massacred with three companions by a band of Indians, probably Winnebago but perhaps Sac and Fox. The assessment of St. Vrain's abilities increased exponentially after his death. Author Frank Stevens felt that St. Vrain "was recognized to be a man of unusual bravery and devotedly attached to the welfare of the Indians".<sup>210</sup> In compensation, St. Vrain's family was given 640 acres in Missouri.<sup>211</sup>

An agent might even have connections within the Indian Department, like Samuel Mitchell (1765–1811). Born either near Boonesborough, Kentucky or in the future east Tennessee, this son of the first American frontier was the grandson of famed explorer and founder of the Transylvania Land Company, Richard Henderson. In 1797, he was appointed agent or sub-agent for the Choctaw at the request of famed Southern Superintendent and Creek Agent, Benjamin Hawkins. Mitchell was considered sympathetic toward the Indians and married a mixed-race Choctaw woman in 1798 and after her death, a mixed-race Chickasaw woman in 1807. Famed Choctaw leader and chief David Folsom, a half-brother of Mitchell's first wife, lived with the Mitchells for several years and gained insight into the American mind.<sup>212</sup> A number of his letters deal with issues of how to respond to questions presented by the close proximity of Spanish authorities.

Samuel Mitchell was a survivor. In 1798, Federalist Winthrop Sargent was appointed the first governor of the Mississippi Territory and he and Mitchell clashed immediately. Sargent called Mitchell, "a knave and a fool" and as his immediate superior fired him in 1799.<sup>213</sup> Somehow through support from Hawkins and the advent of the new Jefferson Administration, Mitchell moved seamlessly within Mississippi, from Choctaw agent through dismissal to Chickasaw agent by late 1800. Mitchell pushed the "civilization" program; was frustrated he could not end the running family feud between the Chickasaw or at least the Colbert family and

---

<sup>210</sup> Frank E. Stevens *The Black Hawk War including a Review of Black Hawk's Life*. (Chicago, Illinois: Frank E. Stevens, 1903) 171

<sup>211</sup> Britton Alexander Thompson. Laws of the United States of a Local or Temporary Character Google Books link From Wikipedia "Felix St. Vrain" Accessed May 13, 2018 [https://books.google.com/books?id=TuM9AAAIAAJ&pg=PA436&dq=felix+St.+vrain&hl&ei=cJw6TdSiHcXTgQf3pcnECA&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=8&ved=0CEUQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=felix%20vrain&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=TuM9AAAIAAJ&pg=PA436&dq=felix+St.+vrain&hl&ei=cJw6TdSiHcXTgQf3pcnECA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8&ved=0CEUQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=felix%20vrain&f=false) Government Printing Office 1880 p.436

<sup>212</sup> Barry Eugene Thorne "David Folsom and the Emergence of Choctaw Nationalism" Master's Thesis Oklahoma State University, 1981 9

<sup>213</sup> Merritt B. Pound *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1951) 157



the Osage; comforted the Chickasaw who feared the French after they retook nominal control of New Orleans from 1801–1803; assisted in the Treaty of Chickasaw Bluffs establishing the Natchez Trace and personally marked part of the boundary and helped negotiate the Chickasaw Treaty of 1805, the first Chickasaw land cession. Mitchell received a reprimand from the government for bringing a delegation to Washington in 1802 without a good interpreter, as no one knew what was being said. He left office in 1806 and resided as a “settler” in the Choctaw Nation.

The “Connected” certainly were less skilled than the “Frontiersmen” at solving problems. They were sometimes moved administratively and tended to be associated with treaty-making often conducted by other negotiators. They were sometimes inadequate but not criminal.

#### The Office Seeker

Beyond the bounds of politics, family, friendship, and interests, some men just sought government office for remuneration and personal security. Silas Dinsmoor (1766–1847) worked his way through Dartmouth by teaching, including co-ed classes in Logic, Greek, and Rhetoric. In 1793, he came to Philadelphia seeking some type of government job and was appointed Cherokee agent serving from 1794–1798. Operating from Tellico Blockhouse, Dinsmoor pushed the “civilization plan” engaging carpenters, wheelwrights, smiths and weavers to teach the Indians various crafts while introducing cotton culture to the Cherokee.<sup>214</sup> Dinsmoor witnessed the Treaty of Tellico (1798) which re-affirmed previous treaties and gave the United States all remaining Cherokee lands in east Tennessee for \$5,000 plus \$1,000 annuity. He was considered an “able and popular agent”.<sup>215</sup> He then took a job as a Navy purser on the USS George Washington and confronted the strange diplomacy of the Barbary Pirates.

Back home, Dinsmoor was appointed Choctaw agent in 1802 by Thomas Jefferson and moved to Washington, Mississippi Territory. Again, he pursued a “civilization program” and again negotiated a land sale at the Treaty of Mount Dexter (1805) which brought into the United States over 4,000,000 acres of what would become southeast Mississippi, but not the river lands Jefferson wanted. His major challenges involved white men, not Indians. He was commissioned

---

<sup>214</sup>Gilbert C. Fite “Development of the Cotton Industry by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory” *The Journal of Southern History* 15 no 3 (August 1949) 343

<sup>215</sup> Robert S. Cotterill “Federal Indian Management in the South, 1789–1825” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20, No.3 (Dec. 1933) 335

to transport former Vice President Aaron Burr back from Mississippi to Richmond, Virginia for his treason trial.<sup>216</sup> Dinsmoor ran afoul of Andrew Jackson in 1811, when he began to enforce an 1802 edict that required anyone travelling in Indian country with slaves to carry passports for their charges. Jackson, an investor in a slave trading business, was livid and threatened to burn the agency and kill Dinsmoor.<sup>217</sup> In 1813, Dinsmoor was relieved. Writing in an article on the Mississippi Territory in 1999, John D.W. Guice averred “The Dinsmoor-Jackson feud contributed to the removal of one of the most dedicated and effective Indian agents ever” while another commentator opined that Dinsmoor “was as effective as Hawkins”, referring to famed agent Benjamin Hawkins.<sup>218</sup>

Dinsmoor remained in the South, commanding a military detachment of Indians in defence of the Gulf Coast, 1814–1815, investing in the St. Stephens Steamboat Company in Alabama, and surveying the district east of New Orleans, where he had problems with a superior. He returned to Washington in 1826, deeply in debt, partly due to unpaid wages. Apparently remunerated, he finally moved to Cincinnati, Ohio where he bought a small farm and lived out his days.

#### The Politician

Although the Indian Bureau was part of the Department of War from its inception to 1849, political preferment was perhaps the most common element in agent selection, even including some powerful politicians themselves. John Tipton (1786–1839) was an influential Indiana politician, serving in the Indiana House of Representatives 1819–1823 and as United States Senator from Indiana 1832–1839. Between elective office, he was Fort Wayne or Indiana Indian agent for the Potawatomie and Miami, 1823–1832, resigning in order to enter the Senate. Tipton had a long history with Indians, his father being killed by Cherokee in 1792 in what would be east Tennessee and his own command in the Indiana militia, the Yellow Jackets, fought at Tippecanoe in 1811. During the War of 1812, he participated in the Driftwood Expedition against the Indians in 1812 and fought Indians again at Tipton Island and Salt River in 1813. Tipton was also sheriff of Harrison County from 1816–1819 and participated in a number of

---

<sup>216</sup>History News “Silas Dinsmoor” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 no 3 (January 1989) 407

<sup>217</sup> Angie Debo *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934) 39

<sup>218</sup> John D.W. Guice “1811 – Year of Wonders in the Mississippi Territory” *The Journal of American History* 86 No. 1 (June 1999) 169; Jack D.L. Holmes “Benjamin Hawkins and the United States Attempts to Teach Farming to Southeastern Indians” *Agricultural History* 60 no.2 (Spring 1986) 225

early Indiana commissions, including that to select the site for the new capital in 1820 and to determine the boundary between Indiana and Illinois in 1821. He speculated heavily and successfully in Indiana lands. Additionally, he donated lands to Logansport and Columbus as well as several schools, Masonic lodges, and churches. Tipton had the attributes for a potential poor/corrupt Indian agent by having a strong political base to protect him, a long history of personal and military animus toward Indians, and a background in land speculation.

However, a review of Tipton's long tenure as agent shows him as honest and carefully seeking Solomonic answers to a myriad of issues not covered in his instructions. Tipton was an accountant, reporting quarterly on receipts and expenses; a contractor buying annuity goods and also representing the Indians in projects for everything from home building to fence rail provision using annuity funds; a distributor of the monies and goods; and arbiter of claims against the annuity payments, both tribally and individually. He was the local law, licensing Indian traders, establishing their location, and enforcing the anti-whiskey provisions of the Intercourse Acts, which he did forcefully. Almost from the outset, he battled American Fur Company personnel over sale of liquor to the Indians and in 1824 confiscated \$3,000-\$4,000 of their goods after a thorough investigation.<sup>219</sup> Although the AFC took the case to court and lost in Indiana, John Jacob Astor pursued it all the way to the Supreme Court and had it reversed in 1829.<sup>220</sup>

Tipton corresponded with other agents to settle issues involving adjacent tribes. He had to mediate difficult problems like inter-tribal "blood money" disputes, such as allocating money to compensate the family of murder victims and even bailing an Indian chief out of jail. He had to decide if a mixed-race trader was an Indian or white because if the former, he ironically could sell liquor but if the latter, he could not. Tipton felt he was white. With his political constituency next door, Tipton had to attend to demands by Congress that "Indiana expected ... her share of patronage" from the local Indian agency.<sup>221</sup> His quarters at Fort Wayne were abominable, he complaining "that neither the bed or documents could be kept dry".<sup>222</sup> In 1827, he applied to the Department to move his agency from Fort Wayne to near Logansport, supposedly to be closer to

---

<sup>219</sup> Ginette M. Aley "Westward expansion, John Tipton, and the emergence of the American Midwest 1800–1839" (2005) *Retrospective Theses and Dissertations 1223* <http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/1223> 144–145

<sup>220</sup> Aley "Westward expansion" 149

<sup>221</sup> Aley "Westward expansion" 131–132

<sup>222</sup> Aley "Westward expansion" 120

the Indians while also getting him better facilities, which was done the following year, much to the disgust of the Fort Wayne traders.<sup>223</sup>

He did negotiate the Treaty of Mississinewas in 1826 and the Eel River Miami Treaty in 1828, adding more land to the public domain by subtracting from the Potawatomie and Miami. Because of his running battle with the American Fur Company, his strict enforcement of the anti-liquor laws, and his dislike of the Fort Wayne agency and traders, he was accused of various crimes in a planned character assassination. William Hood, a local justice of the peace and political enemy, brought several serious charges including misuse of public monies and property, overpaying on transportation contracts to benefit friends, short changing Indian annuities for personal gain, and using public property to improve his own farm. Tipton admitted he used the three agency oxen with his own to plow his fields but averred he used his own oxen with agency oxen to plow Indian fields as well as utilizing his own horses to aid the Indians.<sup>224</sup> Hood later withdrew the complaints. Hood's brother Robert brought more charges but he was held in such low repute, no one took notice. Another allegation against Tipton grew from a 2,560-acre grant of land he received from a Miami chief in the 1826 treaty. He eventually paid the heirs \$4,000 in 1834.<sup>225</sup>

After his Senate term, Tipton returned to the Indian Department in 1839, serving a month as acting sub-agent for the Miami, despite illness. He commented about being an Indian agent to Michigan Territorial Governor Lewis Cass in 1830, “[T]his is a thankless troublesome business”.<sup>226</sup>

David B. Mitchell (1766–1837) was a Scots immigrant who arrived in 1782 to claim an inheritance. He studied law and was admitted to the Georgia Bar and gained American citizenship in 1789. A vociferous Jeffersonian, he served in the Georgia House 1794–1798, as judge of the eastern circuit of the Georgia Superior Court 1798–1801, as mayor of Savannah 1801–1802, as a member of the Georgia State Senate, and was Attorney General of Georgia 1804–1805. Mitchell was not only a political partisan but could be violent, killing Federalist

---

<sup>223</sup> Aley “Westward expansion” 155–158; Ben Secunda “‘The Road to Ruin? ‘Civilization’ and the Origins of a ‘Michigan Road Band’ of Potawatomi” *Michigan Historical Review* 34 No 1 Emerging Borderlands (Spring, 2008) 141

<sup>224</sup> Aley “Westward expansion” 148

<sup>225</sup> Jay Gitlin “Private Diplomacy to Private Property: States, Tribes and Nations in the Early National Period” *Diplomatic History* 22 no 1 (Winter 1998) 93

<sup>226</sup> Aley “Westward expansion” 112

William Hunter in an 1802 duel.<sup>227</sup> Finally, he served two terms as Georgia Governor 1809–1813 and 1815–1817, pushing improved transportation and safer banking. He also provided support for the University of Georgia, the completion of Georgia’s first penitentiary, and ironically the abolition of dueling. He resigned in 1817 to accept James Madison’s appointment as Creek Indian agent.

As agent, Mitchell negotiated two treaties in 1818 and 1821 and wrote missionaries he was anxious for an Indian school. He allied himself with controversial Creek chief William McIntosh and remunerated the chief and other supporters of the Americans in the Red Stick War about \$85,000 as requested by Congress, and argued with the unpopular local factor. However, David Mitchell’s failure as Creek agent had little to do with Indians or policy but is a textbook case of how politics intervened to override everything.

From the 1790s to the 1820s, Georgia was divided into two political factions, both Jeffersonian in policies but separated by personalities and the quest for power. Mitchell was a member of the Crawfordite faction led by former United States Senator and Secretary of the Treasury 1816-1825 William Crawford, which controlled Georgia politics from the 1790s to the election of John Clark as governor in 1818. Crawford also openly sought the presidency, putting him on a collision course with controversial war hero Andrew Jackson. Also, David Mitchell’s “problem” arising in late 1817 was used to smear Crawford indirectly.<sup>228</sup>

In late 1817, an agency clerk informed Mitchell, who was away from his headquarters, that forty-seven African slaves had arrived at the agency under the control of former Creek store clerk William Bowen. Bowen claimed he had bought the slaves in Georgia but most thought they had been purchased on Amelia Island—a pirate-controlled entity ostensibly owned by Spain. If the latter was true, the purchase was illegal, as Congress had outlawed the international slave trade in 1808. Mitchell did not know what to do and his requests for guidance went unanswered. Crawford opponents and Jackson supporters saw an opening to hurt the Treasury Secretary through guilt by association.

The charges against Mitchell grew to include everything from retaining monies owed to the Indians to charging excessive tolls on ferries. Andrew Jackson suggested to President James

---

<sup>227</sup><https://georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/david-b-mitchell-1766-1837>

<sup>228</sup> John D. Fair “Governor David B. Mitchell and the ‘Black Birds’ Slave Smuggling Scandal” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 99 No. 4 (Winter 2015) 253–262

Monroe that Mitchell may have used part of the \$85,000 directed to reimburse Creeks to finance his “slave smuggling schemes”.<sup>229</sup> Mitchell responded, “The whole is a tissue of the grossest misrepresentation and calumny I ever witnessed” and “I fear a malicious representation”.<sup>230</sup> He further pleaded concerning the slaves, “I had to help them”<sup>231</sup> Crawford distanced himself from Mitchell, who was left to face the charges and innuendos alone. Bowing to a seemingly biased report of Attorney General William Wirt, Monroe dismissed Mitchell in 1821, leaving him to return home with his reputation in tatters. He tried to defend himself by publishing the book *An Exposition on the Case of the Africans Taken to the Creek Agency by Captain Bowen*,<sup>232</sup> but it took six years to regain his reputation. He served as a Judge in Baldwin County 1828–1837, and a term in the Georgia State Senate in 1836, as a States’ Rights member. That is an anti-Jacksonian. Despite spending much of his tenure fending off the slings and arrows of outrage Mitchell was depicted by R.S. Cotterill in “Federal Indian Policy in the South 1789-1825” as “one of the most repacious Indian despoilers in the South”.<sup>233</sup>

Most “political” Indian agents served in less prestigious positions than US Senator or Governor. Hugh Lawson Montgomery (1767–1852) had been in the Georgia House of Representatives 1807–1811, and the State Senate 1812–1818 and 1823–1825. He was not without connection to Indians, having helped run the boundary between Franklin County, Georgia, and the Cherokee Nation in 1786,<sup>234</sup> assisted Indian agent Joseph McMinn in sending missionaries among the Cherokee in the early 1820s. Montgomery was appointed Cherokee agent in 1825, serving until 1835. The Adams Administration expected him to get the Georgia Cherokee to emigrate and was disappointed when its desires went unmet. In the period 1817–1819, the government had used inducements to entice the Cherokee but Adams did not want to

---

<sup>229</sup> Fair “Governor David B. Mitchell” 275

<sup>230</sup> Fair “Governor David B. Mitchell” 268

<sup>231</sup> C.M. Destler(ed) “Additional Correspondence of David Brydie Mitchell” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28 no 2 (June 1944) 103

<sup>232</sup> David Bradie Mitchell *An Exposition on the Case of the Africans, taken to the Creek Agency, by Captain William Bowen on or about the 1<sup>st</sup> Dec’r, 1817* (Milledgeville May 1821 Camak & Hines Printers)

<sup>233</sup> Robert S. Cotterill “Federal Indian Policy in the South, 1789-1825” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20 no 3 (December 1933) 347

<sup>234</sup> [Cavespringga.blogspot.com/2012/06/hugh-lawson-montgomery.html](http://Cavespringga.blogspot.com/2012/06/hugh-lawson-montgomery.html) 14

continue that policy though Montgomery regularly advised potential “movers” expected bribes.<sup>235</sup>

Montgomery encountered a three-way conflict, he could neither end nor mediate. White intruders/settlers from both Georgia and Alabama invaded Cherokee lands, already ceded but not abandoned, taking crops and cattle or just squatting. The Indians retaliated. In addition, Cherokee opposed to removal attacked other Cherokee who had agreed to emigrate. Montgomery time and again asked for military support but the answer was always no. The War Department simply told him to post advertisements and issue warrants.<sup>236</sup> After Andrew Jackson came into office in 1829, warrants to expel intruders were no longer disseminated. Montgomery also found himself at odds with Georgia commissioners wanting to run surveys through Indian lands.<sup>237</sup> Chief John Ross asked he be replaced in 1829 because he had allowed whites to occupy Cherokee lands. In 1831, President Jackson ordered Montgomery to tell Ross that he would hold Ross personally responsible “for every Murder committed by his people on the Emigrants”.<sup>238</sup> Hugh Montgomery found himself an intermediary between groups with antagonistic positions where his own powers were non-existent.

Pennsylvanian Alexander McNair (1775–1826) had been involved militarily in thwarting the first Whiskey Rebellion in 1791, its reprise in 1794, and was an ensign in the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry in 1799, ready to repel a French invasion which never materialized. His family were merchants and he traveled extensively in Ohio and Kentucky in 1801–1802, even bidding unsuccessfully to supply western military posts in 1803. He accompanied Northwest Territory Governor William Henry Harrison to organize recently purchased Louisiana in 1804 and soon identified with the new Territory of Missouri and city of St. Louis, becoming prominent politically for the next

---

<sup>235</sup>William G. McLoughlin “Georgia’s Role in Instigating Compulsory Indian Removal” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 70 no 4 (Winter 1986) 621

<sup>236</sup> Message from The President of the United States “Intrusions on Cherokee Lands” April 2, 1830 21<sup>st</sup> Congress 1<sup>st</sup> Session. Ho. Of Reps. Executive [Doc. No.89] No.9 Extract of a letter from Col. Hugh Montgomery to the Secretary of War, of the 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1829; No. 10 Col. H. Montgomery to the Secretary of War, Cherokee Agency 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1829

<sup>237</sup>John Ross Copy of letter from Chief John Ross, Edward Gunter, Rich. Taylor and William S. Coodey to President Andrew Jackson. 4026.40 John Ross Papers April 6, 1829. Tulsa Gilcrease Museum [https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/402640\(02/15/2018\)](https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/402640(02/15/2018))

<sup>238</sup> Gary E. Moulton *John Ross Cherokee Chief* (Athens, Brown Thrasher Books The University of Georgia Press, 1978) 58

twenty-two years. He served as Justice on the Court of Common Pleas, 4<sup>th</sup> Sheriff of St. Louis County 1811–1813, Trustee for St. Louis 1808 and 1813, and United States Marshal 1813-1817.

His military background led to his being appointed Adjutant/Inspector of Missouri military forces during the War of 1812 as well as commanding a troop of horsemen. Married into a wealthy French St. Louis family, he initially supported the claims of the old Creole elite but after becoming Federal Land Register in 1816 he switched to advocating for “squatter” rights. McNair continued in the commission merchant business, supplying military bases like Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien.

McNair was elected Missouri’s first Governor in 1820, handily defeating territorial executive William Clark of Lewis and Clark fame. His administration did what new governments do like locate a capital city and design a state seal but little else. He particularly wanted to limit government salaries, including his own, and keep general expenditures to a minimum. Still impecunious and unable to stand for re-election, he gratefully accepted the new position of Agent to the Osage in western Missouri. He was involved in the 1825 Treaty with the Osage and seemed to have real sympathy for the plight of his charges. He listened to them and became active in obtaining pardons for two Osage, which President Adams granted.<sup>239</sup> McNair appeared to commute from St. Louis to the Osage villages, but after travelling in bad weather he became sick and died in 1826.

Kentucky lawyer, Andrew Swearingen Hughes (1789–1843) had served in the Kentucky Senate, 1824–1827 and was brother-in-law of Kentucky governor Thomas Metcalfe, who served from 1828–1832. Metcalfe was a National Republican, the political “party” of John Quincy Adams and Adams nominated Hughes as Sioux sub-agent in 1828. As it was convenient for both men, Hughes and Jonathan Bean “switched” assignments that same year, with the latter becoming Sioux sub-agent and Hughes assuming control of the Ioway Sub-Agency, where he served until 1837. Initially, the agency contained the Iowa Indians to which were added the Sac and Fox in 1829. The bureaucratic history of the agency is complex, as it was moved from superintendency to superintendency but the constant was Hughes, who lived on his farm and “commuted” to the Iowa villages located in what is now northwestern Missouri. He was an

---

<sup>239</sup>John Joseph Mathews *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961) 510



active advocate for the Platte Purchase in 1838 which added the area east of the Missouri River to the State of Missouri in contravention of the dictates of the famous 1820 Missouri Compromise.

Despite living some distance from the Indian villages, Hughes was an activist agent. In 1832, convinced Black Hawk was going to cross the Mississippi and attack pioneer settlements in northern Missouri, he led a long scout of the Missouri militia looking for Indians. In 1829, Hughes pursued Iowa chief Big Neck and his followers 2,100 miles after the chief had killed three whites. After re-settling west of the Missouri River in 1837, the Iowa were starving as the promised government provisions had not arrived and Hughes wrote authorities pleading for supplies. He had to contract with a local trader to furnish their needs on a loan basis. Superintendent William Clark wrote of Hughes in 1837, “He may have more influence with them [Iowa] than any man living”.<sup>240</sup>

However, Hughes’ major problem as agent was not the Indians but rather Indian traders and specifically the American Fur Company (AFC). The AFC believed that with the demise of the factory system, it would have a “free hand” trading on the frontier, but Hughes became an impediment to their perceived monopoly. First, he enforced the anti-whiskey statutes to the letter of the law, allowing no grey areas. The AFC traders responded by getting nearby county licenses and coaxing Indians to their Missouri posts. Hughes reported “Indians are drunk everywhere”.<sup>241</sup> In 1830, Hughes issued a trading license to his interpreter Vance Murry Campbell and the American Fur Company claimed it was illegal. Hughes responded, alleging the low pay of the interpreter combined with the high prices of the AFC monopoly made living on the frontier difficult without extra income. The Indians also complained of AFC price-gouging and Hughes claimed that \$650 of a \$950 AFC charge against annuities was profit.<sup>242</sup> Basically, Hughes believed it was a battle between the company and the federal government, reporting that AFC personnel were heard slandering him as well as prodding the Indians to refuse any more land cessions.

Hughes was dismissed in 1837 for his personal problems with new Western Superintendent Joshua Pilcher and his “obstructionism” during the 1837 St. Louis Treaty while

---

<sup>240</sup> Martha Royce Blaine *The Ioway Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) 167

<sup>241</sup> Blaine *The Ioway Indians* 198

<sup>242</sup> Blaine *The Ioway Indians* 197

attempting to get better lands for the Iowa. Like other agents, he futilely battled the AFC, which brought unsubstantiated charges against him. He returned to the law in St. Joseph, Missouri, where he was not only became the first practicing attorney but filed the first law suit. Hughes ran unsuccessfully for the Missouri Senate in 1842.

“A man was once speaking to President Andrew Jackson and remarked ‘There is not an honest man in Alabama to which the President replied: ‘Leonard Tarrant is in Alabama and I know he is an honest man’”.<sup>243</sup> Leonard Tarrant (1785–1862) despite his Whig proclivities was chosen by Jackson to be the last Creek East agent (by this time reduced sub-agency status) serving from 1833–1835 when the agency ceased to exist. The well-educated Tarrant had been a school teacher and had moved to Alabama by 1824, serving in the State House of Representatives in 1831–1832. His actions included warning the Creeks to end any raids in Georgia, investigating a court case by the Cherokee Nation against the Creeks, and accounting for how to sell twenty sections of land set aside to aid Creek orphans.<sup>244</sup>

He possessed another title, that of District Certifying Agent, a result of the complexities of the post-removal era. Tarrant’s job was twofold, as he had to oversee the location of private reservations for Creek Indians under Article 2 of the 1832 Treaty of Cusseta. First, each of ninety Creek chiefs was to get one section of land and every other head of household would get a half section including mixed-race, white, and even free black. He had to await the land survey while he completed a census. Claims were to include “improvements” if at all possible and were to be located in Indian towns, again if possible. The second part of his duties was to monitor the sale of these reservations from Indian owners to white purchasers so the Creeks were not cheated. It was a difficult if not impossible job, as fraud and dishonesty were rampant. Even Indians would sell land they did not own. Apparently, there were several certifying districts and Tarrant claimed his district had few problems, stating less than fifty cases of fraud had been discovered out of 1,140 transactions.<sup>245</sup> The government was constantly looking to investigate these contracts but Tarrant seemed to be ahead of them with his own inspections. Criticism of his actions were

---

<sup>243</sup> Anson West *A History of Methodism in Alabama* (Nashville, Tenn.: Printed for the Author. Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Barbee & Smith, Agents, 1893) 473

<sup>244</sup> John T. Ellison *The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on the Collapsing Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010) 124

<sup>245</sup> American State Papers Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States Class V Military Affairs Volume VI No. 691 Causes of the Hostilities of the Creek and Seminole Indians in Florida Letter

endemic but he answered all queries, like the claim he was charging extra fees for deeds. He responded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he had printed blank deeds that sellers and purchasers could use if they wanted. It was a service and he simply charged the government cost. If they wanted to use their own deed, that was also fine.<sup>246</sup> After the Agency closed, he continued as Certifying Agent.

From 1849–1851, he was a member of the Alabama State Senate. During his time as agent, he became more active in the Methodist Church, finally being licensed to preach in the 1840s. In 1833, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Elbert Herring wrote Tarrant, “The difficulties of your position are fully appreciated, and the efforts to render you unpopular with the Indians, are evidence of a faithful discharge of duty on your part”.<sup>247</sup>

Son of Kentucky frontiersman Ezra Owen, Thomas Jefferson Vance Owen (1801–1835) grew to manhood in Kaskaskia, Illinois and studied accounting and bookkeeping. He was elected sheriff of Reynolds County, serving from 1823–1829 when appointed local federal pension agent. In 1830, he was chosen to represent the county in the Illinois House as part of the Elias Kent Kane wing of the Illinois Democratic-Republican party. Seen as an “up and comer,” he was offered the position of Chicago Indian Agent in 1831 upon the death of Alexander Wolcott. His charges included a number of different Potawatomie bands and some Ottawa and Chippewa. During the Black Hawk War, he convinced the Potawatomie to avoid an alliance with Black Hawk and later helped the Chippewa to get lands returned.<sup>248</sup> He had many more problems with white officials than Indians, maintaining a print battle with Illinois Governor John Reynolds over Indian policy while defending himself from charges of dereliction of duty lodged by General Winfield Scott. Scott had arrived in Chicago with a boatload of cholera-stricken soldiers. Owen had simply moved his family away from the disease. He was extremely active in negotiating the Treaty of Tippecanoe in 1832 and the Treaty of Chicago in 1833 and amended 1834. These essentially moved all the local Indians westward.

---

<sup>246</sup>American State Papers Leonard Tarrant Mardisville, Alabama May 27, 1835 to Hon. Lewis Cass Department of War, Washington City 657-658

<sup>247</sup> Letter from Elbert Herring to Leonard Tarrant, June 12, 1833 Accessed July 5, 2019 <https://.home.rootsweb.com/-texlance/genealogy/1832census/letterjune121833.htm>

<sup>248</sup> James Ryan Haydon *Chicago's True Founder Thomas J.V. Owen: A Pleading for Truth and Social Justice in Chicago History* (Lombard, Illinois Printed Privately for the Author, 1934) 80

Owen was also an important figure in the growth of the nascent city of Chicago, helping to found schools, promoting railroads, fathering religious diversity, and becoming the first president of the Chicago Board of Trustees, all while acting as Indian Agent. At his home one might find Indians, traders, Chicago citizens, and town merchants all mingling together. When the agency was closed in 1834, Owen was assigned Superintendent of Emigration and Acting Agent. Once again, struggles with his two military assistants who had a running feud weakened his body as well as his resolve and he soon died. In 1830, Senator E.K. Kane recommended Owen as a man “of unblemished integrity and moral character”.<sup>249</sup> One hundred and four years later, biographer James Ryan Haydon agreed.<sup>250</sup>

#### The “Spoilsman”

In January 1832, Senator William Marcy, speaking on the floor of the Senate, opined “They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victors belongs the spoils of the enemy”.<sup>251</sup> The Senator was defending the practice of President Andrew Jackson in removing political opponents or even government careerists from office and replacing them with Jacksonian partisans. Although there had been some changeover of officials in all administrations since 1789, Jackson was the first to institute a policy of far-reaching replacement in government jobs ranging from Washington clerks to customs officials; from postmasters to Indian agents. As the Second Party System unfolded in the 1840s, it became accepted policy by all political factions.

However, Jackson was not the first president to appoint political supporters as Indian agents. After the pivotal election of 1800, Thomas Jefferson attempted to award some Republican adherents including Erastus Granger (1765–1826) who was not only agent to the Six Nations from 1804–1818 but simultaneously held several other federal patronage jobs in the Buffalo, New York area. A New England school teacher turned merchant, Granger had gone south to represent the interests of several New England businessmen where he met and became a follower of Thomas Jefferson. Granger campaigned unsuccessfully for Jefferson in 1800 with his cousin Gideon Granger, future Postmaster General, in the infertile soil of Federalist Connecticut, but in 1804 he was rewarded with the Indian agent’s job among the Six Nations in western New

---

<sup>249</sup> Haydon *Chicago’s True Founder* 23

<sup>250</sup> Haydon *Chicago’s True Founder* 23,142

<sup>251</sup> Senator William Learned Marcy, remarks in the Senate, January 25,1832. *Register of Debates in Congress* Vol.8, col 1325 <https://www.bartleby.com/73/1314.html>

York. He also became postmaster at Buffalo 1804–1818, surveyor of the Port of Buffalo 1803–1812, and collector of the port 1805–1812. In addition, he was a judge of the Genesee County court 1807–1808 and upon the organization of Niagara County, judge of its court from 1808–1817. Finally, Granger was Supervisor of the City of Buffalo 1816–1817. Holding multiple offices as well as being patronage purveyor for western New York required Granger to rely on deputies like Jaspar Parrish, the sub-agent.

Many of his interactions with the Indians were diplomatic or commercial. In the period preceding the War of 1812, he consistently urged the Six Nations to remain neutral in any conflict, adding that they should heed George Washington’s advice to the Seneca, “That you take no part in the quarrels of white people”.<sup>252</sup> Granger himself publicly asked the Indians to avoid white men who held positions like lawyers, ministers, and merchants, “which is a class of people I wish may never come among you.”<sup>253</sup> He intervened in a dispute between the Holland Land Company, the Tuscarora, and the Federal Government. The Tuscarora had joined the Iroquois Confederation in 1711, fleeing from North Carolina. They had been living on Seneca land and now wanted their own property so in 1803, they decided to buy land from the Holland Land Company. Initially, Granger felt the price was too high and blocked the sale but eventually was convinced the price was fair: 4,329 acres for \$13,722.<sup>254</sup> The money came from a settlement of a government claim against North Carolina. He kept the Indians in his jurisdiction out of the War of 1812 until Canadian Indians attacked across the border, at which point Granger led an Indian detachment defending Buffalo. Quaker missionary Halliday Jackson wrote of an 1806 visit to the Six Nations, commenting on Granger, “who appears to be a [worthy] Man & much disp’d to promote the Indian welfare”.<sup>255</sup>

“Rotation in Office” might well work in reverse, as exemplified in the case of Thomas Lewis (1760–1847), the first Cherokee Agent 1799–1801 and son of a well-known Virginia surveyor and politician with ties to George Washington. Although he organized the Cherokee

---

<sup>252</sup> William Chazanof *Joseph Ellicott and the Holland Land Company: The Opening of Western New York* (Syracuse University Press, 1970) 81

<sup>253</sup> Merle H. Deardorff and George S. Synderman “A Nineteenth Century Journal of a Visit to the Indians of New York” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100 No.6 (Dec. 17, 1956) 612

<sup>254</sup> Chazanof *Joseph Ellicott* 76

<sup>255</sup> “Halliday Jackson’s Journal of a Visit Paid to the Indians of New York (1806)” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 101 No. 6 (Studies of Historical Documents in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (Dec. 19, 1957) 587

Mounted Police or “Lighthorse”<sup>256</sup> and convinced the chiefs to accept Moravian missionaries and a school, he was relieved of his duties in May 1801 reputedly for “Malfeasance” related to inebriation. However, his greatest sin may have been he and his family’s dedication to the Federalist Party. Elected as a Federalist from Kanawha County (present day West Virginia) to the United States House of Representatives in 1802, his Jeffersonian opponent challenged the results and the overwhelmingly Jeffersonian House eventually seated him in Lewis’s place in 1804. Describing the election in a May 1803 letter to Postmaster General Gideon Granger, President Thomas Jefferson referred to Lewis as a “tory”.<sup>257</sup>

In 1829, John McElvain (1787–1858), a Franklin County, Ohio sheriff and recent Jackson elector in the 1828 contest, was appointed Indian agent at the new Ohio Agency, conveniently located in McElvain’s hometown of Columbus. McElvain had served as a 3<sup>rd</sup> Lieutenant in the 26<sup>th</sup> Infantry and fought at Fort Erie in 1814. He pursued several occupations: farmer, merchant, hotel-keeper, and later a saw mill owner. He also served as Ohio State Librarian 1818–1820, Sheriff of Franklin County 1819–1821, and again 1827–1829. His standing with the Jacksonian Democrats was excellent, as he had not only been an Elector in 1828 but had tried to be one in 1824 when Jackson first ran. Apparently, he was not that well known to Jackson’s minions as he was originally nominated and approved as James McElvain and the whole process had to be repeated to get his name right.

As Ohio Agent, McElvain was in charge of all remaining Indians in Ohio including Wyandot, Shawnee, Seneca, a few Delaware, and some Ottawa bands. His primary jobs were to negotiate treaties to foster additional removals and oversee the organization of those removals. He was involved in arranging the Treaty of Little Sandusky in 1829 and the Treaty with the Senecas, Shawnees, and Wyandots in 1831. In the latter year, McElvain was directly concerned with the complex Seneca removal. He was aware the Wyandot were watching for any signs of mismanagement and he faced opposition from his sub-agent Henry Brish; he also heard complaints from the Seneca that they had not received the \$6,000 promised to them and had to navigate the complexities of a two-pronged removal, some overland and the remainder by boat,

---

<sup>256</sup> William G. McLoughlin *Cherokee Renasence in the New Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) 45

<sup>257</sup> Francis N. Thorpe, A Letter of Jefferson on the Political Parties, 1798, *The American Historical Review* Volume 3, Issue 3 (April 1898) 488–489 Accessed May 26, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/3.3.488>

all while being challenged by his own illness. The Indians accused him of withholding funds and demanded he not be their escort. In his stead, he convinced the interpreter to accompany them. In 1833, McElvain announced to the Indian Department that the Shawnee had chosen half-breed interpreter Joseph Parks to be their chief escort west.<sup>258</sup> Parks securities for the funds entrusted to him were his brother and two Shawnee chiefs who McElvain wrote were worth \$2,000–\$3,000.<sup>259</sup> For his services, McElvain was remunerated \$40.<sup>260</sup> In 1832, the Ohio Agency was reduced to a sub-agency and McElvain was moved to Upper Sandusky on the Wyandot Reserve, the only Indians remaining in Ohio.

He left office in 1835, ran unsuccessfully for Congress as a Democrat in 1838 but in 1840, supported William Henry Harrison, the Whig candidate for president. Now with a new political affiliation, McElvain was Director of the Ohio Penitentiary 1840–1841, Trustee of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in 1841 under Whig Governor Thomas Corwin, and later US Marshal for Ohio 1843–1845 under the Tyler Administration.

George Vashon (1777–1835) began his vocational life early at the age of fifteen, working in a Norfolk counting house and eventually becoming a merchant aided by a sizable inheritance from his father. He served in the Virginia House of Delegates, 1810–1812 and held a Captain’s commission in the Virginia Militia. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, he joined the 10<sup>th</sup> US Infantry as a 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant and was promoted to Captain in 1815. Continuing in the military after the Treaty of Ghent, he accompanied Andrew Jackson in his incursion into Spanish Florida or the First Seminole War. Among his duties during the “invasion” was being jailer for Englishman Alexander Arbuthnot at St. Marks. Arbuthnot, Robert Ambrister, and two Seminoles were hanged by Jackson in a major international incident.<sup>261</sup> Leaving the Army in 1819, Vashon invested heavily in land while continuing his mercantile pursuits. Poor weather, soil depletion, as well as the aftermath of the Panic of 1819 caused him major economic setbacks, and he began trolling for a federal appointment. He was a Jackson elector for Virginia in 1824 and as early as

---

<sup>258</sup> Rev. J.J. Lutz “The Methodist Missions Among The Indian Tribes In Kansas” *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society* 1905–1906 Vol. IX ( Topeka: State Printing Office. 1906) 160; Letter from John McElvain to Hon. E. Herring May 3, 1833 Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma Digital Collection Accessed July 9, 2019 <https://www.ohiomemory.org/collection/p16007coll27/id/7458/>

<sup>259</sup> Letter from John McElvain to Hon. E. Herring May 3, 1833.

<sup>260</sup> Letter from John McElvain to Hon. E. Herring May 3, 1833.

<sup>261</sup> Frank L. Owsley, Jr., “Ambrister and Arbuthnot: Adventurers or Martyrs for British Honor?” *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no.3 (Autumn, 1985): 289–308.

1825, Jackson, praising his Seminole campaign service, recommended him “to the notice of the government”.<sup>262</sup> In 1829, Vashon was appointed agent for the Delaware and Shawnee at Fort Leavenworth.

His tenure was about a year and included duties like negotiating a supplement to the Delaware Treaty of 1818 agreeing to move them from Missouri to Kansas in exchange for larger annuities, a school fund, provisions, and grist and saw mills, as well as asking for a Methodist missionary for the Shawnee. Vashon was in constant conflict with the local traders, particularly the Chouteau family. He maintained all the traders sold whiskey, cheated the Indians, and suggested he could find cheaper merchandise. Vashon even invited new traders to the Shawnee Agency trying to provide more competitors and thus lower prices. The Chouteaus denied the charges and attacked his invitation for new traders as illegal.

In 1830, Vashon transferred to the Cherokee West Agency where he faced an incredible number of tasks ranging from the minute to the challenging. He negotiated treaties like that in 1834 which Jackson refused to submit to the Senate. He had the agency reserve surveyed and advertised for sale until the government postponed the process. He pushed for an accurate survey of the Cherokee lands, spent 1832–1834 investigating Cherokee spoliation claims (damages beyond legal recourse), tried to save the Osage Union Mission on Cherokee property, defended Cherokee claims to lands coveted by the Creeks, advocated greater funding for schools, and handled a Cherokee request for a Cherokee language school. However, Vashon’s most onerous task was supplying all the Cherokee who were moving west in families and small groups. There were numerous requests to pay a person \$32.50, a family \$162.50, or Chief John Jolly \$500, which he would give to the Chief and promise to deduct from the next annuity. Vashon got \$114 for going to New Orleans and getting the public monies himself. He also had an important white resident at the Agency whom he saw as a potential detriment to the Cherokee. Sam Houston had resigned as Governor of Tennessee, moved in among the Cherokee, and lived with his Cherokee “wife.” He had great influence within the tribe as well as friends in high places in Washington. Vashon feared him and warned government officials that they should ignore the portion of

---

<sup>262</sup> Harold D. Mosher, J. Clint Cliff (eds), *The Papers of Andrew Jackson Vol. VI 1825–1828*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2002): Calendar 553.



requests written by Houston as it would “gratify the private views of a few individuals”.<sup>263</sup> He was confused by Houston’s status as an adopted tribal member who claimed all the rights of a Cherokee while acting as a trader and land speculator. Vashon’s position was downgraded to sub-agent in 1834 and he died in 1835.

Interestingly, George Vashon’s namesake grandson was the first black graduate of Oberlin College and the first black member of the New York State Bar. George Sr. was the bastard son of Simon Vashon and was raised in a poor section of Baltimore by his mother. Later, his father invited him to come and live near Norfolk, Virginia where he had a dalliance with one of his father’s former slaves that resulted in a child.<sup>264</sup> His father and then sixteen-year-old George Sr. provided for his offspring, named John Vashon, who became a seaman, northern businessman, and abolitionist. John’s son, also named George, was raised in Pennsylvania and went on to become the aforementioned graduate and lawyer.

William Marshall (1786–1859) was a Jacksonian “spoilsman” twice. A shadowy figure usually referred to as General Marshall, he appeared in south central Indiana at statehood and was a teacher/businessman as well as master in chancery of Jackson County in 1824 and served on an 1829 committee to rebuild the courthouse at Brownstown. Marshall was a strong Jacksonian, opening the Indiana Jackson Convention in Indianapolis in January 1828 and appointed to select a Jackson elector from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Judicial Circuit. In March, 1829, he was named United States marshal for Indiana, serving until 1832 when he resigned to become Indian agent for Indiana. The Agency closed in 1835.

The Miami and a number of Potawatomie bands were the only Indians remaining in Indiana, and Marshall’s job was to aid them in removal. During a ten-day period in December of 1834, he completed four treaties, crowing to the War Department that he had bought the Potawatomie Reserve lands (52,800 acres) at a quarter of its actual value.<sup>265</sup> His services might be dramatic or mundane. At the time of the Black Hawk War, Marshall gathered the Potawatomie at the agency, to protect them as well as allay fears of local settlers. In 1834, two suffering

---

<sup>263</sup> Jack Dwain Gregory and Rennard Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokees, 1829–1833*, (University of Texas Press, 1967): 97.

<sup>264</sup> Paul N.D. Thornell, “The Absent Ones and the Providers: A Biography of the Vashons,” *The Journal of Negro History* 83, no.4 (Fall,1998): 285.

<sup>265</sup>[https://www.jstor.org/stable/27790518?seq=2#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/27790518?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents)

Potawatomie arrived at his headquarters stating they would soon leave for the West and asking only for a little bread. He wrote an order for the military supplier to give them six loaves.<sup>266</sup>

After his service, he submitted claims for \$5,809.19 for paying Indian obligations and debts. The government admitted some should be allowed but demanded more documentation. Associate Nicholas Grover alluded to Marshall's "well know carelessness, in the matter of accounts".<sup>267</sup> He was called out of retirement in 1840 and helped to negotiate the Treaty of the Wabash with the Miami, ending Indian occupation of Indiana or "Land of the Indians."

Andrew Jackson appointed at least seventy-five editors and journalists to Federal office. Included among them was Samuel C. Stambaugh (1791–1860), the editor/publisher of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania *Democratic Herald*, and *Pennsylvania Reporter*. An ardent Democrat and lawyer, he began his journalistic career founding the Free Press in Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1819. Moving to the capital in 1827, he not only published the Herald but had contracts to print the records of both the House and Senate. He also printed the *Proceedings of the Democratic Convention Held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, January 8, 1828*.

He was awarded the position of Indian Agent at Green Bay in 1830 dealing primarily with the Menominee. Stambaugh hit the ground running, meeting with the Menominee and explaining they needed to defend their lands from the New York Indians who had been moved west and settled near them. He suggested selling part of their land to the United States and gaining annuities, which others had already done, rather than allow governmental authorities to force emigrating Indians onto their homeland. He was speaking to a rapt audience who both trusted him and agreed with him.<sup>268</sup> So off to Washington, DC they traversed, minus Head Chief Oshkosh who refused to go. In the Stambaugh Treaty of 1831, the Menominee traded land for a little money and lots of goods, structures, and teachers with the intention of having them become agriculturalists. However, the New York Congressional delegation who felt Stambaugh was working to limit old treaties with the emigrating Indians held up his confirmation until it eventually died.<sup>269</sup> Although never officially an agent, Secretary of War John Eaton urged

---

<sup>266</sup> Congressional Serial Set. Doc 512 Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians between 30<sup>th</sup> November 1831 and 27<sup>th</sup> December 1833 136-137

<sup>267</sup> Congressional Globe, House of Representatives 36<sup>th</sup> Congress 1<sup>st</sup> Session 1860 Israel Johnson A bill (H.R. 370) for the Relief of Israel Johnson 1927.

<sup>268</sup> Hall *Uncommon Defense* 114-115

<sup>269</sup> Publius V. Lawson *History Winnebago County, Wisconsin. Its cities, towns, people* Wisconsin County Histories Wisconsin Historical Society (1908) 109

Stambaugh to return to Green Bay, stating, “They [Menominee] have objected to go back with any but yourself”.<sup>270</sup> Just as Stambaugh and the delegation returned, the Black Hawk War began and he organized the Stambaugh Battalion of several hundred Menominee to fight with the Americans. The Menominee volunteered quickly, as the Sac and Fox were an old enemy. However, their services were not needed and Stambaugh was finally relieved but not before producing “A Report on the quality and condition of Wisconsin Territory, 1831” and being involved in the abortive Territory of Huron movement.<sup>271</sup> Stambaugh accomplished a great deal from 1830–1832, all while never being confirmed.

His post-Indian agent career was interesting but uneven. He was offered another position with the Indian Department but would accept only a treaty commissioner’s or staff appointment. He was secretary to the commissioners for several treaties in Arkansas and in 1835, Stambaugh was awarded the position of sutler at Fort Snelling as well as a position as postmaster at St. Paul in present day Minnesota. He seems to have been primarily an absentee placeholder, as he formed a partnership to conduct business with Henry H. Sibley who was actually a front man for the American Fur Company. The unhappy association ended in 1839.

Later, he acted as plaintiff’s attorney for Cherokee J.K. Rogers in his suit against the United States government for spoliations as a result of Georgia taking his gold mine in 1835–1836. He and others would produce *A Faithful History of the Cherokee Indians* in 1846 and in a last act on the frontier, his neighbor and friend from Lancaster, James Buchanan, appointed him surveyor general of Utah. Stambaugh reported that his predecessor had perpetrated fraud against both Mormons and the federal government and reminded the Territorial Governor that President Buchanan was expecting a report on the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Stambaugh died the next year. Zachery Taylor commented concerning Stambaugh, “he possesses not one particle of firmness, independence, political or moral honesty”.<sup>272</sup> However, in his book *Uncommon Defense*, author John Hall explored Indian attitudes and strategies, stating, “Only the tactful

---

<sup>270</sup> Beck, *Siege and Survival*, 109.

<sup>271</sup> Stambaugh, Samuel C. and State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Report on the quality and condition of Wisconsin Territory* (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1900) Accessed May 27, 2021 Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/28012407/>; Stambaugh, Samuel C. *Samuel C. Stambaugh Papers*. Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection Number 1677 Description Proposed organization of the Territory of Huron Accessed April 25, 2018 <https://discover.hsp.org/Record/ead-1677/Description>

<sup>272</sup> Laurence M. Hauptman and L. Gordon McLester III *Chief Daniel Bread and the Oneida Nation of Indians of Wisconsin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) 64

diplomacy of Agent Stambaugh, whom the Menominee regarded as an ally maintained the peace” between Menominee and Mesquakies (Fox).<sup>273</sup> Samuel Stambaugh was controversial but never dull.

Although the politicians and “spoilsmen” faced some criticism, most were excellent and aggressive agents dedicated to the Indians welfare. Being a political appointee did not automatically make a man corrupt, it just demonstrated he was political like land office receivers, customs collectors, and postmasters/mistresses. The long reform campaign for civil service has clouded the reputation of decent individuals who were political appointees without examining in detail what they accomplished.

#### Friend of the Indian

In 1882, the Indian Rights Association was formed, comprised of wealthy, eastern, politically and socially significant individuals who styled themselves the “Friends of the Indian”. Most of the “Friends” had never seen a live Indian outside a travelling delegation or as a “famous” Indian who was on a speaking tour. A pejorative term to many contemporary historians who see the “Friends” as ethnocentric Victorian bigots, they were well-intentioned if not well informed. A number of the early Indian agents might qualify as real “Friends of the Indian” as they lived with the tribes, attempted to better the Indian’s situation, fought for Indian rights against white interlopers, and were in turn respected by the natives for their concern and actions.

Return Jonathan Meigs Sr. (1740–1823) served as Cherokee East agent twenty-two years from 1801–1823. A Connecticut merchant with an interest in the military, he rushed to the aid of the defenders at Lexington in April 1775 and participated in the ill-fated attack on Quebec later that year where he was captured and later exchanged. Meigs led a raid on Sag Harbor, Long Island in 1777, burning ten transports as well as the wharves and capturing sixty-four soldiers. In 1779, he fought alongside General Anthony Wayne at Stony Point and was retired in 1781 as a lieutenant colonel. In the post war era, Meigs took an interest in the Ohio country through the aegis of The Ohio Company of Associates, a group headed by New England Revolutionary veterans, some of whom had land warrants in the Northwest Territory. Meigs became one of the company’s first surveyors in 1788 and later served as judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions and clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. From 1799–1801, he was a member of the Northwest

---

<sup>273</sup> Hall, *Uncommon Defense* 115

Territorial legislature. However, the sixty-one-year-old felt his farm and political jobs were “though credible ... not profitable” as he mentioned in an 1801 letter to the controversial General James Wilkinson, Senior Officer in the Army, 1800–1812.<sup>274</sup> Meigs continued “I don’t care what it is, whether civil or military or where situated, provided it is an object which you shall think proper for me.”<sup>275</sup> Soon he was appointed Temporary Agent for Indian Affairs in the Cherokee Nation as well as Agent for the War Department in the State of Tennessee, the latter position held until 1813.

Meigs confronted a balancing act in his new position. He had to give at least lip service to the old Federalist plan of “civilization” with an emphasis on farming and home crafts while pressing land purchases and ultimate removal as requested by the new Jefferson Administration. To keep land titles clear for potential buyers, he had to expel white squatters as well as prevent Cherokee retaliation against settlers. Inter-tribal peace was essential for any program as well as neutrality during international conflicts like the War of 1812. Deflecting the rhetoric and possible actions of land-hungry states like North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia was also needed. In addition, Meigs had to maintain good relations with the Cherokee as a white man to be trusted. He seemed to do it all while retaining Indian respect.

Initially he pursued the “civilization” policy of increasing Indian knowledge of agricultural and pastoral pursuits as well as mechanical skills, all while pushing for schooling for Cherokee youth. He even used the military to build structures housing the various craftsmen. Meigs also had the military detachment at Hiwassee expel white intruders on Cherokee lands including eighty-three families in 1809. He understood he was a government employee and when policy changed, he had to change with it regardless of personal perspectives. Meigs was active in the 1806 and 1807 treaties for Cherokee lands and by 1811, about 2,000 Cherokee had migrated west to the Arkansas River Valley. He did everything he could to provide for the care and safety of the emigrants. Eventually, he became a convert for total removal, describing in a newspaper article that Indians and whites were “part of a rising empire” just residing apart.<sup>276</sup>

---

<sup>274</sup> Greer Jackson Kinery “Return Jonathan Meigs, Cherokee Indian Agent, 1801–1823 (MA Thesis The University of Tennessee, 1948) 17.

<sup>275</sup> Kinery, “Return Jonathan Meigs” 89

<sup>276</sup> Nicholas Guyatt “ ‘The Outskirts of Our Happiness’: Race and the Lure of Colonization in the Early Republic” *The Journal of American History* 95 No. 4 (March 2009) 996

He revitalized the Cherokee Council of Head Warriors as a tool to maintain peace and a possible training ground for republican government. The Council helped to keep the peace and maintain Cherokee neutrality in the War of 1812. However, it had the unwanted effect of stiffening Cherokee resistance to removal. More mundane duties included defending Cherokee land rights in the Creek cession, advising a white salt peter mine owner operating on Indian lands on where to seek legal redress, and attempting to discover if a black Virginian slave was actually Cherokee.

Historical complaints against Meigs involved his eventual advocacy of removal; his use of bribery in negotiations, which was government policy, and the business partnership of his son Timothy and Cherokee Chief John Ross. Family connections went even further. His grandson Return J. Meigs IV married Ross's daughter and ironically was an emigrant on the Trail of Tears.

Nevertheless, authors' generalizations concerning Meigs are often commendatory, as they express that "The Indians in laying their problems before Meigs felt he was one whose integrity they need not question"<sup>277</sup> or that Meigs was "a caring Cherokee agent who generally worked for the interests of his wards".<sup>278</sup> In 1823, the eighty-two-year-old Meigs received a visit from an old Cherokee chief. Rather than allow the elderly man to sleep out in the cold, Meigs offered his house/headquarters for his visitor while he slept in a nearby tent. He got pneumonia and soon died.<sup>279</sup>

A protege of James Monroe, Lawrence Taliaferro (1794–1871) was agent at St. Peters, Minnesota, 1819–1839. Born into a wealthy Virginia family, privately tutored, he received an appointment as an ensign in the Army in 1813 at the recommendation of Secretary of State and family friend, James Monroe. His wartime duties were constant peregrinations from Missouri to Ohio to Kentucky to New Jersey on recruiting and POW duties with a brief military interlude on the Niagara frontier. He remained in the downsized Army after the war as a lieutenant stationed near Detroit. He later helped rebuild Fort Dearborn in Chicago. On leave in 1818, Taliaferro was invited to Washington to see new President James Monroe who convinced him to leave the Army and take a newly created post as Indian agent. Initially he would deal with both Sioux and

---

<sup>277</sup> Kinery "Return Jonathan Meigs" 92

<sup>278</sup> Marion O. Smith "Murder at Kingston Saltpeter Cave, 1810 The Killer's Account" *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 72 No. 2 ( Summer, 1988) 301.

<sup>279</sup> Meigs.org/rjm90.htm 3

northern Chippewa, the latter being transferred to another agency after 1827 although they still continued to come to him to talk. He would be re-nominated six times.

Taliaferro's initial commission was to thwart any remnant of the old British trading community and introduce himself to the local Indians. He quickly put limits on British traders but just as quickly allowed some to regain licenses, provided they would obey American law. He held many "meet and greet" councils with any Indian who would attend, hosting approximately 200 meetings between 1820 and 1831. He built a Council House at Fort Snelling, the local military post, and gave out supplies, food, and gunpowder to visitors. He held larger multi-tribal conferences at places like Prairie du Chien in 1825 and mediated conflicts between the Chippewa and Sioux. Even distant tribes like the Winnebago, Menominee, and Sac and Fox sought direction from this frontier diplomat. Taliaferro gained a reputation as candid and dependable. Little Crow termed him "No-Sugar-in-Your-Mouth" for his honesty, adding "You are as good as an Indian in our minds".<sup>280</sup> Interestingly, he never learned the Dakota language and instead relied on Scott Campbell, his faithful interpreter from 1822–1839.

Taliaferro maintained excellent relations with the local military establishment. Army doctor John Gale commented, "The whole army on this frontier unite in the belief that the government has for once an honest, efficient agent for Indian affairs".<sup>281</sup> Joseph Nicollet, the French geographer who mapped the Upper Mississippi Basin in the 1830s, observed "You have done your best fearlessly, devotedly, nobly".<sup>282</sup> He initiated a vaccination program and spent thousands of dollars of his own money on flour and meat for poor Indians.<sup>283</sup> He developed a model farm between 1829 and 1839, but lack of interest and some outright opposition doomed the project. A devout Christian, Taliaferro pushed missionary schools and evangelization among the Sioux as well as assuming the position of justice of the peace, marrying the many locals who lived together without benefit of clergy, including slave and future Supreme Court plaintiff Dred Scott.

---

<sup>280</sup> Lawrence Taliaferro Accessed May 15, 2018 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lawrence\\_Taliaferro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lawrence_Taliaferro).; Lawrence Taliaferro *Auto-Biography of Major Lawrence Taliaferro: Written in 1864* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1894 237.

<sup>281</sup> Taliaferro, *Auto-Biography*, 212.

<sup>282</sup> Taliaferro, *Auto-Biography*, 238–239.

<sup>283</sup> [www.mnopedia.org/person/taliaferro=lawrence-1794-1871](http://www.mnopedia.org/person/taliaferro=lawrence-1794-1871)

Most of his problems stemmed from interaction with certain traders and specifically the American Fur Company. He received death threats; a man broke into his bedroom and intimidated him with a gun<sup>284</sup>; he was called unqualified and a “foolish boy”;<sup>285</sup> and he faced legal charges stemming from the burning of a whiskey shop. In turn Taliaferro exposed fraud and extortion and confiscated \$20,000 and six barrels of whiskey from AFC trader Alexis Bailly.<sup>286</sup> A later complication for Taliaferro were the numerous treaty commissioners sent by the government to officially negotiate accords while sometimes looking to gain profits. He was involved in a number of treaties in 1824, 1830, and most importantly 1837, when he participated in the Dakota Treaty, whereby the Sioux relinquished all claims to lands east of the Mississippi. The government’s failure to fulfill its treaty promises angered Taliaferro and helped lead to his 1839 resignation.

In addition, the agent had a myriad of mundane responsibilities like finding settlers’ cows and pigs that meandered onto Indian lands; retrieving British and American Fur Company medals from the Indians and replacing them with American government ones; chasing a British traveler away from the Indians the Englishman relating the King still thought fondly of them and trying to find a fit punishment for an Indian boy who shot an army officer’s dog.

After service, he moved to Bedford, Pennsylvania where he was county treasurer. In 1857, he rejoined the army as a paymaster assigned to San Antonio, Texas, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and finally Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania serving four years. Upon his resignation in 1839, he complained, “I am disgusted with the life of an agent among such discordant materials and bad management on the part of Congress”.<sup>287</sup> Little Crow cried “Since you left us a dark cloud has hung over our nation”.<sup>288</sup> In 1842, he petitioned Congress for \$2,390 to cover the rent of a building he owned at Fort Snelling that was used as quarters for the sub-agent and interpreter from 1826–1842. Congress responded the claim was “wholly inadmissible”.<sup>289</sup> In 1856, Taliaferro traveled back to Minnesota for the laying of the cornerstone of the St. Paul Historical Society but no one knew him.

---

<sup>284</sup> <https://minnlawyer.com/2019/01/03/the-moral-arc-of-indian-agent-lawrence-taliferro> 7

<sup>285</sup> Taliaferro, *Auto-Biography*, 201.

<sup>286</sup> Taliaferro, *Auto-Biography*, 203.

<sup>287</sup> Taliaferro in his journal soon after resigning, August 25, 1839 <https://www.usdakotawar.org/history/lawrence-taliaferro>

<sup>288</sup> Taliaferro *Auto-Biography* 253

<sup>289</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess Rep. No. 365 Ho. Of Reprs. Lawrence Taliaferro March 27, 1844.REPORT 2



Perhaps the best known, most important and most revered of the early agents was Benjamin Hawkins (1754–1816). The son of a wealthy North Carolina planter, he attended the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) until called by General George Washington to be his French translator. After being supplanted by Lafayette, Hawkins returned to North Carolina where he served as commercial agent, a state representative, 1778–1779 and 1784 and a member of the Confederation Congress 1781–1783 and 1787. That body assigned Hawkins, Andrew Pickens and Joseph Martin to negotiate a treaty with the Choctaw and the Creeks. No agreement was reached with the latter but raiding was diminished. In 1789, Hawkins did help run a line dividing Creek and Georgia lands which according to Hawkins “closed in perfect harmony”. He served as one of the first United States Senators from Georgia, 1789–1795 and in 1796 negotiated the Treaty of Colerain, reaffirming previous treaties with the Creeks and angering Georgia.<sup>290</sup> His reputation for fairness and justice toward the Indians influenced Washington to appoint that “ingenious gentleman” Superintending Agent for all Indians South of the Ohio River with special emphasis on the Creeks. Although his extended family felt he could do better, he accepted and he and his immediate family settled in southwest Georgia.

His home became the Creek agency headquarters where he built a model farm to teach the Indians to extend their agricultural and herding businesses to include cotton culture and greater numbers of cattle, hogs and sheep. He imported plows, looms and even a cotton gin (1802).<sup>291</sup> Hawkins also developed the Creek National Council (1799) and advocated a societal plan favoring the nuclear family in place of the clan.<sup>292</sup> Robert Thrower in his “Causalities and Consequences of the Creek War” contends Hawkins was the “principal cause of the Creek War” in 1812 which he feels grew from resistance by some elements among the Creeks to the “civilization” program and governmental and societal re-organization projects.<sup>293</sup>

Hawkins’ duties as agent were multifaceted. He was diplomat, mediator, judge, researcher and author of books on Indian customs. He learned the language and was adopted into the tribe with the name “Iste-chate-osetate-chemiste-chaugo” or “The Beloved Man of the Four

---

<sup>290</sup> Merritt B. Pound “Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 12 No 4 (December, 1929) 395

<sup>291</sup> Pound “Benjamin Hawkins” 400

<sup>292</sup> Kathryn E. Holland Braud (ed) *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War of 1812* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2012) 1

<sup>293</sup> Robert G. Thrower “Casualties and Consequences of the Creek War: A Modern Creek Perspective” in *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War and War of 1812* 10-13

Nations”.<sup>294</sup> The Creeks even assigned Hawkins as their agent to the United States government in 1804.<sup>295</sup> He issued passes to traders, provided for ill or injured chiefs, ordered return of escaped slaves, hunted stray animals, and could even order out the Indians to pacify the countryside. Hawkins as Superintendent of all southern Indians continued his treaty negotiations with the Chickasaw in 1801, Choctaw in 1801, and Creek in 1802 and 1804. His main adversaries were authorities in Georgia and Tennessee. In 1812, the Tennessee House of Representatives passed a resolution asking for his removal for allowing settlers to be murdered by Indians. Congress took no action.

The period from 1811–1814 was Hawkins most difficult. The Creek War 1813–1814, an adjunct of the War of 1812 emanated from a variety of factors including a desire to return to traditional mores as preached by Tecumseh and his brother “The Prophet” exacerbated by conflict with settlers and furthered fueled by British and Spanish agents. Hawkins led a segment of the Creeks along with some Cherokee in combination with Tennessee and Georgia militias commanded by Andrew Jackson to defeat the traditionalist “Red Sticks” at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (in present day Alabama) in 1814. As a result, Jackson forced upon the “Red Sticks” the Treaty of Fort Jackson which Hawkins did not attend. The Indians were required to cede over 21 million acres of land in Alabama and Georgia. Hawkins was horrified at the injustice of the Treaty and submitted his resignation in 1815, dying the next year.

His contemporaries thought highly of him but sometimes distrusted his motives. His obituary in the Niles Weekly Register, June 29, 1816 concluded “He devoted much of his time to science and literature, and is supposed to have been more conversant with the character and traditions of the Indians than any man that ever lived.” Frontiersman, Sam Dale, the “Daniel Boone of Alabama” observed “He was an old and faithful officer—a man of fine sense—a sterling patriot. He loved the Indians and they had great confidence in him”.<sup>296</sup> However, it may have been Thomas Jefferson who truly understood Hawkins as he noted in an 1804 letter to Andrew Jackson:

Towards the attainment of our two objects of peace and lands, it is essential that our agent acquire that sort of influence over the Indians which rests on confidence. In this respect, I

---

<sup>294</sup> Pound, “Benjamin Hawkins,” 404.

<sup>295</sup> Pound “Benjamin Hawkins” 402

<sup>296</sup> Pound “Benjamin Hawkins” 398

suppose that no man has ever obtained more influence than Colonel Hawkins. Towards the preservation of peace, he is omnipotent; in the encouragement of agriculture, he is indefatigable and successful. These are important portions of his duty. But doubts are entertained by some whether he is not more attached to the interests of the Indians than that of the United States; whether he is willing they should cede lands when they are willing to do so.<sup>297</sup>

Holding a myriad of frontier and Indian related positions John McKee (1771–1832) was a busy man. A Virginian, he studied Greek and Latin at Liberty Hall Academy (Washington and Lee University) in Lexington, Virginia and by 1792 lived in the Territory South of the Ohio River where territorial governor William Blount appointed him surveyor of the Cherokee boundary. The next year he led a peacekeeping mission to the Cherokee and also accompanied five Chickasaw chiefs to Philadelphia to meet President Washington. In 1794, McKee was Cherokee territorial agent and the following year became a lawyer and Blount County clerk. A Cherokee chief once commented, “I ... never heard anything from him but the truth”.<sup>298</sup>

In 1797, he was an agent of the federal government to Panton, Leslie and Company in Pensacola, Florida concerning Choctaw debts. A Scottish company that existed from 1783–1804 operating from the Bahamas and Spanish Florida, it dominated the Indian trade and was generally antithetical to American interests. Having a reputation for “fairness, honesty and success”,<sup>299</sup> McKee was appointed Choctaw agent in 1799 by John Adams. However, his Federalist appointment helped lead to his dismissal by the new Jefferson Administration in 1802.

Apparently, trusted by the Choctaw, McKee was assigned by military commander Andrew Jackson in 1813 to ensure the tribes' neutrality or active support against the Creek “Red Sticks” and the British. He was surprised by the willingness of Chief Pushmataha to fight with the Americans and reported to Jackson their bravery in battle.<sup>300</sup> In 1814, he became Choctaw agent once again serving until 1821. Much of his labor was dedicated to maintaining the Choctaw alliance and then either assisting or resisting attempts at procuring Choctaw lands. In 1818, he was assigned to negotiate with the Choctaw in purchasing lands in southern Mississippi. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun wrote McKee to broach the idea of a sale but if they refused,

---

<sup>297</sup> Pound “Benjamin Hawkins” 396

<sup>298</sup> Ben Windham: Obscure resting place fitting for John McKee Tuscaloosa News May 20, 2007 Accessed July 20, 2019 <https://www.tuscaloosaneews.com/20070520/ben-wndham-obscure-resting-place-for-john-mckee> 1

<sup>299</sup> Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr. *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1970) 21

<sup>300</sup> DeRosier *Removal* 35-36

to thank them and leave. McKee and his associates followed orders. The next year however, Andrew Jackson was one of the commissioners and after he harangued and threatened the Choctaw and they refused, McKee ended the negotiation. McKee's fair dealing outraged Jackson who complained to Secretary Calhoun.<sup>301</sup> In 1820, sans McKee, Jackson and the other commissioners forced the Treaty of Doaks Stand upon the Choctaw, gaining much of western Mississippi.

McKee moved from Choctaw agent to registrar of the United States Land Office at Tuscaloosa, Alabama in 1821 continuing in office until 1823 when he began serving the first of three terms as a member of the United States House of Representatives from Alabama. A Jacksonian, he was a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs but played a minor role in debates. A number of his "biographies" insist he was involved in the negotiations of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 which finally removed the Choctaw across the Mississippi. However, he was neither a commissioner nor a signatory so it appears he was not part of the negotiations.

Between 1806 and 1809, fiery Frankfort, Kentucky newspaper editor Joseph Montfort Street (1782–1840) was sued for liable numerous times; challenged to several duels, thrown out of a town ball and shot on the street, the most successful of four attempts on his life. His newspaper, *The Western World* "broke" the story of the "Spanish Conspiracy" or "Burr Conspiracy" as it is known today. A combination of information, innuendo, and invention, the "story" drove the rapid rise of the newspaper and rocked the political foundations of Kentucky with lurid details of attempts to separate the state and the rest of the "West" from the Union. Its presentation anticipated elements of William Randolph Hearst's "yellow journalism", the tabloid press and "fake news". Declining interest in the "Conspiracy" forced Street to cover normal news and his subscriptions declined. A debtor, Street sold the *Western World* in 1809<sup>302</sup> and in 1812 fled to Shawneetown, Illinois Territory, where his wife's family lived. His father-in-law Thomas Posey was Illinois Territorial Indian agent 1814–1816.

---

<sup>301</sup>Charles M. Hudson (ed) *Four Centuries of Southern Indians* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1975 Reissued 2007) Arthur S. Derosier Jr, "Myths and Realities in Indian Westward Removal: The Choctaw Example" 92

<sup>302</sup>Ronald Rayman "Juseph Montfort Street and the *Western World* 1806-1809" *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 76 no 2 (April, 1978) 98-111

Born in Virginia, Street was a Deputy Sheriff as a teenager under his father; worked at a commercial house in Richmond before moving west and studied law with Henry Clay prior to his season of journalistic madness. After migrating to Illinois, he served as first clerk of the Court of Common Pleas in Gallatin County, Illinois and later Clerk of the Supreme Court for Gallatin County; Clerk of the County Court; Clerk of the Circuit and County Court, Justice of the Peace as well as Receiver. In 1827, at the behest of his old law instructor and now Secretary of State, Henry Clay, Street was appointed by John Quincy Adams Indian agent for the Winnebago at Prairie du Chien. His tenure would be only slightly less contentious than his administration of the newspaper

Street's initial battle was with the private traders specifically the American Fur Company. Since the relationship of the Indian agent to traders and chiefs vis a vis the annuity system was an essential element in the perceived stereotype assigned to the agent, a short look at the history of the "system" is in order. One problem was whether to distribute annuities to chiefs and leading men who would then re-distribute the monies and goods or give each family head a certain portion. Eventually the issue came full circle with agents often advocating all annuities be given in kind thereby eliminating the private trader altogether. In kind provisioning also increased the agent's power as he often was the middleman in securing contracts for the supplies delivered. Complaints by Indians of poor-quality goods and under counts of cattle influenced public perception of agent corruption. Much of this was predicated on the government's perception of the Indians continuing to make bad purchasing choices like liquor and trinkets over flour and cloth.

The American Fur Company soon learned Street could not only not be bought but was antagonistic to its plans. It was able to postpone Street's goals of civilization through agriculture, domestic production and education until at least 1832. It looked to convince Andrew Jackson of Street's Whiggish proclivities which the President acknowledged but supported continuing Street in office anyway. It accused the agent of misfeasance such as allowing the government blacksmith to work on non-agency business. An investigation determined the charges to be unfounded. Twice Street was sued by individuals he had had arrested by military authorities for taking timber from Winnebago lands. The first case was dismissed but the second in 1829 where French immigrant logger Jean Brunet was apprehended and spent time in jail resulted in Street

and a military officer being fined \$1,374 for false imprisonment.<sup>303</sup> Congress eventually reimbursed the assessment but the \$750 legal bill, he had to pay himself.

Street not only had problems with traders and loggers, he feuded with other Indian agents like Winnebago sub-agents Henry Gratiot at Rock River and John Kinzie at Fort Winnebago in a bureaucratic “turf war”.<sup>304</sup> He felt Gratiot had been appointed to appease the Gratiot family and he loathed Kinzie who had ties to the American Fur Company and thwarted Street's civilization program. He asked for the dismissal of both men and actually bypassed his boss William Clark to write directly to Andrew Jackson which brought a stern rebuke from Secretary of War, Lewis Cass. In 1833, he took umbrage after receiving a warning not to pay the Winnebago too early, angered anyone would think he might. Street accused future United States Senator Simon Cameron of fraud involving claims arising from the 1837 Winnebago Treaty. The Indian Bureau sometimes complained of lack of communication with agents but not with Street who wrote constantly about a variety of topics usually in florid prose. Concerning the annuity payment in specie resulting from the 1832 Treaty, he blustered:

[H]orrible in its results, revolting to every sense of justice and humanity ... And will such a government as ours, aspiring to the highest character among the governments of the world for liberality and justice for all nations, permit such an abominable system of fraud, involving certain ruin for the Indians, to exist under the sanction of treaties with the Indians? Forbid it Humanity, forbid it Justice!<sup>305</sup>

Initially Street favored Indians living apart from whites with the only contact being the agent and a single trader. Such an idea required removal westward which he advocated. However eventually he moved to a position presaging the assimilationist concepts contained in the 1887 Dawes Act like allotment in severalty and making Indians citizens. As part of the bureaucratic restructuring of the mid-1830s Street was transferred in 1835 from the Winnebago at Prairie du Chien to the Sac and Fox at Rock Island and then Raccoon River in Iowa Territory. Street had actually had authority over the Sac and Fox for some time but the jurisdictional lines were blurred. He opposed the new assignment but manfully moved, always keeping an eye on his old

---

<sup>303</sup> Patrick Jung “Judge James Duane Doty and Wisconsin’s First Court: The Additional Court of Michigan Territory” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 86 no 2 (Winter 2002-2003) 3

<sup>304</sup> Hall *Uncommon Defense* 124-125

<sup>305</sup> William B. Street “General Joseph M. Street” *Annals of Iowa* II No.2-3 Third Series (July-Oct., 1895) 94

charges. An ailing Street faced his last challenge in 1839–1840 concerning the method of payment of annuities. Indian tribes could decide whether they wanted the distribution done individually or through chiefs. Congress officially advocated the latter in 1834 but it was still a tribal decision. The Sac and Fox had chosen to use chiefs and in 1839 Street turned over the \$47,000 to the chiefs who paid the bulk of it to Pierre Chouteau and Company to cover tribal debts.<sup>306</sup> In early 1840, a delegation led by Sac warrior Hardfish requested Iowa Territorial Governor and ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Robert Lucas to order direct distribution to individual heads of families and accused Street of being in league with the “money chiefs“. The agent felt it was not his duty to tell the Indians how to administer annuity payments. Although Lucas could disregard a request from a few Indians, it was harder to ignore that of Territorial Congressional Delegate W.W. Chapman who had made the same charges to the War Department. Iowa settlers preferred each Sac and Fox family get its portion because it would be simpler to exploit a single family than tribal chieftains. A day after holding a council on this concern, Street died. He had been agent for thirteen years.

Joseph Street inserted himself into tribal concerns upon his arrival. He got Chief Red Bird who was sentenced to death for shooting and scalping whites a pardon from John Quincy Adams. Street felt there were extenuating circumstances. He intervened in the blood feud between Chief Caramanee and the family of Green Corn, whom the former had killed. He ransomed the Chief by paying the family from his own funds determining it was whiskey that had clouded the Chief's judgment.<sup>307</sup> Street attempted to mediate with Solomonic wisdom the issue of children kidnapped and adopted into another tribe. During the Black Hawk War, he raised an Indian regiment of Winnebago, Menominee and Dakota to fight with the Americans. His troops captured Black Hawk and Street accompanied the Indian leader to Rock Island. He found the chief in irons on the deck of the steamboat. He ordered a nearby young lieutenant (future Confederate president Jefferson Davis) to release him asserting he would be responsible for Black Hawk's “good behavior“. The chief later stated “I have always heard that he is a good man, and a good father and made no promise that he did not fulfill”.<sup>308</sup> Street was honest, fair

---

<sup>306</sup> Michael D. Green “The Sac-Fox Annuity Crisis of 1840 in Iowa Territory” *Arizona and the West* 16 No.2 (Summer, 1974) 143

<sup>307</sup> Brigham Johnson *Iowa: Its History and its Foremost Citizens Vol.1* (Des Moines, Iowa: The S.J. Publishing Company, 1915) 48-49

<sup>308</sup> Brigham Johnson *Iowa: Its History* 51

and caring. In 1842, as he was dying Sac and Fox chief Wapello asked to be buried alongside Street. The Sac and Fox would not sell their land in Iowa unless Street's widow and family were guaranteed 640 acres at the old agency. In 2018, the Durham Museum in Omaha, Nebraska staged an exhibit, "Joseph M. Street: A Conscientious Indian Agent".<sup>309</sup>

Benjamin Franklin Reynolds (1788–1843) appears to be the archetypal antebellum political Indian agent. Born in Kentucky, he studied law under future vice president Richard M. Johnson and in 1807 moved to Tennessee. As a captain in the 39<sup>th</sup> Infantry, he was wounded at Horseshoe Bend during the Creek War. Reynolds represented Maury County as senator in the Tennessee legislature, 1819–1820, 1823–1828. In the latter year, he sought relief from Congress but was denied. A friend of Andrew Jackson, he was appointed Chickasaw East agent serving from 1830 until the agency closed in 1839. Afterward he represented Franklin County in the Alabama House of Representatives, 1839–1841 and was a Van Buren Elector in 1840. As agent he was primarily concerned with removing the Chickasaw to the west. Reynolds was a key player in both the Treaty of Pontotoc (1832) and the supplemental Treaty with the Chickasaw (1834). He, the interpreter and the local trader had worked hard to prepare the Chickasaw for the negotiations and in exchange for their lands, each household was given a reservation which were sold prior to removal garnering the Chickasaw \$500,000 allowing them to essentially move themselves. Reynolds personally led two exploring expeditions (1830–1831; 1832–1833) westward to examine the new lands. Chickasaw removal, the best planned of all the removals, began in 1837 and continued until about 1851. Before the agency closed, he assisted individual Chickasaw in selling their reservations. He fit the agent stereotype of a Jacksonian politician involved in Indian removal but the Chickasaw liked him, reserving him five quarters of land and calling him "their excellent agent ... [who] has acted uprightly and faithfully" and "their long tried and faithful agent".<sup>310</sup> They even acknowledged that a Chickasaw slave had stolen \$1,000 from Reynolds and it was to be subtracted from the Chickasaw account.<sup>311</sup> Whether it was the preparation for treaty-making, personally leading exploring parties west or helping Chickasaw

---

<sup>309</sup> "Joseph M. Street, A Conscientious Indian Agent" July 21, 2018–January 20, 2019 Durham Museum, Omaha Nebraska Curated by Sydney Salmon Timelines Spring/Summer 2018 [https://durhammuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Durham\\_Timelines\\_Fall18\\_web.pdf](https://durhammuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Durham_Timelines_Fall18_web.pdf) (Announcement page deleted)

<sup>310</sup> Donald Ricky *Encyclopedia of Mississippi Indians: Tribes, Nations, Treaties of the Southeastern Woodlands Area* (St. Clair Shores MI: Somerset Publishers Inc.2000) 427, 467

<sup>311</sup> James P. Malone *The Chickasaw Nation: A Short Sketch of a Noble People* (Louisville, Kentucky: John P. Moton & Company, Incorporated, 1922) 325



sell their lands amidst speculators and charlatans, Reynolds did the right things for the Chickasaw even in a time of change and distress.

William Armstrong (1795–1847) veteran of the Battle of New Orleans, Mayor of Nashville, Tennessee 1829–1833, brother of Francis Wells Armstrong, Choctaw West agent 1831–1835 and friend of President Andrew Jackson might appear to be a candidate for the “Spoilsman” category but his long tenure as Choctaw West agent (1835–1847) was one of accolades rather than accusations. He had been appointed an Emigration Agent for the Choctaw, although he opposed forced removal and upon the death of his brother became Choctaw West agent as well as Western Superintendent covering the Choctaw, Cherokee and Creek. The Seminole, Neosho and Osage Sub-agencies were later added to his Superintendency as well as the Chickasaw Agency, giving Armstrong a host of problems and heavy responsibilities. As Superintendent and Agent, Armstrong traveled widely and corresponded extensively attempting to resolve a host of issues. He pushed to get a millwright and striker for the Choctaw and sent out the bids for the purchase of iron and steel for the shop. After constant missed deliveries, he canceled a contract for spinning wheels and looms.<sup>312</sup> Acceding to Choctaw wishes, Armstrong continually goaded the government to combine the Treaty annuities and the monies from the Chickasaw purchase of Choctaw lands into one payment. He also investigated the amount of interest owed on the \$500,000 invested for the Choctaw by the Federal government as well as money owed on investments in Alabama bonds. He defended the Choctaw asking for reimbursement for lost cattle during removal and reminded the government that losses needed to include the normal increase in herd size. Some issues were smaller such as his complaint on the slowness in transferring \$12,500 to the Indians and a request for \$50 which he had paid out of his pocket to the last surviving military pensioner from the 1830 Treaty after the elderly man had not been paid for two years. In one of his final letters, he opposed government policy saying he needed “To protect the Indian from fraud”.<sup>313</sup> Legal and international disputes also vexed Armstrong among them, attempts by Mexico to ally with the Choctaw against the Texas Republic; slave stealing by both Mexicans and white citizens; murder of a Choctaw by a Texan; an attempt to take timber and rock from Choctaw land to rebuild Fort Smith and the difficult

---

<sup>312</sup> Foreman *The Five Civilized Tribes* 32

<sup>313</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Choctaw Agency 1839–1851 Letter March 29, 1847 Choctaw Agency Wm. Armstrong Ind. Agent to A.A. Halsey (man interested in Choctaw Claims) Image 524,525

problem of murderers who killed a man and woman believed to be witches.<sup>314</sup> Perhaps most importantly he helped initiate the beginnings of a Choctaw school in the nation in 1841 named Armstrong Academy.

Armstrong died at his post in 1847. Modern accounts are all favorable with words like “fairness” and “popular” attached to him.<sup>315</sup> At his death, the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Patriot wrote that Armstrong was “respected, esteemed and beloved by thousands of Indians”.<sup>316</sup> In late 1842, the Choctaw petitioned him to contact the government about Texans who were foreigners coming into the Choctaw Nation illegally. He presented it to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with this comment, “I feel it my duty to lay the subject before you and to protect by all proper means the rights and benefits which the Indians are entitled to.”<sup>317</sup>

Born in Kentucky, James Logan (1791–1859) moved with his family to Missouri and eventually settled in Arkansas in 1830 where he became post master at Logan's post office in 1832 and a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1834 followed by selection to the first Arkansas House of Representatives in 1836–1837. Logan was appointed Creek West agent in 1838, serving until 1842 and then re-appointed in 1844 continuing until 1849.

Different from most other Indian agents, James Logan approached his duties with a determined plan. First, he pushed Creek unification, the tribe still divided into Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks rooted in locations back in Alabama and Georgia and continued into the Indian Territory as the two sections had migrated at different times. After several failures, he was able to construct one Council House in 1840 and the tribe began to act as a single unit. Secondly, he pushed the eradication of the liquor traffic but here he met only a modicum of success.<sup>318</sup> In addition, Logan superintended the hiring of blacksmiths, wagon makers, wheel and mill wrights as well as replacing an incompetent teacher with a skilled pedagogue. In 1842, the Whig

---

<sup>314</sup> Foreman *The Five Civilized Tribes* 33

<sup>315</sup> Jeffrey Lee Fortney, Jr. “Robert M. Jones and the Choctaw Nation: Indigenous Nationalism in the American South, 1820–1877” (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2014), 88; Armstrong Academy, Bryan County, Oklahoma Accessed September 3, 2020 [www.cumberland.org/hfpc/schools/ArmstrongAcademy.htm](http://www.cumberland.org/hfpc/schools/ArmstrongAcademy.htm) 1

<sup>316</sup> Niles National Register. “Death of Major Wm. Armstrong, Indian Agent,” *Chronicle* August 7, 1847: 368

<sup>317</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Choctaw Agency 1839–1851 Letter November 4, 1842 Choctaw Agency Wm. Armstrong Act Supt W.T. (Acting Superintendent Western Territory) to T. Hartley Crawford Commissioner Indian Affairs Washington City Image 180–181

<sup>318</sup> Leroy H. Fischer “United States Indian Agents to the Five Civilized Tribes” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 1 no 3 (Autumn, 1972) 40-41

administration finally replaced him and Logan returned to Sugar Creek Arkansas and his 1000-acre plantation worked by fifteen slaves.

In 1842, Creek agent James Dawson was removed and Logan requested to return where he encountered murder and counterfeiting and proclaimed “a very unsettled state of mind among the Indians”.<sup>319</sup> He arrested teacher W.N. Anderson who proceeded to escape and claim Logan had defrauded the government in coal purchases in 1841 and had vaguely swindled the Indians forcing the Creek agent to spend valuable time defending himself. Although the whiskey trade remained an intrinsic part of Creek life and flooding hurt crop production, agricultural output increased, schooling blossomed, and the Creeks became more socially progressive in the years of Logan’s second term. Logan also dealt with violent interaction between the Creeks and Pawnee and negotiated issues involving African Americans. For instance, in September 1845, he journeyed 240 miles to receive two “Negro boys” owned by an elderly Creek man who had bought them from the Comanches who had stolen them from a Dr. Robertson (possibly Dr. Joseph W. Robertson, Texas Ranger and Austin city mayor).<sup>320</sup> Now that Texas was in the Union, Robertson wanted them back and the federal government desired to placate Texas authorities though Logan privately maintained the Creek actually owned the boys. He also asked for direction on the issue of free blacks in the Creek Nation. The Creeks were the only tribe who had not expelled them and all free blacks and runaway slaves in the Indian Territory congregated in the southwest portion of the Nation in numbers “truly alarming”.<sup>321</sup> The Taylor Administration removed Logan and he finally returned to Arkansas for good. Logan County, Arkansas (1875) is named for him.

Another French-American son of the frontier was Henry Gratiot (1789–1836) born in St. Louis, Spanish Upper Louisiana, his mother being the daughter of St. Louis founder Pierre Laclede. Initially establishing himself as a farmer/miller west of St. Louis, Gratiot moved north to the lead mining district near Galena, Illinois in 1825 to both better himself economically and

---

<sup>319</sup> NARA RG75 M234 Creek Agency 1843–1847 Letter July 20, 1844 James Logan, Creek Agent to T. Hartley Crawford Commisr Indn Affairs Image 248–249

<sup>320</sup> Texas Slavery Project T. Hartley Crawford to Andrew Donaldson, July 29, 1845 Accessed May 29, 2021 [www.texasslaveryproject.org/sources/ROTDC/display.php?TSP0214.xml](http://www.texasslaveryproject.org/sources/ROTDC/display.php?TSP0214.xml); Handbook of Texas. [Austin, Tex.: Texas State Historical Association: General Libraries at the University of Texas at Austin, 1888] Robertson, Joseph William (1809–1870) <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/robertson-joseph-william>

<sup>321</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Creek Agency 1843-1847 Letter January 12, 1847 James Logan, Creek Agent to William Medill Comm. Ind Affairs

remove his family from slave-holding Missouri. He and his wife desired their children to be raised in a free state.<sup>322</sup> In 1826, he and his brother purchased land from the Winnebago in what is now southern Wisconsin, establishing the town of Gratiot's Grove where they soon built six reducing furnaces and employed sixty men.

In the 1820s, the Rock River Winnebago petitioned the government to appoint Gratiot "their friend and wise Councilor" as agent.<sup>323</sup> Although, he occupied no official remunerative position, he had acted as an agent and helped to both prepare for the short Winnebago War of 1827 and quell false rumors affecting both sides. Appointed formal Rock River Sub-Agent in 1831, he constantly clashed with both strong-willed Winnebago agent, Joseph Street and equally contentious Fort Winnebago Sub-Agent John Kinzie. The three men invariably disagreed on almost everything from the location of annuity payment sites to the centrality of Indian "civilization". Nevertheless, all three men acting separately kept the Winnebago from joining Black Hawk's band during the Black Hawk War in 1832. It might even be claimed that these Indian agents significantly reduced the scope and length of the conflict. Since it was agreed Gratiot "had greater influence with the Indians than any other man in the Northwest",<sup>324</sup> General Henry Atkinson sent him to contact Black Hawk at Prophetstown, Illinois asking him to recross the Mississippi River. Instead, Gratiot was captured and saved only by the Prophet, Wabokieshiek who stated he "would take this good friend of the Indian to his tent and care for him and protect him".<sup>325</sup> Gratiot and his associates escaped at the Prophet's urging and found refuge at Fort Armstrong. That same year he was also instrumental in freeing the Hall girls who had been taken captive during the Indian Creek Massacre.

His agency was abolished in 1834 and Gratiot retired from business to be a gentleman farmer. However, Winnebago chiefs from the remnant of the Rock River community continued to visit with observations and complaints. In 1835, problems with annuity payments had left the Indians "almost starved and naked"<sup>326</sup> and Gratiot promised he would find answers. In 1836, he journeyed to St. Louis to visit Indian Superintendent William Clark for an explanation but

---

<sup>322</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry\\_Gratiot](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Gratiot)

<sup>323</sup> Florence Gratiot Bale "When the Gratiots Came to Galena" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 24 no. 4 (Jan. 1932) [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazeteer?Places/America/United\\_States/Illinois/Texts/journals/JIISHS/24/4When the Gratiots\\_came\\_to\\_Galena\\*html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazeteer?Places/America/United_States/Illinois/Texts/journals/JIISHS/24/4When%20the%20Gratiots%20came%20to%20Galena*html) 673

<sup>324</sup> Bale "When the Gratiots Came to Galena" 680

<sup>325</sup> Bale "When the Gratiots Came to Galena" 680

<sup>326</sup> Florence Gratiot Bale "A Packet of Old Letters" *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 11 No. 2 (Dec., 1927) 165

ascertaining none, he decided to go to Washington. At the capital, he explained the Winnebago's dire situation but on return, fell ill and died. He was never paid as "ex officio" Winnebago Indian agent.

Probably the only Indian agent mentioned in an antebellum novel,<sup>327</sup> Wiley Thompson (1781–1835) served as the last Florida Seminole agent, 1833–1835. Born in Virginia, Thompson moved to Georgia in 1808 where he was commissioner of the Elbert County Academy. He served in the Creek War and was appointed major general of the 4<sup>th</sup> Division of the Georgia Militia, 1817–1824. Thompson was a member of the Georgia State Senate, 1817–1819 and served in the United States House Representatives from Georgia 1821–1833. His goal as agent was to get the Seminole to move west and in 1834 his title was actually changed to Emigration agent. Thompson was honest, getting rid of corrupt traders and was also a man of conscience, concerned about the future of the Seminole slaves who had a different relationship with their "owners" than normal slaves and he feared removal would subject them to capture by the Creeks. In addition, he was sympathetic to the Seminole plight and determined to make removal as organized and painless as possible.

However, beginning April 23, 1835, Thompson faced a number of difficult situations that tested his abilities and his patience. He called a meeting at Fort King (present day Ocala, Florida) of the Seminole leaders on that fateful day to get a final agreement on removal assenting to the Fort Payne Treaty in 1832 and Fort Gibson Treaty in 1833. Primary chief Micanopy did not attend and only eight of the twelve remaining chiefs acceded. After the military officer at the fort harangued the Seminole promising the wrath of President Jackson, Thompson suddenly and illegally renounced the authority of the five obstreperous chiefs. Cooler heads prevailed and the chiefs agreed to sign if removal could be postponed. Although the chiefs consented, Osceola who was in attendance did not. Fearing an uprising, Thompson banned the sale of guns and ammunition to Seminoles like the ban already in place for blacks which sent Osceola into a rage. He reputedly confronted Thompson, "Am I a Negro? ... A slave? My skin is dark, but not black. I am an Indian—a Seminole".<sup>328</sup> Reportedly, Osceola came to Thompson's office at the agency

---

<sup>327</sup> Thomas Mayne Reid, *Osceola The Seminole or The Red Fawn of the Flower Land* (Madison Square, New York: Carleton Publishers, 1858)

<sup>328</sup> Thom Hatch, *Osceola and the Great Seminole War: A Struggle for Justice and Freedom* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012) 89

several times and berated him. Now the agent risked shame in the eyes of the Seminole leaders, so he had Osceola arrested knowing incarceration was one of the most severe punishments for an Indian. After two days. Osceola agreed to support removal and despite military opposition Thompson had Osceola released writing “I have no doubt of his sincerity”.<sup>329</sup> It is at this point history and literature intermingled in Reid’s novel. In a denouement of sorts Osceola and his followers attacked and burned Fort King December, 1835 and he personally killed and scalped Wiley Thompson. The Second Seminole War had begun.

None of these men fit the literary, cinematic, or contemporary professional historian’s representation of the Indian agent. Words like fairness, honesty, integrity, caring, dependable, diplomatic, just, conscientious, upright, faithful, popular, and beloved have attached to these individuals, the very antithesis of the Indian agent persona. They were often political appointees, important politicians or “connected” but it did not make them corrupt, just political. Benjamin Hawkins resigned protesting a dishonest treaty, Henry Gratiot served as “agent” without pay both before and after his official term and Return Meigs died after giving up his agency quarters to an aged travelling Creek and sleeping in a cold tent. These are the agent stories missing from novels, movies and historical texts.

#### The Removal Man

Indian Removal is the most important event in the study of Indian Affairs in antebellum America. However, it has become so intertwined with moral outrage and “presentist” politics that the story beyond the destruction of tribal identities and family dissolution combined with governmental ineptitude and iniquitous personal behavior has often been lost. It is a continual game of one-upmanship. The traditional Cherokee “Trail of Tears” has become the Potawatomi “Trail of Death”. The larger issues surrounding Removal have often been ignored. Some Indians were not only moved beyond the Mississippi River but moved again and again. The issue of Indian Removal played a role in the development of the Whig Party as well as events surrounding the Tariff of 1828 and Calhoun’s Exposition and Protest. Later removals from Texas, Nebraska and Kansas to the Indian Territory often involved the resident Indian agent or a Special Indian agent but in the earlier Trans-Mississippi migrations the agent played only a tertiary role

---

<sup>329</sup> Typed Copies of Manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner Of Indian Affairs Washington DC (Semimole) Compiled from original records selected by Grant Foreman 1930 Seminole Agency 3 June 1835 Wiley Thompson to Gen Geo Gibson (Commissary General) 64–65 [okhistory.org/research/digital/foremantrans/foreman.comm6.pdf](http://okhistory.org/research/digital/foremantrans/foreman.comm6.pdf)

while an appointed Emigration agent had authority. He sometimes would sub-contract the actual move to others who bid on removing  $x$  number of Indians. It was a bureaucratic nightmare. Removal added a commercial calculation that coarsened Indian policy in a fashion the earlier agents could never have conceived. A few agents were able to take on both roles.

Besides serving in the War of 1812 as Captain of the 24<sup>th</sup> Infantry and afterward from 1815–1817 as Captain of the 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry; in the Alabama House of Representatives 1820–1821, in the Alabama Senate 1823–1825; as US Marshal for the District of Alabama, 1823, as US Marshal for the Northern and Southern District of Alabama 1828–1829, Francis Wells Armstrong (1783–1835) was Choctaw West Agent/Emigration agent 1831–1835. A personal friend and adviser of Andrew Jackson as well as the reputed inventor of the derringer pistol, Armstrong was initially designated in 1831 to take a census of the Choctaw as well as survey farms to establish the value of improvements. Choctaw chief David Folsom averred he had done his assignment “faithfully and to the entire satisfaction of all concerned”.<sup>330</sup> Armstrong aided in the movement of the Choctaw most notably in 1832 when hearing the cholera was in Vicksburg where the Choctaw were heading, he commandeered a dredge in Memphis to carry 1,000 Indians across the River to safety. Despite his good deed, Armstrong's contentious relations with removal chief George S. Gaines led to his being assigned solely to the new Choctaw Agency in the Indian Territory.

Armstrong built good relations with the Indians and the military constructing a wagon road from Fort Smith to Red River that both could use and securing \$10,000 to build a Choctaw Council house, houses for the chiefs and a number of schools.<sup>331</sup> An 1834 drought forced him to find as many bushels of corn as he could to feed the starving Indians.<sup>332</sup> He even had to mediate small problems like responding to the killing of a Choctaw woman by Shawnees who believed she was a witch. Known for his diplomatic skills, Armstrong was assigned to meet the Comanche and other “wandering” tribes and “hold talks”. Just before beginning this task, he died suddenly at the Choctaw agency, mourned by many.

---

<sup>330</sup> Turtle Bunbury, “The Choctaw Nation’s Extraordinary Gift to Ireland” Accessed July 31, 2019 <https://turtlebunbury.wordpress.com/2018/03/10/the-choctaw-nations-extraordinary-gift-to-ireland/> 5

<sup>331</sup> Bunbury, “The Choctaw Nation’s,” 5.

<sup>332</sup> Bunbury “The Choctaw Nation’s” 6

Wharton Rector, Jr. (1800–1842) was appointed Agent for the Shawnee and Delaware in 1830 but was rejected by the United States Senate as he had left Missouri for the Arkansas Territory, having a conviction for attempted murder. Nevertheless he was made sub-agent for the Quapaw in 1831, a position not requiring Senate approval; an Emigration agent for the Choctaw 1832–1833 because it paid more; Emigration agent for the Quapaw, 1834 and finally Creek West Sub-agent 1835–1836. Rector demonstrated some of the problems that increasingly beset the Indian Bureau: flagrant politicization; outrageous nepotism and conspicuous incompetency. Born in Virginia, Rector was raised in Missouri where his uncle William Rector was the Surveyor General for Missouri, Illinois and the Arkansas Territory. David Barton, one of the disappointed Arkansas surveyor candidates and now United States Senator from Missouri demanded an investigation but William Rector was re-appointed in 1823 supported by Missouri's other Senator Thomas Hart Benton and Arkansas Territorial Delegate and nephew Henry Conway. More charges appeared in the local press and brother Thomas Rector discovered the source was David Barton's brother Joshua, United States District Attorney. Thomas Rector challenged Joshua Barton to a duel as a matter of family honor and killed the District Attorney, June 30, 1823. An investigation by United States Attorney General William Wirt found William Rector had let contracts for tracts much too large for a single surveyor necessitating sub-contracting and had charged all surveys at the maximum \$3.00/mile where some should have been a lesser amount.<sup>333</sup> In addition well over half of the ninety-eight contracts went to family members including Rector's father Wharton Rector Sr., James Monroe removed William Rector in 1825. This was Wharton Rector's world: political, familial, tawdry, and violent.

Rector served as a 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant in the US Rifles, then 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry, 1820–1821 before resigning. At some point he was convicted of stabbing a man in Missouri with intent to kill but fled to the Arkansas Territory around 1825 to avoid punishment. In Arkansas, Rector was second in two duels stemming from charges over the 1827 Congressional Delegate's contest, the second resulting in the death of Delegate and his uncle Henry Conway. Soon thereafter Territorial Governor George Izard appointed Rector Adjutant General of the Territory and in 1828 after receiving a petition from settlers in Miller County in southwestern Arkansas accusing recently

---

<sup>333</sup> David A. Smith "Preparing the Arkansas Wilderness for Settlement: Public Land Survey Administration, 1803–1836" *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 71 No. 4 (Winter, 2012) 395



removed Shawnee and Delaware of stealing crops and livestock, Izard sent Rector to investigate. He raised a force of sixty-three local militia and the Indians moved away. Perhaps it was his “success” at quelling the potential problems in Miller County that allowed the new Jackson Administration to appoint him agent for the Shawnee and Delaware. Notwithstanding, the Senate outraged at Rector's criminal past, refused to consent to the nomination. Apparently for a man like Andrew Jackson who had killed Charles Dickinson in a duel in 1806 over accusations of cheating in a horse race; chased Tennessee Secretary of State William McLin down a Knoxville alley with his sword cane and accosted Jesse Benton at the Nashville House in 1813 receiving two balls in the chest for his trouble, a little stabbing was inconsequential, so he resubmitted the nomination with the same result. Vermont Representative William Slade complained Rector's employment “evinces a disregard of the deliberate decision of the Senate, and of the public feeling.”<sup>334</sup> Avoiding the Senate, Jackson appointed Rector Quapaw Sub-agent in 1831 despite Quapaw opposition but soon thereafter the new sub-agent resigned to become an Emigration agent for the Choctaw, determining that \$4.00/day<sup>335</sup> guiding the Choctaw amounted to more than the \$500/year assigned to sub-agents.

Records indicate Rector conducted two parties of Choctaw in 1832 to the Indian Territory both without major incident. However, by 1833, most of the Choctaw were re-located and he was once again unemployed. In 1834, he secured another Emigration agent's position guiding the Red River Quapaw to a new home on the Neosho River in Indian Territory. However, Rector committed a major blunder, settling the Indians on the wrong lands. After clearing the land, planting crops and building cabins the Quapaw were forced to move again in 1835.<sup>336</sup> By this time Rector had received an appointment as Western Creek Sub-agent where he served officially from 1835–1836. It appears Rector already had his eye on the Arkansas state surveyor's position in conjunction with statehood June 15, 1836. However, Rector's cousin Ambrose Sevier, Arkansas Territorial Delegate and first United States Senator opposed his request in an April 1836 letter to Andrew Jackson.<sup>337</sup>

---

<sup>334</sup> Speech of Mr. Slade of Vermont on the RESOLUTION Relative to The Collector of Wiscasset Delivered in the House of Representatives, May, 1832 Washington Printed at the Office of Jonathan Elliot, Penn. Avenue 1832

<sup>335</sup> Library of Congress American Memory *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates 1774-1875* Register of Debates House of Representatives 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress May 5, 1832 2778

<sup>336</sup> Arrell Morgan Gibson (ed) *American Exiles :Indian Colonization in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical society, 1976) 109

<sup>337</sup> Walter Lee Brown *A Life of Albert Pike* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1997) 103

Wharton Rector was a serial patronage jobholder bolstered by political and family connections in spite of background and at least one major fiasco. As for all the Indians he oversaw—Choctaw, Quapaw and Creek—it was not that he was cruel or even corrupt but rather indifferent.

Like Wharton Rector, David Brearley (1767–1837) served as both Emigration agent and Indian agent and like Rector his administration was tainted by problems. Born in New Jersey, he served in the Army from 1808–1820, rising to the rank of Colonel. Stationed in Arkansas Territory, he immediately established a business at Arkansas Post and when appointed Cherokee West agent re-established his company at Dardanelle, the location of the new Agency. James Monroe chose him because of his military background as well as his entrepreneurial skills. He specifically asked that he be allowed to continue his private business at the Agency which was apparently granted. He served as Cherokee West agent 1820–1823; personally tramped the region doing the first census in 1820<sup>338</sup> and was held in the highest regard by the Cherokee.<sup>339</sup> At Dardenelle, he employed his brothers Charles and Pearson in his business, the latter serving as Cherokee West Sub-agent 1825–1827. After being ousted in 1823, Brearley was recommended by Arkansas Territorial Governor James Miller as his replacement but John Quincy Adams chose George Izard.

However, in 1826, he was appointed the first Creek West agent serving until 1829. It would be a challenging and frustrating tenure ending in his dismissal under a cloud of suspicion. The Creek West agent was primarily focused on getting the Creeks to move west which most did not want to do. Brearley was a peripatetic personality, with reports placing him at Fort Gibson in Indian Territory, in Washington DC, in Georgia and near Fort Gibson again all in 1827. He had led an exploring expedition that year; claimed the Creeks liked the area and had cabins built for the migrants. Following the 1826 Treaty of Washington, only the Lower Creeks along the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers in Georgia generally related to or associated with the McIntosh family were involved in the initial removal of 703 people in 1827–1828. The National Council had passed an edict declaring the death penalty for anyone giving their intention to migrate or trying to convince others to migrate but the McIntosh family whom the other Creeks disliked was

---

<sup>338</sup> <https://www.geni.com/people/Col-David-Brearley/6000000010250791543>

<sup>339</sup> Josiah H. Shinn A.M. *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas* (Little Rock, Arkansas: Democrat Printing & Lithographing co. 1908) 139

exempt. Bearley kept trying, declaring “Men, Women & Children fled from their houses at my approach”.<sup>340</sup> He got 400 more, mainly McIntosh supporters moved in 1828 and then came the letters.

In March and June, 1829 Creek Chief Roley McIntosh wrote incoming president Andrew Jackson and later Sam Houston listing a litany of complaints against Brearley. Included were non-delivery of money, beaver traps, kettles and blankets promised for those migrating as well as no payments for improvements of lands in Georgia. He further maintained that Brearley had cornered the local market on cattle and hogs and sold them to the Indians at extravagant prices as well as selling “spirituous liquors”. Lastly, McIntosh accused Brearley of not attending councils and when Indians called on him, he was intoxicated. The Creeks claimed they had lost confidence in Brearley and they wanted a new agent also stating if he was not replaced, there would be no more migrations. These strong charges appeared suddenly and included activities patently illegal for agents like selling directly to Indians and merchandising liquor.<sup>341</sup> It was probably the threats of ceasing removal that most concerned Jackson who dismissed Brearley June 15, 1829. He returned to his business in Dardenelle, Arkansas; sued the Government for \$6,390.25 involving loss of some slaves and horses after he had been fired and prevented from securing them by the new agent which he won in 1833<sup>342</sup> and that same year became postmaster at Dardenelle.

A fourth Emigration Agent/Indian Agent was Arthur Martin Montgomery Upshaw (1803–1877), Chickasaw West Agent 1839–1849. A farmer in south central Tennessee, Justice of the Peace and officer in the 1<sup>st</sup> Tennessee Mounted Volunteers during the Second Seminole War circa 1836, Upshaw was appointed Superintendent for the removal of the Chickasaw. He oversaw the Removal from 1837–1839 declaring it complete in the latter year although numerous Chickasaw remained in the east and would slowly move to the new Chickasaw country until about 1850. He was organized and solicitous of the welfare of the Chickasaw trying to avoid areas of contagion and assisting poorer Indians being preyed on by whites and “civilized” Chickasaw. Upshaw generally bowed to the desires of the Indians on issues like baggage and transportation, claiming

---

<sup>340</sup> Christopher D. Haveman *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Forced Relocation and Ethnic Cleansing in the American South* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2016) 44

<sup>341</sup> Daniel Feller et..al (eds) *The Papers of Andrew Jackson Vol 7* Letter March 7, 1829 Roley McIntosh et.al to Andrew Jackson 84

<sup>342</sup> H.R. Rep. No. 125, 22<sup>nd</sup> Cong 2<sup>nd</sup> Sess (1833)

to his government superiors, “If I was wrong in not obeying the Regulation, Feelings of kindness and justice compelled me to take the course I did”.<sup>343</sup> When the Indians refused to take the steamboat, Upshaw assigned a conductor, physician and distribution officer and allowed them to go on their way as the Chickasaw were paying for the move. In 1838, The Memphis Enquirer reported “Col. A.M.M. Upshaw to whom the Indians have become much attached from his humanity and attention to their wants”.<sup>344</sup> He seemed a good fit as the second Chickasaw West agent at his appointment in 1839.

In many respects he was a model agent, limiting liquor and gambling; keeping excellent records; asking for a guard and a “safety chest” [safe] for transporting monies the 160 miles to the Chickasaw agency; furnishing the “Chickasaw Public Shops” and asking for funds to repair the agency buildings.<sup>345</sup> He was instrumental in the establishment of the Chickasaw Academy in 1844. However the continuing problem of the establishment of a Chickasaw nation independent of the Choctaw and the constant border issues with Texas and the “wild tribes” were his undoing. From 1836–1845, Texas was an independent republic abutting the “Chickasaw District” and Texas refused to “extradite” a Texan who killed a Chickasaw while dumping cheap Texas goods in the District, undercutting prices and strangling the Chickasaw economy. Although Upshaw tried to get justice for the slain Chickasaw and railed against a lack of duties on Texas products, no one in Washington cared as many were angling to bring Texas into the Union and wanted to remain on good terms with the infant republic. The Chickasaw petitioned several times for Upshaw's removal based on incompetency but perhaps misunderstanding that Upshaw was salaried by the United States and not the Foreign Minister of the Chickasaw Nation.<sup>346</sup> The

---

<sup>343</sup> James Wenonah Paul Gunning “Wenonah’s Stories Chickasaw Removal Part II Article in Tuscumbia, Alabama newspaper 1837 Accessed August 31, 2020 [wenonahsstories.blogspot.com/2010/12/chickasaw-removal-part-ii.html](http://wenonahsstories.blogspot.com/2010/12/chickasaw-removal-part-ii.html) 2

<sup>344</sup> Amanda Page, Fuller Bumpers and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. Director University of Arkansas Little Rock Site Report, Part IV Coleman Creek Trail of Tears Park on the Choctaw and Chickasaw Trail of Tears: Historical Contexts Report. Accessed September 1, 2020 <https://ualrexhibits.org/trailoftears/places/ualr-site-report-part4/> 8

<sup>345</sup> NARA RG75 M234 Chickasaw Agency 1844–1849 Letter Oct 9<sup>th</sup> 1848 Chickasaw Agency A.M.M. Upshaw CA To Hon. Wm Medill Comm of Ind Affairs Images 539–540; NARA RG75 M234 Chickasaw Agency 1844–1849 Letter Oct 10<sup>th</sup> 1848 Chickasaw Agency A.M.M. Upshaw CA to Hon. Wm. Medill Comm of Indn Affairs Image 542 NARA RG 75 M234 Chickasaw Agency 1844–1849 Letter November 26, 1844 Chickasaw Agency A.M.M. Upshaw Agent for the Chickasaw to Hon. William Medill Commr Indn Affairs Washington City Image 376; NARA RG75 M234 Chickasaw Agency 1844–1849 Letter Oct 8<sup>th</sup> 1848 Chickasaw Agency, A.M.M. Upshaw CA to Honl Wm Medill Comm of Indn Affairs Image 537

<sup>346</sup> Michael Flaherty “‘People to Ourselves’ Chickasaw Diplomacy and Political Development in the Nineteenth Century” PhD Dissertation University of Oklahoma 2012 231-236

advent of the Whig Taylor administration in 1849 allowed the Chickasaw to have their petitions answered. In 1850, he immigrated to Texas, served in the Texas House of Representatives 1857–1859 and 1861 and had a large farm with thirty slaves. Being Chickasaw Emigration Agent and then Agent for twelve years was the defining event in the life of Arthur M.M. Upshaw. Historian Arrell M. Gibson wrote concerning the rebirth of the Chickasaw in the Indian Territory, “Some credit for Chickasaw renaissance must go to A.M. Upshaw tribal agent”.<sup>347</sup>

#### Dazed And Confused

Born in North Carolina, James McKissick Jr. (1783–1848) was part of a large family movement to Bedford County, Tennessee about 1807 where he served as the second County Clerk. Sometime around 1835, he, several brothers and all their families removed westward to Fayetteville, Arkansas and he later purchased a farm in Benton County. He served briefly as President of the Branch Bank of Arkansas in Fayetteville. As part of the new Polk Administration, McKissick was appointed Western Cherokee agent (1845–1848) at Fort Gibson, ninety miles southwest of his home. Almost immediately, he was overwhelmed by the atrocities and murders in the Cherokee Nation, the result of a mini-civil war between the Old Settlers/Treaty Party and the newly arrived Ross Party or followers of Chief John Ross.<sup>348</sup> Cherokee had been migrating to Arkansas/Indian Territory as early as 1815 and by 1817 at least 6,000 had moved westward, the so-called “Old Settlers”. In 1835, a small group of Cherokee signed the Treaty of New Echota giving the government and Andrew Jackson, the legal document needed to “remove” all the Cherokee and the subsequent “Trail of Tears”. The Treaty Party led by Major Ridge, his son John Ridge and Elias Boudinot amalgamated with the “Old Settlers” against the recent arrivals following Chief John Ross. The Cherokee legislature had

---

<sup>347</sup> Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971) p. 225.

<sup>348</sup> Cherokee Indians. Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting information relative to outrages lately committed in the Cherokee Nation 1-28-1846 Doc. 92 B Letter Cherokee Nation Agency of the Cherokees west of the Mississippi, Nov23, 1845 Jas. B. McKissick Cherokee agent to William Medill, Esq. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Washington City, DC University of Oklahoma College of Law Digital Commons <https://digitalcommons/law.ou.edu/indianserialset>; Richard L. Trotter, “For the Defense of the Western Border: Arkansas Volunteers on the Indian Frontier, 1846–1847” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 60 No.4 (Winter, 2001) 396–397; NARA RG75 M234 Cherokee 1846 Letter Cherokee Agency 14<sup>th</sup> January 1846 Jas McKissick Cherokee agent West to William Medill Commr. Ind Affairs Washington City, DC Image 500; NARA RG75 Cherokee Agency 1846 Letter Cherokee Agency 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1846 Jas. McKissick Cherokee agent West to William Medill Esq. Commr of Ind Affairs Washington City DC Images 517–521; NARA RG75 M234 Cherokee Agency 1846 Letter Cherokee Agency 12<sup>th</sup> May 1846 Jas McKissick Cherokee agent West to Willaim Medill Esq. Commr of Indian Affairs Washington City. Images 539–542

marked for death anyone signing a removal treaty with the United States and on June 22, 1839, Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot were all assassinated. Tensions simmered for a bit but just before McKissick took the position, gang warfare erupted between the Cherokee factions. He wrote in August 1845 that thirty-three murders had occurred since last November, almost all politically motivated.<sup>349</sup> Victims included an old man, a boy, a Creek woman and a man named Stand, shot twice, stabbed seven times and scalped. One killing was carried out by the Light Horse, the national police force. It got to the point he was writing the Department almost weekly looking for advice. Some of the smaller Old Settler/Treaty Party families left the Cherokee Nation for Arkansas and even Texas looking for a safe haven but the poor Indians had nothing for food and began to steal crops and cattle. Now the Army and the US Marshal from Arkansas got involved and McKissick confessed he was “confused” as to what to do when the Army captured culprits and refused to turn them over to Cherokee authorities fearing murderers<sup>350</sup> would get only a slap on the wrist. The federal government invited both sides to Washington, blamed John Ross for the difficulties and suggested dividing the Cherokee Nation into two separate entities. Eventually some sense returned to the two sides and an 1846 Treaty was negotiated. Besides, the federal government had more important interests than some internecine Indian conflict: a war with the Republic of Mexico. Beyond a revenge killing contest, McKissick faced the normal issues of blacksmith selection, claims for stolen horses and slaves, an attack on American boatmen on the Grand River, a new conflict with the Osage and a continuing problem with his accounts resulting at one point in a suspension of his salary. None of the errors were egregious but he wrote he “became confused in the quarterly return” in January, 1847,<sup>351</sup> a strange admission for a former county clerk and bank president. He also claimed sickness and family issues kept him away or in bed. He died in early 1848, just before the onset of the Cherokee “Golden Age”.

---

<sup>349</sup> Phil Norfleet Cherokee Families of Rusk County, Texas Treaty of Washington DC, Dated 06 August 1846 6 Accessed May 31, 2021 [https://cherokee1838.tripod.com/treaty\\_of\\_1846.htm](https://cherokee1838.tripod.com/treaty_of_1846.htm)

<sup>350</sup> NARA RG 75 M234 Cherokee Agency 1846 Letter Cherokee Agency 12<sup>th</sup> ?May 1846 Js McKissick Cherokee Agent to William Medill Comm Ind Affairs Washington City Images 539-542

<sup>351</sup> NARA RG75 M234 Cherokee Agency 1847 Letter Cherokee Agency 15<sup>th</sup> January 1847 Jas. McKissick Cherokee Agent West to William Medill Esq. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Washington City DC Image 16

### The Malefactor

In this survey of early Indian agents, it is important to discover any that fit the later stereotype of a politicized grafter or crook who comes from far away; is cruel or indifferent toward the Indians and makes money cheating the Indians or the government or both. A long serving example would probably be William Ward (1769–1836) Agent to the Eastern Choctaw, 1821–1832. Born in Maryland but involved in the organization of Kentucky, Ward attended the Danville Convention of 1787–1788 to petition for better government from Virginia and ultimately statehood. He was a member of the first Kentucky legislature, serving from 1792–1795 and was a known poet and satirist. He married Sallie Johnson and “retired” from public life, settling in Georgetown, Kentucky. However, his brother-in-law Richard Mentor Johnson rose quickly to power in Kentucky politics serving in the United States House of Representatives, 1807–1819, 1829–1837; in the United States Senate 1819–1829 and as Ninth Vice-President of the United States, 1837–1841. Apparently Johnson and Ward saw potential profits in Mississippi lands and decided the recently widowed Ward would go south in some capacity to monitor the situation. The Choctaw job opened and he got the appointment.

His first nine years as agent reflected a common litany of complaints. He was accused of embezzling annuity funds; trading whiskey; buying shoddy goods, overcharging the Choctaw and keeping profits; refusing to intervene in Choctaw disputes, constantly claiming ignorance; being “hardly zealous” in prosecuting American thieves of Choctaw livestock and being “an habitual drunkard and notoriously inattentive to duty”.<sup>352</sup> By 1831, he was one of the two highest paid Indian agents at \$1800/year and had threatened expulsion of Presbyterian missionaries for collaborating with Choctaw Chief Peter Pitchlynn.<sup>353</sup> However he did order the Choctaw Light Horse to arrest liquor dealers in 1825 and distributed \$18,050 in annuities in 1831.<sup>354</sup> Ward and

---

<sup>352</sup> James Tyler Carson *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999) 98,75; Angie Debo *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934) 69

<sup>353</sup> *A Register of Officers and Agents Civil, Military and Naval in the Service of the United States on 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1831 Prepared at the Department of State* Washington City Printed by William A. Davis, Pennsylvania Avenue 1831 95; W. David Baird *Peter Pitchlynn: Chief of the Choctaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972) 44

<sup>354</sup> From William Ward (Choctaw Agency). To Peter P. Pitchlynn. Dated January 10, 1825; Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives at the First Session of the Twenty-Second Congress Begun and Held at the City of Washington December 7, 1831 in Seven Volumes Volume IV Washington Printed by Duff Green 1832 Document Number 180 62 Accessed June 1, 2021  
<https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/pitchlynn/id/652/rec/27>

brother-in-law Richard Mentor Johnson at the request of the Choctaw were involved in establishing a Choctaw Indian Academy in 1821. Interestingly it was founded near Georgetown, Kentucky where Johnson lived and Ward had resided, not in Mississippi where the Choctaw lived. Using an old failed Baptist Choctaw school building, the new Academy now under federal auspices and run with government money, survived until 1842.<sup>355</sup>

However, it was Ward's actions or more precisely inaction between February 24, 1831, and August 24, 1831, that has secured his ignominious reputation. Article 14 of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek which resulted in Choctaw Removal allowed individual Choctaw to claim a reservation or homestead in the old Choctaw Nation in Mississippi provided it was done before August 24, 1831. Part of the process was to take the request to their Indian agent William Ward. The agent did everything possible to avoid, ignore or contest the requests. He was difficult to find; neglected to file applications; threatened personal violence toward anyone too persistent and "frequently [was] too drunk to function".<sup>356</sup> Choctaw Chief Greenwood LeFlore believed Ward's "malfeasance" undermined the Treaty.<sup>357</sup> Ward defended his neglect by averring many Choctaw claims were instigated by white settlers and speculators and that the unofficial government policy of the Jackson Administration was to leave no Choctaw in Mississippi. Nonetheless, many remained, the Agency closed in 1832 and Ward retired. In 1842, Congress began to investigate William Ward's action and potential land fraud resulting from the issuance of script for some Choctaw denied "reservations". However, it was only good in the Indian Territory which brought a horde of con men among the Choctaw of Mississippi. The issue simmered for sixty years until 1426 Mississippi Choctaw were removed to the Indian Territory in 1902–1903.<sup>358</sup> In *Julius Caesar*, William Shakespeare wrote, "The evil men do lives after them".<sup>359</sup> Sometimes for a very long time.

---

<sup>355</sup> <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/594> Tim Talbot Choctaw Indian Academy

<sup>356</sup> Katherine M. Osburn *Choctaw Resurgence in Mississippi: Race, Class and Nation in the Jim Crow South, 1830–1977* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014) 12–13.

<sup>357</sup> James Taylor Carson, "Greenwood LeFlore: Southern Creole, Choctaw Chief" Greg O'Brien (ed) *Pre-removal Choctaw History: Exploring New Paths* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) 23; Greg O'Brien (ed) *Pre-removal Choctaw History: Exploring New Paths* Chapter Ten: Greenwood LeFlore Southern Creole, Choctaw Chief by James Taylor Carson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) 231

<sup>358</sup> Chahta Anumpa Alikhavna Scholl of Chocraw Language Iti Fabvssa "Choctaw resistance to removal from ancient homeland" (Part III) 1

<sup>359</sup> See William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, 3.2.



George Gray III (1783–1828) was Caddo or Red River agent 1820–1828, a man with a Janus-faced reputation depending on the source. Born in Virginia and raised in Kentucky he was the son of George Gray II, a Revolutionary War commander and cousin of James Monroe. Young Gray served in the War of 1812 rising to the rank of Captain; then rejoined the Army as a Captain in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry from 1816–1820. At this point his cousin once removed, President James Monroe, assigned Gray the remote agency at Natchitoches, Louisiana. An activist agent, Gray moved the agency up the Red River to Sulphur Fork in 1821 and in 1825 to Caddo Prairie to benefit the Caddo and further distance them from white settlers.<sup>360</sup> His responsibilities also included a number of smaller Louisiana tribes like the Apalachee, Tincas, Alibamons and Pascagoulas.

In 1826, the government moved the Quapaw from Arkansas to the Red River Agency along with Sub-agent Antoine Barraque (1773–1858), a French immigrant and former trooper in Napoleon’s army. The two soldiers clashed immediately as did the Caddo and Quapaw. The latter had been told land had been purchased from the Caddo for them, the former thought they were just providing territory for an indigent people. Neither Gray nor Barraque knew anything. Barraque claimed Gray insulted him and the Quapaw and retailed whiskey. The Frenchman in turn attempted to meet privately with the Caddo to convince them Gray was a “bad man”.<sup>361</sup> Parroting Barraque, the Quapaw chief Hekaton wrote Arkansas territorial Governor George Izard that Gray “does not suit or please the Quapaw claiming Gray urged other tribes to steal and loot the Quapaw and “insulted me and all my children”.<sup>362</sup> For his part Gray warned authorities that Barraque was dangerous and “behind all the mischief”<sup>363</sup> while asserting the Quapaw were drunk all the time<sup>364</sup> and they had arrived without any provisions for which Barraque could give no accounting. Gray did admit that he had given a small amount of whiskey to a trusted Chickasaw to take across the Sabine River and exchange for stolen property. Gray had been assiduous in combating white squatters on Indian land as well as developing a Caddo vocabulary. It appears Barraque truly wanted a place for the Quapaw beyond relying on the good will of the

---

<sup>360</sup> Cecile Elkins Carter *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995) 258-259

<sup>361</sup> Ginger L. Ashcroft “Antoine Barraque and His Involvement in Indian Affairs of Southwest Arkansas, 1816–1832” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 32 No. 3 (Autumn, 1973) 237.

<sup>362</sup> Ashcroft, “Antoine Barraque,” 235.

<sup>363</sup> Ashcroft “Antoine Barraque” 237

<sup>364</sup> Morgan *Shovel of Stars* 100

Caddo, and Gray wanted peace between all tribes.<sup>365</sup> The Indian Department removed Barraque and told Gray not to supply any more whiskey to Indians, even if the goal was principled. Gray died on the job in November, 1828, a man perceived historically as problematic but in reality, perhaps better.

It is hard to imagine a man less suited for the job of Indian agent than George Boyd (1779–1846) Despite his limitations Boyd served as Mackinac agent 1818–1832, Green Bay agent 1832–1837, and sub-agent 1837–1842, totaling at twenty-four years of service. Born in Maryland, as a young man he worked in Great Britain from 1798–1801 for Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for War. Returning to the States, Boyd began working for the Bank of the Metropolis in Washington DC in 1805 and in 1811 became private secretary to Secretary of War, William Eustis. He continued as private secretary for Eustis' successor, John Armstrong from 1813–1814 and then carried private dispatches for the treaty commissioners at Ghent, 1814–1815. At this point, Boyd was asked to purchase arms in Europe for the American military; buy new accessories for the recently burned White House like brass hinges, gold plated knobs and locks and carpets amounting to \$19,000 as well as buying \$2,000 in foreign books for the War Department.<sup>366</sup> He also returned with a stock of laces to sell locally in Georgetown, DC. For some reason, the War Department refused to accept all his arms shipments and he had to pay off his creditors himself, leaving him bankrupt.

Impoverished this banker/civil servant who had plied the hallways of the powerful in both Europe and America was now adrift, connected only matrimonially as brother-in-law to Secretary of State and future President John Quincy Adams. In 1818, he was appointed Indian Agent at Mackinac on the far northern reaches of the new republic. The Indians associated with his agency included a declining number of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomie thus making his tenure relatively uneventful. Like other northern agents, he could be tough on illegal traders. In 1824, he ordered a party of Ottawa to arrest an outlaw trader named William Farnsworth. Boyd confiscated Farnsworth's goods and flogged the Grand River Indians who had illegally conveyed the trader. However, a local court that same evening brought charges against Boyd and local

---

<sup>365</sup> W. David Baird *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980) 70

<sup>366</sup> Colonel George Boyd (c.1779–1846) Genealogy Accessed May 1, 2018 <https://www.geni.com/people/Colonel-George-Boyd/3055635> 2

military commander Major William Whistler, finding them guilty of abetting the “robbery” of Farnsworth and flogging the Grand River Indians. They were later acquitted by a higher court.<sup>367</sup>

Upon consolidation of his agency in 1832, Boyd was transferred to Green Bay, which he initially resisted, fearing complications from the Black Hawk War. After arriving, he praised the local Menominee for helping during the conflict, tried to get them to adopt the Stambaugh Treaty, and felt the Menominee needed to be protected from the Winnebago. Historian David R.M. Beck posits “George Boyd ... was arguably the worst of numerous incompetent or corrupt agents ... to the Menominee”.<sup>368</sup> He was “cheating the Menominee time and again. He was the most blatantly corrupt of the pre-reservation agents”.<sup>369</sup> Part of this may be traced to advanced age and senility as Henry Rowe Schoolcraft agent at Mackinac commented “The negligence and imbecility of the old gentleman are becoming every year more apparent”.<sup>370</sup>

Boyd was charged with several offenses by both local whites and Indians. A few were nepotistic in nature including hiring one of his eight sons as interpreter though he did not speak Menominee; hiring the same son in 1839 to assist with annuity disbursements and paying him from the annuities and appointing another son as a striker in the blacksmith shop who just loafed. Boyd supposedly expropriated the cattle and farm implements from the closed agency farm in 1836 for his own use. He seemed to have numerous problems involving annuity payments deducting shipping costs from the annuities, paying claims the Menominee rejected and substituting discounted Illinois Bank notes and French five francs for silver dollars. Boyd testified in his own behalf claiming the accusations primarily originated from the Indian traders with whom he had a long history of disagreements and that only six chiefs had signed the charges while he knew eighteen who would support him. The complaints often asked for a new agent almost everyone recommending one man: Agustin Grignon. In a letter of appeal to Wisconsin Territorial Governor Henry Dodge, Boyd denounced the charges in soaring terms, “From the foundation of this government in 1776 to the present time, a more deliberate and cold-blooded attack on a public office has never been recorded”.<sup>371</sup> He was convicted on three counts and resigned in 1842. It is hard to believe a twenty-five-year civil servant suddenly went rogue,

---

<sup>367</sup> Hall *Uncommon Defense* 67-68

<sup>368</sup> Beck, *Siege and Survival*, 121.

<sup>369</sup> Beck, *Siege and Survival*, 121.

<sup>370</sup> Beck, *Siege and Survival*, 121.

<sup>371</sup> Patrick K. Ourada *The Menominee Indians: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) 101

but Boyd seems to have turned about 1836–1837, just when he was downgraded to sub-agent and his \$1,400 salary fell to \$750.

Edward W. Duval (?–1830) was a professional government office seeker, constantly using family and friends to achieve a better position culminating as Cherokee West agent 1824–1829. Born in Maryland and trained as a lawyer, he worked in the United States' Comptroller's Office which his uncle Gabriel Duval headed from 1802–1811. His father-in-law William Jones, a Philadelphia merchant was made Secretary of the Navy, 1813–1814 and Duval followed becoming a clerk in the Navy Department and then "Naval Storekeeper" at \$1,700/year. However, his father-in-law was ousted and Duval also lost his position.

Duval was nothing, if not persistent. He attempted to obtain a government post contacting a veritable who's who's among the political class. In 1815, he asked Secretary of State James Monroe to be considered for Secretary of the Mississippi Territory. In 1817, he got Virginia Representative John Jackson to write a letter of recommendation for Auditor and in 1819 convinced Indian Agent Return J. Meigs to advance him for Secretary of the Arkansas Territory. He even contacted ex-President James Madison in 1822, requesting support for appointment as Clerk of the United States House of Representatives. Finally, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun suggested him for Indian agent in 1823 and he got the appointment the following year.

Although he had some initial difficulties with Arkansas Territorial Governor Izard as Duval tried to "magnify" his position at the Governor's expense and clashed with the military, he soon settled into a routine reputedly assisting the Cherokee, taking an interest in their prosperity and development. In 1828, everything suddenly changed as he took a delegation to the Capitol and negotiated the Treaty of Washington to remove the Cherokee from Arkansas Territory to the Indian Territory. According to legal records, Duval was also assigned Emigration agent to move Indians from Georgia across the Mississippi as well as Choctaw West Agent or Sub-agent all with no change in pay. Although Indian Department records do not show him involved with the Choctaw, Secretary of War John Eaton requested Choctaw Sub-agent William McClellan to investigate Duval. McClellan reported him "being lavish in his spending" and granting his brothers trading licenses among the Cherokee.<sup>372</sup> He further claimed Duval was keeping annuity

---

<sup>372</sup> Daniel F. Littlefield and Lonnie E. Underhill "The Cherokee Agency Reserve 1828–1886" *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 31 No. 2 (Summer, 1972) 169

merchandise and selling it to the Indians. Although these were serious charges, a bigger concern for the Indian Bureau was that he was \$10,538.24 in arrears in his accounts having been too busy to document reports. He was fired and in 1830, he suddenly died. His wife and children were left with the debt and took their case to the Federal court claiming all the expenses for items like taking the Cherokee to Washington, steamboat tickets, looms for the Indians, a superior cotton gin and improvements for the agency buildings had been accomplished. The family presented accounts and the government reduced the bill to \$1,085.28.<sup>373</sup>

Robert Carter Nicholas (1787–1856) was “connected“. His father was a member of the Virginia convention that ratified the United States Constitution in 1788; author of the Kentucky Constitution and first Attorney General of Kentucky in 1792. His uncle, Wilson Cary Nicholas was a United States Senator from Virginia, 1799–1804; United States Representative from Virginia 1807–1809 and Governor of Virginia 1814–1816. His grandfather also Robert Carter Nicholas heard Thomas Jefferson's bar exam; served in the Virginia Assembly 1776–1778 and was Justice of the Supreme Court of Virginia, 1778–1780. His great grandfather Robert “King” Carter was one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in the colonies. Nicholas was born in Virginia, raised in Kentucky and participated in the War of 1812, fighting at the Battle of Chippewa and rising to the rank of Colonel. He continued in the Army and simultaneously completed his degree at the College of William and Mary in 1816.

Despite comments from Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe in an 1820 letter that some Mississippians might oppose the nomination of Nicholas as Chickasaw East agent desiring a local man from the new state instead, his appointment was approved and he struggled against the powerful Chickasaw Colbert family from 1820 into 1822. Nicholas was conscientious in his correspondence with the War Department commenting that the attempts at teaching agriculture to a hunter civilization were doomed without first going through a herding stage. He complained he did not receive sufficient remuneration for all his services mentioning his house was the local hospital for whites and Indians alike as it was the depository for public medicines and he personally traveled two hundred and fifty miles to get the \$35,100 annuity payment and return through the wilderness with the specie. He wrote “I know of no man of business in the interior

---

<sup>373</sup> <https://cite.case/f-cas/25/953/United> States v. Duval 25F.cas.gilp.356 (1833)

that would perform this duty”.<sup>374</sup> Nicholas was a strong supporter of mission schools and was an equal opportunity employer hiring both Indians and a woman for hauling supplies and logs.

However, his continuing contentiousness with the Colbert family brought formal charges in 1822 that he had withheld \$3,000 from the 1819 annuity which he used to buy shoddy goods then resold them to the Chickasaw. Other complaints centered around dereliction in expelling white settlers and threatening to move the next annuity payment to distant Chickasaw Bluffs. Nicholas responded with an eighteen-page defence of his actions and more attacks on the Colberts, intimating tribal decisions mainly benefited Chief Levi Colbert's financial investments.<sup>375</sup> An investigator sent to the Chickasaw Agency in 1822 found the Nicholas family ill but agency operations in good order. Apparently, Nicholas was already considering moving on as he wrote his brother in 1821 about buying a sugar plantation in Louisiana as well as slaves to operate it. He simply departed in 1822 and a year later it was determined he owed the government \$40,830.94. Most of this resulted from the complexities of the 1819–1820 annuity payments and monetary issues relating to the Panic of 1819. Evidently, the amount was later reduced as he paid \$1,835.14 in 1826.

Nicholas did indeed become a sugar planter in St. James Parrish, Louisiana and by 1830 owned ninety slaves. In 1836, he was appointed to the United States Senate from Louisiana serving until 1841. Nicholas was later Secretary of State of Louisiana, 1845–1846; State Superintendent of Education, 1849–1853 and was active in Louisiana politics. Nicholas’ agent tenure was mercifully short as his concern and good intentions could not contest with some financial irregularities and the power of the Colberts.

Despite lacking the connections of men like Duval and Nicholas, John Phagan (1782–1858) served in Florida as both Apalachicola Sub-agent 1826–1830 and Seminole Agent 1830–1833. A North Carolinian who had been a Captain in the War of 1812, he had been recommended for the position by new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, James McKenney. He seems to have had “difficulties” with money, attempting to borrow cash against land he did not own and on a monetary settlement from the Army, he would never receive. Commentators have denigrated

---

<sup>374</sup> James R. Atkinson *A History of the Chickasaw Indian Agency East of the Mississippi River* Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Norman, Oklahoma 27

<sup>375</sup> James R. Atkinson *Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004) 212

Phagan as “totally unqualified both by education and morals” and “the man who singlehandedly caused the Second Seminole War”.<sup>376</sup> Within a year of his appointment, he was accused of not paying annuities; distributing useless goods; threatening to break the authority of the chiefs; preventing the Indians from selling pelts and corn beyond the reservation boundaries and not responding to white intrusion and their pilfering of property.<sup>377</sup> Nonetheless, as a sub-agent he exercised almost autonomous power but was overwhelmed by both white and even Creek encroachment.

A supporter of Andrew Jackson, Phagan was elevated to Seminole Agent in 1830. His primary goal was to achieve Seminole Removal which was accomplished at the Treaty of Payne’s Landing [1832]. Notwithstanding, both his financial and political problems continued to mount. In 1833, Florida Territorial Secretary and Acting Governor James Westcott, Jr upon the request of Secretary of War, Lewis Cass investigated Phagan and found he was paying his employees less than the salary carried on the government books. For instance, he paid Cudjo, his black interpreter \$175 for three years but assigned his salary at \$480.<sup>378</sup> He was in default to several contractors and even owed the Indians money, including \$50 for Chief Blount. Politically, he had earned the enmity of Florida territorial delegate Joseph M. White when he allegedly stated he would hire no one who had voted for White who responded by calling for Phagan’s removal as “there was no parallel to the fraud, oppression and inhumanity practiced by Phagan on the Florida Indians”.<sup>379</sup>

Commentators, historic and contemporary, had different perceptions of Phagan. He was both condemned for “his brutal treatment of” the Indians and lauded for having “their [Indian] interests and welfare deeply at heart, without losing sight of the interests of the Gov’t”.<sup>380</sup> Regardless, the catalyst for his removal was the exploring expedition of 1832 into the Indian Territory. As part of the Treaty of Payne's Landing, Seminole representatives were to examine the

---

<sup>376</sup> C.S. Monaco “Wishing the Right May Prevail: Ethan Allen Hitchcock and the Florida War” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 93 No. 2 (Fall, 2014) 183; Perry Deane Young “Young Family Returns to North Cove” This article published in the Yancey County newspaper and the McDowell News 3 Accessed June 2, 2021 <https://carborro.com/perry/shtmls/youngfamilyreturnstonorthcove.shtml>

<sup>377</sup> James W. Covington “Federal Indian Relations with the Apalachicola Indians 1823-1838” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 43 no 2 (Oct, 1963) 129

<sup>378</sup> McReynolds *The Seminoles* 143

<sup>379</sup> Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* 85

<sup>380</sup> John T Sprague *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Btoadway. 1847) 72; Edwin C. McReynolds *The Seminoles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957) 126

area west of the Mississippi assigned the nation. Phagan led the seven “chiefs” in exploring the territory and afterward at Fort Gibson he and local military commander Matthew Arbuckle pressured the Seminole to sign an agreement for removal. Although there was controversy even in 1832 concerning the Fort Gibson Agreement, it was exactly what the Jackson Administration desired which was looking for any Indian to sign anything that might result in some Indian removal. Phagan's problem was not questionable tactics but that irregularities appeared in his travel accounts which could not be explained. Past problems and political perplexities combined with the new charges made him expendable and he was relieved. Phagan, always seemingly impecunious, who had long desired the better paying position of Emigration Agent for the Seminoles was now left jobless.

He returned to North Carolina and in 1842 requested Congress pay monies he felt Secretary Cass had promised him from the 1832 expedition. No answer forthcoming, he and his family moved to far western Arkansas in the 1850s, two of his grandchildren marrying Cherokee and becoming tribal members. In 1854, he once again applied for the promised payment related to the Seminole mission. This time he got all \$444.<sup>381</sup>

Born in Vermont, raised in Ohio, Jehiel Brooks (1797–1886) served in the War of 1812, studied law in Cincinnati, was admitted to the bar in 1823 and moved to Natchitoches, Louisiana in 1826 beginning a new practice in 1828. That same year, he came to Washington DC seeking the position of Indian agent for the Caddo/Red River agency which he received in 1830. In the interim, he married the daughter of wealthy Marylander and one of the largest landholders in the District of Columbia, Nicholas Louis Queen. Having lived in the region, Brooks was aware of the problems and opportunities facing both the Indians and their agent. The resident Caddo were not the only Indians under his control as some Quapaw, Pascagoula, Apalachee, Biloxi, Kosati, Taensa, Alabama and even Shawnee and Delaware all lived in the area. Because of drought, the natives were in wretched condition and he moved to get them supplies. He also pestered the government to shift the agency headquarters from Caddo Prairie to more convenient Tso'to Lake which was accomplished. Most importantly, Brooks knew efforts were afoot to “break the Raft”. The Raft was a twenty-five-mile log jam on the Red River that dated back a millennia and altered life and nature along the River. Famed steamboat builder and river captain Henry Shreve

---

<sup>381</sup> Congressional Globe July 15, 1844 1758



announced his intention to destroy the “Raft”, much of which he did between 1835 and 1838. Brooks imagined that it would bring a Louisiana land rush which would overwhelm the Caddo but also make their lands much more valuable. Before Shreve completed his project, the government needed to act to protect the Indians while having them removed somewhere, block speculators<sup>382</sup> and if its agents made a little money on the side so much the better. Since the French, Spanish and Thomas Jefferson had all promised the Caddo their land in perpetuity, Brooks needed to move circumspectly but quickly.

However, inertia prevailed. White settlers waited demanding Brooks protect them from starving Indians. The military refused to do anything. The Indians began to distrust Brooks as he shifted from courting them to remain in the United States to insisting that they could only save themselves by moving out of the country. In 1834, the Indian Department closed the Caddo/Red River Agency but the Indians were still there. Again, the military refused to take control and by default Brooks offered himself as a negotiator of a Treaty of removal (1835) (Ratified 1836) It gave the Caddo \$30,000 in goods and \$10,000 in cash every year for five years. Two specific reservations were granted within the 600,000 to 1,000,000 acres sold, one to long time interpreter, Larkin Edwards and another to the Grappe family, descended from a long-time interpreter and agent. Brooks moved quickly to purchase the latter property but steamboater/raft breaker Henry Shreve accused him of fraud claiming the Indians never realized the reservations were being granted. Finally, the United States government contested his purchase in 1842 but Brooks ownership was confirmed by the Supreme Court in the *United States v. Brooks* (1851).<sup>383</sup> The Caddo removed to Mexican Texas, almost immediately the Republic of Texas and by 1845, the Indians were back in the United States as Texas joined the Union.

Brooks remained involved in distributing the \$30,000 in goods promised in the Treaty. He carried the second \$10,000 payment but insisted the Caddo sign the receipt before the contents were displayed. Not trusting Brooks, they refused. He left, promising local trader John McLeod \$500 if he could get the Caddo to sign. McLeod who estimated the value of the boxed supplies (blankets, domestic goods, trinkets and thirty-five rifles) at no more than \$1,500, told the Caddo bluntly if they did not sign, they would get nothing. They signed.

---

<sup>382</sup> Robert Gumstad “Steamboats and the Removal of the Red River Raft” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 52 no 4 (Fall 2011) 402-403

<sup>383</sup> Carter *The Caddo* 271,273,274,279,280,287,288

Unlike most of the early Indian agents, Brooks retired to a comfortable if litigious life in Washington DC. He was constantly in court suing to gain more Caddo lands, losing most of the cases. Despite being from Vermont, he was a Confederate sympathizer and contested the Army taking a part of his 234-acre Washington estate for Fort Bunker Hill. Brooks did successfully sue the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1869 for running track on the border of his landholdings. His constant court battles strained his resources and he petitioned the government for some sinecure and in 1845 was made Supervisor of Washington County, that portion of the District of Columbia ceded from Maryland in 1801. (At the creation of the District of Columbia government in 1871, Washington County was abolished) He lived to be ninety. It appears that Brooks did indeed cheat the Caddo in the second annuity payment but it was done after he was agent. However, the big money lay in land speculation surrounding the “Grappe” reservation.

Long serving Creek East Agent John Crowell (1780–1846) actually was removed from office, investigated by the Federal government for his views concerning the Indian Springs Treaty of 1825 and then re-instated. A native of North Carolina, he was sheriff of Washington County, Georgia in 1812, and helped recruit a regiment for the War of 1812. Later he moved to what became the Alabama Territory and was elected its first and only territorial Delegate to Congress in 1819. At the admission of Alabama to statehood, he was chosen its first United States Representative, serving from 1819–1821.

President James Monroe at the behest of Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun appointed Crowell Creek East Agent, a post he held from 1821–1833. Two important truths need to be reiterated. First the job of Indian agent was commonly a “family” affair with family members, broadly defined either on the government payroll or involved in an auxiliary occupation like trader. Secondly, Indian tribes or nations were not monolithic but often divided by families or alliances some divisions being quite old. An agent might use either of these facts to aid himself. Crowell had what appears to be a twin brother (both born in 1780) Thomas Crowell with whom he was in business. According to another trader it had not been a successful venture losing between \$13,000 and \$17,000 by 1822. Another brother Henry Crowell ran the local tavern. Crowell hoped he could send Indian business to his brother's store and so he concocted an annuity disbursement scheme whereby he distributed large bills which many of the trading posts could not handle. However, his brother's store would take the bills, giving each Creek \$5 and the remainder in over priced merchandise. Crowell also had an objective beyond financial gain as

the Creek McIntosh family had controlled the annuities and this tactic cut them out of the distribution loop reducing the main source of their power. Some elements of the Creek nation applauded the change even though corruption was evident in both systems. One source claimed, “Crowell lived well on his \$1500 salary and his share of his brother's operations”.<sup>384</sup>

Ironically, it was not his arrangement to aid his brother and himself at the expense of the Creeks nor his policies reducing the power of the McIntosh family that led to his temporary removal from office in 1825. It was more related to Georgia politics and his reaction to the ratification of an Indian treaty. After hosting the touring Lafayette in 1824, Crowell signed the Treaty of Indian Springs (1825) with misgivings. Six Creek chiefs led by his arch enemy William McIntosh ceded all Creek lands east of the Chattahoochee River for equivalent lands along the Arkansas River plus \$200,000 paid over a period of years. McIntosh also got \$200,000. Crowell immediately wrote the Secretary of War opposing the ratification of the Treaty claiming “It may produce a horrid state of things among the unfortunate Indians”.<sup>385</sup> It was ratified by one vote. Crowell was right about its aftereffects as McIntosh and some of the other signatories were assassinated by order of the Creek Council and the Indians demanded a new treaty.

Georgia hurried to send out surveyors before the government revoked the treaty and Governor George Troup claimed Crowell was instigating the Indians to menace them. The two men were old political adversaries. Troup had complained to John C. Calhoun in 1824 that Crowell had campaigned for his opponent and Crowell admitted he had opposed Troup “openly and boldly”. The Georgia governor and the state Congressional delegation were able to get Crowell's removal and initiate an investigation into his activities. Directed by Major and paymaster Timothy P. Andrews, the investigators as described in the 846-page report exonerated Crowell finding “no criminality”, many accusations “irrelevant”, questioning the motives of some deponents,<sup>386</sup> finding blatant misstatements such as one man confusing Crowell with his brother Henry, the tavern keeper and concluding the charges were driven by men interested in

---

<sup>384</sup> Grace M. Schwartzman and Susan K. Barnard “A Trail of Broken Promises: Georgians and Muscogee/Creek Treaties, 1796–1826” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 No. 4 (Winter 1991) 709

<sup>385</sup> James W. Silver “General Gaines Meets Governor Troup. A State Federal Clash in 1825” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 27 No.3 (September 1943) 250

<sup>386</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session [Rep. No. 98] Ho. Of Reps. REPORT of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives to which were referred THE MESSAGES OF THE PRESIDENT U.S. of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of February and March, 1827with Accompanying Documents and A REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS of the Legislature of Georgia March 3, 1827 Read, and laid on the table Washington Printed by Gales & Seaton 1827–1846

destroying Crowell's character. In the interim, Crowell helped push a substitute agreement, the Treaty of Washington (1826) which revoked the Treaty of Indian Springs, gave the Creeks \$217,600 plus \$20,000 a year in perpetuity and \$100,000 to move McIntosh's supporters westward. Perhaps most importantly, it allowed the Creeks to retain their Alabama homeland. New Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas McKenney attributed "much to the zeal of the agent, John Crowell".<sup>387</sup> He was re-instated.

Despite his acquittal, Crowell faced continuing opposition from the Indians regarding his annuity disbursements as well as from political antagonists. Georgian and former Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford wrote Vice-President Martin Van Buren in 1829 "P.S. While the President is removing delinquent officers why does he not look to John Crowell. I am sure a more criminal delinquent does not exist in the US".<sup>388</sup> Although, Crowell did sign the Treaty of Cusseta (1832) removing the Creeks, he seemed to take less and less interest in his job. He resigned in 1833 ostensibly for health reasons

Crowell served in the Alabama House of Representatives in 1834 and the Senate 1835, owned a ferry on the Flint River and on a large parcel of land west of the river he opened a tavern/inn and a horse farm. He became a noted turfman. His horse John Bascombe gave the South victory in the North-South race in 1836 at the Union racetrack in Queens New York. John D. Bibb an Alabama Territorial judge and law student of William Crawford, wrote in a back-handed compliment "John Crowel[sic] was not talented but the Territory at that time had no one else to spare that would have done any better".<sup>389</sup>

Did the eight malefactors reflect any of the criminality attributed to agents in books, movies, or general historical presentations? Ward, Nicholas, Phagan, and Brooks all were accused of either embezzling or not paying annuities while Ward, Duval, Nicholas, and Phagan sold shoddy or useless goods. Boyd, Duval, and Crowell had nepotism issues. The worst was probably Ward, although Brooks had a distinct plan to get Indian lands (often a plot of TV presentations) after the "Raft" was broken, and he was alone among the bad guys, living well if

---

<sup>387</sup> Richard J. Hryniewicki "The Creek Treaty of November 15, 1827" *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 52, No. 1 (March 1968): 12.

<sup>388</sup> William Henry Williams (ed), "Ten Letters From William Harris Crawford to Martin Van Buren" *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 49, No.1 (March 1965): Letter July 11, 1829 postscript.

<sup>389</sup> J. Isaac Copeland, 1979 John Crowell 18 Sept.1789–25 June 1846 2 Accessed August 16, 2019 <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/crowell-john>

litigiously in retirement. It is strange that the atypical nine percent who had ethical issues (most investigations found them innocent or owing significantly less money) should represent the typical Indian agent in theaters and textbooks.

In the next twelve years everything changed. America expanded to its present continental borders as men and women sought gold, to follow the dictates of God, demanded free or cheap land, or otherwise sought new lives or to escape old ones in the vast expanse of the Trans-Mississippi West. The resident Natives of the Far West faced old and new challenges as an overburdened and underfunded Indian Bureau attempted the impossible. Would new Indian agents reflect their predecessors or move toward the literary, cinematic, and “historical” perception?

## Chapter 2

### The Indian Agents of “Manifest Destiny” 1849–1861

A malaise hung over the once boisterous young Republic. Unemployment was rampant. Thirty-nine thousand citizens had gone bankrupt. Half of the 800 banks had failed. Over \$741 million dollars had been lost.<sup>390</sup> America was in the throes of its first major economic depression, the Panic of 1837. Lasting from 1837 to about 1843, it had its roots in poor banking practices, erratic government policy, international monetary machinations, and overpriced public lands on the frontier, those very lands acquired from emigrating and resident Indians. Exacerbated by the 1836 Specie Circular, a government edict requiring payment for public lands in gold or silver, the frontier regions dozed commercially and psychologically. But as the nation began to recover, a series of seemingly unrelated events merged to change not only the Indian Department and the western Indians but America itself.

In quick succession, wagon trains left for California in 1841, the Oregon country in 1843, and the remote Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Between the early 1840s and 1860, about 300,000 traversed the overland trails. The fatality rate was about ten percent, mostly due to accidents and disease.<sup>391</sup> Despite movie and television depictions of lone wagon trains moving through even lonelier landscapes, it was often crowded on the trails. In short order, stations, ferries, and bridges proliferated along the eastern sections of the route making travel safer and less burdensome but also slower and much more expensive.

In 1845, after years of acrimonious political debate over issues ranging from slavery to feared British intervention to a potential war with Mexico, the United States annexed the nine-year-old Republic of Texas which became the twenty-sixth state. After Mexico refused to sell parts of New Mexico and California, new president James Knox Polk maneuvered a politically divided and unprepared Mexico into a conflict over boundaries between the Nueces and the Rio Grande rivers. Despite American opposition to the war in the form of men ranging from Henry David Thoreau to Abraham Lincoln as well as a censure of President Polk by the Whig-

---

<sup>390</sup> Martin A. Armstrong, “Panic of 1837,” Armstrong Economics, (n.d.), <https://www.armstrongeconomics.com/panic-of%20-1837/>

<sup>391</sup> National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center, “History Bits & Westward Quotes on the Oregon Trail,” Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management, [https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/learn\\_interp\\_nhotic\\_quotes.pdf](https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/learn_interp_nhotic_quotes.pdf).

controlled House for an unconstitutional contest, the President persisted. He was helped by the fact that the war was fought mainly in Mexico and the Americans won every important battle. Through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended hostilities in February 1848, the United States added 525,000 square miles of Territory including all or parts of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming.

In the midst of one conflict, another was avoided when President Polk abrogated the 1827 Joint Occupation Treaty with Great Britain concerning the Oregon country; both sides agreed to a border at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel. The Senate ratified the Treaty in June 1846. The lands acquired included all of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, as well as parts of Wyoming and Montana.

Ironically, one day before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, large quantities of gold were discovered in California. Announced by James K. Polk in his State of the Union Address December, 5, 1848, as an “abundance of gold” it triggered a mining rush from around the globe.<sup>392</sup> By 1854, it is estimated that 300,000 people had arrived in California, including Americans, Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, Chinese, Australians, Britons, French, Germans, Italians, Filipinos, Turks, and Kanakas from Hawaii.<sup>393</sup> The Cherokee Trail, a more southerly route to the goldfields was established in 1850 by a train that included Cherokee Indians from the Indian Territory. California became the 31<sup>st</sup> state, September 9, 1850.

“Gold fever” was hard to cure and failed miners and get-rich-quick dreamers roamed the American West in the antebellum years, often searching in the most inhospitable backwaters for the next mother lode. Waves of miners and boom town auxiliary personal, merchants, freighters, gamblers, and prostitutes relocated continuously to the next bonanza. It might be Tubac, Arizona, 1854; Washoe District or Comstock Lode, Nevada, 1859; or Pikes Peak, Colorado, 1859. The “Fifty-Niners” used an old Indian path renamed the Smoky Hill Trail following the Smoky Hill River to cross the Great Plains. Colorado Territory was established in 1861.

Pressured by Oregon Territorial Delegate Samuel Thurston, Congress passed the Donation Land Act in 1850. Antedating the Homestead Act, it promised any white male eighteen or older 320 acres of free land in Oregon if he would reside on the property and make

---

<sup>392</sup> J.S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).

<sup>393</sup> Malcolm Rohrbough, “No Boy’s Play: Migration and Settlement in Early Gold Rush California.” *California History* 79, no.2 (2000): 25, Accessed July 2, 2021. doi:10.2307/25463687

improvements over four years. If he had a wife, she got another 320 acres. After 1850, the amounts of land were halved until the program ended in 1855. Between 1850 and 1860, Oregon's population increased from 13,294 to about 52,465 with claims to 2.5 million acres.<sup>394</sup> It was admitted as the 33<sup>rd</sup> state in 1859.

In 1854, the United States and Mexico signed the Gadsden Purchase procuring contemporary southern New Mexico and Arizona, an area of about 29,670 square miles for a potential all-weather transcontinental railroad in addition to resolving a few problems lingering from the Mexican War. The continental United States was now complete, aside from some seemingly insoluble border disputes with both Mexico and Canada.

Native peoples living in the West had spent decades interacting with a limited Hispanic population while sporadically fraternizing with multinational trappers and traders, Santa Fe freighters, military explorers, seamen involved in the California "hide and tallow" trade, or an isolated missionary, but now they were suddenly confronted with an array of American citizens and foreign immigrants clamoring for land, minerals, and government. The old idea of "separation" of Indians and settlers/miners was no longer an option. In 1850s Indian Territory, Texas, California, and Oregon—the seeds of the reservation system were sown and the results would be problematic.

The tribes of the Great Plains and the Great Basin watched the wagon trains come and go bartering for some things, begging for others, and stealing whatever they could not get otherwise. The Texas tribes like the Tonkawa, Comanche, Wichita, and Caddo either acquiesced to reservation life or fought a fruitless rearguard action against an advancing military line of fortifications. All Indians were expelled from Texas in 1859.

In the desert Southwest, the Pueblo who had revolted against Spanish control in 1680 reprised their opposition, now against American rule, in the Taos Revolt of 1847 resulting in the death of American Territorial Governor and former Indian agent appointee, Charles Bent. The Navajo, who had been battling first Spanish and then Mexican authority for two centuries, continued fighting against American jurisdiction from 1846 through 1863. Famed trapper and former Indian agent, Kit Carson, led a campaign to gather the Navajo and remove them from

---

<sup>394</sup> Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, University of Washington  
[washington.edu/unwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom%20Materials/Pacific%20Northwest%20History/Lessons/Lesson%209/Census%20Data.html](http://washington.edu/unwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom%20Materials/Pacific%20Northwest%20History/Lessons/Lesson%209/Census%20Data.html)



their stronghold at Canyon de Chelly in 1863. He was unsuccessful but destroyed so much of their food and property that they finally surrendered the following year and removed to the Bosque Redondo in the “Long Walk.” In 1868, the Navajo and the American government signed a treaty allowing them to return home. Under famed leaders like Cochise, Victorio, and Geronimo, various bands of Apache including Jicarilla, Chiricahua, Yavapai, and Mescalero contested American entry from 1849–1887.

No group received more study amid attempts to segregate them under Indian Department auspices while being chased to near extinction than the California Indians. The semi-aculturated Mission Indians in the south, whose population had declined 90% between 1769 and 1849, languished near the old missions while the those in the North fled before private armies of miners fighting an ultimately unsuccessful defensive conflict.

Further north and east, Cayuse Indians battled settlers and miners from 1847–1855, and the Rogue River natives continued to contest the newcomers in 1855–1856. All the while, a bevy of treaty negotiators rushed about, finding Indians to relinquish land titles to supply all the acreage needed for the Donation Land Claim grants. By 1860, reservations already existed in Oregon at Grand Ronde and Siletz as well as at Yakima and Puyallup in Washington Territory, while east of the Cascades, a new agency for the Nez Perce was founded in 1857.

As the mining and settler frontiers engulfed the remainder of the inter-mountain West, the Paiutes resisted in 1860, the Nez Perce in 1877, and the Utes intermittently from 1850–1879 culminating in the Meeker Massacre, the killing of Indian agent Nathan Meeker and agency employees.

The Indians new world, with its plethora of potential problems, brought a host of new challenges for a still small Indian Department. In 1849, the Washington staff of the Indian Bureau consisted of fifteen individuals, but by 1861 it had expanded to thirty-seven. The new positions were mainly clerks and temporary clerks but also including a draftsman and two watchmen. Because of the territorial growth, the number of agents expanded from twelve to forty-two but sub-agents declined from nineteen to two. However, support staff at the agencies grew from thirty-one to three hundred twenty-five or ninety percent, in just twelve years,

reflecting the expansion of territory and native peoples overseen but portending the possibility of administrative difficulties.<sup>395</sup>

The average age at appointment of these “modern” men was a bit younger, starting at forty rather than the “first agents,” who typically started at forty-two. The youngest agent was John Montgomery, age twenty, at the Kansa/Kaw agency 1855–1859. In contrast, the oldest was Luke Lea, age sixty-six, at Fort Leavenworth 1849–1851. Unlike the earlier agents, only one served longer than eight years, with many serving as agents for very short periods. As for salary, \$1,500 was the rule for all agents until about 1850 when location began to play a role. Agents in Texas beginning in 1848 got \$1,700 while Utah appointees received \$1,550. Simultaneously, agents in the eastern Trans-Mississippi region dropped to \$1,000. By mid-decade, all the New Mexico and Utah agents were paid \$1,550 while Texas men continued at \$1,700.<sup>396</sup> By the 1860s, most agents, including those in Texas, were remunerated \$1,500 except for some new positions in Oregon and Washington where the pay was only \$1,000. The most highly paid were the California agents, who received \$3,000 per year.

Locale finally meets literature in the 1850s, with Great Lakes, Mississippi River, and southern hardwood settings replaced by buttes, high plains, and Rocky Mountain fastness. New names like Apache, Ute, and Cheyenne are added to the “settled” Choctaw, Pottawatomie, and Sac and Fox. The Reservation now becomes reality for Native peoples in Oregon, California, and Texas, connecting even further to the cinematic representations.

Although much of the 1850s is dominated by the divided Democrats, politics continue to play an important role in appointments, but the number of “important” men declines precipitously. No longer do you find former governors and senators at the agency helm. The day of the “lesser-known man as Indian agent” has arrived, reflecting the personas of the cinematic agents, independent of the past and present, surrounded by cutthroat lackeys. Remember, none of the romantic dramas involving Indian agents are set before 1865. It seems the “West” between the French and Indian War and the Civil War is not quite the “West” of the imagination, despite the fact that settlers, soldiers, agents, and Indians inhabited its dynamic panorama. Did these new “lesser” agents anticipate the commonly portrayed malefactor of cinema and textbook?

---

<sup>395</sup> Register of Officers and Agents in the Service of the United States 1849 132–135; 1861.81-90

<sup>396</sup> Register of Officers and Agents in the Service of the United States 1851 146-147

Once again, political background, vocational proclivities, personal actions as agent, and a host of other typologies will be used to further separate the agents. Importantly, the key is to find the “real” agent and the myriad of challenges he faced, all the while examining if the literary, cinematic, and now historical portrayal is at all accurate or just a “stock figure” or needed villain in an assumed “historical narrative.”

### **Reprising the First Agents:**

#### **More Elder Statesmen, Connections, Politicians, Doctors, Removal Men and Multiple Office Holders.**

##### End of the Elder Statesman

Although no records exist of any correspondence, it is possible Luke Lea, Fort Leavenworth Indian agent, reported to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, sometime in 1850. Because they were of the same political party (Whig) and both had jobs in the Indian Department, their careers sometimes have become conflated and confused in general histories. Commissioner Luke Lea (1810–1898) was a Tennessee attorney who moved to Mississippi and, after losing the gubernatorial contest in 1850, was awarded the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs by the new Whig Administration where he served from 1850–1853.

Indian agent Luke Lea (1783–1851) was born in North Carolina and moved with his family to Hawkins County in the future Tennessee in 1790. After serving as Tennessee House Clerk 1804–1806, he commanded a regiment in Andrew Jackson’s 1818 invasion of Spanish Florida. After his military stint, Lea held several local offices and was a cashier of the Knoxville branch of the Bank of Tennessee. Always somewhat dependent on elective or appointed office, Lea was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1832 serving from 1833–1837, first as a Jacksonian, then as a Whig or Anti-Jacksonian. In the first Tennessee Whig administration, he was Secretary of State, 1837–1839. Chosen by the legislature in 1838 to sell lands acquired from the Cherokee in the Ocoee District of extreme southeastern Tennessee, he moved to the area and oversaw entry-making of properties in newly formed Bradley County becoming one of its leading citizens.

In 1849, new Whig President, Zachary Taylor, appointed Lea as Agent at the complex Fort Leavenworth Agency in northeast Kansas. The 67-year-old Lea had successfully distributed all the annuities owed to the Indians when riding between Westport, Missouri, and the Agency, he was thrown from his horse on June 17, 1851, and died almost instantly. Lea represented the

last gasp of the honored statesman as Indian agent. He would be now be independent and less tied to the past.

### The Connected II

As related in Chapter 1, connections were often important in the Federal appointment process, be they familial, matrimonial, political, martial, or in any other category. *Who* you knew was frequently more decisive than *what* you knew. Although each agent has had his genealogy thoroughly checked, a professional genealogist might find even more connections. Many of the most corrupt “early agents” had gotten their appointments through connections. Would this continue into the Second Generation?

Francis W. Lea (1821–1867) followed in the footsteps of his father Luke Lea.<sup>397</sup> The twenty-one-year-old Lea entered three claims, totaling 1,110 acres in 1842 in the Ocoee Land district of southeast Tennessee and in October 1849 was appointed Register of that same land district by the Tennessee legislature, a position his father had held 1837–1839. However, by December 1851, Francis was selling his property in Tennessee, consisting of two quarter sections of Ocoee land, horses, hogs, wagons, a threshing machine, a library of books, and five slaves to go to Kansas to replace his recently deceased father as Indian agent.

Part of the re-organization of the Indian Bureau in the early 1850s was the discontinuance of the Fort Leavenworth Agency and the establishment of smaller agencies, including the Potawatomie Agency to the west of Fort Leavenworth for the future Prairie Potawatomie and the Kansa Indians. Luke Lea had just been assigned this post before his untimely death, and Francis Lea took over the new agency. His reports for his year and a half tenure are a litany of lamentation about his inability to “civilize” either tribe and opposition to the idea of an Indian Delegate to Congress, as the Indians need more training and individual land ownership. Although seemingly not as political as his father, Lea, tainted by Whiggism, was finally removed from the position by the new Democrat Pierce Administration in January of 1854.

Another filial connection is found in the career of Andrew Jackson Cain (1832–1879) the son of Columbia River/Dalles Agent, John Cain, who served from 1855–1857. As his father left Indiana for the Northwest, twenty-three-year-old Andrew secured a federal position on the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey under Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens and then

---

<sup>397</sup> See section titled “End of the Elder Statesman”

became quartermaster clerk at Fort Walla Walla, an old Hudson's Bay post and now new American military garrison along the Columbia River in Washington Territory. As clerk he helped prepare a treaty that ended the Yakima Indian War and served a short time as Special Agent to the Cowlitz in 1857. With this résumé and the coinciding resignation of his father, John Cain, as Columbia River agent, Andrew J. Cain was appointed Agent at Walla Walla and Lapwai in 1858, being one of the few guardians of American governmental interests east of the Cascade Mountains. His major concern as agent was protecting the Indians from hordes of miners descending on the Nez Perce to get to the goldfields on Orofino Creek, to the east. He was ordered to block the miners' entree and physically stopped some and posted signs. However, he had limited success as military support was insignificant; bad weather and the rough country curbed his ability to find the trespassers and the Indians refused to heed his warnings not to ferry miners across the Snake River, as the trade goods they got in return were too tempting. Cain explained he had "exercised all the authority I possess as civil authority here", but he was helpless.<sup>398</sup> The first mining rush into the Idaho country had begun. Cain reported in 1860 that the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Palouse, and Couer d'Alene were in decline, totaling 2,200 souls, while at 4,000, the larger Nez Perce were increasing and despite internal divisions had good relations with the Federal government. Cain was replaced by the new Lincoln Administration in 1861.

Cain decided to stay in the Washington Territory and was active as a developer in the region. He was a successful lawyer in Walla Walla 1860–1873; invested in the region's first railroad from Walla Walla to Wallula in 1861; helped develop "Cain's Addition" to the Walla Walla townsite and was an early financier on the Walla Walla Union newspaper. Politically he was elected prosecuting attorney of Walla Walla County in 1868, running on the Democrat ticket. In 1873, he moved northeast to Dayton, Washington Territory and founded the Dayton News and is considered the "father of Columbia County" created in 1875.

An older brother or even a half-brother might serve as a connection. Tennessean John Everett Barrow (1822–1902) had a half-brother, Alexander Barrow (1801–1846), who had been a United States Senator 1841–1846 from Louisiana and a friend of Zachary Taylor. Barrow's brother George Washington Barrow (1806–1866) had been editor of the Nashville Republican

---

<sup>398</sup> William T. Vollmer *Seven Dreams A Book of North American Landscapes* "The Dying Grass: A Novel of the Nez Perce War" New York: Penguin Press, 2015 .65

Banner, a major Whig organ in Tennessee, 1845–1847, and then served as a United States Representative from Tennessee, 1847–1849. His brother had helped John get a commission in the Texas Navy through his connection with Sam Houston, and he served from 1839–1840. So, when Louisianan and Whig Zachary Taylor became President in 1849, twenty-seven-year-old John Barrow was in line for something. In 1849, he was appointed Sub-Agent at the newly downgraded Council Bluffs Agency, overseeing the Otoe, Missouriia, Pawnee, and Omaha, and once it regained full agency status in 1851, he became agent until relieved in 1853.

Barrow's post-agent's career was one of the most successful among the pre-Civil War agents, so it is important to analyse his actions to see if he used his position to either cheat the Indians or make profits by other means. His payments to the tribesmen appear to have been in good order but the government did refuse his request to take some Indians to the World's Fair in London in 1851. His reports to the government are a litany of woe, much of it caused by the first wave of western immigration. Barrow noted in 1850 that Omaha, Otoe, and Pawnee resources had been so depleted by the emigrants that only "Congressional compensation in the form of money or supplies could save the Indians from impoverishment".<sup>399</sup> He spoke of the cholera deaths among the Pawnee and how he provided for the survivors and moved them to higher ground. He commented on how travelers "trampled their corn fields, destroyed their villages and invaded hunting grounds"<sup>400</sup> in addition to the activities of border liquor dealers. The only negative was a petition from the citizens of Potawatomie County, Iowa, in 1851 asking for his removal. It seemed to gain no traction and he remained in office until 1853.

Although, it does not appear he made much money as agent, his activities and location brought new insights on the American West that would spur his interest and investments for the next fifteen years. He was concerned about the development of Nebraska Territory. He was a merchant/freighter to Salt Lake City, New Mexico, and California from St. Joseph, developing the 24-wagon system to promote protection from Indian attack; and in 1858 got a government contract to carry the mail from Kansas City through Albuquerque to Stockton, California, the 35<sup>th</sup> Parallel Route. Barrow also owned several Missouri River steamboats from 1853–1858

---

<sup>399</sup> Michael Tate L. *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails, 1840–1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006): 89.

<sup>400</sup> Judith A. Boughter *The Pawnee Nation: An Annotated Research Bibliography, Native American Bibliography Series. No.28* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004): 252 #1192

captaining the “Silver Heels” himself. His political interests were minimal, being a delegate to the 1852 Whig Presidential Convention and the 1860 Constitutional Union Party Convention. He followed the mining rush to Montana in 1863, but returned east in 1869, settling in New York City where he made a fortune as a wholesaler, stock broker, and real estate investor. Both Barrow and to a lesser degree Andrew J. Cain profited from their tenure as agent not by robbing the government nor the Indian but by seeing opportunities along the frontier and responding to local and national needs.

Although born in New York, Edwin Aaron Clark Hatch (1825–1882) migrated to the Wisconsin Territory at seventeen in 1842 where he was initially a clerk and Indian trader, mastering both the Winnebago and Dakota languages, assisting in the removal of the Winnebago to Minnesota Territory in 1848 and eventually becoming secretary to Minnesota Territorial Delegate, Henry Mower Rice. In 1855, the Delegate recommended Hatch for the new position of agent to the remote and traditionally hostile Blackfoot and surrounding tribes. Dubious local histories and obituary notices ascribe great prowess to Hatch in outsmarting the Sioux and challenging Winnebago warriors who threatened him, but his time as Indian agent was less auspicious.<sup>401</sup>

His tenure lasted less than two years and involved more travelling and observation than action. Although he was assigned to Fort Benton, he spent much of his time at Fort Union 370 miles to the east. Assumptions about actual Indian location were a constant problem for the 1850s Indian Office as so many new areas with extensive Indian populations were added to the United States after 1848. Hatch believed Fort Benton was perhaps not the best location for an agency. He did an observational census; distributed goods to the Blackfoot, Blood, Gros Ventre, and Piegan; helped make soundings for river navigation to Fort Benton; took a “pleasure trip” fishing/hunting/exploring expedition up the Missouri River; and held a two-day New Year’s Eve ball for local trappers. Hatch also was concerned about his own safety among these “wild tribes” and advocated military action against some Blood Indians who had raided a Crow village in

---

<sup>401</sup> “Major Hatch Real Soldier of Fortune in Early Days of LaCrosse and Vicinity” LaCrosse Tribune and Leader October 26, 1924 1 Accessed March 2, 2029 Wisconsin Local History and Biography Article Wisconsin Historical Society [https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Newspapers/BA7575](https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Newspapers/BA7575;); Barb Walker Find A Grave Maj Edwin Aaron Clark Hatch Accessed March 29, 2020 [https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/175869499/edwin-aaron\\_clark-hatch](https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/175869499/edwin-aaron_clark-hatch) from The Saint Paul Globe, Saint Paul, Minnesota, 14, Aug. 1882; J. Fletcher Williams *A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey Minnesota* Collections of the Minnesota Historical society: Vol. IV (Saint Paul: Published By the Society, 1876) 192–193

search of horses. The Army refused, feeling it foolish to send troops hundreds of miles to punish a few horse thieves. He resigned in 1857, no reason given.

His post-agent career was rather prosaic aside from his year long stint as Major of an Independent Volunteer Battalion 1863–1864 operating in northwestern Minnesota in the confused period following the Sioux Uprising of 1862. He reputedly hired two Canadians to drug Dakota chiefs Shakopee and Medicine Bottle, who were in Canada, and bring them illegally across the border. The chiefs were later hanged for their part in the rebellion. Hatch continued his involvement in Indian affairs brokering the 1863 Treaty with the Chippewa of the Mississippi and Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish bands and also assisted in moving some Dakota Indians to Crow Creek in present day South Dakota. He did build a large house in St. Paul, which he and his family occupied from 1865–1871, causing one commentator to assume without proof it was from the profits of “his not always savory dealings in Indian Country”.<sup>402</sup> Most of his later life was spent developing railroads, specifically the St. Paul and Pacific as well as the St. Paul and Manitoba, precursor to the Great Northern. Hatch was a long time Indian trader and took an interest in Indian affairs. He certainly may have cheated an Indian in a trade or answered an Indian’s challenge, but his Indian agent career offered almost no chance for graft, as he was often drifting along the Missouri, giving out gifts and annuities, marking the river, fishing, and cautiously looking for the feared Blackfoot all in the middle of nowhere. Authors sometimes just assume an Indian agent/trader must be culpable if he shows signs of opulence, but perhaps the Hatches were simply guilty of frontier ostentatiousness.

## The Politician II

### *Eastern Democrat*

Oregon’s first Congressional Delegate, Samuel Thurston, complained of the practice of selecting easterners for western offices, asserting they drew their salaries but never arrived. This mentality has crept into the literary and cinematic depiction of the Indian agent. Of course, he has to arrive to become a part of the drama, but the politician/businessman from Massachusetts or Maryland is outgunned figuratively and literally by evil businessmen/ranchers/Indians to the

---

<sup>402</sup> Larry Millett *Once There Were Castles: Lost Mansions and Estates of the Twin Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011) 136



detriment of other Indians and the “hero” of the story. Most Indian agents were border businessmen or frontier politicians but the primary requirements were proximity, financial need and amenability for the job. Research has discovered only two men between 1849–1861 who received appointments but never arrived at their post.

South Carolina rice farmer John Ashe Alston (1817–1858), instrumental in founding the Carolina Art Association, was appointed Otoe Agent in 1856 but never made it west of the South Carolina border, becoming ill and resigning. Springfield, Illinois, physician Anson Gordon Henry (1804–1865), a specialist in the treatment of cholera who had also seen his neighbor Abraham Lincoln for depression, was looking for a federal appointment with the new Whig Administration of Zachary Taylor in 1849. Lincoln lobbied for Henry to become Register of the Land Office in Minnesota but he was instead chosen as Oregon Indian Agent in 1850. Deciding to go west via the Isthmian route, he was hired by the company building the cross-isthmus railroad to treat their workers. He returned to Springfield and finally immigrated to Oregon in 1852 but not as an Indian agent.

An Indiana Democrat who successfully journeyed west was Andrew Humphreys (1821-1904), a giant of a man, former blacksmith, now lawyer, and stalwart politician. He served in the Indiana House of Representatives 1849–1850, 1852–1856, and again in 1857. He was appointed Utah Indian agent in 1859 and was assigned to Spanish Forks in the Ute Agency, serving until the new Lincoln Administration took power in 1861. It was a complex assignment as the Utah or Mormon War between Mormon settlers and the Federal government 1857–1858 had just ended. Humphreys, who one source describes as “a conscientious man”<sup>403</sup> found the Utes destitute and dying, surrounded by potentially antagonistic Mormon settlers. He sold some of the farm equipment the government had provided for the “Indian” farms to purchase food and used his own blankets to bury their dead. In his second report in 1860, conditions were better as the crop yield had improved but his next statement is shocking, “These farms are cultivated mostly by white labor, and at a very considerable expense.”<sup>404</sup> The farm system designed to provide

---

<sup>403</sup> Dale L. Morgan “Indian Affairs on the California Trail, 1849–1860” (1949) in *Shoshonean Peoples and the Overland Trail: Frontiers of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs* by Dale L. Morgan (Utah State University Press, 2007) 28

<sup>404</sup> “Horrible Massacre of Emigrants” The Mountain Massacre in Public Discourse Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs No. 76 Accessed March 18, 2020 [mountainmeadows.unl.edu/archive/mmm.doc.humphreys.1860.html](http://mountainmeadows.unl.edu/archive/mmm.doc.humphreys.1860.html)  
2

training in agriculture was a farce, as the Indians were watching white men till and harvest. Humphreys recommended “bribing” the Indians with gifts to get them laboring and estimated two thirds of the government’s costs could be saved. He added, “They are now peaceable and friendly disposed toward us”.<sup>405</sup> Humphreys’ story on the Utah frontier is complicated by two claims from local Indiana histories that he became Deputy United States Marshal for Utah.<sup>406</sup> However, no records can be found to authenticate any appointment.

His post agent’s career can only be described as “notorious.” A Democrat, he was a “Copperhead” and a member of the Order of American Knights, accepting secession of the South as legal. In 1864, he and three other Indiana anti-war leaders were indicted, tried, and convicted by a military tribunal of treason. Humphreys was sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for the duration of the war while the others were to be hanged. He was soon released but his movement about Indiana was severely restricted during the conflict. The others appealed and eventually the whole proceeding was declared null and void by the Supreme Court in *Ex Parte Milligan* (1866). Humphreys won a \$25,000 civil suit against the officer who arrested him but could never collect. Remaining active and popular among the voters he served in the Indiana State Senate, 1874–1876, 1878–1882, and 1896–1900 and in the United States House Representatives 1876–1877, he was perhaps the only man convicted of treason to later serve as a congressman. Andrew Humphreys was indeed a conscientious Indian agent but his time as a preeminent Civil War “Copperhead” has come to dominate his historical persona.

### *Eastern Whig*

Following a well-worn path from Tennessee to Texas blazed by everyone from the famous Davy Crockett and Sam Houston to thousands of nameless pioneers, sixty-one-year-old John Alexander Rogers (1789–1873) headed southwest in 1851 with his appointment as Special Indian agent for Texas. Scion of a prominent East Tennessee family, he resided near Rogersville, a community established by his father. A Captain in the War of 1812, he served as a Justice of the Peace, Director of the Tennessee State Bank (1817), mill owner, and Tennessee State Representative 1827–1829 and 1835–1839, where he supported the Whig Party. Perhaps unique

---

<sup>405</sup> “Horrible Massacre of Emigrants”.

<sup>406</sup> Lintonians of the Past: Andrew Humphreys \_ The Lintonian Accessed November 18, 2017 <https://thelintonian.com/2015/08/12/lintonians-of-the-past-andrew-humphreys-2>; Hon. Andrew Humphreys Greene County, Indians <http://lintonhistory.tumblr.com/post110474792605/hon-andrew-humphreys-691-694>

among Indian agents, he was also a lottery winner, pocketing a \$30,000 payout in the Alexandria Lottery. Rogers had been to Texas previously fighting with Felix Huston at Plum Creek against the very same Southern Comanche with whom he would attempt negotiations a decade later. As a minor Whig officeholder, his appointment almost seems more personal than political. Because the government was unsure of the duties of men like Rogers, who is listed in various sources as an agent, special agent, sub-agent, or frontier commissioner, and records are spotty, all that can be adjudged are his actions,

The three agents assigned to Texas in 1850 decided amongst themselves who would go where and Rogers chose southwest Texas and the Southern Comanche in addition to the Lipan and Mescalero Apache. Neither the government nor the agents knew much beyond insights from Texas officials, frontier whites, and rumors. Rogers' first goal was to acquaint himself with the Indians and negotiate a new treaty, which he accomplished in 1851. He convinced parts of all three tribes to meet him at the San Saba River. The Indians showed their good faith by releasing twenty-seven Mexican women and child prisoners and promised not to raid across the international border. Rogers meanwhile lectured the Indians on the importance of abandoning nomadism and start planting crops.<sup>407</sup> Insights on both sides were inadequate and the situation was fluid. The Southern Comanche leadership had been decimated by cholera the previous year, and Rogers was actually negotiating with a small, older group while the younger, larger, and more aggressive band led by Buffalo Hump and Pa-Ha-Yuco were moving north to ally with the more hostile Comanche. Meanwhile, continuing drought reduced the buffalo herds, forcing the Lipan Apaches to resume raiding Texas ranches for livestock. Rogers resigned the following year and lived quietly in Texas. His last series of letters were forthright with no comments about the Indians but several pleading to get his pay and "do me justice".<sup>408</sup> John Rogers like several 1850s agents had taken an assignment with almost no direction from the government including the tribes he was to manage. He negotiated a treaty with a portion of the tribe not understanding its divisions, gave directions to confused listeners and apparently did not get paid.

---

<sup>407</sup> William C. Yancey "In Justice to Our Indian Allies: The Government of Texas and Her Indian Allies, 1836–1867" (MA Thesis University of North Texas, 2008) 90

<sup>408</sup> NARA RG 75 M231 Texas Agency 1847–1859 John Rogers, San Antonio to Luke Lea Esq., Comm. of Indian affairs, Washington City, D.C. March 31, 1852 Image 1118

### *Frontier Democrat*

Most politicians appointed as agents like Daniel Newcomb (1804–1867) were already located in the West. Born in western Virginia, he migrated to Illinois where he fought in the Black Hawk War (1832) and the Mexican War (1846–1847) as a Captain in the 4<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry. Lured by a donation land claim to the Oregon country in 1853, he again farmed and fought, this time in the Rogue River War 1855–1856. Newcomb served in the Oregon Constitutional Convention in 1857 and the last Territorial Legislature in 1858.

He was assigned to the coastal Siletz Agency (1859–1861), which contained an admixture of thirteen tribes totaling 2,025 individuals. Claiming the Indians were in wretched health attributable to poor diet and few funds, he established tribal acreages, built saw and grist mills, and attempted to re-start the local school. Results were mixed, crop yields increased as well as agricultural diversification but the school failed, as parents refused to send their children. Newcomb subsequently recommended the founding of a manual labor boarding school to separate parents and offspring.<sup>409</sup> He also attempted to mediate deadly disputes between Siletz residents, having their roots both in historic feuds and in the treaties signed with the various Oregon tribes. Only two of the thirteen tribes' treaties had been ratified and thus only those got annuities while the remainder survived on meager allowances. Newcomb pleaded for the government to ratify the treaties, stating the Indians complained “with apparent great justice”.<sup>410</sup> He also pushed a “buy locally” campaign, asserting the costs were less and the quality was better. As a final valediction in 1861, he tried to explain to the Indians how the “government had broken apart”.<sup>411</sup> Removed by Abraham Lincoln for his Democratic proclivities as well as his “Southern Sympathies”, he retired to his farm.

The agent at Tejon, California, from 1857–1860 James Russell Vineyard (1804–1863) found himself mentioned in 1842 by, of all people, Charles Dickens in his *American Notes*.<sup>412</sup> Born in Kentucky, Vineyard migrated to the lead mining regions of southwest Wisconsin circa

---

<sup>409</sup> American Indians of the Pacific Northwest-Textual Portion-University of Washington Digital Collection Accessed March 11, 2020 <https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/lctext/id/2165> 212

<sup>410</sup> American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Accessed March 11, 2020 <https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/lctext/id2187> h 161

<sup>411</sup> EA Schwartz *The Rogue River Indian War and its Aftermath, 1850–1980* (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997) 170

<sup>412</sup> *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842) was a travelogue by Charles Dickens detailing his journeys through North America, January to June 1842

1827 and soon became involved in Democratic politics, serving in the Wisconsin Territorial Council 1837–1842. On February 11, 1842, an event occurred that led to Vineyard’s infamy and his inclusion by Dickens in a short section entitled “Wisconsin Tragedy”.<sup>413</sup> On that day, after a heated discussion with Whig political opponent but fast friend Charles Arndt involving both a political appointment and each man’s “honor,” Vineyard shot and killed his adversary on the floor of the Council. Having no lack of witnesses, Vineyard was arrested for murder, formally expelled from the Council but after a change of venue was acquitted at trial. Despite being selected as a member of the 1846 Wisconsin Constitutional Convention and elected one of the first state senators 1848–1850, Vineyard fled west to the California gold fields, perhaps seeking “redemption” or just to escape from the still swirling contentiousness or what famed Great Lakes historian Milo Quaife called “Wisconsin’s Saddest Tragedy”.<sup>414</sup> Vineyard settled in Sacramento and, as was his wont, turned to politics, being chosen to the California State Assembly in 1855. A year later, he was appointed Indian agent for the Sebastian, later Tejon, Agency located between the Central Valley and southern California.

Aside from running a herd of sheep near the reservation and problems of absenteeism, Vineyard ran a well-administered agency supported by his \$3000 salary, twice that of the normal agent outside California. His reports were invariably positive and strikingly self-adulatory as he hired a physician, built a saw mill, repaired the gristmill, and developed an agency complex of buildings. By 1858, he stated “my endeavors” have led to nearly every adult male having his own home.<sup>415</sup> However, he claimed his goal of the reservation developing self-sufficiency was constantly thwarted by noncompliant forces. He cited the proximity of the nearby Fort Tejon grog shops, the addition of some Tule Indians to the reservation in 1858, as well as several hundred dependent off-reservation Indians living nearby. Always ready to find scapegoats for failure, he also inculpated the corrupting influences of white and Californio travelers moving along a road in the reserve. He did push for a settlement of land issues to protect the “rights and privileges of the Indian”.<sup>416</sup> However, Vineyard’s vision and the Tejon experiment were

---

<sup>413</sup> Charles Dickens, “Chapter XVII Slavery” *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1842).

<sup>414</sup> M.M. Quaife “Wisconsin’s Saddest Tragedy” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 5 No. 3 (March 1922) 264–283

<sup>415</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indians Affairs 1858  
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep58> 294

<sup>416</sup> Annual Report <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 444

ultimately frustrated by the great dilemma faced by much of the trans-Mississippi West drought and a lack of irrigation. The reserve was mostly closed by 1860 and abandoned by 1864.

Remaining in southern California, Vineyard sought governmental authority to construct a toll bridge across the Yuba River as well as the right to build the San Fernando Turnpike to Santa Clara. As might be expected, he was chosen as a Democrat state senator from Los Angeles in 1863. He was the oldest man in the chamber. He died that same year, far from Wisconsin and more importantly, far from infamy.

### ***Frontier Whig***

Apologies to Flannery O'Connor, but a frontier Whig was hard to find. Any political party opposing Andrew Jackson and Manifest Destiny while advocating for a protective tariff, internal improvements, a national bank, modernization, and protection against majority and executive tyranny found few adherents on the American frontier. One was John Rogers Chenault (1808–1873) Sac and Fox agent 1851–1853. Born in Kentucky, he studied law at the feet of some of the leaders of his day including Governor of Kentucky and Postmaster General Charles Wickliffe and United States Senator from Tennessee and U.S. Attorney General Felix Grundy. He briefly lived in middle Tennessee and by the mid-1830s had settled in Jasper County in far southwestern Missouri. Besides his legal duties, Chenault farmed using slave labor (he owned 10 slaves in 1850), pressed the Missouri legislature for improvements in the Osage River channel, and in 1849 was a contractor involved in designing the county courthouse. He had a rougher and more unscrupulous side also plotting to replace Osage Indian Sub-agent Robert Calloway in 1842 by contacting his mentor, Postmaster General Charles Wickliffe, and accusing Calloway of colluding with the American Fur Company on annuity payments and allowing one of the Osage chiefs to hold a white girl captured from the Comanche. Calloway kept his job, supported by local military commander Col. Stephen Watts Kearney, representing Calloway's accusers as "for the most part whiskey-sellers who make a living by debauching Indians".<sup>417</sup>

Chenault was appointed Sac and Fox agent in late 1850 by new president Millard Fillmore. As agent, Chenault also had jurisdiction over a small band of Chippewa and Ottawa about 200 miles northwest of his home in Missouri in what was Unorganized Territory soon to become Kansas. He was saddled with the usual minutiae of agency business like appointing the

---

<sup>417</sup> James R. Christianson "A Study of Osage History Prior to 1876" PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1968, 157

assistant blacksmith; dismissing the interpreter for drunkenness; certifying claims; approving the hiring of clerks, laborers, and even housekeepers at the agency trading houses; and pleading for more money to pay an employee his \$240 back pay, having only \$2.60 on hand. Chenault also took a delegation to Washington; advocated for new treaties; pushed a vaccination program; and applauded the advancement of the small Chippewa and Ottawa contingents living at the agency; but constantly warned the government both tribes were disheartened because of his overriding problem, the actions of the Sac and Fox. The primary agency tribe refused to farm, feared missionaries, opposed schools, continued to hunt an ever-decreasing supply of game; constantly found liquor; and stole whatever they could from the Chippewa and Ottawa. He repeatedly presented Indian claims to the Sac and Fox Council which denied them because no individual could be identified. Finally, he requested Congress to address the issue of Indian-on-Indian crime. He also opposed blanket deductions for trader's claims against a tribe, asserting that it hurt those people trying to act responsibly while aiding the disreputable and deductions should come from individuals not tribes. Another problem was the government's constant prodding to pay part of the annuity to Poweshiek's Fox Band living with the Kickapoo. Chenault refused, saying it did not agree with the treaty and would set a bad precedent. He was removed by the Pierce Administration in 1854.

Elected Judge of the Missouri 13<sup>th</sup> Circuit in 1857, he served until 1861. A single source claims he was a commander of the Jasper County Minute Men, a pro-slavery organization roaming the borderlands in 1859–1860.<sup>418</sup> Chenault did serve in the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1861 where he tepidly supported secession. At some point during or just at the end of the Civil War, he and his family for reasons of financial reverses or fearing charges brought against him in court removed to Texas where he lived quietly near Dallas. Of the young white girl he mentioned in his 1842 letter to Wickliffe, Chenault bought her from the Osage, adopted and raised her with his family and later returned her to her father.<sup>419</sup>

Alonzo A. Skinner (1814–1877) and Rogue River Oregon Indian agent 1851–1853 was a Whig except when he ran for office. Born and raised in Ohio, he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and served as a part-time prosecutor before being defeated for county judge. Skinner came to

---

<sup>418</sup> Dr. John Russell Missouri in the Civil War Message Board Accessed March 13, 2020 [www.history-sites.com/cgi-bin/bbs62x/mocwmb/webbbs\\_config.pl?md=read;id=20523](http://www.history-sites.com/cgi-bin/bbs62x/mocwmb/webbbs_config.pl?md=read;id=20523) 1

<sup>419</sup> <https://www.geni.com/people/Mitchell-Putnam/600000009493890729> 2

Oregon in 1845 where he farmed, practiced law, and began a career of constant government appointments. In 1846, he became the first Judge of the Provisional Government of Oregon, walking, riding, and paddling over an enormous territory to dispense justice with neither courthouse nor jail and interpreting laws of a barely quasi-legal entity using an 1839 Iowa Code. He was offered a \$500 salary but held out for \$800. The organization of the Oregon Territory and the arrival of Judge Orville C. Pratt in 1849 left Skinner temporarily unemployed but soon territorial authorities hired him to prosecute six Indians for murder and in 1850, he was appointed a member of a three-man Indian Commission to negotiate treaties with western Oregon Indians to obtain their lands and move them east of the Cascades. Nineteen treaties were signed before the commission disbanded in 1851 but no Indians moved eastward. When fellow commissioner Beverly Allen declined the appointment as Rogue River agent, the ever-willing Skinner accepted the position.

Many of his early interactions with the Indians were an itinerating “meet and greet” along the Rogue River Valley, contacting universally friendly natives who gratefully received his gifts of blankets and calico while he searched for a convenient location for the agency. However, the realities of human nature suddenly engulfed his Edenic creation with the murder of a white traveler by Shasta Indians, the refusal of the chief to surrender the accused, at least two Indian threats against local white settlements, and calls of a militia company for a “war of extermination” against the Shastas.<sup>420</sup> Skinner worked diligently to calm the waters of anger asking all to stand down while he arranged a meeting eventually called for an area near Table Rock. He convinced both sides to come unarmed, but as he practiced “shuttle diplomacy” back and forth across the river, the whites re-armed and those Indians caught on the “white side” were attacked and several were killed. The running battle now continued and Skinner retired to his house finally refusing to mediate the conflict claiming sickness. In fact, he felt helpless and surrendered to both sides’ worst instincts. In early 1853, he resigned.

During the latter part of his tenure, Skinner ran for Oregon congressional delegate against popular Joseph Lane. Though nominally a Whig, he actually campaigned as the “People’s” candidate proclaiming, “I hold a delegate from Oregon should not be the representative of the

---

<sup>420</sup> E.A. Schwartz, *The Rogue River Indian War and Its Aftermath, 1850–1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997) 46



whig party, nor a democrat party but the representative of Oregon".<sup>421</sup> He lost 60%-40%. He married and taught school in Astoria with his newly wedded New England schoolteacher wife; farmed and practiced law in several locations; acted as Eugene city recorder; and actually won an election as Lane County clerk in 1862 but as a Republican. During the Civil War, Skinner had the job of Assistant Provost Marshal, registering men for an Oregon draft that never materialized. In 1866, he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the state Supreme court serving until 1867 when he was appointed to the circuit court, continuing until 1870, followed by an appointment as Collector of the Port at Empire City. A judicial colleague, Judge Matthew P. Deady, described Skinner as a "man of irreproachable morals, fine feelings and unquestioned integrity".<sup>422</sup> However, his many positive qualities could not totally atone for his failure at Table Rock. In October 1853, the *Defiance Democrat*, an opposition newspaper, announced the murder of Ohio native and Indian agent Alonzo Skinner but on page two asserted he was "unhurt" presaging contemporary tabloid journalism.<sup>423</sup> His life was spared, but his dream of a "northwest peaceable kingdom" died.

### ***Friends and Enemies of James Buchanan***

Only once in American history has a political party denied a sitting president seeking re-election its nomination and proceeded to win the ensuing election. The year was 1856, the men were President Franklin Pierce and Ambassador to the United Kingdom James Buchanan. Since Indian agent appointments were often inherently "political," the Democrat Party's internal struggles possibly played a role in the career of at least two Indian agents from Pennsylvania.

Maxwell McCaslin (1802–1880) was a man of energy, towering temper, martial interest, and a good Democrat. Born in northwestern Virginia, he moved across the border to Greene County, Pennsylvania in 1806 and spent much of his life floating easily from state to state in this border region. Apprenticed as a bricklayer, he became a masonry merchant and home builder in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, and after 1826, he was the sole support for his widowed mother and six sisters. However, he also maintained a farm in Virginia where he raised stock and even drove cattle from the East to St. Louis during the Black Hawk War in 1832. McCaslin had a

---

<sup>421</sup> Charles Henry Carey *History of Oregon* (Chicago: The Pioneer Historical Publishing Company. 1922) 523 fn36

<sup>422</sup> John Terry Special to the Oregonian May 10, 2010 Updated January 10, 2019 "Oregon's first real judge fails in first foray into politics" [oregonlive.com/O/2010/05/oregons\\_first\\_real\\_judge\\_fails.html](http://oregonlive.com/O/2010/05/oregons_first_real_judge_fails.html) 1

<sup>423</sup> "Southern Oregon History Revised" Accessed March 15, 2020 [truwe.sohs.org/files/skinner.html](http://truwe.sohs.org/files/skinner.html) 4

preternatural interest in the military, joining the Pennsylvania Militia as a teenager and rising in rank to Lieutenant Colonel, acting as Commonwealth Brigade Inspector 1835–1842, and Aide-de-Camp to Governor Francis Shunk 1845–1848. Military office sometimes presaged political preferment and McCaslin served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives 1843–1845 and Senate 1848–1854 where he was Speaker in 1850 and 1854. As the Whig Party withered, Pennsylvania Democrats splintered into a pro-Simon Cameron anti-slavery faction and a James Buchanan faction. A strong supporter of and an elector for Franklin Pierce in 1852, McCaslin chose the former. In 1855, Pierce appointed him Osage River agent to monitor the Wea, Piankeshaw, Kaskaskia, Peoria, and Miami, removed tribes living in eastern Kansas.

A continuing theme of this paper is that Indian agents in different areas faced both common problems but often unique situations making each assignment complex and challenging. McCaslin reported that some Indians (mostly Miami) were moving toward “civilization” while most others were sinking into “degeneration and depravity”, were “habitually idle”, “constitutionally indolent”, and “had no moral stamina”.<sup>424</sup> He hoped for a system of annuity payments where the “good” folks got monies but the “indolent” got goods because they could not make the right decisions on purchases. Much of his correspondence seemed to involve issues of land claims and illegal entry by white settlers. All the Osage River tribes had signed treaties in 1854 allowing families to establish “headright” claims and most native choices involved timbered lands. This left the white settlers eyeing Indian lands for lumber supplies. He even was called upon to determine who was an “Indian” as in the case of Mrs. Robideaux, a white woman who had married a “half breed” who died and then she remarried a white man. She and her new white husband claimed a “headright” and McCaslin asked Washington for advice. The Indian Department seemed to constantly procrastinate, as he claimed in an August 11, 1857, missive that he had received no answers to queries asked in February and March.

It is important to note McCaslin and the Osage River Indians were surrounded by the battles of “Bleeding Kansas”, the conflict between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces to control the Kansas Territorial government and pave the admission of Kansas as either a slave or free state. In 1856, McCaslin asked for and got two companies of dragoons to protect the agency annuity funds from thieving bands roaming the area masquerading as “soldiers”. Since he was

---

<sup>424</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep57> 188

one of the few “free state” Federal agents, John Brown would drop by and read the newspaper in his office. During the battle for Kansas (1854–1859), there were ten governors, several capitols, four constitutional conventions, and numerous elections, most fraught with voter fraud. In 1857, Oxford township recorded 1,628 votes but had only 42 eligible voters. McCaslin reported this to his friend Charles Buckalew, chairman of the Pennsylvania state Democratic Committee, and it was leaked to the press. It upset the vote, caused damage to President Buchanan and his plans for Kansas statehood, and brought howls of protest from free state proponents back east. McCaslin’s exposure of the “Oxford Frauds”, combined with his former anti-Buchanan proclivities led to the “whistleblower’s” removal in 1858.<sup>425</sup>

He remained in Kansas, helping develop the Miami townsite and Osawatimie River Bridge. At the outbreak of Civil War, this war Democrat returned east and helped organize and command the 15<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Infantry during campaigns in West Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley, and at the Siege of Petersburg. Age and illness forced him to resign in 1864. After the conflict, he returned to Kansas and ran unsuccessfully for Lieutenant Governor in 1868. At the time of his removal in 1858, he warned that Kansas cannot be enslaved and commented “he’d rather be right than an Indian agent”.<sup>426</sup>

McCaslin was followed at Osage River by Seth Clover (1817–1894), another Pennsylvania Democrat. He was the epitome of small town antebellum America: farmer; grocery store owner; hotelkeeper; postmaster of Clarion, Pennsylvania, 1847–1849; sheriff of Clarion County, 1846–1849; brigadier general in the state militia, stockholder in the Susquehanna River and North Branch Telegraph Company; and delegate to the Democratic State Convention in 1856. His only state elective office was to the Board of Pennsylvania Canal Commissioners in 1851. Despite this minimal record, fellow Pennsylvanian James Buchanan nominated him for agent of Osage River (1858–1861).

As agent, Clover faced many of the same issues described by McCaslin, although drought had severely hurt crop production. He saw no way to stop the liquor traffic and suggested an

---

<sup>425</sup> The Kansas Memorial A Report of the Old Settlers Meeting Held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas September 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> 1879 Charles S. Glead Editor (Kansas City, MO: Press of Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1880) 178-180; The United States Biographical Dictionary Kansas Volume (Chicago & Kansas City: S. Lewis & Co. Publishers, 1879) 304-305

<sup>426</sup> Sketches from Old Settlers, Miami Village Paola Times, Paola, Kansas August 1, 1889 <https://newspapers.com/clip/22721603-miami-village-1889/08-01/>

“intemperate” list whose annuities would be controlled by the agent or a “responsible party” to direct their spending toward “necessities”.<sup>427</sup> Allowing Native peoples to sell their “headrights” had ended many of the trespassing charges but the problems of timber lands still remained and were a continuing point of contention. He did negotiate a Treaty with the Confederated Wea, Peoria and Kaskaskia in August 1860. Towards the end of his term, the Indian Department was apparently inundated with petitions from the Miami, accusing Clover of various misdeeds. They included withholding annuity payments to pay all departmental salaries; not forwarding petitions as well as addressing matters like questions about the salary of the miller who had been fired; a demand to make out their own payroll; a complaint that land patents had not been distributed; accusations Clover received money from damage claims for loss of timber and still had it in his possession; and questions about monies for buildings begun by McCaslin and that a “considerable fund” had been set aside at the last annuity payment for “benevolent purposes” but never explained. Clover answered every question in excruciating detail, explaining he never received “one cent” of timber damage claims and the “benevolent purposes” were requests by the chiefs to care for orphans.<sup>428</sup>

Although the war for Kansas was now over, brigandry remained. Clover attended a pro-slavery meeting in 1860 and future Southern guerrilla leader William Quantrill warned him that Jayhawkers (anti-slavery raiders/outlaws) were going to attack the Kansas City, Paola, and Fort Scott stage and steal the \$30,000 annuity monies. Like McCaslin, Clover called for military assistance. The infantry escorted the stage and the Jayhawkers never appeared.

Lincoln removed Clover who remained in Kansas and farmed near Paola. In 1885, after a twenty-five-year hiatus, the Democrats returned to power and the sixty-eight-year-old epileptic widower was appointed farmer at the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in Indian Territory. His health was just too poor and he resigned after about a year. Seth Clover, the quintessential small-town American was overwhelmed as agent, not by massacres and misconduct but by activist Indians and governmental minutiae.

Although the political Indian agent is often marked with opprobrium, these partisans seemed to assist the Indians, pay and protect annuities, and attempt to bring peace. Even though

---

<sup>427</sup> Annual Report 1858 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep58> 125

<sup>428</sup> NARA RG75 Osage River Agency 1858–1860 Paola, K.T. 10<sup>th</sup> December 1860 Seth Clover to Dr. A.M. Robinson, Supt. Ind Affairs, St. Joseph, Mo. Images 1034–1038

Alonzo Skinner retreated to his home in failure and other agents among this number included pugilistic lawyer John Chenault and murderer James Vineyard, the political agents might not have been church choir moralists but they were not criminals.

## The Doctor II

Perhaps at some point, the Indian Bureau determined that having a medical doctor as agent was a plus. It might be able to pay one man for two jobs or at least provide a second physician for the constant illnesses plaguing Indian reserves. Besides, these gentlemen were often highly educated, literate, and cool headed in crisis. An example might be Dr. William Isaac Irvine Morrow (1802–1875), agent at Neosho 1851–1853. Born in Tennessee, he attended East Tennessee College and the famed Transylvania Medical College in Kentucky, practicing medicine in Tellico Plains Tennessee for many years and operating a hotel in nearby Madisonville. Morrow was Secretary of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention in 1834; petitioned to build a railroad from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1835; served as Regimental Surgeon to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade of the East Tennessee Mounted Infantry in the Second Seminole War 1835–1836; and was a physician on part of one of the 1839 forced marches on the Cherokee “Trail of Tears”, on which he kept a diary. A strong Whig, he served a single term in the Tennessee House of Representatives from Chattanooga in 1843–1844 and was Clerk of the Tennessee State Senate 1849–1850. In 1851, the Fillmore Administration appointed him Neosho agent in eastern Kansas.

Much of Morrow’s administration was mundane. The Seneca and Seneca-Shawnee were progressive farmers and even had a Temperance Society but wanted nothing to do with education or Christianity, while the Quapaw had shown little improvement despite having an academy which Morrow said “has done little good” and that he expected this “indolent and lazy” people to “wander off among the wild Indians of the prairies”.<sup>429</sup> His largest tribal group, the Osage at about 4,000, were divided between the “full blood” and mixed race, the former living the traditional life of Great Plains hunters, facing increasing starvation, while the latter were progressing nicely, bothered mainly by raids from their full blood brethren. Malnourishment had

---

<sup>429</sup> Annual Report 1852 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep52> 105

led even the Osage hunters to ask for farm implements and oxen and the Osage Manual Labor School functioned marvelously. Like many agents it was the constant small crises that filled his time. An Osage had been killed by a Sac and Fox and he arranged a council to solve the issue amicably. The Seneca mill was not working and neither the Indians nor the government wanted to pay for its repair, so he suggested selling the mill to private interests who would fix it and get all the profits for a period of time but not charge the Indians for milling relying on white customers but his suggestion was met by silence. Further crises included a distant Osage band living among the Cherokee and demanding their annuity; Osage opposition to the removal of the blacksmith; and coordinating with the US Marshal in Missouri to retrieve a herd of Osage horses stolen by a gang of mixed-race Cherokee and Choctaw. Morrow was perhaps pleased to be replaced by the new Democrat Administration but not before he hired his brother as agency farmer.

He remained in western Missouri, serving as engrossing clerk of the Missouri House of Representatives, 1856–1857. A strong Unionist, he was appointed Neosho County clerk 1865–1867 by Governor Thomas Fletcher and elected to the position in 1870, continuing until 1874. Although Morrow solved a number of Neosho agency problems and was a strong advocate of Indian supported monetary annuity payments, he seemed to fail miserably in one area. In his 1852 annual report, he wrote “The Osages were unusually sickly last winter and spring. It is estimated by many that not less than one thousand have died within the last twelve months”.<sup>430</sup> He later commented that the culprit was measles. Describing the account in such sterile terms with no mention of concern or treatment seemed to derogate both his government and Hippocratic oath.

Dr. Richard Hyatt Lansdale’s life (1811–1898) spanned much of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and represented as well as anyone’s the “westerning” experience of moving close to 3,000 miles to find his home. Born in Maryland and orphaned at ten, he was raised by an Ohio doctor who provided him with an excellent education and he went on to study at Cincinnati Medical College. He practiced medicine with his adoptive father in Ohio, then independently in Indiana and Ohio before moving to Illinois. During the Mexican War, he served with Alexander Doniphan’s First Missouri Mounted Volunteers, finally reaching California in 1849. His goal being Oregon, he

---

<sup>430</sup> Annual Report 1852 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711dl/HistoryAnnRep52> 106

moved north, crossing the Columbia River, assisting in developing the future town of Vancouver, and becoming the first postmaster north of the Columbia as well as the first auditor of newly formed Clarke County. Lansdale was constantly on the move, practicing medicine and developing communities from Olympia to Island County in Puget Sound. In 1854, the Pierce Administration appointed him the first Flathead agent.

He served in various capacities until removed in 1861, such as Flathead agent, 1854–1857; White Salmon agent 1857–1859, and Yakima Agent 1859–1861. Infused with a “Kiplingesque” “pore benighted ‘eathen” perception of his charges, he was industrious, peripatetic, opinionated, sometimes opposed to government policy, suspicious of the military but not the Mormons, and believed “the liberal hand of government” must be extended to assist the Indians so “that a weak and defenseless people should not be sufferers”.<sup>431</sup> As Flathead agent, he operated far from military and settler protection, holding councils, distributing small gifts, and making a general census. Lansdale determined that most danger came from the Blackfeet; he also noted agricultural production had stopped and recommended a reservation on the Flathead River. He saw Jesuit teaching as beneficial and felt “charges of Mormons inciting Indians unsustainable”.<sup>432</sup> Moving west toward civilization as White Salmon agent, Lansdale maintained most of his Indians, for example the Klickitats, were friendly but overly dependent on the government. In response, he advocated for a policy of fewer supplies to allow them to become independent and stressing a pastoral life over agriculture. He seemed to have problems getting anyone to guide him to meet hostiles and complained “army officers act wholly independent of the Indian officers”.<sup>433</sup> Finally, as Yakima agent, Lansdale faced different issues related to Indian removal, as initially five different tribes numbering 2,629 were being re-settled on the new Yakima reservation. He lobbied for the tribes to be paid because that is what the government had contracted and he felt it was “justice to the Indian”.<sup>434</sup> He took special interest in the one-hundred-member Lewis River Klickitat which he attempted to move without a removal agent and averred they were entitled to \$10,000. In December 1860, he was suspended but refused to recognize the suspension or the authority of the superintendent. He was removed in early 1861.

---

<sup>431</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/AnnRep57> p.376

<sup>432</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/AnnRep57> p.380

<sup>433</sup> Annual Report 1858 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/AnnRep58> p.276

<sup>434</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/AnnRep59> p.413

Lansdale traveled back East twice in the early 1860s, apparently to defend himself and request a settlement of his expenses as agent. The government eventually paid him over \$10,000. He also attended lectures at the medical department of the City University of New York, finally getting a medical degree in 1867. Back in Washington Territory, he served as Clerk of the Circuit Court at the Dalles, practiced medicine in both Dayton and Tacoma, and again invested in land. Apparently, any ill-will from the Indian Department had evaporated, as Lansdale served as agency physician at Skokomish 1873–1876 and Quinaielt 1879–1880. Although he disparaged Indian culture, Lansdale was persistent, fair, bold, and caring.

### The Removal Man II

It is often forgotten that the removal of the Midwestern tribes to Kansas and Nebraska, as well as the more famous migrations of the southeastern Indians culminating in the Cherokee Trail of Tears between 1831 and 1850, did not end Indian Removal. In the post-Civil War era, many smaller tribes were moved to Indian Territory; the Navajo were removed from their homeland in 1864 but returned in 1868; most Texas Indians were resettled in the Indian Territory by 1859; and in the Pacific Northwest, small coastal groups were concentrated on larger reservations in the 1850s. George Hill Ambrose (1823–1897) Rogue River Oregon agent 1854–1856 was an example of an agent involved in the latter. Born in Ohio, Ambrose and his wife emigrated to Oregon in 1850, taking a large donation land claim. He represented Jackson County in the Territorial legislature in 1853. Personally involved in the struggle at Table Rock (see Alonzo Skinner), he was a member of Limerick’s militia company before being named agent.

His tenure was beset by serial crises and “rumors of war”, exacerbated by an overcrowded agency, lack of supplies, inadequate military support, fearful Indians and “the fury of reckless and unprincipled men”.<sup>435</sup> To prevent the reservation Indians from starving, he allowed many to leave and hunt, mixing them with settlers, miners, hastily organized militia companies, and roving bands of hostile Indians from the east. For example, two white men

---

<sup>435</sup> George H. Ambrose. SW Oregon History: Rogue River Indian Wars, 1852-1856 Selected Excerpts of Correspondence & Reports Filed with the US Office of Indian Affairs, 1855. Compiled and Organized by Bob Zybach.” Oregon Websites and Watersheds Project, (2007): 3. [http://www.orwww.org/History/SW\\_Oregon/Rogue\\_Indian\\_Wars/Correspondence/1855/index.html](http://www.orwww.org/History/SW_Oregon/Rogue_Indian_Wars/Correspondence/1855/index.html). Accessed March 2, 2020



convinced some Indians to attack a Chinese mining camp, hoping to oust the industrious Asians. The Indians found some excellent weapons at the camp and suddenly white settlers were afraid of well-armed natives. Ambrose got the chief to punish the culprits and the settlers to exile the white instigators. He also refused to extradite accused Indians to California and insisted a white man be tried for killing an Indian and invited the chief to the trial where the culprit was convicted of manslaughter. Despite his constant efforts and having gathered an additional 2,000 pounds of flour and \$1,000 from the Department, the Rogue River War commenced in late 1855 in response to the killing of several white women and children by marauders or the massacre of Indians, depending on your historical predilections. Ambrose resigned to become emigration agent for Indians, being removed to the new Grand Ronde Reservation.

He recorded the journey of three hundred and ninety-five Indians over 260 miles, encompassing thirty-three days. Eight died, eight were born. Major problems were roaming cattle, broken wagons, flooded streams, muddy roads, hostile Indians stealing cattle, and a man named Timeon Love who proceeded the train, threatening the Indians until he was arrested by the military.<sup>436</sup>

Almost immediately thereafter, Ambrose left Oregon and resettled in Lafayette County, Missouri, where he farmed, was elected County Judge, and in 1869, became president of the Lexington & St. Louis Railroad. Irregularities in the issuance of the railroad's bonds led to fraud allegations against Ambrose and although the charges were dropped in 1872, feelings of betrayal remained and he removed to Florida.

## Multiple Man II

Several agents served at multiple agencies, reflecting perhaps a need to reward deserving partisans or maybe filling positions with experienced men to meet challenging problems. Burton Allen James (1801–1883) served as both Neosho sub-agent 1848–1849 and Sac and Fox agent 1853–1858. The outgoing Polk Administration tried to insert him as Osage River agent March 2, 1849, three days before Zachary Taylor's inauguration but failed. It appears James' appointments

---

<sup>436</sup> <https://ndnhistoryresearch.com/2017/08/16/we-are-willing-to-remoce-anywhere-where-we-can-obtain-peace-removal-of-the-rogue-river-tribes-to-the-grande-ronde-reservation;granderonde.org/media/2781/trail-of-tears-stephen-dow-beckham-pdf.pdf>

were politically motivated. Born in Kentucky and cousin to the notorious outlaw Jesse James, Burton was part of a family move to Missouri in the 1840s. He became involved in Democratic politics in Greene County in southwest Missouri, serving as presiding justice of the County Court 1842–1844; in the Missouri House of Representatives 1844–1846; delegate to the Missouri Constitutional Convention in 1846; State senator 1846–1848 and again in 1850. He was a supporter of U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton and his foci seemed to be on issues like making the White River navigable and investigating the Palmyra Branch of the State Bank of Missouri.

In 1853, the Sac and Fox agency included a few hundred Ottawa and thirty Chippewa, along with several thousand Sac and Fox. James' annual reports are a litany of changeless woes: too much drinking; monetary annuities which the Indians spent inappropriately; a lack of farm implements; a need for additional treaties to reduce Indian lands and no program to replace communal farming with individualized acreages. He believed schools and "civilization" plans were useless without first inculcating a belief in personal industry. However, reviewing his numerous and often repetitive correspondence finds a man intimately involved in agency business. He hired and fired blacksmiths, assistants, and gunsmiths; asked for a physician; and requested repairs to the leaking, aging agency buildings. In addition, he requested a new desk; claimed his iron safe was not only more secure for monies but for transportation to St. Louis; responded to being ordered to the Osage River agency to distribute annuities and in one case take control; and looked for military assistance in recovering horses stolen from traders and Indians. No issue was too small, as James requested the Sac and Fox to allow other Sac and Fox to live at the agency, negotiated a contract for burial supplies, and rectified an 1850 service claim by the interpreter. As his was a multi-tribal agency, he also responded to Chippewa demands that all tribal annuities be given only to those who had moved to Kansas and assisted a half-breed Potawatomie living on Ottawa land.

He tried to avoid a "general Indian war" after an attack on Sac and Fox hunters by Arapaho, Comanche, and Osage and later attempted to tamp down "war fever" against the Comanche instigated by white neighbors. James published a petition from the Ottawa stating they were not part of the Kansas "difficulties" i.e., "Bleeding Kansas".<sup>437</sup> He had a long running battle with Arthur Baker, a trader who failed to obtain a license. James even "spilled" the jugs of

---

<sup>437</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711dl/HistoryAnnRep> No 41 127,128

three drunken Indians and, for his trouble, was attacked by a pole and an ax. He and two friends handcuffed the Indians and took them to jail. The tribal chiefs asked for their release on promises of stronger liquor laws for which James responded by requesting thirty peace medals from the government. He long complained of fevers and resigned in 1858, retiring to his Missouri farm where his estate was valued at \$1,200.

Matthew Leeper (1804–1894) served at multiple posts, as the Indians were removed from Texas to the Indian Territory and he later took a similar position with the Confederacy although he claimed it was under duress. Born in North Carolina, he moved to Tennessee where he studied law and in 1834, was appointed receiver of public monies in the Land Office at Fayetteville, Arkansas Territory, a town founded by his Revolutionary War veteran father. His marriage brought him connections to Arkansas politician David Walker. Also, Leeper's wife was a descendant of a cousin of George Washington. He never really practiced law, instead investing in lands including six Fayetteville town lots. A "contrary soul", he had problems with superiors, subordinates, as well as local Arkansans, landing him in a duel scheduled for the Indian Territory. Leeper apologized at the last moment much to the chagrin of the local Cherokee who were betting on who would die. An ardent Jacksonian, he was finally removed as Receiver by the Taylor Administration in 1849. The following year, he and colourful Arkansas politician and later Indian Superintendent, Elias Rector led a "Gold Rush" expedition to California. Returning to Arkansas, the new Buchanan Administration appointed him to the Texas Comanche Agency, 1857–1860, responsible for the southern band of Comanche located on the Clear Fork of the Brazos.

Leeper felt his Comanche were "naturally intellectual", "industrious", and well suited to agricultural life.<sup>438</sup> They needed a school, a blacksmith, a physician to treat STDs, assistance in cattle raising, and time. The latter of which neither he nor the Penataka Comanche would get. Indian-white conflict was endemic to the Texas frontier, and depredations and murders by wild Indians and iniquitous Texians inflamed the settlers and frightened the three hundred and seventy-one Comanche on the Clear Fork. The Indians actually moved into an abandoned military camp, but it gave insufficient protection. Leeper admitted it would require a strong military force, changes in the federal intercourse laws, and an extension of the federal court

---

<sup>438</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep57> 407

system to give the Comanche a chance for justice. Since Texas law limited the population of the reservations to Texas Indians, it would never be very large. In 1859, a skirmish occurred between a military patrol and Comanche just south of the reservation; the Indians were angered over rumors that a woman had been killed. Leeper recorded, "I rode between the belligerent parties and succeeded in stopping the fight".<sup>439</sup> All knew no future existed for the Comanche in Texas and Leeper hoped they might "pass from the limits of Texas in peace".<sup>440</sup> He assisted Robert Neighbors in taking the Comanche to the Wichita Mountains in the Indian Territory and returned to the Brazos. On his journey, he was ambushed by Indians, thrice wounded, and later took all public property after Neighbors was murdered at Belknap, Texas, by an angry white resident. Being a Texas Indian agent was potentially perilous.

Officially, Leeper served as Wichita agent 1860–1861. It was a conglomerate agency with Wichita, Keechi, Caddo, Anadarko, Waco, Tonkawa, Hainai, Tawakonji, Delaware, and Shawnee, plus the newly arrived Comanche. Leeper found buildings dilapidated, scant provisions, employees not working, and a complete lack of records, such as treaties, laws, contracts, or census papers. He argued for more supplies, as part had been lost in a fire on a steamboat; pleaded for mounted troops to be assigned to nearby Fort Cobb; and warned of "fake" Chickasaw and Choctaw trying to settle on Wichita reserve lands. He additionally pushed for promised remuneration to the Texas Comanche, stating that "these unfortunate people may have extended to them a simple act of justice".<sup>441</sup> His story then descended into the foggy miasma that was the Texas/Indian Territory frontier in the early days of Civil War. One source claimed he was an avid secessionist and Confederate agent, but Leeper himself averred he stayed on simply to distribute annuities and urge the Indians to migrate north and not fight in the War. Even though he was officially replaced in April 1861, he still resided at the Wichita agency in October 1862 when a mixed band of pro-Union Osage, Shawnee, Caddo, Comanche, Kiowa, Wichita, and Seminole descended on the agency and particularly its pro-Confederate Tonkawa residents, killing at least one hundred and thirty-seven men, women, and children. Several white employees

---

<sup>439</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 325

<sup>440</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 325

<sup>441</sup> Annual Report 1860 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep60> 157

at the agency were also murdered but Leeper escaped by leaping out a window in his nightclothes and wandering for two weeks before being found by a friendly Indian.<sup>442</sup>

He returned to his family, now in Texas, and lived quietly for thirty-two years. He seems to have been honest but more importantly courageous, escaping the wrath of angry Texans; putting himself between skirmishing troops and Comanche; being shot three times in an Indian ambush; and barely escaping the Tonkawa Massacre.

Few federal, state, or territorial jobs eluded the résumé of Samuel Morton Rutherford Sr. (1797–1867), who served as Choctaw agent 1847–1849 and simultaneously acting as Western Indian superintendent and as Seminole agent 1857–1861. In addition, he was personally involved in removing both Choctaw and Seminole from the east and was Confederate Seminole agent until late 1861. Born in Virginia, he moved to Tennessee and at seventeen joined the volunteers fighting with Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. He remained in the Crescent City for a few years but in 1817, headed west to establish a trading post at the mouth of the Verdigris River in present day Oklahoma. He sold out in 1819 and settled in the new Arkansas Territory where he held many appointive and elected positions. In succession, he was sheriff of Clark County, 1819–1823; clerk of Clark County Circuit Court 1823–1825; sheriff of Pulaski County, 1825–1830; Arkansas territorial representative, 1831–1833; Arkansas territorial treasurer 1833–1836; US deputy marshal for Arkansas 1835; register of the Land Office at Little Rock, Arkansas, 1836–1840; and Democrat presidential elector, 1836 and 1840. Robertson also assisted in organizing *The Arkansas Gazette* in 1819 and in 1832 was an emigration agent for a small number of Choctaw as well as fostering the building of a road. Rutherford was appointed agent/superintendent in 1847.

As Choctaw agent/acting western Indian superintendent, he received just the normal agent's salary of \$1,500 per year and focused primarily on two issues: removal of the few remaining Choctaw in Mississippi and praising the many Choctaw schools, some taught by educated Indians. Rutherford pushed for Choctaw emissaries to go east and convince tribal members of the advantages of moving. He saw his main adversaries as small southern non-slaveholding farmers who employed the Choctaw as cheap labor to pick cotton. He pushed for a

---

<sup>442</sup> Daniel Thrapp (ed) *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography* Vol II G-O (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988) 835; Richard B. McCaslin, Donald, Donald E. Chipman and Andrew J. Torget *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell* (Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2013) 191-192

change in Choctaw capital punishment from firing squad to hanging, feeling it would reduce the murder rate, as the Choctaw feared the rope. He also supported “federalizing” the crime of selling liquor to an Indian to remove it from the jurisdiction of state courts. The incoming Whig administration of Zachary Taylor removed him from both posts. Moving to Fort Smith and newly created Sebastian County, Rutherford served as its first state Representative 1851–1852 and as county and probate judge 1854–1856. The following year, the new Buchanan Administration appointed him Seminole agent.

Much like his interaction with the Choctaw, Rutherford was initially involved in another removal, this time of Florida Seminole in the aftermath of the Third Seminole War. He participated in the negotiations near Tampa but soon returned west to greet the one hundred and sixty-four emigrants under Billy Bowlegs. He discharged his interpreter; got a blacksmith for the Seminole; oversaw the move from the Creek Nation to a new Seminole Nation with construction of houses and a national “council house”; could never get the department to begin construction of schools; and seemed to act as an intermediary between the Seminole Council and the federal government. He asked for reimbursement for losses from marauding “prairie” Indians and as the move to the new Seminole nation combined with a time of extreme drought requested an extra \$10,000 for the “destitute and distressed” tribe.<sup>443</sup> His most serious trouble involved the arrest of an adopted white tribal member by the US Marshal on Seminole land. The chiefs warned him if the Marshal ever tried it again, all local whites, including the Marshal, would be killed. He asked for a military post “to maintain the supremacy of the US”.<sup>444</sup> As the nation slipped into War. Rutherford remained as “Confederate” Seminole agent, signing a treaty of Friendship with the Confederacy. One author described his time as Seminole agent as a “most distinguished record”.<sup>445</sup>

Historically, between 1853 and 1857, John Wilkins Whitfield (1818–1879) served two terms as Kansas territorial delegate to Congress; as Potawatomie Indian agent; Upper Arkansas Indian agent; Upper Platte Indian agent; and commanded an 1856 Missouri “ruffian” raid into Kansas to oust abolitionists. Born in Tennessee, Whitfield was a captain in the 1<sup>st</sup> Tennessee

---

<sup>443</sup> NARA RG75 Seminole Agency 1859–1867 Letter Saml. M. Rutherford US Seminole Agent, New Seminole Agency to A.B. Greenwood Comm. Ind. Affrs. Washington DC Nov. the 28<sup>th</sup> 1860 Image 216

<sup>444</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dlHistory.AnnRep59> 184

<sup>445</sup> Jane F. Lancaster *Removal Aftershock: Seminoles Struggles to Survive in the West, 1836–1866* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994) 122

Volunteers in the Mexican War and served in both the state House and Senate 1848–1853. In the latter year, he arrived in western Missouri as a confirmed pro-slavery but non-slave owning partisan with a federal appointment as Potawatomie Indian agent.

His agency also included the Kansa and for both he suggested “a rigid course of government by their agent”.<sup>446</sup> He complained the agency headquarters were too far from either tribe and subsequently, whisky flowed openly among the Potawatomie followed by the concomitant murder and mayhem. However, he praised the schools and supported Potawatomie claims they were never reimbursed for transportation and that they bore supply costs themselves during Indian removal nor were paid for lands they had left behind. As for the Kansa, they were a constant threat to Santa Fe Trail travelers who kept submitting claims which he had no authority to pay, Whitfield finally suggesting further emigration for these “wild and roving” people.

A year later he was Upper Platte agent, seemingly skipping his appointment as Upper Arkansas agent, although to be honest he covered both areas and became a kind of Great Plains reporter and investigator as he chased a variety of Indians around the West, attempting to distribute annuities. He visited Bent’s Fort, St. Vrain’s Fort, and finally Fort Laramie, giving supplies to Kiowa, Northern Comanche, Southern Comanche, Prairie Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Osage and made a special trip to aid the Plains Apache. Near Fort Laramie, he received news of the Grattan Massacre and interviewed soldiers and trappers to make a report. He blamed the military for stupidly demanding the arrest of the Indian culprit who stole a Mormon cow rather than accept restitution, resulting in the death of thirty soldiers and the interpreter as well as risking the destruction of the Fort. His outlook for all Indians was depressing, feeling that they faced possible military extermination or a slow death from disease and starvation related to the decline of the buffalo herds. Whitfield felt that the only humane government policy would be feeding and supplying them while guiding them into a pastoral economy, firmly convinced that Stephen Long’s concept of the Great Plains as the “great American desert” precluded soil cultivation.

Almost immediately after leaving the Indian service, he was elected Kansas Territory’s first Congressional delegate, serving two terms while simultaneously leading an 1856 invasion of Kansas by Missouri pro-slavery men halted by a surprised E.V. Sumner and the 1<sup>st</sup> US Cavalry.

---

<sup>446</sup> Annual Report 1853 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep53> 82

After the drama of his agent and Congressional offices, Whitfield was appointed to the prosaic position of Land Office registrar at Doniphan, Kansas, serving from 1857–1861. As part of a larger family move, he shifted his residence to Lavaca County, Texas, from which he organized Whitfield's Legion, later the 27<sup>th</sup> Texas Cavalry, at the outset of Civil War. He led his troops at both Iuka, Mississippi, in 1862, where he was wounded, and Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in 1863. Promoted to Brigadier General in the latter year, he soon retired due to ill health. In retirement in Lavaca County, he served in both the 1866 and 1875 Texas constitutional conventions. Though Whitfield held a fairly rigid view of Indian administration, his perception regarding 1850s changes in America was broad perhaps reflecting being agent for one sixth of the American nation. He wrote in his 1855 report about the "The immense acquisition of territory," "resulting from the War with Mexico, and the overland intercourse which at once sprang up between the Atlantic States and the Pacific coast",<sup>447</sup> perceiving the United States as a continental nation and an Indian Department likewise overseeing natives from New York to California.

All the multiple and removal men had either political or family connected appointments. Most felt the future for the Indians was depressing, but all worked to improve conditions and obtain supplies and remuneration rightfully due the Native peoples. In addition, most faced the reality or the potential of inter-tribal warfare or settler-Indian conflict or government-Indian hostilities. All worked to limit difficulties, the very opposite of the TV Indian agent. He wants the Indian land either for itself or for its minerals. Thus, he prevents supplies from getting to the Indians angering them and hopefully causing them to attack the local settlers, resulting in an "Indian War". At this point the Army would defeat the Indians and they would be removed, the very antithesis of these men's actions.

## Section 2: Trappers/Traders, Settlers and Developers

As had occurred earlier, a number of trappers and Indian traders were appointed Indian agents. They had little political clout but, often being intermarried and living for long periods with the Indians, had a special skill set not available in others. They had no illusions about Indians being "degraded" or "noble" savages but realists about intercultural relations. Some of

---

<sup>447</sup> Annual Report 1855 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep55> 116



these men were and are part of the historical pantheon of the American frontier resonating into the present.

### Trappers and Traders II

Often described as a cultural mediator William Bent (1809–1869) joined his brother Charles as a trapper along the upper Arkansas River at the age of thirteen. In 1833, the brothers and Ceran St. Vrain founded Bent's Fort, a fortified adobe outpost on the north bank of the Arkansas and in a short time, surpassed Taos to become the centre of Great Plains trade catering to Santa Fe Trail merchants, trappers, immigrants, the military, as well as almost all Indian tribes. Bent spoke French, Cheyenne, several other Indian dialects, and knew sign language. He married Owl Woman, a Cheyenne who bore him four children, and when she died in 1847, he took in her two sisters Yellow Woman and Island, as was Cheyenne custom. As the Indian's world was to change dramatically with American expansionism, successful military conquests, and successive mineral rushes, so would Bent's. The American invasion of New Mexico was launched from Bent's Fort, guided by William Bent himself. His brother Charles was appointed the first Territorial Governor of New Mexico and died soon thereafter in the Taos Rebellion. Cholera ravaged the local trade routes in 1849 and Bent attempted to sell the post to the Army who, knowing Bent really needed to rid himself of it, offered almost nothing. In retaliation, Bent destroyed the fort and moved his headquarters to Fort St. Vrain on the South Platte. In 1852, he returned to the Arkansas and established Bent's New Fort thirty-eight miles downriver. Although the cholera had dissipated and Bent was now back trading on the Arkansas, the plight of his Cheyenne friends and relatives was more dire than ever. Not only were the Fifty-niners rushing across the Great Plains for the new El Dorado along the Front Range, now Texas soldiers and Red River Indians were forcing the Kiowa and Comanche northward, pinching the Cheyenne between them. In 1859, Bent was appointed Upper Arkansas agent, serving until 1860.

Bent's correspondence with the Indian Department is almost nonexistent, but he did file a report in 1859 describing the area contained in his agency and pleading for "a fixed residence for the Cheyenne"<sup>448</sup> which excluded whites and promised annual supplies. He believed "extinction is therefore imminent unless measures taken to prevent it".<sup>449</sup> Bent also recommended a treaty

---

<sup>448</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep59> 139

<sup>449</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep59> 139

conference with the Kiowa-Comanche which he estimated might cost \$100,000. As the nation stumbled toward Civil War, the problems of several small Indian tribes mattered little in the halls of Congress. A distraught Bent soon resigned and moved to Missouri.

Three of Bent's now grown children were in the camp of Cheyenne chief Black Kettle during the infamous Sand Creek Massacre in 1864 but all escaped. Ironically Major John Chivington, commander of the Colorado volunteers who perpetrated the massacre, coerced another Bent son, Robert, to lead him to the Cheyenne camp. Survivor son Charley joined the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, attacking settlers in eastern Colorado and at one point, tried to kill his father. Being a cultural mediator did not preclude familial complications.

Jumping ship at New Orleans, seventeen-year-old Irish seaman Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick (1799–1854) eventually headed upriver to St. Louis and into the hallowed annals of the American West. Nicknamed "Broken Hand" due to his left hand being mangled in a gun accident, Fitzpatrick followed the historical fur trade from its genesis, accompanying William Ashley up the Missouri River in 1822 and eventually trapping the Green River, Uinta Mountains, Three Forks, as well as the lands of Flathead, Blackfoot, and Crow. He and several friends bought the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1830, which Fitzpatrick ran until he sold it to the American Fur Company in 1836. He then found work with Astor's firm. He fought the Arikara in 1823; Gros Ventre in 1832; and the Pawnee in 1842; as well as fighting at the Battle of Pierre's Hole in 1832 and trading with the Sioux 1835–1836. As the fur business collapsed, a victim of changing couture, international competition, and beavered monogamy, the ever resilient and well-traveled Fitzpatrick turned to guiding civilians, government expeditions, and the military. Included among his clients were Father DeSmet in 1841; the Barteleson-Bidwell Party, the first overland wagon train to California, in 1841; government explorer John C. Fremont, visiting California and Oregon and included taking dispatches back to Washington DC, in 1843; and Captain Phil Kearny in 1844 and 1846, during the Mexican War. At his appointment as Upper Arkansas and Upper Platte agent (1846–1854) Fitzpatrick, married to a mixed race Snake-French woman, knew Indians and the lands west of the Missouri River perhaps better than any man alive.

His territory encompassed most of today's Great Plains north of Texas to the Missouri River and his interactions were primarily with the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, and Plains Apache. His reports were part travelogue, predicting the future Colorado

would be a “flourishing mountain state”,<sup>450</sup> combined with holding councils and distributing presents amongst various tribes which he had to first locate. Fitzpatrick’s best-known accomplishments were the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851) and the Treaty of Fort Atkinson (1853). The former negotiated with the Cheyenne, Sioux, Arapaho, Crow, Assinboine, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arickara guaranteed safe passage for travelers on the Oregon Trail and allowed the United States government to build roads and forts while it in turn admitted the land was Indian territory and agreed to pay a \$50,000 annuity for fifty years. The Fort Atkinson Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache was much more the handiwork of Fitzpatrick as chief negotiator. Not a believer in large annuities, he promised the Indians an \$18,000 annuity for ten years in exchange for safe travel on the Santa Fe Trail and the potential establishment of forts and railroad depots, as he knew the government was surveying possible transcontinental routes. He failed at getting the Indians to release Mexican prisoners, agreeing with them that most were now integral members of the tribe but did obtain a promise to refrain from raiding south of the border.

Fitzpatrick, although often focused on large policy concerns, did complain of being unable to hire interpreters because of government mandated low salaries; his inability to produce a census for his nomadic charges nor develop a vocabulary for multiple languages rooted in his concern number one; and poor directions from the Department exacerbated by atrocious mail delivery. He traveled far and wide seeking Indians but also journeyed to Washington DC seeking more specific guidelines. He was a constant critic of the American military in the West, deriding it as ill-equipped, ill-led, and ill-used. The forts were “indefensible and a source of ridicule and contempt”<sup>451</sup> and campaigning was intermittent rather than continuous. He felt two hundred frontier mounted riflemen, a hundred Mexican mercenary lancers, and two or three howitzers could defeat the natives.

His long years of interaction with numerous Indians allowed no illusions. He considered the Indians “thieving rapacious” characters but also recognized American Indian policy of removal and segregation into smaller and smaller domains was not working and was simply a road to poverty, humiliation, and extinction.<sup>452</sup> In 1848, Fitzpatrick wrote that the public mind

---

<sup>450</sup> Annual Report 1853 <http://diiigetal.library.wisc.edu/1711/HistoryAnnRep53> 126

<sup>451</sup> Annual Report 1851 <http://digetal.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep51> 73

<sup>452</sup> Annual Report 1850 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep4650> 1850 19; Annual Report 1853 <http://digital.library.wis.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep53> 127–131

erroneously felt atrocities committed by Indians are “invariably attributed to the rascality and swindling operations of the whiteman”.<sup>453</sup> His answer was the proto-libertarian idea of allowing the Indians, with some limited help in the form of annuities, to enter the economy of the frontier. He did not believe the government needed to “extinguish” Indian title, because they were only occupiers of the land and had been battling each other for centuries over the territory. He recommended abolishing the “intercourse laws” and allowing the Indians to become farmers, herdsmen, interpreters, guides, or other appropriate positions.<sup>454</sup> Fitzpatrick believed continuation of present policies would lead to a perpetual “immense annual cost to the government”.<sup>455</sup>

Called again to Washington DC in 1854 to discuss the Treaty of Fort Atkinson, he took sick, dying peacefully, not in his bedroll under the immense western sky but in a metropolitan hotel. In 1831, Fitzpatrick had welcomed a young Missourian to the ranks of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, a man who would exceed the Irishman amidst the heroes of the American West and ironically also serve as an Indian agent.

Christopher Houston “Kit” Carson (1809–1868) was born in Kentucky but soon moved to Missouri where his father had purchased land from the Boone family, symbolically connecting the greatest American frontiersman of the eighteenth century with that of the nineteenth. Since the number of secondary accounts as well as an autobiography written in 1856 dwarfs the sources for any other pre-Civil War agent, there follows a short summation with focus on his years as agent.

Apprenticed to a saddler at the eastern end of the Santa Fe Trail, Carson was lured by stories of the West and ran away at age seventeen, landing in Taos where he was a cook, wagon driver, and copper miner before turning to trapping in 1829. Almost no area escaped Carson’s purview as he ranged from California to the central Rocky Mountains. As the trapping era closed around 1841, he found work as a hunter out of Bent’s Fort and finally, in 1842, as a guide for John C. Fremont in his many peregrinations about the American West from mapping the Oregon Trail, exploring the Great Salt Lake Valley, and illegally traversing California without a permit, to trekking the Mojave Desert. In the third expedition of 1845–1846 into California, Fremont

---

<sup>453</sup> Annual Report 1846–1850 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep4650> 1848 471

<sup>454</sup> Annual Report 1853 <http://digeial.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep53> 128

<sup>455</sup> Annual Report 1853 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep53> 129

involved Carson in a political incursion, resulting in the Bear Flag Republic movement. Carson's national reputation stemmed from this era as he often took Fremont's dispatches and reports to Washington becoming the "face" of Western expansionism back east. After the Mexican War, he settled in the Taos area raising cattle, horses, and sheep.

Although Carson was functionally illiterate and used a clerk to write his reports as agent, he spoke English, Spanish, French, nine Indian languages, as well as sign language. He loved to have people read to him and was particularly enamored by Byron and Sir Walter Scott. He married three times, first to an Arapaho woman named Singing Grass, who bore him two daughters but died in 1841; then a Cheyenne woman named Making-Out-Road, who soon divorced him Cheyenne-style by putting his and his daughter's belongings outside the tent; and finally Josefa Jaramillo, the fourteen-year-old daughter of a prominent New Mexico family. Josefa, who produced eight children during their twenty-five-year marriage, was the love of his life.

Carson would serve as Utah Agent 1853–1861, initially tending to the Jicarilla Apache and the Utes in New Mexico but after 1854, dealt primarily with the Tabaquache and Moache Utes. Since the Utes roamed, the agency was located in Carson's home in Taos, for which he received no compensation, and by default, he often dealt with the Indians from nearby Taos Pueblo only three miles away, though he was not Pueblo agent. His career as Indian agent was segmented as he moved from scout to separator to subsidizer, all the while importuning the government to give the Moache a land away from white vices where they could learn to farm and develop a "civilized" culture before degradation and disease led to extinction. Desultory warfare greeted the new agent and he scouted for U.S. troops, achieving peace by 1855. He then became a separator/mediator trying to keep peace between the Utes and the Mexican citizenry by returning Mexican and Ute stolen stock and negotiating other problems from kidnapping to murder. As tensions rose between the Mormons and the United States government, Carson successfully worked to keep the Utes from allying with the "Saints" and tried to separate the Moache from the Tabaquache who were forcefully contesting the mining frontier as it moved westward. Gift giving became a prominent part of his later years as agent. In 1859, he warned that the Moache will join the Tabaquache "if not well treated during the winter".<sup>456</sup> Apparently,

---

<sup>456</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep59> 343

he and Josefa also ran a day-care centre in their home for their children, Charles Bent's orphan daughter, and a number of needy Indians.

As the Civil War engulfed even remote New Mexico, Carson was made Colonel of the 1<sup>st</sup> New Mexico Infantry. Much of the obloquy cast upon Carson's reputation centres on this period of his life. He fought against the Confederate invaders at Valverde in 1862 and then was ordered by district commander Major General James Carleton to assemble both the Mescalero Apache and the Navajo to be removed to a reservation at the Bosque Redondo. Particularly in "convincing" the Navajo to gather, Carson used "scorched earth" tactics, destroying hogans, taking stock, and burning food and supplies. In his defence, he was ill, his superior did not care how the Indians were persuaded, and the largely Hispanic 1<sup>st</sup> New Mexico was looking for payback from two hundred years of vicious hostilities. The old trapper and guide ended his career defeating the Plains Apache, Comanche, and Kiowa at the First Battle of Adobe Walls (1864) and serving as Indian superintendent of Colorado Territory (1867). He died the following year, one month after the death of his beloved Josefa.

"Kit" Carson has ridden the tempestuous seas of American historiography from the highs of nineteenth and early twentieth century hagiography to the nadir of opprobrious condemnation in the 1970s, now becalmed in rational reassessment. Although, he became famous in a dangerous, violent world and survival demanded he respond, Carson was rooted in the Protestant (though he converted to Catholicism for Josefa) work ethic of obedience to both God and his superiors, genuine simplicity, truthfulness, trust, common sense, natural modesty, reverence, resourcefulness, and respect for all. When he was dismissed by New Mexico governor David Meriwether for a variety of charges ranging from disobedience to cowardice, he simply apologized and was reinstated. His focus was on the Utes and the American southwest. "Kit" Carson navigated multiracial, multiethnic northern New Mexico by treating each man as a man. In a September 20, 1859 letter to Indian Superintendent, James Collins, he wrote, "I do not know whether I done rite [sic] or wrong but I done what I thought best".<sup>457</sup>

### The Settler

---

<sup>457</sup> Thomas Dunlay *Kit Carson & The Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000) 148

Trapper and trader agents obviously did not fit the literary and cinematic agent persona, but perhaps local men chosen from the settler population might better exhibit an anti-Indian bias and focus on getting Indian land. Michael Simmons (1814–1867) was a leader. He was also endowed with that nineteenth century frontier mentality of constant movement. Born in Kentucky, he moved as a young boy with his mother to Illinois; at twenty-one he removed to the Iowa District, married a fifteen-year-old girl and in 1840, re-settled in Missouri where he built a gristmill.

Still dissatisfied, in 1844 he led an early company to the Oregon country, temporarily settling on the north bank of the Columbia River while almost everyone else headed toward the Willamette Valley to the south. Simmons was intrigued by the constant recommendations from the Hudson's Bay Company to move south, their goal being to have no American settlements north of the Columbia, hoping that might expedite a British-American division of the Oregon country at the river. He also faced an issue of racial equality as one of his friends from the wagon train, George W. Bush was mulatto and the Organic Law of the proposed Oregon Territory forbade not only the importation of slaves but the settlement of free blacks and mulattoes in Oregon. Choosing to contest the British and provide a safe haven for his friend (the Oregon government did not seem to care if a black man lived north of the river), the entire company became the first settlers in what would become Washington State. Since Washington Territory was initially North Oregon, Simmons later got a special law passed to permit George W. Bush to settle wherever he desired.<sup>458</sup> He founded the town of New Market (later Tumwater) on Puget Sound to contest the HBC at Nisqually and built both a sawmill and gristmill and attempted oyster farming. In 1850, he sold his operations and moved to the new community of Olympia where he was postmaster and ran a store. He sold the store in 1853 and took a donation land claim, building another sawmill in 1854. Simmons served in the first official Oregon Territorial Legislature in 1849 and in both conventions to press the federal government to create Washington Territory.

---

<sup>458</sup> [www.yelmonline.com/life/article/8581818e-a427-11e9-b96c-2b8a652a32c8.html](http://www.yelmonline.com/life/article/8581818e-a427-11e9-b96c-2b8a652a32c8.html); <https://www.ci.tumwater.wa.us/about-tumwater/history>; Thomas W. Prosch "The Political Beginning of Washington Territory" An Address to the Association of Washington Pioneers at Seattle June 21, 1905 107,202,172, 255,149-150

Appointed first Special Agent 1854–1856 and then Agent 1856–1860, Simmons had responsibility for all the twenty plus tribes in the Puget Sound area. He acted as CEO with both special and local agents under him. Included among his charges were the Chehalis, Nisqually, Puyallup, Snohomish, Skagit, Lummi, Makah, Clallam, and Quinaiult, as well as at least twelve other tribes, amounting to 12,500 persons covering about 15,000 square miles. He felt that many of the local Indians suffered from the problems of liquor and laziness and was not sanguine about a short-term solution for either. Simmons faced some of the agent's normal challenges including non-ratified treaties thereby limiting payments; Indian feuding with ancient roots; a need for doctors and a vaccination program; inadequate annuity payments which he favored doubling; and the development of boarding schools. Like many of the tribes in California, the Lummi and other neighboring Puget Sound Indians in the path of the gold miners rushing to the Fraser River country in Canada were being decimated. They sold all their canoes, which were now difficult to replace, and they could not fish. Like the buffalo for the Plains, Mountain, and Riverine tribes in the east, salmon was the basic foodstuff and a bad salmon catch meant starvation and dependence on roots.

However, Simmons also faced unique problems like the difficulties inherent in clearing lands abounding in huge trees; deciding whether to build dykes to protect farmland and constructing roads with Indian labor. In addition, he had to restrict the Canadian Indians above the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel and prevent smuggling; monitor altercations between Indian and white otter hunters; and protect the government lighthouse at Cape Flattery, which the Indians wanted to destroy as they believed the light was keeping the whales far from shore. Simmons had good relations with the military who quickly responded to his calls. He was probably unique among Indian agents in summoning the US Navy to help him retake the captured lighthouse. He spent much time every year visiting each tribe and provided provisions for the old and infirm while allowing them to speak indirectly to the "Great Father". Additionally, he desired to establish a central reservation while attempting to allow each tribe to remain in comfortable surroundings and also broached the topic of a hospital and an Indian Department schooner.

Re-appointed and then dismissed in 1860, Simmons retired to his farm. Washington Territorial Governor and Indian Superintendent Isaac Stevens in 1856 chronicled Simmons' activities:



I feel bound to commend to the department the services of Agent M.S. Simmons, who has shown through all these difficulties a humanity, a courage, and a sagacity, equal to the emergency. It was Simmons who superintended in person the removal of the Indians. It was Simmons who practically tested the safety of employing Indian auxiliaries. It was Simmons who in any threatened outbreak of the friendly Indians was always at the point of danger to pacify and conciliate them.<sup>459</sup>

Snohomish chief Bonaparte agreed, “I have known Mr. Simmons a long time and he never lied to me”.<sup>460</sup>

Lafayette Head (1825–1897) was an adapter. A Missourian, he came west with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Missouri Volunteers to fight in the Mexican War participating in several smaller battles as well as suppressing the Taos Revolt in 1847. Deciding to remain in newly acquired New Mexico, he settled in Abiquiu as a merchant and became fluent in Spanish, converted to Roman Catholicism, and married a Hispanic woman. Head served as United States Marshal for the Northern District of New Mexico 1847–1848 and as Sheriff of Rio Arriba County in 1851–1853. The following year, he and a number of Mexican families settled the town of Guadalupe in the San Luis Valley in what would become Colorado. Head built a sawmill and gristmill and became a pioneer in large scale irrigation and founded Our Lady of Guadalupe, the first Catholic church in the future Colorado. The entire community relocated to the new town of Conejos to avoid frequent flooding. As the political location of the San Luis Valley was then in dispute, he served in the New Mexico Territorial Legislature in 1853–1854 and on the Territorial Council, 1856–1859. In 1860, the Buchanan Administration appointed him head agent at Conejos, supervising both the Tabaquache Utes and Jicarilla Apache, which in 1861 was changed to include only the Utes. Serving from 1860–1869, he was one of only a few Indian agents appointed by a Democrat who survived the new Lincoln Administration and Civil War. Although it would appear he was a pre-war Democrat, the Colorado Governor William Gilpin lauded him in 1861 “as a most efficient and competent officer; a sincere republican and friend of the administration, and greatly respected by the Mexican population, whose language he speaks with fluency”.<sup>461</sup> He had adapted again.

---

<sup>459</sup> Annual Report 1856 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep56> 187

<sup>460</sup> Annual Report 1858 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep58> 230

<sup>461</sup> Annual Report 1861 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep61> 99

Head's initial report adjusted the number of Utes from 5,000 to 8,000; pleaded for winter aid as the gold miners had destroyed the game; and otherwise described the San Luis Valley and its potential. Head's long tenure as Ute agent was not without controversy. Though he negotiated important treaties in 1863 and 1868, he was twice investigated on Ute and citizen complaints concerning inadequate and poor-quality rations as well as not distributing them. Other charges included speculation in government property and hiring an interpreter who did not speak Ute. He retained his position after both inquiries.<sup>462</sup>

He had kept the agency headquarters at his home and when its location changed, he resigned. Head served in the Colorado Territorial legislature in 1874; as a member of the Colorado Constitutional Convention in 1875–1876; as Colorado's first lieutenant governor 1877–1879; and a delegate to the 1880 Republican National Convention. He then retired as a farmer/rancher in his beloved San Luis Valley.

Although Michael Simmons had a broad, progressive outlook for the Northwest Indians, Lafayette Head was investigated twice in 1862 and 1863 for various misconduct but he was cleared. It is interesting to note the first petition came from the Utes while the second from his San Luis Valley Hispanic political rivals. Head's difficulties remind us that the influence and responsibilities of Indian agents extended far beyond agency boundaries and affected traders, farmers, ranchers, immigrants, missionaries, the military, and even departmental superiors. The Indian agent of the imagination and the historical narrative is much more constrained. The reality of these agents of the "Frontier Nexus" is represented in men like Frederick Dodge.

### The Agent of the Frontier Nexus

Frederick Dodge (circa 1829–1862) was one of the most mysterious of all pre-Civil War agents. He had vague roots and served at the most inhospitable Indian agency in America, the Carson Valley 1858–1861. Probably born in Indiana, he claimed to have been on the frontier for a decade before his appointment. As agent, he had responsibility for the 6,000 Paiutes and 900 Washoe strewn across the Carson and Humboldt River valleys of present-day northern Nevada,

---

<sup>462</sup> Robert B. Houston *Two Colorado Odysseys Chief Ouray Porter Nelson* (New York : iUniverse Inc. 2005) 10; Virginia Sanchez *Pleas and Petitions: Hispano Culture and Legislative Conflict in Territorial Colorado* Foreward by Ken Salazar (Louisville, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2020) 129-143, 145-146, 148-149

astride the California branch of the Overland Trail. In addition, the Overland Mail passed through the Indians' lands and disappointed California miners loomed on the horizon with the 1859 discovery of silver at the Comstock Lode. After his first meeting with a number of the bands, he commented "...never before have I beheld so much wretchedness and destitution" and believed the constant movement of foot, hoof, and wheel over the land had destroyed the game, therefore forcing the Indians to steal or starve.<sup>463</sup> He also maintained the Indians had never before received presents and provisions from the government. Dodge felt confident about Paiute abilities to adapt to agriculture but feared the Washoe were almost beyond redemption. He immediately declared selling liquor to an Indian would result in a \$500 fine or two years in jail but enforcement proved difficult. Dodge's great achievement was ending what he called the "joint and promiscuous occupation of the country"<sup>464</sup> and founding two isolated reservations at Walker River and Pyramid Lake which exist to this day.

Beyond dealing with emigrants, miners, and the grog shops lining the trail (by 1859, the Overland trails were less remote than depicted on TV and cinema), Dodge's major issues were money and the dearth of departmental directives. He responded to his initial orders by meeting with different bands, taking a census, moving to establish reservations, and giving presents. However, a scarcity of rejoinders to his questions and continuing payment problems led to a major confrontation between Dodge and Utah Indian Superintendent Jacob Forney. After several government vouchers sent to Dodge were refused, he spent \$5,000 of his own money to provide provisions for the Indians and pay for services. Forney, who was having his own financial problems and would be charged with misfeasance in office, never acknowledged Dodge's missives forcing Dodge to go to Salt Lake City and confront Forney. When the Superintendent refused to see him, Dodge broke down his apartment door, gave him a sound thrashing, and forced him to sign another voucher which was later refused.<sup>465</sup> In the aftermath of the "Sublette Cut-Off Massacre" which left Dodge caring for six survivors, he decided to go east under the guise of returning the women and children home and plead his case before the Commissioner.

---

<sup>463</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 374

<sup>464</sup> Dale L. Morgan Book Chapter "Indian Affairs on the California Trail, 1849–1860" from *Shoshonean Peoples and the Overland Trail; Frontiers of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1849–1869* (University Press of Colorado, Utah State University Press, 2007) 116

<sup>465</sup> Ferol Egan "Warren Wasson Model Indian Agent" *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* Volume XII no 3 (Fall, 1969) 6

Forney, with the last two children of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in tow, raced eastward to contest. Dodge tendered his resignation, which was refused, and he was freed from the Utah superintendency and told to report independently to the Indian Bureau, getting money directly from the assistant treasurer in San Francisco. It is important to remember all this was happening in the context of a large influx of population to the area and the complex development of the resultant Nevada Territory.

Dodge returned to the aftermath of the Paiute War and moved swiftly to separate the combatants. Although still agent, he ran for congressional delegate from the potential “Nevada” and lost by 61 votes or won by 150, both sides claiming fraud. His opponent was declared the winner, but Dodge returned to Washington on Indian business and simultaneously insisted on being “delegate”, lobbying Congress for the creation of Nevada Territory. As war began, he joined the Union Army and was soon killed although again facts are fuzzy. Dodge’s successor Warren Wasson stated Dodge was “scrupulously honest and zealous” but as he was “unacquainted with the Indian character was unfit to be agent”.<sup>466</sup> However Dodge showed a real passion for the Indian, describing him as “him whose name we are all proud to own (the true American) and claiming his problems stemmed from “white invasion of his hunting ground”.<sup>467</sup>

Another agent with far ranging problems was John Montgomery (1835–?) the youngest of the pre-Civil War agents holding forth at the new Kansas (Kaw) Reservation 1855–1859 at age twenty. In July 1857, he asked “Why am I so despised by the settlers, I am not able to state”.<sup>468</sup> His enemies list was long making his tenure seem even longer. Born probably in east Tennessee, he had removed to the Kansas Territory by 1854. His initial report in 1855, perhaps emboldened by the impetuosity of youth, suggested the best result for the “poor, degraded, superstitious, thievish, indigent tribe” must be extinction and “the sooner the better for mankind”.<sup>469</sup> However he saw progress in the half-breed Kaw and considered the French solution of miscegenation. To the former, the department responded that the language was “improper” and “unacceptable”, to the latter, in 1850s America, the answer was silence.<sup>470</sup> Duly

---

<sup>466</sup> *Condition of the Indian Tribes*: Report of the Special Committee, Appointed Under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865 with An Appendix (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867) 519

<sup>467</sup> Dale L. Morgan Book Chapter 117

<sup>468</sup> Ron Parks The official site of the Kaw Nation “March 1859—John Montgomery” Accessed July 13, 2011 <http://kawnation.com/?p=872> 7

<sup>469</sup> Annual Report 1855 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep55> 114

<sup>470</sup> Annual Report 1855 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep55> 115

chastised, Montgomery became an active supporter of Indian rights, greater funding, and schools. In 1856, he led a small military contingent onto the detached “Half-Breed” reserve to oust illegal settlers, burning twenty cabins as reported in the *New York Times* and earning the enmity of settler and politician who threatened to tar and feather him.<sup>471</sup> In addition, he was arrested for arson and forced to hire attorneys in his defence, as again the departmental response was silence and the intruders returned to rebuild. In the fall, he posted signs on the main reservation ordering all squatters to leave in twenty days followed by threats from settlers, traders, and the press and his own admission that little would happen. There was no way to enforce his orders and he was now toxic for the military. Each year, his shorter and shorter reports continued to advocate for protection of Indian rights, greater annuities, and schools but nothing happened save a survey of the reservation and construction of new agency buildings partially constructed by his father-in-law. As Montgomery, his seventeen-year-old wife, and baby moved in, it may have been foreboding to be “surrounded by hundreds of hostile whites”.<sup>472</sup> Although he saw Free Staters as a “damned set of Abolitionists”,<sup>473</sup> he was able to keep the Kaw distant from the Kansas difficulties.

Some of his problems were of his own making, as he was charged with attempting to get a private citizen to make a reservation land claim for him and Kansas tribal leaders constantly contended he failed to clarify Washington’s hazy directives. In 1863, after he had left the historical scene, an Indian accused him of stealing \$2,000 while agent. These personal shortcomings combined with chronic underfunding; an unresponsive bureaucracy; geographic isolation; no legal nor military support for his policies; a constant undermining of authority by territorial and local politicians and the press; as well as terrorist threats against he and his family led to frustration and his resignation in 1859. In 1860 he was listed as local constable on a 320-acre farm on the Santa Fe Trail with an assessed worth of \$800.

He did request and was granted \$637.10 from Congress to cover his legal costs in defending himself against the arson charges. In March, 1861 Montgomery asked for an

---

<sup>471</sup> “Indian Troubles in Kansas” *New York Times* July 14, 1856 Accessed February 13, 2020 <https://www.nytimes.com/1856/07/14/archives/indian-troubles-in-Kansas.htm>

<sup>472</sup> Ron Parks “The Kanza Reserve 150 Years Ago” December 1858 – “Agency House Construction” Accessed November 7, 2018 <http://kawnation.com/?p=866> 2

<sup>473</sup> Ron Parks “The Kansas One Hundred Fifty Years Ago” September 1858—Westport and Montgomery Accessed July 14, 2011 <http://kawnation.com/?p=856>

additional \$507.12 for the last four months of his salary. It was his last known correspondence. In 1863, his wife filed for divorce, claiming abandonment. He had disappeared. His valedictory might be found in his report: “When a certain class of people assume to themselves the right to judge of matters pertaining to the Indian country it is very difficult for an Indian agent to perform with promptness the duties of his office”.<sup>474</sup> Both Dodge and Montgomery faced difficulties far beyond any agency boundaries and though the latter had personality problems both became vociferous defenders of the Indians

### *The Agent of the Frontier Nexus Mas Grande*

The lands of the Mexican Cession resulting from the Mexican War added another factor to the complexities of the Indian agent’s job: an additional alien, non-English speaking population sometimes at odds with national interests. Silas Kendrick’s tenure (1822–1902) presents a problem that was indicative of the bureaucratic morass infusing the Indian Department. Later records claim he was agent to the Navajo 1859–1861, but his only official report was as agent to the Pueblo in 1860. Both the Oregon Territory and the New Mexico Territory saw men appointed as territorial Indian agent and then directed to the area of greatest need or perhaps least resistance. Born in Alabama, Kendrick was a printer/publisher in Chickasaw County, Mississippi, in 1850, owning one slave. It is not clear who or what brought him west in 1859 but he immediately found himself immersed in an Indian war, battling the Navajo and the American military while defending Mexican and Pueblo residents.

A December 1858 Treaty required the Navajo to return goods or reimburse claims from Mexican citizens and Pueblo villages. Kendrick met several times with Navajo leaders, demanding payment for the \$14,000 in claims or risk attack from the army. A confused Navajo asked for counter-claims against its enemies, saying it was unfair. A reluctant military agreed and added most Navajo were peaceful and Kendrick risked a general Indian war. The obdurate agent renewed his threats and the military commander at Fort Defiance barred him from his headquarters, forcing him eastward to Santa Fe, where he focused on the Pueblo.

---

<sup>474</sup> Ron Parks “The Kanza Reservation 150 Years Ago” December 16, 2006 “Erecting a Building of Suitable Size and Shape” 3 [kawmission.org/places/kawmission/pdfs/12-58\\_Agency\\_House\\_Construction.pdf](http://kawmission.org/places/kawmission/pdfs/12-58_Agency_House_Construction.pdf)

Kendrick found the self-sustaining, self-governing farmers a pleasant change from his previous problems with Navajo attacks and military opposition. He strongly urged the government to issue patents for the Pueblo properties but felt giving supplies would be counter-productive and cause the independent Pueblo to become reliant on American largesse. He did support the supplying of blacksmiths, Spanish language schools, and a Christian minister, apparently rejecting the Pueblo's syncretistic Catholicism as acceptable. His problems with the military continued as soldiers detained some Pueblo to whom Kendrick had given passes to travel and trade with the Comanche. In reality, the Indians were stealing horses and mules and trading them for ammunition and information on troop movements. He was removed in 1861.

Returning to Mississippi, he joined the Lula White Rebels militia and eventually became a first lieutenant in the 1<sup>st</sup> Mississippi Infantry, serving until the end of the War. Afterwards, he served as sheriff and tax collector of Monroe County, got \$271.25 back pay as Pueblo agent, and lived for a time farming in Giles County, Tennessee, before returning to Mississippi.

Silas Kendrick's journey of discovery in the high desert of New Mexico brought him face to face with the Hopi, whom he called the "Quaker Indians", and this general comment about the Pueblo, "Acquaintance with their character and habits invariably suggests great doubts, even whether they are of a common origin with the roaming and predatory tribes, to whom the term 'Indian' is properly applied."<sup>475</sup>

Although Kendrick had continuing problems with the Navajo, his words and actions show him as the great defender of the Pueblo, portraying them as not only the perfect Indian but perhaps the perfect American. One last sub-section among the frontier/settler agents just might resemble the stereotypical Indian agent more closely: the Developer.

### *The Developer*

A few Indian agents seemed preternaturally concerned with transportation and townsite development on or near the reservation. Among those was Connecticut Yankee Royal Baldwin (1817–1878), first Kickapoo agent 1855–1858. Well educated, he taught school at fifteen; journeyed west, itinerating along the Ohio River; farming; merchandising; constructing a government project on the Muskingum River; and running a stage line while living in Marietta,

---

<sup>475</sup> Annual Report 1860 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep60> 167

Brunswick, St. Clairsville, Pomeroy, and Cincinnati, Ohio, as well as Parkersburg, Virginia. A known Democrat but not particularly active politically, he received his appointment in late 1855 and he and his family hurried west to St. Joseph, Missouri.

His first job was to relocate the Kickapoo and some Potawatomie from the old Great Nemaha Agency to the new Kickapoo reserve thirty-five miles southwest. Baldwin served nearly three years as agent and wrote numerous reports and letters detailing Kickapoo agriculture, improved housing, and minimal success in school attendance, while constantly asking for more implements and stock. He particularly focused on three issues, the first being to get as many Kickapoo vaccinated against smallpox who would allow it, even getting a private doctor from St. Joseph to assist. Baldwin was also concerned about the legalities surrounding Kickapoo timber sales to whites and asked whether it was his responsibility to oversee them. Finally, he cautiously approached the challenging concern of removing the remnant Potawatomie from the Kickapoo reserve, holding numerous meetings with both. In 1857, he began to audit Indian accounts with local traders, finding numerous errors all in the traders' favor and urged the Kickapoo to limit credit purchases, resulting in at least one local businessman asking for his removal. The next year a consortium of interests led by William Badger announced a desire to purchase the entire reserve and make Badger agent. It's important to note that Baldwin was the chief developer of the nearby town of Kennekuk, where he located the agency headquarters. Perhaps his lack of political clout; his commercial enemies; his efforts to limit timber cutting by white business; and settler interests and inability to resist more powerful development operations led to his dismissal in mid-1858. In 1862, a Kickapoo Allotment Treaty was "signed" but so much opposition arose Indian Commissioner William Dole called a hearing and even journeyed to Kansas to interview opponents and a few supporters. Baldwin was in the latter category as he had long advocated the establishment of independent Kickapoo farms. However, when asked by Commissioner Dole if he had accepted a 160-acre grant of land from the Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad for his "work among the Kickapoo", he refused to answer.<sup>476</sup>

He spent the remainder of his life living near Kennekuk attempting but failing to develop the community which is a ghost town today. He did some cross plains freighting and farmed, owning about \$30,000 worth of real estate in 1870. Most of Baldwin's actions among the

---

<sup>476</sup> Arrell M. Gibson *The Kickapoo: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963) 134



Kickapoo seemed to benefit the Indians, particularly in regard to what he called “lawless whites”. He did have a special concern for Kennekuk but his vision was trivial compared to that of his successors.

Despite being the controversial mayor of Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, 1856–1857 and Potawatomie Indian agent 1857–1861, Kentuckian William E. Murphy (1821–?) remains otherwise a mystery. Somehow, he got to Kansas just in time for the “bleeding”, seemed to become an important Democratic officeholder and then disappeared either into the morass of Civil War or the emptiness of the Far Western frontier. Murphy was identified as a “border ruffian” who was “elected” mayor of Leavenworth when all free state city officials were forced out of town. His administration allowed local slave state “regulators” to expel “free staters” under the guise of refusing to defend the city against possible attack by northern sympathizer James Lane and his partisans. New Kansas Territorial Governor John Geary, besieged with letters and petitions from the expelled citizenry, forced Murphy to announce protection for all in Leavenworth but not before one man was beaten to death and Murphy was re-elected with no opposition. Perhaps desiring to lower the prominence of known pro-slavery advocates in Kansas, the Buchanan Administration sent Murphy a hundred miles west to the Potawatomie.

William Murphy’s activities included normal agent duties like attacking liquor dealers, taking censuses, ordering farm implements, hiring a new blacksmith, and firing the wagon master for “idleness”. Additionally, he praised the Catholic school while chiding its Baptist counterpart and filed charges against Eli Daniels for stealing Indian timber. Eventually his primary concern became “sectionalizing” the reservation or allotment. He is included among the “developers” for his concern for privatizing Indian land. Couching his argument as an attempt to save a “tribe (that) is fast on the decline”<sup>477</sup> Murphy’s reports and correspondence seem to become more terse and defensive, focusing principally on allotment, finally exclaiming it might have to be done by “dictatorial rule”.<sup>478</sup> An increasing paranoia seemed to infuse his reporting, as the fired wagon master tried to get his job back and several half-breeds led by E.J. Navarre took issue with his allotment ideas, going so far as to hire a Washington lawyer to come to Kansas and investigate. He arrested the lawyer but a local judge freed him. Murphy then insisted the former

---

<sup>477</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 148

<sup>478</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 150

wagon master and the half breeds colluded against him. On January 22, 1860, he moaned “the current of public sentiments of the dominant black Republican party here against Indian reservations, together with the decisions alluded to [entry of Indian timber land] we poor Indian Agents in Kansas have great trouble to encounter.”<sup>479</sup> Murphy’s paranoia may have been rooted in reality, as he constantly searched for answers concerning rebuilding the gristmill and ferry; hiring another blacksmith; and responding to additional timber cutting from a silent Indian Department. In November, 1861, the Potawatomie and the United States signed an allotment treaty but William E. Murphy had disappeared from the historical stage.

Pennsylvanian and 1846 migrant on the Oregon Trail Robert R. Thompson (1823–1908) had an eye for development—real estate, animal husbandry, transportation, and public utilities—generally succeeding in his pursuits. Initially he got by in Oregon, blacksmithing and doing odd jobs to support his wife and three daughters, but in 1850 he headed south to the California gold fields but unlike most, struck it rich and returned to Oregon looking for new projects. He returned east and herded sheep across the Plains to Oregon, took a 640-acre donation land grant and became a rancher. Even though he had no political connections, Thompson was made Middle Oregon Indian agent serving from 1854–1856.

Much like John Cain, Thompson acted as a C.E.O. for the local agents in central Oregon in addition to travelling extensively, describing the region, making maps, giving locations for all eleven major tribes, and guessing at a census count of 3,150. As Indian-settler/military contentiousness raged throughout the territory, he acted as a war correspondent for the government as well as rescuing survivors of attacks. Thompson did acknowledge that “hoaxes” and “fabrications” about rumors of war constantly infused the Oregon air.<sup>480</sup> His personal responsibilities ranged from refusing to assist the Cayuse in choosing a new chief to appropriating 100 pounds of gunpowder from a roaming Spanish monk. He personally scouted the future location of the Warm Springs Reservation and strongly believed it was necessary to separate Indians on reserves, as amalgamation of the natives could only lead to tribal combinations contesting the government or inter-tribal brawls. Thompson continuously lobbied

---

<sup>479</sup> NARA RG75 Potawatomi Agency 1859–1860 Pottawatomie Agency K.T. January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1860 William E. Murphy U.S. Agt. For Potawatomie Indians to Doctor A.M. Robinson Supt of Indan Affs St.Joseph Mo. Images 264–265

<sup>480</sup> NARA RG75 Oregon Superintendency, 1856 Agency Office Dalles March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1856 R.R. Thompson Indian Agent to Joel Palmer Esq. Supt Indian Affairs Dayton, Oregon Images 630–631

for more mounted troops to thwart the stronger tribes' great horsemen. As a budding businessman, Thompson criticized previous policy, as he felt that a truly good man could be hired for less money, criticized the US government's poor credit, and advocated river transportation over land as it saved money. In 1855, he commented "I have been in the habit of using my private means and credit for public purposes – will no longer do it".<sup>481</sup> He soon resigned.

In his travels as agent and its concomitant accounting, Thompson realized the importance of the Columbia River in Oregon's development and by 1860, using his military contacts, he controlled all shipping and portages above the Dalles. By 1862, most river ship owners had joined the Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSNC), the state's first large monopoly. Eventually selling out to the railroad, the stockholders like Thompson made a huge profit. In 1877, he moved south to Alameda, California, where he drilled several wells on his property, eventually supplying the city with fresh water in addition to flushing the city's sewer system. Ironically, his house burned down, but as usual he just began anew, buying property with an old OSNC ally on Santa Monica Bay and developed Redondo Beach. Thompson, ever the developer had used his time as agent to look ahead, but he had described the area and Indians, over saw reservation location, saved money, ridden into danger, and finally paid agency expenses from his own pockets, for a bit.

Even the developers seemed to often support the best interests of the Indians, provided actions at Kennekuk and the Columbia River transport systems were not harmed. However, amidst the many antebellum Indian agents there were a couple of placeholders, a few incompetents and even a real criminal once and awhile. The cinematic agent is usually a leader with a plan but in some cases, he is inept, usually portrayed as a dependent alcoholic

### Placeholders, Incompetents and Malefactors

#### Static-Minded

---

<sup>481</sup> NARA RG75 Oregon Superintendency, 1853–1855 Agency Office Dalles April 14<sup>th</sup> 1855 R.R. Thompson Indian Agent to Joel Palmer Esq. Supt Ind Affairs Dayton O.T. Images 1125–1127

Many Indian agents held a similar perspective on Native peoples. They were lazy, unable to adapt to change, prone to excess drinking, resistant to agricultural endeavors, resistant to American education, extremely resistant to Christianization, addicted to annuities and other government handouts, and probably doomed to extinction without an attitude adjustment and allotment in severalty. As the research in this paper shows, most agents in their interactions with Indians and other frontier denizens adopted a different attitude but for a few old biases never changed. An excellent example of this type is David Vanderslice (1799–1889) agent at Great Nemaha in Kansas 1854–1861. A Pennsylvanian, he moved to Kentucky to be a papermaker and later migrated to Galena, Illinois, attempting to capitalize on the lead mining boom. Here, he interacted with Indian leaders like Blackhawk and Keokuk. After returning to Kentucky, he edited the Georgetown *Kentucky Sentinel* and in 1837, was employed as an emigration agent for a band of removing Chickasaw. Claiming this background in Indian relations as well as strong Democratic proclivities, Vanderslice was appointed Great Nemaha agent, a mixed agency of Sac and Fox, Missouri, Iowa, Kickapoo, and some remnant Potawatomie and Winnebago. His yearly reports often followed a common theme as he admitted in 1860, concluding everything is like it was and its “needless to report them now”.<sup>482</sup>

His submissions included a census, Indian health matters, problems with intoxication, the state of agriculture, school attendance, and the activities of missionaries. During his eight-year tenure, all tribal populations were in decline, health fluctuated, crop output was erratic depending on weather and Indian endeavor, school participation generally was poor, and missionization foundered. In fact, the Indians agreed to a manual labor school but only if it were government run. He did manage to negotiate treaties with the Sac and Fox as well as the Iowa and Kickapoo, although the latter transferred to their own agency. He also conducted sales of the Iowa Trust Lands, made maps, finally got the Potawatomie and Winnebago resettled among their own, and suggested colonizing the Sac and Fox in a better climate. In addition, he carried out a vaccination program and, in concert with other agents, petitioned the Kansas territorial legislature to outlaw sales of liquor. Vanderslice publicly admitted “much prejudice is to be removed before full justice to the Indians”.<sup>483</sup> He recommended allowing Indians to testify in court where a white

---

<sup>482</sup> Annual Report 1860 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep60> 100

<sup>483</sup> Annual Report 1858 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep58> 108

man had been charged, enforced by a federal commissioner and the deputy United States marshal residing near every agency. He related his efforts to bring Mike Ferry to justice, a white man accused of killing an Iowa Indian on Indian land. He chased Ferry over portions of Missouri and Kansas Territory before capturing him and returning him to the Iowa reserve, where a crowd of whites attempted to free him. Ferry later escaped from a territorial jail. He described three culprits for Indian failures including the Indians themselves; certain tribal leaders who consistently found fault with the government; and the ubiquitous mendacious frontier white, the purveyor of bad liquor and troubling questions about the future of Indian lands. Vanderslice did participate in some activities which were probably illegal for a federal agent. In 1854, he was active in calling a convention in St. Joseph to organize the Nebraska Territory and in 1857 was a delegate to the pro-slavery Leecompton Constitutional Convention. The Lincoln administration removed him in 1861.

He retired locally and lived quietly, dying “very poor”. A historian of the Iowa Indians noted Vanderslice sold the agency farm and bought it back at low price making a \$500 profit. He then remarked “Vanderslice was one of the best agents the Iowas ever had”.<sup>484</sup>

### The Convenient

Sometimes just being available at a certain location might lead to an agency appointment. Excepting one infamous moment, the first thirty-five years of William Hawling Rogers (1824–1907) life was something of a cypher. Born in Virginia, he was sheriff of that state’s Fauquier County by 1850 and by 1858 was in the Utah Territory, where in 1859 he accompanied Utah Indian Superintendent Jacob Forney to retrieve children rescued from the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre. Mormon authorities initially blamed local Paiutes for killing the California bound immigrants but leaking information and investigations by territorial officials finally determined local Mormons and several Indians were the culprits. Rogers was able to assist in locating and transporting seventeen children back to Salt Lake City. In his position as deputy U.S. marshal, he helped Federal Judge John Cradlebaugh in the initial legal proceedings. Later in 1859, he was appointed Fort Bridger/Provo Indian agent, serving until 1861.

---

<sup>484</sup> Duane Anderson, “Ioway Ethnohistory: a Review Part II.” *The Annals of Iowa* 42 (1973) 49

Having no obvious political affiliation, Rogers may have gotten the job on a recommendation by Forney, as they had also distributed gifts to Indians on the mission to recover the children. His correspondence as agent is almost non-existent; he never submitted any reports and lived in a hotel in Salt Lake City in 1860. A few statements mark his entire depiction of Fort Bridger agency, stating the Indians of the Territory “were always in a bad condition”, the “blacksmithing was done by Mr. Cuthbert” and as to current prices of supplies “I know nothing”.<sup>485</sup> New Utah Indian Superintendent Benjamin Davies reported in 1861 that Rogers “lay at the point of death and could not be consulted on any subject”.<sup>486</sup> He was soon removed.

During the Civil War, he served as aide on the staffs of both Confederate generals Nathan G. Evans and James Longstreet. In 1869, he moved to South America where he was in business until 1880 when he returned to Virginia where he avoided the point of death for another twenty-seven years.

In his reports, John B. Robertson (1797–1875) claimed to have been the farmer for the Omaha Indians in the late 1830s but no records can confirm it. Born in New York, he moved to Ohio in 1826, finally settling in Lorain County along Lake Erie in 1834 where he farmed and ran a store. He was an active Democrat, serving in the Ohio legislature, 1851–1853 and at the creation of the new and huge Nebraska Territory in 1854, Robertson “returned” west as farmer for the Omaha at Council Bluffs as well as a member of the first Territorial legislature in 1855. As a Democrat and Omaha farmer familiar with the tribe, he was a perfect fit and received the appointment from Franklin Pierce as first Omaha agent 1856–1858.

Robertson was an activist agent advocating for a mill, three bridges, manual labor school, better salary for the blacksmith, more milk cows, and advised the Omaha how to save money and pay debts as well as warning the government of the decaying old agency buildings at the previous headquarters and maintaining his “contingent expenses” at \$200 were insufficient. His reports on the Omaha were universally positive: good health, industrious, excellent crop yield, as well as success in their “hunts” in addition to good relations with the Sioux, Pawnee, and white settlers. Robertson became ex officio agent for the Otoe, whose agent never arrived, dispensing

---

<sup>485</sup> 37<sup>th</sup> Congress 2<sup>nd</sup> Session House of Representatives Ex. Doc.No.29 Letter From The Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting Report of the investigation of the acts of Governor Young, ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah Territory, January 13, 1862 Accessed November 11, 2020 [mountainmeadows.unl.edu/archive/mmm.doc.smith.1862.html](http://mountainmeadows.unl.edu/archive/mmm.doc.smith.1862.html) 2-3

<sup>486</sup> Annual Report 1861 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep61> 129–130

annuities in a snowstorm accompanied by paid armed guards to repel the remnants of “Bleeding Kansas” who had migrated north. He took on the same post for the forgotten Ponca and, while finding them “poor” and “troublesome”, tried to defend them against timber speculators and organized a treaty delegation for a land cession. Apparently, some elements in the department tired of his constant missives and he ran afoul of a claim that he had a house built for \$600 but only paid \$450, thereby pocketing \$150. Despite support from a variety of men ranging from the house builder to the Omaha interpreter and tribal member Henry Fontenelle and a Nebraska citizen who posited “no man could be sent among us who sustains a better reputation for strict integrity and honesty than our present Agent”, he was removed.<sup>487</sup> In 1859, he returned to live quietly in Ohio.

### The Placeholder

A few Indian agents just seemed to fill a position awaiting removal or a forced resignation. Such a man was Asbury Madison Coffey (1804–1897), born in North Carolina, raised in Kentucky, a graduate of that state’s Centre College and a lawyer. He moved to Athens, Tennessee, in 1826; invested in land; was a leader in community development, supporting local road projects; and was secretary-treasurer of the Hiwassee Railroad. For some reason in 1842, he moved to western Missouri and in 1850 was elected to the Missouri House of Representatives. His political affiliation was unclear but he was not a Democrat, which was sufficient for Millard Fillmore, searching for a local to fill the office of Osage River agent, 1851–1853. Osage River was a Confederated agency with the Wea, Piankeshaw, Kaskaskia, Peoria, and Miami. Coffey began his administration with a bang, writing a series of letters August 31, 1851, asking for compensation for buildings and improvements the Indians had made on the lands they had left; requesting completion of the gristmill; filing claims against the Osage for stealing horses and property from agency Indians; and also complaining about no responses to his previous requests all the while asking what the name of his agency was. From that point, his was a bifurcated management, focusing on minutiae like the amount of annuities paid to the Miami still residing in Indiana, whether the Miami school should be Catholic or Protestant, and questioning the

---

<sup>487</sup> NARA RG75 Omaha Agency 1856–1863 Letter Henry Fontenelle U.S. Interpreter New York March 15<sup>th</sup> 1861 to Hon. Charles E. Mix Commissioner of Ind. Affairs IMAGE 128–129

amount of iron and steel promised in the Treaty of 1838 while avoiding issues like the Osage raids, drunkenness, or the gristmill. He composed his answer to the “Indian problem” in ephemeral concepts like the need to extend criminal laws, recognition of individual rights, and concentrating the tribes within narrower limits. Removed in 1853, he immediately was elected to the First Council of the Kansas Territory and then proceeded to ride with the pro-slavery forces against John Brown, constantly trying to limit violence, as he also was a conservative Unionist. He retired in 1859 to a farm in Johnson County, Missouri, where he served on the local school board and was for many years secretary of the Missouri State Grange. Kansas Territorial Governor Wilson Shannon perhaps best summarized Asbury Coffey in 1856. When asked about the dangers of Coffey’s raids, he responded not to fear as Coffey was “a prudent and discrete man”.<sup>488</sup>

A few of these “convenient placeholders” suffered penny ante charges of theft, were perhaps not overly aggressive in supporting the Indians but all seemed to mouth the right sentiments and do their best to perform impartially. An Indian agent might also just be inept or overwhelmed by circumstances.

### The Inept

Literary and cinematic Indian agents are sometimes depicted as inept, thus more likely to be swayed by evil frontier businessmen. Certainly Anselm Arnold (1808–1858), Shawnee/Wyandot agent 1856–1858, appeared unable to keep neither agency nor financial records correctly or expeditiously despite his clerical background. Born in Vermont, he came to Branch County, Michigan, where he served as collector in 1839; constable in 1839, 1841, 1842, 1843, and 1850; justice of the peace in 1841; sheriff 1843–1846; and treasurer 1848 and 1849. In 1854, Arnold and his family claimed land at Fort Calhoun in Nebraska Territory and he was elected to the first session of the Nebraska Territorial House in 1855. The following year he was appointed Shawnee/Wyandot agent two hundred miles south.

---

<sup>488</sup> “Kansas Bogus Legislature – A.M. Coffey” Accessed April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012  
[http://kansasboguslegislature.org/members/coffey\\_a\\_m.html](http://kansasboguslegislature.org/members/coffey_a_m.html) 2



The years 1856–1858 changed the Shawnee and Wyandot, as both tribes had their lands allotted in severalty. In his only official report, Arnold praised the change, averring most Indians were active in building better homes and breaking more soil in an attempt to exceed their neighbor but felt its benefits might be marred by injustices to the Indian if they wanted to sell excess lands. He called “comingling white and red races” an experiment.<sup>489</sup> He was soon mired in the minutiae of special claims, certified copies of surveys, questions of who was a tribal member, as well as a general lack of records, exacerbated by Wyandot demands for annuities long overdue and his absence when at home, visiting his sick family without obtaining permission. A move to oust him in 1857 for his “irregular behavior”<sup>490</sup> failed, and he received another chance despite his use of a clerk to prepare his books. More Wyandot complaints brought a command the following year he came to St. Louis, headquarters of the Central Superintendency, with his books. He professed illness prevented him and he died never settling his accounts. In an 1865 Comptroller of the Treasury Report on unsettled accounts, Anselm Arnold appears as Indian Agent Deceased with a Balance Owed of \$43,902.63.<sup>491</sup> In 1857, Central Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alfred Cumming commented to Acting Kansas Territorial Governor James Denver that though Arnold “had integrity as a public officer”, he “could not prepare and render his accounts properly”.<sup>492</sup> Although he was adjudged a defaulter some years later, his sins were more maladroitness than malefaction.

### Dazed and Confused II

Maybe it was irony, maybe genetics, or just bad luck, but the two inhabitants of the Dazed and Confused category are father and son. Alexander Hamilton McKisick (1816–1864) was born in Tennessee, participated in an 1835 family move to Arkansas, assisted his father as Washington County clerk, and eventually moved to Benton County where he was County Surveyor. In 1857, the Buchanan administration appointed him the first Wichita agent 1857–1858, covering an ill-defined territory in the Choctaw/Chickasaw Leased District encompassing

---

<sup>489</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep57> 170

<sup>490</sup> Robert Emmet Smith “The Wyandot Indians, 183-1876” PhD Dissertation Oklahoma State University 1973 137

<sup>491</sup> US Congress House Unpaid Balance on the Books of the Second and Third Auditors of the Teasury. Letter from the Comptroller of the Treasury 38<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>2nd</sup> sess. 1865 1,3

<sup>492</sup> NARA RG75 Shawnee Agency 1855–1857 Letter A. Cummings Supt. Ind Affairs St. Louis July 8 1857 to Hon. J.W. Denver Comm Ind Affairs IMAGE 544–545

a plethora of tribes. The initial residents, the Wichita and Kicha, were to be joined by the Caddo, Anadarko, Waco, Tonkawa, Hainai, Tawakonai, Delaware, Shawnee, and Penateka or Southern Comanche. He faced even more complex issues than his father, James McKisick, Cherokee agent 1845–1848. The younger McKisick had all kinds of problems, beginning with administrative issues. He had little or no correspondence from the Commissioner nor the Superintendent; received only part of his pay and none for travelling or to buy gifts for councils (he sent expense claims for reimbursement when he resigned) and the Choctaw/Chickasaw owners of the Leased District pushed to have him report to a different supervisor. In addition, the original location of the agency headquarters at Fort Arbuckle was distant from any of the Indians, making a census difficult; the fort's commander Colonel Pitcairn Morrison was angling to get his son appointed Indian agent and in any case the army soon abandoned the post. Rumors swirled about the agency that the Comanche personally threatened McKisick, all orchestrated by Brigham Young and the Mormons.<sup>493</sup> The Wichita Agency became a proverbial “no man’s land”, frightening even government surveyors and renowned Plains trader Jesse Chisholm. Remembering his father’s troubled tenure, he constantly took leaves of absence and resigned.

He initially returned to Missouri but later moved to Wise County, Texas. Having no money, no guidance, surrounded by enemies both on the Plains and in the military and the department, McKisick was apprehensive and “confused” but not criminal. Nevertheless a few lawbreakers found their way into the ranks of the agents. It is important to look at their crimes and compare them to the “stereotype” agent of page and screen.

## The Malefactor II

### *The Schemer*

William Prentiss Badger (1817–1894), Kickapoo agent 1858–1861, came to Kansas in 1854 to recover his health but in the process became part of a scheme to further develop Kansas and its railroads as well as procure Kickapoo land. Born in New Hampshire, Badger apprenticed as a hatter in Vermont, studied medicine but never officially practiced, and was a member of the American Art Union. After arriving in Kansas, he and his brother-in-law Charles Keith platted the town of Muscotah, bordering the new Kickapoo Reservation, with Badger being its mayor.

---

<sup>493</sup> Stan Hoig *Jesse Chisholm: Ambassador of the Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005) 121

He also served as a Free-State Democrat in the Kansas Territorial Legislature, 1857–1858 but was ousted over voting irregularities, although he was deemed personally innocent.

His reports and letters showed a man concerned with the Indians and who had insight into their needs and prejudices. Badger recommended the mission school close and a Methodist South School replace it, as that was whom the Indians trusted. He interviewed everyone on the reservation about allotment and found most wanted more than the promised 80 acres, which he too supported. He opposed the department on the land survey, believing Washington and not the Indians should pay for it. He also pleaded with the government to send supplemental aid for the Kickapoo, devastated by the 1860 drought, just as citizens and churches back east were aiding white settlers. His correspondence included much debate on the economics, costs, and advantages of building bridges across the Grasshopper and other reservation rivers to compete with existing ferries. These crossings sat astride the heavily traveled road to the Pikes Peak gold fields and raised the issue of the percentage of the profits that should go to the Kickapoo. He never knew what to do with the Potawatomie living on the reserve nor the roving southern Kickapoo who visited the reservation just to get annuities and then disappeared into Indian Territory. Badger protested departmental demands that he move the headquarters from his house to the decrepit agency buildings and requested \$46.00 for chasing white horse thieves 150 miles after they stole seven Kickapoo ponies.

However, some historians of the Kickapoo and Kansas Territory have a different perspective on his motives and actions, contending Badger and his brother-in-law were part of a larger conspiracy to get Kickapoo lands cheaply and assist the development of the Atchison and Pikes Peak Railroad and the subsequent growth of communities along the right of way.<sup>494</sup> It is maintained that Badger and his brother-in-law Charles Keith had the only trading post on the Kickapoo reservation, selling overpriced goods to emigrant and Indian alike and withholding annuities “owed” by Indians. Also, he held the franchise for the ferry across the Grasshopper River, which charged high tolls, and would put him in competition with the bridges he described in his correspondence. As agent, he had to relinquish his proprietorship of the trading company but reputedly maintained his control over the ferry. It is said he was in league with founders of

---

<sup>494</sup> Arrell M. Gibson *The Kickapoo: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963) 121–127; 132–134; Native American Netroots Posted by Ojibwa August 30, 2011 “Kansas Land Sharks and the Kickapoo Indians Accessed November 19, 2017 <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1050> 2–4

the railroad and he conditioned the Indians to accept allotment. One of the chiefs charged Badger with “neglect of tribal interests”,<sup>495</sup> as he attempted to force Indians into supporting land sales. Badger did admit to visiting all the Kickapoo families in 1860 (about ninety) and also asking the federal government if it was legal to move toward allotment without all the chiefs’ agreement. He was removed in 1861 and replaced by his brother-in-law Charles Keith. The lands were initially allotted in 1862 and unallotted because of a departmental investigation into fraud, pushed by supporters of a rival railroad. Eventually the allotment resumed and by the end of the Civil War, even the “excess” lands had been sold to the railroad and were slowly being bought by settlers.

In 1875, the federal government sued Badger for \$11,511.53, covering monies owed to the Kickapoo in 1860 for which Badger failed to give account. The amount could not be collected but was eventually paid to the tribe in 1966.<sup>496</sup> The former agent served as Adjutant of the 13<sup>th</sup> Kansas Infantry 1862–1863 and was for many years proprietor of a hotel in Muscotah as well as an inventor of a new windmill (1883) with an assessed personal valuation in 1870 of \$1,000 and \$4,000 in real estate. Pushing assiduously for the Indians to sell their lands for railroad development combined with the missing \$11,500 annuity payment certainly connects Badger with both the agent of cinema and the accepted historical narrative. Nevertheless, though he seemed to be a bit of a schemer and an aggressive businessman and land developer, Badger also appears concerned with fairness for the Indian.

### ***The Crook***

Perry Fuller (1827–1871) was an equal opportunity crook cheating Indians, settlers, the Army, and the government alike. Born in Illinois, he was orphaned at five, but fortunately adopted by a doctor who provided him with a decent education. In the late 1840s he and his wife and her family migrated to western Missouri where he again experienced a fortuitous circumstance, gaining a position with the important Great Plains shipping firm of Northrup and Chick. He claimed land near the Sac and Fox Reservation and as Kansas was descending into chaos and Northrup & Chick wanted out, they loaned him money to develop a business which netted him over \$40,000 its first year. Trading with Indians, settlers, and emigrants, he was

---

<sup>495</sup> Gibson *The Kickapoo: Lords of the Middle Border* 126

<sup>496</sup> Indian Claims Commission Decisions (Boulder, Colorado:Native American Rights Fund, 1978) Vol. 16 676-677

accused of high prices, threatening Sac and Fox Agent Francis Tymony, starting a rumor that the Indians would lose their annuities if they did not buy from him, and selling strychnine laced liquor to the tribesmen. However, to be fair he did protest its sale as agent and petitioned the first Kansas Territorial legislature to ban sale of whisky to Indians. Fuller was also a town developer, initially pushing his own community of Centropolis as not only county seat but territorial capital and selling lots for \$500. Later, he did this with the nearby town of Minneola, giving legislators free lots to make it the territorial metropolis. They met there one day and adjourned to Leavenworth.

As Sac and Fox agent 1859–1861, he oversaw not only the Sac & Fox but also the Ottawa and some Chippewa as well as the remnant Munsee. He saw the Indians as an accountant would, giving each tribal member a per capita monetary value of \$55 or \$117 or \$77.64 or even \$8.00. Although the smaller tribes were well on their way to “civilization”, he felt for the Sac and Fox it would be “slow work”,<sup>497</sup> and that the future lay with education of the younger generation. His letters were a litany of accounting minutiae from brooms to pork; from 2 ½ yards of filament to two plush caps; from Sappington pills to a cashmere shawl. He oversaw the survey of the Chippewa and complained of a lack of control. Fuller also sought redress in lawsuits for two yoke of oxen and two wagons stolen from the Munsee. He initiated several suits for trespass as well as aiding a case that Sac and Fox half-breeds brought against a trading company. Like all the eastern Kansas agents, he pleaded for assistance for the Indians devastated by drought in 1860 and announced the contract for a steam saw mill. Although, he did not negotiate the 1859 Sac and Fox allotment treaty, he did move quickly on a survey, and by March 30, 1861, could announce an allotment map. Removed from office in that same year, Fuller now turned to making money from war.

He continued as a reservation Indian trader but with the additional responsibility of supplying the military as well as Union emigrant Indians who had escaped Confederate-controlled Indian Territory into Kansas. Claims of sub-standard and overpriced goods continued, resulting in a military investigation ended only by the cessation of conflict. Since the Indians and the army were now a bit suspicious of Fuller, he turned to that last refuge of the scoundrel: politics. Although Fuller owned a large wholesale store in Lawrence and real estate valued at

---

<sup>497</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 153

\$45,000, he set his sights on political power by bribing Kansas state senators to elect Edmond G. Ross to the United States Senate. Fuller used his sway with Ross to rescue President Andrew Johnson, who was facing impeachment conviction for disobeying the Tenure of Office Act. After Ross's vote for acquittal, Johnson offered Fuller the post of collector of internal revenue but even the Senate was not that jaded and he accepted the appointment of collector of the Port of New Orleans, one known for corruption. Within two years, he had been indicted on nineteen counts of fraud and, while awaiting trial, was concocting a scheme to profit from Louisiana levee bonds.<sup>498</sup> His sudden death brought a *finis* to all his plans. He had led an interesting life, interacting with Abraham Lincoln as a young man; being business partner with outlaw Frank James (Jesse's brother); and having in his household famed sculptress Vinnie Ream, his sister-in-law. His time as Indian agent might be best seen as a profitless interlude between projects, as Fuller seemed more interested in the game than the score. He died penniless. Perry Fuller was never convicted of a crime though obviously guilty of many. He sought Indian land and cheated them, so he appears to be similar to the dramatic and perceived evil Indian agent. However, the "bad agent" often worked in anonymity until the "white hero" discovers his intended perfidy or he just retires with his profits. Perry Fuller constantly fended off charges from traders, the military, departmental superiors, and even Indians. That was part of his persona and he never considered retirement.

### ***The Devilish Magician***

Vincent Eply Geiger (1823–1869) was born in Virginia, studied law, and published the *Augusta Democrat* 1845–1846 before serving in the Mexican War as a second lieutenant in the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Volunteers, battling illness but no Mexicans. After a short stint as co-editor of the *Republican Vindicator*, he joined the Charleston Mining Company and headed for the California gold fields. Like many others, he tried mining, but found he had to earn a living, so he turned to being an auctioneer, lawyer, and purveyor of peach pies before falling back into his comfort zone: Democratic politics and partisan journalism. In 1852, he established *The Democratic State Journal* and co-edited it for a number of years while also running a print shop which had some state contracts. Geiger was accused of "reckless and unwarranted liberty" in reporting, was second in a duel involving his co-editor, and in 1852 had a fist fight with another newspaperman

---

<sup>498</sup> [franklincohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Perry-Fuller-talk-pdf](http://franklincohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Perry-Fuller-talk-pdf)

in the state House.<sup>499</sup> Although he served as Trustee of the State Hospital and was a director of the Alta California Telegraph Company, his love was politics and using the journal to attack enemies from old Whigs to the new “Black Republicans”. Despite failing to attain the nomination for any state office, Geiger was a delegate to numerous conventions and a popular stump speaker attempting to unite a state Democratic Party divided like the national entity—north and south. In 1855, he assisted California Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas Henley and was later appointed agent at the new Nome Lackee reservation, 1857–1860.

His reports were perennially positive announcing contented Indians; happy adjoining settlers and record crop production perhaps justifying his \$3,000 per year salary. However, no Indian agent of the antebellum era was so often investigated by such a variety of outsiders. *The Red Bluff Beacon* and *The Tehama Gazette* initially parroted Geiger's assertions as did the county assessor and visiting tourists, but eventually the press began to wonder about increasing Indian depredations and the usefulness of the reservation. The local military commander was the first to challenge Geiger's claims, asserting the flour mill was inoperable and the agent had to buy flour in Tehama. Godard Bailey, who had his own ethical difficulties, was sent as special agent and found only 400 Indians as opposed to Geiger's reported 2,500. Bailey also found the crop reports excessive and the proclaimed gardens “were a rank growth of weeds”<sup>500</sup> with the Indians still living in brush and mud dwellings and demonstrated no advancement in civilization. J. Ross Browne, special agent extraordinaire, did his own survey, re-investigated by Bailey and it all proved to be a “shell game” run by Geiger. He sold equipment that belonged to the reservation; had not maintained much of the property; sold a portion of the wheat crop for his own benefit; appropriated government teams and equipment for his own purposes; and illegally transferred parts of the reservation to private parties including himself. The reservation numbers not only reflected the bleeding border, but using an 1855 California law, Geiger was indenturing Indians to work as laborers and servants. *The Sacramento Union* listed the Indians under the headline

---

<sup>499</sup> “Geiger, Vincent Eply – West Virginia GeoExplorer Project” Accessed December 7, 2020  
[http://wvgeohistory.org/wiki/11011823.09061869VEG\\_7](http://wvgeohistory.org/wiki/11011823.09061869VEG_7)

<sup>500</sup> Donald L. Hislop. *The Nome Lackee Indian Reservation, 1854-1870* (Chico, California: Association for Northern California Records and Research, 1987): 46. Accessed December 12, 2020  
<http://archives.csuchico.edu/digital/collectio/coll/id/672>

“Indenturing Indians: A Nice System of Slavery”.<sup>501</sup> Petitions and politicians pushed to oust Geiger and close Nome Lackee which was soon accomplished.

In 1860, besides being fired, Geiger married, was chosen a California Breckenridge Elector and again was a member of the California Democratic Committee. However, in 1863, he stabbed and killed Captain A.S. Wells, Union man in Red Bluff initially escaping to Arizona with a \$500 reward on his head and then headed to Victoria, Canada, being described as a “truculent copperhead”. By 1865, he was back in California co-editing *The Democratic Press*, pushing the chimera of former Senator William McKendree Gwin to establish a Confederate Colony in Sonora, Mexico, under French suzerainty. In 1869, his death was announced in Valparaiso, Chile.

Like Perry Fuller, Vincent Geiger carried on criminal enterprises that adversely affected Indians. He tried to keep observers at bay but once the press and the military grew suspicious, government investigators appeared serially and he was soon removed. Neither man looked upon being Indian agent as a permanent position to make money but as a step toward another post or challenge. In addition, both had few if any allies but numerous foes. Both knew the West and Indians and reveled in their public persona. They were criminal Indian agents but reflect neither their dramatic counterparts nor those of history

#### Friends, Bureaucratic Battlers and Experts:

##### The Friend of the Indian II

Similar to those described in Chapter One, some of the later agents were renowned for their concern for the Indians, fairness in dealings and courage in the face of accusations and personal threats. Born in western Virginia, Dr. Garland Hurt (1819–1903) had been educated at Emory and Henry College, taught school, studied medicine, and in 1845, migrated with his friend, future Congressman John M. Elliot to eastern Kentucky. Here the self-educated physician practiced his craft, served in the Kentucky legislature 1851–1853 and dedicated himself to the Methodist Church and the Democrat party. Partly at the behest of his friend Elliot, then a member of the House of Representatives, Hurt was appointed Utah agent in 1854 and hurried

---

<sup>501</sup> “Indenturing Indians – A Nice System of Slavery” Sacramento Daily Union February 4, 1861 p.4 col.3 Accessed December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2020 <http://calindianhistory.org>



1,500 miles westward. As previously noted, Hurt has been judged by one historian as “one of the most honorable men ever to serve the federal government”.<sup>502</sup> However, to earn this approbation, he had to survive multiple challenges.

Arriving in the dead of winter of 1855, Hurt faced a series of kaleidoscopic difficulties relating to the Indians, the Mormons, and the government. He had no illusions about the Indians, constantly portraying them as “degraded savages” but recognizing their way of life and food sources had been permanently altered by Mormon settlers and Gentile emigrants. Describing the Utes, he commented “not a braver tribe” was to be found among the Indians and “none warmer in their attachments”.<sup>503</sup> Although territorial Governor and Mormon leader Brigham Young had advocated aiding Indian agriculture, Hurt’s plan of large, irrigated Indian farms with government farmers to advise them was not consistent with the Mormon’s attempt to incorporate the Indians into the Saints economy. Additionally, his ideas did not fit the limited expenditures foreseen by the Indian Department and officials warned Hurt he alone was responsible for unpaid drafts involving the “farms” and urged him to work more closely with Governor Young. Stymied, he bypassed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and requested his friend and sponsor Congressman Elliot to get an appropriation of \$20,000 to cover overruns which was done.

Initially, Hurt was unsure of how to co-ordinate with the Mormon hierarchy but accepted their request in 1855 and 1856 to visit the tribes along the California Trail in present day western Utah and Nevada. He offered gifts, tried to determine the Indian needs and investigate the reasons behind several emigrant murders as well as recover stolen stock and supplies. Finding no innocents, he tried to placate all sides but did comment, the Paiutes were subsisting on little more than “ground squirrels and pissants”.<sup>504</sup>

By the time he returned to Salt Lake City in 1856, it was becoming evident Hurt and the Mormons were pursuing separate paths in regards to the Indians. Young refused to support his farm program and kept suggesting he spend his time along the emigrant trails far to the west. Hurt felt the Mormon program to differentiate for the Indians between the Mormon and the American was in direct opposition to federal Indian policy. If the Mormon goal was to highlight

---

<sup>502</sup>Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets* 46

<sup>503</sup> David Bigler, “Garland Hurt, the American Friend of the Utahs” from *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Volume 62, Number 2, 1994 by Utah State History. Accessed February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2021  
[https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq\\_volume62\\_1994\\_number2/s/1637373](https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume62_1994_number2/s/1637373)

<sup>504</sup> Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets* 34.

differences for the Indians, it backfired as it related to Hurt seen by the Indians as the friendly, honest, supportive agent much favored over the land hungry Mormons. He became known among the Indians as “The American” and the following year it may have saved his life.

He continued his “doctoring”, treating a “violent epidemic” among the Pahvant Utes, studied law to assist Indians in court and became an ardent critic of the Mormons and their policies, which he thought antithetical to both Utah Indians and the American government. Government opinion concerning the Mormons was also changing, seeing them as abusing the church-controlled court system to push their programs and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dressed down Governor Young for his lack of administration. New President James Buchanan sent an American military force to “retake” control of Utah, and most non-Mormon government officials took flight, save Garland Hurt who did remove from Salt Lake City but settled at the Indian farm at Spanish Fork, believing his good relations with local Mormons would protect him. It would not.

In September 1857, reports began to appear of a massacre of an Arkansas party heading westward in southern Utah, denominated the previously mentioned Mountain Meadows Massacre. It resulted in the deaths of about 130 California bound emigrants and the orphaning of many children. Mormon authorities initially blamed the inoffensive Pi-eeds, which Hurt called absurd. He sent a Ute friend to the area who returned with the real story, observing that a local Mormon militia fronted by some southern Paiutes had done the deed. Fearing Hurt would divulge the actual story, Mormon authorities sent the Nauvoo Legion (military arm of the Church) to arrest/capture/assist Hurt, claiming all they wanted to do was escort him out of Utah. However, the agent, his Ute friends, and later historians believed his demise was imminent if he fell into Mormon hands. Guided by Utes, Hurt trekked twenty-six days, subsisting on “roots and tallow”<sup>505</sup> before meeting American colonel Albert Sidney Johnston’s force on October 23, 1857.

Hurt served the military as a scout in 1857–1858 but as the “Utah” or “Mormon” War deflated in early 1858, he was simply Indian agent again but now defending himself from multiple Mormon charges, ranging from running away without cause to misapplication of public funds; from inciting the Indians to sleeping with mountain man Miles Goodyear’s former squaw. Meanwhile, charges against Brigham Young fizzled as local witnesses all gave the same story,

---

<sup>505</sup> Bagley *Blood of the Prophets* 179

averring he was a saint among Saints. The Buchanan Administration did not renew Hurt's appointment in 1858, believing the dedicated but controversial agent was no longer needed as concerns about a religious cult in the remote Salt Lake Valley faded in the face of the descending shadows of Civil War.

Hurt spent much of 1860 in Washington DC successfully defending himself and moved to Missouri where he completed his medical education at St. Louis Medical College; served in the Missouri legislature and became president of the St. Louis Medical Society in 1874. He married late in life and moved to his wife's home in Arkansas. His church brethren rightly remembered him in 1903 as "a man of sterling worth and uprightness and faithful to every trust put upon him".<sup>506</sup>

Nathan Hale Olney (1824–1866) was a man of enormous energy. Born in Pennsylvania, he migrated to Iowa and then in 1843 attached himself to one of the first wagon trains to Oregon, paying his way by tending a fellow traveler's livestock. He rode a raft of logs over Celilo Falls on the Columbia River and settled in the Indian town of Wascopum, today's The Dalles. He married Twawy (anglicized as Annette), the granddaughter of the famous Wasco chief Tulix Hallicola, and established a series of trading posts serving Indians, immigrants, and the military. He practiced law; built and operated a ferry on the Deschutes River overseen by his Indian brothers-in-law; and mined for gold during the California rush. Active in local government, he was the first Justice of the Peace in Wasco County, Washington Territory, in 1854 and served as sheriff 1862–1864. Despite maintaining good relations with the local Indians, he was not averse to fighting those disturbing the peace, being a member of the Oregon Riflemen 1844–1847 and participating in the Yakima War 1858–1859. Olney also offered an escort service for Oregon Trail travelers. In 1854, hearing of Olney's reputation for fair dealings with everyone, Franklin Pierce appointed him agent for the Southeastern District of Oregon 1854–1856, followed by a transfer to coastal Port Orford 1856.

Filing no recorded reports and with sparse correspondence, Olney's tenure is somewhat of a mystery. He was constantly on the go, involved in the removal of the Coast Indians to Port Orford and his Wasco tribe to Warm Springs and was considered an efficient agent even turning over a captured Indian to civil authorities where he was quickly tried and executed. At least twice

---

<sup>506</sup> Bigler "Garland Hurt, the American Friend of the Utahs"

in the official record, there is mention of problems with Olney but the details are shrouded in innuendo. However, in a January 10, 1856, letter to Oregon Indian Superintendent Joel Palmer, Olney discussed the issue which seemed to involve Olney answering a query from Cayuse chiefs on a course of action to show they were friendly. The Cayuse were actually under the authority of Dalles agent Robert Thompson and Olney responded that he had apologized but Thompson was “bent upon humbling me”.<sup>507</sup> He additionally mentioned the results have proven him right and he had the support of Washington territorial Governor Isaac Stevens. Olney resigned in late 1856.

Pursuing Indians again, Olney was shot in the head with an arrow and though the shaft was removed the arrowhead remained a chronic subdural injury. Olney became erratic, acting strangely, divorcing his wife, marrying a white woman then divorcing her, then remarrying his Indian wife. His brother felt his mercantile business too taxing, so the two of them organized a company selling furs to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) using a sailing vessel built by Indians. It failed although they recouped their losses upon selling the boat. Missionary teacher and later Indian agent James Wilbur at the Yakima Reservation knowing Olney’s reputation for fair dealing with the Indians convinced him to move north to assist Wilbur while also ranching near Fort Simcoe. The change and reduced pressures worked as the still injured Olney began to return to normal. However, on September 28, 1866 while riding with his herd, his horse stepped in a gopher hole and threw him against a rock; the arrowhead moved into his brain and he died instantly. His Indian descendants were still living on the Yakima Reservation in 1900. Renowned for his fairness, Nathan Olney’s problems as agent were not so much with Indians and settlers but trying to navigate the labyrinthine administrative morass that was the Oregon Superintendency.

Like a number of Indian agents, Samuel A. Blain (1818–1866) was something of a mystery. Born in Tennessee, he migrated to the Texas Republic and by 1839 was Second Corporal in a ranger unit called Travis’s Spies. Initially settling in Limestone County southeast of Fort Worth, he had a wife and children, owned \$1,000 of property and one slave in 1850. By 1860, possibly because of his agent’s job, he was officially domiciled along the Red River in

---

<sup>507</sup> NARA RG75 Oregon Superintendency 1856 Nathan Olney Ind Agt Dalles 18<sup>th</sup> Jan 1856 to Joel Palmer Supt Ind Affrs Dayton O.T. Images 560–561

Cooke County where he now had \$4,550 in personal property, a wife, children, and three slaves (two teenagers and a baby). It is not clear why Blain was chosen the second Wichita agent 1858–1860 but he often wrote United States Senator and seventh Texas Governor Samuel Houston so they might have known each other.<sup>508</sup>

Blain had numerous connected but unusual duties as agent, the first being the resettling of the Wichita and Kichai Indians back in their homeland in the far western reaches of the Leased District (land leased from the Choctaw and Chickasaw by the United States government). The Wichita had been chased eastward by Comanche and sought shelter near Fort Arbuckle in the Chickasaw Nation. Blain's job was to establish a new agency headquarters to the westward and in conjunction with military authorities construct an installation (Fort Cobb) to protect the Indians, the agency and himself. As he arrived, he suddenly discovered a second assignment, taking charge of all the exiled Texas Indians and integrating them into the Wichita agency on nearby lands. Included were the Caddo, Anadarko, Waco, Tonkawa, Hainai, Kichai, Tawakoni, Delaware, Shawnee and Penateka Comanche. Some of these new arrivals were old enemies of the Wichita and Blain wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs A.B. Greenwood in 1860 it was too dangerous to go forward with giving the Texas Indians land without paying the original Wichita inhabitants. Finally, Blain spent much of 1860 defending "his Indians" from charges they were raiding or assisting raids into Texas. He told Governor Houston "I vouch for the good faith of these people" and am "confident of their innocence". In fact, he recorded that "my people" are actually pursuing Indians bound for Texas and killing them. He invited Texas to send a commission to look for stolen property at the Wichita agency and offered his Indians to lead the US Cavalry, provided they got equal pay and rations. Blain added that "lawless white men" living north of the Red River were causing much of the trouble and assisting the raiders in disposing of stolen livestock.<sup>509</sup> He wrote Southern Indian Superintendent Elias Rector in 1859 threatening to quit unless he got a salary increase.<sup>510</sup> He got a \$500 raise but still resigned in July 1860.

---

<sup>508</sup> Dorman Winfrey, ed. *Texas Indian Papers, 1860–1916* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1961) 27,31–34,37–38.

<sup>509</sup> Glen Sample Ely, *The Texas Frontier and the Butterfield Overland Mail, 1858–1861* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016) 103

<sup>510</sup> Letter Fort Smith Nov 22<sup>nd</sup> 1859 S A Blain to E. Rector Esq. Supt Ind Affairs Fort Smith

Blain retired to Sherman, Texas, served as a major in the Confederate Commissary Department and returned to find part of his property burned by William Quantrill who had headquartered in Sherman. In 1883, the United States government brought suit against the sureties of the long-deceased agent for the sum of \$5,000 with judgment rendered in 1886. The sureties that same year asked for relief from the US Senate. Most of the charges stemmed from lack of records accounting for a mix of tools from three dozen chisels to six dozen log chains; from 120 drawing knives to twenty C.S. hoes. Blain's personal records had been destroyed by Quantrill so his family and sureties had no documentation. His friends volunteered "he was a man of sterling integrity", "a good citizen of moral character", "an honest upright citizen" and having "honorable deportment".<sup>511</sup> At his death, "his family was left without means of support".<sup>512</sup>

A much wealthier and prominent Southerner who served the Indian Department was William Hammond Garrett (1819–1863), long time Creek agent 1853–1861. Born in South Carolina, his family migrated to northeastern Alabama and settled in a portion of the old Cherokee Nation appropriately named Cherokee County. As the eldest son, he took over the family plantation upon the death of his father in 1841 and in 1850 is listed in the census as an "agriculturist" with lands worth \$3,500. He owned no slaves but his mother, who lived with him and his four siblings, had fifteen but only four over twenty years old. Dutifully, he served in the Alabama House of Representatives 1843–1846 and State Senate 1847–1850. Franklin Pierce appointed the thirty-four-year-old bachelor Creek agent in 1853. Garrett married Mary Logan, daughter of former Creek agent, James Logan in 1857.

Garrett responded to the normal issues like accounting for "self-emigrating Creeks"; requisitioning monies to provide for "provisions" for visiting Indians and taking a census, which the Creeks resisted. His duties also extended to pushing a treaty between the Creeks and Comanche; applauding the settlement of Shawnee, Kickapoo, and other Indians on the Nation's western border as a buffer to the "plains Indians"; and protesting the closure of Fort Gibson as detrimental to frontier peace and security as well as Creek efforts to interdict the liquor trade. His

---

<sup>511</sup> Report In The Senate of the United States 50<sup>th</sup> Congress Report No. 159 February 1, 1888 Memorial of S.D. Barelay of Texas, asking for Relief Exhibit C 5

<sup>512</sup> US Congress, Senate In the Senate of the United States, February 1, 1888 Report to accompany bill S.147 50<sup>th</sup> Congress., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 1888 5

time could also be spent in such mundane responsibilities as determining the status of a white man's horse found in the nation. His great gift for the Creeks was a measured campaign to alleviate Seminole-Creek animosities, resettle both Eastern Creek and Seminole in the west, improve the school system, find a fair solution for the long-standing Creek claims; and reform the Creek government. He labored mightily to solve the problem of the removed Seminoles living on Creek land who felt they had migrated under false pretenses expecting their own lands but were subject to the Creek council in all things but annuity payments. For their part the Creeks saw the Seminole as disobedient interlopers who were also the primary purveyors of "spirituous liquors" in the Creek Nation. Garrett felt the "peace and harmony of this frontier" demanded "prompt attention",<sup>513</sup> so he, the Seminole agent, and delegations from both tribes spent much of 1856 in Washington D.C. hammering out a treaty which gave the Seminoles a separate homeland while the Creeks in exchange received \$1,000,000 invested in various securities. In addition, both the Seminoles and Creeks agreed to send delegations to Florida accompanied by Garrett to plead with the warring remnant of the Seminole to migrate westward and by extension end the costly Third Seminole War (1855–1858). He also had great interest in extending and improving Creek education announcing the rebuilding of several classrooms and inauguration of even more neighborhood schools and in 1856 trumpeted a \$1,600 program to provide college education for four Creek young men, one at Centre College in Kentucky and three at Arkansas College, a Disciples of Christ institution founded in 1850 and burned during the Civil War.

Another problem doggedly pursued by Garrett was the payment of Creek claims against the United States government, as directed in the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814). This was a complex, forty-year-old issue requiring fairness in distinguishing lands taken from enemy Creeks and compensation for lands surrendered by allied Creeks in the War of 1812. Complicating everything was the memory of chief American negotiator, Andrew Jackson and Garrett's commentary showed great mental and moral gymnastics defending the "Great Democrat's" actions.<sup>514</sup> The initial \$350,000 awarded to the claimants was still available, each person or family getting only a yearly 5% interest payment. At some point the entire amount would go into the tribal national fund which the Creeks protested and Garrett wrote was "unfair".<sup>515</sup> The Creeks

---

<sup>513</sup> Annual Report 1855 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep55> 137

<sup>514</sup> Annual Report 1855 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1811.dl/History.AnnRep55> 135

<sup>515</sup> Annual Report 1855 135

took a lesser amount, \$200,000, which was paid in 1859. Garret also pushed to pay the 1,100 Bounty Land Warrants held by the Creeks and attempted to solve the morass that was the Creek Orphan's Fund, but nothing was done until 1868. In addition, Garrett pushed to reform what he called the "primitive" Creek government of 700 chiefs, reduced to 500, then to two and finally by 1860 to a single chief and secondary chief with four districts, a treasurer, five Supreme Court judges, and a constitution. His slow advocacy of change so as not to upset the nation may have been his greatest achievement.

Garrett's post-agent life was short and shrouded in mystery. He easily morphed from US Indian agent to Confederate Creek agent signing a Treaty of Alliance between the Creeks and the Confederacy in 1861 and was provisional commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Creek Rifles until the Creeks took over the regiment. Seeking a line command, he headed for Richmond in 1862 and died mysteriously of some disease after reaching the capitol. In 1870, during a debate in Congress someone claimed that Garrett still owed the government \$650 and suggested his sureties be charged with the payment akin to those of Samuel Blain. Nothing seems to have been done. William Garrett was a reformer, taking Indian claims seriously, solving major disagreements and suggesting slow improvements.

All of the Friends of the Indians were fair, Samuel Blain vociferously defended "his Indians" against a multitude of charges, William Garrett was always looking not only to assist the Indians but bring permanent changes, and Leonard Hurt not only did his best for the Utes but in return they saved him from Mormon pursuers. The men portrayed in Western novels, movies and television and historical reference do not resemble these men in any way, shape or form.

### ***The Bureaucratic Battler***

Although the Indian Department might be political, commercial, diplomatic even altruistic it was at root a bureaucracy, one of the largest in the Federal government of the pre-Civil War era. James M. Gatewood (1816–1862), Council Bluffs agent 1853–1854, constantly challenged departmental authority in word and deed. Born in Kentucky, he moved to Missouri where he was a farmer, turfman and small time Democratic politico, serving in the Missouri Senate 1846–1847. Appointed in 1853, his nomination did not reach the Senate until 1854, not long before he was officially removed.

He only submitted one report but it was eye-opening and contentious. Covering all the tribes under his jurisdiction—Omaha, Otoe-Missouria, and Pawnee—he bluntly proffered the



following observations. One of the chief problems for the Omaha and other Indians was liquor. He recommended liquor sellers be held liable for the actions of drunken tribesmen and Indians be allowed to testify in court. Although the Omaha were stable, the Otoe/Missouria had been reduced to “beggary” as they had not been given the \$500 per year promised under the 1833 Treaty; the mill had not been erected; the emigrants had destroyed their game; and the Sioux and Cheyenne posed too great a threat to allow buffalo hunting. Gatewood recommended a temporary relief package of \$10,000–\$12,000 to avoid “extinction”.<sup>516</sup> As for the Pawnee, they had lost fifty percent of their population in four years as the government refused to pay their annuities because the Indians had not moved to an agreed area. However, that location was too close to Sioux raiding parties who had stolen horses, destroyed crops and driven off the stock, blacksmith and teachers. Like the Otoe, the Pawnee had suffered from emigrant and Mormon passage. Gatewood felt the Pawnee were owed \$22,000 for an unbuilt mill, school, promised stock, and compensation for damages from emigrant travel

Gatewood’s actions also riled government authorities who wanted further treaties with the Omaha and Otoe/Missouria. Gatewood and sixty Omaha finalized a treaty in January of 1854 but the government angrily refused it for its forty-year annuity payments. Instead, Gatewood chaperoned both Omaha and Otoe-Missouria delegations to Washington to re-negotiate which, after initial refusals, they finally did resulting in treaties with both tribes in March, 1854. After returning, Gatewood was removed

He moved to western Missouri, invested heavily in land and in 1857 bid on twenty-five mail contracts winning eight. A rabid secessionist but non slaveholder, Gatewood was a Breckenridge Elector in 1860. and at the outbreak of war became Captain of the Montevallo or Company G in the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Regiment of the Missouri State Guard. In 1862 while on night patrol looking for Kansas federals, he heard noises from his own home which turned out to be young people having a party. As he was re-holstering his revolver, it discharged mortally wounding him.

John Hamilton Walker (1800–1872) was the first agent in the Gadsden Purchase in present day Arizona monitoring the needs of the Pima, Papago and Maricopa, 1857–1861 but he would not be alone for long. Born into a wealthy Kentucky family with land and slaves, he lost it

---

<sup>516</sup> Annual Report 1853 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep53> 108

all posting a security bond for a friend. In 1843, he moved to Bean's Station, Tennessee, to run the stage stop but failed and finally settled in Rogersville, Tennessee, where he ran a hotel/tavern. Although he served as a captain in the 5<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Regiment in the Mexican War and his first wife was the niece of Zachary Taylor, his connections for a federal appointment were minimal. Nevertheless, he arrived in Tucson in 1857 as Indian agent and the Territory's second oldest citizen.

Having his office in Tucson, ninety miles from the Pima villages, made contact difficult across searing Apache infested desert, but he succeeded holding several councils and found the Pima, perhaps the most commercially adept natives of the Trans-Mississippi west after centuries of trading with the Spanish/Mexicans wanting to expand acreage. They grew wheat and other crops with two plantings a year using acequias, gravity fed flumes and canals for irrigation. Estimates varied, but an 1858 count claimed the Pima produced a surplus of 110,000 bushels of wheat. The Indians desired to expand production and needed more plows, hoes, axes, shovels, spades, and a blacksmith to repair them. Walker wrote constantly for more supplies and focused on protecting the Pima water rights on the Gila, a problem that would haunt later agents. He wrote the Pima are "inclined to work and love to make money".<sup>517</sup> He did misunderstand administrative paperwork like improper voucher preparation as well as promises of implements which had to travel over 1,400 miles for delivery.

However, his real problem with the government bureaucracy was neither paperwork minutiae nor delivery distances but competing agents. In 1858, Special Agent Godard Bailey<sup>518</sup> traveled through the Middle Gila recommending a Pima reservation, annuities, and arms to fight a common enemy, the Apache. That same year Silas St. John, an employee of the Overland Stage Company was made Pima Special agent without salary drawing just his normal Butterfield wages. Although the two sometimes worked well together, Walker believed St. John favored the interests of the Overland Mail which depended on the local Pima for fodder for horses and keeping the Apache at bay. At times, it became an opera bouffe with Walker and St. John hiring competing blacksmiths and St. John stripping a Walker licensed trader of his permit. Eventually

---

<sup>517</sup> John P. Wilson *Peoples of the Middle Gila: A Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500s–1945* (Gila River Indian Community, 2014): 135.

<sup>518</sup> Godard Bailey (1827–1877) mentioned in the Introduction and section on Vincent Geiger was a fixture in the clerical department of the Indian Bureau in the 1850s, eventually being part of the largest antebellum scandal involving Indian funds.

St. John, who had good relations with the Indians and had recommended the establishment of a school, lost his Overland post, journeyed to Washington to get Walker's job but failed. Enter Sylvester Mowry, West Point graduate and Arizona Territory advocate who also got a Special Indian agent appointment in 1859 and \$10,000 to distribute to the Pima. So at one point, Walker, St. John, and Mowry all galivanted about the Sonoran Desert distributing monies and presents, although Walker warned the Indians it was a one-time windfall. Mowry, whose eyes were on mining properties, eventually lost interest and his appointment. Martin T. McMahon arrived as another Special Agent in 1860 limiting his activities to a report.

Walker did visit the Papago living in the shadow of the San Xavier del Bac Mission and confirmed they farmed extensively using irrigation. Silas St. John averred the Maricopa had a large "drone" or nonworking population and many of the women were prostitutes. Walker, seeing secession on the horizon, told his superiors he was leaving in late 1860 and would not return.

Back in Tennessee, Walker supported the Confederacy, having three sons fight for the cause. He himself was jailed and paroled and after the War pleaded with fellow East Tennessean and President Andrew Johnson for a pardon so he could work to support his family. One author commenting on Walker and his term as agent, "but no one questioned his integrity or good intentions".<sup>519</sup>

### ***The Indian Expert***

Although ineptness and incompetence often darken the literary or cinematic depiction of Indian agents, many were actually men experienced in dealing with native peoples. Wesley P. Gosnell (1829–1896) was born in Washington DC and immigrated from Maryland to Oregon in 1851. He took a Donation Land claim and immediately became involved in the development of the Washington Territory combining in business with territorial mover and shaker William Winlock Miller in building the Skookum Sawmill near Olympia. Gosnell wore many hats, some simultaneously between 1854 and 1861 as local agent, special agent, sub-agent, and finally Indian agent for tribes primarily along Puget Sound but at times as far east as Yakima. He learned a number of tribal dialects and traveled alone with the Indians despite concerns from his governmental bosses. Although he had the common Anglo disdain for Indian society, he pushed for more money for stock and farm implements; demanded larger annuities since in some cases it

---

<sup>519</sup> Wilson *Peoples of the Middle Gila* 134

amounted \$1.10 per person;<sup>520</sup> advocated for a boarding school, asked that peaceful Indians be reimbursed for horses lost in the 1855 war and complained the government was unwilling to indict murderers of Indians.<sup>521</sup> Apparently, familial retributive justice was a hallmark of territorial culture, both native and white, and Gosnell proclaimed he would personally defend any innocent Indian living on his reservation. In 1860, he finally became a full-fledged agent at Squoxcin covering the Squoxcin, Nisqually, and Puyallup and appointed a sub-agent to cover the S'Klallam, Quilaielt, and Ouilchute. When his appointment as sub-agent was adjudged illegal, he just took control and, after Richard Lansdale was ousted at Yakima, he claimed that appointment. Gosnell, juggling many duties, lobbied for any annuities for the S'Klallam, a new gristmill for the Yakima, and hired pack horses from the Indians to bring in food. He was very businesslike in his advocacies suggesting putting out bids for a new mill at Yakima rather than building one for the Indians; combining Indian agencies to eliminate duplicate services and closing the government commissary; and paying the employees sufficient salaries to buy their own meals. In 1861, he was appointed agent for Tulalip now having two additional tribes, D'Wamish and Susquamish. After he was told to return to Yakima, Gosnell nominated a Special agent for them and then was requested to meet the agentless Lower Chehalis and Chinooks as well as the Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz. In 1861, Wesley Gosnell was agent for everybody west of the Cascades when the Lincoln administration removed him.

He continued serving in local governments, acting as Sawamish County commissioner in 1864; territorial representative in 1871 and 1873; and Lewis County commissioner 1885–1887. Repaying old debts, Gosnell managed the properties for the widow of his first business partner WW Miller. In 1860, the Squaskin asked “They want Mr. Gosnell always, and they say, if he leaves, that they will go after him and bring him back; for they want him to remain with them until he dies”.<sup>522</sup>

Gabriel W. Long (c.1800–1853) is something of a mystery. He was married to a Chickasaw woman, served as Acting Chickasaw Sub-agent 1824–1826 in Mississippi, and in 1840 resided in northwest Alabama, abutting the remnants of the old eastern Chickasaw country.

---

<sup>520</sup> Annual Report 1860 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep60> 201

<sup>521</sup> Lisa Blee *Framing Chief Leschi: Narratives and the Politics of Historical Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014) 174

<sup>522</sup> Annual Report 1860 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep60> 200

So, when the new Taylor Administration appointed him Western Chickasaw agent in late 1849, he had expertise.

His duties during his short tenure ranged from replacing and adding blacksmiths, two of whom he said were “worthless workers”, to establishing a new school and determining if the Chickasaw would accept members of the small Catawba tribe from South Carolina. Other responsibilities ranged from handling large sums of money from the government and making sure it reached the Chickasaw Treasurer to determining the fate of a Mexican woman who had been captured by Comanche, bought by a Kickapoo, and then purchased by a Chickasaw. He had problems with the local military post, responding to complaints that the garrison at nearby Fort Washita were killing Chickasaw hogs which wandered onto military property. For some reason new Secretary of the Interior Alexander H.H. Stuart desired a fellow Virginian for the job and Long was removed. He was not happy, saying he had lost money as agent and “that no sensible man will suppose that I have been fairly treated”.<sup>523</sup>

Josiah Woodward Washbourne (1819–1871) had even greater knowledge. Born in the Cherokee Nation to Congregationalist New England missionary parents, he was educated back east and returned to Arkansas where he edited the Van Buren *Arkansas Intelligencer* and later the Fayetteville *Arkansan* while serving as postmaster of Van Buren 1844–1846. In addition, he married the daughter of controversial Cherokee leader, John Ridge. In 1854, the Pierce Administration appointed him Seminole sub-agent and when it was upgraded to agency status, Washbourne became agent 1855–1857.

Aside from routine duties like funding the blacksmith, taking a census, opposing permits to hunt in Texas, and sending a delegation to Florida to entice more Seminoles to move west, Washbourne had three goals. First, he successfully increased in the amount and quality of annuities but failed to establish a boarding school. Most importantly, Washbourne helped negotiate the Treaty of Washington (1856), providing an independent homeland for the Seminole apart from the Creek Nation. However, Washbourne, like some other agents, seemed to have a plethora of adversaries who constantly proffered charges to the Indian Department. Most involved his long absences from the nation, to which he responded that he refused to allow his

---

<sup>523</sup> NARA RG75 Chickasaw Agency 1850–1852 Chickasaw Agency April 13<sup>th</sup> 1851 G.W. Long Agent & etc. to Hon. Comm. Ind.Affs. Images 387–388

family to live in the decrepit housing at the agency, and journeyed monthly to visit his ailing wife in Fayetteville, Arkansas. He himself boarded near the agency paying for his own accommodations. He also had a running feud with his freed black interpreter, Abraham, who claimed he was unsafe at the agency, as a mulatto slave stealer named Factor was after Abraham's wife and children. Washbourne retorted they were perfectly safe and added Abraham was a drunk and his family and other free blacks were purveyors of whisky in the Indian country.<sup>524</sup> He was finally removed for mishandling monies, specifically related to a charge of taking a \$13,000 bribe from the Seminole chiefs for allowing them to raid the Seminole Treasury for their own purposes.

His post-agency career was quiet, serving as a Major in the Arkansas Quartermaster's Department of the Confederate Provisional Army and co-authoring a book on the Natural Resources of the Arkansas Valley from Little Rock to Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation for the Little Rock, and Fort Smith Railroad, 1866. Despite the charges, this intermarried missionary son gained the Seminoles respect as he had finally found them a home.

John Owen (1818–1889) acquired his prowess by travelling 2,355 miles and getting everybody to trade and party in Montana's remote Bitterroot Valley. Born in Pennsylvania, he was sutler for the command of Lt. Colonel William Wing Loring's large military expedition to Oregon in 1849 and learned of the abandonment of St. Mary's Mission and bought the church and grounds in 1850 for \$250. Nearby he established Fort Owen where for twenty years he traded with the Flathead and other Indians, trappers and traders as well as catering to immigrants with fine meals wine, even cold lemonade. Owen married a local Shoshone woman, compiled a Salish dictionary and phrase book, and kept local weather reports for nineteen years. His unique knowledge of this remote region of America made him an obvious choice as Flathead special agent (1856–1857), sub-agent (1858–1861), and agent (1861–1862)

His dual responsibilities as trader and agent were a clear conflict of interest but few noticed. Owen traveled extensively as he also had responsibility for the Upper Pend Orielle, mountain Snakes, northern Bannocks and other denizens of the irregular Jocko Agency. He was constantly trying to keep the peace with Indians who felt ignored by a government concerned

---

<sup>524</sup> Jane F. Lancaster *Removal Aftershock The Seminoles' Struggles to Survive in the West* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press. 1994) 121

with the warlike Blackfoot and the powerful Nez Perce. Although years of trading had made him suspicious of Indians, his enemies list was basically white and varied. It included Blackfoot agent, Alfred J. Vaughn who refused to unload Owen's annuities at Fort Benton in 1861; Swiss born Father Monatry at St. Ignatius Mission who he felt was inciting the Indians; as well as the Mormons who he believed were doing the same. Additional enemies included General William S. Harney who ordered Owen away from the peace council in Oregon City after the agent had escorted the chiefs there; a friend who sold whisky indirectly to the Indians and even an agency staffer who tried to steal a young Indian woman. However, his greatest ire was directed at the federal government and its in-kind annuity payments which included useless shawls, poor quality, wrong-coloured blankets, and hard bread the Indians would not eat, if it arrived at all. He constantly requested livestock to no avail and complained about the shipments coming from the east, stating he could get the product in Oregon, "I could have purchased the same bill in Portland for one third less money".<sup>525</sup> When Agent Vaughn refused to off load his goods at Fort Benton onto his waiting wagons but later had them shipped for \$10,000, he refused to pay the bill. The government responded in kind, Washington Territorial Indian Superintendent declaring Owen notoriously corrupt. He did have job security—the Indians knew him; he had greater knowledge than any other white man in the area; and departmental administrators feared getting stuck for the long winter at Fort Owen, limiting personal inspection. He finally resigned claiming neither he nor his staff had been paid in fourteen months.

However, his return to full-time trader faced roadblocks; the centre of the new Montana Territory had shifted eastward with the gold strikes thus reducing his business, his beloved Nancy died in 1868, and he apparently took to the bottle. Congressman and future President James A. Garfield, travelling through the area in 1872, called him "bankrupt and a sot".<sup>526</sup> About that time, he lost his highly mortgaged property and beset with mental decline, friends committed him to the St. John's Hospital in Helena as an "indigent". Fort Owen was abandoned. Later, family returned him to Philadelphia where he lived another twelve years. John Owen's years as

---

<sup>525</sup> Richard Dwight Seifried "Early administration of the Flathead Indian Reservation, 1855–1893" (Thesis University of Montana, 1968): 24.

<sup>526</sup> Ellen Baumler Montana Moments "The Sad End of Major John Owen: Part 1" Accessed November 3, 2017 <http://ellenbaumler.blogspot.com/2014/12/the-sad-end-of-major-john=part-1.html> 2

Flathead/Jocko agent were tempestuous and combative but the Indians trusted him, he advocated for them and openly criticized the United States government.

Dr. Michael Steck (1818–1880) is perhaps the beau ideal Indian agent of antebellum America. Born in Pennsylvania, he graduated from the prestigious Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1842 and settled in Mifflinburg, Pennsylvania, as the local doctor. However, his wife contracted tuberculosis and he took a job with the army in 1849 as a contract surgeon in New Mexico so as to provide her with drier and warmer living conditions. In time, Steck became interested in Indian affairs and learned by doing, having no birthplace, marital, or business background with natives. In 1852 he was appointed New Mexico agent without portfolio, removed in 1854, and then soon appointed Southern Apache agent, serving from 1854–1861. Steck was then appointed New Mexico superintendent of Indian Affairs 1863–1865. In the latter position, he battled the Army and General James Carlton over removing the Navajo from their homes and incarcerating them with their ancient enemy the Mescalero Apache at the Bosque Redondo. He recommended moving the Navajo back to their homeland which was accomplished in 1868. He also personally got President Abraham Lincoln in 1864 to recognize the sovereignty of all nineteen Indian Pueblos.

The subject of at least two dissertations and several articles, Dr. Michael Steck has probably received more laudatory references than any other pre-Civil War agent. His great-grandson Thomas Kern at the first screening of “Canes of Power” about the government’s recognition of Pueblo sovereignty commented “Dr. Michael Steck was a man of integrity and the Indians loved him”.<sup>527</sup> A course outline at Central New Mexico Community College maintains “Michael Steck, recognized the diversity of peoples and interests in the territory” and “forged positive relationships with several bands of Navajoes and Apaches.”<sup>528</sup> In *Dragoons in Apacheland* William Kiser asserts “the selection of Steck turned out to be among the defining events in the history of antebellum Apache relations” and “in a world where the Apaches could trust almost nobody, they found a friend in Michael Steck.” Kiser continues, “Throughout his several years of service, Steck remained steadfastly dedicated to the unpopular ideology of fair,

---

<sup>527</sup> “Canes of Power” Silver Bullet Productions Comment by Tom Kern, great grandson of Dr. Michael Steck of first screening of “Canes of Power” at the Institute of American Indian Arts March 2012 Accessed November 11, 2020 <http://silverbulletproductions.com/documentary-films/canes-of-power/>

<sup>528</sup> “Civil War in New Mexico” Central New Mexico Community College <https://mytext.cnm.edu/lesson/civil-war-in-new-mexico> 1



equitable treatment for Indians”.<sup>529</sup> In 1856, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis dismissed Steck’s report concerning an incident as he was “biased because of his compassion for the Apaches”.<sup>530</sup> Amidst all the accolades Steck actually performed normal agent duties like holding councils, conducting treaties, surveying reservation boundaries, and distributing annuities.

Following the death of his wife and a young son, Steck was removed as Superintendent soon becoming involved in the New Mexico Mining Company. He returned to Pennsylvania in 1873 finding a job with the Muncy Creek Railroad and then moved to Winchester, Virginia in 1880. Dr. Michael Steck was the antipode of the literary and cinematic Indian agent. He loved his wife, cared about the Indians, cared about peace, cared about the future, and would battle generals and administrators to find honorable solutions.

### **The Melting Pot**

The American West was a multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multicultural region that attracted dreamers, failures, disease sufferers and a host of others ranging from free thinkers to racists, from slave holders to “white Indians”. Indian agent backgrounds and beliefs reflected this same kind of diversity.

### **The Newspaperman**

Twenty-first century complaints about the commingling of the political journalist and the political partisan would have seemed strange in antebellum America, where newspapers were often blatantly biased. Therefore, it’s no wonder several newspaper editors and printers were selected as public officials like Indian agents. Besides, they were often seeking employment as their business was precarious and sometimes dangerous.

George W. Clarke (1812–1880) and Potawatomi agent 1854–1856 was an excellent example of the pre-Civil War editor. He was personally and politically aggressive and had fought a duel, was accused of murder, accused of massacre, and fled the United States after the Civil War to edit a newspaper in Mexico. Born in Washington D.C. young Clarke moved to Arkansas and by 1844 was the proprietor and editor of the *Van Buren Intelligencer* which he made a strongly Democratic organ. Local opposition came in the form of the *Western Frontier Whig* and

---

<sup>529</sup> William S. Kiser, *Dragoons in Apacheland: Conquest and Resistance in Southern New Mexico 1856–1861* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012) 149

<sup>530</sup> William Kiser “Dragoons in Apacheland Anglo-Apache Relations in Southern New Mexico, 1846–1861 (Thesis-Master of Arts Arizona State University, 2011) 126

editor John Logan. The two engaged in name calling like “Big Mush” and “Toady” resulting in a duel near Fort Smith in 1845 which ended in reconciliation rooted in mutual bad marksmanship and fear.

Clarke then disappeared for two years but returned in 1847 to retake the reins of the paper much to the relief of some readers like the Cherokee Indians who believed “his columns represented Indian interests” and gained an “abiding attachment from his Red Friends”.<sup>531</sup> After a single term in the Arkansas State Senate in 1850–1851, Clarke was appointed agent to the Potawatomie in 1854.

Like other agents, he made personnel decisions removing two blacksmiths for “gambling and drunkenness”; eliminating the physician at the request of the Indians and pleading for an assistant wagon master. He also proudly announced that he followed a departmental diktat to hire as many Indians as he felt could fill agency jobs, claiming six of the thirteen positions were held by Potawatomie. Clarke praised the success and efforts of the Catholic Manual Labor school but chided the Baptist school to improve. Other challenges included banishing squatters on Indian land so brazen they had even established voting precincts to service Kansas Territory’s seemingly endless elections and requesting military assistance in removing a grounded steamboat on the reserve from which the crew was selling whisky to waiting Indians. His second biggest problem was the historic division between the powerful and antagonistic Prairie Potawatomie and smaller bands. Much as the Sac and Fox had bullied the Chippewa and Ottawa, the Prairie Potawatomi who refused to farm or attend schools, stole crops and goods and threatened the other Potawatomie. Clarke hoped the “tide of civilization” would sweep away the Prairie Band and they would skulk off to join others enmeshed in “ignorant barbarism”.<sup>532</sup>

However, his most pressing challenge had little to do with Indians as Clarke became a major actor in the bloody conflict for control of the Kansas Territory. He was suspected of killing a man near Lawrence, Kansas, in 1855 and in 1856, led a raid into Linn County with 400 men burning and looting “Free State” homesteads. Someone attempted to assassinate him at his desk and later in 1856, the “northern army” of James Lane or what Clarke called “licentious brigands” attacked the reservation burning his home and outbuildings, chasing off his family and strewing

---

<sup>531</sup> Newspapers.com Arkansas Intelligencer Van Buren, Arkansas 03 Apr 1847 Sat Page 2  
<https://newspapers.com/search/#query=washbourne+pryor&t=5368>

<sup>532</sup> Annual Report 1855 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep55> 98

his records across the Kansas prairie.<sup>533</sup> Even the Pierce Administration felt his extracurricular activities outweighed any positives as Indian agent and he was removed.

Clarke remained in Kansas, assisting his brother-in-law William Doak, Land Office Register at Fort Scott and continuing to aid pro-slavery forces including accusations of participating in the Marias des Cygnes Massacre in 1858. Several sources claim Clarke was run out of Kansas that same year. However, he got another government appointment as Navy Purser and spent time far from Kansas on the 1859 Expedition to Paraguay. During the Civil War, Clarke was a staff officer in the quartermaster corps at Fort Smith. Like a number of Confederates, he fled to Mexico after the War, where in 1867 he established an English language newspaper in Mexico City, *The Two Republics*, advocating increased mining and manufacturing in Mexico as well as more congenial relations between the two nations. Although anti-slavery commentators seemed to have a particular animadversion toward Clarke as a Kansas pro-slavery leader and slave owner, the slave schedules for 1850 and 1860 ironically show him owning no slaves in 1850 and three in 1860, an old woman and two pre-teen girls.

As morning dawned July 16, 1819 two men confronted each other near Frankfort, Kentucky on a mission of honor. A young Virginian and a local journalist Jacob Harrod Holeman (1793–1857) had become embroiled in a duel stemming from the death of the young man's dog at the hands of Holeman during a county militia muster. Two balls passed each other simultaneously and the young man lay dead and Holeman seriously wounded and crippled for life. Authorities arrested Holeman and his second, the son of a former Kentucky governor, for murder. After waiting three months in jail, he and his second (who posted bond) were acquitted. Holeman, Indian agent at Salt Lake City (1851–1853) was born in Virginia and moved to Kentucky as a boy where he volunteered to fight in the War of 1812 and joined a sizeable field claiming to have killed Shawnee chief Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames in 1814. In the same year as the duel Holeman and his brother took control of *The Commentator* a conservative journal beginning many years of serial publishing by Holeman either singly or concert with his sibling. In 1824, he was chosen as state printer but by 1826 was editor and publisher of the *Spirit of '76* followed by *The Kentuckian* 1828–1831, which was said to have had the largest circulation west of the Allegheny mountains. Journalism was a tenuous career, thus Holeman mixed small

---

<sup>533</sup> Annual Report 1856 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep56> 114

farming to support his wife and son and owned four slaves. From 1847–1850, he edited *The Screw* a bi-weekly political publication and in the latter year took control of *The Old Guard* a weekly commentary on constitutional issues. Living in genteel poverty and facing sporadic employment, the fifty-seven-year-old disabled Holeman leapt at the opportunity to be the first Utah Indian agent.

Quickly travelling the 1631 miles, Holeman reached Great Salt Lake City and immediately asked the Utah Indian Superintendent if he could return to Fort Laramie and observe the Treaty negotiations so as to learn more about Indians.<sup>534</sup> It was granted and sometime later Holeman took up his duties as agent, whatever they were as it was never clear exactly what his responsibilities were. He tried to focus strictly on the various tribes and particularly their relations with the emigrants on the California Branch of the Overland Trail. Holeman on his own initiative traveled to the Humboldt and Carson River valleys to interview Indians and distribute presents and provisions. He found the Indians poor and armed only with bows and arrows blaming local difficulties on the ubiquitous “lawless white man”. His solutions were for Indians to move farther away from the trail; change the route of the trail to save time and gain water; and recommended agencies be established in both valleys. Later, he traveled to Fort Bridger where he was snowed in and commented that the Territorial legislature's restrictions on ferries and bridges to aid the Mormon church were “unconstitutional”. Although Holeman’s relations with Territorial Governor, Ex Officio Indian Superintendent and Mormon leader Brigham Young were initially courteous they soon degenerated into open hostility. He claimed the “Mormons” provoked the Indians to “attack immigrants, plunder and commit murder”<sup>535</sup> while expressing personal animus toward Brigham Young claiming he was “sincere in his expressions of contempt toward the government and her officers here”.<sup>536</sup> Young and other Mormon officials for the most part ignored Holeman. A change in administrations to Democrat brought Holeman’s recall in 1853 and he returned to Kentucky.

Jacob Holeman's real problem was neither lawless migrants nor Mormons, it was the Indian Department. In 1852, he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs “You would greatly oblige me by giving me some instructions in regard of my duties here and the wishes of the

---

<sup>534</sup>Dale L. Morgan “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851-1858 in *Shoshonean Peoples* 59-60

<sup>535</sup> Dale L.Morgan “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851–1858 in *Shoshonean Peoples* 60

<sup>536</sup> Dale L.Morgan “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851–1858 in *Shoshonean Peoples* 61

department.”<sup>537</sup> He commented that he had gotten no mail between October, 1852 and May of 1853. Like the Mormons, the Indian Department disregarded Holeman preferring to deal with the ever dangerous but more powerful Brigham Young.

Samuel Mcpherson Yost (1828–1915) always wanted to be a newspaperman. Born in western Virginia, he apprenticed at the *Rockingham Register* and moved to Staunton, Virginia where he was a typesetter and editorial contributor. His wife’s health compelled him to remove to Missouri where he co-edited the *Lexington Expositor*, a “rampant Democratic sheet”.<sup>538</sup> After the death of his spouse and the murder of his partner, he fled to New Mexico to edit the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*. Although it was highly irregular, he seems to have continued, at least for a time, to edit the paper as well as being agent to the Pueblo (1857–1859).

Like many other Indian officials, he quickly recognized the Pueblo lived in a kind of “national purgatory” too advanced to be deemed Indians but insufficiently civilized to qualify as citizens. Yost acknowledged the twenty pueblos and their 8000 dwellers were industrious and peaceful agriculturalists who would benefit from more appropriate farm implements and particularly a Congressional solution to the problems of land titles vis a vis their Hispanic neighbors. He also asked for greater authority in controlling the liquor traffic as well as the creation of academic and manual labor schools. Ever the observer, Yost noted “The ricos [rich] have peons or slaves, just as they do in the South, except they are Indians”.<sup>539</sup> At some point he appeared to have been appointed temporary agent for the Navajo, Zuni and Hopi perhaps to deal with an ill-advised military expedition by an officer whose personal slave had been killed by a Navajo. He did recruit a Zuni scout but constantly recommended consultation over combat. He returned to Virginia in 1859.

Back home in Staunton, he purchased the *Republican Vindicator*, advocating a program of reconciliation claiming extremists were pushing separation. After attending the 1860 Democratic National Convention, he strongly supported Stephen Douglas but when Virginia seceded, he followed gaining a commission as major and Assistant Quartermaster for the 5<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry. His war service was at best inauspicious being court-martialed in 1863 for

---

<sup>537</sup> NARA RG 75 Utah Superintendency, 1849–1855 Great Salt Lake City Utah Territory Feb.29, 1852 J.H. Holeman, Ind. Agt. To Hon. L. Lea Commissioner of Indian Affairs Images 202–203

<sup>538</sup> Doug Boylan *Family Ties and Tales: Family History of Doug Boylan* Final ed. Self published 2018 374

<sup>539</sup> William Kiser, “Alternative Slavery and American Democracy Debt Bondage and Indian Captivity in the Civil War Era Southwest” (PhD diss., Arizona State University.2016), 103

providing sub-standard goods and inferior animals and owing the Confederacy \$26,000. After repaying a portion of the money, he re-enlisted in the 5<sup>th</sup> as a private. After the War, he moved to Harrisonburg buying part ownership in the newspaper of his youth, the *Rockingham Register* and then returning to Missouri where he was connected to the *St. Louis Post*. Finally in 1870, Yost settled permanently in Staunton, as proprietor of the *Valley Virginian* and other publications crusading for numerous causes ranging from assistance to poor people suffering from the 1877 winter to the right of local amateurs to reserve the Staunton Opera House and not be ousted by professional troupes. Yost long remained admired by his readers despite joining the Republican Party and serving as Staunton postmaster 1874–1884, 1888–1893, and 1897–1905. It is important to remember that fluidity in assignments at Indian agencies was often the rule particularly in remote posts where personnel were exiguous and quality people were downright rare.

#### The Failed Businessman

Business debacles might well drive a politically connected person to seek an Indian appointment, redemption personally or financially being a common theme in Western literature and history. A failed businessman might also be an excellent candidate for the stereotypical Indian agent. John Cain (1805–1867) (father of Agent Andrew J. Cain<sup>540</sup>) was a man of vociferous political beliefs, limited commercial skills and a raging temper. Born in Virginia, he removed first to Ohio and then Indiana following the bookbinder's profession, finally settling in Indianapolis in 1826 where he opened the city's first bookstore. His Jacksonian allegiance brought him the local postmaster's position from 1829–1841. Finally thrown back on his limited business acumen, Cain became a merchant but his temperament brought failure and he lived off some valuable land investments. In 1847, he sold everything and bought property across the Ohio River in Kentucky. He treated the slaves so abominably with intermittent floggings that they arose en masse and ran away but not before burning his mill, store and farm. Returning to Indianapolis, Cain took control of the Capital House hotel but it failed to meet his family's needs

---

<sup>540</sup> See section titled "Connection II"

as one source recounted, “in living he never exercised economy”.<sup>541</sup> In late 1855, he was appointed Indian Agent for Washington Territory by Franklin Pierce.

Cain acted in the capacity of a C.E.O. out of the comparative safety of Vancouver overseeing the several reserves along the Columbia River including White Salmon, Simcoe Valley and Walla Walla. Lines of authority in Washington Territory ran from men denominated “Local Agents” to Cain, culminating in Superintendent and Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens. Cain had limited known correspondence but enumerated the numbers at each location, hoped for a cessation in Indian conflicts and felt no assistance was needed by the Indians except for small supplies and some clothing. However, if war erupted the peaceful coastal tribes required protection and food. It’s important to remember all Indian policy in the Territory was controlled by the peripatetic and powerful personality of Isaac Stevens. Cain resigned in 1858.

Cain came home to Indiana, having “somewhat recuperated his damaged fortune”.<sup>542</sup> It’s difficult to comprehend how he made much money in his two- and half-year tenure unless he carried on some personal private business. Cain wrote, “There is an implied obligation resting on government to say the least to keep these Indians from suffering”.<sup>543</sup> Sentiments far different from his treatment of African slaves in Kentucky.

Young Kentucky brick-maker Edmund Alexander Starling (1826–1880) moved eastward to New York to make his fortune but instead found failure when his partner defaulted on a loan and he had to return home impecunious and in need of a job. The Whig administration of Millard Fillmore awarded him the position of Indian agent in 1852 for what is now Washington State, then part of the Oregon Territory.

Stationed at Fort Steilacoom near Puget Sound, Starling complained of inadequate pay and spent much of his time travelling over his ill-defined territory distributing gifts and determining tribal identities. He counted twenty-nine tribes ranging in size from thirty to eight hundred, speaking eight separate languages. He and scientist George Gibbs did produce a map of the Willamette Valley. Much of his work was descriptive of his charges depicting the Indians as generally indolent, selfish, thievish and living off fish and berries in addition to being addicted to

---

<sup>541</sup> John H.B. Nowland *Sketches of Prominent Citizens of 1876 with a Few of the Pioneers of the City and County who have passed away* (Indianapolis; Tilford and Carlon, Printers, 1877) 371

<sup>542</sup> Nowland *Sketches of Prominent Citizens* 371

<sup>543</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep57> 347

liquor and gambling.<sup>544</sup> However, he did note the counter intuitive potlatch ceremony of giving away wealth to enhance status; declared slavery existed among the wealthy and unlike most agents felt interaction with whites enhanced Indian advancement. Starling attacked the coastal whisky trade but his major problems were somewhat unique among agents including attempts to thwart Indians crossing the border to trade in Canada and responding to Indian looting of goods and equipment and kidnapping crews of wrecked ships in Puget Sound. He was relieved by the Pierce Administration in 1853.

Returning to Kentucky, Starling once more attempted brick-making and at the outbreak of the Civil War joined the 35<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Mounted Infantry (Federal) rising to the rank of Colonel. After war service he became deputy sheriff and then sheriff of Christian County. In a canvas for re-election in June 1880, he was assassinated by Jesse Ratliff who claimed Starling had lied in a stump speech.

#### The Union Organizer

Perhaps the strangest background for any of the pre-Civil War Indian agents was that of Ely Moore (1798–1860) the first president of the National Trade Union but Moore was often not what he appeared. Born in New Jersey, he apprenticed as a printer, moved to New York City as a journeyman for five years and among other things proofread an edition of the Bible with future editor and presidential candidate Horace Greeley as his copy-holder. However, his life took an unexpected turn when he married the daughter of a wealthy New York merchant and land speculator, giving him the opportunity to invest in land himself and somehow catapulting him into the leadership of the New York City nascent labor movement and a prominent place in local Jacksonian politics. He seemed less interested in strikes than statecraft, less concerned for organizing than oratory but as a former printer with familial and political connections and speaking ability, Moore made an excellent but moderate choice as the first president of the General Trades Union of New York in 1833, followed by the initial presidency of the National Trade Union in 1834. He was one of several candidates associated with Tammany Hall who won election to Congress that year and was re-elected in 1836. In the House he introduced national legislation for a 10-hour workday but also battled abolitionists claiming the anti-slavery men

---

<sup>544</sup> Annual Report 1852 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep52> 172



desired to give “the black laborer nominal freedom, and upon the white laborer virtual bondage” i.e. low wages for all.<sup>545</sup> Defeated in 1838, he began to drink from the public trough receiving the appointment as Surveyor of the Port of New York in 1839–1841, later was appointed U.S. Marshal for the Southern District of New York 1845–1846. Moore also ran unsuccessfully for Congress twice. Returning home to New Jersey, he published a newspaper in his hometown and in 1853 was awarded another government position 1,174 miles west as Osage River Indian agent.

Serving from 1853–1855, he seemed to focus on detailed reporting of statistics; exasperatingly exhaustive labor contracts for blacksmiths, miller and interpreter and new treaties with the Wea, Piankeshaw, Kaskaskia, Peoria and Miami allotting the land and abrogating all past agreements. Toward the end of his tenure, he appeared to be unable to complete his duties due to “severe and prolonged attack of Neuralgy in the head”.<sup>546</sup> He probably suffered from tic douloureux or trigeminal neuralgia considered one of the most painful conditions to affect people and had battled it all his life.

After being relieved, the good Democrat was given a position requiring little travelling as Register of the Land Office at Lecompton, Kansas Territory serving until 1860. In 1857, he challenged a white man’s claimed ownership of land against a Wyandotte Indian. Perhaps now he was fighting for the little guy amid his own continuing disability.

Between the newspapermen, failed businessmen and the union organizer little was done during their short tenures beyond observing, counting and general administration. Their agencies were new and their backgrounds for good or ill were limited.

Nineteenth century Americans were beset with chronic diseases barely treated with quack remedies and visits to spas to “take the waters”. Drier and warmer portions of the American West beckoned sufferers of asthma, tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments. Both New York newspaper reporter George Weeks and Georgia dentist John Henry “Doc” Holliday came west to find respite for tuberculosis, the former succeeded, the latter became a notorious gambler/gunfighter but died of consumption. Thus, an ill man seeking a government position in the West was not inconceivable.

---

<sup>545</sup> Library of Congress Image 16 of Remarks of Mr. Ely Moore of New York, in the House of Representatives, February 4, 1839, on presenting a remonstrance from citizens of the District of Columbia against reception of abolition petitions, &c. Accessed October 22, 2029 <http://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbcb.10814/?sp=16&st=text>

<sup>546</sup> NARA RG75 Osage River Agency 1855–1857 Ely Moore Late In Agt West Port July 15, 1855 to Geo. Manypenny Com. Ind. Affairs To the care of A. Cumming Esq. Supt In Affir St. Louis, Mo Image 81

### The Health Seeker

John H. Rollins (?–1851) is a mystery. An elected Mississippi District Judge 1841–1850, he was appointed special Indian agent in Texas by the Whig Taylor Administration in 1850, replacing the inimitable but Democratic Robert Neighbors. One source called Rollins “asthmatic”, another tubercular and another elderly.<sup>547</sup> Contemporaries had diametrically opposed views of Rollins. Matthew Leeper, Confederate Wichita agent corresponding in 1861 averred “Judge Rollins, one of the ablest Indian Agents perhaps the U.S. ever had”<sup>548</sup> while Sam Houston believed him to be “incompetent, both physically and mentally”.<sup>549</sup> John Rollins was no doubt ill and aged but he did manage to travel over 1,100 miles meeting various tribes at least eight times and despite having to be carried to the treaty grounds, he did convince a number of tribes to sign the Treaty of Fort Martin Scott (1850). Since the federal government did not control Texas land, it was never ratified. In addition, Rollins recovered Mexican and American prisoners both white and black held by the Indians and lobbied for a “country for the Indians” as a “duty of humanity”.<sup>550</sup> He constantly opposed the Texas system of frontier forts, believed the regular soldiers and officers were useless and the volunteers prone to an “alarming amount of mischief”<sup>551</sup>. He maintained avoidance of war was beneficial for everybody. He died in San Antonio September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1851.

Another ailing but younger asthmatic was Ohio lawyer Jesse C. Stem (1820–1854) who pushed for a federal Indian appointment in a drier climate initially favoring California where he hoped to combine Indian duties with gold mining but accepted a Texas position from the Taylor/Fillmore Administration 1850–1853. Stem seemed to have wealth accumulation on his mind even in Texas writing his friend and future president Rutherford B. Hayes in 1851, “I

---

<sup>547</sup> Mildred P. Mayhall “Stem, Jesse” Handbook of Texas Online Texas State Historical Association Accessed May 23, 2018 <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fst34>; Wikipedia “Fort Martin Scott Treaty” Accessed May 23, 2018 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort\\_martin\\_scott\\_treaty\\_1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_martin_scott_treaty_1); William W. Newcomb Jr. *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961) 393;

<sup>548</sup> Annie Heloise Abel *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1915 316

<sup>549</sup> Sherry Robinson *I Fought a Good Fight: A History of the Lipan Apaches* Denton: Texas North Texas University Press 2013 228

<sup>550</sup> Annual Report 1850 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep50> 256

<sup>551</sup> Annual Report 1850 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep50> 257

intend to get some of Uncle Sams bounty”.<sup>552</sup> Perhaps Stem had that avariciousness often portrayed in “Westerns” and movies.

Although Stem, Rollins and John A. Rogers divided the Texas Indians amongst themselves, Rollins was the leader until his demise and Stem then took the lead proclaiming his Indians were not receiving adequate supplies vis a vis the others. Like Rollins, he held several councils but with the Lipan, Waco, Caddo and others, promised more agricultural implements and distributed presents and provisions. Also like Rollins, he strongly importuned for a protected Indian homeland and felt gifts and goodwill would “curb marauding” more than hostile measures.<sup>553</sup> Stem established a farm and agency near the Clear Fork of the Brazos attracting the local Indians to learn farming and obtain provisions and making them dependent on him and the government. Politics ended this arrangement when the Democrats regained the presidency in 1853.

Stem returned to Ohio in relatively good health combined with a hope for business success in north Texas. However, his plans in 1854 Texas ran afoul of some Kickapoo Indians who murdered and scalped he and a business associate. It seems his attempts to tie the southern Comanche to his farm and government provender had broken the trade system between the Comanche and the Kickapoo. Although Stem constantly chose the carrot over the stick, his demise came when he broke one small connection of the complex Texas commercial nexus. Despite Stem’s loud boasts neither he nor John H. Rollins got much of “Uncle Sam’s loot”. They advocated for peace, a protected “home country” for the Indians, gave gifts, established farms and rode thousands of miles for tribal assemblies.

### The Petition Victim

Although novelistic and cinematic Indians seemed limited to attacking wagon trains, stagecoaches and forts as a form of opposition they did have other ways to protest including the right of petition. Perhaps the most bizarre agent case involved Osage sub-agent 1840–1844 Robert Calloway, who encountered competing petitions asking for his removal and his retention

---

<sup>552</sup> Ty Cashion, *A Texas Frontier: The Clear Creek Country and Fort Griffin, 1849–1887* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1996): 27.

<sup>553</sup> Annual Report 1851 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep51> 262

one backed by whisky dealers and the other by prohibition whites, the confused Osage getting a taste of American participatory democracy. Calloway who destroyed several stills kept his job. Another petition victim William F. Wilson (1799–1861) was born in Virginia but migrated west to fight for Texas independence, serving in the army, becoming the first sheriff of Galveston County 1838 and a Captain in the Galveston Volunteers, 1839. A member of the ill-fated Mier Expedition in 1842 he had sufficient political clout to have the United States Congress ask Mexico for his release. He later served in the Texas Quartermaster Department and the Mexican War. In 1858, the fifty-nine-year-old Wilson was appointed Omaha agent

Initially, Wilson saw almost everything as substandard: the fields were poorly tended; the sawmill was too slow; the reservation boundaries inadequately marked; the blacksmith lacked the right tools and unemployed simple-minded Indians sat around and watched the moving parts of the mill while listening for the steam whistle. He worked hard to get a new enclosure for the saw and new grist mill; an agency physician whom the Omaha did not want to pay and pleaded for additional funds after the tribal hunting party was mauled in a battle with the Brule Sioux and he believed the Omaha faced possible starvation.

Then in the summer of 1859 a petition reputedly from the Omaha arrived for the President claiming first that Wilson was “too old and infirm”<sup>554</sup> besides containing a list of specific malfeasances like not paying annuities at the village; exposing the tribe to whisky sellers and not paying Indian employees. In addition, there was the fairly esoteric claim that the agent had replaced a competent engineer with an untrained one. Wilson responded to every accusation calling them a “tissue of falsehoods” and the petition a “forgery”<sup>555</sup> provided by “Malicious Aspirants”<sup>556</sup> for his job. In time the truth appeared as the Omaha chiefs denied any knowledge of the petition, some names were found to be forged and local citizens and missionaries supported Wilson's retention. Finally, it was discovered the whole plot was masterminded by Omaha interpreter Henry Fontenelle aided by Nebraska Territorial Governor Samuel Black and US Marshal William West, the latter two appearing at the reservation claiming to be the Indian

---

<sup>554</sup> Judith A. Broughton *Betraying the Omaha Nation 1790-1916* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998) 82-83

<sup>555</sup> NARA RG75 Omaha Agency 1856–1863 W F Wilson U S Ind Agt Decatur 30<sup>th</sup> Aug 1859 to Dr. A M Robinosn Supt Ind Affairs St. Louis, Mo Images 530–535

<sup>556</sup> NARA RG75 Omaha Agency 1856–1863 W F Wilson U S Ind Agt Decatur Burt Co. July 18<sup>th</sup> 1859 to Hon. Jacob Thompson Sect. Of Interior Washington DC Images 507–509

Commissioner and the new Agent. Despite the ruses, lies and forgeries, the conspirators kept their jobs while Wilson was summarily dismissed.

A dispirited Wilson decided with war clouds gathering to return to Virginia his birthplace. In 1861, he was a Captain of Volunteers but soon died. His valedictory in an 1859 defence, “I was faithful in the discharge of my duties & had every reason to believe the Omaha Tribe were satisfied with my course & which they are.”<sup>557</sup>

William Wilson’s experience is a reminder mentioned in the Introduction that lone Indian agents had numerous enemies, in this case, the agency Interpreter, US Marshal and the Territorial Governor. Despite his defence and the eventual discovery of the “facts”, his enemies were too important for his continuance as agent.

Two other Western groups that received agent appointments were Mormons and recent citizens of the Republic of Mexico. Both were suspect because of opposition to the United States government but the convenience of English-speaking men in remote Utah brought at least two Mormon appointments. Attempting to “attach” prominent Hispanics to the United States with appointments was done more frequently as they were the majority population in New Mexico.

#### The Mormon

Although at times confounded by its interactions with the Mormons and Brigham Young, the Indian Department was not above using Mormons as Indian agents if it was convenient and economical. George Washington Armstrong (1810–1881) a native of Delaware had migrated to the Salt Lake Valley with his wife and six children in 1850. Settling in Provo, he was a principal organizer of the Provo Canal and Irrigation Company in 1853. Initially selected as a Sub-agent, he eventually was elevated to Agent, 1855–1858 in the constant rearranging that was the Utah Indian Superintendency. Based in Provo south of Salt Lake City on the eastern shore of Utah Lake he had responsibility for the roving bands of Utes in the eastern and southern portions of Utah Territory as well as some Paiute Piede.

Dedicated to the proposition that the Utah Indians needed to adopt an agrarian lifestyle, Armstrong traveled extensively handing out farm implements and other supplies; lauding any and all improvements from a few extra plowed acres to an irrigation ditch dug with sticks and

---

<sup>557</sup> NARA RG75 Omaha Agency 1856–1863 W F Wilson U S Ind Agt Decatur 30<sup>th</sup> Aug 1859 to Dr. A.M. Robinson Supt Ind Affairs St. Louis, Mo Images 530–535

cheerfully announcing one band was raising a surplus to sell to California bound emigrants.<sup>558</sup> He constantly commended local Mormon settlers who aided the Indians, loaned equipment and in one case apprenticed four children and taught them English. Armstrong long recommended the establishment of Indian farms where trained husbandmen would teach the requisite skills and mentioned several appropriate areas he had found in his journeys. Just as he left office, the first farm was begun at Spanish Forks in 1857 of which he took a particular interest reporting on it as a private citizen. Sometimes he had to be tough admonishing the Utes to not steal Piede women and children to sell into Indian and Mexican slavery. A few of the Ute leaders like Tintic constantly tested the agent claiming someone shot his horse; setting his herd onto private grazing areas; invading people's homes; and complaining the efficient Mormon fishing companies were seining the River and limiting the Indians' catch. Following Brigham Young's directives, Armstrong verbally chastised Tintic, gave him part of what he demanded and recommended he move. Like so many agents, Armstrong was something of a cypher drifting off to Nevada's Star Valley after his service, noted only by census takers.

#### The Mormon Friend

Edward A. Bedell (1818–1854), a man called a “Jack-Mormon” or non-Mormon, who often supported the Mormons in their constant conflicts with neighbors served as Spanish Fork-Uintah agent in Utah 1853–1854. A native New Yorker, prosperous businessman, newspaperman, real estate speculator and railroad builder in the Mississippi River community of Warsaw, Illinois, he was a prominent Democrat. Having served as postmaster and justice of the peace, he was the political choice of the new Pierce Administration for the Utah position seconded by Utah Territorial Governor and Indian Superintendent, Brigham Young. During the tangled troubles that surrounded the death of Mormon founder Joseph Smith and his brother in Carthage, Illinois at the hands of an anti-Mormon mob, Bedall opposed the push by his Warsaw militia to join the anti-Mormon forces and being threatened, paddled to safety across the Mississippi.

Bedall spent much of his time as agent travelling about looking for Indians to present presents, obtain promises of peace and quiet while propounding a positive perspective of Indian white relations particularly in getting Indians to return cattle and settlers to plow fields for Indian cultivation. He traveled extensively among the Utes and even visited the Bannacks far to the

---

<sup>558</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711dl/HistoryAnnRep57> 309

north. He recommended the government build a council house and quarters for Indians staying at Salt Lake City and reiterated the Indians did not want to sell their lands. In one of the strangest duties of an Indian agent he was interviewed by the Historian's Office of the Mormon Church for information on the events surrounding the death of Joseph Smith. Returning home in 1854, he overexerted himself and died at Green River in present day Wyoming. The last sentence of his last official letter reads "Hoping that we may be able to live in peace with the native tribes".<sup>559</sup>

Both Armstrong and Bedell spent their time travelling, observing, meeting various tribes, distributing gifts, advocating agriculture and praising intercultural exchanges. They learned some Indians like Tintic could be difficult and the Indians wanted peace without selling land. They had followed orders, not so much the Department's as Brigham Young's.

#### The Hispanic Agent

Particularly when it came to local offices, the addition of Mexican Cession lands added to the numbers of supplicants for national and territorial appointments. The first two agents at Abiquiu in northeastern New Mexico dealing with the Capote Ute and Jicarilla Apache were natives of Mexican territory. Lorenzo Labadi (1825–1904) who served from 1854–1857 was a well-educated man from a prominent Spanish-French family, married to one of the few female doctors in the Territory, known as an expert scout and was involved in law enforcement as sheriff of Valencia County 1851 and Santa Fe County 1853–1854.

In conjunction with Territorial Governor David Meriwether, he negotiated treaties with both the Capote and Mouache Utes in 1855; defended the Capote on charges of horse stealing and distributed fifty head of sheep and thirty fanegas (1.6 bushels) of corn to starving Mouache and Jicarilla. A challenging issue for Labadi was that English was his second language submitting his only known yearly report in 1855 in Spanish, translated by Washington linguists into English for publication. In 1865, at a review for re-appointment to a different federal job, New Mexico Territorial Chief Justice commented, "Labadi can nearly keep his accounts in English, and in Spanish can keep them in good form and style. He understands much of the English when he hears it spoken".<sup>560</sup>

---

<sup>559</sup> NARA RG75 Utah Superintendency 1849–1855 Indian Agency Office Utah Ty April 6<sup>th</sup> 1854 E A Bedell Ind Agent Utah Territory to His Excellency Brigham Young Superintendent of Indian Affairs Utah Territory IMAGES 581–585

<sup>560</sup> Lorenzo Labadi / Chipeta: Ute Peacemaker "Limited English Proficiency Not So New" Accessed November 11, 2018 <https://chipeta.wordpress.com/tag/lorenzo-labadi/>

Relieved in 1857, he led a scout against the raiding Mescalero band of Cuchillo Negro which resulted in the chief's death and in 1861 was appointed Indian agent at Tucson before being ousted by Confederates. Transferred to the Mescalero agency he served from 1861–1869 performing jobs as diverse as overseeing the Bosque Redondo Reservation for the Indian Department and pursuing black and white Comanche captives on the Staked Plains.

Relieved again in 1869, Labadi continued an active life, investing in a store and wine shop, 1871; speculating in land and co-founding the town of Santa Rosa where he was postmaster from 1884–1898 and successfully contesting an election of 1892 to the New Mexico House of Representatives. He was also a census taker in 1880 collecting information on a young man who “works in cattle” named William Bonny (Bonney) aka Billy the Kid.

Seminarian turned military officer Diego Ruperto Archuleta (1814–1884) was Abiquiu agent 1857–1861 and 1865–1867 as well as being the first Hispanic-American United States Army general. Born of a prominent ranching family in New Spain, educated initially for the priesthood, he graduated from Chapultepec Military Academy and returned to New Mexico as a militia captain where he helped repel the 1841 Texan Santa Fe Expedition. Conflicting accounts of his Mexican War service portray him as either opposing Governor Armijo's surrender of Santa Fe or agreeing to a peaceful capitulation. Regardless, he did participate in an abortive plot to overthrow the military administration or the Taos Revolt which resulted in the burning of his house containing the largest private library in the Southwest. After swearing allegiance to the United States, Archuleta became active in politics serving in the New Mexico Territorial legislature 1853–1856. Archuleta, like Labadi submitted only one annual report in 1857 and it too was in Spanish and translated for presentation. He estimated 1,400 Capote Utes with no permanent home and a 1,000 Jicarilla Apache whom he called the “poorest tribe in the far west” were part of Abiquiu agency.<sup>561</sup> The former needed aid; had no agricultural production and recently lost two hundred horses to the Navajo which he said he would attempt to recover. As for the latter, they were nothing more than extortionist vagrants and beggars. Perhaps because of his military background Archuleta believed the local Indians were conning the government by signing serial treaties, then finding fault and attacking settlers resulting in a military expedition which had its own costs and quick Indian “surrender” which the authorities welcomed with more

---

<sup>561</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep57> 285



“gifts” and potential new treaties.<sup>562</sup> Although he advocated “separation” of Indians and settlers, little occurred during his tenure as the New Mexico Superintendent reported the Indians quiet and Archuleta accompanying a surveying expedition involving Pueblo lands in 1859. He flirted with the Confederacy, running as a Democrat for Congressional Delegate. He lost both his job and the election.

Switching to the Republican Party and support for the North in the War, Archuleta was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the 1<sup>st</sup> New Mexico militia and later Brigadier General in the Army fighting at the Battle of Valverde in early 1862. He returned to politics serving in the Territorial House, 1862; Council 1863–1864 as President; another stint as Abiquiu agent 1865–1867; again in the New Mexico Council 1867–1871 and back in the House 1878–1884 dying hours after a speech opposing sectarianism in New Mexico schools.

Both Labadi and Archuleta came from a culture steeped in animosity toward the local Indian population, the former making some effort to assist those in need but the militaristic Archuleta persisting in seeing, particularly the Jicarella Apache, as nothing more than desert comen milking the good intentions of the American government. Remember also that both were “foreigners” now part of a new nation whose politics they barely understood which was quickly slipping into civil conflict. To thrive, they had to find a popular path and look for openings. Both were indeed out for themselves but not so much at the expense of Indians as finding the right American allies. Fortunately for the Indians most of their agency policies were just rhetoric.

#### The Texian

A Texian was an American resident of Texas who had lived in Mexican Texas or the Texas Republic. Several Texians served as Indian agents infused by the oxymoron that was the Republic's Indian policy, a conflation of Houstonian assistance and interaction with the average Texian's goal of physical extirpation of the native population.

An example was Shapley Prince Ross (1811–1889) Brazos Agent 1855–1859. A native of Kentucky, he examined the lead mining area at Galena, Illinois; married in Missouri and farmed in Iowa where he also traded with the Sac and Fox Indians. Recommended by doctors to seek a warmer climate, he migrated to Texas in 1839 where he took an oath of allegiance to the fledgling republic and a 640-acre claim. Ross spent much of the next decade chasing Indians as a

---

<sup>562</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep57> 286

member of “Jack” Hays' Rangers, 1842; as Captain of a frontier protection company 1846, or as company commander in Peter Bell's Ranger Battalion 1847. In 1843, he accompanied Jacob Snively's “Invincibles” in their quixotic quest to interdict Mexican wagon trains heading east from Santa Fe. Lured by the offer of city lots and the right to operate a ferry on the Brazos, he settled in the new town of Waco in 1849 where he opened a hotel and became first postmaster. The 1850 slave schedule showed him with two slaves, a couple who ran the ferry.

His years at the Brazos reserve oscillated from the gallant to the prosaic to the tragic. Tribes located there were the Caddo, Anadarko, Tonkawa, Tawakoni and later Kichai with some Delaware and Shawnee. Long menaced by northern Comanche, the Brazos Indians pursued villains who stole horses as well as property from their camps and those of their white neighbors. In 1857, Ross dressed in Indian garb at the head of a friendly Indian contingent joined with an army patrol to corral Comanche who had stolen goods and horses, Ross killing the Comanche chief who was wearing chain mail armor. Ross reported consistently improving crop production on the reservation as well as increased stock raising of horses, cattle and hogs; and determined the area was better suited for wheat and suggested the building of a gristmill. He also discharged poor performing employees, requested more tools and oversaw the construction of a school. The Indians continued to assist white settlers recover stolen property from roving marauders. Ross always mentioned his actions which he felt were “good policy” including feeding friendly Wichita and Comanche as well as giving passes for the Brazos Indians to hunt off the reservation for recreation and stated it was “bad policy to confine Indians to a reserve”.<sup>563</sup> However, immigration and military re-organization presented the agent with new problems. More and more whites settled in the area increasing the potential for confrontations as well as making liquor more available. The army decided to close nearby Fort Belknap where Ross had always found assistance. In addition, the Indians immediately rushed to the colours to aid any military or civilian contingents chasing Comanche marauders.

Everything changed December 27<sup>th</sup> 1858 when whites massacred part of the family of “Choctaw” Tom who had married an Anadarko woman and was living off the reservation. Rooted as usual in equine rustling, the initial culprits were said to be a roving gang but in actuality were just local settlers from Erath County. Ross now faced a hostile local government

---

<sup>563</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.libray.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistoryAnnRep57> 269

which never brought indictments; a fearful native population gathered at agency headquarters ready to bolt for wherever and a petrified Indian Bureau that seemed to take its cue from Texas authorities to just remove the Indians somewhere. In addition former Comanche agent John Baylor took control of the local citizens preparing to attack and threatened the agent and Indians with scalping. He ordered the “immediate resignation” of Ross who refused. Baylor’s attack came in May, 1859 but after killing a few old people was driven off by the Indians. The only answer now seemed to be removal which Ross resisted until he stood alone but finally helped the people move north of the Red River. His dream of grist mills and schools and inclusion was gone and he was without a job. The Texian mentality had triumphed.

The 1860 census showed him with a net worth of over \$10,000 and land holdings of a similar value. He also owned seven slaves, most mulatto girls under nine and had both an Indian and two Mexicans living in his household. Although he favored secession, he opposed the Confederacy believing Texas should return to being an independent republic. Again, seeking warmer climes, he moved to California in 1870 but returned in 1875, spending his remaining time quietly in Waco, Texas. Indian Superintendent Robert Neighbors wrote of Ross in 1857, “The progress made by the Indians at Brazos agency is mainly attributable to the efficient services of Special Agent S.P. Ross, who has devoted his whole time to his duties, and his services entitle him to the full confidence of the general government.”<sup>564</sup> Ross commented on January 26, 1859 in the aftermath of the massacre, “The Indians have shown themselves more civilized than the whites.”<sup>565</sup>

Texian Indian fighter, militia member and land speculator, Shapley P. Ross should have been the “poster boy” for the abominable Indian agent but he turned out to be the Indian’s friend and defender, the last departmental official advocating for Indian land in Texas. He got the Indians to support local whites who had been robbed by other Indians envisioning a multiracial “Peacable Kingdom”. For his stands, he was verbally and physically attacked and he lost his job. But he had served the Indians of Texas with peculiar faithfulness.

The American West also attracted independent thinking men who were often difficult associates but sometimes accomplished great achievements. At least two of these men became

---

<sup>564</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep57> 264

<sup>565</sup> Annual Report 1857 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 229

Indian agents, changing dramatically Indian affairs in Texas and New Mexico and in the process losing their own lives.

### The Martyr

Literary and cinematic representations of the Indian agent often end in his justly deserved demise but real Indian agents sometimes also became victims of foul play. Abolitionist William Gay, Shawnee/Wyandot agent was killed in 1856 by Missouri border ruffians. James Alves Hogg Norwood a teacher, health seeker and short-term Upper Missouri agent was bludgeoned to death by the butt end of rifle in 1853 by a local man over a prank at a town dance in Sergeant's Bluff, Iowa.

Born in Virginia, orphaned at four months, raised by a planter/guardian, Robert Simpson Neighbors (1815–1859) like many nineteenth century Americans determined to go to Texas and after a sojourn in New Orleans arrived in 1836 at the creation of the new republic. From 1839–1841 he served as assistant quartermaster and then acting quartermaster of the Texas army and in 1842 as a member of John C. Hays volunteer company attending court in San Antonio was captured by Mexican soldiers under Adrian Woll in one of Santa Anna's attempts to disrupt the Republic. He was held prisoner until 1844. In 1845, Neighbors was appointed the last Indian agent of the Texas Republic and seamlessly transferred to the position of the first American Indian agent for Texas Indians.

Immediately, Neighbors changed policy contacting the Indians in their camps rather than only meeting them at some trading post on the frontier. He rode thousands of miles during his tenure with only an interpreter, some Indian guides and on occasion a small troop of soldiers. His authority extended over about 30,000 Indians including Kiowa, Lipan, Caddo, Ionies, Anadarko, Keechie, Wichita, Waco, Tah-wac-carros, Tonkawa, Delaware, Shawnee, various Apache including Mescalero, a few Creek and Cherokee, and finally the dominant Comanche. Neighbors helped negotiate a treaty in 1846 and felt if everyone abided by its dictates, peace could be maintained. However, his goal of regional concord was constantly thwarted by a variety of culprits. From 1846–1848, the United States was at war with neighboring Mexico and Hispanic citizens of towns like San Antonio tried to incite local Indians in hopes of getting American troops to hurry northward. A few of the Indian Territory tribes like the Creek and Seminole were actively recruiting peaceful Texas Indians to resettle hinting the Texans were poised to take all their lands. Active emigration organizations like those aiding the new German settlers pushed

beyond legal boundaries resulting in conflicts and hoping the military would intervene to erase the Indians from the landscape. The Mexican War also kept the trained troops busy below the border, thus frontier “ranging companies” or “rangers” provided the “protection” for settler and native alike. However, their propensity to be both “quick on the trigger” and rapidly retreat portended problems for peace. Neighbors commented, volunteer troops have the “privilege of making war at discretion”.<sup>566</sup> Added to the mix were the dregs of society following the train of the armies causing a myriad of problems for Texans. Finally, Neighbors in literally all of his detailed and numerous reports to the Indian Department asked for authority and directions on how to proceed on a range of issues from controlling the liquor traffic to issuing passports for Comanche and Lipan to travel i.e. raid in Mexico. Answers seemingly were not part of the communication. The events were often small, stealing horses, killing of a Caddo boy, attacking surveyors but they were so dispersed, he could not personally mediate everything often relying on other Indians to substitute for him. Solving problems in an area of 135,000 acres concerning 75,000 people was impossible for one man. As a Democrat, he was relieved in 1849 and in his valedictory report proposed a number of improvements. including extinguishing Indian land claims; requiring Texas to provide lands for Indian settlement and extending the intercourse laws. He also recommended more agents and more military posts and supplying the Indians with annuities, farmers, blacksmiths, cattle, farming implements, and schools in addition to holding a yearly council in Indian country.

From 1850–1853, Neighbors served as a commissioner to organize El Paso County, was a presidential Elector and from 1851–1853 held a seat in the Texas legislature where he proposed a law allowing for the establishment of Indian reservations. In 1853 with the new Pierce administration, he returned as Supervising Agent for the Texas Indians.

Now with three Special Agents to deal with different tribal groupings, Neighbors found things had not changed much since 1849 except the Indians were poorer and still raiding in Mexico to survive. Again he implored the government to settle and support the Indians or “the entire Indian population on our immediate borders will become paupers on our hands.”<sup>567</sup> Finally in 1854, he and Army Captain R.B. Marcy selected 12 leagues of land to establish two reserves,

---

<sup>566</sup> NARA RG75 Texas Agency 1847–1852 Robt S. Neighbors Special Indian agent US United States Special Agency Oct 23<sup>rd</sup> 1848 to Col. W. Medill Comm of Ind Affairs Washington DC IMAGES 214–217

<sup>567</sup> Annual Report 1853 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl.History.AnnRep53> 187

one for the Comanche and the Brazos Reserve for all other Texas Indians and bring “permanent relief to our frontier”.<sup>568</sup> For the next four years Neighbors reported yearly growth in population, increasing agriculture dampened by drought, greater “civilized” living in homes and even the genesis of two schools. But problems beyond his control constantly impinged on his edenic vision. Kickapoo “renegades” raided from the Indian Territory and northern Comanche frequently visited the Comanche reserve enticing young men to abandon the pumpkin patch and raid Mexican haciendas or travelers on the El Paso Road. Liquor sales kept growing and Neighbors consistently chastised government authorities for giving rifles and ammunition to northern Comanche and Kiowa who used them to trade, attack Texas settlements and kill American troops. He insisted on seeing the problems as regional and beyond Texas advocating reserves be established in the Wichita Mountains at the “western end of the Choctaw country” for Kiowa and Comanche as well as Wichita where a settlement akin to the Texas Comanche reserve be created.

His permanent solution came tumbling down in 1858–1859 when a “lawless band of white barbarians”<sup>569</sup> led by former agent John R. Baylor (see *The Racist*) using the courts, press, rumors and deeply ingrained anti-Indian sentiment fostered investigations, incidents and finally an abortive attack on the Brazos Reserve. The Indian Department hesitated, the Texas government supported the attackers while the military though fair-minded were limited in numbers. Neighbors and his agents were accused of misusing funds and in some cases marked for death. He encouraged investigations knowing he had accounted for every penny and had always done his best for the Indians and the government. However even he too recognized the situation was desperate and any small incident could ignite an Indian war. He requested and got permission to take the residents of both agencies to the Indian Territory, to the lands he had advocated for settlement of the Kiowa and Comanche. In the late summer of 1859, he and his agents safely moved about 2,000 Indians north of the Red River. As he was returning, he stopped in Belknap, Texas to mail some reports. Although he had as many enemies as any man in Texas, it was a crazed cuckold twenty-nine-year-old named Edward Cornett who did the deed. Cornett’s wife had run off with a half-breed Caddo and the deranged man having no Indians to attack shot

---

<sup>568</sup> Annual Report 1854 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep54> 159

<sup>569</sup>NARA RG75 Texas Agency 1858–1859 Robert Neighbors San Antonio Texas Feby 22<sup>nd</sup> 1859 to Hon. J.W. Denver Coms Indian Affairs Washington D.C. Images 1228–1229

Neighbors, the “Indian Lover” in the back. Cornett was indicted for murder as there were three witnesses but before trial tried to kill his father-in-law and was gunned down by the local sheriff's posse.

Robert Neighbors was a prickly subordinate and boss, having a few allies but no real friends except the Indians. His enemies were legion, his mortal enemies real. He hated tribalism believing the Indians were good, moral people who just needed some help to get on the road to civilization. He felt they deserved all the legal protections as any other Texan and the courts should be open to them. His forward-looking civic colour-blindness might be laudable but in late 1850s Texas it perhaps paved the way for the Indians exile and his own death.

By mid-nineteenth century Victorian standards, Henry Lafayette Dodge (1810–1856) was unconventional. Born in Missouri and raised to adulthood in the Wisconsin Territory, his father Henry Dodge was Territorial Governor of Wisconsin 1836–1841 and 1845–1848; Wisconsin Territorial Delegate to Congress 1841–1845; and first United States Senator from Wisconsin 1848–1857. His younger brother Augustus Caesar Dodge was Territorial Delegate from Iowa Territory 1840–1846; United States Senator from Iowa 1848–1855 and Ambassador to Spain 1855–1859. Regarding Henry, his father tended to favor his younger son though Henry did become a lawyer, served in the Black Hawk War saving an Indian mother and child at the Battle of Bad Axe; became postmaster of Dodgeville (named for his father), sheriff of Iowa County, Wisconsin 1843–1844 and clerk of the Iowa County District Court, 1845–1846. He also ran an inn and a store, was sued for non-payment of debts, arrested for assault and battery and on May 21, 1846, vanished never seeing his wife and three children again. He reappeared August 28, 1846, in far distant Santa Fe New Mexico. One source contends his father heading the struggle to make Wisconsin a state did not need a family sex scandal with his goal so close. It appears young Dodge's wife had just left him learning he had fathered two illegitimate children and Governor Dodge needed to get Dodge out of Dodgeville. Using his old subordinate now Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearney to shepherd his son far away, Henry Dodge not only got transportation but also a job as Treasurer for the military government of Santa Fe. Dodge drifted between civilian appointments like the lucrative position of Notary Public of Santa Fe and serving as a captain in a mostly Mexican regiment chasing Utes and Jicarilla Apaches while negotiating a treaty with the Navajo. Dodge, whose father and brother were for the only time in American history serving simultaneously as US Senators, got a commission as quartermaster and

commissary for a remote outpost near Laguna Pueblo. He learned passable Navajo, wandered about hunting and searching for gold and lived with Juana Sandoval producing two more children.

In 1853, Henry Dodge was appointed agent for the Navajo which included Laguna, Zuni and Acoma pueblos as well as the Hopi Mesas. His agency covered about 79,000 square miles and he rode thousands of miles to greet the various headmen whose authority often extended only to the next butte. Dodge initially established his headquarters near the Chuska Mountains but soon removed to the newly established Fort Defiance being more convenient for supply and gave him a modicum of protection. His administrative skills were abominable writing one sentence reports if he wrote at all and constantly having to defend accounting mistakes during his audits. Strange for a man once Treasurer of Santa Fe but nothing ever balanced in his minimal budget. He got his father to loan him \$1,000 and used part of his own salary to supply Navajo needs. Budgets and financial planning never seemed to concern him. He wandered into Santa Fe one day asked an irritated Governor David Meriwether if he could help Dodge find axes and hoes for the Navajo who were not nomadic hunters but rather sheep herdsman, farmers and orchardists (peaches). Periodically he and the Navajo headmen appeared in frightened Santa Fe to get a surprised Governor Meriwether to sign an already prearranged treaty. He once rode into Santa Fe with 500 sheep he had recovered from old Navajo raids. Dodge also secretly married again (his marital life was complex) this time to a relative of an important headman Zarcillos Largos. Yet for all his mismanagement and carelessness, Dodge got rave reviews. Governor Meriwether wrote in 1854 praising his “judicious management” and the militant Santa Fe Gazette attributed the change in Navajo attitudes to “the action of Agent Dodge” who has “exercised the most beneficent influence over them”.<sup>570</sup> The two and half century conflict between the Navajo and the Hispanic population suddenly ended. The constant sheep and horse stealing, the occasional murders and the child abductions ceased. Incidents were adjudged by the Navajo and swift justice dispensed. Earlier negotiators had attempted to return only Hispanic children stolen by Navajo but Dodge extended the exchange to include Navajo children taken by Mexicans.

---

<sup>570</sup> Kathy Fisher, “The Forgotten Dodge” *The Annals of Iowa*40 (1970) 301



Although Dodge had negotiated a treaty with the local Jicarilla Apache, other Apache bands like the Coyotero and Mogollon from the south continued to raid the area. In late 1856, Colonel Henry Kendrick, commander of Fort Defiance and a friend of Dodge invited the agent to accompany his forty dragoons in pursuit of Apache near Zuni Pueblo. Always looking for adventure he agreed taking a headman friend Armijo with him. Early one morning the two men left the camp to hunt, killing a deer which Armijo took to the troops. Dodge never returned and for the second time in his life had disappeared. This time he would not resurface. His remains were found two months later probably murdered by Mogollon Apache.

Almost immediately hostilities resumed as if Dodge had brought peace by the force of his own personality. Soon after Dodge's death his Navajo wife gave birth to a son Henry Chee Dodge (1857–1947) the last Head Chief of the Navajo 1884–1910 and later Chairman of the Tribal Council. His paternity has long been debated but best evidence today identifies Henry L. Dodge as the father. Among Indian agents Henry Dodge was the “Hippie Troubadour” unconcerned about reports and details drifting across the high desert of New Mexico and Arizona preaching if not peace and love at least a better truce and fairness for all.

Neither of the Martyrs fit the portrayed stereotypical Indian agent. Neighbors needed more money but only to assist the Indians. Dodge cared nothing about finances at all. Would that hold true for another Texas agent focused on racist doctrines?

#### The Racist

A few Indian agents complained of irregular Indian behaviors, odoriferous and peculiar foods but the most prominent agent belief about Natives was a stereotype of a “degraded savage” which often changed with contact. John Robert Baylor (1822–1894) held overtly racist beliefs that in time morphed into possible Indian extermination. Born in Kentucky, the son of an Army Surgeon, he spent part of his childhood in school in Cincinnati, Ohio and a portion on the frontier in the Indian Territory. At the death of his father, he moved to Texas to live with his rich uncle, Judge Robert Emmet Bledsoe Baylor and joined several Texas military companies but saw little action. He returned to Fort Gibson in 1842 to teach school at the Creek Agency at the behest of his brother-in-law James Dawson, the new Creek agent. At age twenty-one in 1843, he experienced an event that seemed to set his life on a more violent course as he witnessed Dawson kill Indian trader Seaborn Hill. Charged as an accomplice, Baylor high tailed it back to the Texas Republic where he married and settled down as a farmer/rancher in Fayette County. From 1851–

1853, he served the county in the Texas House of Representatives and soon thereafter was admitted to the Texas bar. In 1855, he was chosen first agent at the new Comanche reserve continuing until 1857.

Whether it was a series of small irritants or complications in his life or some major but obscure event, John Robert Baylor changed and changed dramatically as Comanche agent. He initially attempted to follow Superintending Agent Robert Neighbors' directives but soon became alienated (like most of Texas) from his boss as well as discouraged by the lack of progress in settlement and farming on the Comanche reserve. He strongly believed that “outsider” Comanche were inducing the reservation residents to leave. Like Neighbors he advocated they be settled in the Wichita Mountains in Indian Territory. In addition, he fought the whisky trade which he felt was aided by soldiers from Camp Cooper. Eventually he protested the Indians were “humbugging” about planting crops and demanded “presents” before sowing.<sup>571</sup> Two small events, one from a February 12, 1857 letter and one from an 1881 newspaper interview seemed to bother him. In the former, he recorded the death of Zack Houston a Delaware whom he described as a “brave and faithful Indian” at the hands of northern Comanche.<sup>572</sup> Another troubling incident was his discovery one day of a young boy hiding a “leave the reservation” note on his desk. The boy turned out to be a Mexican captive of a Comanche chief. Refusing to return the child to the Comanche, he ransomed him for a \$100. Unable to find his parents, Baylor had him raised by another family and the young man became a Galveston banker.<sup>573</sup> Baylor was dismissed by Robert Neighbors in 1857 for not getting the Indians to farm.

Almost immediately Baylor became involved in legal, media and innuendo campaigns to remove all Indians from north Texas culminating in his abortive attack on the Brazos reserve.<sup>574</sup> By 1859, the Indians were gone<sup>575</sup> but still Baylor persisted, lending his support in the publication of an anti-Indian newspaper in Jacksboro in 1860 called the *White Man*. Much of its animus was aimed at Governor Sam Houston and his Indian policy. Its offices were burned and it

---

<sup>571</sup> NARA RG75 Texas Agency 1855–1857 Comanche Agency March 28<sup>th</sup> 1857 Jon R Baylor Spcl Agt Texas Inds to R.S. Neighbors Sup Agt Texas Inds IMAGES 942–944

<sup>572</sup> NARA RG75 Texas Agency 1855–1857 Comanche Agency Feb 12<sup>th</sup> 1857 Jon R. Baylor Spcl Agt Texas Inds to R.s. Neighbors Supt Agt Texas Inds Images 921–922

<sup>573</sup> Texas History Notebook A Blog About Texas John R. Baylor Accessed March 27, 2021 [texoso66.com/2018/12/20/john-r-baylor/](http://texoso66.com/2018/12/20/john-r-baylor/)

<sup>574</sup> See the section titled “The Texian” for Shapely Price Ross.

<sup>575</sup> See the section titled “The Martyr” for Robert Neighbors.

reopened in Weatherford, Texas now focusing on secession and Civil War. In the 1860 census Baylor is shown to have a personal value of \$10,700 but in neither the slave schedule of 1850 or 1860 is he shown owning any slaves.

National conflict allowed Baylor an outlet for his increasingly violent tendencies. He personally recruited 300 men into the 2<sup>nd</sup> Texas Mounted Rifles and was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel. He soon seized the town of Mesilla, New Mexico, local Fort Fillmore and captured a portion of the Union 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry declaring the creation of Confederate Arizona with himself as military governor. Although pro-Confederate in sympathies *The Mesilla Times* criticized several of Baylor's actions and challenging editor Robert P. Kelley to a fight, Baylor battered him so badly, Kelley died soon thereafter. A member of his own cabinet pardoned him. In March, 1862, he sent a letter to his subordinates containing this infamous order. "[U]se all means to persuade the Apaches or any tribe to come in for the purpose of making peace, and when you get them together kill all the grown Indians and take the children prisoners and sell them to defray the expenses of killing the adult Indians".<sup>576</sup> No one ever followed its dictates and Jefferson Davis relieved Baylor of both military and civilian authority. He returned to fight as a private in the Battle of Galveston and from 1863–1865 served in the Confederate Congress. Two weeks before the end of the War, he was re-instated to his previous rank.

He dabbled in politics running unsuccessfully for the Democrat nomination for Texas Governor in 1873 and flirted with the Greenbacks and Populists. In 1876, Baylor offered his services against Sitting Bull in the Sioux War. In 1878, he was given a veteran's land grant and ranched west of San Antonio. Still volatile, Baylor killed a man in 1880 over a stock dispute but no charges were filed. A man who could teach Creek schoolboys and save captured Mexican children and yet kill editors and ranchers while ordering the extermination of southwestern Indians certainly reflects a "Jekyll and Hyde" conflicted personality. Adjectives for Baylor might include conscientious, criminal, callous, racist, occasionally compassionate and murderous. He was also a natural born leader and loved his wife writing her poetry. Does he fit into the symbolic Indian agent representation of pushing for an outbreak of Indian discord to gain land or

---

<sup>576</sup> Robert P. Perkins "John Robert Baylor The Life and Times of Arizona's Confederate Governor"  
<https://azrebel.tripod.com/page15.html>

gold? The answer is no. Like so many Indian agents he was a unique personality in a unique situation. He was simply John Robert Baylor.

#### Defender of the “Peculiar Institution”

Ponder a plot where an Indian agent confronted a divided tribe, favoring one side while the other was led by three white men. But the issue here was not land or gold but attempts to end African chattel slavery and the other men were abolitionist Evangelical Protestant missionaries. In the case of George Butler it happened.

His uncle served as Cherokee agent 1841–1845; his father 1849–1850; his powerful political family was dotted with representatives, senators and governors, so George Butler (1823–1871) seemed a logical and popular choice when he was appointed to succeed his dad in 1850. Initially nominated by a Whig administration, he was re-appointed twice by Democrats and Cherokee George Taylor commented the nation “never had an agent more acceptable”.<sup>577</sup> Born in South Carolina, Butler had moved to Missouri so he also had western connections.

Serving from 1850 to 1860, Butler had an ambiguous perception of the Cherokee calling them “half-civilized” but praising their dedication to schools, having a weekly newspaper and the burgeoning interest of young men to become doctors. In addition, he celebrated their increasing agricultural output and growth of stock raising and their better homes with gardens and shrubbery making a few of them look like “Southern gentlemen of easy circumstances”. Butler agreed with the Cherokee desire to close Fort Gibson, a military post in their midst and negotiate a treaty with the Comanche. He acceded to their desire to move the district courts out of Arkansas into the Indian nations and limit white citizenship in the Nation to those of “good character”. However, his reports constantly chided the Indians for always being in debt as they relied entirely on annuity payments, a tax on lawyers and a tax of ferries to subsidize the government. It was insufficient, forcing some of their prized schools to close and preventing the construction of even a jail. Butler pleaded for more taxation or the sale of the “Neutral Lands” (an 800,000-acre strip of land in present day Kansas guaranteed to the Cherokee in the removal treaty of New Echota in 1835). Neither additional taxes nor sale ever occurred in the 1850s

---

<sup>577</sup> Carolyn Thomas Foreman “Dr. William Butler and George Butler: Cherokee Agents” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 30 no.2 (1952) 164

George Butler's biggest problem though was neither wild Indians nor corrupt whisky sellers but dour faced Baptist and Congregationalist zealots preaching the moral evil of chattel slavery in the Cherokee Nation. Butler was a slaveholder and reputedly brought slaves with him as agent and he took office as both the northern Baptist Board and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions covering Presbyterian and Congregational missionaries pushed their ministers to close church membership to slaveholders. Congregationalist Samuel Worcester long-time missionary to the Cherokee in both Georgia and the Indian Territory refused but did preach against slavery from the pulpit and only used slave labor if absolutely necessary and insisted on paying the slaves. He also bought slaves freedom and protected emancipated slaves from re-enslavement. Butler considered expelling Worcester but his almost thirty years among the Cherokee including a year in jail protesting Georgia law made him untouchable. He died in 1859 and the ABCFM closed its mission among the Cherokee.

Baptist missionary Evan Jones and his son John were a greater problem for Butler as they did expel all Baptist slaveholders (only four) from their predominately full-blood and poorer churches. The agent saw their mission as a threat to not only slavery but Cherokee sovereignty as national law permitted slavery, Butler believed that the churches were trying to achieve political goals through missionary channels. Jones responded that freedom of religion was threatened by both Cherokee law and federal opposition. The younger Jones was expelled but when the agent ordered the sheriff of Goingsnake County to remove Evan Jones his faithful congregation gathered around the church to protect him. Butler predicted church agitation for the "abolition of slavery in the nation" was producing "political strife and discord" which might "prove fatal to the peace and happiness of the Cherokees".<sup>578</sup> It did. The Cherokee Council passed a resolution in 1855 stating "the Cherokee People are and have been for many years a Slaveholding People"<sup>579</sup> and in 1859 slave owning Cherokee organized a chapter of the Knights of the Golden Circle, an organization dedicated to forming a new country with legal slavery. In response other Cherokee founded the Keetoowah Society dedicated to maintaining old Cherokee ways which included no slavery. Butler supported by threats from neighboring Arkansas stridently demanded the Indian Commissioner do something and even used his connections to contact Congress and

---

<sup>578</sup> William G. McLoughlin "Cherokee Slaveholders and Baptist Missionaries, 1845–1860" *Historian* 45, no 2 (1983) 159

<sup>579</sup> McLoughlin "Cherokee Slaveholders" 158–159

the President. Finally Acting Indian Commissioner Charles Mix decided in favor of “religious liberty” over slavery and George Butler’s appointment was not renewed in 1860.

George Butler firmly believed that slavery was not only the key to Cherokee progress but it could apply to all native peoples. He wrote “and I believe if every family of the wild roving tribes of Indians were to own a negro man and woman ... it would do more to civilize them than any other plan that could be adopted”.<sup>580</sup> George Butler served as a captain in the Confederate Army of Sterling Price in the western theater and later moved back to South Carolina where he was killed in 1871 “in a collision with a neighbor”.<sup>581</sup>

George Butler was interested in Indian money but it was a desire to increase taxes or sell excess lands, not stealing annuities. He wanted the parsimonious Cherokee council to pay for improvements rather than shutting down advances in civilization. Most importantly, he rightly saw the Cherokee Nation as the “opening act” to the cataclysmic drama about to beset the American nation.

#### The “White Indian”

The idea of the “white Indian” has long been a part of the dramatic presentation of the American West, as depicted in such movies as *The Savage*, *The Searchers*, and *Dances with Wolves*, but most of these depict a white child raised by Indians, as portrayed in the first biography of this paper regarding William Wells. An adult white choosing to live with the Indians is fairly rare although Colonial American historians have found many instances of the “white Indian” mentality and few in the other direction.

Thomas S. Twiss (1807–1871) by any standards was a fine young man. Intelligent and diligent, he graduated second in his class at West Point ahead of Civil War generals Samuel Heintzelman and Albert Sidney Johnston. He was immediately appointed assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy at the Academy and through some family connection became acquainted with the famous female educator Emma Willard. Willard asked Twiss to mentor her son at the academy and he gladly obliged and soon met one of Willard’s star pupils, Elizabeth Sherill (1800–1866), with whom he fell madly in love. She then left to take charge of a

---

<sup>580</sup> William G. McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokee Evan and John B. Jones* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990) 338

<sup>581</sup> Carolyn Thomas Foreman “Dr. William Butler and George Butler, Cherokee Agents” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 30, no 2 (1952) 172

female seminary in Sparta, Georgia, and Twiss, taking a leave of absence, followed. He briefly returned to assist in building Fort Adams in Newport, Rhode Island, but then resigned his commission to return south and marry Elizabeth. The couple now taught the Sparta school together but Twiss, in his continuing letters to Emma Willard, mentioned Elizabeth's "jumps" and "sudden agitations" and it soon became apparent his wife was physically and mentally fragile, exacerbated by the quick births of three daughters.<sup>582</sup> The two took over the Male and Female Academy in Augusta, Georgia, but Elizabeth just could not function and they resigned. Twiss received a professor's appointment in mathematics, astronomy, and intellectual philosophy at the highly regarded South Carolina College (Now the University of South Carolina). He also moved his ailing wife and their daughters, as well as Elizabeth's mother and his parents onto a farm at Wynantskill, near Troy, New York. Twiss's long commute included three months in New York and the remainder in South Carolina. He taught at South Carolina 1835–1847 and then took a job with the Nesbitt Manufacturing Iron Works in Spartanburg, South Carolina, 1847–1850. Finally, he returned north as resident and consulting engineer for the Buffalo and New York Railroad. At times, Elizabeth would join him at his job, more frequently she stayed at the farm which Twiss regarded as his "city of Refuge".<sup>583</sup> In 1855, Twiss reluctantly accepted the position of Upper Platte agent based at Fort Laramie.

His entry coincided with the American military response to the infamous Grattan Massacre in 1854, where a company of soldiers were killed over the Sioux abduction of a Mormon cow. General William S. Harney was in the midst of conducting an offensive against the Indians, which Twiss hindered by moving all of what he considered were the non-offending Indians out of the line of march. He was dismissed by the commander at Fort Laramie but soon re-instated. Twiss eventually convinced Harney to parley with the Indians. He was a strong believer in talking rather than campaigning/fighting. It would be a hallmark of his administration, trying to prevent stolen horses or a kidnapped emigrant from becoming another Grattan Massacre. Included in his huge agency were Cheyenne, Arapaho, and various bands of Sioux, plus occasional interlopers like the Crow and Blackfoot who stole from the "agency" Indians. His constant refrain was "not a single hostile Indian" inhabited the Upper Platte Agency.

---

<sup>582</sup> Leslie Shores "A Look into the Life of Thomas Twiss, First Indian Agent at Fort Laramie" *Annals of Wyoming* 77, no.1 (2005) 11

<sup>583</sup> Shores "A Look into the Life of Thomas Twiss," 7

Twiss blamed reports of atrocities on a variety of culprits including traders and Mormon emigrants looking for protection and newspapers searching for salacious headlines. Although most sources claim the Indian Police were first organized in 1880, Twiss spoke about founding such an organization in 1859 numbering about a hundred men to control annuity distribution and challenge “war parties” as “soldiers of the Indian agent”.<sup>584</sup> Finally Twiss pushed farming and hopefully schools and a large budget as part of a concerted plan to push back extermination but Washington never responded.

Twiss resigned in early 1861, having weathered conflicts with the military and charges claiming he skimmed some annuity monies. He continued to write the Bureau over how to account for a partial month, two mules, a \$40.00 incorrect voucher form, and a black horse of his successor Joseph Cody (“Buffalo Bill’s” uncle). At some point during his administration, he had married an Indian woman, Mary Standing Elk, half his age and the daughter of a chief. His invalid first wife was still alive and although it’s not clear if she ever knew, his family did. He had moved to Deer Creek, 108 miles northwest of Fort Laramie, and remained there after he retired. Since his father-in-law was a leading Sioux chief, stories have arisen that Twiss became a “white renegade”, aiding the Sioux against the army in Red Cloud’s War (1866–1868) along the Bozeman Trail. Its romantic and popular but is still a hypothesis. In about 1870, Twiss and his Indian family moved to Rulo in extreme southeastern Nebraska to take up a homestead. It is interesting, reading Twiss’s long reports to the Indian Bureau, lecturing them about the Indian mind, intellect, and reasoning like some anthropology professor. Although he contended with the military, he also expertly proclaimed to the Indian Bureau where a series of forts needed to be located. In 1864, Lieutenant Eugene F. Ware at Fort Laramie recorded this event as the soldiers discussed General U.S. Grant’s Vicksburg Campaign, stating “The old man with a white beard and Indian moccasins chimed in ‘Grant did just what Napoleon did’ then used his staff to draw battle diagrams in the dust” and that “The old gentleman went all through the Napoleonic campaign and then went through the Grant campaign, with all of us looking on silently and listening”.<sup>585</sup> It was Thomas Twiss. He may or may not have been a “white renegade” but he

---

<sup>584</sup> Annual Report 1859 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep59> 134

<sup>585</sup> John Koster “Thomas Twiss and His Twist of Fate” Accessed March 31, 2021  
<https://www.historynet.com/thomas-twiss-twist-fate.htm>



preferred peace over war, took an even-handed approach to Indian affairs and never stopped teaching, never.

Certainly, neither George Butler nor Thomas Twiss, two similar men who chose vastly different paths in their relations with Indians, fit any part of the stereotype, partly because the western Sioux and the Indian Territory Cherokee were worlds apart. Twiss was accused of “annuity skimming” but later cleared and the Indians never believed any of it, although as son-in-law of one of the chiefs, he had enemies just like William Wells, the first agent depicted. The numerous Indian tribes, the individualistic Indian agents, as well as the innumerable miscellany of issues and problems led to a diversity that cannot be portrayed in a couple of adjectives.

### **Conclusion**

#### Finding the American Indian Agent

This paper has attempted to present the “real” American Indian agent in exasperating detail. He was a husband, father, church member, inventor, investigator, thinker, fighter, negotiator, and often gadfly in national and state governmental bureaucracies. It must be admitted he was a political appointee dealing with countless issues and personages which left him vulnerable to serial charges of impropriety. In addition, “Indian policy” whether separation, segregation or assimilation never “worked” even if the goal was never clear except to obtain Indian land. Failure demanded scapegoats and the Indian agent was available—political, powerless, and remote. Some of his adversaries had powerful national megaphones as well as being swathed in the garments of societal rectitude. He could not defend himself and slipped into the American consciousness as an opprobrious miscreant and in the process limited national introspection concerning the real possibilities, goals, and failures of the Indian Department.

As the Indian agent exited the historical scene, authors and screenwriters relying on past American beliefs infused “westerns”, movies and later episodic television with a “stock character” villain, the Indian agent. Sometimes he was a buffoonish politico; sometimes an effete Easterner in search of evil allies to survive and prosper. More often he was single mindedly focused on getting Indian land and minerals even if it meant fomenting an Indian uprising. He needed little introduction, as “history” had already defined him.

The historical profession tended to follow, somewhat curiously, the lead of fictional accounts although as some historians began to seriously examine a number of Indian agents the overall sense of the historical community slowly progressed from bad to mostly bad with a few

good guys. Some historians tended to rationalize Indian agent behavior from different perspectives. A few felt the temptations too great even for honest men while others have stressed lack of funding and concomitant emphasis on accounting over action.<sup>586</sup> William Unrau in “The Civilian as Indian Agent: Villain or Victim” in the October 1972 *Western Historical Quarterly* blames Congressional opposition to the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the new Interior Department and ongoing fear of the new department’s potential power for lack of funding and the consequent failures.

Nevertheless, no amount of explanation can account for the continuing generalized simplistic dismissive depiction of the Indian agent as cruel and cupidinous when facts tend to show the opposite. Now this study only covers the period 1791–1861, so later Indian agents may better reflect the stereotype. Certainly during the Civil War 1861–1865, when everything took second position to the war effort, misconduct was possible. However, the use of military officers, Quakers and other Christian denominational recommendations from 1869–1882 hardly seems conducive to criminal behavior. Perhaps the reemergence of the Democrat party in 1885 and the need for patronage jobs led to greater problems. Although this was the period that saw the emergence of Civil Service reform as well as the return of military officers as agents in the 1890s. Maybe it was a “self-fulfilling prophecy” of low expectations. Although a number of Indian agents were investigated, only two ever went to jail, an Idaho agent in the late 1890s and a Montana agent in the early 1900s.

Conceivably the conventional representation of the Indian agent has little to do with facts, truth or history. In an episode entitled “Lisa the Iconoclast” from the long running American animated comedic-satire series *The Simpsons*,<sup>587</sup> daughter Lisa must make a decision to tell the truth about Jedidiah Springfield, the town’s namesake and local hero. In fact, he is a fraud and malefactor but surveying the cheering crowd of men, women, children, veterans and immigrants, she simply reiterates “Jedidiah Springfield was a great man”. His “story” is a bonding element for the community more important than the facts. More succinctly spoken on the same topic is

---

<sup>586</sup> Stephen Rockwell *Indian Affairs and the Administrative State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 189-190; Ginette M. Alsey Chapter Four “Agents of Influence: The Limits of Indian Policy in the Early Midwest, 1823-1828” in “Westward expansion, John Tipton, and the Emergence of the American Midwest 1800-1839” (PhD diss Iowa State University, 2005)

<sup>587</sup> *The Simpsons*: Animated satirical television series running from 1989 to the present parodying American life of a fictional family in a fictional community. It was created by Matt Groening for the Fox Network and has won many awards.

one of the most famous lines in cinema from *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)<sup>588</sup>, “When the legend becomes fact, print the legend”.

Does the American history narrative need the evil and perfidious Indian agent? Simply categorizing him “settles” the issue and allows academic and popular opinion to agree the Indians got a bad deal and move on to more important topics. But dangers lurk. From the online Encyclopedia of the Great Plains of the University of Nebraska is this sentence in a discussion of Indian agents. “Many others were corrupt, taking advantage of the remoteness of their situations by skimming their charges’ annuities or by colluding with settlers to steal Indian lands”.<sup>589</sup> It suggests the Indian agent and whites conspired to gain Indian lands but between 1791–1861, that never happened in fact the great opponent of the settler and his acquisitive longing for Indian land was the Indian agent.

History is messy. The hero makes bad decisions, the villain is sometimes heroic. The American Indian agent could be criminal or inept but mostly he tried with limited direction to calm the frontier, provide fair trading, run the hodgepodge that comprised agency administration, follow confused directions of the Indian Department and protect his agency Indians from greedy traders, land hungry settlers, foreign agents, other Indians and each other. The “messy” truth is preferable to simplistic platitudes. The story of the history of indigenous peoples in America and the policies of the American government and its effects on the consciousness of the nation is too important for stock characters and stereotypes.

---

<sup>588</sup> “The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance” 1962 American western movie starring John Wayne and James Stewart

<sup>589</sup> David J. Wishart, (ed) Encyclopedia of the Great Plains University of Nebraska-Lincoln 2011 Indian Agents Plainshumanties.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.pg.o32.xml

## Bibliography

### Books

- Abel, Annie Heloise. *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1915.
- Adair, James. *The History of the American Indians*. London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775.
- Adams, F. G., comp. *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*. Vol 4. *Embracing the Fifth and Sixth Biennial Reports, 1886-1888*. Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1890.
- Allison, Brian. *Murder & Mayhem in Nashville*. Mount Pleasant: Arcadia Publishing, 2016.
- The American Annual Cyclopeda and Register of Important Events of the Year 1868*. Vol. 8. New York: D. Appleton, 1869.
- Anderson, Gary Clayton. *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
- Andreas, A. T. *History of Chicago Ending with the Year 1857*. Vol. 1. Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884.
- Antal, Sandy. *A Wampum Denied: Proctor's War of 1812*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.
- Armstrong, Zella, comp. *Notable Southern Families*. Vol. 2. Chattanooga: Lookout Publishing, 1922.
- Atkinson, Henry, and Stephen Watts Kearny. *Wheel Boats on the Missouri: The Journals and Documents of the Atkinson O'Fallon Expedition, 1824-1826*. Edited by Richard E. Jenson, and James S. Hutchins. Lincoln: Montana Historical Society Press; Nebraska State Historical Society, 2001.
- Atkinson, James R. *Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.
- Bagley, Will. *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.
- Baird, W. David. *Peter Pitchlynn: Chief of the Choctaws*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.

- . *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.
- Banasik, Michael E., ed. *Confederate "Tales of the War" in the Trans-Mississippi, Part One, 1861: Unwritten Chapters of the Civil War West of the River*. Vol. 7. Iowa City: Camp Pope, 2010.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *History of the Pacific States of North America*, Vol. 20. *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*. San Francisco: The History Company, 1890.
- . *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*. Vol. 3. *History of Oregon*. Vol. 2, 1848-88. San Francisco: History, 1888.
- . *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Vol. 31, *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana, 1845-1889*. San Francisco: History, 1890.
- Banner, Stuart. *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Bateman, Newton, and Paul Selby, eds. *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Hancock County*. Vol. 2. Chicago: Munsell, 1921.
- Bay, W. V. N. *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri: With an Appendix*. St. Louis: F. H. Thomas, 1878.
- Bays, Brad A., and Erin Hogan Fouberg, *The Tribes and the States: Geographies of Intergovernmental Interaction*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.
- Bearss, Edwin C., and Arrell M. Gibson, *Fort Smith, Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.
- Beatty-Medina, Charles, and Melissa Rinehart, eds. *Contested Territories: Native Americans and Non-Natives in the Lower Great Lakes, 1700-1850*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012.
- Beck, David R. M. *Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634-1856*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
- . *The Struggle for Self-Determination: History of the Menominee Indians Since 1854*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

- Becker, Cynthia S., and P. David Smith, *The Life & Times of Lafayette Head: Early Pioneer of Southwest Colorado*. Lake City: Western Reflections, 2019.
- Belko, William S., ed. *America's Hundred Years' War: U.S. Expansion to the Gulf Coast and the Fate of the Seminole, 1763-1858*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.
- Benn, Carl. *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Berthrong, Donald J. *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875-1907*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- Bigler, David L., and Will Bagley. *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857-1858*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011.
- Billingsley, Carolyn Earle. *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.
- Billington, Ray Allen. *The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860*. New York: Harper Torchbooks: Harper & Row, 1956.
- Biographical Review of Hancock County, Illinois: Containing Biographical and Genealogical Sketches of Many of the Prominent Citizens of To-day and also of the Past*. Chicago: Hobart, 1907.
- Blaine, Martha Royce. *The Ioway Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.
- Blee, Lisa. *Framing Chief Leschi: Narratives and the Politics of Historical Justice*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.
- Bolton, S. Charles. *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless (Histories of Arkansas)*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998.
- Boughter, Judith A. *Betraying the Omaha Nation, 1790-1916*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.
- . *The Pawnee Nation: An Annotated Research Bibliography, Native American Bibliography Series. No. 28*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004.
- Bowes, John P. *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.
- Boylan, Doug. *Family Ties and Tales: Family History of Doug Boylan*. Final ed. Self-published, 2018.

- Braund, Kathryn E. Holland, ed. *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War and the War of 1812*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012.
- Bremer, Richard G. *Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar: The Life of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft*. Mount Pleasant: Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University, 1987.
- Brigham, Johnson. *Iowa: Its History and its Foremost Citizens*. Vol. 1. Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1915.
- Brown, John Henry. *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*. Greenville: Southern Historical Press, 1994.
- Brown, Walter Lee. *A Life of Albert Pike*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997.
- Buckley, Jay H. *William Clark: Indian Diplomat*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.
- Burton, Clarence M., ed. *The City of Detroit, 1701-1922*. Vol. 2. Detroit: S. J. Clarke, 1922.
- Butterfield, C. W. *History of Grant County, Wisconsin*. Chicago: Western Historical, 1881.
- Byrum, C. Stephen, *McMinn County, Tennessee County History Series*. Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1984.
- Cahill, Catherine D., *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Cannell, Lin Tull, *The Intermediary: William Craig Among the Nez Perces*. Carleton: Ridenbaugh Press, 2010.
- Carey, Charles Henry. *History of Oregon, Illustrated*. Chicago: Pioneer Historical, 1922.
- Carmony, Donald F. *Indiana 1816-1850: The Pioneer Era*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1998.
- Carter, Edwin C. (ed), "William McClellan to Thomas L. McKenney," *The Territorial Papers of the United States XIX* Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953: 293–294.
- Carson, James Taylor. "Greenwood LeFlore, Southern Creole, Choctaw Chief" in *Pre-Removal Choctaw History: Exploring New Paths*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.
- . *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
- Carson, Kit, and Milo Milton Quaife, ed. *Kit Carson's Autobiography*. Chicago: Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1935).

- Carson, Kit. *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life: Facsimile of Original 1926 Edition*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2006.
- Carter, Cecile Elkins. *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- Carter, Harvey Lewis. *Dear Old Kit: The Historical Christopher Carson*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.
- Carter, Kent. *The Dawes Commission and the Allotment of the Five Civilized Tribes, 1893-1914*. Orem: Ancestry, 1999.
- Cashion, Ty. *A Texas Frontier: The Clear Fork Country and Fort Griffin, 1849-1887*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Caughey, John W., ed. *The Indians of Southern California in 1852: The B. D. Wilson Report*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Chaky, Doreen. *Terrible Justice: Sioux Chiefs and U.S. Soldiers on the Upper Missouri, 1854-1868*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.
- Chazanof, William. *Joseph Ellicott and the Holland Land Company: The Opening of Western New York*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1970.
- Chinn, Jenny. *The Kansas Journey*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2005.
- Christensen, Lawrence O. et al., eds. *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999.
- Christian, Shirley. *Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Choteaus; The French Dynasty that Ruled the America's Frontier*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.
- Clifton, James A. *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665-1965*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977.
- Coker, William S., and Thomas D. Watson. *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1986.
- Collections of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan*. Vol. 6. Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford, 1907.
- Collins, Lewis. *History of Kentucky*. Vol. 2. Covington: Collins, 1874.
- Colpitts, George. *North America's Indian Trade in European Commerce and Imagination, 1580-1850*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.



- Connelley, William Elsey. *Quantrill and the Border Wars*. Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1910.
- Corbett, Christopher. *Orphans Preferred: The Twisted Truth and Lasting Legend of the Pony Express*. New York: Broadway Books, 2003.
- Cordry, Eugene Allen. *History of New Lebanon, Cooper County, Missouri*. New Lebanon: VKM, 1976.
- Cotterill, Robert Spencer. *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.
- Cuch, Forrest S. *History of Utah's American Indians*. Logan: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs, 2003.
- Cummings, Richard W. *Cummings' Vocabulary of Shawnee*. Merchantville: Evolution, 2001.
- Curtiss-Wedge, Franklyn, comp. *History of Buffalo and Pepin Counties, Wisconsin*. Winona: H. C. Cooper, Jr., 1919.
- Danziger, Edmund Jefferson, Jr. *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.
- . *Indians and Bureaucrats: Administering the Reservation Policy During the Civil War*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974.
- Davis, A. J., ed. *History of Clarion County, Pennsylvania*. Syracuse: D. Mason, 1887.
- Day, Clarence S. Jr., comp. *Decennial Record of the Class of 1896, Yale College*. New York: De Vinne Press, 1907.
- Debo, Angie. *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.
- DeJong, David H. *Stealing the Gila: The Pima Agricultural Economy and Water Deprivation, 1848-1921*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009.
- Delo, David. *Peddlers and Post Traders: The Army Sutler on the Frontier*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1974.
- DeRosier, Arthur H., Jr. "Myths and Realities in Indian Westward Removal: The Choctaw Example." In *4 Centuries of Southern Indians*, edited by Charles M. Hudson. 1975. Reissued, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007.
- . *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1970.

- Dippie, Brian. *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.
- Dorman, John Frederick. *Genealogies of Virginia families: From Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. Baltimore: Genealogical, 1981.
- Ecelbarger, Gary L. *Frederick W. Lander: The Great Natural American Soldier*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.
- Edgerton, A. J., comp. *Compilation of the Railroad Laws of Minnesota*. Saint Paul: William S. Combs, 1872.
- Edmunds, R. David. *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.
- , ed. *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008.
- Egan, Ferol. *Sand in a Whirlwind: The Paiute Indian War of 1860*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1972.
- Ehle, John. *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1988.
- Ellisor, John T. *The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Ely, Glen Sample. *The Texas Frontier and the Butterfield Overland Mail, 1858-1861*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.
- Ewers, John C. *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.
- Fagan, David D. *History of Benton County, Oregon*. Portland: A. G. Walling, 1885.
- Farmer, Jared. *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians and the American Landscape*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Fenin, George N., and William K. Everson. *The Western: From Silents to Cinerama*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1962.
- Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Bible Society*. New York: American Bible Society, 1874.
- Fixico, Donald L. *Bureau of Indian Affairs: Landmarks of the American Mosaic*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood, Imprint of ABC-CLIO, 2012.

- Fletcher, Matthew L. M. *The Eagle Returns: The Legal History of the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012.
- Foreman, Grant. *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- . *The Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.
- French, Laurence Armand. *Legislating Indian Country: Significant Milestones in Transforming Tribalism*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Friend, Llerena B. *Sam Houston, The Great Designer*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954.
- Fritz, Henry E. *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- Frost, Warwick, and Jennifer Laing. *Imagining the American West through Film and Tourism*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Garraghan, Gilbert J., SJ. *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City: An Historical Sketch*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1920.
- Genaw, Linda M. *At the Crossroads, a History of Central Point, 1850-1900*. Self-published, 1989.
- Gibson, Arrell M. *The Chickasaws*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.
- . *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Gihon, John H., MD. *Geary and Kansas. Governor Geary: Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas with a Complete History of the Territory until 1857*. Philadelphia: Chas. C. Rhodes, 1857.
- Gilman, Rhoda R. *Henry Hastings Sibley: Divided Heart*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004.
- Gilmer, George R., *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and the Author*. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1965.
- Gilmore, Donald L. *Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border*. Gretna: Pelican, 2006.
- Gilpin, Alec R. *The Territory of Michigan (1805-1837)*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1970.

- Glasrud, Bruce A., and Harold J. Weiss, Jr., eds. *Tracking the Texas Rangers: The Nineteenth Century*. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2012.
- Gleed, Charles S., ed. *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting Held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879*. Kansas City: Press of Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1880.
- Goodspeed Publishing. *History of Benton, Washington, Carroll, Madison, Crawford, Franklin and Sebastian Counties, Arkansas*. Chicago: Goodspeed, 1889.
- Gordon-McCutchan, R. C., ed. *Kit Carson: Indian Fighter or Indian Killer?* Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1996.
- Green, Michael S. *Nevada: A History of the Silver State*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2015.
- Green, Thomas Marshall. *Historic Families of Kentucky*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1889.
- Gregory, Jack Dwain, and Rennard Strickland. *Sam Houston with the Cherokees, 1829-1833*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Griswold B. J. *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*. Chicago: Robert O. Law, 1917.
- Grumet, Robert S., *The Munsee Indians: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009.
- Gue, Benjamin F. *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Century History, 1903.
- Guice, John D. W., ed. *By His Own Hand? The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis: Contributions by James J. Holmberg, John D. W. Guice, and Jay H. Buckley*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
- Gulick, Bill. *Snake River Country*. Caldwell: Caxton, 1986.
- Hafen, LeRoy R., and W. J. Ghent. *Broken Hand: The Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick: Mountain Man, Guide, and Indian Agent*. Denver: Old West, 1931.
- Hafen, LeRoy R., ed. *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*. Vol. 7. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1965.
- , ed. *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West: Eighteen Biographical Sketches*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.
- Hagan, William T. *American Indians*, 4th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- . *The Sac and Fox Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

- Hall, John W. *Uncommon Defense: Indian Allies in the Black Hawk War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Hallum, John. *Biographical and Pictorial History of Arkansas*. Vol. 1. Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1887.
- Hamalainen, Pekka. *The Comanche Empire* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009
- Hancks, Larry K. *The Emigrant Tribes: Wyandot, Delaware and Shawnee; A Chronology*. Kansas City, 1998.
- Harjo, Suzan Shown, ed. *Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations*. Washington DC: National Museum of the American Indian in Association with Smithsonian Books, 2014.
- Hart, E. Richard. *Pedro Pino: Governor of Zuni Pueblo, 1830-1878*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003.
- Hatch, Laura Wayland-Smith, comp. *Rectors Remembered: The Descendants of John Jacob Rector Williamson*. New York: Salmon Creek, 2014.
- Hatch, Thom. *Osceola and the Great Seminole War: A Struggle for Justice and Freedom*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012.
- Hauptman, Laurence M., and L. Gordon McLester, III. *Chief Daniel Bread and the Oneida Nation of Indians of Wisconsin*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.
- , eds. *The Oneida Indian Journey: From New York to Wisconsin, 1784-1860*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.
- Haveman, Christopher D. *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, and Ethnic Cleansing in the American South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016.
- Haydon, James Ryan. *Chicago's True Founder, Thomas J. V. Owen: A Pleading for Truth and for Social Justice in Chicago History*. Lombard: Owen Memorial Fund, 1934.
- Heard, J. Norman. *Handbook of the American Frontier: Four Centuries of Indian-White Relationships*. Vol. 4, *The Far West*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1997.
- . *Handbook of the American Frontier: Four Centuries of Indian-White Relationships*. Vol. 1, *The Southeastern Woodlands*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1987.
- Heath, William. *William Wells and the Struggle for the Old Northwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.

- Hempstead, Fay. *A Pictorial History of Arkansas: From Earliest Times to the Year 1890*. St. Louis: N. D. Thompson, 1890.
- Higham, C. L. *Noble, Wretched, & Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.
- Hill, Edward E. *The Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880: Historical Sketches*. New York: Clearwater, 1974.
- Hines, Rev. H. K. *An Illustrated History of the State of Washington*. Chicago: Lewis, 1893.
- Hinton, Harwood P., and Jerry Thompson. *Courage Above All Things: General John Ellis Wool and the U.S. Military, 1812-1863*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020.
- History of Green County, Wisconsin: History of Wisconsin, Illustrated*. Springfield: Union, 1884.
- History of Jasper County, Missouri: Including a Condensed History of the State; A Complete History of Carthage and Joplin, Illustrated*. Des Moines: Mills, 1883.
- History of Marion County, Ohio*. Chicago: Leggett, Conaway, 1883.
- Hodge, Frederick Webb, ed. *Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Part 1, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.
- Hoig, Stanley W. *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs: In the Wake of Empire*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998.
- . *The Choteaus: First Family of the Fur Trade*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- . *Jesse Chisholm: Ambassador of the Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
- . *A Travel Guide to the Plains Indian Wars*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
- Holmes, Gail Geo. *The Chiefs of Council Bluffs: Five Leaders of the Missouri Valley Tribes*. Charleston: History Press, 2012.
- Houston, Robert B., Jr. *Two Colorado Odysseys: Chief Ouray Porter Nelson*. New York: iUniverse, 2005.
- Hoxie, Frederick E. *Parading through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805-1935*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- Hoxie, Frederick E., Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Native Americans and the Early Republic*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.
- Hulse, James. *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted*. 3rd ed. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004.
- Hunt, Roger D. *Colonels in Blue: Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee: A Civil War Biographical Dictionary*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2014.
- Hurlbut, Henry H. *Chicago Antiquities: Comprising Original Items and Relations, Letters, Extracts, and Notes Pertaining to Early Chicago*. Chicago: Printed for the Author, 1881.
- Hurtado, Albert L. *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Hyde, George E. *The Pawnee Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951.
- . *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937.
- Indian Claims Commission Decisions*. Vol. 16. Boulder: Native American Rights Fund, 1978.
- Ingalls, Sheffield. *A History of Atchison County, Kansas*. Lawrence: Standard, 1916.
- Ishii, Izumi. *Bad Fruits of the Civilized Tree: Alcohol & the Sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.
- Ivey, Darren L. *The Texas Rangers: A Registry and History*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2010.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealing with Some of the Indian Tribes*. Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1964.
- James, Edwin, Stephen Harriman Long, and Thomas Say. *James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820*. Carlisle: Applewood Books, 1970.
- Jarvie, Ian Charles. *Towards a Sociology of the Cinema*. London: Routledge, 1970.
- Jensen, Richard E., ed. *The Pawnee Mission Letters, 1834-1851*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Johnson, Crisfield. *History of Branch County, Michigan, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia: Everts and Abbott, 1879.
- Johnson, J. B., ed. *History of Vernon County, Missouri: Past and Present; Including an Account of the Cities, Towns and Villages of the County*. Vol. 1. Chicago: C. F. Cooper, 1911.

- Johnson, William Foreman. *History of Cooper County, Missouri, Illustrated*. Topeka: Historical, 1919.
- Kane, Joseph Nathan, and Charles Curry Aiken. *The American Counties: Origins of County Names, Dates of Creation, and Population Data, 1950-2000*. 5th ed. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2005.
- Keenan, Jerry. *The Terrible Indian Wars of the West: A History from the Whitman Massacre to Wounded Knee, 1846-1890*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2016.
- Kelly, Howard A., and Walter L. Burrage. *American Medical Biographies*. Baltimore: Norman, Remington, 1920.
- Kelly, Mark William. *Lost Voices on the Missouri: John Dougherty and the Indian Frontier*. Leavenworth: Sam Clark, 2013.
- Kingsbury, George W. *History of Dakota Territory, South Dakota, its History and its People*. Edited by George Martin Smith. Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1915.
- Kiser, William S. *Dragoons in Apacheland: Conquest and Resistance in Southern New Mexico, 1846-1861*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013.
- Knetsch, Joe. *Florida's Seminole Wars: 1817-1858*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003.
- Knight, William. H., ed. *Hand-Book Almanac for the Pacific States: An Official Register and Year-Book of Facts, For the Year 1862*. San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft, 1862.
- Krick, Robert E. L. *Staff Officers in Gray: A Biographical Register of the Staff Officers in the Army of Northern Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Kugel, Rebecca. *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998.
- La Vere, David. *Life Among the Texas Indians: The WPA Narratives*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998.
- Lancaster, Jane F. *Removal Aftershock: The Seminoles' Struggles to Survive in the West, 1836-1866*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994.
- Lang, H. O., ed. *The History of the Willamette Valley, Being a Description of the Valley and its Resources, with an Account of its Discovery and Settlement by White Men, and its Subsequent History; Together with Personal Reminiscences of its Early Pioneers*. Portland: Geo. H. Himes, 1885.



- Lang, William L. *A Confederacy of Ambition: William Winlock Miller and the Making of Washington Territory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.
- Latimer, Jon. *1812 War with America*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Lawson, Publius V. *History, Winnebago County, Wisconsin: Its Cities, Towns, Resources, People*. Vol. 1. Chicago: C. F. Cooper, 1908.
- Levesque, Ellen, comp. *Members of the Territorial Legislature, 1854-1887*. Olympia: Washington State Library, 1989.
- Lewis, David Rich. *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment and Agrarian Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Locke, Raymond Friday. *The Book of the Navajo*. 6th ed. Los Angeles: Mankind, 2001.
- Longacre, Glenn V., and John E. Haas, eds. *To Battle for God and the Right: The Civil War Letter Books of Emerson Opdycke*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- Lounsberry, Clement A. *North Dakota History and People; Outlines of American History*. Vol. 1. Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1917.
- Lyden, Fremont J., and Lyman H. Legters, eds. *Native Americans and Public Policy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992.
- Lyman, William D. *Lyman's History of Old Walla Walla County Embracing Walla Walla, Columbia, Garfield and Asotin Counties, Illustrated*. Vol. 1. Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1918.
- Lynch, James D. *Bench and Bar of Mississippi*. New York: E. J. Hale & Son, 1881.
- Mahon, John K. *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842*. Gainesville: Library Press@UF, 1967.
- Mahoney, Timothy R. *Provincial Lives: Middle-Class Experience in the Antebellum Middle West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Malone, Henry Thompson. *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956.
- Malone, James H. *The Chickasaw Nation: A Short Sketch of a Noble People*. Louisville: John P. Morton, 1922.
- Manypenny, George W. *Our Indian Wards*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1880.
- Mardock, Richard Winston. *The Reformers and the American Indian*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971.

- Martin, Deborah B. *History of Brown County, Wisconsin: Past and Present, Illustrated*. Vol. 1. Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1913.
- Mathews, John Joseph. *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.
- McBride, Lela J. *Opothleyaholo and the Loyal Muskogee: Their Flight to Kansas in the Civil War*. Jefferson: McFarland, 1999.
- McCaslin, Richard B., Donald E. Chipman, and Andrew J. Torget, eds. *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell*. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013.
- McClure, Clarence Henry. *History of Missouri: A Text Book of State History for Use in Elementary Schools*. Chicago: A. S. Barnes, 1920.
- McCutchan, Joseph D. *Mier Expedition Diary: A Texan Prisoner's Account*. Edited by Joseph Milton Nance. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978.
- McDermott, John D., R. Eli Paul, and Sandra J. Lowry. *All Because of a Mormon Cow: Historical Accounts of the Grattan Massacre, 1854-1855*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.
- McGregor, Malcolm G. *The Biographical Record of Jasper County, Missouri, Illustrated*. Chicago: Lewis, 1901.
- McKee, Jesse O., and Jon A. Schlenker. *The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native American Tribe*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980.
- McLoughlin, William G. *Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- . *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- McNitt, Frank. *The Indian Traders*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- McReynolds, Edwin C. *The Seminoles*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.
- McWhorter, Lucullus Virgil. *Tragedy of the Wakh-shum: The Death of Andrew J. Bolon, Indian Agent to the Yakima Nation*. Issaquah: Great Eagle, 1994.
- Mering, John Vollmer. *The Whig Party in Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1967.
- Meyer, Roy W. *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

- Michno, Gregory, and Susan Michno. *A Fate Worse than Death: Indian Captivities in the West, 1830-1885*. Caldwell: Caxton Press, 2007.
- Michno, Gregory. *The Settlers' War: The Struggle for the Texas Frontier in the 1860s*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.
- Miles, Tiya. *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Miller, David W. *The Forced Removal of American Indians from the Northeast: A History of Territorial Cessions and Relocations, 1620-1854*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2011.
- Miller, Robert J. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Westport: Praeger, 2006.
- Millett, Larry. *Once There Were Castles: Lost Mansion and Estates of the Twin Cities*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Minges, Patrick N. *Slavery in the Cherokee Nation: The Keetoowah Society and the Defining of a People, 1855-1867*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Missall, John, and Mary Lou Missall. *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.
- Moore, Stephen L. *Savage Frontier: Rangers, Riflemen and Indian Wars in Texas*. Vol. 2, 1838-1839. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2006.
- . *Savage Frontier: Rangers, Riflemen and Indian Wars in Texas*. Vol. 3, 1840-1841. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2007.
- Morgan, Dale L., and Gregory E. Smoak. *Indian Affairs on the California Trail, 1849-1860*. Louisville: University Press of Colorado, 2007.
- Morgan, Dale L., and Richard L. Saunders, ed. *Shoshonean Peoples and the Overland Trail: Frontiers of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1851-1858*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2007.
- . *Shoshonean Peoples and the Overland Trail: Frontiers of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1849-1869*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2007.
- Morgan, Ted A. *Shovel of Stars: The Making of the American West to the Present*. New York: Touchstone, 1995.
- Morton, John Sterling. *Illustrated History of Nebraska*. Vol. 2. Lincoln: Jacob North, 1907.
- Moulton, Gary E. *John Ross: Cherokee Chief*. Athen: University of Georgia Press, 1978.

- Napton, William Barclay. *Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri*. Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen, 1910.
- National Historical Company. *History of Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri: Written and Compiled from the Most Authentic Official and Private Sources*. St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883.
- Neighbours, Kenneth F. *Robert Simpson Neighbors and the Texas Frontier, 1836-1859*. Waco: Texian Press, 1975.
- Nelson, Kurt, R. *Treaties and Treachery: The Northwest Indians' Resistance to Conquest*. Caldwell: Caxton Press, 2011.
- Newcomb, William W., Jr. *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961.
- Nichols, David Allen. *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1978.
- Nichols, David Andrews. *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.
- Nowland, John H. B. *Sketches of Prominent Citizens of 1876: With a Few of the Pioneers of the City and County Who Have Passed Away*. Indianapolis: Tilford & Carlon, 1877.
- North Pacific History Company. *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*. Vol. 1, 1889. Portland: North Pacific History, n.d.
- Nye, W. S. *Carbine and Lance: Story of Old Fort Sill*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937.
- Oberg, Michael Leroy. *Professional Indian: The American Odyssey of Eleazer Williams*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Oberly, James W. *A Nation of Statesmen: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815-1972*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.
- Oertel, Kristen Tegtmeier. *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender and Violence in Pre-Civil War Kansas*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009.
- Olson, Greg. *Ioway Life: Reservation and Reform, 1837-1860*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.
- Olson, James C. *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.

- Osburn, Katherine M. *Choctaw Resurgence in Mississippi: Race, Class and Nation Building in the Jim Crow South, 1830-1977*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014.
- Ostler, Jeffrey *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States from the American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019
- Ourada, Patricia K. *The Menominee Indians: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.
- Owen, Thomas McAdory. *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*. Vol. 4. Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1921.
- Owens, Robert M. *Red Dreams, White Nightmares: Pan Indian Alliances in the Anglo-American Mind, 1763-1815*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.
- Parins, James W. *John Rollin Ridge: His Life and Works*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.
- Parks, Ronald D. *The Darkest Period: The Kanza Indians and Their Last Homeland, 1846-1873*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.
- Parsons, Joseph, Jr. *Review of Letter Book of the Indian Agency at Fort Wayne, 1809-1815*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1962.
- Peake, Ora Brooks. *A History of the United States Indian Factory System, 1795-1822*. Denver: Sage Books, 1954.
- Perrin, William Henry, ed. *County of Christian, Kentucky: Historical and Biographical, Illustrated*. Chicago: F. A. Battey, 1884.
- Pershing, M. W. *Life of General John Tipton and Early Indiana History*. Tipton: Tipton Literary and Suffrage Club, 1900.
- Peters, DeWitt C. *The Life and Adventures of Kit Carson: The Nestor of the Rocky Mountains, from Facts Narrated by Himself*. New York: W. R. C. Clark, 1858.
- Peyton, John Lewis, *History of Augusta County, Virginia*. Staunton: Samuel M. Yost & Son, 1882.
- Phillips, George Harwood. *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Ponce, Pearl. *To Govern the Devil in Hell: The Political Crisis in Territorial Kansas*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014.

- Potter David Morris, ed. *Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.
- Pound, Merritt B. *Benjamin Hawkins: Indian Agent*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951.
- Price, Catherine. *The Oglala People, 1841-1879: A Political History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- . *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Abridged ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.
- Ramsey, Robert E. *An Oasis Remembered: An Indian Agency: Sacaton, Arizona*. Victoria: Trafford, 2004.
- Reeves, Carolyn Keller, ed. *The Choctaw Before Removal*. Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 1985.
- Reid, Captain Mayne. *Osceola the Seminole or The Red Fawn of the Flower Land*. New York: Carleton, 1882.
- Remley, David. *Kit Carson: The Life of an American Border Man*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.
- Ricky, Donald. *Encyclopedia of Kansas Indians*. St. Clair Shores: Somerset, 1999.
- . *Encyclopedia of Mississippi Indians*. Santa Barbara: Somerset, 2000.
- Robarts, W. M. Hugh, comp. *Mexican War Veterans: A Complete Roster*. Washington DC: Brentano's (A. S. Witherbee, Proprietors), 1887.
- Robertson, Nellie Armstrong, and Dorothy Riker (eds.), *The John Tipton Papers, Volume I, 1809-1827* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942).
- Robinson, Sherry. *I Fought a Good Fight: A History of the Lipan Apaches*. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013.
- Rockwell, Stephen J. *Indian Affairs and the Administrative State in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Rogers, Brent M. *Unpopular Sovereignty: Mormons and the Federal Management of Early Utah Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017.

- Ronan, Peter, and Bigart, Robert J., ed. "*A Great Many of Us Have Good Farms*": *Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1877-1887*. Pablo: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014.
- . *Justice to be Accorded to the Indians: Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1888-1893*. Pablo: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014.
- Rowland, Dunbar. *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1908*. Nashville: Press of the Brandon, 1908.
- Ruby, Robert H., and John A. Brown. *Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981.
- Sabin, Edwin. *Kit Carson Days, 1809-1868*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1914.
- Saler, Bethel. *The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Sánchez, Virginia. *Pleas and Petitions: Hispano Culture and Legislative Conflict in Territorial Colorado*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2020.
- Satz, Ronald N. *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974.
- Saum, Lewis O. *The Fur Trader and the Indian*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965.
- Schwartz, E. A. *The Rogue River Indian War and its Aftermath, 1850-1980*. London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Settle, Raymond W., and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955.
- Seymour, Flora Warren. *Indian Agents of the Old Frontier*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1941.
- Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1973.
- Shinn, Josiah H. *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*. 1908. Reprinted, Little Rock: Genealogical and Historical, 1967.
- Shrake, Peter. *The Silver Man: The Life and Times of Indian Agent, John Kinzie*. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016.
- Simmon, Scott. *The Invention of the Western Film: A Cultural History of the Genre's First Half-Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Simmons, Marc. *Kit Carson & His Three Wives: A Family History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.
- Skaggs, David Curtis, and Larry L. Nelson, eds. *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001.
- Sleeper-Smith, Susan. *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.
- Smith, E. Todd. *From Dominance to Disappearance: The Indians of Texas and the Near Southwest, 1786-1859*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Sprague, J. T. *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*. New York: D. Appleton, 1848.
- St. Jean, Wendy. *Remaining Chickasaw in Indian Territory, 1830s-1907*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011.
- Stagg, John Charles Anderson. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783-1830*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Stamm, Henry Edwin, IV. *People of the Wind River: The Eastern Shoshones, 1825-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Statement of the Saint Paul and Pacific*. New York: John W. Amerman, 1862.
- Stoddard, Robert H. *Ancestral Journeys: A Personal Geography*. Self-published, AuthorHouse, 2016.
- Sturtevant, William C., and Alfonso Ortiz, eds. *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 10. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.
- Sundberg, Lawrence D. *Red Shirt: The Life and Times of Henry Lafayette Dodge*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2013.
- Sunder, John E. *Joshua Pilcher: Fur Trader and Indian Agent*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.
- . *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.
- Swanger, John E. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri for the Years 1907-1908*. Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing, 1908.
- Swanton, John R. *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.



- Synder, Charles M., ed. *Red and White on the New York Frontier: A Struggle for Survival: Insights from the Papers of Erastus Granger, Indian Agent, 1807-1819*. Harrison: Harbor Hill Books, 1978.
- Taliaferro, Lawrence. *Auto-Biography of Major Lawrence Taliaferro: Written in 1864*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1894.
- Tate, Michael L. *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails, 1840-1870*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
- Taylor, Alan. *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels & Indian Allies*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010.
- Taylor, John, and Chester Raymond Young, ed. *Baptists on the American Frontier: A History of Ten Baptist Churches of Which the Author Has Been Alternately a Member*. Annotated 3rd ed. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995.
- Thoburn, Joseph B. *A Standard History of Oklahoma*. Vol. 4. Chicago: American Historical Society, 1916.
- Thrapp, Dan L. *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography: In Three Volumes*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1988.
- Transactions of the American Art-Union for the Year 1847*. New York: G. F. Nesbitt, 1848.
- Trask, Kerry A. *Black Hawk: The Battle for the Heart of America*. New York: Henry Holt, 2006.
- Trennert, Robert A., Jr. *Indian Traders on the Middle Border: The House of Ewing, 1827-54*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.
- Tsompanas, Paul L. *Juan Patron: A Fallen Star in the Days of Billy the Kid*. Richmond: Belle Isle Books, Imprint of Brandylane, 2012.
- Turley, Richard E., Jr., Janiece L. Johnson, and LaJean Purcell Carruth, eds. *Mountain Meadows Massacre: Collected Legal Papers, 2 Volumes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017.
- The United States Biographical Dictionary: Kansas Volume*. Chicago: S. Lewis, 1879.
- Unrau, William E. *The Kansas Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673-1873*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.
- Unrau, William E., and H. Craig Miner. *Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

- Vollman, William T. *Seven Dreams A Book of North American Landscapes* "The Dying Grass: A Novel of the Nez Perce War" New York" Penguin Books, 2015
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Warde, Mary Jane. *When the Wolf Came: The Civil War and the Indian Territory*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2013.
- Warren, Stephen. *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- Warren, William W. *History of the Ojibway People*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Press, 1984.
- Washburn, Josiah Woodward. *Report of J. W. Washburn and W. P. Denckla: Upon the Natural Resources of the Arkansas River Valley, From Little Rock to Fort Gibson, CN: Made to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company*. New York: Douglas Taylor, 1867.
- Washburne, E. B. *Henry Gratiot: A Pioneer of Wisconsin: An Address on the Occasion of the Presentation of His Portrait to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*. Chicago: Fergus Printing, 1884.
- Weslager, C. A. *The Delaware Indians: A History*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972.
- West, Anson. *A History of Methodism in Alabama*. Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1893.
- West, Elliot. *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Western Historical Company. *History of Greene County, Missouri*. St. Louis: Western Historical, 1883.
- Whipple, Henry B. *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate: Being Reminiscences and Recollections of the Right Reverend Henry Benjamin Whipple, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Minnesota*. New York: Macmillan, 1899.
- White, Leslie A., ed. *Lewis Henry Morgan: The Indian Journals, 1859-1862*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959.
- Wilder, Daniel W. *The Annals of Kansas*. Topeka: Geo. W. Martin, Kansas Publishing House, 1875.

- Williams, J. Fletcher. *A History of the City of Saint Paul, and the County of Ramsey, Minnesota*. Vol. 4. Saint Paul: Society, 1876.
- Williams, Patrick G., S. Charles Bolton, and Jeannie M. Wayne, eds. *A Whole Country in Commotion: The Louisiana Purchase and the American Southwest*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2005.
- Wilson, John P. *Peoples of the Middle Gila: A Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500s-1945*. Revised ed. Las Cruces: Gila River Indian Community, 1999.
- Wilson, Ty, and Karen Coody Cooper, eds. *Oklahoma Black Cherokees*. Mt. Pleasant: Arcadia, 2017.
- Winfrey, Dorman ed. *Texas Indian Papers, 1860-1916* Austin: Texas State Library, 1961
- Winn, Kenneth H., ed. *Missouri Law and the American Conscience: Historical Rights and Wrongs*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2016.
- Wischmann, Lesley, and Andrew Erskine Dawson. *This Far-Off Wild Land: The Upper Missouri Letters of Andrew Dawson*. Norman: Arthur H. Clark, 2013.
- Wischmann, Lesley. *Frontier Diplomats: Alexander Culbertson and Natoyist-Siksina 'Among the Blackfeet*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
- Woodson, W. H. *History of Clay County, Missouri, Illustrated*. Topeka: Historical, 1920.
- Woodward, Grace Steele. *The Cherokees*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Worcester, Donald E. *The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.
- Wren, Thomas. *A History of the State of Nevada: Its Resources and People, Illustrated*. New York: Lewis, 1904.
- Wyllie, Arthur. *Confederate Officers*. N.p.: Art's Books & Images, 2007.
- Young, Perry Deane. *Our Young Family: The Descendants of Thomas and Naomi Hyatt Young, Wilson and Elizabeth Hughes Young, Moses Young, African-American Youngs*. Johnson City: Overmountain Press, 2003.
- Zanjani, Sally. *Devils Will Reign: How Nevada Began*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2006.

#### Government Documents

- Alabama, Legislative Body. *Acts Passed at the Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: Phelan & Harris, 1843.

- California, California Legislature. *The Statutes of California, Passed at the Thirteenth Session of the Legislature, 1862*. Sacramento: Benj. P. Avery, 1862.
- Indiana, General Assembly. *Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Forty-Third Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 8, 1863*. Indianapolis: Joseph J. Bingham, 1863.
- Institution of the Government. *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*. Edited by James M. Matthews. Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1864.
- Kansas, Kansas Legislature. *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas, Passed at the Fifth Session of the Legislative Assembly; Begun at the City of Leocompton, on the 1<sup>st</sup> Monday of Jan'y, 1858, and Held and Concluded at the City of Lawrence*. Lawrence: Herald of Freedom Steam Press, 1859.
- Kansas, Legislative Assembly. *House Journal (Extra Session) of the Legislative Assembly of Kansas Territory for the year 1857*. Lawrence: Sam. A. Medary, 1861.
- Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress*.
- Minnesota, Minnesota Legislature. *The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota: Compiled for the Legislature of 1893*. St. Paul, 1893.
- Mississippi, Mississippi Legislature. *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature*. 1858.
- Missouri, General Assembly. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri*. Jefferson City: James Lusk, 1851.
- Missouri, General Assembly. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Missouri at the Adjourned Session of the Nineteenth General Assembly*. Jefferson City: C. J. Corwin, 1857.
- Missouri, General Assembly. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Missouri, at the First Session of the Fourteenth General Assembly*. Jefferson City: James Lusk, 1847.
- Missouri, General Assembly. *Laws of the State of Missouri Passed at the Called Session of the Twentieth General Assembly, 1860*. Jefferson City: W. G. Cheeney, 1860.
- Missouri, General Assembly. *Laws of the State of Missouri, Fourteenth General Assembly: An Act for the Benefit of Richard W. Cummins*. Jefferson: James Lusk, 1847.
- Missouri, State Convention. *Journal of the Missouri State Convention, Held in Jefferson City, June, 1862*. St. Louis: George Knapp, 1862.

- New Mexico, Legislative Assembly. *House Journal: Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Territory of New Mexico, Thirtieth Session, Begun at Santa Fe, December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1892*. Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1898.
- Oregon, Legislative Administration Committee Services, comp. *Chronological List of Oregon's Legislatures: 1853 Regular Session 5<sup>th</sup> Territorial Legislative Assembly, December 5, 1853-February 2, 1854; Members of the House*. Salem: Legislative Committee Services, 2008.
- Pennsylvania, General Assembly. *Annual Message of the Governor of Pennsylvania: Read January 4, 1853*. Harrisburg: Theo, Fenn, 1853.
- Pennsylvania, General Assembly. *Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania of the Session Begun at Harrisburg on the Second Day of January, A. D., 1855*. Harrisburg: A. Boyd Hamilton, 1855.
- Pennsylvania, General Assembly. *Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Passed at the Session of 1849*. Harrisburg: J. M. G. Lescure, 1849.
- Pennsylvania, State Convention. *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Democratic State Convention: Held at Harrisburg, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1856*. Reported by James H. Sheridan. Philadelphia: Wm. Rice Pennsylvanian Office, 1856.
- Slade, William. *Speech of Mr. Slade, of Vermont: On the Resolution Relative to the Collector of Wiscasset. Delivered in the House of Representatives, May, 1832*. Washington: Office of Jonathan Elliot, 1832.
- Tennessee, General Assembly. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee: Twenty-Eighth General Assembly, Held at Nashville, 1849-1850*. Nashville: Harvey M. Watterson, 1849.
- Trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, Before the Senate of the United States on Impeachment by the House of Representatives for High Crimes and Misdemeanors*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868.
- United States Reports: Cases Argued and Adjudged in The Supreme Court of The United States, October Term, 1877*. Vol. 5. Reported by William Otto. Boston: Little, Brown, 1878.
- United States, Patent Office. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents for Year 1883*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884.
- US Congress. *Congressional Globe, 1833-1873*. Globe Office.

- US Congress Senate Executive Journal.
- US Congress, House. Executive Documents Printed by Order of The House of Representatives, 1857-'58. 35th Cong., 3rd sess., 1858.
- US Congress, House. Executive Documents Printed by Order of The House of Representatives, 1856-'57. 34th Cong., 3rd sess., 1857.
- US Congress, House. Hearings Before the Sub-Committee on Indian Affairs: Partition of Navajo and Hopi 1882 Reservation. 92d Cong., 2d sess., 1972.
- US Congress, House. Receipts and Expenditures Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury: Transmitting a Statement of Receipts and Expenditures of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1860. 36th Cong., 2d sess., 1860.
- US Congress, House. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives to which were Referred the Messages of the President U.S. of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> February and 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1827, with Accompanying Documents and a Report and Resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia. 19th Cong., 2d sess., 1827.
- US Congress, House. The Miscellaneous Documents Printed by Order of The House of Representatives, 1858-'59. 35th Cong., 2d sess., 1859.
- US Congress, House. The Utah Expedition: Message from the President of the United States, February 26, 1858; To the House of Representatives. 25th Cong., 1st sess., 1858.
- US Congress, House. Unpaid Balance on the Books of the Second and Third Auditors of the Treasury: Letter from The Comptroller of the Treasury. 38th Cong., 2d sess., 1865.
- US Congress, Senate. American State Papers: Slaves Imported by an Indian Agent Contrary to Law. 17th Cong., 1st sess., 1822.
- US Congress, Senate. Authorizing Patents Issued to Settlers, Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nevada: Hearings Before the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. 75th Cong., 1st sess., 1937.
- US Congress, Senate. Condition of the Indian Tribes: Report of the Joint Special Committee, March 3, 1865. 39th Cong., 2d sess., 1867.
- US Congress, Senate. Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians between the 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1831, and 27<sup>th</sup> December, 1833. 23d Cong., 1st sess., 1834.
- US Congress, Senate. In the Senate of the United States, February 1, 1888: Report to accompany bill S. 147. 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1888.

US Congress, Senate. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, in Response to the Senate Resolution of June 5, 1894, Transmitting a Report Relating to the Washington and Oregon Indian wars of 1855 and 1856. 53rd Cong., 2d sess., 1894.

US Congress, Senate. Public Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States: Begun and Held at the City of Washington, December 3, 1838. Volume 5. 25th Cong., 3rd sess., 1839.

US Congress, Senate. Survey of the Conditions of the Indians in the United States. 17th Cong., 2d sess., 1929.

US Post Office Department. *Table of Post Offices in the United States on the First Day of January, 1851*. Washington: W. & J. C. Greer, 1851.

Wisconsin, Legislative Body. *The Legislative Manual of the State of Wisconsin*. 11th ed. Compiled by A. J. Turner. Madison: Atwood & Culver, 1872.

#### Journal Articles

Abel, Annie Heloise. "The Indians in the Civil War." *The American Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (1910): 281-296.

Abing, Kevin. "Before Bleeding Kansas: Christian Missionaries, Slavery, and the Shawnee Indians in Pre-Territorial Kansas, 1844-1854." *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 24, no. 1 (2001): 54-71.

Abram, Susan M. "'To Keep Bright the Bonds of Friendship': The Making of a Cherokee-American Alliance during the Creek War." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2012): 228-257.

Anderson, Duane. "Ioway Ethnohistory: A Review, Part II." *The Annals of Iowa* 42, no. 1 (1973): 41-59.

Apostol, Jane. "Horatio Nelson Rust: Abolitionist, Archaeologist, Indian Agent." *California History* 58, no. 4 (1979): 304-315.

Atherton, Lewis E. "Western Mercantile Participation in the Indian Trade." *Pacific Historical Review* 9, no. 3 (1940): 281-295.

Babcock, Willoughby M., Jr. "Major Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian Agent." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 11, no. 3 (1924): 358-375.

- Bale, Florence Gratiot. "A Packet of Old Letters." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 11, no. 2 (1927): 153-168.
- . "When the Gratiots Came to Galena." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 24, no. 4 (1932): 671-682.
- Ball, Larry D. "Before the Hanging Judge: The Origins of the United States District Court for the Western District of Arkansas." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1990): 199-213.
- Barker, Deborah. "Perry Fuller: Indian Agent, Self-Made Man and White-Collar Criminal." Presented at the Franklin County Historical Society's 75th Anniversary Symposium, April 28, 2012.
- Bates, Alan A., Martin C. Striegel, and Victoria L. Nugent. "Falls Cities Ferries: A Note." *Indiana Magazine of History* 95, no. 3 (1999): 255-283.
- Beardsley, Arthur S., and Donald A. McDonald. "The Courts and Early Bar of the Washington Territory." *Washington Law Review and State Bar Journal* 17, no. 2 (1942): 57-82.
- Bearss, Edwin C. "Fort Smith as the Agency for the Western Choctaws." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (1968): 40-58.
- Beckham, Stephen Dow, ed. "Trail of Tears: 1856 Diary of Indian Agent George Ambrose." *Southern Oregon Heritage* 2, no. 1 (1996): 16-21.
- Beeton, Beverly. "Teach Them to Till the Soil: An Experiment with Indian Farms, 1850-1862." *American Indian Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (1977-1978): 299-320.
- Belko, William S. "John C. Calhoun and the Creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs: An Essay on Political Rivalry, Ideology, and Policymaking in the Early Republic." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 105, no. 3 (2004): 170-197.
- Bellin, Joshua David. "In the Company of Savagists: Thoreau's Indian Books and Antebellum Ethnology." *The Concord Saunterer*, no. 16 (2008): 1-32.
- Bernstein, David. "'We are Not Now as We Once Were': Iowa Indians' Political and Economic Adaptations during US Incorporation." *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 4 (2007): 605-637.
- Bieder, Robert E. "Sault Ste. Marie and the War of 1812." *Indiana Magazine of History* 95, no. 1 (1999): 1-13.
- Bigart, Robert J. "The Travails of Flathead Indian Agent, Charles S. Medary, 1875-1877." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 62, no. 3 (2002): 27-41.



- Bigler, David L. "Garland Hurt, the American Friend of the Utahs." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (1994): 149-170.
- Bogue, Margaret Beattie. "As She Knew Them: Juliette Kinzie and the Ho-Chunk, 1830-1833." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 85, no. 2 (2001-2002): 44-57.
- Bolton, Herbert E. "Papers of Zebulon M. Pike, 1806-1807." *American Historical Review* 13, no. 4 (1908): 798-827.
- Bottiger, Patrick. "Prophetstown for Their Own Purposes: The French, Miamias, and Cultural Identities in the Wabash–Maumee Valley." *Journal of the Early Republic* 33, no. 1 (2013): 29-60.
- Boyd, Joel D. "Creek Indian Agents, 1834-1874." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 51, no. 1 (1973): 37-58.
- Boyett, Gene W., ed. "A Letter from Archibald Yell to Henry A. Wise, July 12, 1841." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1973): 337-341.
- Brandt, Penny S. "A Letter of Dr. John Sibley, Indian Agent." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 29, no. 4 (1988): 365-387.
- Bremer, Richard G. "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft: Explorer in the Mississippi Valley, 1818-1832." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66, no. 2 (1982): 40-59.
- Brown, Lizzie M. "The Pacification of the Indians of Illinois after the War of 1812." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 8, no. 4 (1916): 550-558.
- Brown, Thomas Elton. "Seminole Indian Agents, 1842-1874." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 51, no. 1 (1973): 59-83.
- Calloway, Colin G. "The End of an Era. British Indian Relationships in the Great Lakes Region after the War of 1812." *Michigan Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (1986): 1-20.
- Campisi, Jack. "New York-Oneida Treaty of 1795: A Finding of Fact." *American Indian Law Review*, no. 71 (1976).
- Campisi, Jack, and William A. Starna. "On the Road to Canandaigua: The Treaty of 1794." *American Indian Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1995): 467-490.
- Carrico, Richard L. "San Diego Indians and the Federal Government Years of Neglect, 1850-1865." *Journal of San Diego History* 28, no. 3 (1980): 165-184.
- Carter, Max. "John Johnston and the Friends: A Midwestern Indian Agent's Relationship with Quakers in Early 1800s." *Quaker History* 78, no. 1 (1989): 37-47.

- Castile, George P. "Edwin Eells, Indian Agent, 1871-1895." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (1981): 61-68.
- Chaput, Donald. "Horatio N. Rust and the Agent as Collector Dilemma." *Southern California Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1982): 281-295.
- Clark, Stanley. "Irregularities at the Pawnee Agency." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1943): 366-377.
- Coan, C. F. "The Adoption of the Reservation Policy in Pacific Northwest." *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 23, no. 1 (1922): 1-38.
- . "The First Stage of the Federal Indian Policy in the Pacific Northwest, 1849-1852." *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 22, no. 1 (1921): 46-89.
- Coen, Rena N. "Eliza Dillon Taliaferro: Portrait of a Frontier Wife." *Minnesota History* 52, no. 4 (1990): 146-153.
- Coman, Katherine. "Government Factories: An Attempt to Control Competition in the Fur Trade." *American Economic Review* 1, no. 2 (1911): 368-388.
- Corbitt, D. C. "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1940): 77-83.
- Cotterill, R. S. "Federal Indian Management in the South, 1789-1825." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20, no. 3 (1933): 333-352.
- Coulter, E. M. "Minutes of the Georgia Convention Ratifying the Federal Constitution." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1926): 223-237.
- Covington, James W. "Federal Relations with the Apalachicola Indians, 1823-1838." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1963): 125-141.
- . "The Indian Liquor Trade at Peoria 1824." *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 46, no. 2 (1953): 142-150.
- Crabb, Alfred L. "George Washington and the Chickasaw Nation, 1795." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 19, no. 3 (1932): 404-408.
- Cramer, Harry G., III. "Tom Jeffords—Indian Agent." *Journal of Arizona History* 17, no. 3 (1976): 265-300.
- Danisi, Thomas C. "The Real James Neelly." *We Proceeded On* 40, no. 4 (2014): 9-22.
- Danziger, Edmund J., Jr. "The Steck-Carleton Controversy in Civil War New Mexico." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (1970): 189-203.

- Davis, Granville D. "Arkansas and the Blood of Kansas." *Journal of Southern History* 16, no. 4 (1950): 431-456.
- Dearborn, H., John Sevier, James Hoggatt, Robert King, Return J. Meigs, Joseph McMinn, R. Weakley, et al. "Correspondence of Gen. James Robertson." *American Historical Magazine* 5, no. 1 (1900): 67-96.
- Deardorff, Merle H., and George S. Synderman, eds. "A Nineteenth Century Journal of a Visit to the Indians of New York." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100, no. 6 (1956): 582-612.
- Dibbern, John. "The Reputations of Indian Agents: A Reappraisal of John P. Clum and Joseph C. Tiffany." *Journal of the Southwest* 39, no. 2 (1997): 201-238.
- Dillard, Tom W. "An Arduous Task to Perform: Organizing the Territorial Militia." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1982): 174-190.
- Douthit, Nathan. "Joseph Lane and the Rogue River Indians: Personal Relations across a Cultural Divide." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 4 (1994-1995): 472-515.
- Downes, Randolph C. "Creek-American Relations, 1790-1795." *Journal of Southern History* 8, no. 3 (1942): 350-373.
- East, Ernest E. "The Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831." *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 37, no. 2 (1944): 131-163.
- . "Lincoln and the Peoria French Claims." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 42, no. 1 (1949): 41-56.
- Edmunds, R. David. "'Designing Men, Seeking a Fortune': Indian Traders and the Potawatomi Claims Payment of 1836." *Indiana Magazine of History* 77, no. 2 (1981): 109-122.
- . "The Illinois River Potawatomi in the War of 1812." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 62, no. 4 (1969): 341-362.
- . "The Prairie Pottawatomi Removal of 1833." *Indiana Magazine of History* 68, no. 2 (1972): 240-253.
- . "Tecumseh, The Shawnee Prophet and American History: A Reassessment." *Western Historical Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1983): 261-276.
- Edwards, Martha L. "A Problem of Church and State in the 1870s." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 11, no. 1 (1924) 37-53.

- Egan, Ferol. Introduction, "Warren Wasson, Model Indian Agent." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1969): 4-9.
- Elliott, T. C. "The Strange Case of David Thompson and Jeremy Pinch." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1939): 188-199.
- Ellison, William H. "The Federal Indian Policy in California, 1846-1860." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 9, no. 1 (1922): 37-67.
- Eno, Clara B. "The History of the Council Oak." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1947): 198-200.
- Fair, John D. "Governor David B. Mitchell and the 'Black Birds' Slave Smuggling Scandal." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 99, no. 4 (2015): 253-289.
- Farr, William E. "'When We were First Paid': The Blackfoot Treaty, The Western Tribes, and the Creation of Common Hunting Ground, 1855." *Great Plains Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (2001): 131-154.
- Ficken, Robert E. "After the Treaties: Administering Pacific Northwest Indian Reservations." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 106, no. 3 (2005): 442-461.
- Fierst, John T. "Return to 'Civilization': John Tanner's Troubled Years at Sault Ste. Marie." *Minnesota History* 50, no. 1 (1986): 23-36.
- Fischer, LeRoy H. "United States Indian Agents to the Five Civilized Tribes." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 51, no. 1 (1973): 34-84.
- Fisher, Kathy. "The Forgotten Dodge." *Annals of Iowa* 40, no. 4 (1970): 296-305.
- Fite, Gilbert C. "Development of the Cotton Industry by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory." *Journal of Southern History* 15, no. 3 (1949): 342-353.
- Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. "Dr. William Butler and George Butler, Cherokee Agents." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 30, no. 2 (1952): 160-172.
- Foreman, Grant. "The Life of Montfort Stokes in the Indian Territory." *North Carolina Historical Review* 16, no. 4 (1939): 373-403.
- Frank, Andrew K. "The Rise and Fall of William McIntosh: Authority and Identity on the Early American Frontier." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (2002): 18-48.
- Franz, William. "'To Live by Depredations': Main Poc's Strategic Use of Violence." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 102, no. ¾ (2009): 238-247.
- Fry, Tim. "Stone Houses for the Kansa Indians." *Kanhistique* 13, no. 6 (1987): 1-5.

- Gallaher, Ruth. "The Indian Agent in the United States Since 1850." *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 14 (1916): 173-238.
- Garrett, Julia Kathryn. "Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1814." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1943): 48-51.
- Gitlin, Jay. "Private Diplomacy to Private Property: States, Tribes and Nations in the Early National Period." *Diplomatic History* 22, no. 1 (1998): 85-99.
- Goodrich, William. "William Cocke—Born 1748, Died 1828." *American Historical Magazine* 1, no. 3 (1896): 224-229.
- Goodwin, Cardinal. "A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, 1819-1820." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (1917): 299-313.
- Gosnell, Wesley B. "Indian War in Washington Territory (Document)." *Washington Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1926): 289-299.
- Grant, C. L. "Senator Benjamin Hawkins: Federalist or Republican?" *Journal of the Early Republic* 1, no. 3 (1981): 233-247.
- Graymount, Barbara. "New York State Indian Policy After the Revolution." *New York History* 78, no. 4 (1997): 374-410.
- Green, Michael D. "The Sac-Fox Annuity Crisis of 1840 in Iowa Territory." *Arizona and the West* 16, no. 2 (1974): 141-156.
- Gudmestad, Robert. "Steamboats and the Removal of the Red River Raft." *Louisiana History, Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 52, no. 4 (2011): 389-416.
- Guice, John D. W. "1811-Year of Wonders in the Mississippi Territory." *Journal of American History* 86, no. 1 (1999): 167-170.
- Guthrie, Chester L., and Leo L. Gerald. "Upper Missouri Agency: An Account of Indian Administration on the Frontier." *Pacific Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (1941): 47-56.
- Haeger, John D. "A Time of Change: Green Bay, 1815-1834." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 54, no. 4 (1971): 285-298.
- Hafen, Leroy. "The Early Fur Trade Posts on the South Platte." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12, no. 3 (1925): 334-341.
- Hamilton, Marshall. "From Assassination to Expulsion: Two Years of Distrust, Hostility and Violence." *BYU Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1992): 229-247.

- Harmon, George D. "The United States Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 17, no. 3 (1930): 377-403.
- Harte, John Bret. "The Strange Case of Joseph C. Tiffany: Indian Agent in Disgrace." *Journal of Arizona History* 16, no. 4 (1975): 383-404.
- Harvey, Sean P. "Must Not Their Languages Be Savage and Barbarous Like Them: Philology, Indian Removal and Race Science." *Journal of the Early Republic* 30, no. 4 (2010): 505-532.
- Hatter, Lawrence. "The Jay Charter: Rethinking the American National State in the West, 1796-1819." *Diplomatic History* 37, no. 4 (2013): 692-726.
- Hauberg, John H. "U.S. Army Surgeons at Fort Armstrong." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 24, no. 4 (1932): 609-629.
- Heath, William. "Reevaluating 'The Fort Wayne Manuscript': William Wells and the Miami Indians of the Old Northwest." *Indiana Magazine of History* 106, no. 2 (2010): 158-188.
- Herring, Joseph B. "Cultural and Economic Resilience Among the Kickapoo Indians of the Southwest." *Great Plains Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1986): 263-275.
- . "Kenekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet: Acculturation without Assimilation." *American Indian Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1985): 295-307.
- Hiatt, Burritt M. "James M. Haworth, Quaker Agent." *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 47, no. 2 (1958): 80-93.
- Hickman, Russell K. "The Reeder Administration Inaugurated: Part II—The Census of Early 1855." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (1970): 402-455.
- Hill, Burton S. "Thomas S. Twiss, Indian Agent." *Great Plains Journal* 6, no. 2 (1967): 85-96.
- "History News." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (1989): 399-407.
- Holmes, Jack D. L. "Benjamin Hawkins and United States Attempts to Teach Farming to Southeastern Indians." *Agricultural History* 60, no. 2 (1986): 216-232.
- Holtz, Milton E. "Early Settlement and Public Land Disposal in the Elkhorn River Valley, Cuming County, Nebraska Territory." *Nebraska History* 52, no. 3 (1971): 112-132.
- Hoopes, Alban W. "Thomas Twiss, Indian Agent on the Upper Platte, 1855-1861." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20, no. 3 (1933): 353-364.
- Hryniewicki, Richard J. "The Creek Treaty of November 15, 1827." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (1968): 1-15.

- Hughes, Willis B. "The First Dragoons on the Western Frontier, 1834-1846." *Arizona and the West* 12, no. 2 (1970): 115-138.
- Hugins, Walter E. "Ely Moore: The Case History of a Jacksonian Labor Leader." *Political Science Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (1950): 105-123.
- Hunter, Juanita. "The Indians and the Michigan Road." *Indiana Magazine of History* 83, no. 3 (1987): 244-266.
- Hutton, Paul A. "William Wells: Frontier Scout and Indian Agent." *Indiana Magazine of History* 74, no. 3 (1978): 183-222.
- Jackson, John C. "Reuben Lewis: Fur Trader, Subagent, and Meriwether's Younger Brother." *We Proceeded On* 38, no. 4 (2012): 8-17.
- Jahoda, Gloria. "Seminole." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (1976): 129-133.
- Jennings, Warren A. "The First Mormon Mission to the Indians." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (1971): 266-299.
- Jensen, Richard E. "Bellevue, The First Twenty Years." *Nebraska History* 56, no. 3 (1975): 339-374.
- . "The Pawnee Mission, 1834-1846." *Nebraska History* 75, no. 4 (1994): 301-310.
- Jervey, Theodore D. "The Butlers of South Carolina." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 4, no. 4 (1903): 296-311.
- Jessee, Dean C. "Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith's Martyrdom." *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 3-20.
- Johansen, Dorothy O. "The Oregon Steam Navigation Company: An Example of Capitalism on the Frontier." *Pacific Historical Review* 10, no. 2 (1941): 179-188.
- Jones, William, Edward DuVal, and Fritz Redlich. "William Jones' Resignation from the Presidency of the Second Bank of the United States." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 71, no. 3 (1947): 223-241.
- "The Journal of John Tipton: Commissioner to locate Site for State Capital-1820." *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* 1, no. 1 (1905): 9-15.
- Jung, Patrick. "Judge James Duane Doty and Wisconsin's First: The Additional Court of Michigan Territory, 1823-1836." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 86, no. 2 (2002-2003): 32-41.

- Keller, Robert H., Jr. "SHREWD, ABLE, AND DANGEROUS MEN: Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Indian Agents in the Southwest, 1870-1882." *Journal of Arizona History* 26, no. 3 (1985): 243-258.
- Kelsey, Harry. "The Doolittle Report of 1867: Its Preparations and Shortcomings." *Arizona and the West* 17, no. 2 (1973): 107-120.
- Klos, George. "Blacks and the Seminole Removal Debate, 1821-1835." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1989): 55-78.
- Knapp, Frank A., Jr. "A New Source on the Confederate Exodus to Mexico: The Two Republics." *Journal of Southern History* 19, no. 3 (1953): 364-373.
- Koch, Clara Lena "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860 (Concluded)" *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1925) 98-127
- Kohler, Max J. "Some Jewish Factors in the Settlement of the West." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 16 (1907): 23-35.
- Krause, David J. "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and the Native Copper of the Keweenaw." *Earth Sciences History* 8, no. 1 (1989): 4-13.
- Lammers, Thomas G. "Edwin James: First Botanist for Iowa (U.S.A.)." *Journal of the Botanical Research Institute of Texas* 10, no. 2 (2016): 475-500.
- Lang, William L. "'Ambition Has Always Been My God': William Winlock Miller and Opportunity in Washington Territory." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (1992): 101-109.
- Lass, William E. "The Removal from Minnesota of the Sioux and Winnebago Indians." *Minnesota History* 38, no. 8 (1963): 353-364.
- "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country, Near Bellvue, Neb., 1831-1849." *Kansas Historical Collections* 14 (1918): 570-784.
- Lewis, Andrew T. "Meriwether Lewis." *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 6, no. 4 (1905): 391-402.
- Littlefield, Daniel F., and Lonnie E. Underhill. "The Cherokee Agency Reserve, 1828-1886." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1972): 166-180.
- Logan, Steve. "From Sarber to Logan." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1954): 90-97.
- Luckingham, Bradford E. "Schoolcraft, Slavery and Self Emancipation." *Journal of Negro History* 50, no. 2 (1965): 118-121.



- Lupton, David Walker, and Dorothy Ruland Lupton. "A Dragoon in Arkansas Territory in 1833." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (1986): 217-227.
- Lyndgaard, Jyhl. "Landscapes of Removal and Resistance: Edwin James' Nineteenth Century Cross Cultural Collaborations." *Great Plains Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (2010): 37-52.
- Magnaghi, Russell M. "Sulphur Fort Factory, 1817-1822." *Arkansas Historical Society Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1978): 168-183.
- Mahon, John K. "The Treaty of Moultrie Creek, 1823." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1962): 350-372.
- . "Military Relations Between Georgia and the United States, 1789-1794." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1959): 139-155.
- Marchman, Walt P., and Robert Cotner. "Indian Agent Jesse Stem: A Manuscript Revelation." *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook* 39, (1963): 117-118, 145, 148.
- Masterson, James R. "The Records of the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1853-1874." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1946): 31-57.
- Mattison, Ray H. "The Indian Frontier on the Upper Missouri to 1865." *Nebraska History* 39, no. 3 (1958): 241-266.
- McCann, Lloyd E. "The Grattan Massacre." *Nebraska History* 37, no. 1 (1956): 1-25.
- McClurken, James M. "Ottawa Adaptive Strategies to Indian Removal." *Michigan Historical Review* 12, no. 1 (1986): 29-55.
- McElvain, Col. Frank C. "Samuel McElvain, One of the First Pioneer Settlers of Columbus, Ohio in 1797." *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly* 15 (1912): 167-177.
- McGreal, Mary Nona. "Samuel Mazzuchelli, Participant in Frontier Democracy." *Records of the American Catholic Society of Philadelphia* 87, no. ¼ (1976): 99-114.
- McLoughlin, William G. "Cherokee Slaveholders and Baptist Missionaries, 1845-1860." *Historian* 45, no. 2 (1983): 147-166.
- . "Georgia's Role in Instigating Compulsory Indian Removal." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (1986): 605-632.
- . "Thomas Jefferson and the Beginning of Cherokee Nationalism, 1806-1809." *William and Mary Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1975): 547-580.
- Monaco, C. S. "Alachua Settlers and the Second Seminole War." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (2012): 1-32.

- Moody, Marshall. "Kit Carson: Agent to the Indians of New Mexico, 1853-1861." *New Mexico Historical Review* 28, no. 1 (1953): 1-20.
- Mumford, Jeremy. "Mixed Race Identity in the Nineteenth Century Family: The Schoolcrafts of Sault Ste. Marie, 1824-1827." *Michigan Historical Review* 25, no. 1 (1999): 1-23.
- Murdoch, Richard K., and Juan de Pierra. "The Seagrove—White Stolen Property Agreement of 1797." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (1958): 258-276.
- Murphey, Edwin M., Jr. "JOSEPH MCMINN, Governor of Tennessee, 1815-1821: The Man and His Times." *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Series II, 1, no. 1 (1930): 3-16.
- O'Neil, Floyd A., and Stanford J. Layton. "Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1978): 236-250.
- Owsley, Frank L., Jr. "Ambrister and Arbuthnot: Adventurers or Martyrs for British Honor." *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no. 3 (1985): 289-303.
- Parker, Arthur C. "The Senecas in the War of 1812." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 15 (1916): 78-90.
- Parks, Ron. "Erecting a Building of Suitable Size and Comfort." *Monthly Series on the Kanza Indians* (2008).
- Pearson, J. Diane. "Developing Reservation Economies: Native American Teamsters, 1857-1921." *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship* 18, no. 2 (2005): 153-170.
- Peters, Bernard C. "Hypocrisy on the Great Lakes Frontier: The Use of Whiskey by the Michigan Department of Indian Affairs." *Michigan Historical Review* 18, no. 2 (1992): 1-13.
- Phelps, Dawson A. "The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis." *William and Mary Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1956): 305-318.
- Phillips, George H. "The Indian Ring in Dakota Territory, 1870-1890." *South Dakota History* 2, no. 4 (1972): 345-376.
- Pickett, Ben Collins. "William L. McClellan, Choctaw Agent, West." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 39, no. 1 (1961): 42-54.
- Pierce, Joyce. "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Louisiana, 1803-1820." *Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 5, no. 4 (1964): 401-419.
- Pound, Merritt B. "Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (1929): 392-409.

- “The Potawatomes of Kansas.” *Emporia State Institutional Repository Collection* 6, no. 2 (2012): 10-38.
- Prosch, Thomas W. “The Political Beginning of Washington Territory.” *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 6, no. 2 (1905): 147-158.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. “Army Sutlers and the American Fur Company.” *Minnesota History* 40, no. 1 (1966): 22-31.
- . “Jackson’s Indian Policy: A Reassessment.” *Journal of American History* 56, no. 3 (1969): 527-539.
- Purser, Joyce, and T. Harry Williams. “Vignettes.” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 2, no. 2 (1960): 254-256.
- Quaife, Milo M. “Critical Evaluation of the Sources of Western History.” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 1, no. 2 (1914): 167-184.
- . “Wisconsin’s Saddest Tragedy.” *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 5, no. 3 (1922): 264-283.
- Rand, Jerry. “Samuel Morton Rutherford.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 30, no. 2 (1952): 149-159.
- Rayman, Ronald. “Frontier Journalism in Kentucky: Joseph Montfort Street and the Western World, 1806-1809.” *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 76, no. 2 (1978): 98-111.
- Reddick, Susan M., and Cary C. Collins. “Medicine Creek Remediated: Isaac Stevens and the Puyallup; Nisqually and Muckleshoot Land Settlement at Fox Island, August 4, 1856.” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 104, no. 2 (2013): 80-98.
- Reid, John Phillip. “Principles of Vengeance: Fur Trappers, Indians and Retaliation for Homicide in the Transboundary North American West.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1993): 21-43.
- Robertson, Nellie A. “John Hays and the Fort Wayne Indian Agency.” *Indiana Magazine of History* 39, no. 3 (1943): 221-236.
- Rocha, Guy L. “Nevada’s Emergence in the American Great Basin: Territory and State.” *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (1995): 255-281.
- Roddis, Louis. “The Last Indian Uprising in The United States.” *Minnesota History Bulletin* 3, no. 5 (1920): 273-290.
- Ross, Frank E. “The Fur Trade of the Western Great Lakes Region.” *Minnesota History* 19, no. 3 (1938): 271-307.

- Scanlon, P. L. "Nicholas Boilvin—Indian Agent." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 27, no. 2 (1943): 145-169.
- Schwartzman, Grace M., and Susan K. Barnard. "A Trail of Broken Promises: Georgians and Muscogee/Creek Treaties, 1796-1826." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (1991): 697-718.
- Secunda, Ben. "The Road to Ruin? 'Civilization' and the Origins of a 'Michigan Road Band' of Potawatomi." *Michigan Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (2008): 118-149.
- Shores, Leslie. "A Look into the Life of Thomas Twist, First Indian Agent at Fort Laramie." *Annals of Wyoming* 77, no. 1 (2005): 2-12.
- Shrake, John. "The Silver Man John H. Kinzie and the Fort Winnebago Indian Agency." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 96, no. 2 (2012-2013): 4-14.
- Sibley, John, and Penny S. Brandt. "A Letter of Dr. John Sibley, Indian Agent." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 29, no. 4 (1988): 365-387.
- Silver, James W. "General Gaines Meets Governor Troup: A State Federal Clash in 1825." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (1943): 248-270.
- Sioussat, George L. "Tennessee and the Removal of the Cherokees." *Sewanee Review* 16, no. 3 (1908): 337-344.
- Smith, Daniel M. "James Seagrove and the Mission to Tuckaubatchee, 1793." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1960): 41-55.
- Smith, David A. "Preparing the Arkansas Wilderness for Settlement: Public Land Survey Administration, 1803-1836." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2012): 381-406.
- Smith, F. Todd. "After the Treaty of 1835: The United States and the Kadohadacho Indians." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 30, no. 2 (1989): 157-172.
- Sollenberger, Michael A. "Georgia's Influence on the U.S. Senate: A Reassessment of the Rejection of Benjamin Fishbourn and the Origins of Senatorial Courtesy." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 93, no. 2 (2009): 182-190.
- Sonnichsen, C. L. "Tom Jeffords and the Editors." *Journal of Arizona History* 29, no. 2 (1988): 117-130.
- Stanley, George F. G. "British Operations in the American Northwest, 1812-15." *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 22, no. 87 (1943): 91-106.

- Sterling, Everett. "Moses N. Adams: A Missionary as Indian Agent." *Minnesota History* 35, no. 4 (1956): 167-177.
- Stevens, Walter. "Alexander McNair." *Missouri Historical Review* 17 (1923): 3-21.
- Street, William B. "General Joseph M. Street." *Annals of Iowa II*, no. 2-3 (1895): 81-105.
- Synderman, George S., ed. "Halliday Jackson's Journal of a Visit Paid to the Indians of New York, 1806." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 101, no. 6 (1957): 565-588.
- Taylor, Alan. "The Divided Ground: Upper Canada, New York and the Iroquois Six Nations, 1783-1815." *Journal of the Early Republic* 22, no. 1 (2002): 55-75.
- Thorne, Tanis. "The Mixed Legacy of Mission Indian Agent, SS Lawson, 1878-1883." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 25, no. 2 (2005): 147-168.
- Thornell, Paul N. D. "The Absent Ones and the Providers: A Biography of the Vashons." *Journal of Negro History* 83, no. 4 (1998): 284-301.
- Tiro, Karim M. "The View from Piqua Agency: The War of 1812, the White River Delaware and the Origins of Indian Removal." *Journal of the Early Republic* 35, no. 1 (2015): 25-54.
- "Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society." *Nebraska State Historical Society* 2 (1887).
- Trennart, Robert A., Jr. "The Business of Indian Removal: Deporting the Potawatomi from Wisconsin, 1851." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 63, no. 1 (1979): 36-50.
- . "The Fur Trader as Indian Administrator: Conflict of Interest or Wise Policy?" *South Dakota History* 5, no. 1 (1974): 1-19.
- . "John H. Stout and the Grant Peace Policy Among the Pimas." *Arizona and the West* 28, no. 1 (1986): 45-68.
- . "The Mormons and the Office of Indian Affairs: The Conflict Over Winter Quarters, 1846-1848." *Nebraska History* 53, no. 5 (1972): 381-398.
- Trotter, Richard L. "For the Defense of the Western Border: Arkansas Volunteers on the Indian Frontier, 1846-1847." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2001): 394-410.
- Turner, James E. "THE PIMA AND MARICOPA VILLAGES: Oasis at a Cultural Crossroads, 1846-1873." *Journal of Arizona History* 39, no. 4 (1998): 345-378.
- Unrau, William E. "The Civilian as Indian Agent: Villain or Victim?" *Western Historical Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (1972): 405-420.

- Walker, Henry P., ed. "Soldier in the California Column: The Diary of John W. Teal." *Arizona and the West* 13, no. 1 (1971): 33-82.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Prelude to Disaster: The Course of Indian-White Relations which Led to the Black Hawk War of 1832." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 65, no. 4 (1982): 247-288.
- "The Ward Family." *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 6, no. 16 (1908): 37-47.
- Warren, Stephen A. "The Baptists, the Methodists, and the Shawnees: Conflicting Cultures in Indian Territory, 1833-1834." *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 17, no. 3 (1994): 148-161.
- White, Lonnie J. "James Miller Arkansas' First Territorial Governor." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1960): 12-30.
- Wilgus, James A. "History of Old Platteville." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 28, no. 1 (1944): 48-80.
- Wilkinson, Norman B. "Robert Morris and the Treaty of Big Tree." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1953): 257-278.
- Williams, Edwin L., Jr. "Negro Slavery in Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (1949): 93-110.
- Williams, Mentor L. "John Kinzie's Narrative of the Fort Dearborn Massacre." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 46, no. 4 (1953): 343-362.
- Williams, William Henry, ed. "Ten Letters from William Harris Crawford to Martin Van Buren." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (1965): 65-81.
- Wilson, George. "A Neglected Kentucky Hero, General Joseph Monford Street." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 4, no. 12 (1906): 19, 21-26.
- The Wilson Scrap-Book. "The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association." *Texas State Historical Association* 1 (1897-1898).
- Zanger, Martin. "Conflicting Concepts of Justice: A Winnebago Murder Trial on the Illinois Frontier." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 73, no. 4 (1980): 263-276.

## Newspapers

*Newspapers Original to the Period*

Arkansas Intelligencer, Van Buren, Arkansas p 2 April 3, 1847

<https://newspapers.com/search/#query=washbourne+pryor&t=5368> (Requires subscription)

“Chancery Sale – John M. Lea vs Francis W. Lea, et al:” Athens (Tn) Post; 12 Dec, 1851;

Freeview <https://newspapers.com/clip/1517357/chancery-sale-john-m-lea-vs-francis-w/>

Democratic Banner, Bowling Green, Missouri March 27, 1848

<https://newspapers.com/clip/6981884/james-m-gatewood-horse-big-archie>

“Dick Murphy is the recognized Mayor of Leavenworth”, New York Times October 14, 1856

<https://nytimes.com/1856/10/14/archives/important-from-kansas> (Once free the NYT now requires subscription to TimesMachine)

“Dr. Garland Hurt, Indian Agent for Utah” The New York Times from the Washington Union, June 15, 1858 <https://www.nytimes.com/1858/06/15>

“From the Great Salt Lake City” New York Daily Times June 6, 1854 <https://history.churchofjesuschrist.org/overlandtravel/sources/7291/from-the-great-salt-lake-city-new-york-daily-times-6-june-1854-2>

“From Utah” Daily Alta California July 6, 1854 <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=DAC18540706.2.11>

“Indian Troubles in Kansas” New York Times, July, 14, 1856

<https://www.nytimes.com/1856/07/14/archives/indian-troubles-in-kansas.htm>

“James R. Vineyard Council from Iowa” Belmont Gazette, 25 Oct 1836

<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/1873250/belmont-gazettebelmont-wisconsin25/>

“Kit Carson of the West” Washington Daily Union, Washington D.C., June 16, 1847 p.3

<https://loc.gov/resource/sn82003410/1847-06-15/ed-1/?sp=3&r=0.027.0.03.26.0.158,0>

“Later From Texas” New York Times October 24, 1851

<https://nytimes.com/1851/10/24/archives/leter-from-texas.html> (Requires Subscription or can buy reprint)

“Laws of the United States” Niles Weekly Register 1811-1836 July 26, 1834 Volume 46 Page 375 <https://booksgoogle.com>

Niles National Register 1836- 1849 May 9, 1849 Volume 75 Page 289 <https://booksgoogle.com>

Santa Fe Republican p.2 November 12, 1848 <https://newspapers.com/clip/13198838/henry-lafayette-dodge/>

“Statement of Mr. Wm. H. Rogers” Kirk Anderson’s Valley Tan (Utah Territory’s Second Newspaper] February 29, 1860 <https://www.truthandgrace.com/1860ValleyTan0229b.htm>

Weekly Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas July 15, 1840

<https://newspapers.com/clip/13715473/appointments-by-the-president/>

“The Wild Indians of Mexico” from the National Intelligencer. Tri-Weekly Commercial Wilmington, North Carolina 13, December, 1851 p.

[2https://www.newspapers.com/clip/863858/john-a-rogers-indian-agent/](https://www.newspapers.com/clip/863858/john-a-rogers-indian-agent/)

### ***Later Newspapers***

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia p.2 June 25, 1868

<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/2226747/president-nominated-perry-fuller-of/>

Civil Service Reformer Baltimore: Press of Isaac Friedenwald Vol. IV April 1888 45-46

<https://books.google.com/books?id=V1UPAAAATAAJ&pg=RA1-PA15&dq=the-civil-service-reformer+baltimore+april+1888+indian-agent>

Houston Post Houston, Texas 19 April, 1902 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>

Kansas Chief (Troy, Kansas) February 21, 1889

<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/50058633/major-daniel-vanderslice-article-obit/>

Kansas City Journal Kansas City Missouri p 4 December 3, 1897

<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/6890794/asbury-madison-coffey-dies/>

“Major Hatch Real Soldier of Fortune In Early Days of LaCrosse and Vicinity” LaCrosse Tribune and Leader October 26, 1924 Wisconsin Local History and Biography Article wisconsin Historical Society <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/HatchNewspaper/BA7575>

Remburg, George M. Kickapoo Kolumn the Horton Headlight-Commercial Horton, Kansas p.8 December 7, 1922.

[https://www.newspapers.com/search/#query=kickapoo&t=8302&dr\\_year=1922-1922](https://www.newspapers.com/search/#query=kickapoo&t=8302&dr_year=1922-1922)  
(Need Subscription)

“Sketches from Old Settlers, Miami Village” Paola Times, Paola Kansas, August 1 1889

<https://newspapers.com/clip/22721603/miami-village-1889/08-01/>



“The Customhouse Frauds-Trial of Perry Fuller” Union and American Nashville Tennessee p 1  
December 10, 1870 <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1870/12/10/ed-1/seq-1>

***Contemporary Newspapers***

Campbell, James “Civil War strife often ravaged Montevallo” Nevada Daily Mail, Nevada,  
Missouri June 17, 2011 <https://www.nevadadailymail.com/story/1737143.html>

Edwards, Brenda “Descendents of Perryville’s Walker Family” Advocate Messenger Danville,  
Kentucky October 2, 2017 <https://www.amnews.com/author/brenda-edwards/>

Evanosky, Dennis “Lincoln Park Denizen Made His Fortune in Oregon” Alameda Sun, July 3,  
2014, Alameda, California “Alameda in history: The first families of Lincoln Park” The  
Alemedan March 20, 2015, Alameda, California <https://alamedasun.com/news/lincoln-park-denizen-made-his-fortune-oregon>

Fabyssa, Iti Biskinik, Monthly Magazine of the Choctaw Nation in Iti Fabyssa Column by  
Choctaw Historic Preservation Choctaw Resistance to Removal (Part III) August, 2014  
[https://choctawschool.com/home-side-menu/bisknik-archive-\(history,-news,-iti-fabvssa\)/2014-articles/choctaw-resistance-to-removal-from-ancient-homeland-\(part-iii\).aspx](https://choctawschool.com/home-side-menu/bisknik-archive-(history,-news,-iti-fabvssa)/2014-articles/choctaw-resistance-to-removal-from-ancient-homeland-(part-iii).aspx)

Robortella, John “Keeping Peace in the Finger Lakes” Democrat and Chronicle Rochester, New  
York October 28, 2015 Rochester Magazine, Finger Lakes  
<https://www.democratandchronicle.com/story/rochester-magazine/finger-lakes/2015/10/28/keeping-peace-finger-lakes/74651282/>

Tanber, George J “Benjamin Franklin Stickney: His remarkable life and times” Toledo Blade  
December 24, 2000 <http://www.toledoblade.com/local/2000/12/24/Benjamin-Franklin-Stickney-His-remarkable-life-and-times.html>

Terry, John Special to The Oregonian May 10, 2010 Updated Jan 10, 2019 “Oregon’s first real  
judge fails in first foray into politics”  
[https://www.oregonlive.com/O/2010/5/oregons\\_first\\_real\\_judge\\_fails.htm](https://www.oregonlive.com/O/2010/5/oregons_first_real_judge_fails.htm)

Torrez, Robert “Land of the Tierra Amarilla” Rio Grande Sun, Espanola, New Mexico p.13  
March 8, 1973 <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/40270641/rio-grande-sun/>

Ward, Rufus “Ask Rufus: Intruders in the Chickasaw Nation” *The Columbus (Mississippi) Dispatch* September 17, 2016 <https://cdispatch.com/opinions/2016-09-17/ask-rufus-intruders-in-the-chickasaw-nation/>

Watson, Sue “Happy Birthday, Holly Springs Chickasaws, settlers forged alliances: Love donated land for county seat” *The South Reporter*, Holly Springs, Mississippi November 19, 2012  
[https://www.archive.southreporter.com/2012/wk48/happy\\_birthday\\_holly\\_springs.html](https://www.archive.southreporter.com/2012/wk48/happy_birthday_holly_springs.html)

Windham, Ben “Obscure resting place fitting for John McKee” *Tuscaloosa News*, Alabama May 20, 2007 <https://www.tuscaloosaneews.com.news.20070520/ben-windim-obscure-resting-place-fitting-for-john-mckee>

#### Online Sources

Access Genealogy. “Access Free Genealogy: Free Genealogy Archives.” *AccessGenealogy A Free Genealogy Website*. N.d. <https://www.accessgenealogy.com>

ACPL Genealogy Center. *Periodical Source Index*. <https://www.genealogycenter.info>

Adams County, MS Genealogical and Historical Research (website).

<http://www.natchezbelle.org/adams-ind/>

Alabama Department of Archives and History. 2014. “This map by Indian agent Leonard Tarrant shows the Creek encampment and barricade at Horseshoe Bend.” Facebook, March 27, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/AlabamaArchives/photos/a.130618408071/10152456193208072/>

Alabama Pioneers. “Biographies.” Updated January 21, 2021.

<https://www.alabamapioneers.com/category/biographies/>

All Quiet on the Border (@GreeneCountyPennsylvaniantheCivilWar). “All Quiet on the Border: The Civil War Era in Greene County, Pennsylvania.” Facebook, last updated October 8, 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/GreeneCountyPennsylvaniaintheCivilWar/>

Ambrose, George H. “SW Oregon History: Rogue River Indian Wars, 1852-1856 Selected Excerpts of Correspondence & Reports Filed with the US Office of Indian Affairs, 1855. Compiled and Organized by Bob Zybach” *Oregon Websites and Watersheds Project*, 2007: 3. [http://www.orww.org/History/SW\\_Oregon/Rogue\\_Indian\\_Wars/Correspondence/1855/index.html](http://www.orww.org/History/SW_Oregon/Rogue_Indian_Wars/Correspondence/1855/index.html). Accessed March 2, 2020

- American Antiquarian Society. "Newspapers & Periodicals."  
<https://www.americanantiquarian.org/>
- America Civil War Forum. Updated March 25, 2022. <https://www.americancivilwarforum.com/>
- American History Collection. "Founding Era." Rotunda. <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/>
- American Indian Treaties Portal. University of Nebraska – Lincoln. <http://treatiesportal.unl.edu/>
- American Indian Tribes, <http://amertribes.proboards.com/>.
- American National Biography. "Frontier and Western Expansion." Oxford University Press.  
<https://www.anb.org/page/frontier-and-western-expansion/frontier-and-western-expansion>
- A New Nation Votes. "Michigan 1823 Legislative Council." Tufts University Digital Collections and Archives. <https://elections.lib.tufts.edu/catalog/p5547s18h>
- The Aransas Pass Progress. "The Daughters of the Republic of Texas – Clara Driscoll Chapter Met Recently with President Anita Eisenhower Presiding." (2017).  
<https://www.aransaspasprogress.com/daughters-republic-texas-clara-driscoll-chapter-met-recently-president-anita-eisenhower-presiding>
- Archives West. Updated March 25, 2022. <http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/>
- ARGenweb. "Arkansas Genealogical Resources Online: Welcome." <http://www.argenweb.net/>
- Armstrong Martin A. "Panic of 1837," Armstrong Economics,  
<https://www.armstrongeconomics.com/panic-of%20-1837/>
- Association for Mormon Letters "Dawning of a Brighter Day: Twenty-First Century Mormon Literature." Updated March 26, 2022. <http://associationmormonletters.org>
- Atlanta's Upper West Side "N.W. Atlanta's Forgotten Past, Present and Future"  
<http://www.atlantasupperwestside.com/Site/Home.html>
- The Avalon Project. "19<sup>th</sup> Century Documents: 1800–1899." Yale Law School – Lillian Goldman Law Library. [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject\\_menus/19th.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/19th.asp)
- Ballard, Hannah. "The old incorrigible rogues will have their way" Prairie Band Potawatomi Foodways in the Age of Removal, KU Scholar Works, <https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/>
- Bartleby. "Great Books Online." <https://www.bartleby.com/>.
- Baumier, Ellen. Montana Moments (blog). <https://ellenbaumler.blogspot.com/>
- Baylor University. "Institute for Oral History" <https://www.baylor.edu/oralhistory/>

- Benefiel, Brooks (@lintonhistory-blog). *Linton Indiana History*. Tumblr. <https://lintonhistory-blog.tumblr.com/>
- Benton County, Oregon Pioneers. <https://chateaudevin.org/bentongs/bgstng/get/person/>.
- “Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789–1978.” Edited by Robert Sobel and John Raimo. Westport: Meckler Books, 1978. <https://catalog.loc.gov/vwebv/citeRecord?searchId=21812&recPointer=0&recCount=25&bibId=831015>
- Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts>.
- Bowen Law Repository Scholarship & Archives (website). UALR William H. Bowen School of Law. <https://lawrepository.ualr.edu/>
- The Brigham Young Center. “Brigham Young and His Papers.” <https://brighamyoungcenter.org/>
- Britannica. “Biographies.” <https://www.britannica.com/biographies>
- Brown, Thomas. *Did the U.S. Army Distribute Smallpox Blankets to Indians? Fabrication and Falsification in Ward Churchill’s Genocide Rhetoric*. University of Michigan MPublishing (2006). <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/plag/5240451.0001.009/-did-the-us-army-distribute-smallpox-blankets-to-indians?rgn=main;view=fulltext>
- Brown University Library. <http://library.brown.edu/>
- Bunbury, Turtle. “The Choctaw Nation’s Extraordinary Gift to Ireland.” *Turtle Bunbury* (WordPress) March 10, 2018. <https://turtlebunbury.wordpress.com/2018/03/10/the-choctaw-nations-extraordinary-gift-to-ireland/>
- Bunbury, Turtle. “What the Irish did for – and to – the Choctaw Tribe.” *The Irish Times*, March 12, 2018. <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/what-the-irish-did-for-and-to-the-choctaw-tribe-1.3423873>
- California Digital Newspaper Collection, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/>.
- Carr, Everett. “Treaty of Chickasaw Bluffs.” MSGenWeb Native American Project. <https://msgw.org/na-american/bluffs-treaty.htm>
- Castillo, Edward D. “California Indian History.” Native American Heritage Commission. <http://nahc.ca.gov/resources/california-indian-history>
- Caswell County Genealogy. “Welcome to Caswell County Genealogy.” <https://caswellcountync.org/>
- Cave Spring Georgia* (Blog). “Hugh Lawson Montgomery.” June 22, 2012, <http://cavespringga.blogspot.com/hugh-lawson-montgomery.html>

- CALS Encyclopedia of Arkansas. <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/>
- Charles C. Carpenter. "James, Edwin," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*.  
<http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=JA006>.
- The Chronicle*. Centralia, Washington, <https://www.chronline.com/>
- Chipeta. "Chipeta: Ute Peacemaker. Thoughts on Reading, Research and Writing"  
<https://chipeta.wordpress.com/>
- Christian, J. W. "Horrible Massacre of Emigrants!! Over 100 Person [sic] Murdered!!  
 Confirmation of the Report." *Los Angeles Star*, October 10, 1857.  
<http://mountainmeadows.unl.edu/archive/mmmm.doc.humphreys.1860>.
- City of Piqua. "Colonel John Johnston 1775–1861" <https://piquaoh.org/location/history/colonel-john-johnston/>
- City of Tumwater Washington. "History." <https://www.ci.tumwater.wa.us/about-tumwater/history>
- Clark, Charles. "John Dougherty," Kansas Bogus Literature, Accessed April 14, 2018,  
[http://kansaboguslegislature.org/mo/dougherty\\_j.html](http://kansaboguslegislature.org/mo/dougherty_j.html)
- Clark, Charles. "A.M. Coffey." Kansas Bogus Legislature. Accessed April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012  
[http://kansaboguslegislature.org/members/coffey\\_a\\_m.html](http://kansaboguslegislature.org/members/coffey_a_m.html) 2
- Clark County Washington Communications. "First court with Amos Short (1805)"  
<https://www.clark.wa.gov/public-information-outreach/first-court-amos-short-1850>
- "Clark, Marston Green: Biography." Joseph Smith Papers.  
<https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/person/marston-greene-clark>
- Claxton, Dan. "Time and Again: The Trail of Tears." KRCG TV, December 13, 2019.  
<https://krcgtv.com/news/time-and-again/time-and-again-the-trail-of-tears>
- Coe, Alexis. "The Killing of Neighbors" *The Awl*, September 16, 2013.  
<https://www.theawl.com/2013/09/the-killing-of-neighbors/>
- Colonel Sherod Hunter Camp 1525, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Phoenix, Arizona Updated  
 August 10, 2012. <https://azrebel.tripod.com>
- Colorado Encyclopedia. "Featured Articles." <http://coloradoencyclopedia.org>
- Colorado Virtual Library. Updated March 25, 2022. <https://www.coloradovirtuallibrary.org/>
- Cullum, George w. *George W. Cullum's Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, since its establishment in 1802*. Captain WM. H. Donaldson (ed). 1930.

- [https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United\\_States/Army/USMA/Cullums\\_Register/home.html](https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/home.html)
- Common Place Journal of Early American Life, <http://commonplace.online/>.
- Community and Conflict: The Impact of the Civil War in the Ozarks. <https://ozarkscivilwar.org/>
- Cumberland Presbyterian Church. "Armstrong Academy." Updated April 14, 2004, <https://www.cumberland.org/hfpc/schools/ArmstrongAcademy.htm>
- Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde. "Trail of Tears." <https://www.grandronde.org/culture/trail-of-tears/>
- Confederate Veterans. "Genealogy." <https://confederatevets.com>.
- Copeland J. I., 1979 John Crowell 18 Sept.1789–25 June 1846 2 Accessed August 16, 2019 <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/crowell-john>
- Corporation for National Research Initiatives. Handle.Net Registry. <https://www.handle.net/>.
- Daily Record* (Little rock, AR). <https://www.dailyrecord.us>.
- Daughters of the Republic of Texas. <https://www.drinfo.org>
- Detroit Historical Society. "Person Record: Brevoort, Henry Bregaw." <https://detroithistorical.pastperfectonline.com/byperson?keyword=Brevoort%2C+Henry+Bregaw>
- Dickens Charles, "Chapter XVII Slavery" *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd.,1842).
- Digital Public Library of America. "Proceedings of [the Cherokee] Council [Including a Talk from Jos[eph] McMinn, Governor of Tennessee], 1818 May, Cherokee Agency." <https://dp.la/item/9adc6b9c15eecdd51680fb55ee46d07b>.
- Discover Yale Digital Content. <http://discover.odai.yale.edu/>
- District 3 and 12 Lodge Officer's Association. "History" <http://www.tricountyloa-wa.org/NewLOA/Working/defaultpage.php?pageid=history>
- The Dodge Family Association. <https://www.dodgefamily.org>
- Early Chicago. "Chicago History Community." <https://www.earlychicago.com/>
- E-Books, [www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/](http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/).
- Encyclopedia. "History." <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history>
- Encyclopedia of Alabama. "History" <http://encyclopediaofalabama.org/category/History>
- ExplorePAHistory. <http://explorepahistory.com>.

- Fajardo, Christina. *Christina Fajardo's Blog* (blog) <http://christinafajardo.blogspot.com/>  
 Family Search. <https://www.familysearch.org/>.
- Famous Americans. "Virtual American Biographis: Book I Continental Discovery to 1899"  
 Virtuology. [www.famousamericans.net/](http://www.famousamericans.net/)
- Farber, Zac. "The Moral Arc of Indian Agent Lawrence Taliaferro." *Saint Paul Legal Ledger*.  
 January 3, 2019. <https://minnlawyer.com/2019/01/03/the-moral-arc-of-indian-agent-lawrence-taliaferro/>
- Farber, Zac. "Taliaferro, Lawrence (1794–1871)." MNopedia.  
<https://www.mnopedia.org/person/taliaferro-lawrence-1794-1871>
- Fayetteville History. "Dateline: Fayetteville, Arkansas" <https://www.fayettevillehistory.com>
- Fierst, John. "The Hugh Brady Letters and the Removal of the Potawatomi." Michigan in  
 Letters, August 19, 2014. <http://www.michiganinletters.org/2014/08/the-hugh-brady-letters-and-removal-of.html>
- Find a Grave. "World's Largest Gravesite Collection: Search." <http://www.findagrave.com/>
- First People. "First People of America and Canada – Turtle Island." <https://www.firstpeople.us/>
- Fold 3. "United States." Ancestry. <https://www.fold3.com/>.
- Forest County Potawatomi. "Culture / History." <https://www.fcpotawatomi.com/culture-and-history>
- Fort Tours, <http://www.forttours.com/>.
- Frank Kirkman's Mountain Meadows Massacre Site. <http://1857massacre.com>
- Fulkerson Family Tree. "Our Family History." <https://www.fulkerson.org/>
- Gale, Neil. "Charles Jouett: The First U.S. Indian Agent Residing at Chicago." Digital Research  
 Library of Illinois History Journal, 2018.  
<https://drloihjournal.blogspot.com/2018/07/charles-jouett-first-us-indian-agent-residing-at-chicago.html>
- Genealogy Trails. "Genealogy Trails History Group." <http://genealogytrails.com/>
- Geni. "Family Tree & Family History." <https://www.geni.com/people/discussions/>.
- Georgia Sons of the American Revolution. <https://gasocietysar.org/gravesregistry/>.
- Gilcrease Museum. <https://collections.gilcrease.org/object>
- Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/content/>.

- Gorenfeld, Will. "Inspection Report and Muster Roll, Ft. Tejon 28 February 1859." Bugler, Sound the Charge (website), September 24, 2009. <https://www.chargeofthedragoons.com/2009/09/fort-tejon-muster-28-february-1859/>
- Grayson County, TXGenWeb. "Genealogy." <https://www.usgenwebsites.org/TXGrayson/>
- Greenwood, Len. "Trail of Tears from Mississippi Walked by our Ancestors." Chahta Anumpa Aikhvna School of Choctaw Language, March 1995. <https://choctawschool.com/home-side-menu/history/trail-of-tears-from-mississippi-walked-by-our-ancestors.aspx>
- Gregg, Will. "A Man and His Pipe." Whitman Wire. Updated May 2, 2014. [https://whitmanwire.com/staff\\_name/will-gregg/](https://whitmanwire.com/staff_name/will-gregg/)
- Grindal Shoals Gazette* (Union County, SC). <http://grindalshoalsgazette.com/>
- HathiTrust Digital Library. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/>
- Hays, Tony. "The Death of Meriwether Lewis: Suicide or murder?" Criminal Element, 2013. <https://www.criminalelement.com/blogs/2013/04/the-death-of-meriwether-lewis-suicide-or-murder-tony-hays>
- HEAD Family Research Center, <http://www.head-frc.com>.
- Heller, Don. "US Post Office, 1789 to 1875." Official Register of the United States 1816–1959. [https://www.cse.psu.edu/~deh25/post/Timeline\\_files/US-Official\\_Register.html](https://www.cse.psu.edu/~deh25/post/Timeline_files/US-Official_Register.html)
- Hislop, Donald L. "The Nome Lackee Indian Reservation 1845–1870." Association for Northern California Records and Research (1978). <http://archives.csuchico.edu/digital/collection/coll14/id/622/rec/3>
- History Center Allen County Fort Wayne Historical Society, <https://historycenterfw.blogspot.com/2016/12/Indian-agents-factor-in-early-fort-wayne.html>.
- History Cooperative. <https://historycooperative.org>.
- History Link.org, <http://www.historylink.org>.
- History Nebraska. "John Dougherty, 1791–1860." <https://history.nebraska.gov/collections/john-dougherty-1791-1860-rg3902am>
- HistoryNet. <https://www.historynet.com>.
- History News Network. <https://historynewnetwork.org/article>.
- "History of 522 East Rose Street, 501 East Cherry Street, 101 East Main Street." Walla Walla 2020. <https://ww2020.net/>.



- “History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan: Mackinac County.” Mackinac County MIGenWeb Project. <http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/mimack/1883historyupperpen/pages361-366.aspx>
- Hollick, Martin. *The Slovak Yankee* (blog). <https://mhollick.typepad.com/slovakyankee/>  
*Houston Chronicle*. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/>.
- HSP Discover. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. <https://discover.hsp.org/>
- Hunter, J. M. *Frontier Times*. J Marvin Hunter’s Frontier Times Magazine Archive. <https://www.frontiertimesmagazine.com/>
- Indiana’s Digital Historic Newspaper Program. *Hoosier State Chronicles*. <https://newspapers.library.in.gov/cgi-bin/indiana>
- Integrated Resource Management Applications. <https://irma.nps.gov/Portal/>
- Iowa History. IAGenWeb Special Project. <http://iagenweb.org/history/>
- “Jasper County History.” Jasper County, History. <https://www.jaspercounty.org/history.html>
- Jenkinson, Clay S. “The Last Journey of Meriwether Lewis: Was it Suicide or Murder?” Discover Lewis and Clark <http://lewis-clark.org/members/meriwether-lewis/the-last-journey-of-meriwether-lewis/#weighing>
- Johnson, Rossiter. “The Biographical Dictionary of America.” (1906). [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The\\_Biographical\\_Dictionary\\_of\\_America](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Biographical_Dictionary_of_America)
- John Tipton Collection*. Indiana State Library. <https://www.in.gov/library/>.
- “Joseph M. Street, A Conscientious Indian Agent.” Durham Museum. Curatorial statement by Sydney Salmon. July 21, 2018–January 20, 2019: 9. [https://durhammuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Durham\\_TimelinesSummer2018\\_web.pdf](https://durhammuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Durham_TimelinesSummer2018_web.pdf)
- J. Willard Marriott Digital Library – The University of Utah. <https://collections.lib.utah.edu/>
- Kansas City Public Library. “Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas conflict 1854–1865.” <https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/>
- Kansas City Public Library (website). <https://kchistory.org/research/>.
- Kansas Collection (website). <https://www.kancoll.org/books/>.
- Kansas GenWeb Project (website). <https://www.ksgenweb.org>.
- Kansas Historical Society (website). <https://www.kshs.org>.
- Kansas Memory (memory). Kansas Historical Society. <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/>.
- Kansapedia. Kansas Historical Society. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/kansapedia/19539>

- The Kaw Nation: People of the Southwind (website). <http://kawnation.com>.
- Kenneth Spencer Research Library (website). The University of Kansas.  
<https://spencer.lib.ku.edu/>
- Kentucky Historical Society (website). <https://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/>
- LaChiusa, Chuck. "A Short History of Forest Lawn Cemetery." Buffalo as an Architectural Museum. <https://buffaloah.com/a/forestL/fl.html>
- LA County Library Collections (website). <http://history.lacountylibrary.org/>
- Laskow, Sarah. "Utah's First Federal Surveyor Fled the Territory Fearing for His Life." Atlas Obscura, 2017. <https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/utahs-first-federal-surveyor-fled-the-territory-fearing-for-his-life>
- Laura's Lineal and Collateral Ascent (website). <http://www.ladkau.com/>
- Legends of Kansas History (website). Legends of America. <https://www.legendsofkansas.com>
- Legislative Reference Library. "A.M.M. Upshaw." <https://lrl.texas.gov/mobile/memberDisplay.cfm?memberID=5128>.
- Leiter, Car. "Indian Treaty of 1826 – Tipton's Quest." Howard County Indiana Memory Project. <http://collections.howardcountymemory.net/digital/collection/localhistor/id/856/>
- Lenape Delaware History (website). <http://lenapedelawarehistory.net/>.
- Lewis, David G. "Umpqua Journal of Removal to the Grand Ronde Encampment, 1856." *Umpqua Journal of Critical Indigenous Anthropology*, October 26, 2016, <https://ndnhistoryresearch.com/2016/10/26/umpqua-journal-of-removal-to-grand-ronde-encampment-1856/>
- Library of Congress (website). <https://www.loc.gov/>
- The Lintonian (website). <https://thelintonian.com/>.
- Lipan Apache Tribe. "Treaty Between the United States and the Comanche, Lipan, Mescalero and Other Tribes of Indians." October 28, 1851.  
<http://www.lipanapache.org/History/Treaty1851.html>.
- Liverpool John Moores University. "A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Nineteenth Century." American Studies Centre. <http://www.americansc.org.uk/>.
- Mahood, Tom. "Dave Buel's East Fork Flume, San Gabriel Canyon." *Otherhand* (blog). <https://www.otherhand.org/home-page/archaeology/dave-buels-east-fork-flume-san-gabriel-canyon/>.

- Maine Organic Farmers and Gardeners Association (website). <https://www.mofga.org/>.
- “Major Hatch: Pembina & the Indian Wars.” *St. Vincent Memories* (blog), June 30, 2010. <https://56755.blogspot.com/2010/06/major-hatch-pembina-indian-wars.html>
- “Major John Biddle.” Historic Elmwood Cemetery & Foundation. <https://www.elmwoodhistoriccemetery.org/events-tours/biographies/36-major-john-biddle>
- Martin, James W. Civil War Message Board Portal. <http://history-sites.com/>
- Masonic Memorial Park (website). <http://www.masonicmemorialpark.com/>.
- Meskwaki Annual Powwow (website). <https://meskwakipowwow.com/>
- McKinney, Thomas L. Thomas L. McKinney to Benjamin Stickney, 1830, <https://sites.google.com/site/thechickasaw/treaty-of-pontotoc>.
- Meigs family History and Genealogy (website). <http://www.meigs.org/>
- Mereu, Matteo. “Sebastian Indian Reservation on Tejon Ranch.” California Landmark Foundation, October 28, 2019. <https://savethelandmarks.org/library/f/sebastian-indian-reservation-on-tejon-ranch>
- Miami County Kansas Historical Society and Museum (website). <https://micomuseum.org/>.
- Miami County Kansas History. “Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Baptiste Peoria.” Miami County Historical Museum, <http://www.thinkmiamicountyhistory.com/Baptiste-Peoria.html>.
- Michigan Family History Network (website). <http://www.mifamilyhistory.org/>
- Minnesota Historical Society. Gale Family Library. <http://www2.mnhs.org/library/findaids/>
- Minnesota Historical Society. “Historic Fort Snelling.” <https://www.mnhs.org/fortsnelling>
- Minnesota Historical Society. “Lawrence Taliaferro.” *The US Dakota War of 1862*. <https://usdakotawar.org/history/lawrence-taliaferro>.
- Missouri Historical Society Library and Research Center. “Genealogy and Local History Index.” <https://mohistory.org/research/house-history-resources/genealogy-and-local-history-index>
- Missouri Secretary of State (website). <https://www.sos.mo.gov/>.
- Missouri Valley Special Collections (website). The Kansas City Public Library. <https://kchistory.org>.
- Mullins, Jonita. “Three Rivers History: Three Forks Area an Early Community.” *Muskogee Phoenix*. March 10, 2013 <https://www.muskogee phoenix.com/archives/three-rivers->

history-three-forks-area-an-early-community/article\_d8ede507-d588-5c4d-85d1-7a8f1c13845e.html.

My Genealogy Hound (website). [www.mygenealogyhound.com/](http://www.mygenealogyhound.com/).

MyHeritage Genealogy (website). <https://www.myheritage.com/>.

National Archives. "Correspondence and Other Writings of Seven Major Shapers of the United States." Founders Online. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/>

National Governors Association (website). <https://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/>.

National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center, "History Bits & Westward Quotes on the Oregon Trail," Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management, [https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/learn\\_interp\\_nhotic\\_quotes.pdf](https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/learn_interp_nhotic_quotes.pdf).

National Park Service. "Park History." <https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/>.

Native American net roots (website). <http://nativeamericannetroots.net>.

National Intelligencer. "Death of the Venerable Richard Graham" August 8, 1857.

<http://pwcogenealogy.blogspot.com/2015/11/sundays-obituary-richard-graham.html>.

NCPedia. "Biography & People." <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography>

Nebraska Legislature. "Nebraska Territorial Legislature, 1855–1867."

<https://nebraskalegislature.gov>

Nebraska Public Media. "Pilcher, Frontenelle and Spray." Nebraskastudies.

<https://nebraskastudies.org/en/1800-1849/fur-traders-missionaries/joshua-pilcher>

Nevada Appeal (website). <https://www.nevadaappeal.com>.

The Newberry. "Newberry Transcribe." <https://www.newberry.org/newberry-transcribe>

New Georgia Encyclopedia. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/>

*News Leader* (website), <https://www.newsleader.com/>.

New Mexico Digital Collections (website). <http://econtent.unm.edu/>.

New Mexico History State Records Center and Archives (website).

<https://www.newmexicohistory.org>.

NewPolitics. "Irish Anti-Colonial Solidarity with Indigenous People." <https://newpol.org/irish-anticolonial-solidarity-indigenous-people/?print=print>

Newspapers by Ancestry (website). <https://www.newspapers.com/>.

- New River Notes. "Historical and Genealogical Resources of the Upper New River Valley, North Carolina and Virginia." <https://www.newrivernotes.com/>.
- New York Historical Society (website). <https://www.nyhistory.org/>.
- Nisqually Valley News (website). [www.yelmonline.com](http://www.yelmonline.com).
- Norfleet, Phil. "Cherokee Families of Rusk County, Texas." *Cherokee 1838* (blog), updated October 2, 2010. <https://cherokee1838.tripod.com/>
- North Carolina Governors (website). <https://www.carolana.com/NC/Governors/>
- Odessa American Online (website). <https://www.oaoa.com/>.
- Ohio History Central (website). <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/>.
- Ohio Memory (website). State Library of Ohio, <https://ohiomemory.org/>
- OKGenWeb (website). The, <https://okgenweb.net>.
- Oklahoma Historical Society (website). <https://www.okhistory.org/>.
- Oregon Encyclopedia (website). <https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/>
- Ottawa Herald* (website). The, <https://www.ottawaherald.com>.
- Oregon History Project (website). <https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/>
- Oregon Pioneer obituaries. "Dr. Richard Hyatt Lansdale."  
<https://sites.google.com/site/oregonpioneerobituaries/oregon-pioneer-deaths---out-of-state/dr-richard-hyatt-lansdale>
- Oregon Secretary of State. "Exhibit Home." <http://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/constitution/>.
- Oregon State University Library Special Collections and Archives Research Center (website).  
<http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/>.
- Our Acadian, French Canadian and Maine Ancestors (website). <https://royandboucher.com/>.
- Our Campaigns (website). <https://www.ourcampaigns.com>.
- Oxford Academic Journals (website). Oxford University Press.  
<https://academic.oup.com/ahr/article-abstract>.
- Ozark History (website). <http://ozarkhistory.weebly.com>
- Pacific University. "Digital Exhibits" <https://exhibits.lib.pacificu.edu/>
- Palo Alto Online (website). <https://www.paloaltoonline.com>.
- PA-Roots (website). <http://www.pa-roots.org/>.
- Pasley Brothers. "President Jackson's Editorial Appointees."  
[http://www.pasleybrothers.com/newspols/Jackson\\_appointees.htm](http://www.pasleybrothers.com/newspols/Jackson_appointees.htm).

Peach, Augustina. "Finding Edward DuVal." *The Musing Reader* (blog), June 25, 2009, <http://musingreader.blogspot.com/2010/04/finding-edward-duval.html>

Pennsylvania General Assembly (website). <https://www.legis.state.pa.us/>.

Pitard.net Genealogy (website). <https://www.ancestors.pitard.net>.

Political Graveyard (website). <https://politicalgraveyard.com>

Portal to Texas History (website). The, <https://texashistory.unt.edu>.

Prabook (website). <https://prabook.com/>.

Prall, Terry D. *TDP Genealogy Blog* (blog). <http://tdpgenealogyblod.blogspot.com/>.

Pima-Maricopa Irrigation Project Education Initiative. "The Creation and Recognition of the Pima Reservation, Part 69." Gila River Indian Community <https://www.gilariver.com/lessons/Lesson%2069.pdf>.

Project Gutenberg (website). <https://www.gutenberg.org/>.

Provo City Library at Academy Square (website). <https://www.provolibrary.com/>.

Questia. "Family Matters: McNair's Descendants." <https://www.questia.com/newspaper/1P2-33020450/family-matters-mcnair-s-descendants-visit-restored> [Discontinued 2020].

*Rebellion*. Joe Horse. <http://www.johnhorse.com/>

Religion in Kansas Project (website). <http://ksreligion.omeka.net>.

Richards, Miles S. "Butler, Pierce Mason." South Carolina Encyclopedia. <https://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/butler-pierce-mason/>

Rogers Park/West Ridge Historical Society, "Wolcott Alexander Jr." [https://www.rpwrhs.org/w/index.php?title=Wolcott\\_Alexander.\\_Jr](https://www.rpwrhs.org/w/index.php?title=Wolcott_Alexander._Jr)

"Rogue River War." MayaIncaAztec. <https://www.mayaincaaztec.com/native-american-history/rogue-river-war>

RootsWeb. "WorldConnect." <https://worldconnect.rootsweb.ancestry.com>

RR Thompson House. "Carlton, Oregon Inns." <https://www.rρθompsonhouse.com/>

Salt Lake County Archives (website). <https://slcoarchives.wordpress.com/>.

Sangamon County ILLGenWeb (website). <https://sangamon.illinoisgenweb.org/>

Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society (website). <https://scvhs.org/>

"Sarah Winnemucca: Paiute Indian" Early Native American Literature. <http://nativeamericanwriters.com/winnemucca>

- Schlegel, Donald M. *The Columbus City Graveyards*. Columbus: Columbus History Service, 1985. [http://www.genealogybug.net/Franklin\\_Cemeteries/city\\_graveyards/CityGraveyards.pdf](http://www.genealogybug.net/Franklin_Cemeteries/city_graveyards/CityGraveyards.pdf)
- Segelquist, Dennis. *Kansas and Its Surnames* (blog). <http://kansasoakland.blogspot.com/>
- Segelquist, Dennis. "Indian Agents." *Civil War Days & Those Surnames* (blog), November 13, 2016. <https://civilwarthosesurnames.blogspot.com/search?q=Indian+agents>
- Seminole Nation I.T. (website). <http://www.seminolenation-indianterritory.org/>
- SHAREOK. "SHAREOK Repository." <https://shareok.org/>
- Sharp, Sherry. "Geneology." *Sherry's Pages* (blog). <http://sherrysharp.com/genealogy/>
- Silver Bullet Productions (website). <http://silverbulletproductions.com/>.
- Society of the Sacred Heart (website). <https://rscj.org>.
- Soft Tracks: Celebrating history and skills of the outdoors Accessed May 25, 2018  
<https://softtracks.org/2017/06/27-andrew-drips-brief-biography-noteworthy-mountain-man>
- Sons of the American Revolution. "The Oklahoma Society." <http://okssar.com/>.
- Sorenson, Raymond P. "The First Reports of Oil in Oklahoma" *Oil-Industry History* 10, no. 1 (2009): 83–95.
- Southern Memorial Association (website). <https://southernmemorialassociation.com>.
- "Southwest Oregon History." Oregon's Websites and Watershed Project.  
<http://www.orww.org/History/SWOregon/>.
- Spartacus Educational (website). <https://spartacus-educational.com/>.
- State of Alabama Indian Affairs Commision. "Choctaw Research."  
[https://aiac.alabama.gov/Gen\\_choctaw.aspx](https://aiac.alabama.gov/Gen_choctaw.aspx)
- State Historical Society – Society of Missouri. "Historic Missourians."  
<https://shsmo.org/historic-missourians>.
- State Library of Ohio (website), <https://library.ohio.gov/>
- Stoler, M. *Things Have Changed* (blog). <https://havechanged.blogspot.com/>
- Stray Leaves* (blog). "Official Website for the Family of Frank and Jesse James."  
<http://www.ericjames.org>.

- Tanber, George J. "Benjamin Franklin Stickney: His Remarkable Life and Times." *The Blade*. December 23, 2000. <https://www.toledoblade.com/local/2000/12/24/Benjamin-Franklin-Stickney-His-remarkable-life-and-times.html>
- Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture (website). <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/>.
- Tennessee State Library and Archives (website). <https://sharetn.gov.tnsosfiles>.
- Territorial Kansas Online (website). University of Kansas. <https://territorialkansasonline.ku.edu/>.
- Texans in the Civil War (website). <https://www.angelfire.com/tx/RandysTexas>.
- Texas Beyond History (website). <https://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/>.
- Texas Escapes Online Magazine (website). <https://www.texasescapes.com/>.
- Texas History Notebook (blog). <https://texoso66.com/>.
- Texas Slavery Project (website). <http://www.texasslaveryprpject.org/sources/>.
- Texas State Historical Association. "Handbook of Texas." <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook>.
- Texas State Library and Archives Commission (website). <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/>.
- "The 19<sup>th</sup> Century Indian Office." Native American Netroots, April 6, 2011. <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/912>.
- "The story of Henry Gratiot, Who Tried to Stop a War." Madison Media Partners, April 25, 2007. <http://host.madison.com/news/local/the-story-of-henry-gratiot-who-tried-to-stop-a-war/>
- Third Millennium Online (website). <https://web.3rdmil.com/>
- Thompson, Mark. "Lafayette Head in New Mexico." New Mexico History State Records Center. & Archives <http://newmexicohistory.org/people/lafayette-head-in-new-mexico>
- TNGenweb Project (website). <https://www.tngenweb.org/>.
- Travel South Texas (website). <http://www.stxmaps.com/>.
- Treaty Singers Project. Indian Land Tenure Foundation. <http://portal.treatysigners.org/>
- True West Magazine* (website). <https://truewestmagazine.com/>
- Truwe, Ben. "My Southern Oregon History Pages." Southern Oregon History, Revised. <https://truwe.sohs.org/>
- Tennessee State Library and Archives. "Statewide Index to Tennessee Death Records (1914–1933)." <https://tsla.tnsosfiles.com/history/vital/tndeath.htm>
- UA Little Rock Online Exhibits (website), <https://ualrexhibits.org>.
- University of Arizona Libraries (website). <https://www.library.arizona.edu/>.



University of Arkansas at Little Rock (website). "The Trail of Tears Through Arkansas."

<http://ualrexhibits.org/trailoftears/>

University of Oklahoma University Libraries (website). <https://libraries.ou.edu/>

University System of Georgia. Georgia's Virtual Library GALILEO. <https://dig.galileo.usg.edu/>

University System of Georgia. "History & Archaeology." New Georgia Encyclopedia. Accessed, October, 2018 <https://georgiainfo.galileo.usg.edu/topics/history/article/revolution-early-republic-1776-1800/georgia-ordinance-ratifying-the-u.s.-constitution-1788>. [No longer maintained]

University of Texas Libraries (website). <http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/>.

University of Tulsa (website). <http://resources.utulsa.edu/>.

University of Virginia Miller Center (website). <https://millercenter.org>.

University of Washington (website). <https://www.washington.edu/>.

University of Wisconsin Digital Collections. "Archival Resources in Wisconsin: Descriptive Finding Aids" <https://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/wiarchives/>

University of Wisconsin Madison Libraries. "Browse the Series: Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs." The History Collection. <https://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=browse&scope=HISTORY.COMMREP>

UNM Digital Repository. "Celebrating New Mexico Statehood." The University of Central New Mexico. <https://nmstatehood.unm.edu/>

US GenWeb Archives (website). <http://files.usgwarchives.net/>.

U.S. Marshals Service (website), <https://www.usmarshals.gov/readingroom/>.

Utah Department of Heritage and Arts (website). <https://heritage.utah.gov>.

Utah SID. "Publications." Issuu inc. <https://issuu.com/utah>

Virginia Heritage. "Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of the State of Virginia." <https://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaxtf/view?docId=uva=sc/viu04050.xmi>.

Vredenburgh, Larry M. Kawaiisu Indians of Tehachapi (website).

<https://vredenburgh.org/tehachapi/data/indians.htm>

Waco and the Heart of Texas (website). <https://wacoheartoftexas.com/>.

Waco Masonic. "Shapely Ross." <https://www.wacomasonic.org/shapley-ross/>

Ward Hall Kentucky (website). <http://www.wardhall.net/history/>.

- Ward, Rufus. "Ask Rufus: Intruders in the Chickasaw Nation" *The Dispatch*, 2016.  
<https://www.cdispatch.com/opinions/article.asp?aid=52923>
- Washington County Arkansas Historic Places (website).  
<https://www.historicwashingtoncounty.org/>.
- Washington Rural Heritage (website). Office of the Secretary of State.  
<https://www.washingtonruralheritage.org/>
- Weiser-Alexander, Kathy. "Joshua Pilcher – Trader and Indian Agent." *Legends of America*.  
 Updated August 2021. <https://www.legendsofamerica.com/joshua-pilcher-trader-and-indian-agent/>
- Wenonah's Stories* (blog). <http://wenonahsstories.blogspot.com/2010/12/chickasaw-removal-part-ii.html>
- West Virginia GeoExplorer Project (website). <http://wvgeohistory.org>
- Wikimedia Commons (website). <https://commons.wikimedia.org/>
- Wikipedia (website). <https://en.wikipedia.org/>.
- WikiTree (website). <https://www.wikitree.com/>
- Wilkes University. "Pennsylvania Elections Statistics: 1682–2006." *The Wilkes University Election Statistics Project*. <https://staffweb.wilkes.edu/harold.cox/index.html>.
- Wisconsin Historical Society. "Indian Agents and Agencies in Wisconsin."  
<https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS1622>
- Whopper & B. "Bridges of Achison County Series." *Geocaching*,  
<https://www.geocaching.com/p/?guid=4755b831-a893-4204-8105-9e4a4a4bda6c&wid=37fd364d-0c9f-4d00-9abf-fda2f1b3a403&ds=2>
- Wyandotte Nation (website). <https://wyandotte-nation.org/>
- Wyckoff, Larry. "Payments to the Potawatomi of Michigan under the Cadman and Taggart Rolls." *Academia*, 2016,  
[https://www.academia.edu/29654307/%20Wyckoff,%20Larry%20Payments\\_to\\_the\\_Potawatomi\\_of\\_Michigan\\_under\\_the\\_Cadman\\_and\\_Taggart\\_Rolls](https://www.academia.edu/29654307/%20Wyckoff,%20Larry%20Payments_to_the_Potawatomi_of_Michigan_under_the_Cadman_and_Taggart_Rolls)
- Yelm History Project. "The History of Yelm Washington." <http://www.yelmhistoryproject.com/>
- Zontine, Patricia. "Reuben Lewis (February 14, 1777–February 17, 1844)." *The Jefferson Library*, 2009.

<https://www.monticello.org/sites/library/exhibits/lucymarks/lucymarks/bios/reubenlewis.html>

### Original Sources

- Armstrong, William. Peter P. Pitchlynn Collection. University of Oklahoma Libraries.
- Bureau of Indian Affairs Collection. Texas Tech University Libraries.
- Clark, William. Papers, Kansas Historical Society.
- Dougherty, John. Columbia Manuscript Collections. State Historical Society of Missouri.
- Force, Peter. National Calendar Series. P. Force.
- Foreman, Grant, comp. Papers. Department of Archives and History of Montgomery, Alabama.
- Forsyth, Thomas. Wisconsin Historical Collections. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
- Haynes, Milton A., ed. Papers. Cameron & Fall.
- Herring, Elbert. Papers. University of Oklahoma.
- Jackson, Andrew. Papers. University of Tennessee.
- Jefferson, Thomas, and Barbara B. Oberg, ed. Papers. Princeton University.
- Martin, George W., ed. Kansas Historical Collections, Kansas Historical Society.
- McKee, John. Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library.
- Military Affairs. American State Papers. U.S. Congress.
- Monroe, James, and Daniel Preston, ed. James Monroe Papers. James Monroe Center.
- Morris, Eastin. Dictionary. W. Hassell Hunt.
- National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)
- Palmer, Joel. Papers. Oregon Historical Society Library.
- Polk, James K. Chicago Historical Society Collections. Chicago Historical Society.
- Polk, James K., and Wayne Cutler and Carese M. Parker, eds. Correspondence. Vanderbilt University.
- Rowland, Isaac Guion Dunbar. Annual Report. Brandon Printing.
- Sac and Fox Treaty. Transcript. State Historical Society of Iowa.
- Salmon, Sydney. Museum Exhibit. The Durham Museum.
- State Department of History, comp. South Dakota Historical Collections. South Dakota State Historical Society.

- Taliaferro, Lawrence. Papers. Minnesota Historical Society.
- Ward, Thomas, ed. Tom Perry Special Collections. Harold B. Library.
- Ward, William. Peter P. Pitchlynn Collection. University of Oklahoma Libraries.
- Watkins, Albert ed. Papers. Nebraska State Historical Society.
- Western History Collections. University of Oklahoma Libraries.

#### Theses and Dissertations

- Aley, Ginette M. "Westward Expansion, John Tipton and the Emergence of the American Midwest, 1800-1839." PhD diss., Iowa State University, Ames, 2005.
- Boughter, Judith A. "Betraying Their Trust: The Dispossession of the Omaha Nation, 1790-1816." MA Thesis, University of Nebraska-Omaha, Omaha, 1995.
- Bowers, Leo. "A History of The Sac and Fox Indians Until After the Opening of Their Reservation in Oklahoma." MA Thesis, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, 1940.
- Christianson, James R. "A Study of Osage History Prior to 1876." PhD diss., University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1968.
- Collins, William Frederick. "John Tipton and the Indians of the Old Northwest." PhD diss., Purdue University, West Lafayette, 1997.
- Dailey, Martha Lacroix. "Michael Steck: A Prototype of Nineteenth Century Individualism." PhD diss., University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1989.
- Essery, Roderick C. "The Cherokee Nation in the Nineteenth Century: Racial Tensions and the Loss of Tribal Sovereignty." PhD Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, Adelaide, 2015.
- Ferrell, John S. "Indians and Criminal Justice in Early Oregon, 1842-1859." MA Thesis, Portland State University, Portland, 1973.
- Flaherty, Daniel. "'People to Our Selves': Chickasaw Diplomacy and Political Development in the Nineteenth Century." PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, Norman, 2012.
- Fortney, Jeffrey Lee, Jr. "Robert M. Jones and the Choctaw Nation: Indigenous Nationalism in the American South, 1820-1877." PhD. diss., University of Oklahoma, Norman, 2014.
- Girdner, Ailwin James. "Navaho-United States Relations, 1846-1868." MA Thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson, 1950.

- Gowans, Fred R. "A History of Brigham Young's Indian Superintendency, 1851-1857: Problems and Accomplishments." MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, 1963.
- Gullett, Michelle Cauleen. "If Even a Few are Reclaimed, the Labor is Not Lost: William Hamilton's Life Among the Iowa and Omaha Indians, 1837-1891." MA Thesis, University of Nebraska-Omaha, Omaha, 1994.
- Inman, Natalie. "Networks in Negotiation: The Role of Family and Kinship in Intercultural Diplomacy on the Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 1680-1840." PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 2010.
- Kent, William Eugene. "The Siletz Indian Reservation, 1855-1900." MS Teaching Thesis, Portland State University, Portland, 1973.
- Kimery, Greer Jackson. "Return Jonathan Meigs, Cherokee Indian Agent, 1801-1823." MA Thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1948.
- Kiser, William. "Alternative Slavery and American Democracy Debt Bondage and Indian Captivity in the Civil War Era Southwest." PhD diss., Arizona State University, Tempe, 2016.
- . "Dragoons in Apacheland: Anglo-Apache Relations in Southern New Mexico, 1846-1861." MA Thesis, Arizona State University, Tempe, 2011.
- Kokomoor, Kevin D. "Indian Agent, Gad Humphreys, and the Politics of Slave Claims on the Florida Frontier, 1822-1830." MA Thesis, University of South Florida, Tampa, 2008.
- Lanehart, David T. "The Navajos and the Peace Commission of 1867." MA Thesis, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, 1981.
- Lester, Paul Arnold. "Michael Steck and New Mexico Indian Affairs, 1852-1865." MA Thesis, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1986.
- Lewis, Monte Ross. "Chickasaw Removal: Betrayal of the Beloved Warriors, 1794-1844." PhD diss., North Texas State University, Denton, 1981.
- Mangiante, Rosal. "History of Fort Defiance, 1851-1900." MA Thesis, University of Arizona, Tuscon, 1950.
- Mayfield-Davis, Carla. "Dr. Michael Steck: Agent to the Apaches in New Mexico." MA Thesis, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, 1992.
- McCabe, Michael A. "The Removal of the Potawatomi Indians: 1820 to the Trail of Death." MA Thesis, Indiana State Teacher College, Terre Haute, 1960.

- Newburg, David. "In the Name of Civilization: Jackson, Forsyth and the Indian Removal Act of 1830." Senior Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire.
- Seifried, Richard Dwight. "Early Administration of the Flathead Indian Reservation, 1855-1893." MA Thesis, University of Montana, Missoula, 1968.
- Smith, Robert Emmett, Jr. "The Wyandot Indians, 1843-1876." PhD diss., Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1973.
- Thorne, Barry Eugene. "David Folsom and the Emergence of Choctaw Nationalism." MA Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1988.
- Van Laere, M. Susan. "The Grizzly Bear and the Deer: The History of Federal Indian Policy and its Impact on the Coast Reservation Tribes of Oregon, 1856-1877." MA Thesis, Oregon State University, Corvallis, 2000.
- Yancey, William C. "In Justice to Our Indian Allies: The Government of Texas and Her Indian Allies, 1836-1867." MA Thesis, University of North Texas, Denton, 2008.