NATIVE AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE PRAIRIE-PLAINS ENVIRONMENT

by

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"In the historiographic discussion of imagery of the Plains . . . one man's 'myth' is forever rubbing shoulders with another's 'reality.'" Andrew Hill Clark, Images of the Plains: The Role of Human Nature in Settlement.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Purpose

In 1830, Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Bill, thereby legalizing a heretofore voluntary emigration procedure.[1] Under this bill Native Americans east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River were asked to consider lands west of the state of Missouri for their new homes. Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River and south of the Ohio River were asked to consider lands west of the territory of Arkansas[2] (Figure 1).

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[1]Many times the victimization aspect of the removal policy is credited to Jackson alone. Francis Prucha writes in defense of Jackson, stating that his critics stress only his dealings with Indian criminals rather than his treatment of law-abiding Indians, "Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment," The Journal of American History, Vol. 56 (1969), pp. 527-540. Nevertheless, there exists no evidence indicating that Jackson was an admirer of the Indian or his way. However, the idea of an Indian territory cannot be credited to Andrew Jackson alone: the idea dates from Washington's administration, see Marquis James, Portrait of a President: Andrew Jackson (New York: The Universal Library, Grosset & Dunlap, 1937); Ronald N. Satz, American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975). It should be noted that Indians had moved west of the Mississippi River prior to 1830, voluntarily. These early movers will be examined further in chapter three.

[2]Indians from south of the Ohio River were moved directly to a territory west of the state of Arkansas (present-day eastern Oklahoma). Several bands who resided north of the Ohio River were not moved directly to western Indian territory but were given land in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, where they resided for a short time prior to being moved further west. Iowa was, for a time, a part of the Indian territory. However, plans to remove the Indian when Iowa achieved statehood were being mentioned as early as 1842, Correspondence from D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian affairs, dated September 12, 1842, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 2 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). Furthermore, at this time Indian territory included the lands along the Little Platte River later to be annexed by the state of Missouri.

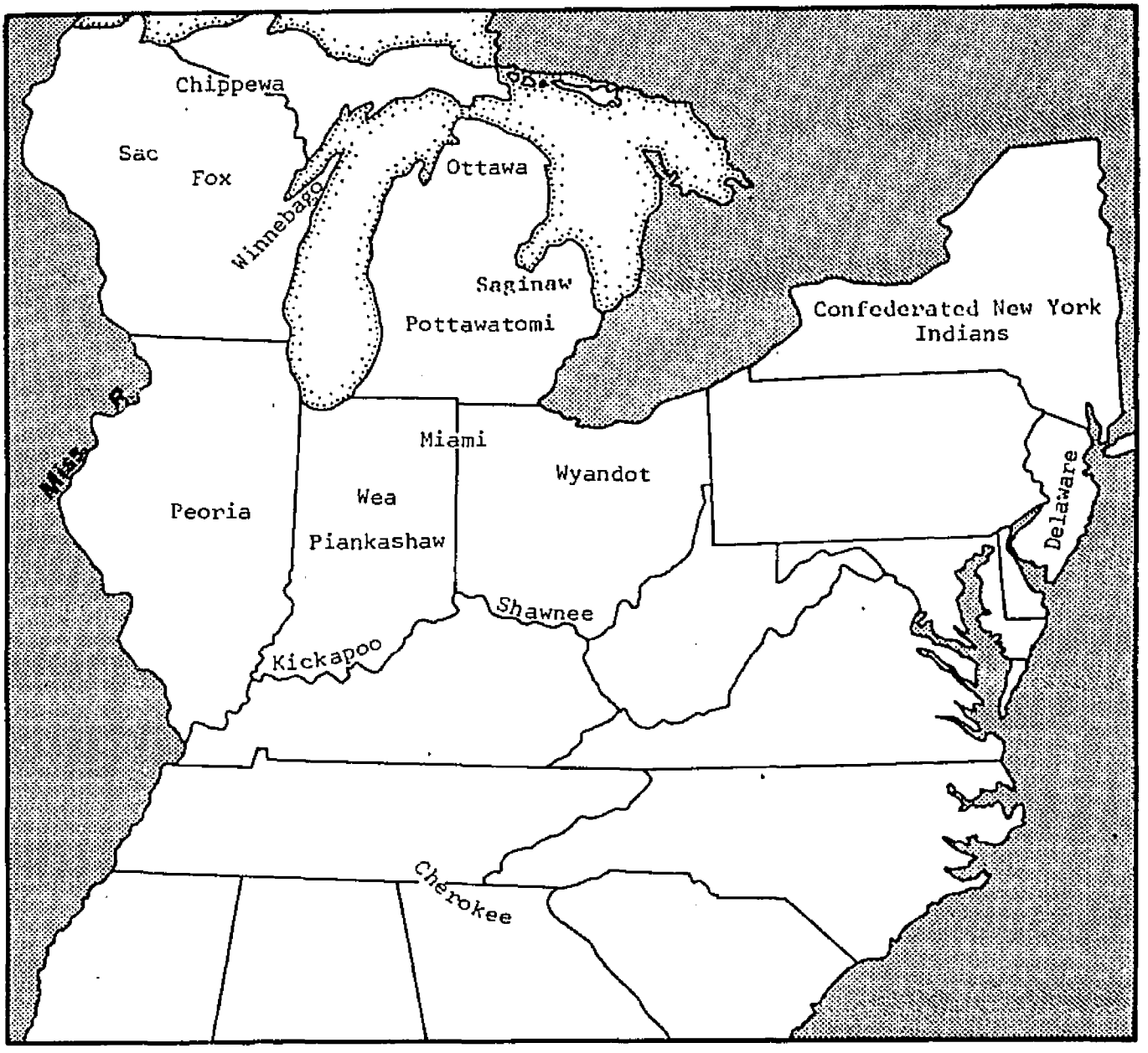

Figure 1 HOMELANDS OF THE EMIGRANT INDIANS

Removal policy called for the relocation of Indian nations living east of the Mississippi River.

Source: After Sturtevant, The National Atlas of the United States of America.

Indian territory ran from the Missouri River south to the Red River. However, the majority of eastern Oklahoma was and is topographically part of the Ozark Plateau and Ouachita Highlands not the Prairie-Plains. The area north of the Platte River was reserved for groups native to the trans-Mississippi area at the time of historic contact and for nomadic tribes. This study, then, will concern itself with those groups removed to an Indian territory that would eventually become northern Oklahoma, the state of Kansas, northwest Missouri and the southern half of Nebraska (Figure 2).

The purpose of this work is to discern Native American initial perceptions of the Prairie-Plains by examining and comparing environmental attitudes of various Indian groups asked to accept reservations in the Prairie-Plains between 1830-1854. During this period the United States government was implementing its policy of Indian Removal. By 1854, Kansas and Nebraska had achieved territorial status and Indian reservations were in the process of being reduced to accommodate settlers.

American Indians have been popularly stereotpyed by Eruo-Americans of the past and environmentalists of today as being perfectly at home in the Prairie-Plains and at one with nature.[3] This notion has been tested, however, by analyses

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[3]Representative of past Euro-American feelings are the reports of S. B. Loury, government surveyor and conductor, and Alex Ramsey, United States government treaty negotiator. Loury explored the Winnebago lands and wrote: "In case

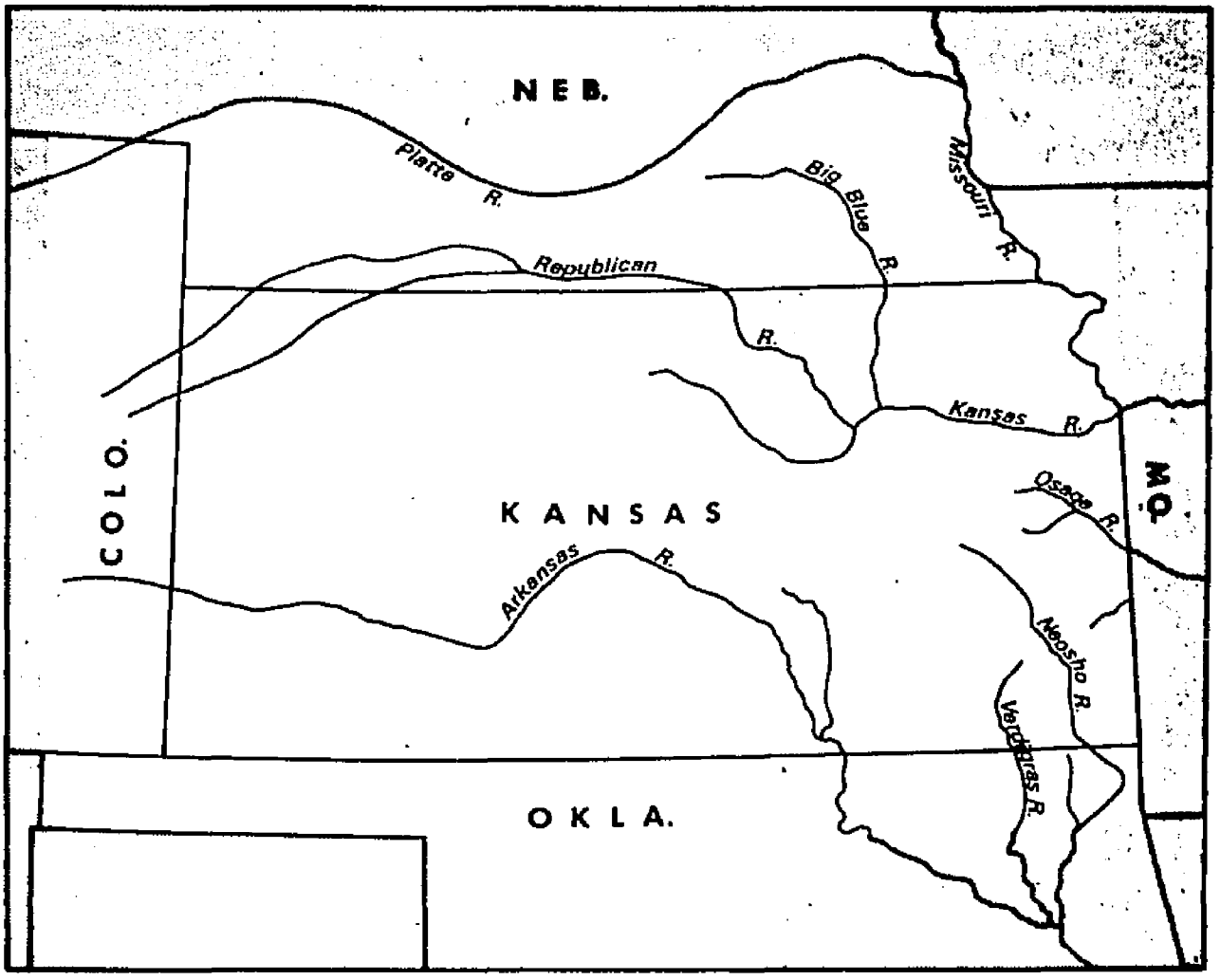

Figure 2 THE STUDY AREA

The study area comprises Northern Oklahoma, the State of Kansas, Northwest Missouri, and the southern half of Nebraska.

of Indian group contact with the Prairie-Plains. One cannot help but be intrigued by the environmental attitudes of diverse bands of North American Indians approaching the Prairie-Plains for different reasons and from different areas.

Perceptions, in this study, refer to the Native American view of how they thought the Prairie-Plains to be. Knowledge of these perceptions allows one to see "reality" from the Indians' point of view and in so doing a new insight is gained into Indian environmental mental images. Insight is also gained into the process of removal. An examination of these environmental attitudes can also shed light on contemporary Native American life in the West, and will put the European experience on the Plains in larger perspective (see chapter five).

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the location of this tribe is to be changed I should consider one on the north branch of the Crow River or between the head of that fork and the head of the Loup River, Nebraska, to be the most advantageous to the territory inasmuch as the land is less desirable to the Whites and is adapted to the former habits of the Winnebago being a prairie country and having sufficiency of timber for an Indian population." Correspondence from S. B. Loury dated August 1, 1853, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 8 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). Ramsey wrote of an unnamed group of Indians and land around Red Lake, Minnesota. He states: "The tract reserved for their future occupancy while abounding with game, fish, fields of wild rice, and other resources . . . is from the nature of the surface . . . of impassable swales entirely useless to a civilized people." Journal of Alex Ramsey dated October 2, 1863, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 6 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). That today's environmentalists have perpetuated this image is seen in the naturalists' handbook, The Whole Earth Catalog. Here one can find reference to books dealing with "superior" Indian medicines and can choose between three types of tipi that allow one to "live in intimate familiarity with fire, earth, sky and roundness." The Whole Earth Catalog (New York: Random House, 1968-71).

Literature Review

Contributions to Prairie-Plains literature are multi-disciplined in nature and are too numerous to mention individually. This brief review concentrates on two aspects of the literature: geographical studies concerned with initial perceptions and works concerned with Native Americans.[4]

Major historio-perceptual works contributing to this study include one each by Allan G. Bogue, Terry G. Jordan, Douglas R. McManis, and Carl Sauer.[5] Two articles by Walter Kollmorgen and two articles by Paul W. Gates also support this work.[6] These studies stress the distinctiveness

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[4]Perceptual studies by geographers seem to be a recent phenomena. Thomas F. Saarinen's review paper includes no citations prior to 1954. The only Prairie-Plains work mentioned by Saarinen was his own "Perception of Drought Hazard in the Great Plains," a contemporary study of environmental quality which relies heavily upon psychological interpretation of data. Perception of Environment (Washington, D. C. Association of American Geographers Commission on College Geography, 1969). At the 1977 Association of American Geographers meeting, Martyn Bowden presented a paper entitled "Cognitive Renaissance in American Geography: Intellectual History of a Geographical Movement." In this paper Bowden spoke of early cognitive outliers. The first perceptual wave in the 1920's was instigated by John K. Wright and Carl Sauer. A second wave is recognizable in the 1940's sponsored by the same two individuals.

[5]Allan G. Bogue, "Farming in the Prairie Peninsula 1830-1890," The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 23 (1963), pp. 3-30; Terry G. Jordan, "Between the Forest and the Prairie," Agricultural History, Vol. 38 (1964), pp. 205-217; Douglas R. McManis, The Initial Evaluation and Utilization of Illinois Prairies, 1815-1940 (Chicago: Department of Geography Research Paper No. 97, 1964); Carl Sauer, "The Barrens of Kentucky," in Land and Life, a Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer, ed., John Leighly (Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press, 1969), pp. 23-32.

[6]Walter Kollmorgen, "The Woodsman's Assaults on the

of an open environment. Though somewhat disparate with regard to geographical location, all document temporarily perplexed settlers taken aback in a Prairie-Plains milieu. A collection of papers edited by Brian W. Blouet and Merlin P. Lawson is also noteworthy.[7] The strength of the Blouet-Lawson book lies in the diversity of topics covered. Contributions include the modeling of image formation, images of topographical engineers and images of fur traders. Northern European feelings toward the area under study provide insight insomuch as these groups entered the region from a woodland area, as did the Indians of this study.

The second category of literature pertinent to this work comprised studies dealing with Native Americans. Waldo Wedel's Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains and Preston Holder's The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains are valuable

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Domain of the Cattleman," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 59 (1969), pp. 215-239; Walter Kollmorgen and Johanna Kollmorgen, "Landscape Meteorology in the Plains Area," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 63 (1973), pp. 424-441; Paul Gates, "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development" and "Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie States," Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier: Studies in American Land Policy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 28-72, 140-170.

[7]Brian W. Blouet and Merlin P. Lawson, eds., Images of the Plains: the Role of Human Nature in Settlement (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975). Other works include: Martyn Bowden, "The Perception of the Western Interior of the United States 1800-1870," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 1 (1969), pp. 16-21; Martyn Bowden, "The Great American Desert in the American Mind: the Historiography of a Geographical Notion," Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy in Honor of John Kirkland Wright, David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

resources.[8] Both works offer overviews of distinct occupations on the Prairie-Plains and were used as a background frame by which individual archaeologic and anthropologic studies were brought into perspective. Harold Driver's Indians of North America is also noteworthy.[9] His study deals with the areal distribution of Indian culture traits. His level of generalization meshes nicely with the scale of chapter four of this study. Two other studies I examined in the early stages of this work dealt with Native American man-land relations: "Ecology of the Southern Plains: The Eco-history of the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho 1830-1870," and "The Cheyenne and Arapaho in the Perspective of the Plains: Ecology and Society."[10] Both studies cover wet-dry periods in the Prairie-Plains and their influence in controlling population size and density.

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[8]Waldo R. Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), Preston Holder, The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains: A Study of Cultural Development Among North American Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, Press, 1960).

[9]Harold Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

[10]J. H. Levy, "Ecology of the South Plains: The Eco-History of the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho 1830-1870," Symposium on Patterns of Land Utilization and Other Papers, Proceedings of the 1961 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, V. E. Garfield, ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961); Fred Eggan, ed., "The Cheyenne and Arapaho in the Perspective of the Plains: Ecology and Society," The American Indian: Perspective for the Study of Social Change (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 45-78.

Works by geographers Robert Burrill, Michael F. Doran, Gary C. Goodwin, Imre Sutton, D. W. Moodie and Barry Kaye, Elaine M. Neils, Stewart Raby, and A. J. Ray vary with regard to topic but indicate an increased recent interest in Native Americans and provided me with a psychological boost.[11] Francis J. Prucha is a scholar whose works do not fit nicely into the above outlined scheme of literature review. However, his studies were valuable in rounding out my view of the

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[11]It is clear that geographers have invested but little effort in studying Native Americans. Wilbur Zelinsky, for example, denies the systhesis that results when any two cultures meet when he writes: "It might be hypothesized that had the European colonists found an utterly unpopulated continent, contemporary American life would not have differed in any major respect from its actual pattern." Only after much data has been collected and analyzed can we be in a position to judge the aboriginal contribution to American society and culture. Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973), pp. 15-17. Robert Burrill, "The Establishment of Ranching on the Osage Indian Reservation," Geographical Review, Vol. 62 (1972), pp. 524-544; Michael Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory," Geographical Review, Vol. 66 (1976), pp. 48-59; Gary C. Goodwin, Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775, Department of Geography Research Paper, No. 181 (Chicago: Department of Geography, 1977); Imre Sutton, "Soverign States and the Changing Definition of the Indian Reservation," Geographical Review, Vol. 66 (1976), pp. 104-109; Imre Sutton, "Private Property in Land Among Reservation Indians in South California," Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, Vol. 29 (1967), pp. 69-91; Elaine M. Neils, Reservation to City, Department of Geography Research Paper, No. 131 (Chicago: Department of Geography, 1971); Stewart Raby, "Indian Land Surrenders in Southern Saskatchewan," Candian Geographer, Vol. 18 (1973), pp. 36-53; A. J. Ray, "Indian Adaptations to the Forest-Grassland Boundary of Manitoba and Saskatachwan 1650-1821; Some Implications for Inter-Regional Migration," Canadian Geographer, Vol. 16 (1972), pp. 103-118; A. W. Moodie and Barry Kaye, "The Northern Limit of Indian Agriculture in North America," Geographical Review, Vol. 59 (1969), pp. 513-539.

historic period under study.[12]

Insight for an operational methodology for this dissertation came from two sources: Indian Removal by Grant Foreman, and "A Center of Primary Sources for Plains Indian History," by Mary Sue and Ernest L. Schusky."[13] Indian Removal is a discussion of an Indian topic similar to that examined herein but focuses on the processes of the removal of southeastern tribes from their homeland. However, Foreman notes and references environmental perceptions of the Indian territory by southeastern tribes. The Schusky article, while not lengthy, helped smooth the acquisition of data from the federal archives. Documents from the Plains Records Center in Kansas City, Missouri, were made available through inter-library loan services after a personal interview.

Methodology

Originally, I considered approaching the subject of Indian perceptions through interpretation of Indian Mythology, legend, and poetry.[14] I felt that such an approach was

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[12]Francis Prucha, American Indian Policy in the Formative Years (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); Francis Prucha, "Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment," The Journal of American History, Vol. 56 (1969), pp. 527-540; Francis Prucha, Documents of United States Indian Policy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

[13]Grant Foreman, Indian Removal (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932); Mary Sue and Ernest L. Schusky, "A Center of Primary Sources for Plains Indian History," Plains Anthropologist, Vol. 15 (1970), pp. 104-109.

[14]Frank Waters, Book of the Hopi (New York: The Viking

distinct with regard to the materials it would utilize and would yield abundant material. Unfortunately, there was a lack of uniform sources for the area as well as a lack of concrete environmental references. Further complications exist in the material itself. Indian mythology, for example, while interesting, is often difficult to interpret, being only the sketchiest outline of a story and frequently containing nonsequential happenings. Therefore, I abandoned this approach in favor of a more traditional interpretation of historical records.

The main thrust of this work is a gathering and analysis of the initial environmental perceptions of those Indians known collectively as the emigrant tribes. In this study initial perceptions refer to Native American perceptions of the Prairie-Plains environment prior to their having seen the area and after having sent authorized delegations to explore specific reservation sites. In general, the Indian groups under study appear to have been unaware that they had to move. Hence, the Native Americans' perceptions presented in this study lack the bias of an evicted people. This lack of bias on the part of the emigrant tribes eventually allows for broader conclusions to be drawn (see chapter three).

Press, 1963); Ake Hultkrantz, Prairie and Plains Indians (Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1973); Frederick W. Turner, II, ed., The Portable North American Indian Reader (New York: The Viking Press, 1973); Steth Thompson, Tales of the North American Indians (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974); Jerome Rothenberg, ed., Shaking the Pumpkin, Traditional Poetry of the Indian North Americans (New York: Doubleday, 1972).

My approach to this study has been to gather as many first-hand accounts of environmental attitudes as possible. Almost all of the Indian groups involved in the removal process made known their attitudes toward the environment of the Indian territory, although some groups have had recorded more evaluation of the environment than others. The responses of the various tribes support each other and allow some broad generalizations to be drawn.

Two main sources within record group number 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, were used to this end.[15] The principal sub-record group examined was "M-234, letters received at the Indian agencies 1824-1881." This subgroup contains "incoming correspondence from all sources concerning Indian lands, immigration, treaty negotiations, subsistence, annuity payments . . . and many other subjects relating to Indians and to the operations of the Bureau."[16]

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[15]Record Group #75 contains documents from agencies which at any time had control of Indian affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, originally named the Office of Indian Affairs, was established as a separate agency within the War Department in 1824. In 1849, the Office of Indian Affairs was transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior. In 1947, the Office of Indian Affairs was renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs, The American Indian, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Washington, D. C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1972). This publication has been replaced by a more recent listing. Charles South, comp., List of National Archives Microfilm Publications in the Regional Archives Branches (Washington, D. C.: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1975). South's list does not offer the detail on Native American materials as did The American Indian.

[16]The American Indian, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, No. 72-27 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives

I had naively expected this material to be formal in both form and content. Instead, I found scribbled notes, beautifully handwritten letters, and some documents which were retyped by federal archivists. However, the form is of secondary interest when compared to the drama that is contained in these files. The recorded discretions of missionaries, Mormon-Indian relations, and government strategies provided insight into the study period.[17] Many of the perceptions reported in this study have been filtered through interpreters or taken from correspondence sent from one government official to another. Distinction is made between Indian and non-Indian reports of Native American environmental perceptions.

The other sub-record group is "T-494, documents relating to negotiations of ratified and unratified treaties with various Indian tribes 1801-1869." This sub-record group consists of "journals of treaty commissioners, proceedings of councils, reports and other records relating to the negotiations of Indian treaties that were ratified . . . [and] Indian treaties that were never ratified by the Senate."[18] This sub-record group was skeletal in nature, containing only

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and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1972), p. 15.

[17]There was, it should be noted, some overlap within this sub-record group. A letter sent to the St. Louis Superintendency from the Fort Leavenworth agency, for example, would sometimes show up in the records of both agencies.

[18]The American Indian, p. 40.

the bare essentials outlined above. These records provided the closest thing to documented first impressions and perceptions of the Prairie-Plains that is available. Records were available through interlibrary loan from the Federal Records Center in Kansas City, Missouri.

Source documents used in support of federal records were the Clark Papers, John G. Pratt Papers, Jotham Meeker Papers, and Issac McCoy Papers. This material, made available by the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas comprises the society's collection of journals, diaries, and the personal notes of men and women concerned with the Indian territory during the time frame of this study. There was overlap among these materials and between them and the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, they did provide information related directly to the thrust of this study. When quoting from these and the federal records, effort was made to record the original documents as they were written. No punctuation was added, no spelling corrected, and no verb tenses were changed unless otherwise specified in the text. These original documents were supplemented by ethnographic literature. Field work consisted of traversing the study region during various seasons in order to gain a sense of place. Reservations, treaty sites, and prehistoric archaeological sites were visited.

Thesis Outline

The remaining section of chapter one sets the stage for the study by examining events leading to the establishment of Indian territory.

Chapter two discusses the Prairie-Plains in a physical sense. In this section, I delimit the study area and sketch its geologic and geomorphic history, including climatic processes, soil characteristics, landscape evolution, and animal life. The various physical elements are synthesized, not only from traditional sources, but through quotes from the journals of travelers and explorers as well as novels set in the Prairie-Plains milieu. The non-traditional source material used in this section was not intended to supplant traditional scholarly materials. It was aimed at aiding the non-geographer in coming to grips with the more detailed descriptions of the physical processes. The dates of the materials from which suitable quotes were extracted are not limited to the 1830-1854 period. The goal was to provide the reader with both the environmental setting and a sense of place at the time of the study. It should be noted that most studies of environmental perceptions do not present a chapter dealing with the environment. The author's aim is to avoid setting up a "reality" for the reader to judge the perceptions of the group or groups under study. I have opted to present such a chapter. However, by stressing processes and omitting many quantative aspects, I have attempted to provide a

framework through which Native American environmental images can be appraised rather than judged.

Chapter three deals with emigrant Indian perceptions of the Prairie-Plains. In order to provide the broadest and most contrasting view, Native American perceptions have been divided into two categories. The first contains those images recorded prior to the particular people involved having officially inspected their reservation sites. These images are based upon Indian and non-Indian input. The second category details Native American perceptions after tribal representatives visited reservation sites. Images within both categories will be examined topically beginning with the most common response.

Chapter four contains an overview of contact between the Prairie-Plains environment and early aborigines. Pre- and proto-historic perceptions will be inferred from settlement data. In addition, the perceptions of Native Americans living in the study area just prior to removal will be presented. This chapter, when combined with chapter three, aids in bringing the total Native American experience in the Prairie-Plains area into sharper focus.

The fifth chapter summarizes and concludes the study. It includes a comparison of initial Anglo-American and Native American perceptions. An appendix lists perceptions by tribes and region.

While there has been an awakening of social sensitivity toward minority groups by geographers, the Native American has all but been ignored. Only after much data have been

collected and analyzed can we be in a position to judge the contribution of a diverse set of people who occupied North America at least 30,000 years before the White man. There seems no better point from which to begin a study of people than from their image of the environment. Insight into a group's perception of the area in which it lives marks the beginning of understanding that group.

BACKGROUND RELATIVE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN TERRITORY

During the time the horse culture was being established on the Plains, the emerging United States was faced with the problems of handling an aboriginal population, most of whom were pro-British during the Revolutionary War. Four of the six nations of the Iroquois league, for example, were allied with the British, as were the Cherokee and several tribes of the Old Northwest.[19] The treaty policy followed by the government at this time centered on establishing good relations with the Indians.[20] Native Americans would not be forced to follow the British into Canada as long as they recognized

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[19]Harold E. Fey, D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 55; Prucha Documents of United States Indian Policy, 44-45; Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Frederick Webb Hodge, ed. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912).

[20]G. E. E. Lindquist writes that in Colonial times the word treaty referred to a meeting between Indian and Europeans as well as to any agreement derived from such a meeting. "Indian Treaty Making," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XX (1948-1949), pp. 416-448.

the new government and its laws and stayed within specifically bounded Indian lands.[21]

Such early postwar treaties of peace and friendship led quickly to more demands from White negotiators as the government's Indian policy evolved. By the year 1805, William Henry Harrison had successfully negotiated for 46,000 square miles of Indian land in the Old Northwest territory.[22] Native American groups, in an attempt to regain earlier losses, were again pro-British during the War of 1812.[23] In 1825,

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[21]The treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) marks the earliest treaty between the United States and Native Americans in which Indian lands were bounded. However, such agreements date from Colonial times. The Proclamation of 1763 was an attempt by the British to stop White encrouchment on Indian lands. Furthermore, by 1770, the British had set up an Indian hunting territory bounded by the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. British policy, however, was no more effective than American efforts would be in the future. The main idea was to concentrate White population east of the Appalachians where it would be of use to mercantile England. Later, Jefferson wanted to establish an Indian reservation on the "right bank of the Mississippi River for the same reason." Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land (New York: Vintage Books, 1950), p. 16. Nevertheless, as has been previously mentioned, the British were able to gain the Indians as allies in wartime. This was accomplished by blaming everything that was wrong between the groups on the colonists with whom the Indians were familiar on a face-to-face basis, see Prucha Documents of United States Indian Policy. Prucha has added annotation to Charles Kappler's work, Indian Treaties 1778-1883 (New York: Interland Publishers, Inc., 1904). Also see Francis Prucha, American Indian Policy in the Formative Years (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 15.

[22]Bert Anson, The Miami Indians (Norman: Univeristy of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 148. This figure is derived from data gathered by Annie Heloise Abel.

[23]James A Clifton, The Prairie People: Continuity in Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965 (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977).

the Treaty of Prairie Du Chien was signed, beginning the clearing of the mineral lands of northern Illinois and Wisconsin by reducing aboriginal holdings.[24] This Prairie Du Chien Treaty also stregthened interest in the area southwest of the Missouri River as the site of a permanent Indian territory because the proximity of White men and women in the mineral lands worked against the existing governmental tenet of separation of the races.[25] A further reason for discounting the area around Lake Michigan as Indian territory was its proximity to Canada and the British. The government of the United States feared that the British and Indians would become economic and political allies, a fear apparently well grounded, as can be gathered from a letter sent by Henry Connor, Saginaw agent, to Henry Schoolcraft, head of the Michigan Superintendency.

> I thought it my duty to let the department know that the British government was and is holding out inducements to the Indians to move to the British side of the water in preference to going west of the Missouri [River] . I am informed that about 200 of the Saginaws . . . had registered themselves last summer, a year ago, and they are now claimed by the British government.[26]

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[24]Kappler, Indian Treaties 1778-1883, 250.

[25]James C. Malin, Indian Policy and Westward Expansion (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1921).

[26]Correspondence dated January 14, 1834, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 601 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). Prior to this time, Auguste D'est wrote to the Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa telling them the "Joyful news in the Canadas, Lord Glenly has written out to order that deeds shall be given to the Indians who have reserves of land in the two provinces." See Correspondence dated

In the southern United States the same pattern of policy development was apparent. Treaties of the friendship variety were followed by requests for the right to build roads and eventually for title to vast tracts of land.[27] Ultimately, the reduction of local Indian holdings occurred. The case of Georgia is illustrative. The state government feared that tremendous problems would develop if autonomous status was conferred upon the Cherokee. It was clear that a state could not look after the best interests of its people as long as such an autonomous people occupied valuable land within its borders. An extract from a proclamation issued on June 3, 1830, by Georgia Governor Gilmer makes the point succinctly:

> Whereas, it has been discovered that the lands in the territory now occupied by the Cherokee Indians within the limits of the state, abound with valuable minerals and especially gold . . . and whereas by the act of the last legislature to add the territory within the occupancy of the Cherokee Indians included in the limits of

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September 17, 1838, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 601 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). It should be noted that while inducements were being held out across the border in Canada, rabble-rousing went on within the boundaries of the territory of the United States. A letter to General William Clark tells that "A certain Mr. Vouenou, a Lieutenant in the British Army during the late war (a Canadian by Birth) and lately in the service of the American Fur Company, has been holding very improper language to the Indians . . . by telling them British troops were coming on from Canada to assist them to keep possession of their lands where their villages are, also on seeing the flag flying in Fort Armstrong, he told the Indians it was a dirty piece of cloth and fitting only to wipe a person's A_se with it." Correspondence dated June 10, 1828, The Clark Papers, Box 94, Vol. 5 (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society).

[27]Ratified Treaty #31, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 1 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

> this state . . . the jurisdiction of this state is now extended over said territory and all persons.[28]

The Native American was an immediate problem to those individuals on the frontier and to those who wanted his land and his wealth, but he also presented problems to those not having direct contact with him. Throughout the country there existed general moral indignation at the Indian's failure to embrace the concepts of private property and agriculture, as the "common field is the seat of barbarism; the separate farm the door to civilization."[29] This attitude lent itself to the developing idea of the Euro-American being entitled to the right of preemption, i.e., the right to acquire the soil from the Native American by purchase or force. After all, under the European system of land tenure, the earth would be put to better use and "civilization and Christianity would justly compensate the natives for the relinquishment of their birthright."[30]

Something had to be done to save the Indian and/or get him out from underfoot. In 1825, President James Monroe proposed voluntary Indian removal.[31] Some Cherokee accepted

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[28]A proclamation dated June 7, 1830, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 74 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[29]William T. Hagan, "Private Property, the Indian's Door to Civilization," Ethnohistory, Vol. 3 (1956), pp. 126-138.

[30]Ora Frye Akright, "Indian Land Cessions to the United States" (M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1920), p. 1.

[31]Prucha Documents of United States Indian Policy, 39.

the opportunity, migrating into what would become Indian territory [Oklahoma] in a few short years.[32] Pressure from frontier settlers and others with vested interests continued to increase over the following years. The directness of this pressure is indicated by two petitions received at the Michigan Superintendency. A William Farnsworth requested permission to build a mill at Green Bay, but noted that the best sites were "situated on streams which are bounded by lands to which the Indian title has not been extinguished and therefore individuals are precluded from undertaking and completing works so useful and necessary as mills."[33] A petition from several mining settlements told Commissioner Lewis Cass that he should not just reduce Indian lands but "ought, if practicable, to treat with the Indians for all

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As early as 1808, the Cherokee requested lands west of the Mississippi River for those members of their nation wishing to remain hunters. Early Cherokee emigrants will be examined further in chapter three. It should be further noted that the majority of Kickapoo had crossed the Mississippi and settled in southwest Missouri under the Treaty of Edwardsville signed in 1819, A. M. Gibson, The Kickapoo: Lords of the Middle Border (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 80-83.

[32]At this time there existed no bounds to the proposed Indian lands west of the Mississippi River. Thus, when invited to move west, some Cherokee moved into Missouri and others moved west of Arkansas territory. Correspondence to Captain Vashon dated January 22, 1834, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 78 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives); Grant Foreman, Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938).

[33]Correspondence dated January 29, 1828, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 420 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

of their lands east of the Mississippi."[34]

Another source of pressure emanated from Indian sympathizers who supported Indian removal as a means of protecting the eastern Indian from the decadent influences of the White man. In the forefront of this movement was the Baptist Missionary Issac McCoy. Reverend McCoy, backed by the Baptist organization, addressed groups and conferred with top government officials urging Indian removal.[35] By

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[34]Correspondence dated August 7, 1828, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 420 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). From the state of Ohio comes a petition from the citizens of Seneca County. This petition states that it "respectfully showth that it is greatly desired by the people of said county that the Indian's title to a certain reserve of 40,000 acres of land lying in the counties of Seneca and Sandusky should be extinguished and also that the band of Seneca Indians by whom said reservation is owned and occupied should be removed to the county west of the Mississippi River." Petition dated September 26, 1832, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 601 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). From Missouri: "We the undersigned petitioners of the counties of New Madrid and Stodard humbly represent that the Indians in that part of the country are very numerous and troublesome, in as much as they are threatening to tomahawk several of the inhabitants and also they are continually and secretly supplied with whiskey by the White traders and have now been drunk several weeks and are murdering each other in a shocking manner . . . we humbly pray that you will speedily do something to exterminate these savages." Petition dated May 28, 1831, The Clark Papers.

[35]It should be noted that opposition to removing the Indians did exist. There were groups such as the Quakers who felt the Indians were being cheated of their ancestral homes and given instead an area considered by many to be nothing more than desert. Also, the slavery question was an important consideration, since northerners felt that if the territory west of Missouri and north of the Compromise Line of 1820 was left open to White settlement the area would eventually become a free state, and thus give the North an edge on the fight for power in Congress. "Introduction," The Papers of Issac McCoy, Roll 1 (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society).

1830, the Indian had become a "victim of our destinies" . . . and on May 28 of that year, Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Bill into law.[36] Created by a mix of humanitarian and materialistic desire, Indian territory was that area south of the Platte River not already claimed by states of the federal government. Indians from as far northeast as New York and as far southeast as North Carolina were being asked to move to the Prairie-Plains area.[37]

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[36]Albert K. Weinberg, Manifest Destiny: A Study of National Expansionism in American History (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1935), p. 73.

[37]The image of Native Americans being marched at bayonet point to Indian territory in 1830 without having had a say in the process or removal is largely a stereotype without basis. This subject will be examined further in chapter three.

"30 miles to water
20 miles to wood
10 miles to hell
and I gone there for good."

Mari Sandoz, Old Jules.

Chapter II

THE PRAIRIE-PLAINS ENVIRONMENT

The Indian territory created by the government arbitrarily cuts across parts of two geomorphic provinces. These provinces, which grade into one another, are the Central Lowlands in the east and the Great Plains in the west. Moving through this area one finds changes in soil, vegetation, and precipitation occurring in an east-to-west manner. Furthermore, the Indian territory created by the government included the homelands of other Indian nations. This chapter is an overview of the environment of the Prairie-Plains.

Weather and Climate

The climate of the Prairie-Plains at the time of Indian removal was the result of interior location, particular air masses, and by the shifting jet stream. These are the same influences that have acted historically in the region.[1] Because the area is far from large bodies of water, the climate is less consistent than areas where the moderating effects of giant lakes and sea bodies prevail. In the Prairie-Plains region variability in weather patterns is the norm.

Three contrasting air masses play major roles: predominantly wet and warm maritime tropical air masses from the gulf region, cold and dry continental air masses from the north, and dry continental air masses which move eastward from the Rockies. They alternate their influence depending on the season and on the strength of the jet stream and

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[1]Climatic change will be examined in chapter four of this work.

prevailing westerly wind pattern.

The above conditions interact on the area to produce a climate of extremes. One freezes in winter, and fries in the summer. The wind is an omnipresent force blowing across the Prairie-Plains down from the Arctic and up from the Southwest. At times the moderate temperature associated with spring and autumn can be noticed only in the evening hours. The Prairie-Plains is the region of the chinook winds, norther, hail storm, blizzard, tornado, and dust storm.[2]

Sinclair Lewis wrote about the extreme and unpredictable nature of the climate of the Prairie-Plains in Main Street.

> As soon as Carol was convinced that even in this imprisoned North spring could exist again the snow came down . . . the northwest gale flung it up in a half blizzard, . . . [however], the spring of the Plains is not a reluctant virgin but brazen and soon away. The mud roads of a few days ago are powdery dust and the

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[2]The dust storm is seldom thought of as a recurring natural phenomenon. However, according to James C. Malin, "Dust storms are among the natural phenomena of the Great Plains. They are part of the economy of nature and are not in themselves abnormal." "Dust Storms--Part One," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 14 (1946), pp. 129-144. Malin was writing of the period 1850-1860, but his documentation of dust storms precedes and follows this period. Concerning the chinook one should note that chinook winds, usually associated with the northern Plains, occur in the southern and central area as well. Their frequency depends on the criteria used to define them, see Ronald L. Ives, "Frequency and Physical Effects of Chinook Winds in the Colorado High Plains," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 40 (1950), pp. 293-327 and Arnold Court, "The Climate of the Coterminous United States," Climate of North America, eds., R. A. Bryson and F. K. Hare (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1974), pp. 193-261. It is the extreme chinook wind of the north that has a popular image. For example, in Havre, Montana, the temperature rose from 11° to 42° in three minutes. Glossary of Meteorology, ed., Ralph Huschke (Boston: American Meteorological Society, 1959), p. 65.

> puddles beside them have hardened into lozenges of black sleek earth.[3]

Precipitation decreases from over fifty inches in the east to under ten inches in the west, but there is much year-to-year variation. There are also precipitation cycles of a longer nature. Merlin Lawson, using dendrochronological data, diaries, and journals, writes that the period 1800-1825 was wetter for the western part of the study region overall than the period 1900-1950.[4] Records indicate that

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[3]Sinclair Lewis, Main Street (New York: The New American Library, 1920), pp. 132-140; Henry Seidel Canby, onetime editor of the Saturday Review of Literature, said, "The middle west has produced the literature of despair," see J. Russell Smith and M. Ogden Phillips, North America 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1940), p. 378. The same may be said for Prairie-Plains literature to a degree. In all Plains works there appear characters who thrive in the setting. These characters always run the risk of being brought down by lesser individuals, but those who succeed do so handsomely. General works dealing with Prairie-Plains literature are Celest F. Pardee, "Environmental Perceptions in Great Plains Novels," (M.A. thesis, Texas A & M University, 1976); Richard West Sellars, "The Interrelationships of Literature, History and Geography in Western Writing," The Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2 (1973), pp. 171-185; Bernice Slote, "Perceptions of the Plains in Literature" (Manuscript, University of Nebraska, 1976), and Christopher L. Salter, William J. Lloyd, Landscape in Literature (Washington, D. C.: Association of American Geographers Resource Papers for College Geography No. 76-3, 1977). The Slote paper was supplied by Professor Rita Napier, Department of History, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

[4]Merlin P. Lawson, The Climate of the Great American Desert (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974). However, Richard Skaggs shows the Plains to be drier at times in some places than in others, see "Drought in the United States 1939-1940," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 64 (1975), pp. 391-403. Richard A. Kalnicky indicates a warming trend from 1890 to 1950 and a cooling trend from 1950 to the present. This implies that the Prairie-Plains climate may be predictable. However, the reader should note this is an extremely short period of time to indicate a trend

that 1844 was particularly wet in the eastern portion of the study area.[5] An eleven-year dry spell in western Nebraska occurred between 1822 and 1833 and another between 1858 and 1866.[6]

Horace Greeley, as western traveler, noted the wetness of the spring of 1859 in the Kansas territory. In May of that year:

> . . . it resumed raining in Kansas, after a few days, on Thursday, the 12th . . . and rained 'off and on' till Saturday night, Sunday the 15th was cloudy and chilly, but without rain, until evening when thunder showers came up . . . the country, already saturated with water, was fairly drenched by the deluge which rendered many streams ordinarily insignificant . . . impassable.[7]

Kansas data from 1920 to 1955 exemplify wet and dry fluctuations (Figure 3).[8] Thirteen years stand out as above-average rainfall years in the eastern part of the state,

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of significance; "Climatic Change Since 1950," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 64 (1974), pp. 100-113.

[5]S. D. Flora, "The Great Flood of 1844 Along the Kansas and Marais Des Cygne River," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 20 (1952), pp. 73-81.

[6]Carl Frederick Kraenzel, The Great Plains in Transition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), p. 21.

[7]For Horace Greeley the Great American Desert did not exist in 1859. An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859, ed., notes, and intro. by Charles T. Duncan (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1964), p. 14.

[8]In line with these precipitation data, John Borchert tells us the drought of the 1930's was probably nothing new. "The Dust Bowl in the 1970's," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 61 (1971), pp. 1-23.

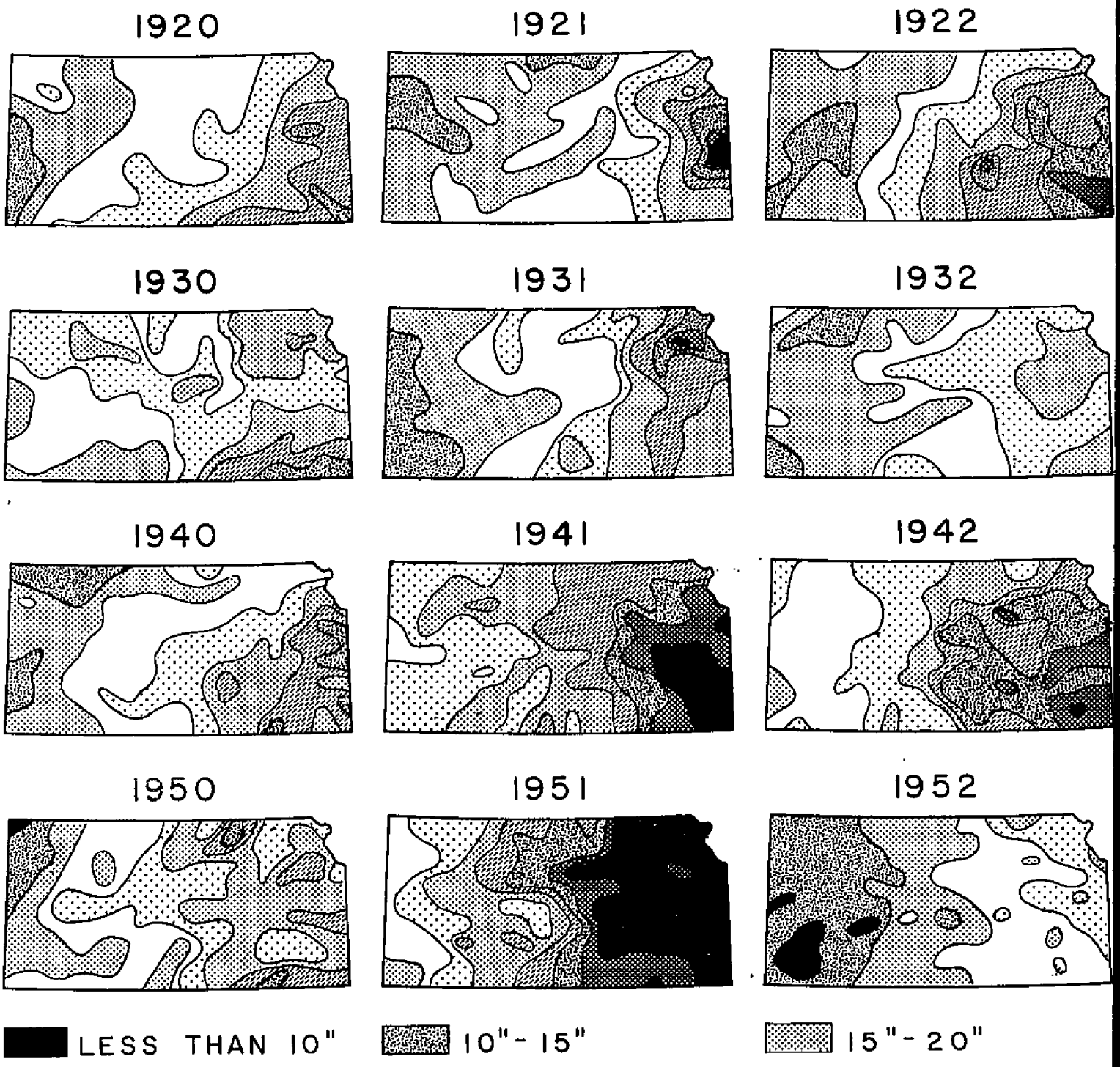
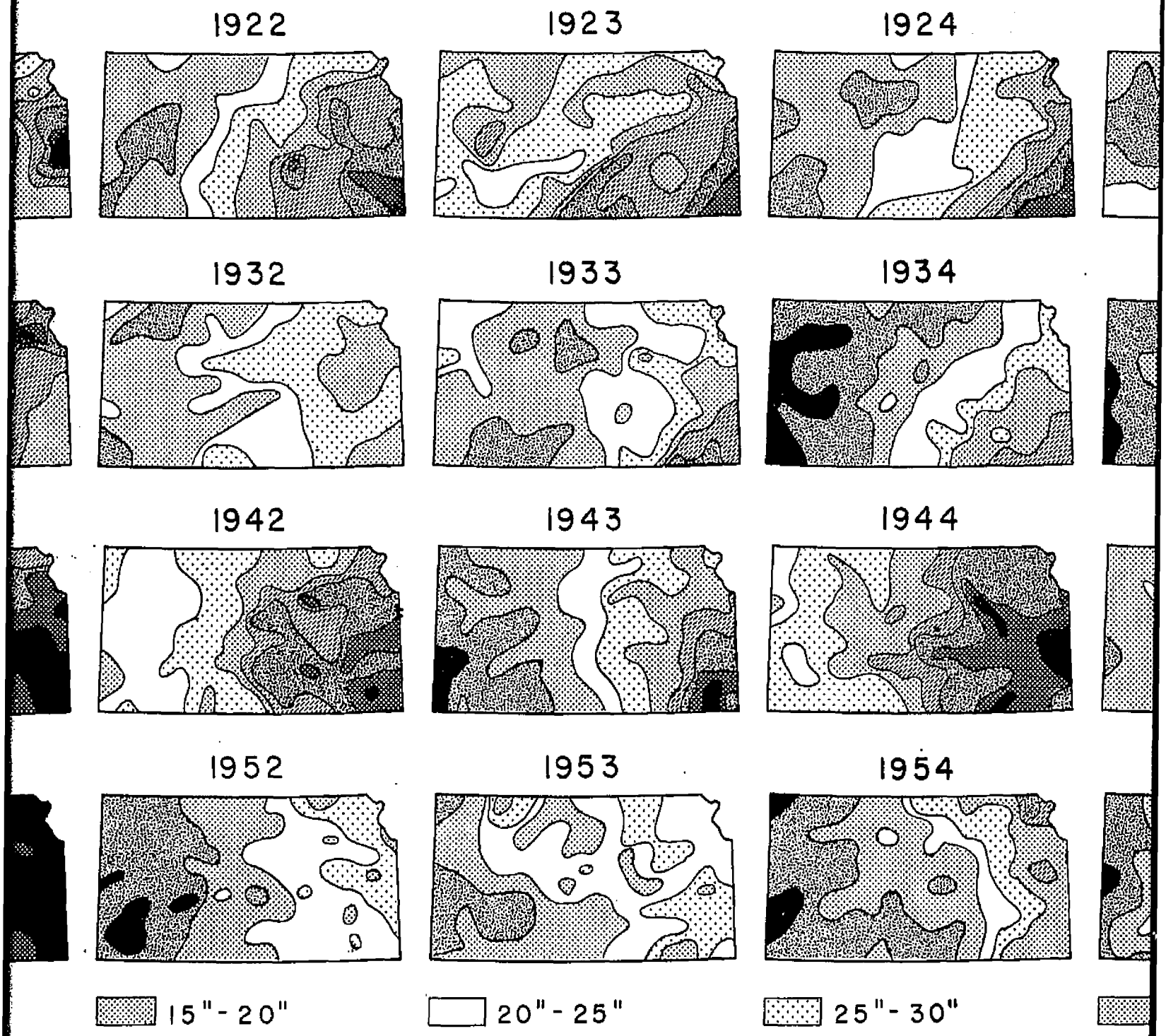


Figure 3 The precipitation pattern of Kansas indicates that variable rainfall is what is to be expected.

Source: Jenks, The Kansas Basin: Pilot Study of a Watershed 1956



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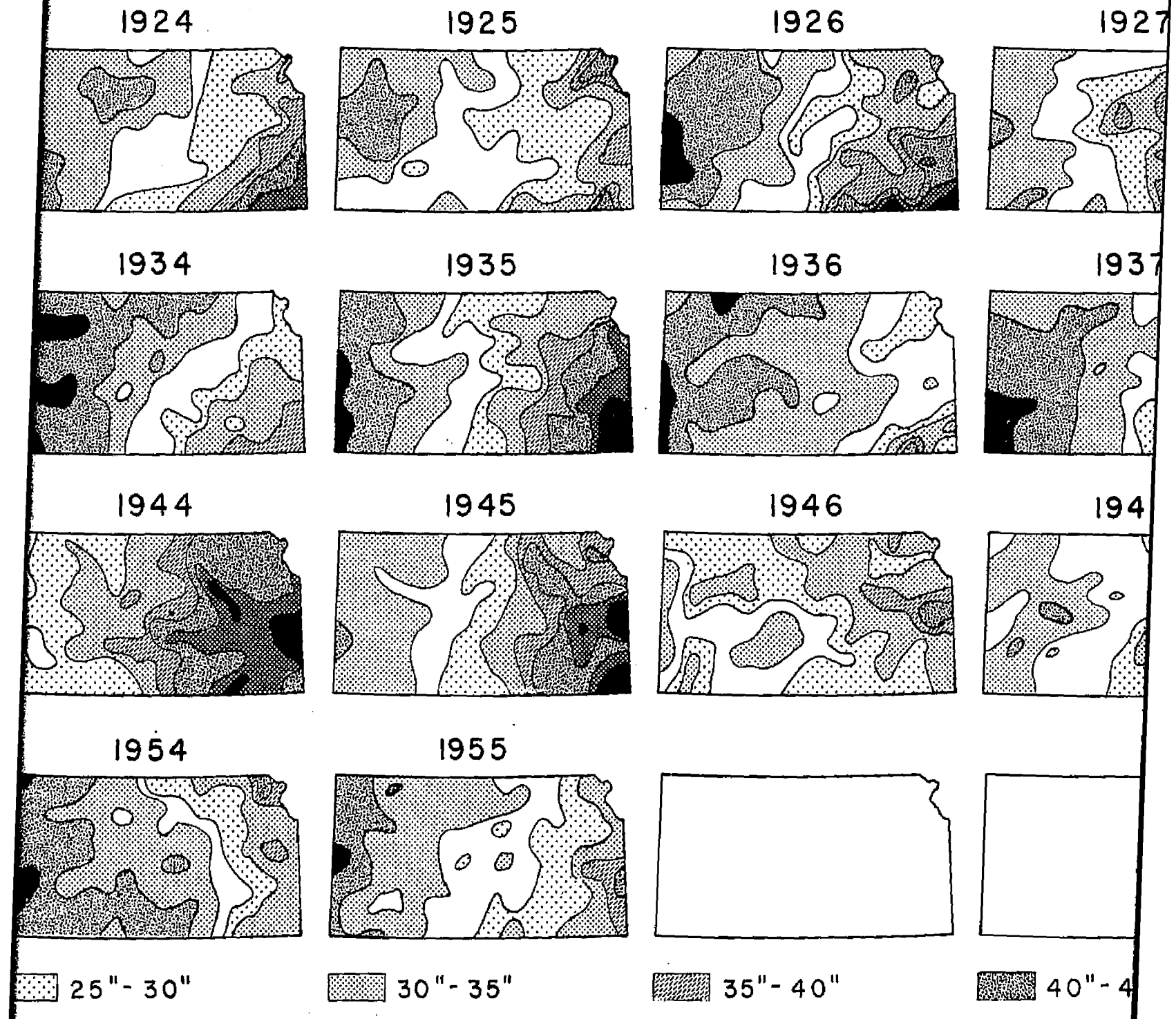
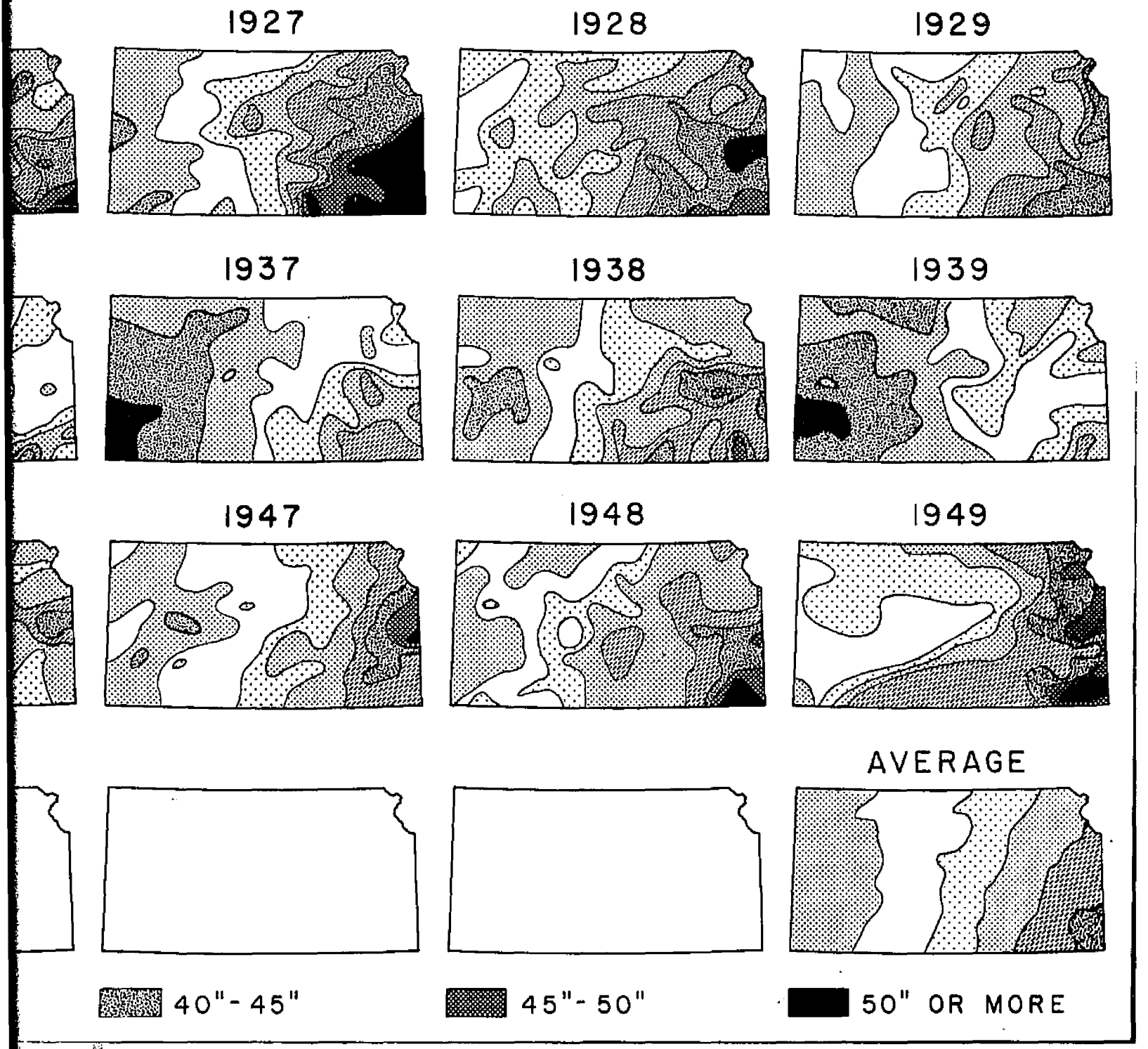
ON PATTERN OF KANSAS, 1920-1955




1927
1928
1929
1937
1938
1939
1947
1948
1949
AVERAGE
40"- 45"
45"- 50"
50" OR MORE

while nineteen years of below-average precipitation are recorded in the western part of the state. At times, above-average years of precipitation in the eastern part of the state coincided with below-average precipitation in the western section.

These fluctuations, which would play havoc with the Euro-American agriculturalist, had dramatic effects on native vegetation. During extended periods of above-average wetness, the tall grasses associated with the eastern part of the region extended their range west while, during dry periods, the hardier short grasses of the west extended their range east.[9]

Vegetation

In the study region prairie was the rule during the early nineteenth century, although woodlands occurred along river courses and breaks in slope (Figure 4). During the time frame of this study, the percentage of prairie in Nebraska and Kansas has been established at ninety-seven percent.[10]

In November of 1839, Nicholas Boilvin of Chicago, a government surveyor, made a trip to the Big and Little Nemaha Rivers in present-day southern Nebraska. His journal entry is typical of travelers and explorers passing through the

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[9]A. W. Küchler, "The Oscillations of the Mixed Prairie," Erdkunde, Band 26, Lgt. 2 (1972), pp. 121-129.

[10]Roger Welsch, "Shelters on the Plains," Natural History LXXXVL (1977), p. 50.

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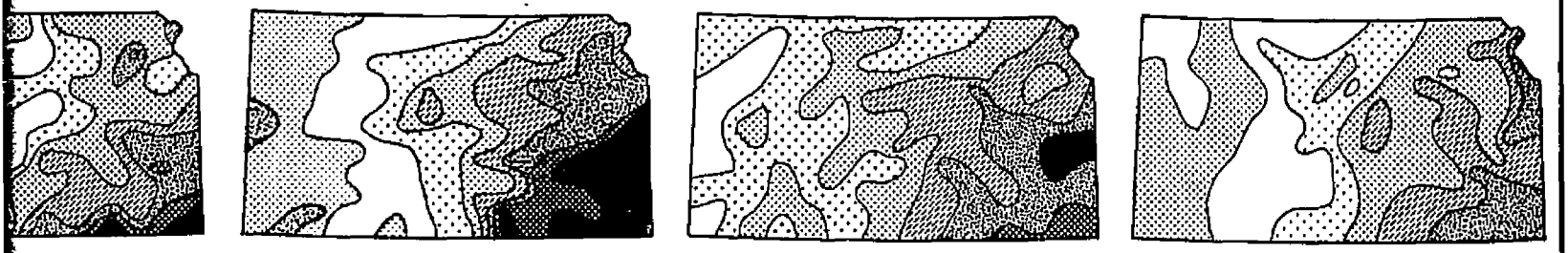
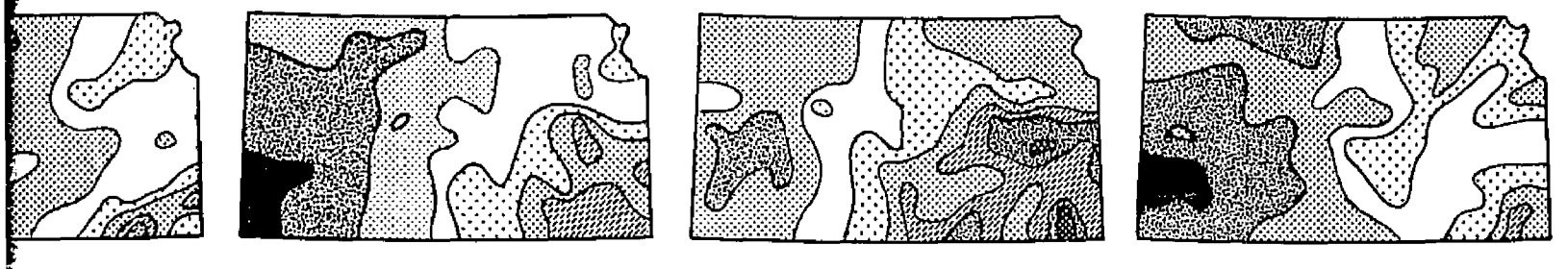
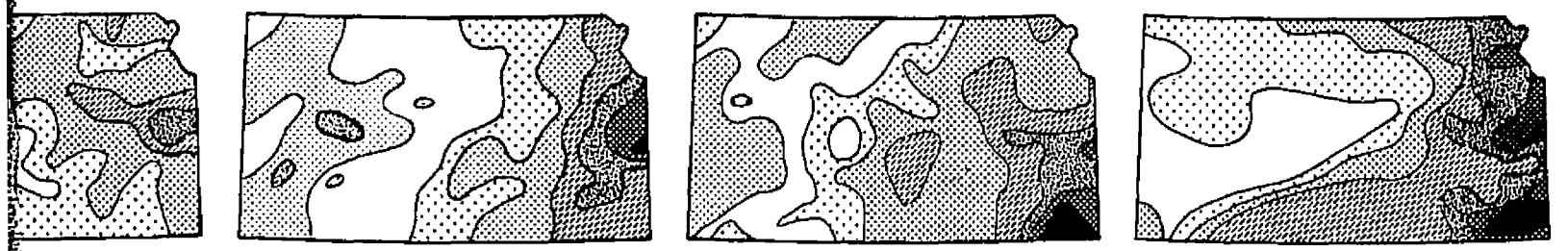
6 1927 1928 1929



6 1937 1938 1939



6 1947 1948 1949



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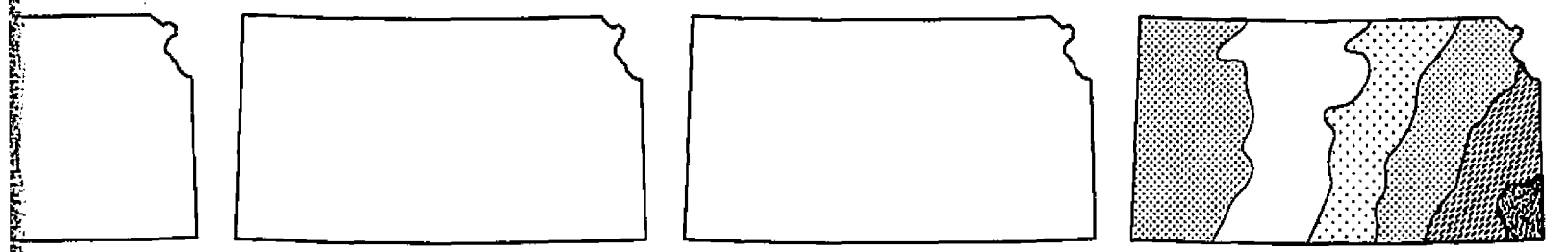

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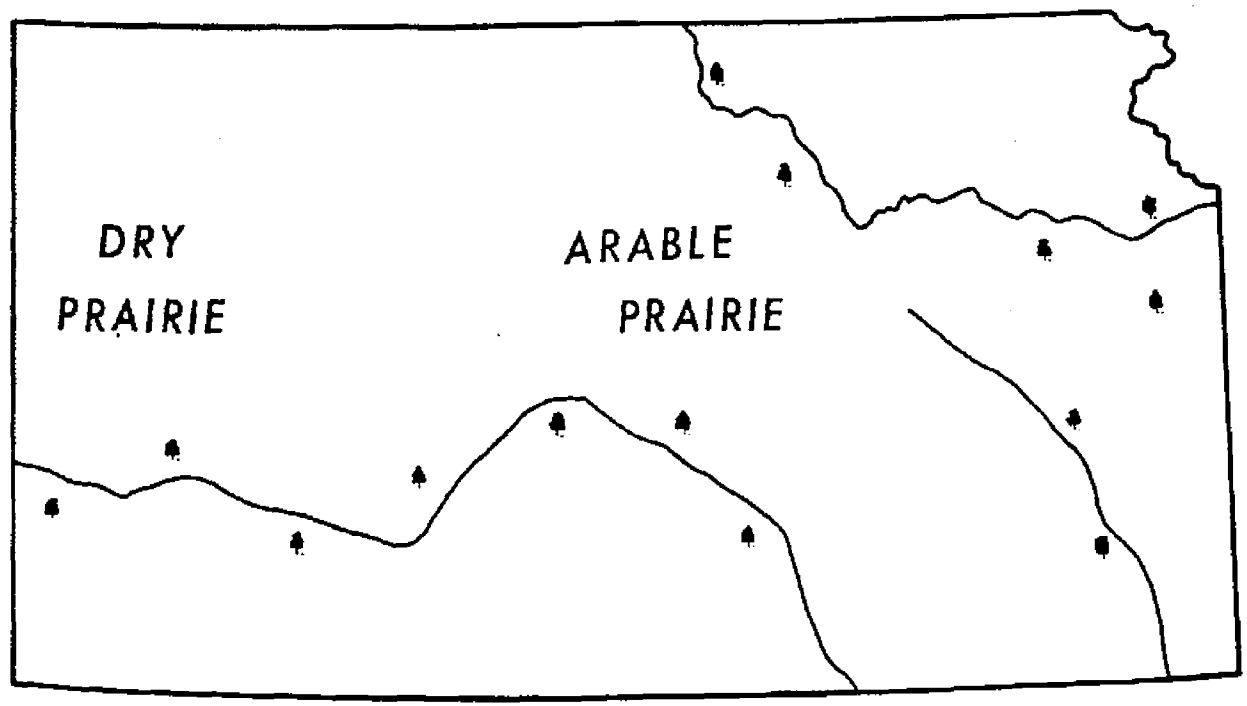

Figure 4 VEGETATION MAP OF KANSAS - 1857

An early vegetation map of Kansas is representative of the prairie-woodland distribution in the Indian Territory.

Source: After Brown, published in "The Oscillations of the Mixed Prairie in Kansas", Erdkunde, Band 26, Lgt. 2 (1972), by A.W. Kuchler.

country:

> . . . November 15, we traveled through prairie, crossed some creeks, with some timber on them . . . there is some good timber . . . but rather scarce; November 16, we traveled through prairie and camped on the Great Nemaha River in a fine grove of timber. November 17, we traveled on high prairie . . . and camped on the Little Nemaha.[11]

Later, in a report to the St. Louis Superintendent of Indian affairs, Boilvin wrote ". . . after I left Westport (near Kansas City, Missouri) I proceeded as far as the Little Nemaha River, I was rather disappointed of the country . . . Timber was very scarce."[12]

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[11]Journal of Nicholas Boilvin, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 702, entry dated November 15, 16, and 17, 1839 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[12]Correspondence dated December 19, 1839, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 702 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). Impressions of Prairie-Plains explorers were recorded within one hundred years of Columbus' voyage to the New World and continued steadily until the time frame of this study. Boilvin's account is typical in that other individuals note similar conditions. However, individual differences emerge with regard to the interpretation of the conditions found, see Stephen H. Long, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains Performed in the Years 1819-1820 by Order of the Honorable J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War Under the Command of Major S. H. Long, of the U. S. Topographic Engineers, comp. from the notes of Major Long, Mr. T. Say, and other gentlemen of the party by Edwin James, botanist and geologist of the expedition, ed., with notes, intro., index, etc., by Rueben Gold Thwaites, LLD, Vol. 1 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904); John Charles Fremont, Narrative of Exploration and Adventure, Allen Nevins, ed. (New York: Longman's Green and Company, 1959), pp. 440-462. A good accounting of early western exploration can be found in William H. Goetzmann, Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1966).

Topography

The area under study, in large part, rests on a Pliocene sediment filled, synclinal trough. This fill had its origin in an early Rocky Mountain erosional cycle. Outwash from this cycle was deposited by west-east running streams. Notwithstanding the fact that fill is thicker in some parts of the east than in the west, overall the study area slopes in an easterly direction beginning at the Colorado Piedmont.

The western section of the study area exhibits the popular image of the Great Plains.[13] The terrain here is characteristically flat to hilly and rolling, interspersed with upland areas as one moves east. Eastward flowing trunk streams drain nearly parallel tributaries whose valleys display a seemingly random pattern with regard to width.[14] Moving in an easterly direction through eastern Kansas and Nebraska to the border of Missouri and Iowa, one leaves behind the physiographic

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[13]Variances do exist in the surface features of the Great Plains. Above the Pine Ridge escarpment are mountainous areas lying close to the Front Range of the Rockies. Lying further east are a pair of dissected badlands, one on the Little Missouri River, the other between the White and Cheyenne Rivers. In the South are the extremely flat Staked Plains of Texas and New Mexico.

[14]Archaeologists have, for some time, been attributing noticeable movement of prehistoric groups to climatic change. Migrations stemming from cultural causes might have been responsible for some of these "noticeable" movements, as early aborigines were forced around narrower uninhabitable valleys to areas further upstream or downstream. The narrowing or widening of stream valleys is a subject in need of further study, see Barbara Zakrezewsha, "An Analysis of Landforms in a Part of the Central Great Plains," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53 (1963), pp. 536-560.

plains and enters the western margin of the Central Lowlands. Here, resistant beds of gently westward dipping bedrock form cuestas which have been dissected by eastward-flowing streams, while the interfluves display dissection resulting from the humid climate.[15] However, exactly where the physiographic Plains end and the Central Lowlands begin is debatable. William Thornbury writes: ". . . through Kansas the eastern margin of the Great Plains is deeply eroded and some difference of opinion exists as to which of several cuesta scarps would best serve as the boundary for the province."[16] Thornbury goes on to write that "separation of the Central Lowland from the Great Plains is based on a combination of difference in altitude, topography, and stratigraphy."[17]

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[15]The dissection of the Colorado Piedmont is due to the lack of a protective vegetative cover. Nevin Fenneman, Physiography of Western United States (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931), p. 5.

[16]William D. Thornbury, Regional Geomorphology of the United States (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 287.

[17]Ibid., 212. An examination of works by Great Plains scholars finds that alternative definitions exist as to where the Plains begin. These definitions depend on the specific theme of the study. Walter Prescott Webb wrote of a comparatively level surface of great extent, a treeless land, and subhumid climate, see The Great Plains (New York: Grosset's Universal Library, Grosset & Dunlap, 1931). Walter Kollmorgen defined the Plains as an area where government land policy was only good on paper and where subsidy begins (lectures on the geography of Western United States by Walter Kollmorgen, Professor, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, Spring 1973). James C. Malin expands the region to the Mississippi River, see The Grasslands of North America: Prologomena to its History with Addenda (Lawrence: James C. Malin, 1956). John Wesley Powell separated the Central Lowlands from the Great Plains at the 98th meridian, see "Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United

Suffice it to say that in the northeastern section of the study area glacial ice and rivers, over a sufficient period of time, have left the land, except that of northeastern Oklahoma, with only slightly more relief than in parts of the Plains.

Soils

A soils map of the Great Plains reveals units that trend in a north-south direction (Figure 5). Mollisols formed in a mesic humid environment cover the eastern section through Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma. These soils, almost black in color, are rich in organics and are very fertile. As one moves west the soils become drier and the color becomes lighter. Aridisols dominate because of diminished rainfall. Less intensive leaching produces deposits of calcium carbonate nodules in these soil profiles. The further west one moves across the Plains the thicker becomes the calcium

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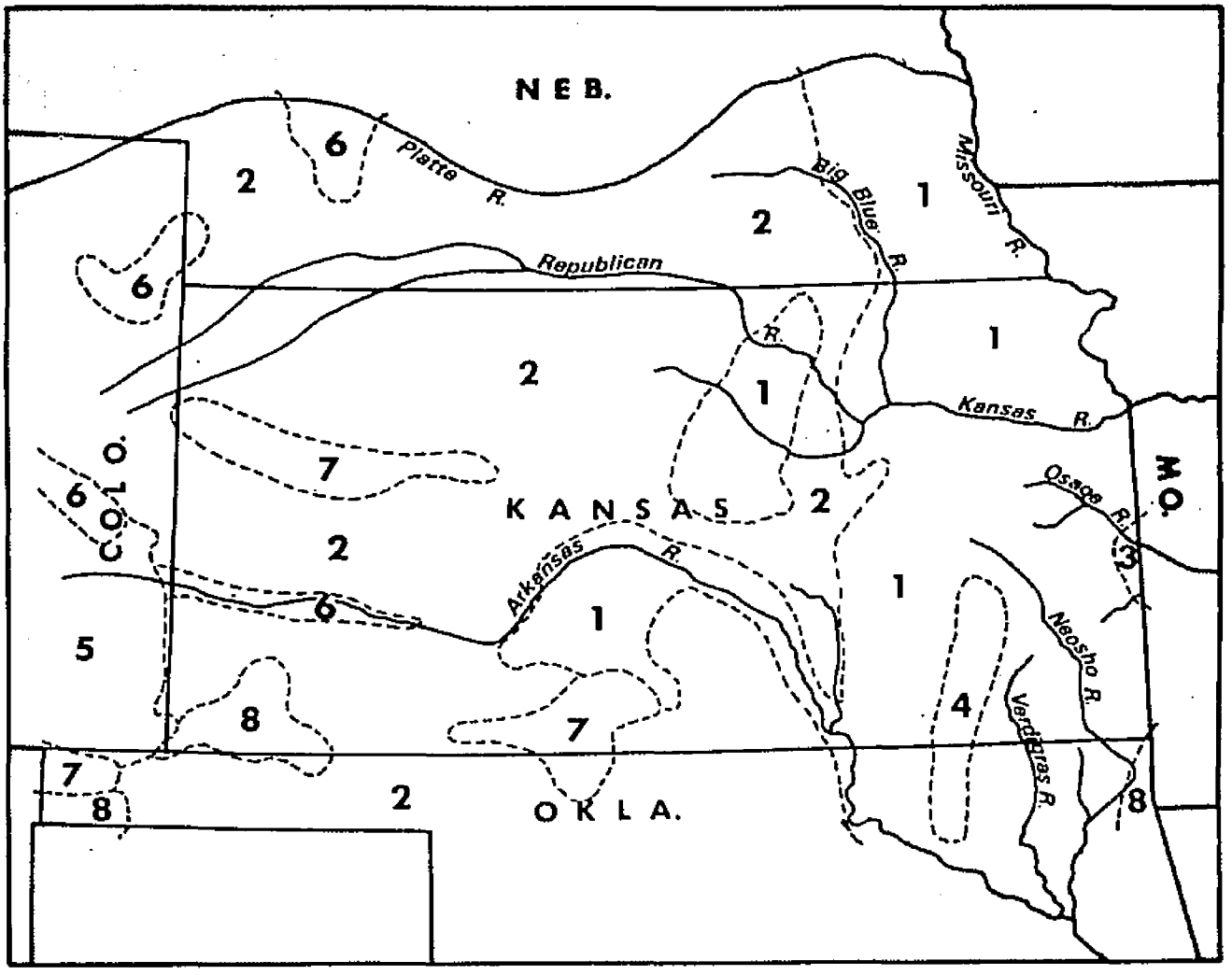
States with a More Detailed Account of the Land of Utah." Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, 2nd ed. (Washington, D. C.: GPO). C. Warren Thornthwaite separates the two provinces by climate, "The Great Plains," Migration and Economic Opportunity, Goodrich, et al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 202-251. Nevin Fenneman's criteria for splitting the Prairie region from the Plains is based on changing topography, Physiography of Western United States. C. F. Marbut's work is based on soil characteristics of changing color and mineral content, "Soils of the Great Plains," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 13 (1923), pp. 41-59. Eugene Hollon defined the western edge of the Prairie region as that area coinciding with the lack of self-sufficiency of the residents, The Great American Desert (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961). J. Russell Smith and M. Ogden Phillips referred to the Plains as ". . . a land of romance," North America, 415.



1 udolls
2 ustolls
3 aqualfs
4 andepts
5 argids
6 psamments
7 orthents
8 ustalfs
9 udalts

Figure 5 PRAIRIE-PLAINS SOILS
Prairie-Plains soils, almost black in color, are rich in organics and are very fertile. As one moves west soils become drier and the color becomes lighter.
Source: Distribution of Principal Kinds of Soils: Orders, Sub-Orders and Great Groups, U. S. Geological Survey, 1969.

carbonate accumulation and the closer it comes to the surface.

Soils formed from alluvium are found along floodplains and terraces of rivers in the study area. These soils often are fertile and are more easily plowed than the tough prairie sod on the uplands.

Not all Prairie-Plains soils are fertile. Stephen Long referred to less fertile soil in his journal entry regarding the report of Thomas Say's exploring party in northeastern Kansas. The end of August 1819 saw the Say detachment heading due east across the prairies, taking the most direct route back to their main camp on the Missouri ". . . nineteen miles beyond this creek [Vermillion] . . . the soil changes somewhat abruptly. The high prairies about the Vermillion and Blue Earth Creeks are barren, almost naked, and inhabited by some orbicular lizards."[18] The psamments observed by the Say party are depositional soils found over larger areas in the west. One finds them along the Arkansas River in Kansas and through central Nebraska about the confluence of the Platte River and along the Middle, North Loup, and Niobrara Rivers.

Animal Life

The animals of the Prairie-Plains are best described in

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[18]Long's eventual classification of the Plains as the Great American Desert was based in part on sandy soil and in part on the faunal life such as the orbicular lizards or horned frogs. Long, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains Performed in the Years 1819-1820,

terms of their group characteristics because, as Walter Prescott Webb wrote, "they [i.e., animals] indicate the nature of the country."[19] The animals most often referred to in literature are the bison, pronghorn antelope, jackrabbit, prairie dog, and coyote. Webb, Kranzel, and Visher have presented lists of traits that bind together Prairie-Plains animals and link them to the environment.[20] Some traits common to the three lists include: speed, endurance, shyness, ability to get along with little or no water, and great mobility. These traits reflect the environment by indicating a lack of water, great distance between areas of relative safety, and absence of ground cover.

Sometimes overlooked when discussing Prairie-Plains fauna are the animals of the woodlands environment along major streams. Raccoon, deer, woodchuck, wild turkey, bear, and squirrel were common animals in the galleria forests of

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[19]Webb The Great Plains, 33. Overall, the study region is an area of fewer species and endemics than less rigorous environments. Robert Mengel, in a study of bird speciation, noted only nine endemics and referred to the region as an area poor in avian niches. Frank B. Cross and Joseph T. Collins note that no fish live only in Kansas. Robert Mengel, "The North American Central Plains as an Isolating Agent in Bird Speciation," Pliestocene and Recent Envrionments of the Central Great Plains, 279-341; Frank B. Cross and Joseph T. Collins, Fishes in Kansas (Lawrence: University of Kansas Museum of Natural History, Public Education Series No. 3, 1975).

[20]It is interesting to note that Stephen Visher, prior to Webb, saw the reflection of the land in the Plains fauna. However, Visher failed to generalize these traits for the Plains as a whole. Stephen S. Visher, "The Biogeography of the Northern Great Plains," Geographical Review, Vol. 11 (1916), pp. 89-115; Webb The Great Plains, 41; Kraenzel The Great Plains in Transition, 35-36.

the region. Food fish, such as catfish, pickerel, black bass, crappie, and chub, could be found in the water, although their diversity decreased in an east-to-west direction.

A final note to keep in mind when discussing the abundance of Plains animals if their distribution. Animals were not spread evenly throughout the area. While there remains work to be done, it is known that game was plentiful directly east of the Missouri River and north of the state of Missouri.[21] Records indicate that game was all but absent on a section of the Verdigris River, and it may have been absent elsewhere.[22] Hence, one can imagine prairie without buffalo and sparse woodlands without raccoons.

As can be gathered from discussion of the physical processes and images of past and present environments, the study region is a complex area. Soils vary over the region and effective precipitation declines by approximately fifty percent from the eastern edge to the western edge. Elevation is not uniform. In spite of these variations, there was a certain unity to the environment. It was seen as "different" by explorers, travelers, scholars, and novelists. The

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[21]Report dated January 8, 1839, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 631 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[22]Ibid. Also see Report dated August 29, 1838, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 415 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). An end to good hunting just northeast of the Indian territory was predicted in 1830. The Clark Papers, Correspondence dated July 16, 1830, Box 94, Vol. 4 (Topeka, Kansas State Historical Society).

distinctness of the area is effectively summarized by a passage from Willa Cather's novel My Antonia. The particular passage cited contains the thoughts of Jim, a young boy from Virginia, on his way to live with his grandparents. Having just arrived by train he is put in a wagon by the hired hand. They begin their journey to the grandparent's farm:

> Cautiously I slipped from under the buffalo hide. Got up on my knees and peered over the side of the wagon. There seemed to be nothing to see; no fences, no creeks, or trees, no hills or fields . . . there was nothing but land, out of which countries are made . . . I had never before looked up at the . . . complete dome of heaven.[22]

Indians

The Prairie-Plains area to which eastern Indians were being asked to move was not an empty one. Prior to and during the period of negotiation between the United States government and the emigrant Indians, those tribes historically associated with the study area were dealing for reduced reservations. These groups were the Omaha, Pawnee, Osage, Kansa, Otoe, and Missouri.

In the West lived nomadic groups, such as the Cheyenne, Arapho, Kiowa, and Commanche. These groups were not bound by legal definitions of landownership and raided each other as well as the more sendentary tribes. Both eastern and western indigenous Indians will be dealt with further in subsequent chapters.

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[23]Willa Cather, My Antonia (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), p. 7.

"It seems like a dream to think of giving and leaving our present homes and we do not want to hear any new proposals." Keo-kuk, M-234, Microfilm Roll 731.

Chapter III

EMIGRANT INDIAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE PRAIRIE-PLAINS

Pre-Visitation Perceptions

Under the concept of preemption the United States Government was obligated first to attempt the purchase of Native American lands. The government's offer to buy lands led Native Americnas to believe that they had a real choice concerning their future homes. Indians who were asked to cede their lands east of the Mississippi River for lands west of that river assumed there were at least two alternatives to going west to the Indian territory. Some groups which were fond of the area they occupied believed they could keep their lands, perhaps reduced in size. Others believed they could go somewhere other than the Prairie-Plains region.[1] In October of 1833, for example, a spokesman for the Miami Nation asked government officials: "What is the reason when you talk to us, you always talk about going over the Mississippi. We were not raised there . . . we have no intention to go there. The place where we are is a fat country we don't like to leave it."[2]

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[1]Article IV of the treaty of May 9, 1838, inidcated that the government's part of the bargain would be fulfilled when land was set aside west of the Mississippi River or northwest of St. Anthony's Falls, in present-day Minnesota, for the Indians. Issac McCoy, a prime force behind the creation of the western Indian territory, interpreted this article to mean that the choice of where the Indian would settle rested with the government, correspondence dated September 6, 1837, Saginaw Agency 1824-39, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 745 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). Henry Schoolcarft, historian, anthropologist, geographer, and government representative, wrote: "The treaty gives these Indians the option of a location west of the Mississippi or northwest of St. Anthony's Falls," correspondence dated December 29, 1838, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 422 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives),

[2]Correspondence dated October, 1833, Miami Agency 1824-41, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 416 (Washington, D, C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

The alternatives of going elsewhere are exemplified in a letter from Elisha Chester, government commissioner, dated July 10, 1832. He writes: "In my last [letter] I mentioned . . . suggestions made by some of the Cherokee about removal to the Pacific."[3] The most popular locational alternative, however, was in the north central United States in and near Canada. Here groups could be close to the British, whom they liked, while remaining in a similar physical envrionment. The Chippewa of the Swan Creek and Black River bands showed marked preference for lands near St. Anthony's Falls in present-day Minnesota. Henry Schoolcraft writes of Pottawatomi and Ottawa bands who were "making incipient plans to go to the Lake Huron borders and islands of upper Canada."[5] The Sagniaw of Michigan did eventually migrate to Canada.[6]

It is also important to note that Native Americans generally misunderstood the legalities involved in the buying and selling of land. After lands had been sold, the Indians were still not aware they had to leave. Morgan, a Fox Indian,

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[3]Correspondence dated October, 1833, Miami Agency 1824-41, 1846-50, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 416 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix. The spelling of Indian tribe names varies form source to source. I have adopted one spelling for each tribe to use consistently.

[4]Correspondence dated September 6, 1837, Microfilm Roll 745. See Appendix.

[5]Correspondence dated June 20, 1835, Mackinac Agency 1828-38, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 402 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[6]Correspondence dated February 26, 1939, Microfilm Roll 745.

reported that his chiefs could not remember selling their lands, and when he asked them "why the white people give us money every year . . . they say they do not know."[7] This lack of understanding of the legalities of land transfer, coupled with the Indian interpretation of the government's offer to buy their land, results in a series of environmental responses by groups generally not resigned to moving. This lack of resignation will allow for broader conclusions to be drawn in the final chapter.

Pre-Visitation Information Network

A final point to be considered before presenting Indian perceptions is the means by which Native Americans arrived at their pre-exploration attitudes. As noted in chapter one, information came from missionaries such as Issac McCoy. Furthermore, individual members of tribes, such as the Kickapoo, Sac, and Fox, had a general knowledge of the area, though not the specific reservation site. This information was gained from hunting trips to the west. Other sources of information included other Indians, government officials, traders, and individuals who defy categorization. Insight into this information network can be seen in the following examples.

In 1839, government commissioner T. S. Ketchem wrote to

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[7]Correspondence dated June 20, 1828, The Clark Papers. Correspondence dated October 22, 1832 to September 15, 1874, Vol. 6 (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society).

T. Hartly Crawford, superintendent of Indian affairs, concerning the Chippewa influence over the Pottawatomi of St. Joseph, Michigan. Ketchem wrote:

> I give it as my opinion that the Pottawatomie Indians will never emigrate till troops are sent. The Pottawatomie Indians and Chippewa tribes have very considerably inter-married and the former are very much under the influence of the later.[8]

Robert Lucas did his best, as a government official, to explain the benefits of the new lands.

> I gave them some information of the governments designed for all emigrating Indians of the Union and the purpose of an organized territory of their rights and privileges as a people . . . I entered into . . . the many advantages to be derived from a change of their locations.[9]

The mission of Indian service employees at this time was to move Indians west of the state of Missouri and territory of Arkansas. However, on at least two occasions government officials did not try to "sell" the new land. William Seward, for example, while negotiating with Onondaga Chief Abraham LeFort, expressed his concern that "the west was a wilderness with privation to be endured."[10] A Mr. Johnston,

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[8]Correspondence dated September 28, 1839, Michigan Superintendency Emigration 1830-48, Michigan Superintendency Reserves 1837-48, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 427 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[9]Correspondence dated September 2, 1835, Ohio Agency 1831-1838, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 601 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[10]Correspondence dated April 7, 1841, New York Agency 1840-42, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 584 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

Indian agent to the Shawnee, told them:

> They had a very valuable country there where they were, that the country where they were asked to go was a very open prairie country with but little timber and those who choose to remain will always have a fine country large enough for all purposes.[11]

Both Mr. Seward and Mr. Johnston represent that seemingly small group of people who acted sincerely with Native Americans.

Traders allowed the Indians to buy on credit and enormous bills were run up, some totaling as much as $30,000.[12] This amount would be paid out of annuities and such income would not run out as long as the Indians remained where they were. Thus, traders generally had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

Concerning traders, C. A. Harris, superintendent of Indian affairs, received a letter from James Schoolcraft, agent at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1838. Schoolcraft wrote:

> Attempts have been made to induce the Indian not to accede to the wishes of the department by circulating erroneous reports, and inventing absurd lies connected with the objects of their expedition, you no doubt are aware, that the policy of the Indian trader is to oppose that of government whenever the latter tends to the removal of the Indian from their present location or hunting grounds.[13]

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[11]Correspondence dated November 28, 1832, Microfilm Roll 601.

[12]Correspondence dated October 27, 1829, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 302 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[13]Weekly report dated May 28, 1838, Mackinac Agency Emigration 1838-39, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 415

Representative of sundry people furnishing Native Americans with information is one James Gardiner, a former agent in the Indian service. William Walker, a Wyandot chief, wrote to Lewis Cass inquiring into the status of Mr. Gardiner, who operated a tavern in the upper Sandusky area in 1832. Walker writes:

> A sense of duty compels me to address you at this period . . . I am sorry to say . . . that the opposition of the Wyandots to removing to the west, is attributable mainly to the imprudent conduct of Mr. G. whose conduct . . . has been to inspire the chiefs and others of the nation with disgust. They cannot tell what office he holds, if he holds any, for he sometimes tells the drunken and rubble part of the Wyandot . . . that he is a commissioner . . . sometimes he is a 'sub-commissioner' and at other times he is an Indian agent.[14]

What role each information source played in influencing individual Native American groups' perceptions is impossible to say at this time. Further work in the area of particular Native American groups' information network is necessary.

General Attitude

Prior to having officially explored reservation sites, Indian perceptions centered on a negative attitude expressed in general terms (Table 1). Fourteen of the fifteen nations voicing pre-visitation attitudes spoke of the area in extremely general terms. An example is a letter from agent George B. Porter to Secretary of War Lewis Cass. Porter wrote:

(Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[14]Correspondence dated October 2, 1837, Microfilm Roll 745.

Table 1

PRE-VISITATION PERCEPTIONS

	General Attitude		Wood		Climate		Social Conditions		Soil/Water			
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
Miami	X										X	
Wyandot	X											
Sac/Fox	X			X								
Winnebago					X							
Pottawatomi-Chippewa-Ottawa	X		X									
Shawnee		X	X		X				X			
Ottawa of Maume	X		X									
Ottawa of Grand River	X											
Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan	X											
Chippewa of Sault Ste. Marie	X		X									
New York Indians	X						X					
Oneida	X											
Cayuga		X										
Stockbridge	X											
Brothertown	X		X				X		X			

Pre-visitation impressions reflected concern for five specific environmental elements. Overall impressions were negative

N - negative P - positive

"The Indians were resolute . . . in rejecting the proposition to emigrate and adhered with unyielding pertinacity to the determination through every council."[15] Some attitudes expressed under this category indicated a preference for home. This disinclination to move west and the preference for home was shared by the Oneida and Seneca of the New York Indian group. In a letter to President Van Buren in 1837, Moses Schyler, Oneida spokesman, writes:

> We wish to write a few lines to you wishing you health, prosperity and peace, and we hope you will bear with us while we present our complaints against your agent Schermerhorn. He visited us last fall and made us a proposal to move to the Indian district west of Missouri, we listened to his proposal-heard his reasons and after a free interchange of sentiment decided in council to remain on our lands in the state of New York . . . we decided as before not to send a delegation . . . we do not wish to remove from the lands given us by the Great Spirit.[16]

The seneca went so far as to chastise members of their nation who favored removal. In a letter to Lewis Cass they write:

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[15]Correspondence dated November 16, 1833, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 416 (Washington, D. C,: National Archives). See Appendix. Many of the tribal spokesmen spoke English; however, no exact figures are known. Interpreters were used with only sporadic complaint by Euro-Americans. An unnamed government official, for example, wrote: "Among the objects calling for legislative attention, this continued to present itself. The salary . . . provided for the necessary and useful class of subordinates, keeps out of government employ, those best capacitated to serve it . . ." Correspondence from the Michigan Superintendency, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 423, 1838-39 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). Total emigrant Indian population, according to government estimates in 1829, was 72,088. Microfilm Roll 749. See Appendix.

[16]Correspondence dated August 17, 1837, New York Agency 1835-39, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 583 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

"Those who have been in favor of exploring the western country are deposed from their offices as chiefs in order to prevent our emigration."[17]

Only three groups appear to favor the area. The Shawnee of southeast Missouri, in a letter to the President of the United States, wrote as follows: "Father you told us two days ago you had determined to settle the Indians permanently over the line of the state of Missouri. We hope this promise will soon be accomplished and that we may never again be moved."[18] However, as shown in Table 1, Shawnee responses to vegetation, climate, game, and topography, along with their wish never again to move, indicate only resignation rather than enthusiasm. The Cayuga, it was noted in a report, were also anxious to remove to Indian territory.[19] At this time, the Cayuga were spread over three reservations in New York state and were anxious to unite. They had no land of their own and the prospect of receiving any land east of the Mississippi River was slight. In order to be united on their own land they had to emigrate. Two Pottawatomi bands from western Illinois indicated to their Indian agent, George B. Porter,

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[17]Microfilm Roll 583, January 20, 1835. See Appendix.

[18]Correspondence dated February 28, 1823, Fort Leavenworth Agency 1824-36, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 300 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[19]Minutes of proceedings and speeches delivered at a council of the New York Indians assembled at the Seneca Council House on the Buffalo Creek Reservation for the payment of annuities 1835, Microfilm Roll 583. See Appendix.

that they were anxious to remove.[20] Porter, in a letter to his superior, William Marshall, indicates the reason for their wanting to go west was White harrassment in their vicinity resulting from their role in the Black Hawk War.[21]

Vegetation

The most common specific image Native Americans had of the study region focused on the lack of timber. Five different tribes cited lack of wood as a reason for not emigrating. Two representative examples follow. In December of 1847, Mayor Richard Cummins, government negotiator, reported to Washington on the attitude of a particular but unnamed Pottawatomi band: "Now the Indians have pretended to object to their country or rather the timber. Their objections have been made without ever seeing it. They have not yet, explored the country."[22] Shawnee living in the Arkansas territory were asked to give up their homes after two years. Their reply was:

> We have not at this time one foot of land we can call our own. Unless we remove to Kansas River, where we are very certain we cannot live . . . the soil is good . . . but the winter season is too cold the country without timber

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[20]Correspondence dated February 25, 1833, Indian Agency 1824-50, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 354 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives. See Appendix.

[21]Ibid., March 12, 1833. See Appendix.

[22]Correspondence dated December 1847, Ohio Agency Emigration 1831-34, Ohio Agency Reserves, 1834-43, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 603 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

or nearly so.[23]

A sixth group, the Sac and Fox of the Missouri band, responded to the request to join their Iowa relatives in the Indian territory in what could be interpreted as a positive manner. They stated to Major Dougherty, the government's representative,:

> The south side of the Missouri River was intended by the great spirit for the red skins, and for that reason, he made so much prairie that it would not suit for the residence of white men and if this had not been the case the red men would in a short time have been without a home.[24]

However, as with the previously mentioned Cayuga, this group had no home and was petitioning the government for a tract of land on the south side of the Missouri River to escape the "fog of white people" in the east.[25] Later, Major Richard Cummins and one Mr. Morrison were asked to select lands for the main band of Sac and Fox. Their report reads in part: "On account of the scarcity of timber . . . I am sure the Sac and Fox will not be pleased."[26] Given the general tenor of the Missouri band's statement and the feelings of the larger,

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[23]Correspondence dated June, 1829, Microfilm Roll 300.

[24]Correspondence dated June 12, 1836, St. Louis Superintendency, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 751 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[25]Correspondence dated June 12, 1836, Sac and Fox Agency 1824-30, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 729 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[26]Correspondence dated April 2, 1844, Sac and Fox Agency 1840-1880 and Sac and Fox Emigration 1845-47, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 744 (Washington, D. C,: National Archives). See Appendix.

main band, I feel this last quote to be the more indicative of the feelings of all Sac and Fox.

Climate

Three groups, the Winnebago, the Brothertown, and the Shawnee, responded negatively to the climate of the area. In 1846, the Winnebago living in the vicinity of Green Bay, Wisconsin, were offered a reservation in Kansas. To this offer they answered as follows:

> We happen to be very well acquainted with the country to which our great father proposes to send us. Many of our young men have traveled over it and we know all about it from our acquaintances. There is a great difference between the climate there and where we now live. That climate does not suit people who have been raised on such a country as ours.[27]

The government commissioners told the Winnebago that they misunderstood the offer made to them. Their reservation would be west of the Shawnee and would lie on both sides of the Kansas River. The Winnebago reply was that they understood fully. They repeated their contention: "Indians who live in a country like ours east of the Mississippi cannot live in the . . . prairies, the climate is not like ours."[28] To the Winnebago living in the far north, the prairie was considered too warm. The Shawnee, as already mentioned,

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[27]Council held October 1, 1846, Ratified Treaties 1838-52, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 4 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[28]Council held October 1, 1846, Microfilm Roll 4. See Appendix.

thought of the climate as being too cold for them.[29] The response of the Brothertown Indians is slightly less direct but obviously displays concern for the climate. They state "this tract of land on which we now reside with which we are so well pleased and suited both as to soil and climate that we could not at present feel a disposition . . . to make the exchange."[30]

The Oneida were not included as a group responding to climate because of the ambiguity of their statement. Nevertheless, it deserves attention. The Oneida indicate they want to farm but expressed a fear that they ". . . will not have so good a chance if we move west."[31] Hence, it is unclear as to whether it is climate, soil, a combination of the two, or entirely different reasons that would prevent them from becoming successful farmers west of the Mississippi River.

Social Conditions

Two groups of Native Americans, the Oneida and Brothertown of the New York nation, refer to the negative social conditions in the Indian territory. The Brothertown Indians were concerned with their future neighbors. In a letter

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[29]Correspondence dated June, 1839, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

[30]Council held August 30, September 1, 1836, Green Bay Agency 1833-37, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 316 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[31]Ibid. See Appendix.

Moses Schyler, Oneida spokesman, expresses his group's concern: "We fear to remove we [fear] shall not find the tree of liberty under whose shade we have quietly reposed as a nation for centuries."[32] The Brothertown state:

> It would not be in our opinion ameliorate our conditions to be removed into a country where its inhabitants are almost wholley uncivilized and entirely an Indian country. The Brothertown Indians would have to acquire a new language and customs which they fear would not increase their happiness.[33]

Soil and Water

Besides the aforementioned ambiguous statement by the Oneida concerning soil, two other groups responded by mentioning this aspect of the environment. The Shawnee looked upon the soil as good, while the Brothertown thought in terms of the unknown. It is interesting to note that during this pre-exploration period only one group, the Shawnee, mentioned a specific area in the Indian territory. They wrote: "We cannot live on the Kansas River, the soil is good, but the winter season is too cold."[34]

The Miami combine their comments on water with wood and their overall general assessment. Major Thomas Harney, Superintendent of Indian affairs, noted:

> . . . their new home had been represented to

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[32]Council held August 30, September 1, 1836, Microfilm Roll 316. See Appendix.

[33]Ibid. See Appendix.

[34]Correspondence dated June, 1829, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

> them as a miserable barren section, without wood, without water, in fact in the open prairie where none could exist and where those who did emigrate would find a speedy grave.[35]

Many of the groups and individuals in this study supplemented their diets to a large degree by hunting. Yet, in this pre-visitation period only the Shawnee were found to mention game. They write that the Kansas River "country is without game."[36]

As shown, pre-visitation impressions reflected concern about six elements. The category eliciting the greatest response was the "general attitude" category, which was primarily negative toward the study region. Vegetation and climate were the most specific features of the region discussed while only one group, the Shawnee, mentioned game. Overwhelmingly, the responses were negative. Those responses of a positive nature, except those regarding soil, proved, upon closer examination, to be issued from peoples resigned to being moved and from homeless groups.

Exploration

In 1832, Lewis Cass issued a directive to government commissioners negotiating treaties with the Indians. This directive stated:

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[35]Correspondence dated June, 1846, Microfilm Roll 416. See Appendix.

[36]Council held August 30, September 1, 1836, Microfilm Roll 316. See Appendix.

> Should the Indians refuse positively to negotiate under an impression that the country beyond the river is unsuitable unhealthy or insufficient, you may then enter into a conditioned arrangement allowing them to send a deputation to examine that region.[37]

As shown, almost all groups for whom a pre-visitation environmental attitude existed found something undesirable about the area and refused to move. Hence, exploring opportunities were made available to Native Americans. The government's main concern with regard to exploration was that the Indians find the area good. Instructions given Captain John Garnett, conductor of the Pottawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa delegation, may be considered to have been standard operating procedure. A Mr. Josuha Persher wrote to Garnett: "Every pain should be taken to impress them with the advantage the country possesses over that which they are now located."[38] Henry Schoolcraft suggested to C. A. Harris that exploring parties ought to travel "in the early spring to view the country south of the Missouri . . . at the time the herbage first appears to cover the western prairie."[39]

As early as 1827, prior to the signing of the Indian Removal Bill, Shawnee, Delaware, and Kickapoo, under govern-

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[37]Directive dated October 20, 1832, Ratified Treaty 1827-32, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 2 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[38]Correspondence dated August 18, 1839, Council Bluffs Agency 1836-43, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 2.

[39]Correspondence dated March 1, 1838, Michigan Superintendency 1838-39, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 215 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

ment auspices visited lands along the Kansas River. However, Indian reaction to the Cass proposition was mixed. The New York nation refused at first to send an exploring delegation, while the Wyandot Indians "expressed themselves thankfully for the privilege granted to them to view the country west of the Mississippi, previously to the final conclusion of their treaty."[40] The Miami managed to postpone exploring the area for nine years. They discussed it in 1836, declined sending a party in 1839, and finally sent delegates in 1845.

During exploring trips, Native Americans remained inscrutable. J. L. Schermerhorn noted, for example, that "The Indians are very silent in giving any opinion about the country."[41] It was not, as a rule, until the delegates reported to their respective tribes that impressions were made known publicly. It should be further noted that overall the delegates were duly authorized representatives of their respective groups. Instances do exist where fraudulent delegates were later exposed as such.[42]

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[40]Correspondence dated September 16, 1831, Microfilm Roll 603.

[41]Correspondence dated October 26, 1837, New York Agency Emigration 1820-51, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 597 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

[42]Spokesmen for the six nations wrote: "In July last, 1837, J. L. Schermerhorn passed through all the settlements of the six nations and took with him some our men of his own selection for the purpose of forming an exploring party to the west. This was his own delegation and not ours. We considered it an unlawful and improper exercise of authority which strikes at the very fundamental principles of our laws and treaties . . . We cannot therefore, recognize

Post-Visitation Perceptions

The non-specific opinions of the post-visitation time frame were founded on an environmental basis of both a physical and social nature. The "general attitude" category contained more positive opinions than that of the pre-visitation period (Table 2). Six groups found the area to be generally good. Six groups expressed both positive and negative attitudes toward particular areas and eight groups responded in an unfavorable manner after exploring the area.

The Shawnee spokesman Cornstalk, after viewing lands along the eastern portion of the Kansas River in 1827, stated his people "were much pleased with them" but told William Clark they would need much more land to live comfortably.[43] In 1845, a portion of the Tuscarora, in a letter to President Polk, indicated a desire to fulfill their treaty obligations and settle in the vicinity of missionaries along lands they

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persons so selected as regular appointed delegates," see Correspondence dated October, 1837, Microfilm Roll 597. Fraud existed in other aspects of the removal process as well. There exists some question, for example, as to the legitimacy of casualty lists. In 1846, A. Hageboon, removal agent for a group of New York Indians, was thought to have turned in an inflated casualy list. An inflated casualty represents an attempt to reconcile the Indians delivered to Indian territory with the number that left their homes in the east. Government appropriations would reflect the larger number. Hence, enrolling agents could earn handsome profits, see Removal Report dated 1846, Microfilm Roll 597. In 1835, J. L. Schermerhorn wrote to Lewis Cass asking for permission to bribe Cherokee chiefs into recruiting individuals to move west. Cass denied the request, see Foreman, Indian Removal, 266.

[43]Correspondence dated August 23, 1827, St. Louis Superintendency 1827-28, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 748 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

Table 2

POST-VISITATION PERCEPTIONS

	General Attitude		Wood		Game		Climate		Land		Social Conditions		Salubrity		Soil/ Water	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	NP	NP
Miami	X		X		X		X						X		X	
Wyandot	X	X	X		X		X		X		X				X	
Sac/Fox		X	X													
Shawnee		X	X		X		X		X		X					
Saginaw	X		X		X											
Piankashaw-Wea-Peoria	X		X		X											
Kickapoo		X	X			X										
Winnebago	X		X		X				X							
Pottawatomi-Chippewa-Ottawa	X	X	X		X		X		X				X			X
Chippewa		X			X		X		X							
Ottawa		X					X									
Chippewa of Black River and Swan Creek	X	X														
Cherokee	X		X													
New York Indians	X		X								X				X	X
Tuscarora-Seneca-Onondaga		X									X		X		X	X
Tuscarora		X														
Seneca	X	X														
Oneida	X															
Delaware	X	X	X		X						X		X			X

After viewing proposed reservation sites Native American opinions of the Prairie-Plains were overwhelmingly negative.

N - negative P - positive

praised in southeastern Kansas.[44] Major Richard Cummins wrote to William Clark that the Kickapoo, feeling crowded in southwest Missouri, stated their preference to him for land along the Missouri River in northeastern Kansas, as did the Sac and Fox in 1846.[45] In 1830, a delegation composed of fifteen Ottawa and nine Chippewa, representing various bands, explored lands in east-central Kansas. Issac McCoy, their guide, writes:

> They were distinctly informed that if they should not be pleased with the country . . . shown them, they would be conducted to another further north . . . they were shown the country adjoining the south boundary of the Shawnee and adjoining the lands of the resident Ottawa.[46]

Their response was: "We do not desire to extend our examination any further. We are pleased with the country . . . it is good-much better than we had expected to see."[47] It appears they favored the Kansas reservation over one further north and nearer their enemy, the Sioux. Thus, they joined earlier resident Ottawa in the area.

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[44]Correspondence dated March 4, 1845, New York Agency Emigration 1829-51, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 597 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[45]Correspondence dated April 31, 1831, Microfilm Roll 300; Correspondence dated March 9, 1846, Sac and Fox Agency 1843-50, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 732 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[46]Correspondence dated July 28, 1830, Papers of Issac McCoy, Roll 9 (Topeka, Kansas State Historical Society). See Appendix.

[47]Ibid. See Appendix.

The Delaware and Pottawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa are part of that group responding positively toward one site and negatively toward others in the Indian territory. The Delaware, who would eventually accept a reservation along the Kansas River, were at first displeased with the size of the area offered them along the Kansas River. At this time, they indicated they would be "happy if they were settled on the Verdegis away from the Osage Indians."[48] The Pottawatomi were happy with lands that would eventually become part of the state of Missouri as the Platte Purchase. They were not pleased either with the physical environment of an alternative site further up the Missouri River near Omaha or with the area of east-central Kansas.[49] The Wyandot present an interesting case. In 1832, they explored lands in the Platte area.[50] Their report at this time was specifically negative and will be dealt with later in this chapter. In 1834, faced with increasing pressure to move, they reexamined the area and were generally pleased.[51] In 1835, a delegation of New

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[48]Correspondence dated August 18, 1827, Microfilm Roll 748. See Appendix.

[49]Correspondence dated March 30, 1835, Indiana Agency Emigration 1833-1849, Indiana Agency Reserves, 1836-50, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 361 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives); Council held November 10, 1846, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 4 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[50]J. Orin Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV (1947), pp. 242-262.

[51]Correspondence dated July 13, 1834, Microfilm Roll 601. See Appendix.

York Senecas explored the study area. They were pleased with what they saw and noted in their report that of the reservation sites explored, "the Delaware got the best, Cherokee the most."[52] These particular Seneca made it clear, however, that there existed "a diversity of sentiment among their people upon the question of removal [and] they represented that portion disposed to emigrate."[53]

The last group responding in both a negative and positive manner was the Chippewa of Black River and Swan Creek. After exploring the Indian lands in the summer of 1837, they were pleased with the area and they chose a reservation on the forks of the Osage River near the Ottawa.[54] They reversed their decision in September of 1837, however, expressing a desire to emigrate to St. Anthony's Falls rather than go to Indian territory.[55]

The Cherokee, Oneida, and Saginaw are representative of those eight groups who responded in an unfavorable, though nonspecific, manner to the country. In 1833, Cherokee leaders John Baldridge, John Ross, and Joseph Vann wrote to Lewis Cass: "The Cherokee people are unshaken in their objection

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[52]Correspondence dated March 2, 1835, Microfilm Roll 583. See Appendix.

[53]Ibid., May 7, 1836. See Appendix.

[54]Correspondence dated March 1, 1838, Microfilm Roll 423. See Appendix.

[55]Correspondence dated October 2, 1837, Microfilm Roll 422. See Appendix.

to a removal west of the River Mississippi."[56] Oneida, in the state of New York in 1841, desired "to make their new abode at Green Bay in the territory of Wisconsin,"[57] rather than west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri River. The Saginaw refused lands on the Osage River in 1837 in favor of migrating to Canada.[58] The general opinions of this section include positive statements by groups who were later to express negative assessments of specific environmental elements. These opinions, upon closer examination, proved to be the result of push factors of a social and physical nature rather than the lure of the Prairie-Plains. Some felt crowded by the Euro-Americans, others feared their new Indian neighbors and, while some groups were attracted to particular areas, the size of the reservation offered was deemed unsuitable for support. While not all of their attitudes can be explained, comments concerning specific envrionmental elements indicate Native Americans recognized negative aspects toward residency in the region.

Vegetation

In the post-visitation period, twelve groups of Native Americans commented on the vegetation in their respective

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[56] Correspondence dated January 28, 1833, Microfilm Roll 75. See Appendix.

[57] Correspondence dated November 27, 1841, Microfilm Roll 597. See Appendix.

[58] Correspondence dated August 29, 1838, Microfilm Roll 415.

area; all viewed it negatively. Three distinct vegetation problems are seen by Native Americans: the general lack of and quality of wood, the lack of the sugar maple, and unfamiliarity with the scale of prairie environment. Representative examples of Native American feelings toward the first two problems are seen in the Wyandot report of January 27, 1832, referring to extreme eastern Kansas:

> There is but little timber and what there is is of a low scrubby, knotty and twisted kind and fit for nothing but firewood, it has been said that within this scope of country, sugar trees abound, this is a mistake, we generally suppose when we hear of a country abounding with sugar trees that there is enough to afford good sugar camps for there is little else that gives value to them but this simple and yet good property vis, the sap they yield from which sugar is manufactured. This article, we are well aware, is one of the principal commodities of commerce with our nation. In all of our examination, we discovered but one solitary report on which there was anything like a collection of sugar trees- and that was 30 trees on 10 acres of the west side of the River Platte. The land is timbered; but the timber is of that description generally that is of no great use to an agricultural community. The best and most useful timber is scarce and what there is of it is deplorably defective. We noticed that the woodland was not thickly timbered and yet the major part of the timber is of the useless kind such as red elm, cottonwood, honey locust, buckeye, and a small growth of pin oak and white hickory &c. while upon the subject of timber, we will add, that . . . there is not good timber sufficient for the purpose of a people that wish to pursue agriculture.[59]

In 1835, delegates of the combined nations of Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa explored lands in southeastern Kansas.

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[59]Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation," 242-262. See Appendix.

Within their report is a section dealing with their unfamiliarity with an almost exclusively prairie environment:

> Our new country is mostly prairie . . . there is scarce timber enough to build our wigwam and that some of the land is too poor for snakes to live upon. Our men are not accustomed to prairie they have always lived in the woods . . . we understood that you wished us to become cultivators of the soil. Some of our men desire to do so there is little encouragment for them to become farmers in a country where there is so little timber and so much poor prairie.[60]

This group goes on to describe how it would take twenty years to get used to prairie living.[61]

Game

Eight Native American groups responded in council by noting the lack of game. Geographically, their perceptions cover the entire study area. Six of the eight groups cited the lack of game and nothing more. Two groups, the Miami and combined nations of Pottawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa made mention of specific animals.

The Winnebago response is representative of those groups noting simply the lack of game. They state: "The large prairies are filled with Indians and no game."[62] The Miami

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[60]Correspondence dated December 1835, Chicago Agency 1835-39, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 133 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[61]No group had anything positive to say about timber in the area. However, it should be noted that after residing in the Indian territory for three years, the Delaware found there to be better timber along the Missouri River and Kansas River valleys than along the Osage River, Correspondence dated September 28, 1830, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

[62]Council held October 9, 1839, Prairie Du Chien Agency

Indians cite the absence of wild turkey.[63] The Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa note the missing turkey and go on to list the lack of deer, raccoon, wildcat, and muskrat.[64] Muscahtewishah, a spokesman for the Kickapoo, contradicts the general trend when he states that some of his young men favor going to the prairies where there is game.[65] However, in light of the other responses and the Kickapoo's history of hunting trips to the far West, Muscahtewishah's statement may be interpreted as a wish to go to the western part of Indian territory.[66]

Climate

Climate was the concern of seven Native American groups. Accustomed to cooler summers, four groups exploring the area in late summer found it too warm, while three groups, for

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Emigration 1837-41, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 702 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[63]Correspondence dated December 1835, Indiana Agency Emigration 1833-49, Indiana Agency Reserves 1836-50, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 361 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[64]General Council, June 5-7, 1846, Ratified Treaties 1838-53, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 4 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[65]Correspondence dated September 2, 1833, Treaties 1833-37, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 3 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[66]The failure by these groups to mention the buffalo is intriguing in light of the huge herds that roamed the Plains at this time and is probably a reflection of the absence of a recent buffalo hunting tradition by many eastern Indians, see David Dary, The Buffalo Book (Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1974).

diverse reasons, found it too cold. The Miami Indians found the area too warm in the summer season and thus deemed it unhealthy.[67] Chief Billy Caldwell, speaking for the Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa, stated that his people could not be happy on the Osage River because, among other reasons, they were used to a colder climate.[68] A. J. Smith conducted a party of Saginaw Indians and Swan Creek and Black River Chippewa to explore lands on the Osage River. A spokesman for the group, Shaw-wahe, reported to Smith that his people did not like the area because it was "too warm for their northern constitutions."[69]

The Wyandot, Kickapoo, and Shawnee held a different view of the area. They found it too cold. Traveling in the fall of 1831, the Shawnee of Ohio, for example, reported they could not be happy with lands on the south side of the Kansas River because it was "a country . . . with a climate colder than we have been accustomed to wish to live in."[70] In 1833, government negotiator H. L. Ellsworth addressed a letter to the Kickapoo reminding them of their treaty obligation and of

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[67]Correspondence dated August 25, 1846, Miami Agency Emigration 1824-53, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 418 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[68]Correspondence dated September 24, 1839, Microfilm Roll 215. See Appendix.

[69]Journal of Occurances of the Deputation of Saginaw and Swan Creek Indians Under Conduct of A. J. Smith, July 25, 1837, Microfilm Roll 745. See Appendix.

[70]Correspondence dated November 20, 1831, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

the fine land set aside for them north of the Kansas River. Content with the warmer climate of southwest Missouri, an unidentified Kickapoo spokesman replied: "I am opposed to it. I am afraid that my women and children will freeze in the winter here."[71] The Wyandot were their ever-precise selves, stating: "From all the information we could obtain with regard to the Climate, we are satisfied that it is colder than it is in our part of the state of Ohio it is 39F degrees of north latitude."[72]

Land

Two aspects of the environment, the land and social conditions, received the same number of responses from emigrant groups. I have arbitrarily [alphabetically] chosen to present 'land' first. Five groups responded to the land itself in a negative fashion, and these negative responses fall into three basic categories: the nature of the country, topography, and catastrophic occurrences. The Winnebago and the Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations referred to the unfavorable "character" or "nature" of the country but do not offer any details.[73] The Wyandot are more specific in their

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[71]Correspondence dated September 2, 1833, Ratified Treaties 1833-37, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 2. See Appendix.

[72]Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation," 242-262. See Appendix.

[73]Correspondence dated November 13, 1841, Prairie Du Chien 1841, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 701 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives); Correspondence dated September 24, 1829, Microfilm Roll 215. See Appendix.

negative responses to the area later to be included in the Platte Purchase. They state: "The lands are so steep, broken and barren with so many ravines and runs that the rich soil, when cultivated, must necessarily wash away."[74] Hence, their concern is topography. The Shawnee's concern is distinct from the others in that it centers on a catastrophic occurrence. They write that in the Indian territory "The country was always trembling with earthquake and was not worth having."[75] References to this type of occurrence west of the Arkansas and Missouri territories are not frequent in the literature. Yet, one Mr. Johnstone, a government official, said the objection was a good one.[76] This appears to be a topic worthy of further investigation.

Social Conditions

The emigrant Indians in the post-exploration period showed concern for social conditions on two fronts: White frontiersmen and other Indians. The Tuscarora – Seneca-Onondaga, for example, called White frontiersmen the most "abject on the face of the earth" thus differentiating them from the Whites dealt with in the East.[77] The Wyandot spoke

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[74] Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation," 242-262.

[75] Correspondence dated October 4, 1830, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

[76] Ibid. See Appendix.

[77] Correspondence dated November 3, 1838, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

of the frontier inhabitants as being "with few honorable exceptions, the most abandoned, dissolute, and wicked class of people we ever saw."[78] They go on to say:

> moreover, the leading politicians of the state of Missouri, are opposed to the settling of Indians upon her frontier-speak of Indians as a "nuisance" a "curse" to the state i.e. in short they evince an unfriendly and indeed hostile desposition.[79]

Indian-Indian relations were also of concern. A band of Shawnee from the upper Louisiana territory did not want "to move to Kansas to join their relations."[80] The Shawnee also mentioned unnamed "bad Indians."[81] The Delaware echoed Shawnee feelings when they referred to the Osage Indians as "such bad people."[82] There were also outbreaks of violence between groups in the Indian territory such as conflicts between the Cherokee and western nomadic nations.

Salubrity - Insalubrity

Four groups, the Miami, Cherokee, Tuscarora-Seneca-Onondaga, and the combined nations of Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa responded to the salubrity of the country. Chief

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[78] Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation," 242-262. See Appendix.

[79] Ibid. See Appendix.

[80] Correspondence dated November 20, 1831, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

[81] Correspondence dated August 23, 1827, Microfilm Roll 748. See Appendix.

[82] Ibid., August 18, 1827. See Appendix.

Billy Caldwell, spokesman for the Pottawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians, referred to the area between the Kansas River and the Arkansas River as "unhealthy."[83] The Miami reported to the government that they "were sorry to put off their removal so long . . . [but] his people were afraid to start so soon as to reach their new home in the hottest and most unhealthy season of the year."[84]

Enrolling agent Joseph Deaderiche wrote that the principal objection of the North Carolina Cherokee was that the western country was unhealthy.[85] From the Northeast the Tuscarora-Seneca-Onondaga spokesmen called it "a poor barren, unhealthy country where many families have lost all their children in a course of a few years."[86] No mention is made as to what caused this unhealthiness.

Soil and Water

Soil and water were the subjects of only a few comments, and were viewed favorably. The Wyandot Indians and New York nation found the soil good. They Wyandot report: "With regard to the quality of the soil, no objection can be urged. It is generally a dark, rich loam, varying in depth

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[83]Correspondence dated September 24, 1839, Microfilm Roll 215. See Appendix.

[84]Ibid., August 25, 1846. See Appendix.

[85]Correspondence dated September 7, 1843, Cherokee Emigration 1839-54, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 116 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). See Appendix.

[86]Correspondence dated November 3, 1839, Microfilm Roll 583. See Appendix.

by either hilly or bottom land, it is rich and productive."[87] New York spokesmen wrote: "As we passed along the prairies we saw good soil," and later they again referred to the rich, black soil.[88] The Miami Indians did not like the soil. Their feeling was: "The soil is very poor and unfriendly."[89]

Two groups mention water in a positive manner. The New York group spoke of good, clear water and the Delaware write: "We are well pleased the water is good ."[90] The proximity of rivers seems to have satisfied the Indian need for water. They seem unaware of intermittent streams or fluctuations in precipitation in the region which could affect their water supply. One group, the Pottawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa, noted a lack of water through the region. They wrote: "In many parts there is no water." Having resided for some time near the study area at Council Bluffs, they no doubt spoke from personal experience.[91] This is the only case in

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[87]Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation," 242-262. See Appendix.

[88]Report of exploring delegation dated December 26, 1837, Microfilm Roll 597. The Tuscarora added their own views on the soil in 1840. They stated: "We had sent a delegate some time ago had been explored in western country and we feel confident him that he was faithful report to us what the country is and good soil and fertile land." Correspondence dated September 9, 1840, Microfilm Roll 583. See Appendix.

[89]Correspondence dated December, 1845, Microfilm Roll 596; Correspondence dated September 22, 1831, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

[90]Correspondence dated December 26, 1837, Microfilm Roll 597; Correspondence dated September 22, 1831, Microfilm Roll 300. See Appendix.

[91]Council dated June 5-7, 1846, Ratified Treaties

which proximity to the study area played a role in expressed perceptions.

Conclusion

Prior to exploring their new lands, fifteen distinct Indian groups made their perceptions known to the United States Government. Twelve of the groups espoused a general negative attitude toward the region. Eight of the groups were more specific in their perceptions toward the area, citing such elements as wood, climate, soil, social conditions, and game as being reasons why they would not be happy in the new land. One nation, the Sac and Fox, thought there was sufficient wood for their purposes. Two groups, the Oneida and Shawnee were positive in their responses concerning soil.

After exploring parties visited the proposed reservation sites, Native American groups were again asked to express themselves on the subject of removing to the Indian territory. Twenty groups responded in a general manner to the question. Six of these groups responded favorably to the proposition. Eight responded unfavorably and six responded both favorably and unfavorably. However, as government officials continued to pressure Native Americans to remove, Native Americans became more specific with their perceptions. The specific responses were overwhelmingly negative. The lack of wood emerged as the most negative aspect of the environment.

1838-53, Microfilm Roll 4. See Appendix.

followed by game, climate, land, social conditions, and salubrity. Soil and water generally were condidered good. As regards specific places, the Kansas River valley was viewed positively overall as were the Platte lands of Missouri. The lands along the Osage River were not as pleasing to the groups involved with it. Northern Oklahoma was considered unhealthy and the eastern Nebraska area was perceived as not having a good quality timber (Figure 6).

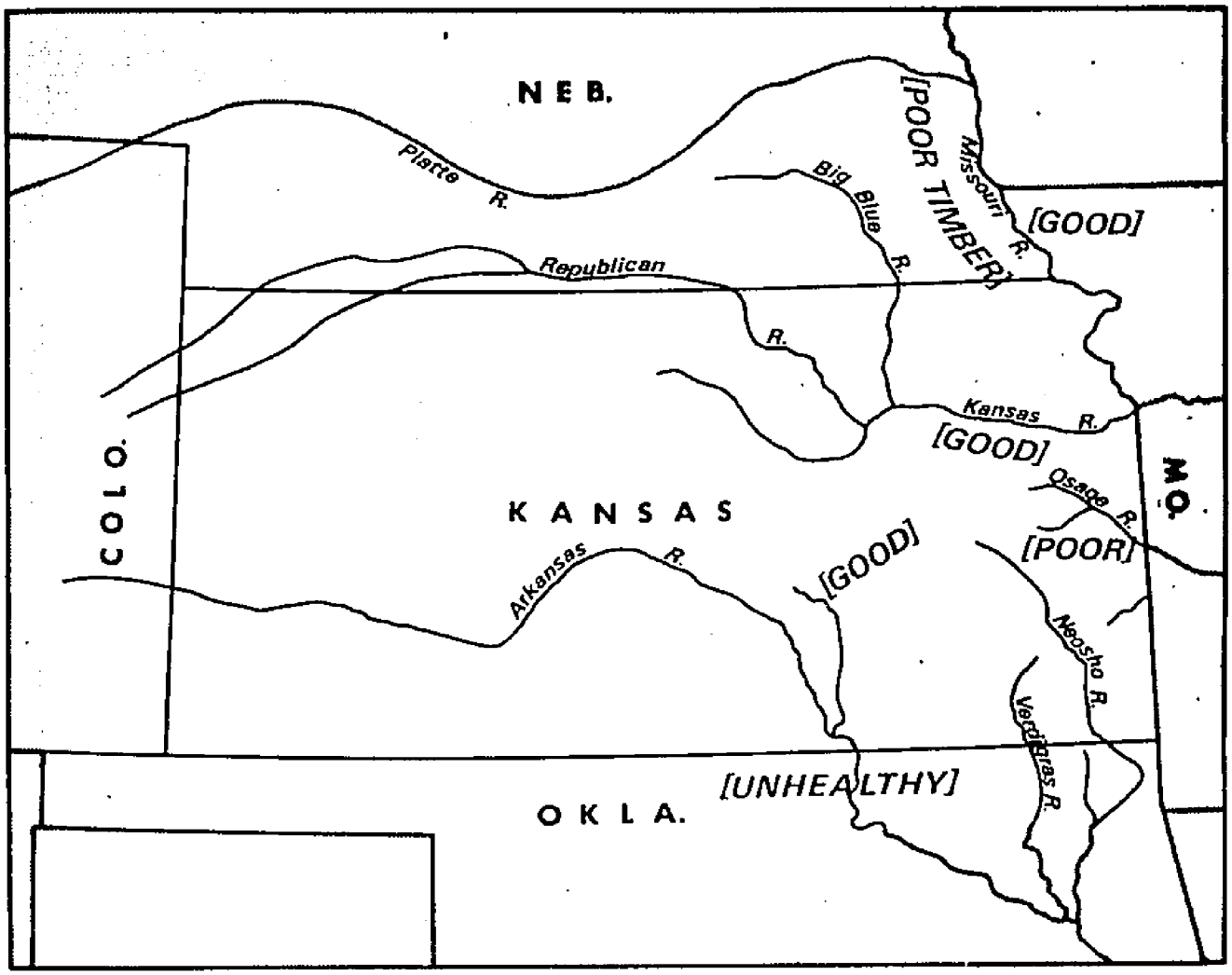

Figure 6 NATIVE AMERICAN IMAGES OF THE PRAIRIE-PLAINS

As regards specific places, the Kansas River valley was viewed positively overall as were the Platte lands of Missouri. The lands along the Osage River were not as pleasing to the groups involved with it. Northern Oklahoma was considered unhealthy and the eastern Nebraska area was perceived as not having a good quality timber.

"Doubtless, the first Indians found it as forbidding a region as did the white man who arrived thousands of years later." W. Eugene Hollon, The Great American Desert.

Chapter IV

OTHER NATIVE AMERICANS ON THE PLAINS

Up to this point I have examined historical perceptions of the Prairie-Plains. This chapter provides a continuing perspective of man in the study region by commenting on prehistoric, proto-historic and indigenous-historic Native American perceptions. Some written documents are available, but for the most part perceptions will be inferred from settlement locations and other indirect means. This chapter aims to bring the total Indian experience in the region into sharper focus.

The first section of this chapter deals with the arrival of man in the Prairie-Plains region and the prehistoric cultures which evolved there. Settlement data allow inferences to be made about prehistoric Native American perceptions of the Prairie-Plains.

In the seventeenth century the population of the Prairie-Plains region was in flux. The established semisedentary people of the central and eastern Prairie-Plains were fading as a viable force in the area, and the western Prairie-Plains were filling with nomadic horsemen. An examination of the basis for their movements to and within the Prairie-Plains provides insight into the perceptions of these groups.

The last groups to be considered are the Indians claiming the lands the government intended for Indian territory. In this section attitudes toward certain areas within the study region are available from documents presented as these groups negotiated for reduced reservations in the mid-nineteenth century.

Prehistoric Times on the Plains

When early man began crossing the Bering Strait into the New World some 30,000 or more years ago, he found an environment quite different from the present one.[1] Paleo-Indians who wound their way between cordilleran and continental ice found the Plains area composed primarily of coniferous forest interspersed with grasses,[2] (Figure 7). In this environment,

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[1]Estimated dates of man's arrival in the New World cover a considerable range of time. However, there is agreement on a pre-30,000 B. P. date, see Alan Bryan, "Early Man in America and the Late Pleistocene Chronology of Western Canada and Alaska," Current Anthropology, Vol. 10 (1969), pp. 339-367; Santiago Genoves, "Some Problems in the Physical Anthropological Study of the Peopling of America," Current Anthropology, Vol. 8 (1967), pp. 297-309. The date of early man's entry into the New World is being consistently moved backward in time. Yet to be accepted, however, is George Carter's date of 100,000 B. P., see "Man Time and Change in the Far Southwest," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 49 (1959), pp. 8-33. In fact, Carter's work has been tabbed by Robert Spencer and Jesse Jennings as the work of a "zealot rather than a scientist," The Native Americans (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 203. Not everyone, it should be borne in mind, accepts the main peopling of North America via the Bering Strait. Rather, some students of Native American history postulate independent evolution in the New World, Vine De Loria, Lecture presented at the University of Kansas, Spring, 1976; J. Walter Hewes, Alex Hrdlicka, et al., "The Problems of the Unity or Plurality and the Probable Place of Origin of the American Aborigines," American Anthropologist, Vol. 14 (1912), pp. 1-60. There remains a final point to be considered, i.e., given a land bridge, what was the rate of movement across it? Currently there is general agreement among prehistorians that a continual flow of people across the bridge did not occur. C. Vance Haynes, for example, suggests, in a recent work, the main peopling of the New World took place between 11,000 and 11,500 years ago, "Geochronology of Man-Mannoth Sites and Their Bering on the Origin of the Llano-Complex," Dort and Jones, eds., Pleistocene and Recent Environments of the Central Great Plains, pp. 77-93.

[2]The term "Paleo-Indian" has replaced those individuals characterized first by Carl Sauer and then Waldo Wedel as

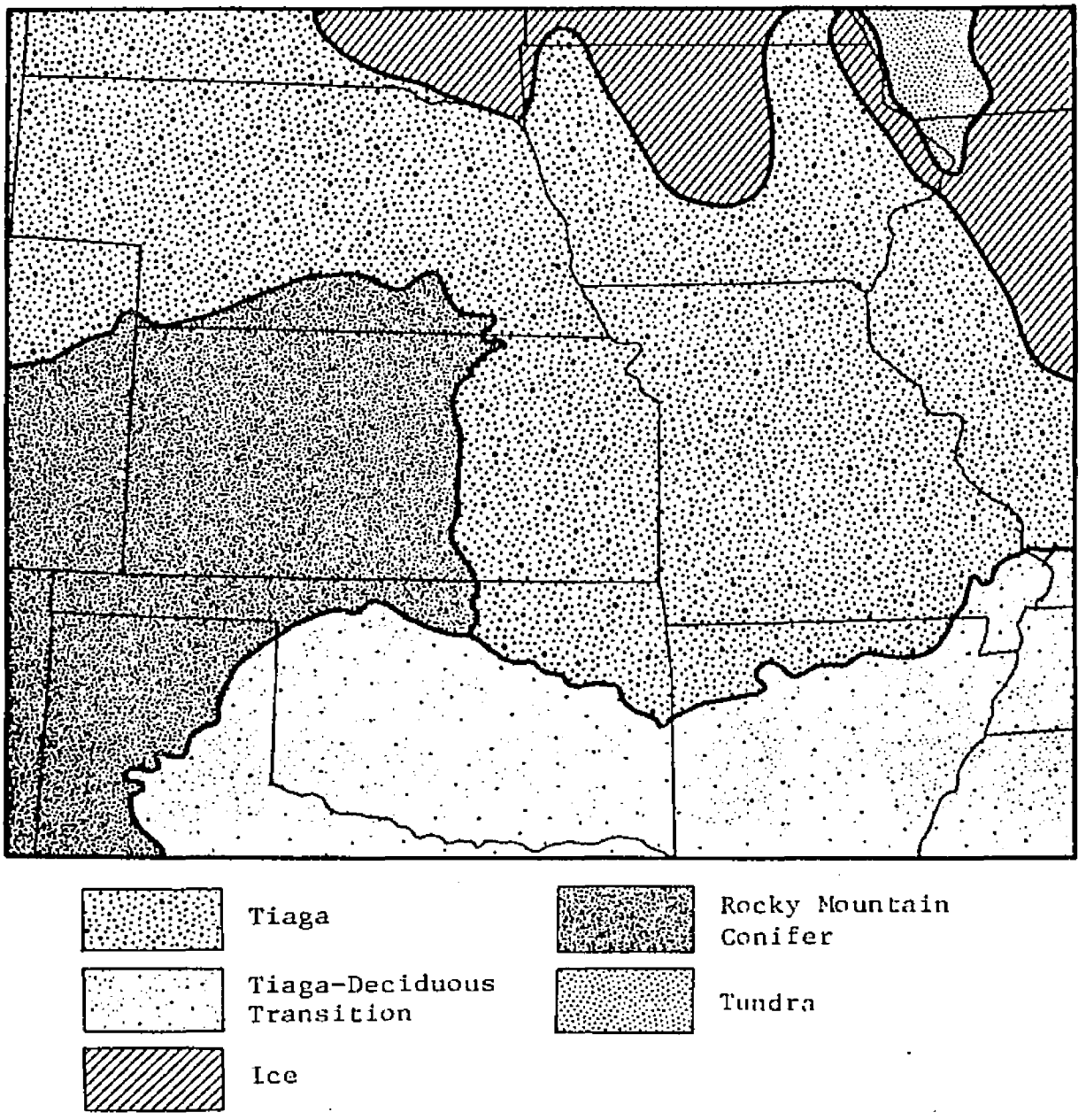

Figure 7 VEGETATION 24,000 - 13,000 B.P.

Pleistocene vegetational cover differed from that of the study period.

Source: After Wells, 1975

Clovis and Folsom hunters roamed the area in search of mammoth and bison respectively. These early big game hunters, the first distinct cultures in the New World, date into the late Pleistocene.

The end of the glacial epoch was marked in the study area by a shift from forest to prairie about 8,000 to 9,000 years ago.[3] At this time, specialized hunting cultures and large game animals were disappearing.[4] Small bands of hunters, possibly Clovis or Folsom progeny, retreated with the upland

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"early big game hunters." Scholars suggest this takes into account the diversity of early New World man and the fact that he did not hunt big game only, or for that matter subsist solely on game, see Carl O. Sauer, "A Geographic Sketch of Early Man in America," Land and Life, A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer, ed. with an intro. by John Leighly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 197-246; Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, p. 51.

[3]H E. Wright, "Vegetational History of the Central Plains," in Dort and Jones, ed., Pleistocene and Recent Environments of the Central Great Plains, 53-77.

[4]A question yet to be answered centers on whether man or the environment should be held responsible for the late Pleistocene faunal extinctions. P. S. Martin and H. E. Wright edited a volume supporting man as the mechanism, see Pleistocene Extinctions: The Search for a Cause (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967). Karl Butzer disagrees. He writes that, in light of present evidence, man should not be thought of as the sole cause and he asks that an ecological approach be taken toward the subject, see Environment and Archaeology: An Ecological Approach to Prehistory, 2d ed. (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), pp. 502-512. Butzer's point is a valid one in that a changing environment must have put stress on faunal populations. Before successful adaptation [or non-adaptation for that matter] could take place, man perhaps delivered the coup de grace by hunting and destroying animal habitats. Butzer cites a host of what he considers pre-human extinctions [prior to 12,000 B. P.] , but the record here, both of man and animal, appears too sparse to make definitive statements.

forest into the watered and wooded valleys. Significantly, the archaeological record shows that, when the Plains of early recent times took on the appearance and other physical characteristics of today's area, man moved to its margins. From the time of expanding prairie to the time of horse nomads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Paleo-Indians probably did not dwell exclusively on the upland Plains but distributed their time between two environments. They tracked and hunted on the uplands but they found additional game and refuge in the wooded valleys.

These hunting groups dominated the region from cold Boreal through dry Atlantic times and into moist sub-Boreal times.[5] During periods of extreme aridity they probably moved away from the Plains core, perhaps as far as the eastern periphery of the study area, as has been hypothized for a prolonged period during Atlantic times.[6] Through time, the region was subject to fluctuations in moisture. However, due

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[5]The Blytt-Sernander terminology used here for North America follows the suggestion of Reid Bryson and replaces Ernst Antevs' terms of Anathermal, Altithermal and Medithermal, see Reid Bryson, David A. Baerreis and Wyane M. Wendland, "The Character of Late-Glacial Climatic Changes," in Dort and Jones, ed., Pleistocene and Recent Environments of the Central Great Plains, 53-77; Ernst Antevs, "Post-Glacial Climatic History of the Great Plains," Anthropolocigal Papers, Vol. 11 (1950), pp. 53-55.

[6]Brian Reeves dismisses the idea of climatically induced migration from the Plains as the result of poor sampling procedures and general inability to recognize and interpret the variables involved, "The Concept of an Altithermal Cultural Hiatus in Northern Plains Prehistory." American Anthropologist, Vol. 75 (1973), pp. 1222-149.

to burning by Native Americans, the forest-grassland vegetation distribution remained essentially the same.

It should be noted that periodic droughts further reduced the density of trees and allowed herbs to take over at the expense of grass, while during extended wet cycles, specific grasses expanded their range, as did trees. The territorial expansion of trees was no doubt primarily in an east-west direction and in areas protected from fire.[7]

Several centuries into the Christian era, woodland-influenced hunting cultures on the eastern Prairie-Plains gave way to corn-growing, pottery-possessing Hopewellian people.[8] Hunting was retained but not as an exclusive way of life.[9] By the eleventh century A. D., agricultural techniques had moved west and Upper Republican groups were tilling alluvial soils in western Kansas and Nebraska.[10] This late development in the history of man on the Plains reinforced a sedentary village life which displayed a certain uniformity in its settlement patterns. Stable villages, probably not

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[7]See Wright, "Vegetational History of the Central Plains," in Dort and Jones, ed., Pleistocene and Recent Environments of the Central Great Plains, 53-77; James E. King, "Vegetational History of the Prairie Pennisula, U.S.A." Abstracts, Xth INQUA Congress, Birmingham, U.K., 1977.

[8]Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, 88.

[9]Chester Chard makes essentially the same statement in his book Man in Prehistory (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969), pp. 206-222. However, he concludes that, upon the arrival of the horse, Plains Indians gave up agriculture to become nomadic. Current evidence fails to substantiate this stance.

[10]Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, 88.

exceeding one hundred people each, were established on stream floodplains, terraces, and bluffs in many parts of the study area.[11] Such an ecotonal location afforded maximum exposure to game, water, timber, and easily worked alluvial soils.

This riverine locational pattern of settlement indicates the relative harshness of the upland Plains. Overall, the valleys represent an extension of the less rigorous eastern woodlands and, as will be seen in Chapter five, were coveted by both Euro-Americans and Native Americans for the relief and resources they offered. In western Kansas and Nebraska, Upper Republican peoples still took into account the harshness of winter winds by building non-angular houses with entrance passages that faced non-northerly directions,[12] but the valleys offered considerable respite. The settlement patterns of Plains Indians seem to be an excellent example of Bruce Trigger's cross-cultural summary: "Within any region people will tend to establish their shelters in places that . . . as far as possible . . . are safe and pleasant."[13]

Throughout the period of village life there were also nomads in the study region. The Crow Indians, for example, were in the Plains milieu as nomads several centuries before

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[11]Larry J. Zimmerman, "Prehistoric Locational Behavior" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1976), p. 178.

[12]Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, 94; Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 113-114.

[13]Bruce G. Trigger, "The Determinents of Settlement Patterns," in Settlement Archaeology, ed. with intro. by K. C. Chang (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1968), pp. 53-79.

the horse, and sixteenth century explorers encountered these people living in teepees and utilizing dogs for pulling travois.[14] The pre-horse nomads migrated seasonally among western mountains, wooded valleys, and the Plains uplands. The horse nomads did not dominate the region until a few decades later, following the reintroduction of the horse to North America by the Spainiards. Thus, at the time the European reached the New World en masse, the Indians of the Prairie-Plains were primarily village dwellers, although small groups of nomads could be found here or there in the central and western areas. However, regardless of their societal orientation, prehistoric settlement data viewed in the context of historic Native American perceptions indicate prehistoric Indians displayed an awareness and utilization of the environmental options available in the study region.

What became of specific prehistoric groups is not known. Some peoples can be traced from prehistoric to historic times. Of the many lithic, archaic, and agricultural pre-Columbian sites, Robert Spencer and Jesse Jennings list four prehistoric Plains cultures from which known tribes evolved (Table 3).[15] One can only speculate about the others. White intrusion may be held responsible for the radical alteration

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[14]Robert H. Lowie, The Crow Indians (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935); Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, ed. George P. Hammond and A. Rey (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 242.

[15]Spencer and Jennings, The Native Americans, 99.

Table 3

PREHISTORIC ANTECEDENTS OF HISTORIC NATIVE AMERICANS

Pre-Contact Culture	Historic Tribe
Dismal River	Lipan-Apache
Lower Loup	Pawnee
Oneota	Oto, Missouri, Iowa, Peoria
Great Bend	Wichita

Of the many lithic, arachaic, and agricultural pre-Comunbian sites, only four cultures can be identified as sources of historic tribes.

Source: After Spencer and Jennings, 1965

of some aboriginal material culture, making it impossible to tie together historic and prehistoric groups.

Proto-historic Times on the Prairie-Plains

The Europeans' invasion of the American seaboard altered the style of life in the Prairie-Plains.[16] European goods were carried to the region from the southwest, northeast, and northwest, creating problems of both an inter-tribal and intra-tribal nature.[17] The horse and gun added new dimensions

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[16]The invasion mentioned is the one taking place in post-Columbian times. There also may have been considerable pre-Columbian contact, although this is sometimes still debated, see Thor Heyerdahl, "Feasible Ocean Routes to and from the Americas in Pre-Columbian Time," American Antiquities, Vol. 28 (1962), pp. 282-289; Carl O. Sauer, Northern Mists (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Cord C. Throebst, "Survival at Sea," The Art of Survival, trans., Oliver Coburn (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1975), pp. 61-99; E. G. R. Taylor, "Imaginary Islands: A Problem Solved," The Geographical Journal, Vol. 130 (1964), pp. 105-109; Stephen C. Jett, "Diffusion Versus Independent Invention: The Basis of Controversy," Man Across the Sea, eds., Carrol L. Riley, J. Charles Kelley, et al. (Austin: Univeristy of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 11-53; George F. Carter, "Pre-Columbian Chickens in America," in Man Across the Sea, 178-217; Alice B. Kehoe, "Small Boats Upon the Atlantic," in Man Across the Sea, 275-292; Harold K. Schneider, "Prehistoric Trans-Pacific Contact and the Theory of Culture Change," American Anthropologist, Vol. 79 (1977), pp. 9-26.

[17]Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, 104; George I. Quimby, Indian Culture and European Trade Goods (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966); Waldo Wedel, "Chain Mail in Plains Archaeology," Plains Anthropologist, Vol. 20 (1975), pp. 187-197; Cabeza De Vaca, Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America, trans. and ed. Cyclone Coney (New York: Collier Books, 1961); Bernard De Voto, Across the Wide Missouri (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), p. 11; Francis Jennings has gone so far as to write that "Intersocietal commerce subordinated and eliminated all crafts except those directly related to the European-Indian trade," The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant

to the nomadic way of life, and James Michener has fictionalized nicely the effect of another commodity with his story of the warrior "Never-Death" who possessed a European vest of armour. " His arrival inspirited his allies . . . his body seemed not human but to be made of iron, and when he

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of Conquest (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 85. This statement gains support from the correspondence of two Pottawatomi leaders, Alexander Robinson and B. Caldwell, in a letter to Thomas Owen, trader and local politician, of Chicago. They write of the "usual custom of Indians locating themselves in small hunting parties, in the vicinity of white settlement for the purpose of exchanging their peltry and skins with their white breathren for the coming winter's necessities," Correspondence dated January 18, 1833, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 132 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). A list of goods supplied for the Chippewa and Ottawa by Suydam, Jackson and Company included three hundred assorted buffalo skins, five hundred pairs of buckskin mittens and one thousand small adzes. Thus, as early as 1836, Indians were trading for goods that were heretofore synonymous with them, see Articles of Agreement, August 4, 1836, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 422 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives). Whiskey was an item valued by village and nomadic Indians alike. Its role as a point of contact between European and Native Americans lies in its ability to make the Indian "easier" prey. For example, in a letter to William Clark, Superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, J. L. Beau wrote, "Liquor flows as freely here as the Missouri if we might judge from the number of drunken Indians . . . If I can place any confidence in the word of half breeds, and Indians 2,200 packs of buffalo robes have been purchased this year for whiskey at from twenty-four to thirty-two dollars per gallon," Correspondence dated January 31, 1834, The Clark Papers. Francis Prucha characterized the problem as one "as old as white settlement in America." American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 102. Edwin Jones, a subagent at Fort Leavenworth, wrote to William Clark in 1837: "The settlers of the Platte Purchase prey hard upon them the guns, horses, and other property they have in many cases bartered for whiskey. Their late agent Mr. Davis informs me that he has known an Indian to sell his horse to a white for seven quarts of whiskey." Correspondence dated September, 1837, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 71 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives).

struck the earth . . . he rattled."[18] Never-Death obviously commanded respect from his opponents and high status among his own people, perhaps a status not previously enjoyed. The gaining of such status would be appropriate to the individuality stressed in nomadic social organization. Here one could be upwardly mobile. The same status seeker would be anathema to the traditional tribal-centered village community where the individual was subordinate to the group.

The decimations of European disease played an equally important role in shifting the balance of power from sedentary to nomadic peoples. John C. Ewers has written that ". . . compact villages . . . suffered heavy losses from smallpox . . . by the time of Lewis and Clark. The numbers of villages as well as the population of farming tribes were greatly reduced."[19] The nomads who occupied the western part of the region showed allegiance to no particular spot for a prolonged period of time and possessed less material baggage. These traits enabled them to fare better against disease. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the western region belonged to the nomads. In the East, the indigenous village tribes were barely surviving.

The horse nomads of the last century came closest to being in harmony with the upland Plains, if for no other

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[18]James A. Michener, Centennial (Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, Incorporated, 1974), pp. 176-182.

[19]John C. Ewers, Indian Life on the Upper Missouri (Norman: Univeristy of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 46.

reason than that their adoption of the horse limited their use of a wooded environment. Indian historian Luther Standing Bear, supports the popular notion of the Plains nomad and the environment. Concerning the Sioux, he writes: "The Dakota was a true naturist-a lover of nature . . . the old people came literally to love the soil and they sat reclined on the ground with a feeling of being close to a mothering power."[20] It seems reasonable to assume that Indians such as the Sioux, forced from the eastern woodland by more aggressive groups, would have a favorable impression of the area. The choice upon arriving on the Prairie-Plains periphery was to become sedentary, as they previously were, and to await possible annihilation or to adopt the horse and live in an area that was just becoming populated.

To the Indian, coming from the basin and range country, as did the Shoshone and Commanche, the western Prairie-Plains were surely a welcome environment.[21] Jedediah Smith noted in a letter to William Clark that, southwest of Salt Lake City, he "fell in with a nation of Indians who called themselves 'Pa Utahes' . . . [who] wear rabbitskin robes . . . [their] country is nearly destitute of game of any description except a few hare."[22] Similarly, William Foudou

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[20]Benjamin Capps, The Indians, The Old West (New York: Time-Live Books, 1973), p. 154.

[21]Virginia Cole Trenholm and Maurine Carley, The Shoshones: Sentinels of the Rockies (Norman: Univeristy of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 4.

[22]Correspondence dated July 12, 1827, The Clark Papers.

wrote to Clark of the basin and range country:

> The most numerous are the Snake Indians of which I know three bands, the Shoshone, the [illegible] , and the Comanche, and many other smaller bands. Many of these go by a name which signifies Root digger because they live by digging roots, and are wretchedly poor, miserable and theivish. They have no houses, no traps, no guns, and depend for safety upon hiding and for subsistance upon roots, berries, insects and reptiles, and such game as their mode of life enables them to kill. There are a great number of these bands, all in the mountains, where they stay for shelter seldom coming in the Plains except to steal, at which they are wonderfully gifted.[23]

The Prairie-Plains, therefore, offered the western Indians an acceptable alternative in life style.

However, despite the popular image of the nomad and the environment, these tribes were not completely self-sufficient on the Prairie-Plains. As insurance against famine, for example, symbiotic relationships were developed with more sedentary peoples with whom Plains nomads might board in the winter. The nomadic Cheyenne and sedentary Arikara enjoyed a close relationship for a prolonged period of time. Where such relationships did not exist, raiding of sedentary peoples took place, as exemplified by Sioux raids on the Kickapoo. Thus, even prior to European settlement, Hollon's definition of the western Plains as an area where people lacked self-sufficiency has credence.[24]

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[23] The Clark Papers, October 3, 1831.

[24] Hollon, The Great American Desert, 181-196.

Indigenous Indians

Before eastern Indians could be removed to the western lands, it was necessary for the government to gain title to these lands. Councils were held with the indigenous Indians of the study region to reduce the holdings of those tribes. The Indian tribes involved included the following: Kansa, Pawnee, Omaha, and Osage. These groups claimed almost all the land from the western border of the states of Missouri and Iowa to the Rockies. These Native American groups, except for the Pawnee, had migrated to the study area from east of the Mississippi River at various earlier times and were living in the Prairie-Plains region prior to direct contact with the Europeans.[25] They settled as semi-sedentary people and merged hunting and agricluture into a viable lifestyle.

Treating for the reduction of their holdings began shortly after President Monroe's call for voluntary migration of the eastern groups to west of the Mississippi River. On June 2, 1825, a treaty was signed by the Osage Indians and Treaty Commissioner William Clark whereby the Osage ceded all but a small part of their territory to the United States Government.[26] The Kansa followed the very next day, June 3, 1825, relinquishing title to all their lands, except a

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[25]Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, part 2, 530-538.

[26]Charles Kappler, Indian Treaties 1778-1883 (New York: Interland Publishers, Incorporated, 1904), p. 217.

thirty-mile strip on the Kansas River.[27] The Omaha and Pawnee ceded their lands in 1830 and 1833 respectively.[28] In return, these groups were given annuities, reservation land, and the government's promise to help them learn the ways of civilization.[29]

During these negotiations, and in subsequent conversations, these Prairie-Plains tribes definitely preferred certain areas over others for their new reservations. A primary consideration was timber. Indian Agent Richard Cummins, for example, reports on the feelings of one group as they accompanied him on an exploring party across Kansas territory:

> The Kansa Indians that were with me had been in the habit of traveling through and hunting in the country almost every year of their lives assured me that there were no timber west of the Grand point except cotton wood and some very short scattering of other kinds of trees and that they could not live on the Kansas river anywhere west of the Grand Point.[30]

The Pawnee made the point more succinctly: "At times

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[27]Kappler, Indian Treaties 1778-1883, 228.

[28]Ibid., 302-416.

[29]Among the provisions of the treaty were stipulations for a blacksmith and farmer to instruct the Indians in their particular occupations, wooden homes for the chiefs, and educational facilities. An early version of this policy was suggested by Jacob Jimerson, a Seneca Indian, in a letter to John Calhoun. Jimerson suggested outfitting Indians with the trappings of the White man's civilization and paying them to maintain the system, see Correspondence dated 1824, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 808.

[30]Report dated July 17, 1847, Fort Leavenworth Agency, Microfilm Roll 302.

. . . Pawnee are poor. [We] have not wood. [we] travel through the prairie and find nothing there."[31]

Wood was not the only concern of the indigenous tribes. Clemont, who led a band of 2,200 Osage near Fort Gibson, objected to a more northerly reservation, believing the land unfit for cultivation.[32]

Conclusion

From the end of the Pleistocene, 10,000 years ago through historic times, the study area was occupied by a series of distinct cultures: specialized hunting cultures, generalized hunting and gathering groups, horticulturalist hunters, and nomadic hunters. At the time of historic contact Native American groups were primarily village dwellers living along water courses on the eastern prairies. The location of these indigenous Indian villages reflected the settlement pattern of Native American groups dating from the end of the Pleistocone. Only the nomadic hunters of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries seemed to favor the upland areas, and even they were forced to seek the shelter of the river valleys and of the sedentary people who dwelled there during times of extreme cold, heat, and hunger.

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[31]Correspondence dated September 20, 1837, Record Group T-494, Microfilm Roll 2.

[32]Correspondence dated April 2, 1833, Record Group M-234, Microfilm Roll 631.

"To put it boldly, we may start by stating that there may be little relationship between geographic perception and geographic reality. We may even argue that geographic perception is more subjective than objective, and that it is always conditioned by experience and inherited values."
Walter M. Kollmorgen, "The Woodsman's Assaults on the Domain of the Cattleman."

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Historical Perceptions

In 1817, the United States Government began offering Native Americans the opportunity to take up lands west of the Mississippi River. Few groups accepted, By 1830, the Indian Removal Act was written into law and concerted effort was made by the government to induce Indians to move to Indian territory west of the Arkansas territory and the state of Missouri, south of the Platte River, and north of the Red River. The Indian spurned the offers made by the government. They had a fondness for home and they were concerned about how they would live in an area with so little wood, and with such a harsh climate. They were also concerned with harsh social conditions and the lack of game.

The eastern Indians held negative perceptions of specific reservation sites they had not yet seen. In view of these negative perceptions, the government offered Native Americans the opportunity to explore the country at government expense. Authorized representatives of the various Indian nations involved traveled west to explore the study region and subsequently reported to their people. Councils were then held with government officials, where once again Indian perceptions were decidedly negative. Furthermore, having now seen the area, Native Americans held more specific perceptions and had found additional elements of the environment to be unsatisfactory. The threat of earthquake and erosion were of concern to them, as was the insalubrity of the area. Timber and climate were the overwhelming concerns of Native Americans

before and after exploration. Soil was the only specific environmental element to receive positive responses before and after exploration. It is obvious, however, the Native American groups from the eastern woodlands perceived the Prairie-Plains region negatively.

Other Native American Perceptions

Today's Prairie-Plains area was one of the first areas to be settled by early big game hunters. However, at the time of the Indian's first contact with the area it was wooded and watered to a much greater extent than it was when encountered by later groups. As the landscape underwent change at the end of the Pleistocene, Native Americans sought the shelter of the galleria forest. In this ecotonal area, groups which were present at the time of historic contact had developed a semisedentary horticulturalist/hunter way of life. Even the arrival of the horse did not motivate these people to leave the more secure life of the Prairie borders. It is only the nomadic hunters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who favored the upland areas, although during times of extreme cold, heat, and hunger they also sought the shelter of the river valleys and the food caches of the sedentary people who dwelled there.

In 1830, the United States Government created an Indian territory even though the land intended for the use of emigrant tribes was not vacant. Treating with the occupying Indians was accomplished by 1833. Through the negotiating

period and afterward, environmental attitudes were aired by these Native American groups. They found certain areas to be uninhabitable primarily because of the lack of timber although mention was made of uncultivatable land and cold climate. Thus, it seems clear that groups of Native Americans, living in the study region for untold centuries, saw their best chances for group survival in the western extension of the eastern woodlands, the transitional area between forest and prairie. Only the newest group, living a subsidized life, sought the Plains uplands.

Shared Native American and Euro-American Perceptions

From full-glacial late Wisconsin time to the post-1830 period, the study area had been occupied or proposed for occupation by several distinct cultural groups. The vast majority of these groups saw the Prairie-Plains area in negative terms. No group wanted to or was able to live only in the Prairies. An additional point to consider is how Native American images compared with those of Euro-Americans who would follow.

There are two main limitations to Native American-Euro-American comparisons. Surveys of initial perceptions of Europeans toward prairie areas are limited to regions east of the Mississippi River where precipitation is greater than in the study area. Differences in levels of technology were also a factor and led to concern over somewhat different elements of the environment. Native Americans expressed a concern over

the lack of game, for example, while Euro-Americans were more concerned with the job of breaking the tough prairie sod. Yet, despite these elements of difference, parallels in perceptions do exist. The four primary cross-cultural attitudes are a negative assessment of the lack of timber, a perceived unhealthiness of the prairies, a judgment that winters were severe, and a positive evaluation of soil fertility.[1]

Early Euro-American literature supporting prairie settlement recognized the lack of timber in the prairie area and offered alternatives to prospective settlers such as the use of ditching for fence, coal for fuel, and sod for housing.[2] Nevertheless, the chief Euro-American objection to prairie settlement was the lack of timber with which to pursue an agricultural way of life.[3] The lack of timber was also the chief objection the Native Americans had to the Indian territory. While Native Americans were distressed over the quality and quantity of wood, they also viewed the idea of farming without timber skeptically. Spokesmen for the combined nations of Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa, to cite a

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[1]Jordan, "Between the Forest and the Prairie;" McManis, The Initial Evaluation and Utilization of the Illinois Prairies, 1815-1840; Sauer, "The Barrens of Kentucky;" Gates, "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development"; Gates, "Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie States." Fire, it seems, ought to have been of concern to both groups. However, Native Americans do not mention the prairie fire at all. One may speculate that their lack of concern is due to their role in burning the prairies and/or experience with such fire.

[2]McManis, The Initial Evaluation and Utilization of the Illinois Prairie, 1815-1840.

[3]Ibid., 38.

representative example, reported: ". . . we understood that you wished us to become cultivators of the soil. Some of our men desire to do so there is little encouragement for them to become farmers in a country where there is so little timber."[4]

The unhealthiness and severe winters of the prairie areas were also objected to by Euro-Americans. Douglas R. McManis wrote that the reputed unhealthiness of the Illinois prairie was a "widespread objection to prairie settlement," a statement exactly parallel of the Indian view.[5] The Tuscarora-Seneca-Onondaga, for example, stated that the area set aside for them was "a poor barren, unhealthy country where many families have lost their children in a course of a few years."[6] The inhospitality of the open prairie in winter was also a cross-cultural assessment. Both Sauer and McManis indicate that the thought of drifting snow and unchecked winds was viewed unfavorably.[7] Representative of the Indian view are the words of an unidentified Kickapoo spokesman who stated his apprehension about moving to the Indian Country: "I am opposed to it. I am afraid that my women and children will

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[4]Correspondence dated December 1835, Microfilm Roll 133. See Appendix.

[5]McManis, The Initial Evaluation and Utilization of the Illinois Prairies 1815-1840, p. 39.

[6]Correspondence dated November 3, 1839, Microfilm Roll 583. See Appendix.

[7]McManis, The Initial Evaluation and Utilization of the Illinois Prairies 1815-1840; Sauer, "The Barrens of Kentucky."

freeze in the winter here."[8]

R. A. Winsor writes: " . . . [a] sterotyped [view] held by some frontier historians, [is] that settlers avoided and were repelled by the Prairies because they perceived them to be infertile."[9] While there was no doubt some concern by Europeans over the infertility of the soil, Prairie scholars generally agree the soil was not thought of as infertile.[10] Terry Jordan exemplifies this attitude when he writes that ". . . the prejudice that did exist . . . did not have its basis in a belief of prairie infertility."[11] Thus, soil conditions were viewed as good, particularly on the smaller and better drained prairies. The Native American view toward soil was also positive. The Wyandot wrote: "With regard to the quality of soil, no objection can be urged. It is generally a dark, rich loam, varying in depth by either hilly or bottom land, it is rich and productive.[12] In terms of man-land relations, the Prairie Plains areas, with regard to timber, health, soil, and climate, had a cross-cultural effect

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[8]Correspondence dated September 2, 1833, Microfilm Roll 2. See Appendix.

[9]R. A. Winson, "Prairie Settlement," Journal of Historical Geography, Vol. 1 (1975), p. 229.

[10]Paul Gates considered the infertility of prairie soil to have been a belief of early settlers on the Illinois prairies, Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier.

[11]Jordan, "Between Forest and Prairie," 209.

[12]Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation," 242-262.

on groups arriving from the predominantly woodlands environment.[13]

Reflections

The study completed, there remain some points that need clarification. These are the filter process, the information network, and the possibility of alternate explanation. Some Native American impressions cited in this study were filtered through interpreters and secretaries. Some presented perceptions are solely the opinion of Euro-Americans. Although I distinguished between these sources in the text, nevertheless, the question may arise as to how well these perceptions represent the true feelings of Native Americans. As has been shown, the filtered perceptions are generally indicative of Native American feelings. This is substantiated on two grounds. First the government representatives quoted had nothing to gain by reporting negative attitudes. Their job was to remove Indians and these officials would have looked better in the eyes of their superiors had they been able to report positive Native American opinions. Secondly, the filtered data in this study does not contradict the direct reports and correspondence of Native Americans. Rather, the filtered data complements the non-filtered data.

This study has identified information sources and their

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[13]The adjustment period Euro-Americans were experiencing in the eastern prairies had already been experienced by some Native American groups centuries before. Experience in the eastern prairies no doubt influenced perceptions that these groups had toward the western area.

biases without attributing to them any particular degree of influence on Native Americans. Superficially, it may appear that since we do not know who influenced Native American perceptions, we lack the bottom line which would explain why Native Americans expressed the opinions they did. However, upon closer examination it becomes obvious that the bases for Native American perceptions lie in the environment itself.

While it would be nice to know who influenced whom and to what degree, it must be kept in mind that the cognitive process is a complex one and at present there is no comprehensive explanation for it. Furthermore, it has been taken for granted up to this time that influence has been exerted over Native Americans by one or more particular groups. Earlier studies should now be reevaluated in terms of the information network presented in this work and such reevaluation should consider the Native Americans' ability to draw their own conclusions.

As indicated, the record states that the emigrant tribes did not like the Prairie-Plains environment. From the evidence I was able to gather through extensive research, this negativism stands out. There is no evidence that disputes this. No alternative explanation comes to the fore. There exists nothing in the individual histories of Native American groups to indicate the environmental elements cited by them were a surrogate for some deeper feelings. For example, attachment to one particular place cannot generally

be held accountable for their negative attitude toward the Prairie-Plains environment. Many of the groups such as the Tuscarora and Miami Indians had moved many times and very considerable distances in the course of a few hundred years. Conversely, had the Indian territory been more appealing from the standpoint of wood, game, social conditions, etc., Native Americans would have been willing to remove. Of course, had this been the case, it is likely the land would never have been offered to them.

APPENDIX

The appendix consists of Indian perceptions of the Prairie-Plains as a home. These perceptions are listed by region and tribe and are further ordered chronologically by tribe. The material contained herein has been edited at times to provide the most pertinent information in this vein. With regard to grammar, punctuation, and spelling, the material is in its original form; in appropriate places I have added the word "illegible" in parenthesis. The designation found at the end of each quote is the sub-record group and microfilm roll number respectively. They indicate the government document in which the material may be found.

THE SOUTH

Cherokee

We have received your letter of the 30th ult. containing the answer, which the president, directed to you to communicate to us, in reply to a particular subject embraced in the letter which we had the honor of laying before him on the 19th ult. In this answer, we discover no new proposition for the extinguishment of cherokee title to lands for the benefit of Georgia (state of) . . . the cherokees have come to a decisive and unalterable conclusion, never to cede away any more lands. (M-234, 71, Letter to John C. Calhoun from Cherokee headmen dated February 11, 1824).

On last knight I returned as directed and have only time before the mail goes out to make you a hasty report . . . We arrived at Caaswattee on the 2nd where we found a large collection at one of their courts, as the next day I read the treaty to them, and explained to them the many advantageous of the country and why it ought to be preferred to this and some of the reasons why the government wished them to emigrate . . . they seemed impatient and restless . . . We visited several of the villages . . . we found that rumers had been there ahead of us and the chiefs prepared with a reply which was generally that they liked their country and were determined not remove. (M-234, 72, Letter to Peter Porter, Secretary of War, from Hugh Montgomery dated September 26, 1828).

. . . I had two meetings with the cherokees in the Georgia side of the nation partly for the purpose of ascertaining their feelings on the subject of migrating to the west-the result was that they unanimously protested against going to the arkansas . . . I had enrolled fifteen who I expect will be here next

week for their provisions. (M-234, 73, Letter dated March 20, 1829 to Colonel Hugh Montogomery from Jason Williams).

I reached this place on the morning of the 13th and immidiately sent for Colonel Montgomery the agent, to whom on his arrival I communicated confidentially the object of my visit. He stated to me that it was already known in the nation that . . . gentlemen were appointed to confer with the cherokees on the subject of their removal west of the Mississippi . . . this afternoon Thomas Foreman a halfbreed of influence and great violence of character called on me . . . and although his opposition to a removal has been of the most bitter kind, he left me in good humor. (M-234, 73, Letter to the Secretary of War from General Carroll dated August 15, 1829).

In the course of last week Moses Alberty, a white who had an indian family and Blueford West a half breed came and enrolled. They are lately returned from exploring the arkansas country and are pleased with it and are preparing to move. (M-234, 73, Letter to the Secretary of War from Hugh Montgomery dated August 31, 1829).

I travelled almost constantly for three weeks, visiting the chiefs of the nation to each of whom, I communicated frankly the object and wishes of the President and I disavowed to persuade them . . . in favor of . . . removal west of the Mississippi. They having expressed themselves decidely in opposition to a removal west of the Mississippi and refusing when applied to for that purpose to alter or modify their determination as expressed in their letter. I considered it unnecessary and improper to press the subject further. The advancement which the cherokees have made in religion, morality, general information and agriculture is astonishing beyond any thing that I had conceived of. (M-234, 113, Letter to John Eaton from William Carroll, Nashville dated November 19, 1829).

. . . A general council of the Cherokees is to be held on the 23rd I can only express every confident belief that we shall eventually succeed though it will require more time than I wished but the opinion and intuition of a whole people cannot be instantly changed. But the intelligence of the nation being secured the mass must follow . . . one of the greatest difficulties which I apprehend arises, as I have said before of the opinion entertained of the country west of Arkansas. (M-234, 75, Letter from Elisha W. Chester dated July 7, 1832).

I regret that I am able to preceed no more rapidly in this instance. But knowing as I did the state of feeling among the cherokee of which you two were aware. I ought not to have expected less delay than has occured. The people were entirely

surprised by the proposals and by the information communicated. They were confidently expecting a full restoration to all the rights heretofore exercised by them and had accustomed themselves to look to the country beyond the Mississippi with feelings of the deepest repugance . . . In my last I mentioned that there had been suggestions made by some of the Cherokees about removal to the Pacific. I am inclined to think that such a plan if feasible would be more agreeable to many of them than a removal to the arkansas. (M-234, 75, Letter dated July 10, 1832 from Elisha Chester).

your letter bearing date the 17th april last . . . has been received . . . it is with much astonishment we learn from this letter that a change had probably taken place in the sentiments of the nation on the subject of removal to the country west of the Mississippi and that proposition would be favorable received . . . In compliance with your request we proceed to communicate our reply . . . the true sentiment of the cherokee people remains the same . . . the basis of his proposition is objectionable. (M-234, 75, Letter to Lewis Cass from Cherokee headmen dated August 6, 1832).

The Cherokees appear again to entertain a strong disposition to emigrate. The . . . cherokees are opposed to removing westwardly under almost all circumstances. (M-234, 75, Letter to Elbert Herring from Ben Currey, Talking Rock, Georgia, dated September, 1832).

The objection which has sometimes been raised against removal is, to wit, a dislike of the country proposed . . . (M-234, 75, Letter to John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokee nation, from Elisha Chester dated October 16, 1832).

The Cherokee people are unshaken in their objections to a removal west of the river Mississippi . . . we do not fail to see with clearness that a removal under existing circumstances beyond that "father of Rivers" in the west, would but produce (fatal) consequences . . . (M-234, 75, Letter to Lewis Cass from John Baldridge, John Ross, and Joseph Vann dated January 28, 1833),

There is a class of Cherokee who, on account of their wealth and superior intelligence, exercise a controlling influence over the great body of this people, known as fee simple and life estate reserves, who, under the provision of the treaty of 1819, sections 2 and 3 notified the indian agent of a wish on their part to take reservations within the territory seeded to reside there on permanently and become citizens of the U. S. this notification was a necessary condition upon which these reserves were granted, a portion of this class of people are becoming anxious to remove west, the remainder are opposed

to emigration. (M-234, 114, Letter to Lewis Cass from Ben Currey dated March, 1833).

The Cherokee within the limits of North Carolina have been considered the most stubborn in their opposition to a western removal and so hostile to the policy of government as to render it almost impossible to get an interpreter to travel with me. Having however procured the services of the Reverend Young Woolf I set out for this section of the country about the 25th. (M-234, 76, Letter to Elbert Herring from Ben Currey, Hyatt's Store, North Carolina, dated January 10, 1834).

We have received through the war department a reply to the communication which we had the honor to address you on the 12th instance. The honorable Secretary . . . has informed us that you have instructed him to say to us, that you are willing to extend to us the most liberal terms and to make such an arrangement as will be just in itself and ought to be satisfactory to us . . . for our removal west of the Mississippi we have already assured you, with the utmost sincereity and truth that the great body of our people have refused and will never volentarily consent to remove west of the Mississippi. (M-234, 76, Letter to the President Jackson from Cherokee spokesman, Brown's Hotel, Washington City dated March 28th, 1834).

. . . Whether it will be best to remove or to remain-the government ought not and must not expect from our nation the adoption of any measure that will plunge our own people into ruin. We see and know the unhappy situation into which our red brothers the creeks and chickasaus have placed themselves by entering into a premature treaty for the want of light and knowledge-the cherokee people will never consent to sell their fredom nor dispose of their heritage in the soil which moulders the bones of their ancestors for any consideration . . . our people being well informed in regard to the country to which the government has so pressingly urged our removal and they are fully convinced that it is not such . . . as we can ever live in permanently, and their enjoy the blessings of prosperity and happiness-some of our breathern from that region, who are now in the city have had the candour to assure us that unless the government would lop off a district of country from the territory of arkansas for our accomodation, in case of our removal, that the country already laid off there for them, would not be adequate to afford us all comfortable residency to and that there are no other lands within the reach of the government to give accession to their country. Which would be worth exchanging for-and have we not already been distinctily told that the government cannot consent to curtail of its territorial boundary. (M-234, 76, Letter to Lewis Cass from the Cherokee delegation dated April 29, 1834).

It is true that a very large majority of the Cherokee are

'violently opposed to the treaty (1835) and consequently to emigration. This is occasioned principally by and bad opinion which they have been instructed to entertain of Arkansas viz that it was mere prairie void of wood and water, that the emigrants died soon after their arrival, that it was a perfect grave yard etc. etc. this with their attachment to their native soil is what causes the opposition to emigration. (M-234, 115, Speech to the Georgia, North Carolina and Alabama delegation from General Nat Smith, Superintendent of Removal dated February 2, 1838).

. . . They were assembled at their town house at a green corn dance and the chiefs were very desirous that I should submit my proposition to there for there action, in council this I declined to do, knowing that in Council they would have voted unanimously almost if not perfectly against emigration notwithstanding I found many of the common Indians rather favorable inclined. They insisted strongly on having the matter put to vote that they might forstall any future action. but they finally abandoned the prospect. The larger majority of them are however decidedly opposed to emigration. Their principal objection is that the western country in unhealthy. (M-234, 116, Letter to T. Hartley Crawford from Joseph Deadericheе dated September 7, 1843).

THE NORTHEAST

Oneida

Our great father has expressed his wish to move us west of Mississippi and south of Missouri and thinks it would be better for all of the New York indians to remove them there . . . we left New York we came to Green Bay intending to live in a great woods because where we lived we were surrounded by too many white people. We are much pleased with the land we have now and the manner in which we work and live. We want to have the land which the president agreed to give us here and not sell it. We think we do not stay here we will never stop moving and we do not like to move from place to place. We are different (illegible) from our forefathers. They knew how to hunt, but we see our white breathern farming and we like to do so to; we are very happy since we commenced farming we ask the favor of our great father, the president that we may stop here. We think we will not have so good a chance to farm if we remove west of the Mississippi. We wish to ask of our great father, the favor that he would not again ask us to go west of Mississippi. (T-494, 3, Council held September 1, 1836).

We wish to write a few lines to you wishing you health prosperity and peace, and we hope you will bear with us while we present our complaints against your agent Schermerhorn. He

visited us last fall and made us a proposal to move to the indian district west of the missouri, we listened to his proposal-heard his reasons and after a free interchange of sentiment decided in council to remain on our lands in the state of New York . . . still we decided as before not to send a delegation and we wish the president of the United States to know that we . . . do not wish to remove from the lands given us by the great spirit . . . (M-234, 583, Letter to President Andrew Jackson from Moses Schuyler, Oneida Castle dated August 17, 1837).

I have concluded a treaty with a delegation of Oneidas from Green Bay . . . the 8th article . . . authorized the oneidas at Green Bay and other New York Indians residing there hereafter to relinquist their lands at green bay to the United States and receive others west . . . It appears that about one-half of the oneidas at Green Bay now wish to emigrate I was informed by the delegation that when it should be known to the nation that such valueable pecuniary advantages were secure in the treaty, a large accesion to the emigration in the Missouri party might be expected. (M-234, 317, Letter to T. Hartly Crawford from the Green Bay Agency dated January 4, 1839).

The oneidas Indians living in the state of New York have recently held a public council and unanimosly resolved to emigrate beyond the limits of their state. They have requested me to address a communications your department, that they desire to make their new abode at Green Bay in the territory of Wisconsin. (M-234, 597, Letter to John C. Spencer, Secretary of War from N. B. Ruchard dated November 27, 1841).

Seneca

We the chiefs of the Seneca nation being assembled at the council house at Buffalo creek and having an opportunity to consult respecting our welfare-respecting the prosperity of the chiefs and of our people, considering that the preemption company do not dare to plead their right to preemption to their reservations and to solicit the Seneca indians to sell their lands, for this reason we promise covanent and pledge, ourselves this day that we will never sell said lands so long as we continue to be chiefs of said nation and we further porvide that so long as our nation continued to exist we will remain on this reservation in the state of New York now occupied by the said Seneca nation. (M-234, 808, Letter from the Seneca Chiefs, Buffalo Creek Reservation dated November 3, 1832).

I gave my creditentil to Judge Herring, I am here about

emmigration question for my people the New York Seneca . . . your agent Stryker begin it, emigration business two or three years ago, it split my nation in two pieces then Judge Herring came and Schermerhorn took then the small party look west of the Mississippi-I opposed that two still I study very close the question-we sent to Washington for documents to use them, my opposition grown weaker . . . old chiefs show me their ideas what maybe we get great many things some in treaties with southern Indians. We talk great deal by and by delegation go to explore the west. They said we shall see land . . . exploring delegation speak well of the country. delaware got the best, cherokee the most. (M-234, 583, Letter to Lewis Cass from Thomas Harris dated March 2, 1835).

There is now in the city a delegation from the Seneca Indians of New York, anxious to make some arrangement for the removal west of the Mississippi of that portion of the Seneca nation with whom they reside, we learn from them that they have sent a deputation to explore the country west, and that they have selected an unappropriated territory in the indian country with which they are highly pleased and which they wish to secure before it shall be appreciated to other indians. They tell us there is a diversity of sentiment among their people upon the question of removal, and we are satisfied it would not be safe to enter into a treaty on behalf of this tribe with the delegation here, as they rather represent that portion disposed to emigrate and not the remaining portion. (M-234, 583, Letter to Lewis Cass from a Seneca delegation dated May 7, 1836).

The undersigned, the council of the Seneca nation of Indian, resident in the state of New York wish to lay before you our views and feelings in relation to the late attempt to negotiate a treaty between us and the United States. We have learned with surprise and indignation that a spurious document purporting to be a treaty which was obtained by fraud of all kinds has been sanctioned by the president of the United States. We protest against this high-handed attempt to deprive us of our lands and drive us to the west. We are not parties to the treaty of our nation and violently opposed to it . . . in conclusion we can only say, that in view, of the foregoing facts we, not being parties to the treaty have determined and we are supported by our whole nation except the very few in favor of migration, not to go to the west. (M-234, 583, Letter to the President and Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America from the Council of the Seneca nation dated 1840).

Brothertown

Father we have long since laid aside those arms made

use of in war for the peaceful implements of agriculture and husbandry and as our great father the president of the United States was pleased to grant to us this tract of land on which we now reside with which we are so well pleased and suited with both as to soil and climate that we could not at present feel a disposition or a desire to make the exchange.

Father we would state that as we have so far progressed in the arts of civilization for several generation . . . we have lost the language manners and customs of our forefathers and can speak no other language than English. It would not in our opinion ameliorate our condition to be removed into a country where its inhabitants are almost wholly, uncivilized and entirely an indian country. The Brothertown indians would have to acquire a new language and new manners and customs which they fear would not increase their happiness. (T-494, 3, Council held at Green Bay, September 1, 1836).

Tuscarora-Seneca-Onondaga

We still consider the lands which we occupy to be ours . . . so long as our nation shall exist, we still strictly adhere to the treaty made with us by our great father Washington he emphatically promised us that we should occupy and hold peaceable possession of our lands so long as grass grows and water runs. The Allegheny chiefs never gave sanction to the present treaty except long John and one or two others. We are determined, therefore, never to imigrate to the west . . . In relation to the country intended for our new home, I shall make but a very few remarks, well aware as I am that to enter into a minute description, of it would be tres-passing too much on your patience. Suffice to say that it is a poor barren, unhealthy country. Almost destitute of timber there being nothing like a sufficiency to supply the necessary wants of those who may locate themselves on it; that while people who have immigrated there are the abject on the face of the earth. Many families have lost all their children in the course of a few years and those who have the means are retracting their steps to the country which they left.

In making this statement I speak from a personal knowledge of it. as I was one of the delegates chosen by my nation to go on the exploring expedition to the country. On my return Mr. Schermerhorn, who was well aware of my feelings in relation to the country offered me a bribe of two hundred dollars to give a favorable account of the country to my nation . . . if an individual came forwards and should say Patterson you must remove to the country designated for you in the treaty or you must die on the spot. I should choose the latter alternative. (M-234, 583, Council held November

3, 1839).

Onondagas

The west is a wilderness with privations to be endured. (M-234, 583, Meeting between William Seward and Abraham Lefort April 17, 1841).

The undersigned chiefs of the Onondago nation of Indians residing among the Senecas in the western part of the state of New York having been informed that one of our chiefs and a few of the warriors have sent in a petition praying that an appropriation may be made to defray the expenses of emigration beyond the Mississippi and not having seen said petition nor been informed of the representative contained in it, and fearing lest it may have been stated therein that it is the wish of a majority of the onondagas to emigrate beg leave to present the following statement.

There are in the western part of this state about one hundred and seventy-five ononadagos residing with Senecas and Tuscaroras, of these we know only 14, or 15, persons including women and children who are willing to remove all but one of these is a regularly constituted chief. The rest, chiefs and people all desire to remain in our present location and feel distressed at the thought of being obliged to remove through the influence of men not authorized to speak for us. We sympathize in our view and feelings with our friends among whom we reside. We take sides with the majority of those friends in opposing emigration . . . we would therefore prefer to remain with them and share their lot rather than emigrate with men whose conduct we cannot approve to a country where we are convinced we can never enjoy the privilege and blessing to which we are here accustomed. (M-234, 597, Letter to John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, from George Button, Buffalo Creek Reservation dated January 19, 1842).

Tuscarora

We have called a council today in behalf of migration party, in regard of removal. We feel much confusion in our minds, since he was here of paymaster and call us in council and he told us then if the Indians should remove. This is principle against it. on the part of emigration party because it is contrary according to our stipulation with the government to remove us. We got no mony to pay expenses to remove ourselves. We had sent a delegate sometime ago has been explored in western country and we feel confident him that he was faithful report to us what the country is and good soil and fertile land. That we were prefectly satisfied, we don't

wish to give it up at that land. that we entered agreement with the government we shall select a certain country was specified already in the forks of Neosho river, the treaty, the emigration. they determine to go that country and no other country or send another party to explore the country . . . we the emigration party too favor us, not to take away from us in that country. (M-234, 583, Letter from Tuscarora Village dated Spetember 9, 1840).

We the undersigned chiefs and warriors of the tuscarora nation belonging to the emigration party . . . in the 14 article of the treaty agreed to accept the country set apart for them in the indian territory at the forks of the Neosho river and to remove then within five years from the time of making the treaty . . . and whereas a part of the chief headmen and warriors have since changed their minds and now refuse to keep sacred the treaty made with the United States. . . . We the undersigned chiefs and warriors of the Tuscarora nation belonging to the emigration party wishing at all times to keep sacred all treaties made with our friends the United States are desirous to emigrate to the western country with our wives and families . . . (M-234, 597, Letter to James R. Polk from the headmen of the Tuscarora Nation dated March 4, 1845).

Stockbridge

Perhaps half or more (the number still increasing) of those back in Wisconsin will probably wish to emigrate next summer provided the present emigrants can find a suitable location. The fear that a good country here could not be obtained is the principal objection to this agreement to emigrate at the time of the treaty. (Box 10, McCoy Papers Letter from Issac McCoy dated December 31, 1839).

The unappropriated land north of the delaware and south of the otoes, lies back from the Missouri river and is very scarce of wood. The stockbridge were referred to it, but its inconvenience were to forbidding, that they preferred to make arrangement for a residence on the lands of the deleware. (M-234, 302 Letter to T. Hartly Crawford from Issac McCoy dated Jan 28, 1845).

Confederated New York Indians

Captain Pollard then rose . . . he wished to say something on the emigration question. The government of the United states he said had doubtless desired the emigration of the Indians for their benefit. A portion of their people coinciding in the views of government had declared themselves

in favor exploring the country west of the Mississippi. A delegation had been sent out for that purpose and on its return one of the delegation (Seneca White) had expressed himself dissatisfied with that country. The reports from the delaware were therefore contradictory and the advocates of emigration were disturbed and wanted further time to deliberate on their course. They wished the agent to inform the government. The chiefs around directed him to say that they would not accept the country west of the Mississippi.

Big Kettle then spoke as follows. Listen to me Brothers Pollard is done and he has said truly we will not accept the country west of the Mississippi. (M-234, 583, Minutes of proceedings and speeches delivered at a council of the New York, Indians assembled at the Seneca council house on the buffalo creek reservation for the payment of the annuuities of 1835. Thursday, July 23rd).

Your great father has sent me to see you . . . you see the rapid march of the white population and it is not possible you can remain and improve in the country you now occupy surrounded as you must be in a short time . . . your great father wishes to provide you a country west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri River.

To Colonel Dodge-The Chiefs met in council after seriously deliberating have come to the conclusion not to comply with your request. (M-234, 316, A council held with the Stockbridge, Oneida, Brothertown and Muncie Indians, Green Bay, August 30, 1836).

In July last he passed through all the settlements of the six nations and took with him some of our men of his own selection for the purpose of forming an exploring party to the west. This was his own delegation and not ours. We consider it an unlawful and improper exercise of authority which strikes at the very fundamental principles of our law and treaties. We cannot therefore recognize persons so selected as regular appointed delegates.

We will now explain you our minds on the subject. We have not any desire of again exploring the western country. The repetition can confer on us no benefit in as much as we have still the same determination to remain upon the premises which we now hold in the state of New York . . . we will now acquaint you with our views respecting the removal of our people west of the Mississippi. We have resolved to adhere to our present location to remain and lay our bones by the side of our forefathers.

We believe we can continue at home and be at peace with our neighbors . . . we are now surrounded on every side by

the white people. We love them and suffer no inconvenience from them . . . they are kind and generous . . . we have been born and educated in the same lands . . . we have now many amongst us who have built large barns and who have good wagons . . . we have several saw mills and grain mills amongst us. Our people have made rapid advance already and are still progressing in wealth and industry . . . we believe that our comforts here are better than the western territory can offer us. (M-234, 583, Letter to the President of the United States from the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the six nations assembled in council at the council house on Buffalo creek Reservation in the State of New York regarding J. F. Schermerhorn).

We the undersigned major part of the members of the delegation appointed by the emigration party proper to explore that part of the Indian country west of the Mississippi River designed for the New York Indians do hereby make the following report.

On the first day of October we arrived at the osage river where we commenced to explore the country designed for the New York indian, there is good timber on the bottoms the extent of woodland is about one-mile-the timber consists of hickory, white and Red oak, Black walnut, soft maple . . . next morning we proceeded directly to the west along the edge of the prairie and woods as we passed along the prairies we saw good soil . . . we pitched our tents in the woods-considerable timber grow on the hillside and we ascended up to the top of one of the highest hills where we had a fine view of the meanderings streams skirted with timber in all directions . . . one of the delegates found stone quarries for the purpose of pillars which he particularly examined and a great variety of stone. (M-234, 597, Report of Schermerhorn's handpicked delegation, December 26, 1837).

We have thought proper to make known our wants and wishes to our great father the president of the united states . . . it is stipulated in the treaty that the lands will be so laid off as will accomodate our respective tribes with sufficient quantity of timbered land for all useful purposes for ourselves and our children. We hope our great father will see the necessity of complying with this our reasonable request. (M-234, 583, Letter to the President of the United States from the Chiefs and delegates from the Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida and Tuscarora tribes of New York Indians now assembled in general council at Buffalo Creek dated November 25, 1840).

Delaware

My brother my people have been to see the land on the Kansas River. I have now sent you a map of the country drawn by my son who visted the lands.

My brother when we look at the size of the country we think it too small for seven tribes to settle on to make them happy . . . my brother I see the country before me as it is drawn and I am sure that your red children never can be happy on a small piece of timbered land. My brother your red children here think they would be more happy if they were settled on the verdegis on the other side of choteou establishment.

The osages they are such bad people my brother if I knew that the osages were at peace with the people around them I would be willing to go to the place. (M-234, 748, Letter to William Clark from William Anderson, Delaware chief dated August 18, 1827).

The delaware and Munsee who remained behind, when the delaware nation emigrated to Missouri, have been led to that act by their great partiality to the British government and their dislike to remove beyond the reach of their presence. (M-234, 748, Letter from William Clark dated November 15, 1827).

The delawares and kickappos are desirous of being informed of the descision of the government in relation to the exchange of their lands within this state for lands west of the state and north of Kansas river. (M-234, 748, Letter from William Clark, Superintendent of Indian affairs, dated June 15, 1828, St. Louis).

With the country I am well pleased. It is good. With its boundaries as shown to me, and as exhibited on a map, both agreeing, I am, perfectly satisfied . . . (M-234, 300, Statement from John Quick, Delaware representative, September 28, 1830, concerning a reservation at the forks of the Kansas and Missouri).

We the chiefs of the Delaware band of Indians in the state of Ohio would respectfully represent to our great father, that we are about to leave the land and place of our nativity and face our friends and brethern in the west, and although we are anxious to settle ourselves on the lands given to us by our father yet we leave our native country and friends with a degree of reluctance, not because the country provided for us by our great father is not good, but because we are poor and unable to pay our debts. (M-234, 601, Letter to the President of the United States from a Delaware

band in the State of Ohio dated March 1, 1832).

THE OLD NORTHWEST

Miami

What is the reason when you talk to us, you always talk about going over the Mississippi. We were not raised there. It would be very hard for us to leave. The bodies of our friends . . . are buried here. We have no intention to go there. This place where we are is a fat country. We don't like to leave it. It is true you offer us money but of what use will that be to us. There is not one willing to leave-don't expect we shall vary from this. (M-234, 416, Report of the commissioners meeting with the Indians dated October, 1833).

. . . the government should know that these indians will not at present agree to remove west of the Mississippi. The idea seems revolting to them generally, we have reason however to suppose that they may in course of a year or two, when their neighbors shall have removed under the late important treaty made at chicago imitate their example.. (M-234, 416, Petition to George B. Porter and William Marshall, Commissioners of the United States to negotiate a treaty with the Miami Indians from the citizens assembled at the fork of the Wasbash on the treaty ground, November 9, 1833).

The indians were resolute and decided from the first, in rejecting the proposition to emigrate and adherred with unyielding pertinacity to the determination through every council had with them. (M-234, 416, Letter to Lewis Cass from George B. Porter and William Marshall, dated November 6, 1833, Treaty grounds of the Wabash).

The principal chief is a whiteman (or nearly so) with a large fortune that does not repress his avarice and with more ambition to remain at the head of the tribe in their present site than to improve their condition by advising emigration. Neither he nor the other principal chiefs have at present any inclination to remove west of the Mississippi. (M-234, 416, Letter to Lewis Cass from George Kennard dated March 22, 1835).

I had an interview with the principal chiefs in relation to a sale of their lands in Indiana, and their removal west of the Mississippi. I found them determined on not selling any more of their lands at this time. They are willing that their young men may go west and see the country and if satisfied that the country intended for them west of the Mississippi river is suited to their wants and habits then

they will make arrangements to go west. (M-234, 416, Letter to George Kennard from William MacLeer, Indianapolis, dated January 12, 1836).

Our father will see by the last two treaties that many of the chiefs of our tribes and their families do not desire emigrating . . . (M-234, 416, Letter to James Polk from the Miami chiefs dated December 17, 1845).

We this fall selected a company from our tribe to explore and examine the country set apart and designated for us as a permanent home west of the Mississippi that the company has returned and say they have given the said country a particular and careful examination and that said country is very unsuitable. That the soil is very poor and unfriendly . . . there is little or no timber and no sugar, that the exploring party seen but one turkey in said country and no other game whatsoever . . . that it could be impossible to raise corn on more than one tenth of the land, and the only land on which they could raise corn would be the alluvial bottoms but father we are well advised that you have a country on the (illegible) which is of good soil and water in a good climate and good hunting grounds and we hope you will exchange a portion of that country equal in extent with and for the country now designated to us. (M-234, 416, Letter to President James Polk from the Miami Chiefs dated December, 1845).

. . . you told us . . . our great father would pay them at our request . . . we want all our business as a nation settled before we divide, when it is settled . . . we will be ready and willing to emigrate although we do not like the country to which our Great Father is about sending us. We do not think it is a good country which was provided us while we had plenty of good land which our great father wanted to buy. (M-234, 418, Letter to William Medill from Graham Fish, Logansport, Indiana, dated August 25, 1846).

. . . The contractor stated that he was on the grounds with his hands, his horses, and provisions and having notified the indian to meet he would be obliged to feed those who came to the camp until they get ready to start. and that this delay would very much increase his expenses he joined with me in urging them to start at an earlier day.

After consultation with each other their chief answered that they were aware that they would get no more money until they removed. that they did not expect it-that they were sorry to put off their removal so long contrary to our wishes, but that his people thought they would be unable to collect and sell their property sooner, and besides some of his people were afraid to start so as to reach their new home in the

hottest and most unhealthy season of the year. (M-234, 418, Report of George Erwin, Contractor, 1846).

They felt sorry, that the government was forced to adopt strict measures for their removal from Indiana they apologized to the government for being (illegible) which caused the government to order troops to assist in their speedy removal- that the cause of their reluctance to leave for their new home was that this new country had been represented to them as a miserable, barren section, without wood, without water, in fact in the open prairie where no one could exist and where those who did emigrate would find a speedy grave . . . (M-234, 416, Letter from Thomas Harney to Alfred Van Horn consisting of the thought of La Fonatine, Principal Miami Chief, 1846).

Wyandot

The lands between the western line of the state of Missouri and the river Platte are generally prairie, big dry, in some places rolling and in many places cup up with deep ravines, but generally of a rich black soil. In these prairies the small runs and ravines are so deep and the banks perpendicular that it frequently happens that a traveller has to trace them to near their head before they can be crossed. In all this tract (the average width of which is about eight miles and in length 30 miles) there is but little timber and what there is is of a low scrubby, knotty and twisted kind and fit for nothing but firewood.

It has been said that within this scope of country, sugar trees abound; this is a mistake. We generally suppose there is enough to afford good sugar camps; for there is little else that gives value to them but this simple and yet good property, viz, the sap they yield from which sugar is manufactured, this article, we are well aware, is one of the principal commodities of commerce with our nation. In all of our examination, we discovered but one solitary spot on which there was anything like a collection of sugar-trees- and that was 30 trees on 10 acres on the west side of the river Platte. The land is timbered; but the timber is of that description generally that is of no great use to an agricultural community. The best and most useful timber is scarce and what there is of it, is deplorable defective. We noticed that the woodland was not thickly timbered and yet the major part of the timber is of the useless kind such as Red Elm, Linwood, Mulberry, Hackberry, Slippery Elm, Cotton-wood, Honey Locust, Buck eye, and a small growth of Pin Oak and White Hickory &c. While upon the subject of timber, we will add, that the conclusion with your delegation is (illegible) that there is not good timber sufficient for the purposes of a people that wish to pursue agriculture.

With regard to the quality of the soil, no objection can be urged. It is generally a dark rich loam varying in depth by either hilly or bottomland. It is rich and productive, but the situation or rather face of the country is certainly not friendly to its continuing so when cultivated. The reason we assign for its not continuing so when put under cultivation is, (and we think we will be sustained by all practical agriculturalists) that the lands are so steep, broken, and uneven, with so many ravines and runs that the rich soil, when cultivated, must necessarily wash away and be carried down those steep and rapid ravines and runs and totally lost; Indeed we have seen enough in that country to satisfy us on this head. From all the information we could obtain with regard to the climate, we are satisfied that it is colder than it is in our part of the state of Ohio tho it is 39F degrees of north latitude. The corn crops throughout the state of Missouri have been the last season, with very few exceptions, frost bitten. It is said that seven eights of the corn crops have been injured. We do doubt its being as good a corn country generally as the country we now occupy. For farming generally, we can with safety say that it will not suit the Wyandotte nation as well as the country they now hold . . .

If it be supposed that by removing to this new country the interests of the hunting part of our nation will be promoted by the abundence of game in that country, we must say is a mistaken idea . . .

. . . The country proposed to be given to the Wyandotte is now occupied by the Sacks and Iowas; these tribes, it is true, have not the right of soil, or fee of the land, but they claim the right of occupation for the term of ten years from the ratification of their treaty with the government leaving yet nine years of occupation, one year only having expired. This they claim and will contend for. The consequences resulting from our settling there, while they make this claim to the land, can be more easily imagined than described.

Moreover, the leading politicans of the state of Missouri, are opposed to the settling of indians upon her frontier- speak of indians as "a nuisance" a "curse to the state" &c., in short, they evince an unfriendly and indeed a hostile disposition . . . the inhabitants generally upon the frontier of the state, (those who would be our neighbors) are with a few honorable exceptions the most abandoned, dissolute and wicked class of people we ever saw.

. . . Missouri is a slaveholding state and slaveholders are seldom friendly to indians . . . It has been said repeatedly by removing to this country we should be freed

from the troubles and evils we experience by being surrounde by a white population especially from the destructive influence of intemperance. We can assure you we shall never realize this in that country. On the contrary we shall have a more worthless and corrupt class of whites to deal and associate with than is to be found in this part of Ohio . . . (The Kansas Historical Quarterly, vol. XIV (1947), pp. 242-262, J.Orin Oliphant ed., "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831.")

The country on the west side of the Platte is a timbered country. It is low and red elms are large, the largest portion of the timber consists of elms with large bodies and spreading branches. There are some buckeyes and a very few sugar trees and them scattering. The soil is generally black and a dry rich loam. The face of the country is what might be termed steep hills and broken. The gullies or ravines are deep and of considerable extent tho not very numerous. The bottoms of the Platte are narrow and subject to innundation . . . the ground is rich and strong enough for corn but the seasons not so favorable as in Crawford County Ohio. (M-234, 603, Report of Silas Armstrong concerning the Platte Purchase country, January, 1832).

. . . must I give up my pursuits of agriculture and remove my family to western wilderness and commence supporting by the chase . . . and be exlucded from civilized society and be compelled to raise up my children in ignorance and superstition . . . I prefer remaining where I am and becoming a sittesen and subject to laws of Ohio, then to remove to Mississippi for (illegible). (M-234, 603, Letter to Lewis Cass from Joseph Barnett dated March 23, 1832).

I hasten to inform you that I have just learned that they Wyandot chiefs-three days ago-appointed a delegation to examine the country designed for their future residence and that the prospect originated with those opposed to the settlement of the tribe in that country and that those appointed to make the examination are also opposed to the migration of the tribe. (M-234, 601, Letter to Elbert Herring from John McElwain dated May 6, 1834).

In complience with the wish of the secretary of war, as expressed in your letter of the 22nd of July last I met with Col. McElwain at upper Sandusky on the 18th ult. to present the payment of Annuities to the Wyandot Indians at the place at which time and place I met the chiefs in council . . . from what I could learn the tribe is somewhat divided in opinion on the subject of emigrating the principal chief's in favor, as is Milan the former chief but I am inclined to think a majority of the present board of counsillars is unfavorable impressed in consequence of the unfavorable report made by

the chiefs who explored the western country-this impression may probably be done away with on an examination of the map and the description given the country by the United States commissioners who have explored it, (M-234, 601, Letter to Lewis Cass from Robert Lucas dated October 4, 1834).

On the opening of the council Jacko, principal chief rose and observed the manner in which the subject had been presented to them was calculated to inspire their confidence and to afford them every assurance that the proposition made was entirely fair and honorable. He said that the Indians had been convened there for three several days to discuss and examine the subject and had during that time taken the proposition of the government under their special examination and, from a view of the whole matter the tribe had come to the conclusion not to sell or despose of their lands. He continued to remark that during the three days discussion among themselves various propositions were made, one of which was that they would ascertain from me the most favorable terms on which a treaty would be made. The other was whether they would consent to sell at all or emigrate at all the vote being taken in this latter proposition it was decided in the negative . . . Jacko further observed in continuation that the indian had been advised by several individuals not to sell one of the commissioners at the treaty which was made at the rapids (lake erie) although it was some years ago. He said advised them never to part with their reservation the commissioner alluded to, he observed, was then in the indian service at Detroit. And not withstanding the length of time that had elapsed, they did not know of any reason, since his transfer to the war department why he should have changed his mind, this advice he said, coming as it did had wighed heavily on them and was one among the reasons why they declined selling their lands.

He observed . . . the indians did not feel desposed to enlarge upon the reasons that had governed them in coming to the conclusion they had made.

Sumenteual, one of the chiefs remarked . . . he was willing to assign his own, and what he believed to be those of the nation. One of the reasons why they would not dispose to sell was, that if they had sold and emigrated they must necessarily become agriculturalists. That it was contrary to their usual mode and habits of life that their condition as a people was not calculated for it. and when he contrasted their present situation with the prospects of the country proposed for their abode, he thought it bespoke a striking admonition to them to be content where they now were. (M-234, 606, Council held with the Wyandot October 23, 1834).

It is well known at the department, that repeated efforts have been made to induce this only remaining tribe in this state, to relinquish their possessions and remove to the west,

but these efforts, have thus far, proved unavailing, in consequence, of as they affirm the United States having no lands west of the Mississippi that might be habitable. Thus, the past year, there was a manifest willingness on the part of a majority of the nation to remove provided a suitable country for their future home could be obtained, but unfortunately, they could find none upon which they would venture an exchange. (M-234, 602, Letter from Purdy McElwain, Government agent, September 26, 1840).

. . . when making locations and surveys for indian-tribes west of the state of Missouri I reported to the department a small tract on the water of the Neosho for the Wyandotte. This tract was so remote and so destitute of wood that it was not deemed suitable but it was the best which the case admitted. (M-234, 302, Letter to T. Hartly Crawford dated January 28, 1845).

By the treaty with the Wyandotte on the 17th of March 1842 one hundred and forty eight thousand acres of land west of the Mississippi is granted them. The Wyandottes have made one or more trips to the lands set apart for Indians use and unappropriated. They have not seen any that they thought would suit them and indeed I know of none upon which they would be located but what would place them in close proximity to tribes much less civilized than themselves. (M-234, 302, Letter to William Harvey, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated November 17, 1845).

. . . and wheras the Wyandot tribe of Indians were not put in possession of the 148,000 acres of land, as stipulated in the 2nd article of the treaty aforesaid, and they aver that, in consequence of the United States having failed to comply with the stipulation by not designating and carrying to them a country fit for farming purposes and suited to their wants, they were compelled to purchase a home (of which they were destitute) from another tribe of Indians. (M-234, 257, Report of A. S. Loughy's conversation with the head chiefs of the Wyandot tribe dated April 1, 1850).

Winnebago

I am decidely of the opinion that these winnebagos will never go west of the Mississippi to remain, as long as they can live on the north of the Ouisconsin . . . (M-234, 947, Letter to Elbert Herring from J. B. Porter dated April 12, 1833).

Wahkaudecane: We have been told that the country is poor and some bad indians would be at war with us.

Quill: The large prairies are filled with indians and they could find no game. (M-234, 702, Indian speeches to Government representative Nicholas Boilvin, May 23, 1839).

. . . their great father told them when at Washington that for thirty years they would be paid at Prairie Du Chein, that time is not out yet. But now their great father wishes them to remove over the Missouri they have told their great father they have moved their fires a great many times now they want to live on their ground . . . most of the old men has gone to the Missouri. The large prairies are filled with Indians, and they could find no game. . . . we have strong opposition and the indians have been told so many different stories about their removal to that country, that it has alarmed them. (M-234, 702, Report of the Winnebago spokesman, the Gull, to the United States Government request that the Winnebago move from Prairie Du Chein to west of the state of Missouri dated October 9, 1839).

They had made provision in the 8th section of the 4th article of the treaty of 1837 for the expenses of an exploring party southwest of the Missouri River . . . that the government had provided an agent for two years to attend the party. but that the natives had positively refused to remove to the southwest of the Missouri on account of the climate, the character of the country and of the Indians who would be in their neighborhood. (M-234, 701, Letter to Joseph Spencer, Secretary of War, dated November 18, 1841).

Shawnee

. . . Father you told us two days ago that you had determined to settle the indian permanently over the line of the state of Missouri. We hope this promise will soon be accomplish and that we may never be moved again. (M-234, 300, Letter to the President of the United States from the Shawnee dated February 28, 1823).

It is his wish that we should move west of the Mississippi . . . he wishes to get all the Indians west of the Mississippi. The chiefs objected to it, because they did not know the country and were afraid it would not suit them . . . they all collected in council and some of the chiefs opposed going, saying that they had been frequently requested to go and look at the land, but what was the use of it- they knew they could not survive there . . . (M-234, 748, Letter to R. Graham from the Shawnee dated April 2, 1827).

We are now on the way to strange lands and I hope the road will be clear . . . We have been to see the lands offered in exchange for ours, and we are much pleased with them. I

suppose the exchange will take place this year . . . We think that the portion of land we are going on is too small and we would be glad to obtain an addition to it . . . The Shawnee nation is very small we are going to settle near some bad indians and we hope our great father will pay particular attention to them. It appears to us that the lands we are going to are very suitable for the support of our families. (M-234, 748, Council held with Shawnee, August 23, 1827. The principal Shawnee spokesman was Cornstalk).

A year ago I was here, when the Delaware were settling their business and I heard you say you wanted us to go and look at the lands on the Kansas River . . . Last spring we went to see the Kansas River and the lands of which you spoke . . . we travelled three days through prairies and thought we were near the place of the Great Spirit, for we could see nothing but what was above us and the earth we walked upon . . . at length we reached the mouth of the Kansas River where it empties into the Missouri river. We went up the Kansas about eighteen miles and camped on good land and among good timber, next day we travelled until about nine o'clock and came to a good spring where we met a frenchman who informed us that there was good land and timber where we were, but on each side of us there was nothing but open prairie and that the good land and timber would continue until we went up the Kansas as far as soldier creek and above that it was nothing but prairie and poor land . . . we are told the land is good but think there is not enough timber . . . you told us . . . to look at the land . . . and if we did not like it to come and let you know and you would send us to look at other lands and you would give this land to others . . . men who were willing to take it . . . and that if we did not make choice of our lands quick we would lose all the good land for it would be taken up by others for their was numerous immigrating tribes coming . . . who would be glad to take the lands . . . (M-234, 748, Letter to General Clark from the Shawnee dated November 7, 1827).

. . . we have now at this time not one foot of land we can call our own. Unless we remove to Kansas River, were we are very certain we cannot live. On Kansas river the soil is good, but the winter season is too cold. The country without timber, or nearly so, neither game or winter ranges, and under such surroundings we will all die of hunger, or the quantity of horses and cows we now possess will parrish with the first winter season. (M-234, 300, Letter to the President of the United States from the Shawnee dated June, 1829).

The country was always trembling with earthquake and is not worth having.

Mr. Johnstone, government representative, said the objection was good and that the country offered to them was good for nothing.

A shawnee chief stated after seeing it we don't like the country you want us to move to west of the Mississippi.

Our agent Mr. Johnston said to us at the same time, my friends, I have now told you everything the government has instructed me to tell you and soon after, he told them that . . . it was a very hard question that the government had put to them . . . he told them they had a very valuable country there where they were, that the country where they were asked to go was a very open prairie country with but very little timber, and that those who choose to remain will always have a fine country large enough for all purposes. (M-234, 300, Council held April 10, 1830).

So long a period has elapsed since we seperated from them, that there is now but little of a common feeling of blood and friendship existing between us and them-besides, they are settled in a country of very limited extent, and a climate colder than we have been accustomed to or wish to live in. (M-234, 300, Letter to the President of the United States from the Shawnee on White River, Upper Louisiana, concerning their movement to Kansas dated November 20, 1831).

We sent you a letter somtime since by our friend Joseph Parks, stating, that the Shawnees Indian now in allen county, Ohio were anxious to emigrate and join their friends west of the Mississippi. (M-234, 601, Letter to Lewis Cass from Shawnee dated April 10, 1833).

Kickapoo

My father when we were here last year, you told us to go and visit some lands-we have done so and find some of the neighbors to it are willing to go to war.

My father the two chiefs who visited the land are unable to visit you now, and have sent me to let you know, that they are pleased with the land . . . It is the wish of the tribe that you will not listen to other indians of the nation, except the two chiefs who sent me and myself about the bargain for that land. (M-234, 749, Speech of Kisho-a, a Kickapoo Chief, to General Clark dated September 16, 1829).

The kickapoo want land along the Missouri. They are now in the state of Missouri and want out . . . osage River and Pomme De Terre filling with white settlers very fast . . . The kickapoos want land on the Missouri west of the state

(M-234, 300, Letter to William Clark from Richard Cummins dated April 31, 1831).

In answer to your letter of the 27th October 1831 in which you instruct me to sound the kickapoos on the subject of exchanging their lands in this state for lands on the Missouri west of the state, I can state to you that for the last nine months, Potsoche, the principal chief of the Kickapoo has frequently told me through the interpreter Captain Anthony Shane, that he wished to make the exchange and that he believed all the kickapoos were in favor of making the exchange except one man, and that he wished the government would appoint commissioner to treat with them upon equitable terms. The reasons which he gave I think were good ones-he stated that the white people were settling near their village and were in the habit of furnishing his people with large quantities of whiskey-that they were destroying themselves raising nothing to live on; that he wanted to get them out of state where they could not get whiskey so easy. and where he thought they would do better. (Box 94, Clark Papers, Letter to William Clark from Richard Cummins dated January 9, 1832).

Muscahtewishah-there has arisen among us many parties . . . and we cannot agree . , . here is what the young men have told me that they would not satisfied but with that land where a mission is placed on the osage river, Our party of the osage river are now telling you what is their wish it it also the wish of our chiefs to live in the fork of the river . . . I wish to let you know that our young men and the chiefs do not agree . . . some would go to the prairie where is game. (T-494, 2, Council at Fort Leavenworth concerning a reservation in northeastern Kansas, September 2, 1833).

Piankashaw, Weas, Peoria and Crooked Creek Shawnee

Where can the poor indian get meat, the whites have taken all the timber and you say we must go there in the prairies where there is no game. (M-234, 300, Council held with General Clark concerning their movement to west of the state of Missouri, December 2, 1829).

Pottawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa

The main cause which have prevented the Pottawatomie from removing, are the facilities they have in taking fish in the Illinois and the universal feeling that Indians have to have land of their forefathers. (M-234, 748, Letter to Superintendent of Indian affairs dated November 15, 1827).

. . . to move from the land that gives us food is hard . . . but to be driven off from the house of our ancestors leave here the house of our wives and children at this inclement season of the year is calculated to break our hearts. (M-234, 748, Council held between William Clark and Serratchenere, principal chief of the Pottawatomi, December 14, 1827, Peoria).

I met the Pottawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa at the head of the Lake . . . I explained to them the necessity of their immediate removal from the ceded lands. Such of them who still reside on ceded lands, are unwilling to move, impressed with the belief that the part of the country still belongs to them and some of them say they never agreed to sell. (M-234, 748, Letter from Peter, Indian sub-agent, dated June 6, 1828).

They were shown the country adjoining the south boundry of the Shawnees and adjoining the lands of the resident Ottawa, the small tract intended for the Swan Creek and Black river bands, the tract reserved for the Chippewa of Saginaw, and the lands of the Putawatomie their country being open on the west on which side no locations have been made. Their reply, we do not desire to extend our examination any further. We are pleased with the country in which we are. It is good much better than we had expected to see. (M-234, 427, Issac McCoy Papers 9, July 28, 1830, Letter from Issac McCoy concerning the exploring delegation of Ottawa and Chippewa).

He hoped General Clark would not feel offended at what his heart told him he must say. He and his people were well pleased with the little portion of country still left them and by the aid of the great spirit were determined to keep it as long as they were able and hoped their children after them would remain at their present council fire forever. (M-234, 216, Speech made in response to General William Clark's offer of land west of the state of Missouri, August 26, 1830, Illinois River).

Your letter of the 4th of July . . . has come to hand this day authorizing me to select some suitable person to visit the Ottawas of the Maumee, and ascertain whether the information which has reached your department, be correct, viz. that this tribe are desirous to sell their lands to the united States and remove west of the Mississippi and if so the term upon which they will sell.

I have no hesitation in saying that this tribe are desirous of selling their land but from all I can learn, they are rather inclined to go to Canada or some where in our vicinity. Agent Linus from Maume in whom both you and I have great confidence who has intercourse with them told me, they say that it would be very difficult, if not entirely out of the question to persuade them to go west of the Mississippi.

(M-234, 421, Letter from George B. Porter, July 13, 1832, Detroit).

Some time in the month of December last, two pottawatomie Chiefs from the prairies in Illinois with their bands amounting to two hundred came into the neighborhood of this place in a very distressufl situation, and asked permission to remain near this place until spring-they say as soon as the grass is sufficiently high for their horses to subsist on, they wish to remove west of the Mississippi. If there great father the president of the united states will permit them, and give them some small assistance they say all they ask is a few horses, a little provision, some white person, and an interpreter to go with them to return again but they refused, stating that . . . the white people destroyed all their corn and the game had left the country. (M-234, 354, Letter from William Marshall, Indian agent, Logansport, Indiana, February 25, 1833).

It seems it would be right to grant the request of these two chiefs and their bands-a very considerable prejudice, it is evident, exists in the minds of many of the inhabitants of Illinois against these pottawatomie, and I am not surprised that the latter should wish to go away, west of the Mississippi. (M-234, 354, Letter to George B. Porter from William Marshall dated March 12, 1833).

I wish to tell you my father, that we, the different nations, Pottawatomie, Chippewa, and Ottawa and Kickapoo wish to join and live together, on the Northeast side of the Missouri and opposite to the Kickapoo. (M-234, 750, Letter to the President from the Pottawatomi, Chippewa, Ottawa and Kickapoo dated March 3, 1834).

We have learned with regret that you have recently changed the first determination to locate the pottawatomie Indians emigrating from Indiana to the west side of the Mississippi between the osages and Shawnees near the west line of the state of Missouri. The deputation sent to examine that country last fall were perfectly satisfied with it . . . (M-234, 361, Letter from John Tilton and William Hendrick, Indiana Pottawatomi, March 30, 1835).

The principal objects of our visit are these. We would make some arrangement with government for remaining in the territory of Michigan in the quiet possession of our lands and to transmit the same safely to our posterity. We do not wish to sell all the lands claimed by us, and consequently not to remove to the west of the Mississippi. It is a heart-rendering thought to our simple feelings to think of leaving our native country forever. The land where the bones of our forefathers lay thick in the earth. The land which has been brought with the price of their native blood and which has

thus safely transmitted to us. It is we say a heart-rendering thought to us to think so, there are many local endearments which make the soul shrink with horror at the idea of rejecting our country forever. (M-234, 421, Memorial of the Ottawa delegation, December 5, 1835).

Father, your agents told us at the treaty made at Chicago in 1833, that the country assigned to us west of the Mississippi was equally as good as the lands in Illinois which we then occupied and as well adapted to our situation trusting to their representation, we ceded our lands, and hard as it was, were purposely to leave our old hunting grounds and the grasses of our fathers for our new homes.

Father, we have been deceived and feel disapointed and disatisfied . . . our new country is mostly prairie . . . there is scarce timber enough to build our wigwams and . . . some of the land is too poor for snakes to live upon. Our men are not accustomed to Prairie-they have always lived in the woods.

Father we are told too that there is no sugar trees in our new country. In the country which we ceded to the united States there is an abundance of them. We understand that you wished us to become cultivators of the soil. Some of our men desire to do so. But there is little encouragment for them to become farmers in a country where there is so little timber and so much poor priaire.

Father in order to satisfy our men and made them more contended we ask to be allowed the exclusive possession for the term of twenty years of the north half of the strip of land surrendered by us to the United States . . . this would make our men more contented. We have said twenty years because we hope in that time to become accustomed to the prairie . . .

Father we are told that game is now abundant in our new country. But as the game is mostly confined to the timber. We fear that in a few years when it has been hunted. That it will be scarce, and we should be forced to rely upon agriculture for our support. (M-234, 133, Report of the Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa nation after receiving the report of their exploring delegation, December, 1835).

Now we take a pen to communicate our thought not only what is in our mouths, but that which comes from our whole hearts we shall speak. We are afraid and the reason is because you already would take our land . , . we hear that you would make a treaty for our land. We refuse to go. It is too hard for us . , . when we expect our bodies to rest on this land. Our fathers and mothers and relations, are here and therefore

we cannot sell . . . we have knowledge of the country you offer us, our eyes have seen it and our feet have trode on it we saw the inhabitants there naked and like animals. (M-234, 421, Letter to Andrew Jackson from the Ottawa chiefs on the rapids of Grand River, January 27, 1836).

We signed a general treaty in september last, selling all our lands to our great father, and agreed to go west of the Mississippi and accept of that home he had provided . . . soon as the fact was known to the catholic indians, who resided on these last sold reserves and to those St. Joseph and Chicago renegades indians who had collected on them in great number, a great excitement prevailed, those indians who opposed us held a council of war and resolved that everyone one of us had signed the treaty should be killed. (M-234, 355, Report of Pottawatomi of Indiana dated October 18, 1836).

. . . there were many disafected pottawatomie men among their own people as well as among the Northern Indians who threatened to kill the Chiefs if they sold their lands. (M-234, 355, Report of Colonel A. L. Pepper, Logansport, Indiana dated October, 1836).

We the undersigned chiefs and prinicpal heads of my band do declare and certify by this that we have had no part or present knowledge of any treaty or sale of four sections of reserves granted to me and my band by the treaty of Tippecanoe. That we have signed no paper but for getting our annuities as we were . . . every year . . . the whites . . . have stolen all the indians names in order to cheat them of their rights . . . I beg you to inform our great father the president that we have never sold our reserve. I am an old blind man and I will never believe that my great father will drive me against my will from my small reserve. (M-234, 355, Letter to Lewis Cass from a Pottawatomi band dated November, 1836).

Father you sent your chiefs to treat with us . . . for the last remnants of our lands. They told our chiefs, warriors and headmen, that our great father the president had a large tract of fine country west of Mississippi, and that we the three nations might go and examine the country and that that tract of land. That the nation might choose belonging to the general government. Father we have examined and explored the country that you have assigned us without young men being molested by other tribes living north of us. the sioux, that have stolen, our horses and committed other depredations upon our people which they were exploring the country father we have examined the country you assigned to us and other lands belonging to the government and it is impossible for us to live upon that land in the first place. There is no timber and no game.

We cannot live with our neighbors in peace we again repeat that these nations cannot never live upon that tract of wild prairie. (M-234, 361, Letter to the President of the United States from the Pottawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa dated January 26, 1837).

I have the honor to report that in pursuance of the instructions of the department of the 3rd int. I have had a conference with the ottawa of Maume, at Maume on the 22nd instance. The result is favorable . . . the principal chief expressed himself decidely and freely willing to go to the country proposed . . . two of the delegates who explored west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri in 1833, were present and gave good testimony in favor of the country. (M-234, 427, Letter from Henry Schoolcraft dated April 28, 1837, Detroit).

I have just returned from Sheboygan 150 miles north of this place in a visit to the Indians in that quarter-the prospect for an emigration party from there I fear is hopeless I shall however make another effort to induce them to emigrate west. They are generally chipways and are that portion of the tribe which I have stated were opposed to the treaty and to immigrating west. They are in number from 800 to 1,000. They stated to me that they intend to emigrate either north of Green Bay or to . . . the eastern shore of Lake Huron in upper Canada. (M-234, 133, Letter to C. A. Harris from George Kercheval dated May 24, 1837).

I sent out a runner to inform the Chippewa north of this place that they must make up their minds to emigrate this season. Their reply was "that they did not intend to emigrate west." (M-234, 133, Letter to C. A. Harris dated July 11, 1837).

Another talk was asked for by the chiefs and Shawwahenon declined going giving for his reasons that he believed it was the intention of the government to refuse to pay them for their lands and that the country to which they were to be taken was to warm for their northern constitution. (M-234, 745, Journal of occurances of the deputation of Saginaw and Swan Creek indians under conduct of A. J. Smith, July 25, 1837).

The Swan Creek and Black river band I fear are not disposed to comply with the wishes of the government. Mr. Cormese seems anxious to see the lands, near the falls of St. Anthony's on the St. Peters, which he seems to think was promised to him. The principal objection to the lands they have explored seem to be the Scarcity of timber and consquently of game. (M-234, 745, Letter from A. J. Smith, conductor, dated September 2, 1837, Detroit).

The indians of the united nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomie, now resident on the lands near council bluffs they number about 2,000 and five hundred, have all in open council repeatively and very firmly declined the proposition made them by your authority, to wit, to accept in liu of the 5,000,000 of acres they now hold under the treaty of chicago, a similar extent of land on the osage river. (M-234, 133, Letter to William Clark, St. Louis, dated December 18, 1837).

. . . I held a council of the chippewas of the vicinity and requested them to appoint three or four persons to join a delegation of the ottawas as soon as you should call them to go west , . . they say . . . they are not aware of any treaty obligation to go west of the Mississippi.

Father we are prepared to answer the subject you have laid before us-we have made up our minds. We will tell you in a few words what we have to say . . . we will not go with the officer sent by our great father. to visit the country west of the Mississippi, we do not wish to go there, we object to it entirely. (M-234, 415, Report of James S. Schoolcraft, Sault St. Marie, June 5, 1828).

The land we have seen and which is intended for us is good and much better than we expected and we are very glad the president has given us such land . . . we have found the land good, but we are disappointed in not seeing the sugar tree . . . we accept the land. (M-234, 415, Report of the Ottawa and Chippewa delegation, on the forks of the Osage River, June 29, 1838).

It seems proper here to remark, that the delegation under my charge, left the island of Mackinac, strongly prejudiced against the country be designing men and were determined not to be pleased with it . . . the lands intended for the Saginaw were those chosen by this delegation; but if I am correctly informed the Saginaw delegation out last year under Smith refused to take them . . . (M-234, 415, Letter from James S. Schoolcraft dated August 29, 1838).

A chief of that tribe has been to visit me, who was west of the Mississippi last fall and returned for the purpose of taking a part of his family that remained behind, and other members of his tribe to the west. He is much pleased with the country and will be useful in inducing an emigration . . . (M-234, 356, Letter to T. Hartly Crawford from Samuel Milroy, sub-agent Delphi, Indiana, dated June 8, 1839).

. . . When we came together the next day there were about one hundred of them painted in such a manner as to render their appearence to one who was not accustomed to them truly terrific. Their orator was intirely naked except for a small

apron in front and in many different places on his body was painted in deep red the hand of a man. This was to indicate firmness of decision he . . . came to the conclusion that they were decided to a man never to leave this ground. (M-234, 427, Letter from T. S. Ketchem, Centerville, Michigan, August 27, 1839 concerning the Pottawatomi of St. Joseph).

. . . In 1837 their was a party of 15 men headed by Chanhenee, and examined the osage country, They returned to us at fort Leavenworth and told our people the nature of the country, which was unfavorable. Another party was organized in 1838, and the majority of our chiefs went to satisfy themselves, they went as far as Neosho river and inquired of the osage Indians, the nature of the country between the Konzas and the arkansas river. They were told that it was poor and scarce of timber. They also got the same information from the Shawnee and Delaware hunters . . . another strong objection those tribes have is it is unhealthy, those people are from a cold climate. (M-234, 356, Letter to Captain John Garnett from Chief Billy Caldwell of the Pottawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa, at Council Bluffs, September 24, 1839).

I give it as my opinion that Pottawatomie indians will never emigrate till troops are sent . . . the pottawatomie and Chippewa tribes have very considerably inter-married and the former are very much under the influence of the later. In time of the council the Chippewa tribe sent some of their headmen down from grand River to meet with the Pottawatomie and their advise to them was never to go west and said their tribe would never go. (M-234, 427, Letter to T. Hartly Crawford from T. S. Ketchem, Centerville, Michigan, September 28, 1839).

In obedience to your instructions of August 6, 1844 which were renewed by your letter of the 1st of May 1845 directing me to open negotiations with the united nations of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomie for their land east of the Mississippi and their location west of the same river . . . dissatisfied with their location and all would no doubt gladly unite with their breatheran from the Bluffs of the Kansas River . . . , the Pottawatomie say they sold a great deal of fine country, their country where they now are is good, they like it, that they think their great father should not ask them to go to a country that is not good. that the osage river's too scarce of timber and is too far south. (M-234, 216, Report from Council Bluffs, July 1, 1845).

The home . . . offered us is west of the country now occupied by the southern pottawatomi. We know it to be unsuited to our wants. We cannot live there the country is a desert of prairie, It has not timber, no sugar, no fish, no game and in many parts no water, We could not get meat, nor skins, no fires, nor fruit in that country . . . It has been

called by the white man the prairie wilderness. Our breatheren now on the osage river know that country offered us last summer is not fit for us. They told us so.

You are mistaken when you say that the country offered by Major Harvey would be a better place than where we are. It is not better in any one feature and in many it is much worse. We could not become agricultural people there. We could not make farms because there is not water or timber for fences. We could not kill a deer, a turkey, a racoon, a wild-cat nor anything else, we could not find muskrat there.

We sold all our fine country on the lakes and lost forever our good hunting grounds . . . we gave him all that country for so little that our women and children reproach us for what we did.

At our old home we had everything that we needed. We had more meat than we could make use of. The lakes and river were full of fish. The forest and prairie were full of game. We had good range for our horses. We had good fields of corn. We had so much sugar that we made more than we wanted and sold it.

The skins and furs which we made in that country were worth to our people from one to two hundred thousand dollars per year.

You say that among the tribes south of the Missouri the corn grows good. We heard last winter that our great father had to send corn to nearly all those tribes to keep them from starving. He sent corn to the Pottawatomie in the osage river country. If that country and the country west of here are so good why did our great father send corn there? He did not send any to council bluffs. We did not need or ask it. The corn grows well at Council Bluffs and our horses are always fat. We have never before heard that the corn of the white man does not grow north of the Missouri . . . What game is there in the country you offer us. There is none where Major Harvey wished us to go. There is none where you wish us to go? The wolves can hardly live there.

We will not think of the country offered us by our great father, in your talk two days ago. It is not as good a country as Major Harvey offered us. It is west of the lands we have already refused. We could not live on it.

By that spot all is prairie nothing else. How would we look there? What could we do? Could we take our women and children to such a country.

You say that if we go to that country our great father

can build the mills, and so on, that we have been promised. He must (then) carry his timber with him to do it, We are afraid that he would not be able to get timber to put up the building, What you say about our corn growing and our horses keeping fat, is a pleasant little breeze sighing through the forest-it is nothing. We want one million acres on the east end of the Kansa lands-there we can live. (T-494, 4, Council held with the Pottawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa at Council Bluffs, November 10, 1846).

It is a poor country, (Report from Bourmont, a Pottawatomi half-breed who explored the country offered by the government, January 16, 1846).

Now the indian have pretended to object to their country or rather the timber I believe that they admit the land is good. Now their objection have been made without ever seeing it. They have not yet explored the country. (M-234, 216, Letter from Richard Cummins dated December, 1847).

I am advised by Francis Le Via, chief of one of the Pottawatomie bands . . . that most of the indians soon after the treaty was made (ratified December 21, 1835) were accordingly removed, that some three or four hundred of them by reason of false reports obtained at the time, to the effect that their new home was not a good country and that the white man wanted to push them into the sea became alarmed and fled and consequently did not go with their breathern. (M-234, 303, Report from Charles P. Babcock, Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, August 27, 1849, Detroit).

The indians here are of the Pottawatomie tribe and their number in this immediate vicinity is 45. there are more at Pakagen, but how many I am unadvised-at this place and Lawrence, 9 miles from here they own 440 acres of land mostly paid for these at Pakagen, also own land, I am of the opinion from all I can learn they do not desire to remove. (M-234, 303, Letter to William Sprague from E. T. Hermes, September 3, 1850, Pau Pau, Michigan).

The Pottawatomie are settled upon lands of their own and without exception are opposed to the idea of moving, the same may be said of the silver creek band, the Pau Pau and Brown creek branch are making arrangements to purchase a small quantity of land and having a connection with the silver creek indians dislike the idea of going west. (M-234, 303, Report from Charles P. Babcock, Detroit, 1850).

. . . we do not like the country high up Missouri river . . . wood is very scarce . . . we should be too near to the sioux, pawnee, and other indians who we fear would be unfriendly and troublesome. The country is nearer to those

tribes and farther from white settlement than we expected We should be far removed from the Ottawas who are our relations and from all the other tribes near whome we formerly lived. . . my father there is a good country on the osage river adjoining our kindred the ottawas and our old friends the Miamis and Shawnees and not far from the delawares and Kickapoos . . . we wish you would give us land on the osage river in exchange for ours high up the Missouri river. (M-234, 355, Letter to the President of the United States from Quiquehtah, Pottawatomi Chief between 1836 and 1839).

Sac and Fox

. . . Besides the reasons which we have before stated to you . . . for wishing to be settled on the south west side of the Missouri, we have other reasons which have presented themselves lately, we have seen the great fog of white people which is rolling towards the setting sun, reaching from the Missouri river to the Mississippi . . . the south side of the Missouri River was intended by the great spirit for the Red Skins and for this reason he made so much prairie, that it would not suit . . . the white man, and if this had not been the case the red man would in short time have been without a home. (M-234, 751, Council between the headmen of the Missouri Band of Sac and Fox and Major Dougherty, June 12, 1836, Fort Leavenworth).

I have the honor to enclose for your consideration a letter this day received from agent cummins in reference to the future location of the Sacs and Foxes.

The major says that Keokuk with nearly all the chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes and many of the braves called on him and requested him to inform me that they had examined both places selected for them and were not pleased with either they stated that they themselves wished to purchase of the Delawares a sufficient quantity of land on the Kansas river and wished the consent of the president. (M-234, 731, Letter to William Medill from Major Richard Cummins dated March 9, 1846, St. Louis).

I am gratified in being able to inform you that at last the Indians of my charge have come to a final conclusion in regard to their future home on the 8th int. I held a council about 60 miles from this place up the Kansas river at which the chief Hard Fish was present . . . it was then decided that they would accept of the tract offered to them by the government on the head of the osage . . . I would remark that the lands assigned them on the osage are much better timbered than I had supposed. I think. they are pretty well satisfied. (M-234, 731, Letter from John Beach dated May 11, 1846, Westport, Missouri).

By direction of the president, Major Cummins was selected for that purpose and intrusted 2 April 44 in the same as Mr. Morrison their report was received 12 August 44 accompanied by a chart upon which is earmarked two tracts of land selected by him-he says-I think the only objection that can be made to either, is on account of the scarcity of timber and again I feel that these places, which I have selected are the best that is unoccupied, that can be found in the limits of the country prescribed by the treaty, I am sure however, the Sac and Foxes will not be pleased but dissatisfied with either. (M-234, 744, Report of Mr. Morrison, land agent for the Sac and Fox).

THE PRAIRIE-PLAINS

Osage

I presume it is unnecessary to state to you that it would require an appropriation of moving in order to effect the removal as the indians unhesitatingly would require some suitable compensation for their removal from a section of country to which no doubt they are much attracted in consequence of their long remainder and their family connections being (illegible) there. (M-234, 631, Letter from P. L. Chouteau dated March 25, 1832).

They objected going further north than the reservation because the land offered them was poor and unfit for cultivation. (M-234, 631, Letter to Lewis Cass from Fort Gibson dated April 2, 1833, concerning Clermont's band of Osage).

Kansas

After making the necessary preparation I started on the 8th day of June 1847, taking with me . . . six Kansas Indians . . . for the purpose of examining the Kansas country. My first object was to examine the Kansas country west of the session made by them to the United States by the 1st article of their treaty of the 14 January 1846 . . . I arrived a short distance west of the grand point which is imediately above the junction of the Republican fork and the Kansas River . . . I went far enough to become perfectly satisfied that there is no timber on the waters of the Kansas River west of the grand point suitable for agricultural purposes, except cottonwood, very little timber of any other kind and what there are is very short and schrubby . . . the Kansas indians that were with me who had been in the habit of travelling through and hunting in the country almost every year of their lives assured me that their were no timber west of the grand point except cottonwood and some very short scattering of timber of other kinds and that they could not live on the kansas River

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Manuscript Collections

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas

The Clark Papers

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Jotham Meeker Papers

John G. Pratt Papers

or its waters anywhere west of the grand point. This they told the commissioners in substance when concluding the treaty above referred to . . . the commissioners at the concluding of the treaty had no map by which they could point out the place. (M-234, 302, Report of Richard Cummins, Fort Leavenworth Agency, July 17, 1847).

Pawnee

We are on the prairies living like wild horses . . . we are poor, as you see, we have nothing good, we have things we think good but you would not think them good, but come and see us. The best thing we have is a horse . . . at times the pawnee are poor, they have no wood. they travel through the prairies and find nothing there. (T-494, 2, Letter from the Pawnee dated September 20, 1833).

The Pawnee live about 20 miles from this point, Bellvue, on the Platte and number 4,000. The lands intended for their location is on the north side of the Platte river. Yet they inhabit the south side of the same and as an apology for so doing they alledge that as often as they attempt living on the north side that just as often their villages are burned and they are driven back again by the Sioux. Last Spring when I was out at the Pawnee village I told them that It was their great fathers wish that they should move to the north side of the Platte, one of the Chiefs remarked to me that they would do so but said he, if we go and get killed, it will be your fault, and in their attempting to move once according to promise they were met by the sioux and repulsed with the loss of some 20 or 30 lives and about 400 horses. (T-494, 2, Letter from John Miller, Indian Sub-agent, Council Bluffs, January 20, 1848).

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