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and the
Overland Trails

**Frontiers of the Utah Superintendency
of Indian Affairs
1849-1869**

DALE L. MORGAN

Edited by
Richard L. Saunders

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Richard L. Saunders

Ethnohistorical Essay by
Gregory E. Smoak

Utah State University Press
Logan, Utah

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Editorial Note and Acknowledgments

THIS COLLECTIVE WORK CROSSES BOTH temporal and cultural lines, consequently, it possesses more than a few quirks. First, readers will notice the obvious differences in spellings for tribal and personal names. Shoshoni was encountered by literate people as a fully mature but unwritten language; all contemporary and modern spelling conventions are ultimately based on either the various transliterations by early non-native diarists and officials struggling to accurately represent an unfamiliar language, or modern conventions facing exactly the same challenge. In modern usage the long-*e* of the phonetic rendition *shō-shō-nē* or *shō-shō-nā* is terminated with either an *-i* or *-e*. There is no agreement on the terminal phoneme being romanized with either vowel. Linguists prefer the *-i*, since it avoids the common mispronunciation of making the last vowel silent (as *sho-shown*), while native peoples today seem to prefer the latter spelling. Nineteenth-century writers often split the difference and spelled using a double *-ee*. Morgan consistently used a terminal *-i* in his work. Acknowledging the factors behind these orthographic differences, Morgan's spelling is maintained throughout his work and notes, while the introductory essays each take separate approaches. Hopefully this quirk will not be regarded as either incompetence or a slight on anyone's part.

Second, in making documentary transcriptions, Dale Morgan took great pains to maintain the oddities of spelling and punctuation of the original documents, details which were carried over into the texts as edited for publication. Those vagaries have been maintained here, particularly in the transcripts appearing in "Washakie and the Shoshoni," except where obvious (or at least probable) typographic errors were made. The text for this edition was produced from the printed series and was not cross-read against either his initial transcriptions or the original documents. Document headings that varied slightly between the published parts have been standardized in this edition for stylistic consistency.

Third, writing conventions among nineteenth-century correspondents, who themselves were bound by long delays between sent and received correspondence, relied upon temporal terms and conventions that are arcane today. For the sake of modern readers it may be helpful to know that "P.S.," an abbreviation for the still-understood term *postscript*, is properly defined as an addition made by a writer to a handwritten document after the closing signature. "N.B.," for *nota bene*, is much less used today and indicates a helpful explanatory note supplied for the recipient by the writer. The dative terms *ultimo*, *instant*, and *proximo*

have fallen completely out of use. *Ultimo*, often abbreviated *ult.* or *ulto.*, refers to a specific date in the preceding month. *Instant* or *inst.* identifies a date within the current month, whether past or future, leaving *proximo* to refer to a specific date in the next or coming month. These were important points of reference when mail schedules were measured with calendars rather than clocks.

Fourth and finally, for this volume the editor has added a few new notes and clarified or added to Morgan's original notes, which are clearly set off by brackets. The texts of a few excessively long footnotes have been pulled from the pages and are collected as an appendix to ease reading. The citations in Morgan's notes have been edited and reformatted to eliminate arcane scholarly abbreviations and convert them to current standards, so the notes will read slightly differently than in the original publications. Further, I chose not to include all illustrations Morgan used in "Washakie and the Shoshoni," and a few additional appropriate images have been included.

Thanks are due to James S. Morgan, Dale's brother and executor, for permission to reprint his work, and to the Bancroft Library for clearance to include new material from the Jacob Holeman papers. Thanks are also due to various copyright holders for permission to include images. Dr. John Alley of USU Press jumped into the project with little more than an early tentative query and contributed his expertise to the bibliographic note. Dr. Daniel Howe, Maurice L. Howe's son, read the introduction and saved readers' attention with his critiques. Mary Frances Morrow and Tom Eisinger of the National Archives deserve a cheer for their committed public service, as do many other nameless souls for timely aid and miscellaneous services rendered. Especial thanks are offered to the entire disciplines represented by librarians and genealogists, which in the past ten years have committed untold amounts of time and capital to scan, transcribe, and format thousands of pages of historic volumes and public records electronically. Their committed effort makes it possible to do detailed research on nineteenth-century Western America from the comfort of my isolated desk in rural west Tennessee.

I appreciate the moral and administrative support of my former director at the Paul Meek Library, Steve Rogers, but as ever, the largest debt is owed Carrie and the brood: AnnMarie and Stephen (who have fledged and flown), Heidi, David, Pinkie (Rebecca), R. Dan, Missy (Marianne), and Nathan. Finally, since this is really a gathering of someone else's work, I do not presume to insert a dedication. It is appropriate, however, to respectfully offer up this newly collected volume in honor of the one who introduced me to Dale Morgan's work in a directed readings course on the fur trade back in 1984, Dr. Charles S. Peterson. Now emeritus from the history department at Utah State University, Chas edited the *Western Historical Quarterly* and later chaired my graduate program.

Introduction

THIS VOLUME COLLECTS THREE WORKS by Western American research historian Dale L. Morgan. In the broad field of Americana, Morgan has acquired almost a cult following among the historically minded. Partly because he may be regarded as the last great amateur historian of the West, partly because his research was so thorough, partly because the period and resources in which he did his research and on which he chose to write inform so many other areas, the work of Dale L. Morgan is still cited in virtually any writing involving the early American West.

As a researcher and writer, Morgan's busy and prolific career provides us with a bit of a puzzle. He wrote or edited some two dozen books which retain their scholarly value today, but by his personal standard of historical importance he managed to complete only two works he considered to be of "substantial value": *Overland in 1846* in 1963 and *The West of William H. Ashley* the following year.¹ Conversely, the seminal projects for which Morgan was awarded two John Simon Guggenheim Foundation fellowships hardly reached beginning stages. A history of the Latter-day Saints remained incomplete at his passing, despite thirty years of intention lavished on it, and a planned history of the American fur trade between 1760 and 1840 had barely made it to the stage of being a working project before he passed away from colon cancer at age 56 in 1971. Everything else among his many accomplishments he relegated to the status of either preparatory or tangential.

Why?

Dale Morgan's career must be understood not in terms of his accomplishments but in terms of his intentions. Employing the benefit of hindsight, his choice of activities marks him chiefly as a researcher who wrote. "My main objective is to have a reader say, not 'what a brilliant writer this fellow Morgan is,' but 'so that's the truth of the matter,'" he once informed a friend.² To live up to that standard, he read millions of pages of manuscripts and source material, and transcribed

1 Despite the intense work *Humboldt* and *Great Salt Lake* required, Morgan felt that *as publications* the books were literary rather than historical ventures and thus, "merely stakes in my education" (Morgan to John Selby, 1949 Sep. 19, Dale L. Morgan Papers, Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley). Actually, the research behind them was equal to any backing the documentary work he later produced and, perhaps more important, it was with these early works that he established both his habits as a researcher and his credentials as a factually informed writer.

2 Morgan to [Madeline McQuown], 1950 Feb. 27, Madeline McQuown Papers, Univ. of Utah Manuscripts Division.

tens of thousands of pages on a series of manual typewriters; he became familiar with the contents of hundreds of books at a level that approaches almost total recall. His formative years as both a researcher and as a writing historian, 1939–1954, were fueled by a drive to circumscribe the full record of his field. He positioned himself for completing great studies, but after accepting his Bancroft Library research position, his record of accomplishments seemed driven by job requirements and others' work: Charles Kelly's *Old Greenwood*, Carl Wheat's *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, contracts from Rand-McNally and Ronald Baughman, and the constant demands of the Navajo Land Claims Case. There is little wonder he had time for his own work. And there was so much good stuff out there! The remarkable overland diary of William B. Lorton, botanist Joseph Burke's letters, a Robert Campbell collection of fur trade letters and other documentation, a John C. Frémont biography, the exploration diaries of Howard Stansbury and John Gunnison—each of these chewed up his time and resources across years. None were ever finished; some were not even “started” if measured by the typical practice of compiling notes and knocking out drafts.

The finished output of Morgan's career should be understood as combinations of circumstance and opportunity. Morgan never prepared for a career in history. Partly because he was self-taught, partly because he was insulated by his deafness, he was so driven by what he *could* do toward factual accuracy and the Holy Grail of historicism—completeness—that he was constantly being drawn down some topical cross-path. Professionally and emotionally, Dale Morgan reached a point when he was really prepared to write “substantive” history only toward the end of his career, just when he was beset by his own foreshortened mortality. That someone who had such a grip on his source material and wrote such important work could be said to be unprepared or unfinished seems somewhat sacrilegious, but Dale himself he recognized and fretted over his inability to land in a circumstance where he could focus appropriately.

Morgan realized that when he worked on the subject of this collection he was essentially stepping around the very edges of his field. His interest in Indian relations grew out of deeper motivations. First, it was nourished from interest in the development of Mormon relations with the federal government during Utah's early territoriality. This soon evolved to include conflicts over emigrant river ferries, the control of trade along the trail, the encroachment of Mormon settlers into Shoshoni lands, and which finally drew in the circumstances faced by migrant companies along the California trail. Morgan pursued research in what today would be considered Native American history chiefly because it was one aspect of American emigration westward and regional settlement. He was interested in what academic historians of his day generally regarded as a subject proper only for promoters, buffs, and amateurs: local history. But Morgan's work

is important precisely because it is among the earliest research to address the *practical* interactions of Great Basin tribes, travelers, and settlers.³

The story of the Utah Superintendency chiefly concerns relations with the federal government, the Shoshoni (as they had the clearest contact with emigrants), and the Utes (who were most closely affected by the Mormon settlement corridor in Wasatch Front valleys). Morgan's work provides at least a summary view of relations with all three, as well as at least an introduction to contacts with Gosiutes and Paiutes of central and southern Utah. The documentary series, and both articles indirectly, address the ways the Shoshoni adapted to the overland trail through their region and settlement in its valleys. Utah's first governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, Brigham Young, was exceedingly pleased that Utah experienced less violent conflict with Native peoples than other territories. His aphorism that it was "cheaper to feed the Indians than fight them"⁴ became a recurring motif of personal histories, folklore, and modern inspirational fictions about the pioneer period. However, Superintendent Young's observation flatly avoids asking the embarrassing question of precisely *why* the Indians should have to be *either* fed or fought. Over and over through his work, Morgan's narrative and documentary selections suggest that American settlers largely ignored what did not serve their purposes, acting as culturally self-assured as their European forebears, regarding frontier land populated by native bands as unused and unoccupied. It was—by their cultural standards. For Young and Utah's settlers the simple facts were that 1) "this is the right place," and 2) the desert *would* "blossom as the rose." Just why and how was immaterial; they were there to be sure it did. The needs of no other people or entity were substantial enough to weigh against those points—period. Certainly, in his injunction to feed rather than fight, Young chose the better of the two options. He deserves credit for a kinder, gentler conquest, but his statement remains appallingly smug.

If the Sweetwater miners and the farmers in valley settlements wanted merely to be left alone, so did native people. The problem was that they could not coexist, each on their own cultural terms, without compromising the other's very means of subsistence. It was left to Jacob Forney to pin down the major point of conflict. Illustrating it in both environmental and cultural terms, he noted that whites had settled first into the agriculturally suitable locations—the valley floors—ignoring the fact that these areas were key to nomadic survival. "Game cannot exist [in numbers sufficient to sustain a nomadic population] except in the fertile watered valleys," Forney wrote the department. "[T]hese,

3 Ironically, in practical terms, federal policy and regulations affected Indian agents directly but native peoples only indirectly; both groups were affected far more than the white emigrants or settlers that were Morgan's chief interest.

4 Documents 26, 30, 38 this collection.

with few exceptions are occupied by a thrifty population, and, consequently, the game is exterminated.” Putting the Shoshonis’ dilemma into a modern context, constructing permanent settlements in their mountain valleys was like removing the meat counter, dairy case, bread aisle, vegetable section, and canned foods from the local groceries to make space for apartment development, and offering a new supply of men’s and women’s wear in a neighboring county as compensation. The Shoshonis and Utes with horse-borne mobility therefore began cultivating the new resources in their Great Basin valleys—the settlements themselves. “They [the Indians] fully realize the effect produced by settlement, taking possession of their most valuable hunting ground,” concluded Forney, “and [therefore] begging and plunder, seem to them not only Justifiable but their only alternative.”⁵

While Morgan documents Young’s pragmatic approach to settling differences with Indians, he grasped early in his research that it was not the only challenge facing the Indian superintendency. A coincident problem was a naïvely self-assured cultural assumption made by the federal office of Indian Affairs, namely, that written agreements adequately resolved the fundamental conflict between a nomadic hunter-gatherer economy and a competing economy of fixed-location, technological agriculture. Treaty law, however, was “essentially an exercise in distancing and exclusion,” wrote one British author recently, “Although US law recognized the tribes as distinct nations, there was no plan to accommodate them or to integrate them as such within the constitution of the republic. Rather, if there was a plan, it was for their members, individually or as families, to become citizens and householders of the republic.”⁶ It is frustrating to encounter now the contradictions explicit in these letters, such as Document 99. In that missive Commissioner Dole writes—with apparent sympathy—of the Indians’ natural discontent over white settlement, but then, without a flicker of similar conscience, discusses terms for extinguishing native peoples’ “title to the soil.” Evidently it was fine for Indians to be the historic occupants of the land so long as they were willing to leave on demand. Neither side welcomed conflict and the desire for treaties of peace rings genuine, but the land treaties seem chiefly to allow whites to feel good about dispossessing native inhabitants. To federal authorities, moving white settlers or limiting (or prohibiting) mining was simply inconceivable. Both were as right, as inevitable, and as controllable as weather. “I think that a treaty with the various tribes of Indians in Utah, would be productive of much good,” Jacob Holeman noted early on. “[I]t would have the effect of preventing deprivations

5 Document 54.

6 Nicholas Ostler, *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 489.

on their lands, quieting their excitement against the whites and ultimately save the Government from much trouble and expense.”⁷ Circumstances proved otherwise.

The frustration of the Indian agents virtually oozes from Morgan’s work. There was never enough money to function responsibly, the time lag between communicating offices was measured in months, and the federal bureaucrats just did not grasp the scale of Western space and challenges. Mormons and non-Mormons were mutually suspicious of the other side’s intents. Interpreters and settlers were often as opportunistic as they were helpful, and the Indian bands had difficulty grasping the nature of the change flooding into the regions they frequented. Despite their intentions, no treaty provision ever resolved hunger pangs, particularly given the nature of transcontinental shipping, which the agents almost always lamented, cajoled, and warned had delayed annuity distributions.

Cultures were bound to collide. That they did not do so more frequently and more forcibly is testament to the fundamental wisdom of Young’s policy as applied by the settlers, the committed service and vigorous activity of the federal Indian agents in Utah, and the persuasive leadership of Washakie and other Native leaders who realized open conflict was potentially suicidal. It is difficult to see a happy ending in the displacement of the Shoshoni from their historic areas, but they did not endure the fate of the Pequot, the Cherokee, or the Modoc.

Had he time and inclination, Morgan might have produced for posterity studies as full and insightful as any of his overland trail or fur trade works. What he did leave, however, is an outline of early Indian relations in the Great Basin that remains as important and useful today as when he wrote over five decades ago. He illustrated not only the time but also the fundamental perspectives, choices, and accountabilities that underpin today’s discussions of rights and responsibilities. While his articles each have their limitations, Dale L. Morgan’s works on the overland trail and the Shoshoni remain substantial, valuable, and pioneering works on their own merit.

7 Jacob Holeman to Luke Lea, Document 7.



Dale L. Morgan, 1952. *Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.*

Dale L. Morgan and the Study of Indian Affairs

DALE L. MORGAN (1914–1971) is chiefly remembered for seminal studies on the American fur trade and central-route overland trail. Between 1943 and his death in 1971, Morgan produced some of the best-documented, most lucid, and readable narratives of the early American West. However, Morgan's wide-ranging historical interests included virtually every topic intersecting his subject of the moment. He explained to John Caughey of *Pacific Historical Review* that his investigation of Indian policy was “one of the byproducts of the researches I have carried on in Mormon history during the past ten years.”¹ Each of the works collected here was just such a by-product, one among scores of interesting, I'm-sure-I-could-get-it-done-(relatively)-quickly projects that tugged ceaselessly at his attention throughout a frenetically busy career. Each of Morgan's works on Indian affairs was a natural extension of general historical research or other writing project, but they stand as examples of the path-breaking work he could generate almost at will. They are collected for the first time in this volume.²

Dale Morgan fell into history quite accidentally. He grew up in a Latter-day Saint family on the south side of Salt Lake City, the oldest of four children. His mother, Emily Holmes Morgan, became a widow when Dale was five. Nine years later, a bacterial meningitis infection damaged Morgan's aural nerves, leaving him totally and irreversibly deaf. While his mental abilities remained unaffected, deafness was in the 1930s what it is today—perhaps the most socially isolating physical disability. Throughout his life Morgan's innate talent and abilities consistently opened doors, only to have potential employers' doubts about his handicap frequently shut them again.

At 18, a year older than his classmates due to his illness, he emerged from high school displaying a knack for drawing and layout and planned for a career in commercial advertising. Despite graduating from the University of Utah with a BA degree in Art in 1937, Morgan found white-collar jobs a scarce commodity in Depression-era Salt Lake City—especially for a deaf man. A year after he graduated from college, unable to find work in advertising anywhere in the West at

1 Morgan to John Caughey, 1948 May 5, Morgan Papers.

2 Between 1953 and the early 1960s, Morgan also conducted contractual documentary research for *Healing v. Jones*, the land claim case between the Navajo and Hopi tribes. Since it generated files of collected primary documentation rather than a secondary essay or published compilation, that material is not included in this collection.

any level, Morgan acted on a job tip from a friend in the summer of 1938 and was hired as a “non-certified” employee (i.e., someone not listed on the welfare roles) by the state branch of the Historical Records Survey (HRS). The HRS was one of many Depression-era government projects in Franklin Roosevelt’s “alphabet soup” of recovery programs. It employed former office workers inventorying and documenting the volume and condition of public and historical records existing in county court houses and community institutions, like churches.

Morgan’s responsibilities were initially editorial. He had written and edited work for the *Utah Chronicle*, the University of Utah’s student paper, and was a member of the campus literary society and contributor to its magazine. He did not, however, take even a single class that would have prepared him for a career as an editor or historian. Morgan was hired on raw talent. At the HRS, his duties were initially to review and suggest improvements for historical essays being written for guides to county records. The haphazardly researched and poorly written submissions he was called upon to edit, the strength of his own ability to remember and organize facts, facility with good writing, and his drive for accuracy, quickly drew the responsibilities for directing historical essays to his desk. The resulting improvement garnered attention during reviews in the national offices as well. Within two years he was hired by the state Writers’ Project, first to superintend compilation of the state guidebook, and then, as the project’s director. The practical experience of service as an HRS and Writers’ Project editor was gained on the job. On-the-job remained the only “training” Morgan ever received on being a researcher and historian.³

His early practical experience, with Utah’s history narrated county by county, tied Morgan to a strong sense of geographic reality. He remained forever after a local or regional historian. Whatever the subject, Dale Morgan’s work was always grounded in documentary sources concerning the immediate actions of individuals or discrete groups at specific times in particular places. Interpreting the sweep of large cultural ideas or movements and comparative interpretation was foreign to him. Being a regionalist, lacking any academic training in history, yet consumed by work in the primary material of his topic, Dale Morgan seems to have remained completely unaffected by the stirrings in American historiography during the 1940s and 1950s. He simply did not read Daniel Boorstin,

3 While he had tremendous capacity, Morgan was strictly an autodidact lacking any sort of training in history or tutelage in historical methods. Additional detail on him in this period is available in Richard Saunders, “The Strange Mixture of Emotion and Intellect: A Social History of Dale L. Morgan, 1933–1942,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28, no. 4 (Winter 1995): 39–58; and “The Utah Writers’ Project and Writing of *Utah: A Guide to the State*,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 21–38. The broader context of the Writers’ Project is found in Jerre Mangione, *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers’ Project, 1935–1943*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

Richard Hofstadter, or other writers who were beginning to look differently at the American past and, in the process, were laying the thematic foundations for the social history revolution of the 1960s. Morgan's one attempt at comprehending the nation's broad context came in the mid 1940s and consisted of research toward an intended book on American culture at the point of Mormon emergence. His preparation, however, seems to have been limited to extensive primary source research. There is no indication that he ever broadened his reading to include the work of other historians, chiefly because that project was abandoned in the early 1950s. It never progressed to the point of drafting, and Morgan did not sketch outlines or make preliminary notes. It is tempting to wonder whether he could have carried off such a book. The result certainly would have been closer in style and substance to his *The Humboldt: Highroad to the West* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1943) and *The Great Salt Lake* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947) and the modern popular works of writers like Stephen Ambrose or Shelby Foote than to an academic treatise—well informed, but written for a general readership.⁴

Work for the Historical Records Survey and Writers' Project introduced the gangly essay editor to a generous, spectacled former journalist from Ogden who had served as the director of the Utah Writers' Project at its inception in 1935. Maurice L. Howe continued a consultancy for the Utah project by mail after his transfer to the national office in Washington, D. C. As their professional worlds overlapped, Howe, who harbored a personal fascination for all things relating to the early American West, and Morgan, who was beginning down a similar path, kindled a close friendship. In early August 1939, Howe wrote Morgan about a point that had frustrated both of them. Citing W. J. Ghent's 1931 book *The Early Far West: A Narrative Outline, 1540–1850* as the only reasonable compilation touching the topic, Howe noted, "I have never [found] between the covers of one volume, a list, year by year, giving the place, the date, and the principal leaders and other data, of each rendezvous of the mountain men (trappers)." Howe proposed that the two of them produce the volume.⁵ Almost as an afterthought, he also mentioned that he had once assigned a number of Writers' Project workers to comb through records of the Utah Indian Superintendency at the National Archives. Two weeks later a bundle

4 Morgan also seemed to be unaffected by the rise of Western regionalism in the work of contemporaries like Walter Prescott Webb, Earl Pomeroy, or Gerald Nash. Surprisingly, he was an active member of the Western History Association and attended its conferences annually, despite being entirely unable to hear a word of the proceedings.

5 Howe to Morgan, 1939 Aug. 2, Morgan Papers. Due to Howe's untimely death in 1945, their book was never begun. Fred R. Gowans later produced a similar work, *The Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: A History of the Fur Trade Rendezvous, 1825–1840* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univ. Press, 1976).

arrived in Morgan's daily mail containing transcripts from superintendency documents dating between 1856 and 1859.⁶ At this point, it would be nearly ten very busy years before Morgan generated his first work on Indian relations in the *Pacific Historical Review*, and another four beyond that before commencing the Shoshoni documents series in *Annals of Wyoming*, but the sheaf of Howe's transcripts were significant. The handful of transcriptions constituted Dale Morgan's introduction to the richness of federal record series regarding the American West. Personal commitment to the agreement between the two men was the linchpin that hitched Morgan to the study of the West.

Morgan's involvement with Indian affairs was almost jumpstarted the following year. In 1941, he was in the throes of pushing *Utah: A Guide to the State* through the final steps of publication. Sociologist Nels Anderson had written University of Utah professor Leland Creer suggesting that either the state Historical Records Survey or the Writers' Project pursue a history of Mormon-Indian-non-Mormon relations during the territorial period. The idea was passed along to Morgan, who liked it immensely. He knew, however, that to pursue the project locally would be impossible without the willing cooperation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Church Historian's Office held not only the massive bulk of papers generated by Brigham Young, territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs between 1850 and 1857, but also other contemporary records from Mormons who served as translators, Indian agents, teamsters, and common settlers, which would be critical for contextual research.

On one of his periodic visits to the church's Administration Building, Morgan sat down with assistant church historian A. William Lund and proposed the venture informally. The idea was to produce a documentary volume of Indian-related records similar to *The State of Deseret*, an HRS publication from 1940 based on a large collection of transcribed documents with a lengthy historical introduction and a raft of explanatory notes. Maurice Howe's superintendency transcripts, although limited, was evidence that a substantial and historically rich pool of source material existed. Lund said he would take up the matter with the church historian, apostle Joseph Fielding Smith. Though a few more conversations were held with various people who could be either helpful or influential, Morgan's attention was drawn elsewhere by other demands. He did not follow up on the conversation, and the prospective Writers' Project volume of Indian-related documents got no further than the talking stage.⁷

6 A detailed list appears behind the transmittal letter, Howe to Morgan, 1939 Aug. 16, Morgan Papers. In a later note Howe claimed to have transcripts of "hundreds of letters relating to Utah Indians." Cf. Howe to Morgan, 1939 Sep. 13, Morgan Papers.

7 Nels Anderson to Leland Creer, 1941 Feb. 14; Morgan to Howe, 1941 May 1, Morgan Papers. *Utah Historical Quarterly* published "The State of Deseret," a consideration of Utah's earliest political organization, was published in 1940 as a monographic three-number

A year later, by the summer of 1942, the state guidebook was out. In October, wanting badly to step beyond his native culture, Morgan resigned his post and determined to move to Washington, D. C. to see what he could do for the war effort. He arrived in Washington early in the month, certain that in the burgeoning wartime capitol he could find work. Deafness and his inevitable 4-F draft classification guaranteed that he would never be drafted and was thus available to an employer “for the duration.” It was then that Howe’s introduction to the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs began paying off. Between his efforts toward securing a job Morgan began visiting both the National Archives and Library of Congress and worked busily cleaning up research and polishing the manuscript for *The Humboldt: Highroad to the West*. Though the Humboldt was entirely a Nevada river, the political geography of Nevada put it in Utah Territory during the overland period. Already primed with Howe’s transcripts, in his free time Morgan threw himself directly into the Utah Superintendency records at the National Archives, looking for documentation of native peoples’ interactions with emigrating Americans passing along the Humboldt. Frankly, interaction with native peoples was only one challenge of many along the trail, and not a significant one at that, but it tended to be recorded when it happened and provided excellent benchmarks for tracing movement along the trail. Some of that data informed *Humboldt*, but in his book Morgan only scratched the surface of Indian affairs in the Great Basin.⁸

Finally, in December 1942, two months after arriving in the wartime capitol, Morgan was hired for a minor editorial position in the central offices of the Office of Price Administration (OPA), one of several federal departments established to maintain national economic stability during the Second World

issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Nothing among the extant Joseph Fielding Smith papers records a decision or instruction on the subject of an Indian affairs volume, so the project may not have been discussed seriously at any level. While unfortunate, this was typical of the Writers’ Project and *not* an example of the church quashing scholarship; many good ideas were batted around without action, primarily because by 1942, federal policy required research/publication projects to secure a sponsoring entity in the state, typically a business, industry group, or state office. Anderson suggested sponsorship by the University of Utah, which would have balked at the economic commitment involved; sponsorship by the church may have been technically possible but is unimaginable given the personalities and local politics involved at the time. To compound things, Morgan, as project director of the Writers’ Project, was working furiously (but ultimately failed) to persuade Utah’s state government to roll his staff and responsibilities into an arm of the state information service. Meanwhile, the Federal Writers’ Project and all its state manifestations across the country existed perpetually on the congressional chopping block; cf. Mangione, *Dream and the Deal*, 289–330.

8 Dale L. Morgan, *The Humboldt: Highroad to the West* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1943). Several chapters touch on Indian relations but “Trail to California” and “To the Pacific,” chaps. 5 and 6, contain the most detailed treatments.

War. A week after landing his OPA position, Morgan shipped the manuscript for *Humboldt* to his publisher and turned to other research. As early as April 1943, Morgan was buried back in the federal Indian affairs records in his free time, reading virtually every report, letter, petition, or invoice in the files relating to Western Indian agencies during the overland period. He had already covered a good part of the material dealing with Nevada tribes while cutting the manuscript and proofing galleys and pages for *Humboldt*, but the opportunity to glean other materials of interest was too valuable to miss. He began abstracting or transcribing dozens of documents for his files. Once the Utah and then Nevada Superintendency records had been culled, the process was repeated through the St. Louis Superintendency files. Morgan took away reams of painstaking transcriptions from these early superintendents' records—nearly 800 pages of closely typed text, carefully hammered out on a portable typewriter.⁹ What he would do with that stack of source material wasn't exactly certain, but it was good stuff.

Just as he was completing the Utah Superintendency records, a timely letter arrived from a good friend in Salt Lake City. Marguerite Sinclair was officially the Utah State Historical Society secretary but functioned as its managing director in practice. The society's journal, the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, was looking ahead to new projects and someone suggested producing a volume focusing on Indians in Utah. The suggestion caught Morgan at a good point, while unencumbered by a writing project. Through the fall he drafted and revised an article on Brigham Young as an Indian affairs administrator, drawn primarily from his transcripts of Interior Department and Office of Indian Affairs documents. In late December 1944, Morgan submitted the forty-page manuscript with strict instructions that its length was not to be cut without his stated permission.¹⁰

As luck would have it, by the time Morgan's submission arrived in Salt Lake City, *Quarterly* editor J. Cecil Alter was ill and out of commission. The society's authoritarian Board of Directors chairman, Herbert Auerbach, offhandedly charged Marguerite Sinclair to keep the journal moving editorially. When Morgan's manuscript arrived she sent it to readers without troubling the incapacitated Alter. Returning from a trip to New York and finding that she had actually gone ahead with publication plans, Auerbach exploded in a board meeting, livid that anything involving *Quarterly* publication would be acted upon

9 The office in the Gateway City had directed relations with Western Indians since the days of William Clark and frequently retained routine material that might not survive elsewhere. Morgan's original Indian Affairs transcripts can be found in carton 21, folders 1-8 (68:11-805 on the microfilm), Morgan Papers.

10 Morgan to Marguerite Sinclair, 1944 Dec. 22, Utah WPA Papers, Utah State Historical Society (hereafter UHi), Salt Lake City, Utah. The manuscript is not among his papers at the Bancroft Library and given expansive work done on it later, this initial draft likely does not survive.

without the editor's explicit approval. He flatly refused to allow further editorial work or commitments to proceed under any other circumstance. As the society's wealthiest supporter and the dominant force on the board, Auerbach's will was inviolate in society matters, and editorial consideration of "Brigham Young as Indian Agent" and other manuscripts ceased entirely. Morgan's submission was reconsidered when work picked up again following Auerbach's unexpected death in the spring of 1945, but the manuscript fell to one side. After a year, Morgan requested his manuscript be returned.¹¹

Dale Morgan's foray into the Utah Suprintendency history had a complicated back story to consider. Under Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution, the states surrendered to the federal government all responsibility for treating with foreign nations and the continent's native peoples. In 1789, the latter responsibility was specifically assigned to the War Department. For sixty years, until just as news of the discovery of California placer gold was breaking in the East, the U.S. Army fought (quite literally) to administer Indian policy. With the Ordinance of 1787, Congress had made the appointment as superintendent of Indian affairs coincident with territorial governorship. By 1848, the entire responsibility for communicating federal policy in Indian affairs to the governors was assigned to merely five supervisory offices scattered across the continent in Minnesota, Oregon, Michigan, Missouri, and Mississippi. But by that point, westward expansion had seriously overstretched the office and a new administrative structure was needed. At the creation of the Department of the Interior in March 1849, the Office of Indian Affairs was transferred from the War Department to the newer entity. Little substantive change was effected by the reassignment other than a division of practical responsibilities in the field.¹²

A year later, Utah Territory came into being. Established in the Compromise of 1850, Utah's territorial boundaries took in all of present-day Utah, most of Nevada, Colorado west of the continental divide, and southwestern Wyoming below the Oregon border at the 42nd parallel. Commissioning new governments for Utah and New Mexico was virtually the first act toward organizing

11 [Sinclair] to Morgan, 1945 Apr. 13, and Morgan to Sinclair, 1946 Sep. 1, WPA Papers, UHi; Morgan to Hector [Lee], 1947 Jan. 27, Morgan Papers.

12 The Senate ratifies all treaties, and art. 1, § 8, cl. 3 gives Congress the power "To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;" *United States Statutes at Large* 4 (1846): 49; Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration, with Special Reference to the Far West, 1849-1860* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1932; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1972), 15-19; William M. Neil, "The Territorial Governor as Indian Superintendent," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43, no. 2 (Sep. 1956): 213-37. Unruh notes, "Although Congress authorized the separation of the two offices [governor and Indian superintendent] in 1857, the practice ended only gradually, the last combination terminating in 1871." Unruh, *Plains Across*, 467 n. 82.

the interior territory acquired in the Mexican Cession. As part of Utah's grant of territorial status the Taylor administration provided for the creation of a new Indian superintendency under the direction of the chief western office in St. Louis, Missouri. Utah's new administration was specifically charged with overseeing Native relations with Mormon settlers and overland travelers. Thereafter, until 1864 and the arrival of Orsamus H. Irish as Utah's first separately functioning superintendent, the territory's governors were charged with regulating or mediating contacts between white emigrants and settlers and native inhabitants. The superintendents had general responsibility for groups across a territory or other political area, but specific duties were divided between agencies. Each agent (and sometimes one or two subagents) was responsible for one or more tribes and its roving bands.¹³

The valleys and mountains rimming the Great Basin deserts were home to a thinly dispersed but diverse population. The Southern Paiutes, Northern Paiutes (two different peoples) and Western Shoshones, including the Gosiutes, populated the Great Basin deserts west and south of Salt Lake City. The Utes to the east, held mountains and valleys from the Wasatch to the Colorado Front Range. The Bannocks and the Northern and Eastern Shoshonis occupied the Snake River plain between Oregon's Blue Mountains and the broad swath of the upper Missouri and Green rivers in what is now western and central Wyoming. While the Shoshonis' heartland fell beyond Utah Territory—bands lived in or frequented Utah's northern valleys—everything north of Salt Lake City was essentially Shoshoni territory; the so-called Weber Utes, for example, were Shoshoni with an admixture of Gosiutes (actually Shoshoni themselves with a somewhat separate identity) and Utes. Beginning in 1836, Shoshoni bands regularly encountered emigrants along stretches of the Oregon Trail from Fort Laramie to the Oregon-California fork at City of Rocks, and all along the lower Snake, nearly a third of the trail's distance. Their official federal contact, the Oregon Superintendency, was hundreds of miles away in Oregon City, and the Washington Territorial Superintendency was just as far.¹⁴ Geographic reality determined it would be

13 A clearer summary of the Compromise of 1850, territorial questions, and Utah's organization can be found in Richard L. Saunders, *Printing in Deseret: Mormons, Economy, Politics, and Utah's Incunabula, 1849–1851* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2000), 44–49, 56–60.

14 "In 1842 a subagency for the 'country West of the Rocky mountains' was established and located in the Willamette Valley. The Oregon Superintendency was established in 1848 when Oregon Territory was organized. It originally had jurisdiction over the entire area west of the Rocky Mountains and north of latitude 42° [i.e., the northern limit of the Mexican Cession and later, the Oregon-Utah Territorial boundary]. The territorial governor acted as the ex-officio superintendent until 1850 when a separate official was appointed. . . . When Washington Territory was established in 1853, a separate superintendency was established there with jurisdiction over the area north of the

the Mormon settlers, whose rapid settlement in Shoshoni hunting and wintering grounds exposed both sides to possible friction, who would be the primary contact. The Utah superintendent of Indian affairs therefore stood as the closest point of official contact for most of the Shoshonean peoples, and Territorial Utah created the most detailed records of that interaction's impact on the Shoshoni and Gosiutes.¹⁵

For someone like Morgan, working hard to understand the dynamics of movement along the overland trail, a study of records involving the Shoshoni was a natural step. Having skimmed through Indian affairs and the overland trail in *Humboldt*, with the forestalled Brigham Young article behind him, and having substantial source material then at hand, Morgan decided to probe deeper into western Indian affairs as it affected overland emigration. In 1946, he began drafting a lengthy new article, this one a more detailed study of Indian affairs along the Great Basin stretch of the California Trail. At the same time, he remained heavily engaged in primary research, looking for Mormon-related material and Western trail narratives in nineteenth-century newspapers. On rare free evenings and weekends between 1946 and 1948, Morgan added to and refined the draft. Over time the manuscript grew in such proportions that he finally divided it into three sections. In January 1948, he arrived at his mother's home in Salt Lake City from a transcontinental research trip on a Guggenheim fellowship. After polishing up the first manuscript of the three, he submitted it to the *Pacific Historical Review* as a consideration of Indian affairs administration in Utah between 1851 and 1858. It was accepted almost immediately, but the editor asked for the text to be cut to fit available space. Morgan did so in July, but at the expense of much of the historical detail, leaving chiefly the high points of his argument. The study appeared as his first scholarly publication in November 1948.¹⁶

Upon sending an offprint of the *Pacific Historical Review* article to BYU professor Wilford Poulson, Morgan explained plans for broadening his study of Indian affairs. He noted that his piece was "the first of several I mean to write when I can afford the luxury. The next one will deal with the period 1858–1861 [i.e., to the creation of the Nevada Superintendency], and the third with actual

Columbia River and latitude 46°." "Superintendent of Indian Affairs," in *Provisional and Territorial Records Guide* (Oregon State Archives), <http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/provisionalguide/Super.Indian.html> (accessed 2005 Dec. 31). cf. Lee Scott Theisen, "The Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1853–1856," *Pacific Historian* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 184–95.

15 An admirable historiography of Mormon relations with native peoples generally may be found in Sondra Jones, "Saints or Sinners?: The Evolving Perceptions of Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah's Historiography," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 19–46.

16 Morgan to John Caughey, 1948 May 5 and Jul. 28, Morgan Papers.

administration by the agents along the California Trail throughout the period, 1851–58.”¹⁷ The final part was actually written before the intended second installment was even drafted. By 1949, the 1851–1858 manuscript had progressed through a corrected second draft; it was eventually sidelined in favor of income-producing work and was not published during Morgan’s lifetime. Taken from the corrected manuscript in Morgan’s papers, that final part appears after six decades in this collected volume of Morgan’s work as “Indian Affairs on the California Trail, 1849–1860.” Morgan’s intent to pursue the remaining Indian relations articles held firm for about two years, but circumstances dragged his available time and attention in different directions as he progressed with other research. The middle section, the succeeding piece to the *Pacific Historical Review* submission (concerning the trail’s Indian affairs administration between 1858 and 1861), was never written at all. After 1949, Morgan never produced another focused study of Indian affairs. He did not entirely surrender interest in the topic as his career progressed, however.

Between publication of “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah” in 1948 and the commencement of “Washakie and the Shoshoni” in mid-1953, Dale Morgan was officially unemployed and yet frantically busy. He existed in perpetual financial straits, his attention constantly sidetracked by the necessity of dragging home an income from contractual work, while he stole time—piecemeal or not at all—to work on projects he wished to pursue. The first crush on his time followed hard on his return to Salt Lake City at the conclusion of his Guggenheim fellowship. For three years, between 1949 and 1952, he scratched together a living editing material for the *Utah Historical Quarterly* (the Powell exploration diaries for volumes 15–17). At the same time, he completed and guided to publication a friend’s lifework out of a sense of obligation to the topic and their friendship, without compensation or acknowledgement. “West from Fort Bridger” (*UHQ* 19) appeared over the name of the late Roderick Kornis but was almost exclusively Morgan’s original research and writing. He managed to pay bills with the small stipend from his editorial work for the Utah State Historical Society, the fee for compiling a historic trails map of Utah for a state department, and by writing self-guided automobile tours for *The American Guide*.¹⁸ He did manage to find time to work on his own interests, but not toward churning out the historical work he wanted. Instead, Morgan immersed himself in assembling the first reasonably complete checklist of works related to the Mormons, preparation for a full his-

17 “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851–1858,” *Pacific Historical Review* 17, no. 4 (Nov. 1948): 383–409; Morgan to Wilford Poulson, 1949 Feb. 9, Morgan Papers.

18 Dale M. Morgan [sic], *Historic Trails Map of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Dept. of Publicity and Industrial Development, 1948); “The Mountain States,” in *The American Guide*, ed. Henry G. Alsberg (New York: Hastings House, 1949).

torical bibliography of the sect, and then flung himself into the first of three historical bibliographies of Mormon offshoot sects. All along he pushed doggedly but sporadically on his never-completed history of the Mormons which he was writing under contract.

In November 1949, a year after publication of "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah" and as he was drafting and correcting his succeeding articles, Morgan gave up hope of finding paying work as a writer in Utah and planned to return to Washington, D. C. Though he did not manage to move for two more years, the district represented a much broader market for his talent as a researcher/writer/editor, and he would at least be near the great libraries of the capitol and National Archives. Still, the move was a leap of faith. As circumstances turned out, during his second residence in Washington (1949–1952), Dale Morgan never managed to find either a local or a steady income. Instead, he eked out a living primarily by cataloguing books and manuscripts for New York book dealers Edward Eberstadt & Sons, sold two sets of transcribed research materials from his own files, and even wrote a grade-school textbook of regional geography. It was a desperate existence, but otherwise, the stay in Washington was prodigiously fruitful for him. He dove back into National Archives material and came away with the majority of the public-records research that went into *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* and a good share of what later became *The West of William H. Ashley*. Fishing desperately in any place that could promise a commission or writing advance, he even floated the idea of producing a history of the Utes to the Bureau of American Ethnology, which the Bureau never pursued.¹⁹ During the same period, he maintained a river of correspondence. He might send and receive as many as a dozen or more letters daily. But a job he never found. Morgan also occasionally pushed along on his Mormon book when finances allowed him the privilege, but after five years without seeing a single draft chapter, Farrar & Rinehart ultimately grew tired of waiting, and in January 1952, released Morgan from the publication contract for his anticipated three-volume historical study of the Mormons.

The loss of this lodestar threw Morgan's future into uncertainty and forced him to revise his research and publication priorities. To compensate for the loss of the potential income his Mormon book represented, in February 1952, a shaken Dale Morgan proposed a biography of fur trader Jedediah Smith to Bobbs-Merrill, an Indianapolis publisher known for its decent list of popular nonfiction. Through the rest of the year, he worked expectantly and tirelessly on fur trade research, hanging on to solvency by the thinnest thread. All this time Morgan was staking his employment hopes on a single prospective editorial opening in the Bureau of American Ethnology, a vacancy which never

19 Morgan to Paul Oehser, 1952 Nov. 15, Morgan Papers.

materialized. Finally, in defeat, and still burning oil furiously on his Jedediah Smith biography—without a contract—Morgan retreated to his mother’s Salt Lake City home in the closing months of 1952 to regroup.

Fifteen years of almost ceaseless research in primary sources gave Dale Morgan a grasp of the field so substantive that it began generating its own problems. Recognizing his own biases and limitations to one correspondent, he noted that, “I am under no illusion that anyone is ever absolutely objective about anything. . . . But at least in the writing of history I try to take nothing for granted.”²⁰ Even when he freed time to work on a project, basic research constantly suggested more questions to be answered, more sources to be weighed, and more facts to be checked. His dilemma was common, mirroring the social-history revolution in history at large: as emerging professionalism began informing the study of the American West, it became evident how many unstudied possibilities existed. Opportunities for useful, basic work lay everywhere. Morgan’s attention was constantly distracted by tangential issues that spun into works of smaller scope that he felt could be “knocked out” relatively quickly to resolve some imperfectly understood historical point. However, many of these projects, after he set out on them, proved to be the equivalent of historical icebergs, requiring ever-larger blocks of time and attention as work progressed, which often wrecked larger, more significant projects. His bibliographies of the “lesser” Mormon sects are excellent examples.²¹ Projects like these provided context or basic research for larger interests and were worthy products in themselves, but Morgan’s passion for factual accuracy based on a comprehensive grip of *every possible* extant source led him to create finely detailed work that drew him further and further from his key projects. Morgan’s grasp of the sweep of Western trails, the fur trade, and exploration expanded with each project, but since the intersecting historical tangents were endless, the possibilities *were* distracting.

20 Morgan to S. A. Burgess, 1948 Aug. 13, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and a New History*, ed. John Phillip Walker (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 160. His definition of “honest” historical work as the best-detailed can be seen in a comment made to a fellow historian as he lamented, “It is surprising how slipshod much of the literature on the fur trade is these days, and how little honest, which is to say painstaking, research there is.” (Morgan to LeRoy Hafen, 1952 Feb. 19, Morgan Papers).

21 The three were published in *Western Humanities Review* as “A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ, Organized at Green Oak, Pennsylvania, July, 1862” 4, no. 1 (Winter 1949–50); “A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ (Strangites)” 5, no. 1 (Winter 1950–51); “Introduction to A Bibliography of the Church of the Dispersion” 7, no. 3 (Summer 1953). More than mere checklists, each entry was a careful historical and biographical study of each work, its author, and its significance, often couched in relation to other entries in the bibliography. His quixotic pursuit for absolute bibliographic control of the topic was a major factor delaying Morgan’s work on his Mormon histories; his perpetual delays to accommodate ever-expanding background research was the chief reason Farrar & Rinehart cancelled the book contract.

One of these detours was editing the William A. Empey journal, which documented the ferry at the upper crossing of the Platte River operated by the Mormons in 1848. The long article and extensive notes appeared in *Annals of Wyoming* during the fall of 1949. "I hope that, though the Empey journal project is completed," wrote editor and state librarian Ellen Crowley, "we shall have further occasion to work together."²² Her friendly letter left ajar a door of opportunity that he could not help but fill with yet another cross-path distraction, one that became his most substantive contribution to the understanding of Western Indian-white relations. This was the ten-part documentary series that appeared in *Annals of Wyoming* between 1953 and 1958 as "Washakie and the Shoshoni."

"Washakie and the Shoshoni" stands entirely independent of his earlier studies and is Dale Morgan's largest work on any of the West's native peoples. Like the earlier pieces, though it may have been tangential for him, it was an opportunity to contribute to the field by filling a hole in historical literature. But where the Utah Indian Superintendency and Nevada Indian relations papers had been carefully produced studies, "Washakie and the Shoshoni," a documentary series, was literally flung together. Had he been burdened by fewer demands it likely would have been very different, undoubtedly fuller, more firmly reinforced, and better informed by other source material. Still, given the extremities under which he worked, it is remarkable that we have it at all.

The series began innocently enough. At his mother's Salt Lake City house in December 1952, Morgan spent several afternoons sorting and rereading his bulky files of Utah Superintendency transcripts. In the process, he was struck with how much good first-hand data about the Shoshoni could be found in the letters and reports. While the thought had him, Morgan typed a summary query to Lola Homsher, Wyoming's state archivist and the new editor of *Annals of Wyoming*. He noted that comparatively little had been written about the Eastern Shoshoni, who had been important in the American fur trade and resided in the eastern Great Basin and upper reaches of the Colorado River tributaries. This region was cut through by the central stretch of the Oregon-California Trail. "The documents deal with the economic condition of the Shoshoni," he wrote, "their relations with other tribes and with white men, both immigrants and settlers, the complex interrelationship of the Shoshoni, the mountain men, and the Mormons, especially with regard to the Green River ferries, problems of control administratively, etc."²³ In short, Morgan wondered if Homsher and *Annals of*

22 Ellen Crowley to Morgan, 1950 Feb. 16, Morgan Papers.

23 Morgan to Lola Homsher, 1952 Dec. 8, Morgan Papers. Their correspondence on the series may be found in Morgan to Homsher, 1952 Dec. 8 to 1957 Jun. 28, and Homsher to Morgan, 1952 Dec. 12 to 1957 Jul. 1, Morgan Papers. Hereafter, correspondence on the series will not be cited individually except when quoted directly.

Wyoming would be interested in a largish collection of edited documents reinforced by a clutch of suitable notes. Given the nature of the material (sufficient transcripts were already in hand, he felt), he was confident it would be a quick project.

The editor accepted the proposal promptly. The rate of recent submissions had been slow, leaving her half an issue of blank space in the upcoming July number. A solid beginning to Morgan's proposed documentary collection was potentially large enough to fill the uncommitted pages. A flurry of correspondence through the first half of January 1953 settled on a routine for producing the manuscript, a process which was followed throughout the series: Morgan would select documents from among his transcripts (single-spaced pages, typed almost to the paper margins). His sheets would be sent to the Wyoming State Historical Department to be retyped, double-spaced with necessary margins. These would be returned to Morgan, who would compile the notes on separate pages and mail back the completed manuscript for publication. He plunged headlong into culling his vast collection of documentary typescripts based upon the editor's estimate that seventy-five pages were available in the upcoming issue, but perpetually busy with other work, he arranged to deliver the manuscript in batches. By the middle of January 1953, Morgan had made a selection that would (he hoped) neatly fill the uncommitted space in *Annals*. On January 13, he posted the sheaf of thirty-seven numbered document transcripts, together with a half dozen more transcripts dating to 1862 intended as note material.

In his introduction, Morgan announced his intention to generate a documentary record of the Shoshoni that would range from the creation of the territory to the completion of the transcontinental railroad and organization of the Wyoming Superintendency twenty years later. Expecting at the outset that it would be a quick process, no publishing plan was established. How many documents or pages appeared in any issue—indeed, that the documents became a series in the first place—resulted from how much manuscript Morgan had (or had not) submitted, what transcriptions had completed notes, and how much space was available in any particular journal issue. It was to have been a simple, straightforward project to have occupied a summer. It became a rough-and-tumble editorial enterprise that lasted five years.

With the rough transcripts off to Wyoming for retyping, Morgan turned to other projects. Seemingly unable to find gainful employment and with Bobbs-Merrill still frittering undecidedly on his Jedediah Smith sample chapters after a year, he sought diversion and solace by flinging himself into a killing routine of research and writing. Between New Year's Day 1953 and March he completed the complicated, painstakingly detailed manuscript for the "Churches of the Dispersion" bibliography, his third historically detailed treatment of Latter-day

Saint schismatic publications for the *Western Humanities Review*. By the time the “Dispersion” manuscript was mailed, the Shoshoni documents were back from Wyoming clearly retyped and ready for notes. But just as he set to work on notes for the Shoshoni documents, Bobbs-Merrill wired the long-awaited acceptance of *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*. Morgan was stuck. By working twelve-hour stints each day of the week, he posted his introduction and the completed manuscript for “Washakie and the Shoshoni” on April 22, just under the deadline for the July issue of *Annals of Wyoming*. Meanwhile, he was also generating and delivering the rough manuscript for *Jedediah Smith* to the publisher at the rate of about two chapters a week, without notes.

Despite his feverish activity through the first half of 1953, Morgan was also facing a real risk of financial ruin. He had moved out of his mother’s home so as not to be a financial or emotional burden and was living with his voluminous files in a basement apartment elsewhere in the city. He eked out a bare subsistence on his savings, minor contract work, and the goodness of frequent dinner invitations from extended family in the city. A desperately needed \$250 advance against *Jedediah Smith* royalties in July 1953 eased immediate financial worries. It also reminded him that correcting galleys and later, page proofs, would demand priority through the second half of the year. He hardly had time to be pleased when the first installment of “Washakie and the Shoshoni” appeared in mid-month. On its heels, Morgan’s long, broad streak of bad employment luck finally broke.

The same month that his documentary series began in Wyoming’s state history journal and some of the most intense work on the *Jedediah Smith* manuscript was required, Morgan received a letter from George P. Hammond. Hammond was director of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and had been commissioned to retain a qualified private researcher for a pending lawsuit between two Indian tribes. Morgan had met Hammond at least a year earlier while at the Bancroft Library doing research for *Jedediah Smith*. His painstaking thoroughness and attention to historical detail to the West’s history between exploration and settlement got Hammond’s attention. It may have been Morgan’s grasp of Native American research implied by his 1948 *Pacific Historical Review* article, and reinforced by the earliest installment of the Shoshoni documents series, that convinced Hammond to make the offer.²⁴ With a regular salary finally in hand, even a small one, late in August 1953 Morgan was dispatched to Washington, D. C. to begin intensive research at National Archives. While there,

24 The research assignment concerned the Navajo tribe’s side of the court case that became *Healing v. Jones*, a land-tenure lawsuit between the Hopi and Navajo tribes filed in 1958. Morgan’s specific duties were to produce research files documenting Navajo tenure in central Arizona.

he delved once again into the Utah Superintendency records, which also conveniently served his interests. This effort filled out his personal file of Shoshoni-related transcripts. Shortly after this trip, much to Morgan's relief, Hammond decided to commit the Bancroft Library to producing a descriptive volume of its manuscript holdings. In late 1953, he offered Morgan a half-time research/editorial position, which was promptly accepted.

While all this was happening, Lola Homsher was making up the promised second part to "Washakie and the Shoshoni." The twenty remaining manuscript pages on hand were a little thin, and she invited Morgan to fill them out with a few more documents. Already committed past his capacity, he ultimately demurred. The second part was run from what was on hand while Morgan settled into an apartment in Berkeley, California, during the second week of 1954 to begin his part-time research/editorial post at the Bancroft Library. He arrived in California just in time to be driven nearly to distraction by Carl Wheat's discovery of a historic map of unique importance.

"I want to continue this series until it is complete," Homsher wrote her contributor encouragingly in February 1954, asking for another fifty pages or so.²⁵ He promised to make an addition to the Shoshoni manuscript, but by April, that commitment was compromised. The Shoshoni were pushed entirely out of mind as he devoted available spare time to integrating this map into his earlier research and writing with Wheat a cooperative volume for the Book Club of California, *Jedediah Smith and His Maps of the American West*, later in the year. On-the-job duties at Bancroft and the demands of being kept on retainer for Navajo research kept rearranging Morgan's priorities. He was also expecting new microfilm from National Archives from the previous autumn's research, and he required time to both transcribe and interfile those transcripts with the ones made earlier from the Wyoming documents.

It was good material. His series was popular with the *Annals* readership, and Lola Homsher was willing to include anything he was willing to contribute. Morgan promised almost weekly to deliver additional manuscript through April 1954, and in the first week of May, finally sent the large installment of transcripts and notes she had requested, carrying the select documents to the end of the 1850s decade. Fortunately, journal makeup was somewhat fluid and the documentary series was a flexible contribution that could be divided or expanded without compromising the sequence. But with the additional pages, Homsher didn't have the room necessary to put everything into one issue. She did, however, have enough manuscript on hand to squeeze out a third and then a fourth serial part for the January 1955 issue without further submissions. Morgan could not have provided more anyway. During the rest of 1954, Morgan was chronically

25 Lola Homsher to Morgan, 1954 Feb. 3, Morgan Papers.

occupied with routine Bancroft work, the irregular but urgent demands of the Navajo research, and still another tangential distraction, an edited version of the James Holt diary in two parts for *Utah Historical Quarterly* (which was also his last published work on a Mormon topic). He pushed off anything else he could, including new *Annals* contributions.

By 1955, however, it was evident that given how much material had appeared in the series' first four parts, a substantial amount of additional material would be required if the series were to meet the terminal date of 1869 he had set in the introduction. The pending submission deadline was reprieved by a fortunate change in the semiannual issuance of *Annals of Wyoming* which shifted the publication schedule from semiannual January/July to April/October issues. This bought Morgan time, but not forever, and the documentary series was becoming a serious liability for him. Facing the inevitable, he planned to complete the remaining commitment to the Shoshoni manuscript in one large, final installment during ten days in July 1955. Instead, he was suddenly dispatched to Washington to carry out more Navajo research and missed Homsher's nervously polite letter asking for the promised pages. He returned in late September, behind at work as usual, to find a special delivery plea for the Shoshoni manuscript from *Annals*—the editor was correcting galleys for the issue but had optimistically reserved space for a part to Morgan's series if he could pull one together. Ever one to honor commitments, Morgan was resolute. "This could scarcely come at a worse time for me, but something is clearly owing you, and I'll see that it is done if I live till Monday."²⁶ He promised—and delivered—an installment of a hundred manuscript pages in less than a week, working directly from microfilm to produce letter transcriptions and throwing together notes at a furious pace.

Morgan was able to send a sheaf of selected material in the first week of October 1955, assembled—notes and all—in a spate of effort across five days between September 28 and October 3. Still, the selection he had made did not reach the 1869 terminal date and yet another batch of manuscript pages would clearly be required. "I won't even pretend to hand you a complete manuscript winding up the whole works down to 1868," he admitted candidly when sending along "enough to justify Part V." Morgan concluded his transmittal letter with a promise to complete the series in one more manuscript installment, "And then afterwards you can bid farewell to Washakie, come Part VI."²⁷

Yet once again, despite intentions, other demands stripped away available time until her query in February 1956 induced Morgan to plead for time to complete notes. He did not confess that his commitment to the documentary series had been completely "out of sight, out of mind" while at work on a contractual

26 Morgan to Lola Homsher, 1955 Sep. 28, Morgan Papers.

27 Ibid.

book for the Rand-McNally company and having taken over preparation of the massive fifth volume concluding Carl Wheat's monumental *Mapping the Transmissipi West*. Pooling his reserves of energy and attention, a few days of frenetic work generated enough material to justify parts 6 and 7. Yet it merely put off the end since he supplied documents only to 1863.

It required another full year before he could churn out the promised pages. On February 6, 1957, Morgan finally wrote his patient editor that he had at last completed transcriptions for the outstanding Shoshoni documents, and four days later, posted the batch to Laramie. On March 7 of the following week, four years and three months from his initial inquiry, Morgan shipped the final bundle of typed notes to Cheyenne. A few more letters through June resolved queries and minor editorial details, but the submission was finally complete. Rather than one long installment, the remaining manuscript was divided up to allow Homsher to carry "Washakie and the Shoshoni" through three more parts for a total of ten, concluding in the April issue of 1958, a full year after the final manuscript was submitted. Morgan barely noticed the series' conclusion since he was already consumed by work at Bancroft, which had become a full-time appointment, and research for the massive tabulation of 1849 trail-diary data to accompany the James A. Pritchard diary, which would appear in print the following year.²⁸

After publication of the Shoshoni documents concluded, Morgan never returned to the subject of Indian affairs. Simply put, Indian relations may have been a central part of the overland trail experience, but they were a sideline for him. Even before beginning his Shoshoni series, Morgan admitted to Dean Brimhall that the West's native population always represented a "challenge to my personal interest. Although not so bound up in the Indians as Maurice [Howe] always was, they have fascinated me nonetheless."²⁹ But fascination as an avocation was different than fascination as vocational subject, which the fur trade and overland trails represented. The research position at the Bancroft Library changed Morgan's career, tying him much closer to California-related interests than to where he had begun in the central Rocky Mountains. By the time "Washakie and the Shoshoni" concluded in 1958, both his professional work and his personal interests lay in other directions.³⁰

28 *The Overland Diary of James A. Pritchard: From Kentucky to California in 1849*, ed. Dale L. Morgan (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1959).

29 Morgan to Dean Brimhall, 1952 May 7, Morgan Papers.

30 Part of the reason Morgan concluded "Washakie and the Shoshone" with 1869—besides being too recent for his core historical interests—was also because the Wind River Reservation, which was established to corral the Eastern Shoshoni under Washakie, was established by an 1868 treaty. Thus, the Shoshoni presence along the transcontinental trail effectively ceased after 1869. Another clue that suggests he did not consider this series among his "important" work is that, unlike all other multi-part journal

* * *

Dale Morgan's work belongs to an earlier time, one which typically sidelined minority populations if it addressed them at all. He would be uncomfortable that his work might be perceived as culturally biased but would clearly understand the underlying reason why—events happen, but history is crafted. Consumed as he was with knitting together narratives from documentary sources, it might not have occurred to him that the one who crafts a given story also determines what is “true” by shaping what is said—and what is *not* said, and by asserting that which may be accepted without question, or dismissed, or simply left buried. The entire discipline of American history changed in the social-history upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s. The well-defined, traditional, culturally reassuring versions of American national history, received unquestioningly by generations of students, were being reexamined with different ideas and perspectives and tools: the roles of labor, gender, immigrant and ethnic communities, and by the application of economics, environmental studies, technology, statistics, and folkways, to name a few. Each new perspective suggested that there were different, previously overlooked directions from which to consider the American story—essentially, that the patterns in the fabric of national history should be studied with more than a single interpretive structure. In lecture halls and classrooms the comfortable, coherent, strongly narrative Americanist view, which was well entrenched in history departments through the mid-1960s, was jostled uncomfortably to make room for new approaches. It was a frightening, exhilarating rollercoaster of intellectual enterprise. New turns came almost monthly in some academic journal. “Instead of changing the facts of American history,” recalled one graduate student as his discipline was reshaping around him, “we discovered a history that the old facts could not explain. We did not invent new facts, either; they had always existed. But, through education, we had been trained not to see them, for they contradicted the assumptions that most historians held.”³¹

Certainly, important studies in Native history were produced before 1960, but by and large the major historical works of the topic have been generated after that point. Before then, the study of Indian affairs was almost exclusively a venue of white scholars, and chiefly those from Eastern institutions. Indian

publications of his, Morgan made no attempt to commission reprints or collect the parts into a single volume.

31 Peter N. Carroll, *Keeping Time: Memory, Nostalgia, and the Art of History* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1990), 90. The complexity of the historical shift is explained in a personal way in Carroll's memoir, a sophisticated comment on the nature of history across this cultural breakpoint; cf. chaps. 6–11. The academic study of the American West was in flux as well but is not a direct analog of national trends in scholarship. Any number of excellent historiographies are available in professional literature.

affairs tended to be written about in terms of evolving government structures, priorities, initiatives, and reactions to native peoples—a rather one-sided, frontier version of traditional Americanist diplomatic history. The approach generated a top-down consideration of federal policymakers and appointed administrators. For years the basis of study was the stories behind treaty negotiations, the various attempts to shoehorn roving peoples onto defined reservations, and the evolution of federal policy *toward* Indians.

Morgan's work in Indian affairs belongs to this period of late Americanist history. His study and writings on Indian affairs was shaped chiefly by the cultural perspective of those who generated written first-hand accounts—emigrants and territorial officials. He was uninterested in how trails and emigration affected native cultures, or how Indians may have reacted to them. In this sense, Morgan's interest and work in Indian relations fits squarely within the historiographic concept of the West during the 1940s and 1950s: the often tense interplay between the federal and territorial governments, the record of economic exploitation (railroads, cattle, mining, lumbering), and the movements of transcontinental travelers, and settlement. Other than the work of a few specialists, the long histories of Spanish and native peoples were generally overlooked. Morgan further limited his interests to the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Thus, his historical *approach* to Indian affairs mirrored his interest in the place Native Americans occupied—or the obstacles they remained—to national expansion and the management of transportation lines and settlement. As we look back over his body of work, it is evident that while he was not racially or politically prejudiced, Dale Morgan certainly shared the cultural myopia of his culture and time.

As noted earlier, Dale L. Morgan essentially pioneered the substantive study of Indian relations in the Great Basin and central Rockies. He would be scandalized to discover that his work had been collected for reprint without careful, methodical, and complete revision to integrate additional research in new sources. This was the primary reason his own works were never republished during his lifetime (arrangements made for a *Jedediah Smith* paperback edition without corrections made him furious enough to divorce the publisher). He believed in the evolving integrity of factual accuracy above all else. I will admit that some necessary additions have been made to the notes, but Morgan would be wrong on the point—there is still value in his contributions to the literature as they stand, despite being the work of five decades and more ago.

Morgan's work was predated by Effie Mona Mack's chapter, "Federal Relations with the Nevada Indians, 1850–1860," in *Nevada: A History of the State from Its Earliest Times to the Civil War* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936), which Morgan failed to compliment. He was much more impressed by the overarching consideration in Alban W. Hoopes's *Indian Affairs and Their*

Administration, with Special Reference to the Far West, 1849–1860 (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1932; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1972), which stood as the best study at the date Morgan was writing. George D. Harmon's *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs: Political, Economic, and Diplomatic, 1789–1850* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941), also painted the topic in broad strokes, especially part 3 “The Federal Government as the Guardian of the Indian.” Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865–1887* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1942) discusses a period of change which was beginning just as the period about which Morgan was interested was closing, but he may not have consulted F. W. Seymour's more popular treatment in *Indian Agents of the Old Frontier* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1941). Jennings C. Wise, *The Red Man in the New World Drama: A Politico-legal Study with a Pageantry of American Indian History* (Washington, D.C.: W. F. Roberts, 1931; ed. Vine Deloria, New York: Macmillan, 1971) and Jack D. Forbes, *The Indian in America's Past* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964) are other important works. These have been surpassed by more modern work, including a pair of summary works by S. Lyman Tyler, now dated but useful for understanding the state of knowledge and policy during the time which Morgan wrote, *Indian Affairs: A Study of the Changes in Policy United States Policy toward Indians* (Provo, Utah: Institute of American Indian Studies, Brigham Young Univ., 1964), and later, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973). Of course, the capstone to the topic remains the work of Francis Paul Prucha, particularly his two-volume study *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1984), published more than a decade after Morgan's passing.

Historical considerations of specific Great Basin tribes and bands are less evenly covered in literature. In 1953, the bibliographic record regarding the Shoshoni—other than Sacagawea—was brief and not particularly impressive. History is much richer for the past few decades of qualified attention. Anyone wishing to explore the topic would be profited to begin with Omer C. Stewart, *Indians of the Great Basin: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Newberry Library / Indiana Univ. Press, 1982); Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938; Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1970), and the exceedingly brief *Composite Shoshoni Bands of the Fur Trade Era* (Boise: Idaho Historical Society, 1965). The *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Warren L. D'Azevedo, vol. 11, *Great Basin* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986) provides an encyclopedic historical and ethnological survey of the Shoshoni and related groups, along with a superior anthropological bibliography.

Dale L. Morgan's "Washakie and the Shoshoni" series is almost the earliest non-ethnographic, historical treatment involving the Northern and Eastern Shoshoni and was certainly the first publication of documentary sources. In retrospect, while his earlier articles on Indian relations had been independent studies, "Washakie and the Shoshoni" was a remarkable document. Morgan skimmed the cream from the Utah Superintendency records to produce the series. As a result, it stands as a marvelous introduction to Indian affairs in perhaps the most critical place of the overland experience. Other qualified work would not begin appearing for years or decades after Morgan published these extracts. Robert H. Lowie's ethnographic description *The Northern Shoshone* had been published by the American Museum of Natural History in 1909 but was essentially anthropology. The only truly major piece of historical writing available before 1960 was Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard's *Washakie: An Account of Indian Resistance of the Covered Wagon and Union Pacific Railroad Invasions of Their Territory* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1930; Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1996), which is considered a classic work but which Morgan disparaged as careful history.

Fortunately, almost as Morgan's series concluded, the Shoshoni people's place in history profited from a flurry of focused attention, including (chronologically): Earl H. Swanson, "Problems in Shoshone Chronology," *Idaho Yesterdays* 1, no. 4 (Winter 1957-58): 21-26; Delores Holihan, "Shoshoni Indians in Wyoming through 1868" (thesis, Univ. of Wyoming, 1959); Robert F. Murphy and Yolonda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* 16, no. 7 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959); Ake Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," *Annals of Wyoming* 33, no. 1 (Apr. 1961): 19-41; Roger D. Siebert, "A History of the Shoshoni Indians of Wyoming" (thesis, Univ. of Wyoming, 1961); Virginia Cole Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Donald D. Fowler, "Cultural Ecology and Cultural History of the Eastern Shoshoni Indians" (diss., Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1965); Omer C. Stewart, "The Shoshoni: Their History and Social Organization," *Idaho Yesterdays* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1965): 2-5, 28; Edward Dorn, *The Shoshoneans: The People of the Basin-Plateau* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1966); *Shoshoni and Northern Paiute Indians in Idaho* (Boise: Idaho Historical Society, 1970); *Shoshone Indians* (New York: Garland, 1974), which included work on the Gosiutes by Carling Malouf and on the Shoshoni by Ake Hultkrantz; Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1980), *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1985), and *Chief Pocatello: The "White Plume"* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1986); Henry E. Stamm, *People of the Wind River: The Eastern Shoshones, 1825-1900* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Mae Perry, "The Northwestern Shoshone," in *A History*

of *Utah's American Indians*, ed. Forrest Cuch (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs, 2000).

In successive years three new works have come to hand that push well beyond the limits that circumscribe Dale Morgan's work. John W. W. Mann, *Sacajawea's People: The Lemhi Shoshone and the Salmon River Country* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2004) considered a more distantly related band; John Heaton's *The Shoshone-Bannocks: Culture and Commerce at Fort Hall, 1870–1940* (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Press, 2005) picks up temporally where Morgan left off. Gregory E. Smoak's *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2006) is undoubtedly the best recent work on the Shoshoni and addresses the theme of cultural self-genesis and identity that was touched in the opening of this essay.

The Western Shoshone have work of value which includes *Newe, A Western Shoshone History* (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976); Steven J. Crum, *The Road on Which We Came: A History of the Western Shoshone* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2000). The Gosiute peoples who inhabited the desert west of the Oquirrhms get attention in James B. Allen and Ted J. Warner, "The Gosiute Indians in Pioneer Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (Spring 1971): 162–77; Carling I. Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," *Archaeology and Ethnology Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Utah* 3 (1950); and Dennis Defa, "The Goshute Indians of Utah," in *A History of Utah's American Indians*, ed. Forrest Cuch (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs, 2000). Parallel work on a culturally related group, Brigham D. Madsen's *The Bannock of Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers 1958), appeared on the heels of Morgan's documentary series.

Mormon relations with the Indian tribes of Utah and the surrounding areas have tended to focus chiefly on historic relations with the Utes, Paiutes, and Navajos. The northern area has been addressed but less well, with several exceptions. Perhaps the best summary work, and a really fine point of beginning, is a recent historiography by Sondra Jones, "Saints or Sinners?: The Evolving Perceptions of Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah's Historiography," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 19–46. Other studies include Leonard J. Arrington's chapter 13, "Indians: Friendship and Caution," in his *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 210–22, and a brief overview of relations with the Office of Indian Affairs, 241–44; Eugene E. Campbell, "The Mormons and the Indians: Ideals versus Realities" and "Indian Missions and Farms" in *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869*, chaps. 6 and 7 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Howard A. Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon Indian Relation in Utah, 1847–1852," *Utah*

Historical Quarterly 47, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 216–35; *A History of Utah's American Indians*, ed. Forrest S. Cuch (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs and Utah State Division of History, 2000); Floyd A. O'Neil and Stanford J. Layton, "Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 236–50; and David J. Whittaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction," *Dialogue* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 33–84. One consideration of relations with the northern Basin tribes includes the early Charles E. Dibble book, *The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians* (Salt Lake City: Utah Humanities Foundation, 1947). A foundation stone to the subject is the article which influenced Morgan strongly, Juanita Brooks's, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12, no. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 1944): 1–48. Considerably more has been written on Mormon relations with the Utes and Southern Paiutes, which falls beyond the scope of this collection and essay.

Other works of value relating to topics Morgan touched on in these papers, some of which appeared after his death, include Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger: Island in the Wilderness* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univ. Press, 1975); Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and the United States, 1861–1890: Studies in Colonial Administration* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1947); W. Turrentine Jackson, "Indian Affairs and Politics in Idaho Territory, 1863–1870," *Pacific Historical Review* 14, no. 3 (Sep. 1945): 311–25; and most of the work by Brigham D. Madsen, cited above, with the inclusion of "Shoshoni-Bannock Marauders on the Oregon Trail, 1859–1863," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 3–30. An important consideration of relations between Indians and westering emigrants is found in chapter 5 of James Unruh's, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1849–1860* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1979).

Dale Morgan devoted hundreds of hours to basic research, but his Nevada trail and Utah relations articles were meant to be exploratory narratives, not definitive scholarship. The selections in "Washakie and the Shoshoni," made from tens of thousands of Agency documents, was not an attempt to recreate a historical record of the Eastern Shoshoni, but to provide the first publicly available collection of material on the bands from an administrative perspective. In his Indian affairs work, Morgan expected to be little more than a path breaker. Still, for all of the original work Morgan expended in the superintendency records (and later War and Interior department records as well), he left some holes in his research, most notably due to sources he lacked. The Brigham Young papers, for instance, including voluminous material from his years as territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, were generally unavailable to researchers during the 1930s and 1940s. That material would have interested Morgan deeply.

Items that certainly would have been included in “Washakie and the Shoshoni” series are several early letters from Young to the Shoshoni leader arguing that the bands would be better served by settling into a life of farming than they would be as nomadic hunters. These were later published by Rhett S. James as “Brigham Young-Chief Washakie Indian Farm Negotiations, 1854–1857,” *Annals of Wyoming* 39, no. 2 (Oct. 1967):245–56.³² Secondly, being deaf and inextricably tied to written records, Morgan also made no attempt to pursue or employ the oral history of the Shoshoni themselves. Even now, half a century later than Morgan’s work, oral traditions and family stories are being used successfully by a new generation of scholars writing about the Western and Northwestern Shoshoni. Scott R. Christensen’s biography *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1887* (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1999) is an example of this.

This brief note on literature is not intended either to circumscribe the present state of scholarship or to outline approaches to history in the region or its people; published primary material like personal accounts and diaries isn’t even acknowledged. It is merely historically suggestive, a beginning point or guidepost to complement Morgan’s work collected here. The notes and bibliographies and library catalog records of mentioned works will direct interested readers to other secondary material, which in turn can point still further afield. Many of those studies will cite the papers and articles collected here. The last words on Indian-white relations in the Great Basin will thus likely never be written, but fortunately, Dale L. Morgan left us a pretty good beginning.

32 James points out that settlement was intended to pull the Shoshoni away from the stretch of the overland trail east and north of Salt Lake City and west of the Continental Divide, stabilizing Indian-emigrant relations by discouraging or undercutting the trading business of former mountain men like Jim Bridger, who had agitated against the Mormons among the tribes.



Shoshone men on horseback, ca. 1870. Photographer unknown. *Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-32287.*

GREGORY E. SMOAK

The Newe (the People) and the Utah Superintendency

THE WORKS OF DALE MORGAN collected in this volume not only document the history of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, but two decades of transition in Shoshone life. By 1849, the Shoshones, or *Newe* (pronounced *ney-wa*), had already undergone immense social, political, and economic change. Contact with European livestock, goods, diseases, and eventually, the colonizers themselves, revolutionized *Newe* life, but change did not erase older ways. Along with the large and more politically cohesive mounted buffalo-hunting bands, there coexisted smaller foot-going groups that seemingly had little interest in adopting the equestrian lifestyle. The *Newe* world in the mid-nineteenth century was a complex place. Even greater changes loomed by 1849, as permanent white settlement in the *Newe* homelands became a reality. Within twenty years, treaties and reservations would reshape the *Newe* world. Understanding the interaction between the *Newe* and officials of the Utah Superintendency about which Dale Morgan wrote requires a deeper understanding of the native people, their culture, and their history.¹

Nearly all of the native peoples of the northern reaches of the Utah Superintendency spoke one or more dialects of two closely related languages: Shoshone and Paiute. Both tongues are Numic languages and belong to the larger Uto-Aztecan language family (as does Ute). Dialects of Shoshone are particularly widespread and are spoken in a massive arc stretching from western Nevada across the Great Basin and the Snake River country onto the plains of Wyoming. The Comanches of the southern Plains are also Shoshone speakers who separated from their co-linguists in the seventeenth century to begin their migration to the southern Plains. Numerous Paiute speakers lived amongst the Shoshone speakers, especially west of the continental divide. Bannock is a dialect of the Northern Paiute language. The Bannock dialect spoken today at Fort Hall, Idaho, is intelligible to Paiute speakers in eastern Oregon, northern Nevada, and as far south as the Mono basin of California. Shoshone and Paiute are mutually unintelligible, but they are closely related languages. This fact, combined with

1 I have developed the interpretations of *Newe* culture and history presented here more fully in Gregory E. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2006).

the constant and close association of Shoshone and Bannock speakers led to a great deal of bilingualism.²

Depending on the language and the dialect, Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute speakers called themselves *Newe*, *Neme*, or *Numu*, meaning simply “the people.” From these names, anthropologists derived the label *Numic* as a term to refer to all of these linguistically related peoples. When he arrived in the Lemhi Valley in 1805, William Clark recorded in his journal “This nation Call themselves *Cho-shon-né*.” The root of the name *Shoshone* is found in the Shoshone word *sosoni*, a type of grass used to build the traditional conical wickiup. “Bannock” is an Anglicization of *panákwate*, the name that the Paiute speakers who resided among the Shoshones applied to themselves.³ In this essay I have adopted the term *Newe*—“the people” in most Shoshone dialects—to refer generally to the Shoshone and Shoshone-Bannock peoples who dealt with the Utah Superintendency. Anthropologists generally use the term *Shoshonean* to refer to the same peoples. Using the word *Newe* is important because it recognizes that the native peoples of the United States have traditional names for themselves. Secondly, it acknowledges the cultural and historic connections between Shoshone and Bannock speakers. Using *Newe* does not mean that all of these peoples were in constant contact, that they always intermarried, that they pursued identical lifeways, or indeed, that they identified themselves as the same, but rather that they shared deep social, economic, and linguistic connections. From these connections, through a process of historic differentiation, emerged the Shoshone groups of today. Because modern Shoshone and Shoshone-Bannock peoples are a product of a dynamic history, band names and modern labels will be used when appropriate.

The modern names attached to *Newe* bands are historic and ethnographic labels based upon the broad geographic ranges of bands and emergent tribes in the nineteenth century. The Eastern Shoshones reside today on the Wind River Reservation in central Wyoming. They were historically the most Plains-adapted of all Shoshone groups (with the exception of the Comanches). To the south and west ranged the so-called Northwestern Bands, who owned fewer horses, pursued

- 2 Wick Miller, “Numic Languages,” in *Handbook of North American Indians* 11: 98–106; Drusilla Gould and Christopher Loether, *An Introduction to the Shoshoni Language: Dammen Daigwape* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2002); Beverly Crum and Jon Dayley, “Western Shoshone Grammar,” *Occasional Papers and Monographs in Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics*, vol. 1 (Boise, Idaho: Boise State Univ., 1993); Sven S. Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples in Idaho” (unpublished manuscript, Idaho Museum of Natural History, Pocatello, 1957), 20–22, 23.
- 3 Gould and Loether, *Shoshoni Language*, 4–5; Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 20–22, 23; Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, “Northern Shoshone and Bannock” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 11: 284, 305–6; Miller, “Numic Languages,” 98–106; *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: Volume 5, July 28–November 1, 1805*, ed. Gary E. Mouton (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1988), 115.

lifeways more adapted to the arid Basin, and resided northwest of the core of Euroamerican settlement along the Wasatch Front. To their north on the Snake River Plain were the Northern Shoshones, or more accurately, the Shoshone-Bannocks of the modern Fort Hall Reservation. Often referred to as the “mixed bands” in historic documents, they practiced a complex seasonal subsistence cycle that combined elements of Plains, Basin, and Plateau economies. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, many of the Shoshone bands living west along the Snake, Bruneau, Boise, and Weiser rivers were forced to move to Fort Hall. Others moved south to the Duck Valley Reservation, where, along with some Western Shoshones and Northern Paiutes, they are known today as the Shoshone-Paiute Tribe. The label Western Shoshone is applied to peoples ranging from the Gosiutes of western Utah to the Panamint Shoshones of Death Valley. What unifies groups across this vast geographic expanse is the historic Great Basin orientation of their lifeways. Western Shoshones today live on reservations and in *colonies* in Utah, Nevada, and California.⁴

A debate concerning the timing of Newe occupation of the Great Basin has occupied anthropologists and linguists for over half a century. In the 1950s—using new radiometric dating techniques and influenced by Julian Steward’s environmental interpretations of Newe social life—archaeologist Jesse Jennings presented a model of a Desert Archaic culture that existed nearly unchanged in the Great Basin for 10,000 years preceding the advent of the historic period.⁵ Earl Swanson’s work at Birch Creek in eastern Idaho in the early 1970s also suggested a very long residency for the Newe in the area, around 8,000 years.⁶

4 Additional sources on Newe people include Steven J. Crum, *The Road on Which We Came (Po’i Pentun Tammen Kimmappéh): A History of the Western Shoshone* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1994); Ake Hulkrantz, *The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974); Robert H. Lowie, “The Northern Shoshone,” *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1907); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Bannock of Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1958; Moscow: Univ. of Idaho Press, 1997); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1980); Whitney McKinney, *A History of the Shoshone-Paiute of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1983); Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, “Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society,” *Anthropological Records* 16, no. 7 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959); Dimitri B. Shimkin, “Eastern Shoshone,” *Handbook of North American Indians* 11:308–35; Henry E. Stamm IV, *People of the Wind River: The Eastern Shoshones, 1825–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938; Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1970); Virginia Cole Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

5 Don D. Fowler, “History of Research,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 11: 21.

6 Earl H. Swanson, Jr., *Birch Creek: Human Ecology in the Cool Desert of the Northern Rocky Mountains, 9000 B.C.–A.D. 1850* (Pocatello: Idaho State Univ. Press, 1972).

Later theories have offered a more dynamic history for Great Basin peoples in the pre-contact period, but have proven more controversial. The Numic Spread theory, first proposed by Sidney Lamb in 1958 and developed by numerous other scholars since, posits a very late and very rapid migration of Numic-speaking peoples from their original homelands in the southwest corner of the Great Basin. Based upon lexicostatical dating methods, the Numic Spread theory proceeds from the observation that linguistic diversity increases over time. Numic languages exhibit the greatest dialectical diversity and cover the smallest geographic areas in the region near Death Valley. This then, would be the Numic homeland—the area where Numic languages have been spoken the longest. That Numic languages today are spoken across a huge fan-shaped area while exhibiting relatively few dialectical differences is evidence, it is argued, for a rapid migration. According to the Numic Spread theory, the ancestors of modern Shoshone people may not have reached the Snake River area until the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.⁷ Basing his judgments on a reinterpretation of artifacts rather than linguistic theory, one archaeologist has argued for an even later sixteenth-century date for Shoshonean occupation of southern Idaho.⁸ More recent excavations led by Richard Holmer of Idaho State University have pushed back the date of Newe occupation once again. Working at sites above the Fort Hall bottoms on the Snake River and at Dagger Falls on the Middle Fork of the Salmon River, Holmer's team uncovered an artifact set that they deemed distinctively Shoshonean. If so, then Newe residence in the Snake River region dates back some 3,500 to 4,000 years.⁹ Regardless of which theory seems most convincing, the indisputable fact is that by the time of the founding of the Utah Superintendency in 1850, the ancestors of modern Shoshone people had lived in the area for centuries, if not millennia.

In the Great Basin, perhaps more than in any other region, anthropological theory and practice have shaped historical understandings of native peoples. The

- 7 Sydney M. Lamb, "Linguistic Prehistory in the Great Basin," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 24, no. 2 (1958), 95–100; James A. Goss, "Linguistic Tools for the Great Basin Prehistorian," in "Models and Great Basin Prehistory: A Symposium," ed. Don D. Fowler, *University of Nevada, Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences* 12 (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1977): 49–70; Miller, "Numic Languages," 98–106; *Across the West: Human Population Movement and the Expansion of the Numa*, ed. David B. Madsen and David Rhode (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1994).
- 8 B. Robert Butler, "When Did the Shoshoni Begin to Occupy Southern Idaho?: Essays on Late Prehistoric Cultural Remains from the Upper Snake and Salmon River Country," *Occasional Papers of the Idaho Museum of Natural History* (Pocatello: Idaho Museum of Natural History, 1981); B. Robert Butler, "Prehistory of the Snake and Salmon River Area," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 11: 127–34.
- 9 Richard N. Holmer, "Prehistory of the Northern Shoshone," *Rendezvous: Idaho State University Journal of Arts and Letters* 26 (1990): 41–59.

work of one man, Julian H. Steward, has cast a particularly long shadow. In *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, originally published in 1938, Steward posited that the harsh and arid environment of the Great Basin shaped a culture marked by kin-based social units, low population density, and an unrelenting quest for sustenance. “[The] entire Shoshonean culture . . . was stamped with a remarkable practicality,” he wrote. “So far as its basic orientation was definable, it was ‘gastric.’”¹⁰ The perils of life in this unforgiving environment dictated a simple kin-based social structure. Family clusters or *kin cliques*—consisting of several nuclear families that consistently lived and traveled together—were, for Steward, the irreducible social units of Newe life. Band organization was non-existent before the acquisition of horses. Political leadership was limited to *talkers*, men who kept the people apprised of available foodstuffs and organized cooperative ventures such as pine nut harvests and rabbit drives. *Talkers* did not lead discrete and permanent sociopolitical groups. Rather, families and individuals were free to follow whomever they chose, and, in any case, operated as independent family clusters much of the time. The quest for survival also shaped Shoshonean understandings of territory. Steward found that the fluid social order combined with the precarious nature of food resources meant that groups held a consensus right to the land, but that their territories were not exclusive.¹¹

Steward’s work provided valuable insights into Newe social structure and life but it also was largely responsible for the creation and perpetuation of a monolithic and ahistorical vision of Newe peoples across the Great Basin. His reliance on what is seemingly environmental determinism led to an underestimation, if not dismissal, of historical change. Steward called his approach *human ecology* and explicitly denied he was engaged in environmental determinism, which he defined as the premise of an “automatic and inevitable effect of environment upon culture.”¹² The tenor of his work, however, moved toward these conclusions. In a later essay he even wrote, “the small family cluster based on bilateral principles was the *inevitable* response to areas of meager resources, low population density, and an annual cycle of nomadism [emphasis added].”¹³ Whether cultural adaptation or inevitability, Steward’s approach factored out historical circumstances and failed to capture to the diversity of subsistence strategies employed by Newe peoples through the historic period. He emphasized the seed-gathering complex of Western Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups evident in the

10 Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 46.

11 Ibid.; see also Julian H. Steward, “The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society,” in *Languages and Cultures of Western North America: Essays in Honor of Sven S. Liljebld*, ed. Earl H. Swanson (Pocatello: Idaho State Univ. Press, 1970), 113–51.

12 Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 2.

13 Steward, “Shoshonean Society,” 115.

1930s at the expense of all other Newe subsistence practices. Steward himself recognized this problem, remarking that the Snake River was “unique in having salmon,” and that the “Northern Shoshoni and many Ute stood in sharp contrast to the Western Shoshoni” due to horses and buffalo.¹⁴ While acknowledging these differences, Steward also cast them as anomalies on the fringes of Shoshonean life. Moreover, readers get no sense that the seed-gathering complex and family social structure were also products of historical trends. More recent archaeological work suggests that larger bands probably lived along the Humboldt River prior to 1800. The development of a trading route along the river and the presence of “predatory bands” were likely factors that drove people away from the river and to travel in smaller, more scattered groups.¹⁵

While it is ultimately impossible to recover all of the details of the pre-contact social structure, the weight of the ethnographic evidence does point to the family cluster as the essential building block of pre-horse Newe society. Kinship was figured bilaterally, allowing individuals to employ a broad range of kin relations at any given time. Family clusters interacted extensively, but this was no guarantee that they would remain together from one year to the next. Winter camps represented the most stable social groupings in the pre-horse era. Sites like the Fort Hall bottoms and the Bear River valley offered sheltered campsites and plenty of wood and water, as well as access to fish, game, and waterfowl. Newe peoples returned to these places winter after winter, but there is no way to determine if the same families always camped together. In fact, modern informants reported that families often chose different winter camps from year to year.¹⁶ People with the strongest kinship ties gravitated toward one another. Sibling bonds were particularly important. Marriage patterns made what one anthropologist labeled the “sibling group” the basis for many family clusters and later, for larger social groups. The linguist Sven Liljeblad, for instance, argued that the importance of the sibling group helped explain the long-standing political leadership of one Bannock family among the Shoshone-Bannocks in the mid-nineteenth century. Kin networks, then, were the ultimate origin of the band and tribal identities that emerged later.¹⁷

Large, semi-permanent social groups did not exist among the Newe before the acquisition of horses. The “food name groups” evident in the historical

14 Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 234–325.

15 Thomas N. Layton, “Traders and Raiders: Aspects of Trans-Basin and California-Plateau Commerce, 1800–1830,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3 (1981): 127–37.

16 Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 16–17, 34–35; Murphy and Murphy, “Subsistence and Society,” 316; Murphy and Murphy, “Northern Shoshone and Bannock,” 292; Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 3.

17 Fred Eggan, “Shoshone Kinship Structures and their Significance for Anthropological Theory,” *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 11 (Spring 1980): 175; Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 34–35.

record were not truly bands, but rather groups of family clusters that habitually traveled, camped, and worked together during cooperative subsistence ventures. Food names have sometimes been mistaken for permanent socio-political units. West of the continental divide, they certainly were not. For instance, the same food name could apply to peoples separated by hundreds of miles, while one group could be known by different names when it shifted its subsistence practices. *Agai-deka'*, or “salmon eaters” in the Shoshone dialect of Fort Hall, was a name applied to the Newe in the Lemhi Valley as well as the people at the great fisheries of the middle and lower Snake River. Moreover, many of the Lemhi Valley *agai-deka'* also went “to buffalo” at which time they were *guchundeka'*, “buffalo eaters.” *Guchundeka'* could also refer to Washakie’s Eastern Shoshones. Some group names referred to environmental adaptations and were particularly widespread. *Duku-deka'*, commonly translated as “sheep eaters,” could refer to any of the small kin-based groups that customarily lived at higher elevations ranging from the Wind River Range and Yellowstone Plateau of Wyoming all the way west to the Blue Mountains of Oregon.¹⁸

The variety of food names illustrates the complexity of pre-horse Newe economy. Vegetable foods included pine nuts, seeds, and various roots. Pine nut harvests were critical for the Newe of the basin extending north into what is today southern Idaho. Farther north, camas brought people from great distances late each spring to dig up the nutritious roots. Game, small and large, made up a large portion of the Newe diet depending on location and season. Buffalo, deer, elk, antelope, and mountain sheep were staples. The *duku-deka'* were renowned both for the craftsmanship of their bows as well as their hunting acumen. Small game included rabbits and even insects. Mid-nineteenth-century officials held a unique fascination with the Newe consumption of “black crickets.” They were less thorough in reporting Newe dependence upon riparian resources. Rivers were literally the lifeblood of the country. Newe people fished and hunted for all types of game, including waterfowl, along the rivers. Until recently, scholars have underestimated the importance of fishing to Newe life. The Newe possessed a highly developed fishing culture that included weirs, fish traps, and spears with detachable barbed points.¹⁹

The acquisition and use of spiritual power or supernatural strength—*bo'ha* or *puha* in various Numic dialects—was at the center of Newe spiritual life. *Bo'ha* pervades the universe. It is an essential life force. Animals, plants, and even rocks

18 Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 54–57. In this section, I have adopted the spelling provided by Drusilla Gould, a native Shoshone speaker from the Fort Hall Reservation. Drusilla Gould to Gregory E. Smoak, 2005 Jan. 11.

19 Deward E. Walker, “The Shoshone-Bannock: An Anthropological Reassessment,” *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 27, no. 2 (1993): 139–60; and Deward E. Walker, “Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock Reliance on Anadromous and Other Fish Resources,” *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 27, no. 2 (1993): 215–50.

possess their own distinct *bo'ha*, but are also part of a larger spiritual force. All persons, regardless of age or sex, could seek *bo'ha* in matters of war, love, hunting, or gambling. Strong *bo'ha* in war, for instance, was often a prerequisite for sustained political leadership. In these cases, *bo'ha* served individual purposes. But there were also highly skilled practitioners—*bo'hagande* in Shoshone, *puhagem* in Paiute, and *puhá ga'yu* in Bannock—who had access to *bo'ha* for social purposes, most notably, healing. Anthropologists call these powerful people *shamans*. *Bo'ha* was always the gift of a spirit tutor and came to a person through dreams. These dreams could be sought directly through vision quests, or come as unsolicited visits. Vision quests were less common among Newe peoples than among neighboring groups on the Plains and Columbia Plateau. Among some groups, *bo'ha* acquired in vision quests was viewed as inferior to that obtained through unsolicited dreams. The spirit tutor instructed the dreamer in the gathering of a medicine bundle and imposed personal taboos. Instruction for shamans was far more intricate than for lay persons and involved an ongoing, usually life-long series of dreams in which the tutor revealed the knowledge and songs necessary for successful healing.²⁰

Newe concepts of political leadership were equally dynamic and individualistic. Euroamericans expected, and indeed desired, leaders who represented fixed sociopolitical entities and exclusive property rights. Among Newe peoples, however, this was not the case. The bands evident in the mid-nineteenth century coalesced around able leaders of cooperative endeavors—the *talkers* or *dai'gwhanee* in the Shoshone dialect of Fort Hall—be it salmon fishing, pine nut harvests, or buffalo hunts. In all of these cases the ability to act as an effective intermediary was at a premium. Successful leaders balanced their people's needs against the demands of others. They negotiated with other leaders their people's access to the land and its resources. As the United States became more powerful in the mid-nineteenth century and imposed its authority in the Newe homeland, the *dai'gwhanee* emerged as the chiefs who dealt with the Euroamericans. But they were not the "head chiefs" that nineteenth-century government officials perceived. They lacked the coercive power that whites expected in their leaders and governments. They spoke only for the people who followed them at any given time. The most adept leaders, such as Washakie, were able to maintain

20 Willard Z. Park, "Pavotso Shamanism," *American Anthropologist* 36 (1934): 98–113; Willard Z. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America: A Study in Cultural Relationships* (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern Univ., 1938); Jay Miller, "Basin Religion and Theology: A Comparative Study of Power (Puha)," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5 (1983), 66–86, and Jay Miller, "Numic Religion: An Overview of Power in the Great Basin of Native North America," *Anthropos* 78 (1983) 337–54; Julian H. Steward, "Culture Element Distributions: XXII—Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *Anthropological Records* 18, no.3 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1943), 282.

their influence even after the arrival of Euroamericans by building upon their traditional role as a provider and intermediary for their people.²¹

Newe conceptions of territory were perhaps even more baffling for Euroamericans. On the broadest scale, the profound differences between the ways in which American Indians and whites conceived of territory and property shaped much of the history of Indian-white relations. While most Newe bands ranged hundreds of miles each year to exploit a variety of resources, they always returned to their “native land”—*debía* in Shoshone, *tebíwa* in Bannock. A group’s attachment to its *debía* was profound. “An Indian will never ask to what nation or tribe or body of people another Indian belongs,” wrote John Wesley Powell of the Newe peoples in the 1870s, “but to ‘what land do you belong and how are you land named? Thus the very name of the Indian is the very title deed to his home.’”²² The group customarily wintered in its *debía* and enjoyed uncontested access to its resources. These rights, however, were not exclusive of other Newe. The *dai’gwhani*’ of a visiting group would always negotiate permission to join a people in the use of their native land. The role of the *dai’gwhanee*, then, was to maintain access to diverse areas and resources, rather than control an exclusive territory. It was from this perspective that the *dai’gwhanee* approached the demands of the United States.²³ Some officials, such as Utah’s James Duane Doty, clearly recognized that Newe concepts of land tenure were very different than those of Euroamericans, yet ultimately he, like every other white negotiator, failed to fully grasp the implications of these differences.

The mediate, or indirect, effects of European colonization set off a process of social differentiation that led to the emergence of the Shoshone groups that Doty and other officials encountered in the mid-nineteenth century. The acquisition of horses had the greatest consequences for Newe people. The Spanish settlements of New Mexico and, later, Texas, were the origin points of horses for all of the Native peoples of the West. As early as the 1640s, Athabaskan (Navajos and Apaches) and Ute peoples carried off substantial numbers of horses from the Spanish herds. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 turned this stream into a flood. Horses were traded through pre-existing native trade networks north along both slopes of the Rocky Mountains. The Newe on the Snake River plain acquired horses perhaps as early as the 1690s.²⁴ The Comanches came to dominate the

21 Smoak, *Ghost Dances*, 34–36, 86–88, 98–101.

22 Ibid.; John Wesley Powell, “Indian Life,” extract from “They Call themselves Nu-mes,” manuscript 798, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, 8–9.

23 Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 51–52; Smoak, *Ghost Dances*, 86–88, 98–101.

24 Francis Haines, “Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses?” *American Anthropologist* 40 (1938): 112–17; Francis Haines, “The Northward Spread of Horses Among the Plains Indians,” *American Anthropologist* 40 (1938): 429–37; Demitri B. Shimkin, “The Introduction of the Horse,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 11: 517–24.

eastern horse trade out of New Mexico and there is a Newe tradition that their first horses came from them. Newe groups farther west more likely got their first horses from the Utes.²⁵ Horses revolutionized Newe life. Economic distinctions increased between Newe groups. Mounted groups became larger and exhibited greater political cohesiveness and stronger political leadership. (Although these factors should not be overstated.) Some allied peoples merged to form new groups, while others split and took on new identities. The possession of horses also enmeshed many Newe groups in the chronic intertribal warfare that marked the Plains for the next century and a half.

The social and economic distinctions that emerged between the mounted and mostly foot-going Newes were the most visible consequence of horse ownership. Mounted groups traveled together for longer periods and used a greater range of resources than their foot-going kin. Buffalo, which were hunted on foot before the acquisition of horses, became a much larger part of the Newe diet. The material culture of Plains Indians groups set the mounted groups apart. Tipis replaced older brush shelters while parafleches, travois, Plains-style saddles and horse trappings all became commonplace. Still, even the most Plains-adapted of the Newe, the Eastern Shoshones, did not abandon the diverse economic pursuits of the kinsfolk to the west. They continued to fish, gather seeds and roots, and hunt small game. The Shoshone-Bannocks present perhaps the most complex case of all. Mounted buffalo hunting became a focus of their seasonal rounds, yet they also continued their reliance on the great salmon runs of the Snake and Salmon rivers, as well as the annual harvest of camas roots.²⁶ The mounted Newe of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries simply did not fit into neat culture areas such as Great Basin, Plains, or Plateau. They blurred the lines between all of these areas. The economic distinctions which emerged between the mostly foot-going groups and the more “wealthy” mounted groups were, then, not a case of abandoning one way of life for another, but of incorporating the new opportunities presented by the equestrian lifestyle.

Social differentiation reached its peak with the emergence of new peoples. Before the arrival of the Spanish in New Mexico, proto-Shoshone-Comanche bands already had taken up residence on the Plains. Sometime after the arrival of horses, the Comanches and Shoshones went their separate ways. According to a Comanche tradition recorded in the early twentieth century, in the distant past, the Shoshones and Comanches were two bands that camped together. The

25 John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfeet Indian Culture*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 159 (1955; Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969), 6–7.

26 Lowie, “The Northern Shoshone,” 179; Deward E. Walker, *Indians of Idaho* (Moscow: Univ. of Idaho Press, 1978), 90–91; Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 34, 40; Murphy and Murphy, “Subsistence and Society,” 294–95.

death of a young boy at play nearly led to war between these kinsfolk. At the last moment, an aging chief stepped in and averted bloodshed. But when the camp broke up, one band moved off to the north to become the Shoshones. The other, the Comanches, went south.²⁷ Spanish sources first mention the Comanches in 1706 who, by the 1750s, had completed their migration south and southwest to supplant the Apaches as masters of the southern Plains.²⁸

The advent of equestrianism also led to the creation of mixed Shoshone and Bannock bands on the upper Snake River. Paiute-speaking Bannocks, drawn by the wealth of the horse-buffalo economy, began moving east to join with the mounted Shoshone speakers at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Eventually, substantial Bannock populations lived among the Shoshones who wintered around Fort Hall and in the Lemhi Valley.²⁹ The close relationship between Shoshones and Bannocks in the mixed bands is evidenced by the name each group applied to the other. Sven Liljeblad reported that the Bannocks called the Shoshones *wihínakwate*, “on the knife side” or “on the iron side.” The Bannocks referred to themselves as *panákwate* (from which is derived “Bannock”) meaning “on the water side” or “on the west side.” Liljeblad argued that these references to the original locations of the partners in the mixed bands revealed two “sides” of a bilingual “speech community” rather than two distinct tribes. Individuals of mixed parentage identified themselves by the side whose language they preferred to speak, or by the language of the headman they followed.³⁰

With the acquisition of horses the Newe also became embroiled in a long standing series of wars with Plains groups, most notably the Blackfeet. Newe groups had expanded as far north as the Saskatchewan River by the 1720s, where they came in direct conflict with the Blackfeet; possibly the oldest reference to Newe people in the historic record dates from this struggle. In 1742, the de la Vérendrye brothers reported that the feared “Gens du Serpent” lived to the west. Scholars have long assumed that the Gens du Serpent were the “Snakes,” or Newe.³¹

27 Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1952), 9–10; Gerald Betty, *Comanche Society Before the Reservation* (College Station: Texas A & M Univ. Press, 2002), 57.

28 Shimkin, “Introduction of the Horse,” 518; Pekka Hämäläinen, “The Western Comanche Trade Center: Rethinking the Plains Indian Trade System,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 29 (Winter 1998): 485–513; and Pekka Hämäläinen, “The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures,” *Journal of American History* 90 (December 2003): 833–62; Thomas W. Kavanaugh, *Comanche Political History: An Ethnohistorical Perspective, 1706–1875* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1996).

29 Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 81–82.

30 Liljeblad, “Indian Peoples,” 57–58, 87–88; Murphy and Murphy, “Northern Shoshone and Bannock,” 284. Liljeblad renders the equivalent Shoshone words as *wihíN-naite* and *bannaite*.

31 *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and His Sons*, ed.

Horses were an early, but not overwhelming asset for the Newe in their war for the northern Plains. In 1787–88 the Northwest Company trader David Thompson wintered among the Piegan Blackfeet. His host, Saukamappee, was an elderly man of Cree birth who had spent his entire adult life among his adopted people. Saukamappee’s riveting account of the Newe-Blackfeet war has been retold in countless histories of the Plains and Native peoples. He recalled that in the early years of the conflict, the Newe’s horses gave them an advantage. They could ride in amongst their enemies and wield heavy clubs with brutal effect. The Blackfeet “had no idea of horses and could not make out what they were.” When one horse was killed from beneath its Newe rider, the Blackfeet rushed to the scene and gawked at the strange animal that reminded them of a stag without horns. But, Saukamappee remembered, as a horse was a “slave to man, like the dog” the Blackfeet named it the “Big Dog.”³²

Guns represented yet another frontier, one shaped by imperial policies that distinctly disadvantaged the Newe. While the horse frontier moved from southwest to northeast, the gun frontier followed an opposite path. Spanish policies prohibited the trade of firearms with Native peoples. The French and British traders to the northeast were under no such restrictions. Thus, while Newe people had horses before their Blackfeet enemies on the Plains, it was the latter people’s earlier possession of firearms that turned the tide in the ongoing struggle. Up until the 1730s, the general battles between Newes and Blackfeet were shows of force. Warriors wearing leather armor and protected by rows of shields launched arrows at the opposition with limited effect. The Blackfeet, who were normally outnumbered, appealed to Crees and their ties to French traders, for assistance. Saukamappee and nine other Crees who owned guns joined the again outnumbered Blackfeet. The guns proved to be the difference, and the Blackfeet were able to drive the Newe from the battlefield.³³ Subsequently, ambushes and surprise attacks came to characterize the Newe-Blackfeet war, while the latter continued to enjoy a near monopoly on firearms and iron weapons due to their proximity to French, and later, British traders. The situation had worsened for the Newe by the time of Lewis and Clark. Meriwether Lewis reported that the Newe band led by Cameahwait (who was also Sacajawea’s brother) possessed “bridlebits and stirrups they obtained from the Spaniards,” but he saw only three guns among sixty warriors. Firearms were “reserved for war almost exclusively and the bow and arrows are used in hunting.” The Blackfeet, meanwhile, “hunt them up and

L. J. Burpee (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1927), quoted in Murphy and Murphy, “Subsistence and Society,” 294–95.

32 David Thompson, *Travels in Western North America, 1784–1812*, ed. Victor G. Hopwood (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971), 192–93, 196.

33 Thompson, *Travels*, 193–95, 197.

murder them without respect [*sic*] to sex or age and plunder them of their horses.” Cameahwait desperately wanted to open a trade for guns with the Americans, and the astute Lewis used their dire situation to the expedition’s advantage. Help us, he told the Newe, or no American traders would trade among them.³⁴

Imperial policies, however, had far less impact upon the most devastating of all European imports: epidemic disease. “Virgin-soil epidemics,” so named because they struck populations that had never experienced them before and so held no inherited immunity, killed 80 to 90 percent of many native groups. The epidemics changed forever the history of the American continents as well as their human and physical landscapes. They were an essential part of the process that environmental historian Alfred Crosby has labeled “ecological imperialism.” Moreover, the diseases moved rapidly in advance of direct European contact, creating a new world for native peoples and shaping perceptions among the newcomers of an “empty continent.”³⁵ Before they ever laid eyes upon a European, Newe peoples were victims of the catastrophic smallpox epidemic of 1781, which was part of a larger continent-wide epidemic that carried away soldiers in George Washington’s Continental Army as well as thousands upon thousands of native peoples.³⁶ In a chilling and oft-repeated tale, Saukamaptee told David Thompson of how the Blackfeet came upon an apparently abandoned Newe village along the Red Deer River in southern Alberta. Sensing a trap, the Blackfeet waited and watched. After a day, when they were satisfied that they would not become victims themselves, the warriors attacked. As they cut through the tents they witnessed a horrific scene; “there was no one to fight with but the dead and dying, each a mass of corruption.” The Blackfeet took care not to touch the dying Newes. They did, however, make off with the horses, the best tents, and the property they thought was “clean and good.” Within weeks the vicious and impartial killer was at work among the Blackfeet. As devastating as the smallpox epidemic of 1781 was for the Blackfeet, the Newe suffered so badly that they began a protracted retreat from the northern Plains toward the Rocky Mountains.³⁷

34 Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, 83, 91, 115, 149, 160. See also James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1984), 147, 152; John C. Ewers, “The North West Trade Gun,” in *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, [1968]), 34–44.

35 Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1972); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986); Anne F. Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1987).

36 Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–1782* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001).

37 Thompson, *Travels*, 198–201.

When Lewis and Clark entered the Lemhi Valley in 1805, it marked the beginning of the “historic” era for the Newe. The Newe, of course, had already seen great changes set off by the indirect effects of the European colonization. Lewis and Clark did not encounter a “pristine” people, but rather people who were the product of a long and complex history. The expedition, and the fur trappers that followed shortly after, commented extensively on Newe life, but did not have the transformative effect of later white emigrants.

Relations between the Newe and the fur trappers and traders were generally good. The Indians did not compete with the trappers for furs, and the latter were not interested in taking land. There was some intermarriage. The fur men built only a few small trading forts and the Newe became valued trading partners. More importantly, the Newe and the trappers shared a common enemy in the Blackfeet. The most famous Newe leader of the fur trade era, the “Horn Chief,” was celebrated by the fur men as a capable leader and fearsome ally against the Blackfeet.³⁸ Both British and American fur trappers regularly traveled and camped with Newe groups who provided them with added security in dangerous country. In 1830, when John Work, who led the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Snake River Brigade, learned that a large Newe village was traveling upstream ahead of his trappers he wrote, “This is of advantage to us as they will be before us and amuse the Blackfeet.”³⁹

The group names applied to Newe peoples is perhaps the most confusing aspect of the fur trade literature. Some trappers saw only the most obvious of social distinctions—the ownership of horses—and lumped together the mounted bands as “Snakes” while the foot-going bands were derisively called “diggers.” Both these labels survived throughout the nineteenth century and appear regularly in official documents. Other fur men offered more complex assessments of Newe divisions, but ones that were still bound to obvious social and economic divisions. For example, Alexander Ross wrote, “The great Snake nation may be divided into three divisions, namely the Sherry-dikas, or Dog-eaters, the War-are-ree-kas, or fish-eaters, and the Ban-at-tees or Robbers. But as a nation they all go by the general appellation of Sho-shones, or Snakes.”⁴⁰

38 Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains: A Diary of Wanderings on the Sources of the Rivers Missouri, Columbia, and Colorado, 1830–1835* (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1983), 256; Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A. in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 63, 88–89.

39 John Work, *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830–1831: John Work’s Field Journal*, ed. Francis D. Haines (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 11.

40 Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon and Rocky Mountains* (London: Smith, Elder, 1855; Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 166–67.

Sherry-dika and *War-are-ree-ka*, with their telltale suffixes, are clearly food names. Ross exhibited a prejudice common among the trappers when he celebrated the mounted buffalo-hunting *Sherry-dikas* as the “real Shoshonees,” and derided the more “slovenly” groups that survived on fish, roots, and smaller game. It is impossible to determine exactly who these people were, and Ross himself admitted that the trapper held only a “very confused idea of the Snakes.”⁴¹ The official documents that followed the fur trade era also included numerous terms for various Newe peoples. And like earlier accounts, socioeconomic distinctions were always at their root. In August of 1849, John Wilson, recently assigned to the short-lived Salt Lake Indian agency wrote, “Among the Sho-sho-nies there are only two bands, properly speaking. The principal or better portion are called Sho sho nies, (or Snakes) who are rich enough to own horses. The others, the Sho-sho-coes, (or Walkers) are those who cannot or do not own horses.”⁴²

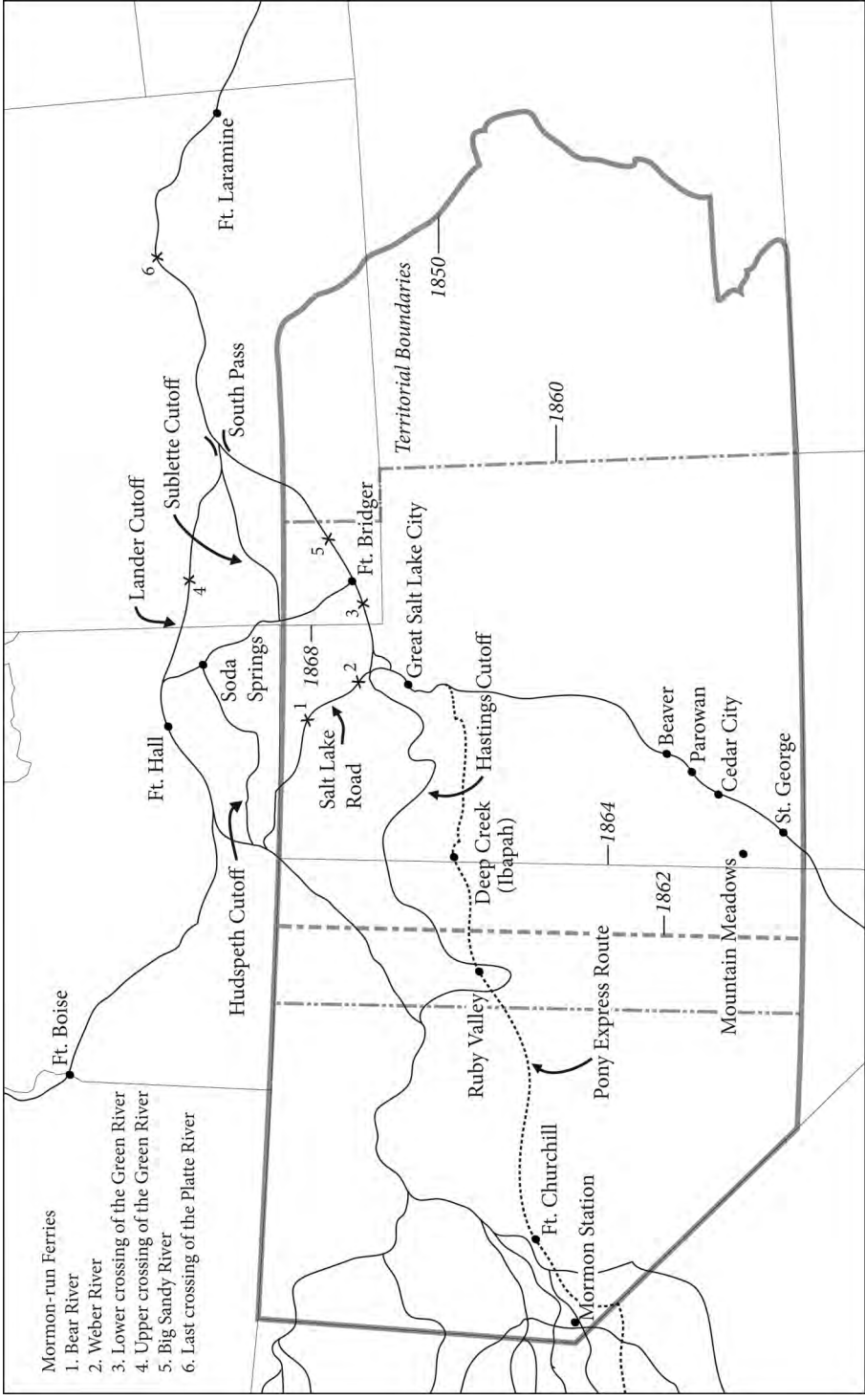
Except that Wilson’s “walkers” were more often labeled *diggers*, the agent’s nomenclature was characteristic of white observers. Their emphasis on visible economic distinctions, combined with the survival of “food name groups” and the creative spelling of the era created a confusing myriad of names for Newe groups.

The impact of the fur trade on the Newe was minuscule compared to the effects of the mass migration of emigrants to the Pacific coast each summer that began around 1840. By the best estimates, over 250,000 European-American emigrants traversed the Oregon and California trails between 1840 and 1860. The peak year came in 1852 when 60,000 made the trek in a single season. With them marched at least 1.5 million head of livestock.⁴³ These emigrants were not adventurers. They did not seek new routes or welcome surprises. They did not randomly take up lands along the route, but rather remained focused on their goal of reaching Oregon or California in time to make provisions for the coming winter. Consequently, the emigrants sought the safety of routine. Nearly everyone carried commercially available guidebooks, many (at least early in the migration) hired guides, and, most consequential for Newe peoples, they stuck to the well-worn roads that followed the watercourses. From the Sweetwater River in central Wyoming, the main emigrant road crossed the upper Green River and continued onto the Snake where it split. The Oregon Trail continued northwest down the Snake before crossing over to the Powder River country of Oregon. The California Trail turned south

41 Ibid.; For a discussion of the cultural assumptions of the trappers, see Elizabeth Vibert, *Trader’s Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807–1846* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

42 Document 1, this collection.

43 John D. Unruh, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1860* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1979), 119–20.



Mormon-run Ferries

1. Bear River
2. Weber River
3. Lower crossing of the Green River
4. Upper crossing of the Green River
5. Big Sandy River
6. Last crossing of the Platte River

Utah territorial boundaries and the overland trails.

across the desert northwest of the Great Salt Lake and into Nevada where it struck the Humboldt and followed that stream to its sink and then into the Sierra Nevada. Thus, for over a thousand miles, the great overland roads cut through the very heart of Newe country.

The emigrants' impact on the Newe country was profound and concentrated. Riverine routes allowed the emigrants to live off the land but also magnified their environmental impact. They cut wood, hunted, fished, and grazed their stock all within a very narrow corridor. While no Newe group could escape its effects, the impact of the migration varied. Hardest hit were the smaller, mostly foot-going bands that lived to the west along the Snake and Humboldt. They saw critical resource sites monopolized by the emigrants and later, by stage and freight companies. They were also the most likely victims of emigrant violence. The larger mounted bands to the east had more limited direct contact with the emigrants. The Fort Hall Shoshone-Bannocks, for instance, were usually hunting buffalo far from the emigrant roads at the height of the summer migration. But this did not spare them. When they returned to their traditional winter camps along the Fort Hall bottoms, they found little firewood and even less grass for their stock. The environmental impact of the migration was quickly obvious to white observers. In 1843, Frémont's cartographer, Charles Preuss, remarked, "The white people have ruined the country of the Snake Indians and should therefore treat them well."⁴⁴

The emigrants also spoiled the country for themselves. Horse theft increased west of Fort Laramie because the grass along the trail had been so overgrazed that each night the animals had to be taken miles from camp to find sufficient forage, making them easier targets.⁴⁵ In 1857, an employee of the Overland Road estimated that emigrants had driven at least 70,000 head of stock past the Green River that season. The following year, in response to the overgrazing, Frederick W. Lander, the superintendent of the Overland Road, surveyed a new route that diverged from the Oregon Trail at South Pass and proceeded north and west to the Salt River, and then to Fort Hall via the Blackfoot River and Ross Fork Creek. He bragged that the road offered "better grass and [a] more permanent supply of water." And while Lander's Cutoff added some miles to the journey, it also bypassed the alkaline deserts farther south and crossed the Green River so high that ferries or toll bridges were unnecessary. It was so popular that Lander estimated that 90 percent of the 13,000 overland emigrants of 1859 used his new

44 Charles Preuss, *Exploring With Frémont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss, Cartographer for John C. Frémont on His First, Second, and Fourth Expeditions to the Far West*, ed. Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 86.

45 Clarence B. Bagley, "Crossing the Plains," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 13 (July 1922): 166.

road.⁴⁶ In other words, nearly 12,000 white emigrants and their livestock passed directly through the homeland of the Shoshone-Bannocks that summer.

The emigrant invasion sparked violence between Newes and Euroamericans, but the dimensions of the conflict must be kept in perspective. About 10,000 emigrants died on the overland trek between 1840 and 1860. Of that number, native peoples killed fewer than 400, or about 4 percent. Disease, with cholera being perhaps the single greatest killer, was responsible for 90 percent of the deaths along the trail. Accidents also killed more emigrants than Indians. In fact, emigrants usually killed more Indians each year than vice versa. In 1851, for instance, sixty emigrants died at the hands of Indians—the greatest total of any single year—while that same year emigrants killed some seventy Indians. In only five years during the two decades of heaviest travel did white deaths exceed Indian deaths.⁴⁷ During the bloody year of 1851 more than half of the killings took place in the heart of Newe territory along the Snake River. Most often, emigrants themselves, sparked the violence. For instance, wanting a prime campsite for themselves that summer, members of the Patterson train charged a Newe camp on Rock Creek, firing shotguns in the air and chasing the Indians away on horseback. Retaliation followed, not only against the Patterson train but against other emigrants later in the season.⁴⁸ Such rash acts combined with the monopolization and destruction of resources also led some Newe groups along the Snake and the Humboldt to turn to raiding.⁴⁹

Peaceful cooperation and trade rather than violence more often marked Newe encounters with emigrants. Washakie, uniformly celebrated by officials of the Utah Superintendency, came to epitomize Newe friendship. In 1859, Washakie told Frederick Lander, “that it was never the intention of the Shoshonee tribe, at least his portion of it, to fight the whites; that he had himself been fired upon by emigrants but had always taught his young men that a war with the ‘Great Father’ would be disastrous to them.”⁵⁰

46 *Report of the Secretary of the Interior on Pacific Wagon Roads*, 1859; 35th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 108 (Serial 1008), 7, 55–56; Frederick W. Lander to Commissioner of Indian Affairs (hereafter CIA), 1860 Feb. 18, *Letters Received 1824–1881*, Microcopy 234 (hereafter M234), Utah Superintendency, RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

47 Unruh, *The Plains Across*. More whites than Indians died in 1845, 1847, 1856, 1859, and 1860.

48 Madsen, *The Bannock of Idaho*, 73–74; Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah, Press, 1985), 44–45; T. W. Davenport, “Recollections of an Indian Agent,” *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly* 8 (1907): 363.

49 See Brigham D. Madsen, “Shoshoni-Bannock Marauders on the Oregon Trail 1859–1863,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 4–30.

50 *Pacific Wagon Roads*, 68.

Friendship could be beneficial at both the individual and group levels, and Washakie proved adept at employing his reputation as a friend of the whites to buttress his status among them as well as his own people. Trade was another part of peaceful Newe-emigrant relations, especially along the Snake River. The great fisheries of the Salmon Falls on the middle Snake were a welcome sight for travelers weary of their monotonous diet. In 1838, Sarah White Smith wrote, "We have purchased salmon of these Indians, find it beautiful & are feasting on it." Theodore Talbot, who accompanied Frémont's 1843 expedition, wrote of the large Newe camp at the Falls, "Round every hut are high platforms covered with drying salmon. They present quite a gay appearance for the meat of the salmon is a deep scarlet color." From Salmon Falls to the Boise, the party encountered Newe "strung out along the river at every little rapid where fish are to be caught, and the cry '*Haggai, haggai*' (fish) was constantly heard." *Agai* actually means salmon. By the time the emigration peaked in the early 1850s, the Newe salmon trade was thriving. "All sorts of trades were made for fish," Bagley remembered. "The Indians had no use for money but were glad to exchange for clothing and particularly for ammunition."⁵¹

While the scope of conflict has been exaggerated, the friction between emigrants and Newe was an issue that demanded the attention of federal officials. With violent encounters seemingly on the rise, Frederick Lander reported that, "the Snakes or Shoshones have probably suffered more than any tribe from the passage of the emigration along the narrow vallies [*sic*] of their rivers." When he visited with Newe bands he heard firsthand the difficulties Newe leaders faced controlling young men bent on prestige and plunder, and stinging from the insults and abuses of the emigrants. In 1858, Washakie told Lander, "before the emigrants passed through his country, buffalo, elk, and antelope could be seen on all the hills; now, when he looked for game, he saw only wagons with white tops and men riding upon their horses; that his people were very poor, and had fallen back into the valleys of the mountains to dig roots and get meat for their little ones."⁵²

Washakie was still able to control his young men. It was farther west among the Northwestern Bands that raiding was common. Ignoring the over-

51 "Diary of Sarah White Smith," ed. Clifford Merrill Drury, in *First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838*, (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1963-66), 3:104; "Diary of Asahel Munger and Wife," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 7 (1907): 401; John Charles Frémont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure* (New York: Longmans Green, 1956), 269-70; *The Journals of Theodore Talbot, 1843 and 1849-52*, ed. Charles H. Carey (Portland, Ore.: Metropolitan Press, 1931), 54; Preuss, *Exploring With Frémont*, 91; Bagley, "Crossing the Plains," 176.

52 *Pacific Wagon Roads*, 68.

blown rumors of unceasing hostility, Lander sought out and met with Pocatello. The famed and unfairly feared headman told the superintendent, “his tribe had received . . . ‘assaults of ignominy’ from white emigrants on their way to California; that one of his principal men had had his squaw and children killed by the emigrants quite recently; that the hearts of his people were very bad against the whites; that there were some things he could not manage, and among them were the bad thoughts of his young men towards the whites.”⁵³ Pocatello’s people had adapted to the violence and dislocation that came with the overland migration and permanent white settlement by becoming raiders.

In his travels Lander visited as many Newe bands as possible, and in the winter of 1860 submitted an official report to the commissioner of Indian affairs. Lander identified seven principal Newe bands along the overland trail routes: Washakie’s people, the “Shoshonees or Eastern Snakes”; the “Salmon River Snakes, Bannacks and Snakes and Sheep Eaters,” the mixed bands of Shoshone and Bannock speakers of the Lemhi Valley; the Northwestern Bands, including Pocatello’s, who Lander called “Western Snakes”; the mixed buffalo hunting bands of Fort Hall, the “Bannacks, or Panackees or Pannacks”; the “Bannacks of Fort Boise,” who were probably the Shoshone-dominated mixed band later known as the Boise Shoshones; the “Salt Lake Diggers, Lower or Southern Snakes” who were Northwestern Shoshones living among the Mormon settlements of northern Utah; and finally, the “Warraricas, (in English ‘Sun-Flower Seed Eaters,’) or Diggers or Bannacks, Below Fort Boise, West of the Blue Mountains,” most likely the Paiute-speaking people known as “Snakes” in Oregon. Lander concluded, “All the above Indians travel together and intermarry. They hold the entire country.”⁵⁴

Situated in the midst of Newe country, it fell to officials of the Utah Superintendency to manage the conflicts. Violence on the trails spiked again in 1862 at the same time tensions rose between the local Newe and the growing Mormon population in the Cache Valley of Utah.⁵⁵ In August, Little Soldier, leader of the “Weber Utes” (in reality a Newe band), warned Superintendent James Duane Doty that, inspired by a “great Bannock prophet,” the Newe had “set aside Wash-i-kee, the great chief of that nation, because he is a man of peace and a friend to the whites” and determined to wage a general war upon the settlers and emigrants.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, to the north, the Newe band led by the *dai’gwhani’*

53 Lander to CIA, 1860 Feb. 18, M234; Utah Superintendency, NARA. See pp. 411–12, this volume

54 Ibid.

55 John W. Heaton, “‘No Place to Pitch Their Teepees’: Shoshone Adaptation to Mormon Settlers in Cache Valley, 1855–1870,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (Spring 1995): 158–71.

56 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (hereafter ARCIA), 1862, 213–14. The “Weber Utes” were a Northwestern Shoshone band that ranged along the east side of the Great Salt Lake between the modern Ogden and Salt Lake City, Utah. In the primary literature they were often called “Cumumbahs.”

Bear Hunter, became embroiled in growing conflicts with the settlers as well as travelers along the road to the Montana mines. It was in this tense climate that the California volunteer regiment under the command of Patrick Edward Connor arrived in Utah.

Connor had already employed brutal methods to suppress Indian raiding during his march across Nevada when he turned his attention to the situation in Cache Valley. In January 1863, Indians attacked two separate parties traveling along the Montana road and Utah Chief Justice John F. Kinney issued arrest warrants for Newe leaders Bear Hunter, Sagwitch, and Sanpitch. When the territorial marshal approached Connor for assistance in executing the warrants, he was told that the colonel already had plans to punish the Shoshones and “it was not [his] intention to take any prisoners.” Traveling at night to avoid detection, the troops arrived at the Newe village on the Bear River in freezing cold on January 29, 1863. The ensuing battle quickly turned into a slaughter. Bear Hunter and at least 250 Newe died that day.⁵⁷ The Bear River Massacre is perhaps the darkest day in Newe history, but it encouraged Doty to begin the treaty-making process. “The fight on Bear river was the severest and most bloody of any which has ever occurred with Indians west of the Mississippi,” he wrote. “It struck terror in the hearts of savages hundreds of miles away from the battlefield.”⁵⁸

At the end of June 1863, Doty embarked on a mission to conclude peace treaties with the greater “Shoshonee Nation.” Although shaped by his own cultural assumptions, compared to many of his contemporaries, Doty possessed a more sophisticated understanding of the peoples with whom he was to meet. The result was a series of five treaties with Newe groups living from the plains of central Wyoming to the Humboldt Valley of Nevada. The superintendent traveled first to Fort Bridger to treat with Washakie and the Eastern Shoshones. That treaty became a model for the four others that followed: the Treaty of Box Elder with the Northwestern Bands, the Treaty of Ruby Valley with the Western Shoshones, the Treaty of Tooele Valley with the “Shoshoni-Goship,” and the Treaty of Soda Springs with the “mixed bands of Shoshones and Bannacks.”⁵⁹ Doty directly linked the Box Elder and Soda Springs treaties to the Fort Bridger treaty by inserting a clause that made them essentially addendums to the earlier pact. No such provision appeared in the Ruby Valley and Tooele treaties. Echoing Lander’s earlier assessment he reported, “As none of the Indians of this country have permanent places of abode, in their hunting excursions they wander over an immense

57 Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 178, 190–92.

58 ARCIA, 1863, 420.

59 Treaty of Fort Bridger, 18 Stat. 685–688; Treaty of Box Elder, 13 Stat. 663–665; Treaty of Ruby Valley, 18 Stat. 6896–92; Treaty of Tuilla [Tooele] Valley, 13 Stat. 681–684. The unratified Soda Springs treaty of 1863 Oct. 14 is reprinted in Madsen, *The Bannock of Idaho*, 326–27.

region, extending from the fisheries at and below Salmon Fall, on the Shoshonee [Snake] river, near the Oregon line, to the sources of that stream, and to the buffalo country beyond. The Shoshonees and Bannacks are the only nations which, to my knowledge, hunt together over the same ground.”⁶⁰ In effect, the superintendent was reifying the divisions that he perceived to be most important among the Shoshones and assuming much greater power on Washakie’s part than he actually possessed.

The subsequent history of the Doty treaties illustrates both the vast differences between white and Newe cultures and the effects that such dealings could have on internal Newe politics. The Senate ratified all of the treaties except the final agreement reached at Soda Springs, due to a technicality.⁶¹ In a culture where leaders maintained political power by providing for their followers, evidence of influence among the whites was crucial and access to annuities essential. Washakie was the principal beneficiary of the treaties while other Newe *dai’gwhanee* saw their influence diminished. Taghee, the most influential leader among the Shoshone-Bannocks, for example, could not understand why the government failed to fulfill its promises. He and his followers were drawn toward Fort Bridger, in Washakie’s *debía*, in search of presents and annuities. In 1866, agent Luther Mann at Fort Bridger reported the visit of Taghee and four hundred Bannocks. “I did not have any presents for them,” he wrote, “and was informed that they had not received any from the Great Father in times past.” He attributed this neglect to their location far from the agency.⁶²

Washakie’s political acumen and long history of friendship with the whites paid dividends as officials consciously and unconsciously buttressed his influence among Newe peoples. Utah Superintendent O. H. Irish’s comments of September 9, 1865, were typical both in their admiration of Washakie and in the overestimation of his power among all Shoshones and Bannocks: “The eastern bands of Shoshones and mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshones number upwards of four thousand souls. These bands are under the control of Wash-akee, the finest appearing Indian I have ever seen. He is justly regarded as a firm friend of the government and the whites, and steadily refuses to hold communication with bad Indians.”⁶³

Washakie was indeed a man of great influence, but he still was essentially a *dai’gwhani*’ who spoke foremost for his own following and whose influence

60 ARCIA, 1864, 174–75.

61 ARCIA, 1865, 158. Doty had inserted an unnecessary clause in the Soda Springs treaty that required the assent of the leaders involved. He never reassembled the “mixed bands” and so the treaty never went into effect.

62 ARCIA, 1866, 126–27 (Document 132, this collection).

63 O. H. Irish to CIA, 1865 Sep. 9, M234; Utah Superintendentcy, NARA (Document 121).

was greatest in his own “native land.” Taghee in particular chafed at the erosion of his followers and when given the opportunity, vented his feelings to white officials.⁶⁴

The cultural misunderstanding of Newe politics was also evident at the Fort Bridger Treaty council of July 3, 1868. The government representative at Fort Bridger, Gen. Christopher C. Augur, shared his contemporaries’ assumptions about Washakie’s power and was hopeful of consolidating all of the mounted Shoshone and Bannock bands together on a single reservation. Taghee would have none of it, nor would he even agree to receive his people’s annuities at Fort Bridger. He demanded a reservation in his own native land and that all annuities be delivered there. “We are friends with the Shoshones and like to hunt with them, but we want a home for ourselves,” he told Augur. The general finally agreed to two reservations, one on Wind River on lands Washakie described, the other a more vaguely defined reservation for the Bannocks that included “reasonable portions of the ‘Port Neuf’ and ‘Kansas [*sic*] Prairie’ countries.”⁶⁵

The Fort Bridger treaty was a watershed moment in Newe history. By 1869, reservation life increasingly defined the future. The Fort Bridger treaty remains the basis of relations between the federal government and the Eastern Shoshone Tribe of Wind River and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation. Of course, enormous changes had already marked Newe history by that time. Horses, guns, epidemics, trade goods, overland emigrants, and permanent white settlement all presented new challenges and opportunities. The Newe groups that dealt with the Utah Superintendency had already reacted, adapted, and reshaped their world based on their own cultural understandings and the choices at hand. These are the native people who ultimately became the Shoshone and Shoshone-Bannock people of today.

64 ARCIA, 1868, 197–98. Taghee’s comments came at a treaty council with the Idaho territorial governor in August of 1867.

65 C. C. Augur to President of the Indian Peace Commission, Omaha, Nebraska, 1868 Oct. 4, USNA, RG 75, Irregular Sized Papers; ARCIA 1868, 156–58; Treaty with the Shoshonees and Bannacks, 15 Stat. 673–78. The clerk’s obvious misspelling of *camas* left an opening for unscrupulous whites who moved onto the prairie in central Idaho at the foot of the Sawtooths in the 1870s.



Stereograph image of Shoshone Indians in front of the Salt Lake City ZCMI building on north State Street, ca. 1869–1875. *Photo by C. W. Carter. LDS Church Historical Dept.*

DALE L. MORGAN

The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851–1858

AS VIRTUALLY THE FIRST STEP taken for the extension of government into the territory acquired in the Mexican cession, late in March, 1849, President Zachary Taylor directed that the Indian agencies for the Upper Missouri and Council Bluffs be transferred to Santa Fe and Salt Lake. On April 7, John Wilson of Missouri was notified of his appointment to the Salt Lake agency, and James S. Calhoun, of Georgia, to the Santa Fe agency, at salaries of \$1,500 per year.¹

Various motives may have attended these appointments—the routine expansion of government administration into a political vacuum; a first effort to cultivate relations with the Indians along the main transcontinental trails; or, most subtly and most pressingly, a project for procuring the admission into the Union of the vast territory just obtained from Mexico. Both Wilson and Calhoun had secret instructions from the administration for bringing about the admission of the prospective states without touching off anew the bitter wrangling between North and South.² Calhoun stayed on in New Mexico to become the first territorial governor,³ but Wilson, who went on to California after conferences with the Mormons in September, 1849, resigned his commission within a few months.⁴ On September 5, 1850, Edward Cooper was named to succeed him,⁵ but his office was abolished before he traveled to his post,⁶ and the “Salt Lake Agency” has

- 1 William Medill to Wilson, April 7, 1849; Medill to Calhoun, April 7, 1849; 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 17 (Serial 573), 182–84.
- 2 Dale L. Morgan, “The State of Deseret,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 1–3 (1940): 130–31.
- 3 *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun while Indian Agent at Santa Fé and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1915).
- 4 Wilson to Secretary of the Interior, February 22, 1850 (W/438–1850). File marks cited in this and subsequent notes are those of the original documents in the records of the Office of Indian Affairs, now in the custody of the National Archives, Washington, D.C. Where the documents have been published, citation is made to the published texts instead, but all quotation is from the original documents.
- 5 D. C. Goddard, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to A. J. Loughery, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 5, 1850 (I/459–1850).
- 6 Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Cooper, March 22, 1851, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 44, 348.

nothing to show for its brief existence except a handful of interesting letters from Wilson preserved in the archives of the Indian Office.⁷

The obsolescence of this first administrative provision for Indian affairs in Utah was brought about through the creation of the Territory of Utah on September 9, 1850. Among the provisions of the act was a section stipulating that the territorial governor should be ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs and fixing his annual salary at \$2,500, of which \$1,000 was to be in consideration of services in overseeing Indian affairs.⁸ Eleven days after this act was passed, President Fillmore named Brigham Young governor of the new territory. News of this appointment reached Young early in 1851, but he did not commence acting in his capacity as superintendent of Indian affairs until the subagents reported for duty in July.

Provision for staffing the Utah superintendency had been made by an act of Congress on February 27, 1851, which authorized the appointment of an agent at a salary of \$1,550 per year.⁹ In addition, two subagents were provided for by the Indian Office, at annual salaries of \$750. Nominated for these offices were Jacob H. Holeman, a Kentuckian,¹⁰ Henry R. Day, a Missourian,¹¹ and Stephen B. Rose, a Mormon from New Jersey.¹² Day and Rose, the subagents, reached Great Salt Lake City on July 19,¹³ and Holeman on August 9.¹⁴

Immediately after the arrival of the subagents, on July 21, 1851, Brigham Young issued a proclamation¹⁵ dividing the territory into three districts: the "Parvan"

7 These letters are dated at Fort Bridger, August 22, 1849 (in 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 17 (Serial 573), 184–87); Great Salt Lake Valley, September 4, 1849 (ibid., 104–12); San Francisco, December 22, 1849 (W/420–1850); and San Jose, December 28, 1849 (W/405–1850).

8 *United States Statutes at Large* 9 (1851): 453–58. Hereafter cited as *U. S. Stat. at L.* [Morgan's citation format is non-standard but accurate. Following the abbreviated title he gives the publication volume number, the year of the congressional session (not the volume's publication date), and page number(s). Modern citations to the Statutes now follow a different form, arranged by congress and act number without reference to pages; since these early volumes do not have act numbers, his original citation form is followed. —Ed.]

9 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 9 (1851): 587.

10 Lea to Holeman, March 29, 1851, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 44, 267.

11 Lea to Day, March 20, 1851, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 44, 243.

12 Lea to Rose, March 21, 1851, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 44, 244.

13 "History of Brigham Young," 1849, 55; quoted under this date in *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, hereafter cited as *Journal History*. This [scrapbook-style] compilation is found in the Historian's Office [now the Historical Department] of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Salt Lake City.

14 Holeman to Lea, September 21, 1851, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 2, part 2 (Serial 636), 444–46. Holeman's first name here is erroneously given as John.

15 A certified copy of the proclamation is attached to Young's letter to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851). It was printed in the *Deseret News*, August 8, 1851.



Jacob Harrod Holeman, ca.1840, Utah Indian agent 1851–1853, from a painting in family keeping. *Photo courtesy of Georgia K. Bopp.*

(Pahvan) agency, which was to administer the country west of the Shoshoni territory and north of the southern line of Pahvan Valley; the Uinta agency, which was to look after the Uinta (Ute), Yampa (Ute), and all other tribes east of the eastern rim of the Great Basin and south to the territorial boundary; and the Parowan agency, which was to administer the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin and south of the southern line of Pahvan Valley to the western boundary of the territory. Day was named to the Parvan agency and Rose to the Uinta.

These plans, however, were disrupted when Holeman reported for duty on August 11. He advised Young of the great council with the Plains Indians being held at Fort Laramie by Superintendent D. D. Mitchell of the Central (St. Louis) superintendency, and asked sanction to attend that council for the purpose

of treating with a band of Shoshoni he had encountered en route to his post. He wanted Day and Rose to accompany him.¹⁶ To this proposal Young readily agreed,¹⁷ and Holeman and Rose left immediately for Fort Laramie. Day remained behind to persuade a delegation of Utes to accompany him to the treaty grounds, but the principal Ute chiefs were suspicious of trickery and declined to go.¹⁸

Day shortly let his sympathies become involved in the controversy which broke out between the Saints and the Gentile [i.e., non-Mormon] territorial officials, and when Judges Perry E. Brocchus and L[emuel] G. Brandebury, together with Secretary Broughton D. Harris, abandoned their posts at the end of September, he went with them. After reaching Washington, he announced his willingness to return to Utah but asked for instructions which would enable him to act independent of Young and the Mormons, on the grounds that no agent controlled by Young could adequately serve the government in its relations with the Indians.¹⁹ Five weeks later, however, Day resigned, requesting that his resignation be accepted as of January 16, 1852.²⁰ No successor was ever appointed, and Utah was left with one agent and one subagent to handle Indian affairs under Brigham Young's superintendence.

Meanwhile, at Fort Laramie, Holeman was listening to the mountain men. An outspoken hostility had arisen between them and the Mormons in the four years since the Saints had migrated to the Rockies. Although a social antagonism existed as well, the basis of this hostility was primarily economic, arising out of the indirect effect upon the Indian economy of Mormon settlement upon the richer lands of the Utes, which impaired their ability to trade, and out of the direct clash of interest contingent upon the Mormon arrogation to church members of the exclusive right to trade with the Indians and to maintain ferries on the Bear and Green rivers.

Setting forth the mountain men's side of this conflict, expressed to him, of course, in terms of Indian interest, Holeman wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that in settling and taking possession of the Indian country, the Mormons provoked the Indians to "attack emigrants, plunder and commit murder whenever they find a party weak enough to enable them to do so." At the same time, Holeman termed the mountain men a class "equally injurious to the country and the Indians," and he thought it would require "extreme measures and some

16 Holeman to Young, August 11, 1851, copy attached to Young's letter cited above.

17 Young to Lea, October 20, 1851, cited in note 15.

18 Day to Lea, January 2, 1852, in *Message of President, Transmitting Reports of Secretaries of State, War, Interior, and of Attorney General, on Military Expedition Ordered into Territory of Utah*, in 35th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 71 (Serial 956); 130-32. This document is hereafter cited as *Utah Expedition*.

19 Day to Lea, January 9, 1852, *Utah Expedition*, 132, 133.

20 Day to Lea, February 19, 1852 (D/24-1852).

force to relieve the country of them.”²¹ Although not all his strictures were well taken, in this and later communications Holeman showed himself a zealous public servant.

Two weeks after his return to Great Salt Lake City, Holeman submitted to Young a report on his trip to Fort Laramie, and in transmitting this report to Washington, the governor not only commended it as highly satisfactory, but also took occasion to remark that Holeman had “spared no pains to make himself useful”²²

This good feeling was largely one-sided and not very long-lived. On November 28, in a private letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Holeman spoke in highly critical vein of the Mormons. At first, he said, they had “conciliated the Indians by kind treatment, but when they once got a foothold, they began to *force their way*—the consequence was, a war with the Indians, and in many instances a most brutal butchery.” At the time of his return to Great Salt Lake City, Holeman had found Young absent, locating the site of Fillmore in Pahvan Valley; he objected to the fact that Young had taken with him several hundred dollars’ worth of Indian goods as presents “for the purpose, no doubt, of conciliating the Indians and getting their permission to extend his settlements, thus making use of his office, as superintendent, and the money of the government to promote the interest of his church.” He felt that “no Mormon should, officially have anything to do with the Indians,” because of the self-interest involved.²³

A month later, the agent wrote to the commissioner to describe a lawsuit, brought against him as an individual, to force him to pay the interpreter who had served Subagent Day in September. Holeman agreed to pay the account provided the governor would certify its correctness, but Young declined to do so. Hotly, Holeman wrote that Young

has been so much in the habit of exercising his will, which is supreme here, that no one will dare to oppose anything he may say or do. . . . I feel well assured that he was at the head of this suit . . . against me. He wished to show to *his people* that he was sincere in his expressions of contempt towards the government and her officers here, by having them annoyed in every possible manner, in order to force them to leave the Territory, or succumb to his will.²⁴

Such letters never aroused the Commissioner of Indian Affairs even to reply, and on February 29, Holeman expressed, by no means for the last time, something

21 Holeman to Lea, September 21, 1851 (Serial 636), 444–46.

22 Young to Lea, November 30, 1851 (U/1–1852).

23 Holeman to Lea, November 28, 1851, *Utah Expedition*, 128–30.

24 Holeman to Lea, December 28, 1851, *Utah Expedition*, 133–36.

of the irritation and bafflement the men in the Indian service felt at being left to their own devices. "You would greatly oblige me by giving me some instructions, in regard to my duties here, and the wishes of the department. I have been, as the saying is, going it blind, pretty much, and I fear I may have acted improperly, in some respects." He feared that little could be done for the benefit of the government or the Indians under existing conditions.

The superintendent and sub-Agent, Rose, seem disposed to conceal their movements from me; they never consult with me, or pay any attention to my opinions. They have licensed many traders, some against my wishes, and who I know to be unworthy; they are traversing the country in every direction, though they reside in this city. Have I the power to stop this kind of traffic? I have pestered you so much with my communications, that I fear you will think me troublesome. . . .²⁵

At the end of March, Holeman reiterated his grave suspicions of the Saints. Their group feeling he could interpret only in treasonable terms, and he thought every effort would be made "to prevent the government from peaceably extending her laws over the Territory." Reporting the Gentile gossip that an effort was being made by the Mormons to form an alliance with the Indians for mutual defense, Holeman added that he could give "thousands of circumstances, tending to show their deadly hostility to the government, and their determination to resist her authority in all matters which conflict with their notions and church regulations. They say, that '*God and the governor commands*,' and they obey no one else." The agent concluded by remarking that he intended making a trip to the Humboldt Valley unless otherwise instructed.²⁶

A considerable coolness had arisen between Brigham Young and his Indian agent, but things froze over altogether when a copy of the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs arrived in Great Salt Lake City early in the spring. The only communication from Utah printed in that report was the letter Holeman had written from Laramie, the contents of which were calculated to arouse the ire of the governor. In a letter of May 28 to the commissioner, Young declared that at the time Holeman submitted these opinions he had never seen an Indian upon whose land the Mormons had settled.

The Shoshonees and Uintas, to whom I more particularly allude being the only ones in the Territory with whom the Major had at that time had any knowledge of, or intercourse with, have at various times solicited settlements to be made in their respective lands in order that they might be

25 Holeman to Lea, February 29, 1852, *Utah Expedition*, 138–39.

26 Holeman to Lea, March 29, 1852, *Utah Expedition*, 139–44.

benefited in the articles of clothing and provisions, as the game spoken of affords even in the most retired and secluded places, but a very precarious dependence for subsistence. The only dissatisfaction that I have ever been able to learn as existing among them, was in consequence of no such settlements being made as they desired. . . .

As to the Utes, all lived south of the transcontinental trail and, being enemies of the Cheyennes and Shoshoni, never extended their travels as far north as the Oregon-California trail, and consequently could not, were they so disposed, trouble the immigrants. In view of these facts, Young explained, he had called on Holeman,

hoping that his longer residence in the Territory and more extended acquaintance had served to correct the views which he had so erroneously entertained and expressed. I sincerely regret to say that he still adhered so strenuously to them as to induce the belief that he was at least indifferent to the interests of the community, by so manifestly endeavoring to prejudice the mind of the Government against them.²⁷

It is curious that, with diametrically opposed points of view, the two men equally had at heart the well-being of the Indians. Holeman conceived that he had no other responsibility than to the Indians, and he was prepared to defend their interests against anyone. Young's point of view was more colored by social self-interest, yet it was essentially more realistic because it took into account the continuing pressures of American expansionism. The question was not what was best for Indians living in a political vacuum or cultural void, but how Indian interests could best be reconciled with the expansionist forces of white colonization. Young foresaw that the Indians must suffer, in the loss of their historic folkways and culture patterns, but he saw also that their individual good would best be subserved by changing the character of their life and providing them with a new economic base. Mormon colonization was a more efficient utilization of the land, and if by precept and example the Indians could be persuaded to change the pattern of their lives, settling down to an agricultural life, in the long run the Indians would gain more than they would lose from Mormon occupation of their lands. At best, theirs was a substandard level of subsistence, attended by poverty and more than occasional starvation. Young's thinking about the Indians was thus discerning and farsighted, looking beyond the possible immediate injustices which aroused the zealot in Holeman.

But if the quality of Young's mind was superior to that of Holeman, and the range of his ideas greater, his personality was not such that he could have

27 Young to Lea, May 28, 1852 (U/8-1852).

any patience for, or brook any opposition from, a person of sharply antagonistic views. Henceforth, so far as was practicable, he officially ignored Holeman.

The agent frankly this situation in a letter to the Indian Office on May 8. If Young was continued as superintendent. Holeman said, in this letter,

I had as well leave, for it must be evident to the department, from his course recently, that his personal feelings towards me, or something else, has induced him to neglect the interests of the government in a matter in which but a short time since he seemed to be deeply interested, and which he considered [to be] of the greatest importance to the government, to the Indians, and to this Territory [i.e., the Humboldt trip]. Whether any other Gentile could succeed better with him than I have done is extremely doubtful, as I have studiously avoided meddling with their peculiar notions of religion in any manner, and have endeavored to avoid giving them any offence personally. So far as my public duties have prompted me to speak of them, I leave to the department to judge. I have spoken of them and their acts, as I believed to be my duty; I have misrepresented them in nothing, for I have had no personal enmity to gratify.²⁸

The issue was clearly drawn between the two men over the Humboldt expedition Holeman had projected. Young had originally approved Holeman's design and had even prepared instructions for him, but on finding, as he expressed it, that Holeman "strenuously" adhered to views "erroneously entertained and expressed," and that he refused to retract those views, Young "declined giving him any instructions as was designed."²⁹

In a word, Young was perfectly prepared to stand obstinately for his principles, and though the Humboldt trip had only the slightest relevance to the interests of the Mormon community, Holeman's inability to see things right about the Mormons raised the question of his fitness to act in his office, and indeed of his personal integrity. Young's was a mind of extraordinary quality, but it was not at all a subtle mind, and he was incapable of handling a refractory personality gently. The tone taken toward Holeman could only have the effect of settling the agent more obdurately within his prejudices.

And Holeman was no less a stubborn man of principle. On April 19 he wrote Young, officially requesting advice and instructions about the proposed western operations. Four days later, however, Young left on a visit to the southern settlements without taking any notice of the letter. Having no instructions either from Washington or from Young, and unwilling to remain idle, Holeman decided to

28 Holeman to Lea, May 8, 1852, *Utah Expedition*, 151–54.

29 Young to Lea, May 28, 1852 (U/8–1852).

30 Holeman to Lea, April 29, 1852, *Utah Expedition*, 144–48.

31 Holeman to Lea, June 28, 1852 (H/133–1852).

go ahead on his own initiative.³⁰ With an escort of thirty-five men, he left Great Salt Lake City on May 13.³¹

On his return from the south, Young wrote John M. Bernhisel, the Utah delegate to Congress, that Holeman had left "altogether without my consent or any instructions from me"; he was inclined to believe Holeman was doing everything he could against him, and announced his intention of improving "an early opportunity of investigating matters pertaining to his doings."³² Yet, in his letter of May 28 to the Indian Office, Young gave a sufficiently fair statement of the case to make it evident why Holeman had gone ahead on his own responsibility, and he said he should await the result before acting in the matter, and that it was to be hoped the enterprise would prove beneficial.

The agent returned on August 22, feeling he had accomplished a great deal by his trip,³³ since in this most extensive year of the California immigration there had been less trouble with the Indians than in any year since the gold rush began. Young himself had no official comment to offer except that "we learn of no depredations of importance; this however is the usual result during the heavy emigration; whether they will again commence when that has passed, and small companies again tempt their [the Indians'] rapacity time will develop."³⁴ More scornfully, he added in a personal letter to Bernhisel,

Major Holeman . . . has not accomplished anything that I have heard of and is literally doing nothing, unless, as I suspect, writing letters designed by him to injure the good people of this territory, and prejudice the people and government of the United States against us. . . . He assumes that he has accomplished great things. I hope it may prove so, but have my doubts, if it has accomplished any good. I should not have instructed him, if I had given him any to have gone with a large company. It was not at all necessary when there was so much emigration on the road, but I am desirous of getting along with him with as little difficulty as possible, therefore pass by many things, that might with a great deal of propriety be commented upon.³⁵

Holeman now got involved anew in the controversies between the Mormons and the mountain men. Early in October he rode to Fort Bridger to look into some difficulties with the Shoshoni. There he learned that the source of the trouble was the Green River ferry grants made by the Mormon legislature.

32 Young to Bernhisel, May 27, 1852, quoted in *Journal History* under this date.

33 Cf. Holeman's letters to Lea, June 28, 1852 (H/133-1852); August 30, 1852, *Utah Expedition*, 155-58; and September 30, 1852 (H/163-1852).

34 Young to Lea, September 29, 1852 (U/17-1852).

35 Young to Bernhisel, August 28, 1852, quoted in *Journal History* under this date.

The Mormons were determined to maintain their grants, while the Indians, as Holeman heard the facts, were determined that they should not. In all probability the Indians had no serious interest in the matter, but they lived on terms of intimacy with the mountain men, who themselves had a direct financial stake in the issue, and the Indians might well have been aroused against the Mormons by the mountain men. Or the mountain men's own interest may have been expressed in terms of Indian interest. Once again, Holeman was impelled to take a position adverse to the Mormons, and he advised the Indian Office that if the Saints should persist in their project, a war would be the consequence. He thought, further, that the charter stipulation by which 10 per cent of ferry receipts was to be paid into the tithing office of the church (for the Perpetual Emigrating Fund) was unconstitutional.³⁶

Before he could leave Bridger, Holeman was snowed in, and it was not until early March that he could return to his official station. At that time he addressed a troubled letter to the commissioner. He felt disposed, he said, to treat all parties fairly and to protect the Indians so as to prevent difficulties with the whites, but Young seemed to have no other anxiety than to favor his own church and people.

If matters are not changed, so as to produce a better feeling in the Mormons, towards the government; or if the authority and laws of the government are not enforced, if it should be the wishes of the department I would like to be called home, as my duty to the government compels me to act in such a manner as to give offence, frequently, to the Mormons, who seem to recognize no law but their own self-will. . . . They seem desirous to hold all the offices themselves; and when a Gentile is appointed, he is never treated with respect, but is abused, let him do as he will. I have, and do yet, disregard their abuse, but feel that my efficiency as a government officer, is impaired by such conduct.³⁷

Perhaps Washington had already come to the conclusion reached by Holeman, or perhaps the Democratic triumph in the 1852 election was having the usual result: On April 30, 1853, five weeks before this letter from Holeman reached Washington, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote Edward A. Bedell of Warsaw, Illinois, that he had been named to succeed the Kentuckian.³⁸ It seems probable that much of what Holeman wrote during his tenure of office was discounted on the grounds of prejudice, for no comment in which he could take comfort was ever sent him, and it would appear that Young's course received general approval, for in a letter to Bernhisel on September 29, 1852, he remarked,

36 Holeman to Lea, November 3, 1852, *Utah Expedition*, 158–59.

37 Holeman to Lea, March 5, 1853, *Utah Expedition*, 160–61.

38 Indian Office Letter Book, no. 47, 160, 161.

“I feel truly gratified in learning that the commissioner of Indian affairs seems pleased with my efforts to perform my duties in that department. I assure you that they are onerous and somewhat difficult.”³⁹

Although a rumor was current to the effect that he had been replaced, on July 6 Holeman left Great Salt Lake City on a second expedition to the Humboldt and Carson valleys. He returned on September 29, 1853, to find that his successor had arrived, and on October 17 he officially transferred his authority to Bedell.⁴⁰

Brigham Young’s first act as superintendent of Indian affairs had been to divide the superintendency into three agencies, but owing to the departure of Day and the hostile relationship with Holeman, the districting of the territory had been purely theoretical. Holeman had for the most part determined his own movements, while Rose was attached to Young’s office to handle the routine chores of Indian relations.

On the arrival of Bedell, on August 15, 1853, Young attacked anew the administrative problems involved in handling the Utah Indians. The territory was divided into two districts, the eastern and the western, with the former assigned to Bedell, and the latter to Rose. The territorial boundaries being the California line on the west, and the Continental Divide on the east, the U. S. Territorial Road (approximately the present US 91) was adopted as the line of demarcation, since it separated the country into nearly equal parts and was a line already determined and easily recognized.⁴¹

The propriety, not to say the necessity, of appointing additional subagents to enable him “more efficiently to carry out the fatherly policy of our government towards its native children,” was suggested by Brigham Young in his quarterly report of December 31, 1853. He wanted a subagency established for Carson Valley and the Humboldt River area, another for the Green River country, a third for the territory centering about the confluence of the Grand and Green rivers, and a fourth for Washington, Iron, and Millard counties. Even with these four additional subagencies, he pointed out, it would be necessary for the subagents “to travel hundreds of miles annually to properly fulfill their duties, and a large area of country still be left to the shard of the present agent & Sub Agent, for the fulfilment of tribes in their allotted localities.”⁴²

Nothing was done about this recommendation. But the organization of the superintendency prevailing at the end of 1853 was soon altered because Bedell

39 Young to Bernhisel, quoted in *Journal History* under this date.

40 Holeman to C. E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1854 (H/643–1854) [pp. 97–99 in this volume].

41 Young to George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 30, 1853 (U/26–1853).

42 Young to Manypenny, December 31, 1853 (H/28–1854).

died at Green River on May 3, 1854, and because Rose wanted to return to New Jersey.⁴³ Another Mormon, George W. Armstrong, of Provo, was eventually named to succeed Rose,⁴⁴ but a Gentile, Dr. Garland Hurt, of Kentucky, was appointed to the vacancy occasioned by Bedell's death.⁴⁵

Three years later, Hurt declared that he had originally come to Utah

fully resolved to divest myself of any predilection, or prejudice, either for, or against any of the people of the Territory, knowing that I should have an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with them from personal observations, and determined to make that, the basis of my opinions, and actions in regard to them. . . . It was not long however, till I recognized among them the existence of a heartfelt hatred for the people of the United States, and with surprise and regret, was I compelled to witness that this hatred was fed and sustained by harangues from those in authority of the Church, whom I have never known to loose an opportunity for fan[n]ing the flames of this rebellious spirit.⁴⁶

The period during which Hurt's attitude underwent this radical adjustment may be quite accurately determined from his official correspondence. He arrived in Great Salt Lake City on February 5, 1855,⁴⁷ and by May 2 he was finding it necessary to write Commissioner Manypenny concerning "some facts which I do not feel myself altogether at liberty to remain silent upon." He had become alarmed at the program for Indian missions advanced at the April conference of the church; since intentionally or otherwise, the Mormons had created in the minds of the Utah Indians a distinction between Mormons and the generality of American citizens ("Americats" or "Merocats"), he feared that the Mormon missionary program would alienate the Indians all over the country. He wanted the conduct of the missionaries submitted to the close scrutiny of the Indian Office, go where they might. And like Holeman before him, Hurt was not attracted to Brigham Young. To get an interpreter, he had been "forced to the humiliating necessity of imploring" Young to excuse one of the Saints from the mission on which it had been designed to send him.⁴⁸

43 Young to Manypenny, June 30, 1854 (U/36-1854).

44 Manypenny to Armstrong, January 30, 1855, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 50, 459.

45 Mix to Hurt, August 16, 1854, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 49, 488.

46 Hurt to Governor Alfred Cumming, December 17, 1857, Utah Territorial Records, I, no. 164, in State Department records [RG 59], National Archives [and Records Administration].

47 *Deseret News*, February 8, 1855.

48 Hurt to Manypenny, May 2, 1855; printed two years later in 35th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 2, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Serial 942), 593-94; reprinted in *Utah Expedition*, 176-77.

The suspicions which the agent throws upon the character of those Mormons engaged as missionaries are such as may make it necessary, as a precautionary step to preserve the harmony of our relations with the Indian tribes, to instruct the superintendent, agents, and sub-agents to scrutinize the conduct of the Mormons and all others suspected of having a design to interrupt the peace and tranquility between the Indians and government.⁴⁹

Hurt had thus succeeded almost at once in making felt as a new force in Utah Indian affairs his suspicious mind and potential hostility. But at the same time he was a man of some imagination, and circumstances had so ripened that he could propose on behalf of the government the first really constructive steps toward a solution of the Indian problem in the territory.⁵⁰

The need for a treaty had been recognized by everybody, from John Wilson on. In 1849, Wilson had recommended that the government “extinguish by treaty” the Indian title to the country adjacent to the Great Salt Lake as soon as possible.⁵¹ Holeman had taken up this theme in his own first communication to the Indian Office, when he expressed the opinion that “a treaty with the various tribes of Indians in Utah, would be productive of much good, if held immediately—it would have the effect of preventing depredations on their lands, quieting their excitement against the whites and ultimately save the Government from much trouble and expense.”⁵² He reiterated this advice in a communication of December 31, 1851.⁵³ Brigham Young took up the matter on his own account in his letter to the Indian Office on November 30, 1851:

I cannot . . . be too strenuous in urging upon the department the necessity of securing the present favorable opportunity, while the Indians themselves are inclined to engage in it to institute among them the means of procuring the subsistence necessary to prolong life as well as the establishing of schools and all other things pertaining to civilization that can be made of use or benefit to them. . . . If previous to any such

49 Mix to Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior, August 13, 1855, 35th Cong., 1st sess. House Executive Document 2, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Serial 942), 595–96.

50 The growth of a reservation system in Utah and elsewhere in the West is described in Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration, 1849–1860* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1932; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1972). The present monograph is concerned with these developments only as they affected actual administration of Indian affairs in Utah.

51 Wilson to Thomas Ewing, September 4, 1849, 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 17, Serial 573, 104–12.

52 Holeman to Lea, September 21, 1851, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 2, pt. 2 (Serial 636), 444–46.

53 Holeman to Young, December 31, 1851 (U/6–1852).

arrangements being made for their benefit it becomes necessary to enter into Treaty stipulations with them, then we should not delay that operation any longer, but go about it as speedily as possible.⁵⁴

On December 31, 1851, he submitted estimates as to the funds that would be required for holding treaties “or establishing schools, blacksmiths, mills &c at agencies, as usual in other Territories.”⁵⁵

It was of course not alone his zeal for the Indians which gave Young so warm an interest in the matter of treaties. The Mormons were worried about their land claims, and nothing could be done about getting valid titles until the Indian title was extinguished. On June 30, 1852, Young asked whether the government would authorize any agent or himself to conclude treaties with the Utah Indians.⁵⁶ In December, a year later, Bernhisel expressed the anxiety felt by his constituents over this problem of the Indian title to their lands,⁵⁷ and he implemented his inquiry by taking up the question with the House Committee on Indian Affairs.⁵⁸ The commissioner had already commended to Congress the propriety of extinguishing the Indian title, and in consequence the annual appropriation for the Indian service, passed July 31, 1854, authorized the Secretary of the Interior “to cause to be disbursed such of the moneys appropriated in this act for the Utah Indians, either under treaty stipulations, or for general incidental expenses by the Indian Agent in that Territory, as he may think proper.”⁵⁹

As a result of this act, on August 8, 1854, the commissioner wrote to the superintendents in Utah and New Mexico requesting estimates of goods that would be required in treating with the Indians. On October 30, Young transmitted his estimate, which totaled \$34,055.⁶⁰ Unluckily, both the original estimate and the duplicate went astray, and a third copy was not provided the commissioner until July, 1855. In the meantime, Manypenny had received the requested estimate from New Mexico, so the governor of that territory was given authority to treat with the tribes in his area.⁶¹ The Mew Mexican treaty, as it turned out, did not meet with favor when submitted to the Senate for ratification, and since the Indian Office had

54 Young to Lea, November 30, 1851 (U/1-1852).

55 Young to Lea, September 29, 1852 (U/17-1852).

56 Young to Lea, June 30, 1852 (U/13-1852).

57 Bernhisel to Manypenny, December 23, 1853 (B/314-1853).

58 James L. Orr to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 28, 1854 (O/63-1854).

59 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 10 (1855): 332.

60 Young to Manypenny, October 30, 1854 (U/41-1854).

61 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1855, 34th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1, pt. 1 (Serial 810), 567. [I.e., p. 333—Morgan's original page citation is an error.]

projected the same sort of arrangements for Utah, the Utah estimates were simply filed when received.⁶² It was 1863 before any effective treaties were concluded with the Indians of the territory, and it was not until 1865 that Superintendent O. H. Irish, at Spanish Fork, negotiated the long-sought treaty with the Utes.⁶³

Although the treaty arrangements were to hang fire for so many years, at the time Hurt reported for duty, in February, 1855, the outlook was hopeful. Moreover, some tentative steps had been taken in the three preceding years toward establishing farms for the instruction and benefit of the Indians. The situation was ripe for constructive activity, the more so because Congress in 1854 and 1855 doubled its appropriation for incidental expenses of the Indian service in Utah, \$20,000 being made available in each year.⁶⁴

The precise beginnings of the Indian farm idea in Utah are difficult to establish because there is singularly little information in the reports of Brigham Young, who evidently promoted the first arrangement resembling a farming system. It would appear that on his trip to the southern settlements in the fall of 1851 he appointed three men to be “farmers to the Indians,” at salaries of \$600 per year. On October 28, 1851, Anson Call, at Fillmore, was appointed to act in such capacity with respect to the Pahvants, and on November 13, 1851, John C. L. Smith, at Parowan, was appointed farmer to the Piedes. A similar appointment, the date of which does not appear, was given to James Case in Sanpete Valley, to serve the “Uintas & D[iggers?].&c.”⁶⁵ These men were evidently paid from that portion of the appropriation which was allotted for expending by Young as superintendent. Apparently, Anson Call served as farmer throughout the time of Young’s superintendency. John C. L. Smith died at Parowan on December 30, 1855, and was succeeded by John D. Lee on January 1, 1856.⁶⁶ The terminal date of Case’s service does not appear, but Warren Snow became farmer to the “Sanpitch & Utah” Indians on July 2, 1855. He, like Lee, probably retained his position until Young was superseded.⁶⁷

62 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1856, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., Senate Executive Document 5, pt. 3 (Serial 875), 567.

63 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1866, 39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 2 (Serial 1248), 310–20.

64 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 9 (1851): 226, 328, 698.

65 The facts concerning these Indian farmers are elicited from an “abstract of employees” in the Utah Superintendency certified by Young on September 30, 1853, and transmitted with his letter of that date to Manypenny (U/26–1853). [A study of Utah’s early Indian farms may be found in Beverly Beeton, “Teach Them to Till the Soil: An Experiment with Indian Farms, 1850–1862,” *American Indian Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1977–1978): 299–320. —Ed.]

66 Young notified Manypenny to this effect in his quarterly report of March 31, 1856 (U/4–1856).

67 “Abstract of persons employed . . .” September 30, 1856, attachment to Young to Manypenny, September 30, 1856 (U/13–1856).

Hurt's first official recommendation, after reaching his station, was that more help should be provided.⁶⁸ He was more successful than Young in having additional subagencies authorized,⁶⁹ but without waiting for Washington to act, got vigorously on with his job. Finding the Indians destitute, depending almost entirely for subsistence on food begged from the white settlers, he decided to make every possible effort to teach them to farm.

Many of them have expressed a desire to do so, and in order to encourage their inclinations I employed William Maxwell at Payson, Jeremiah Hatch at Nephi, and John A. Ray, at Fillmore, to give them such instructions, and to furnish them with such farming utensils as may be necessary to encourage them in the undertaking. . . . I think that appropriations could not be made in a better way to these people than to feed them while they are at work.⁷⁰

Sanction of the Indian Office was asked for such plans on April 2. Manypenny immediately replied, "The policy you have instituted, of employing farmers to instruct and direct the Indians in Agricultural labor, if carefully managed, will, I think, prove beneficial, but you will have care that the Indians shall not be encouraged to expect that they will be fed & clothed and cared for by the Agent & at the expense of the United States, without effort or labor on their part." Payment was promised the white farmers if it should thereafter appear that they rendered valuable services, but Hurt was cautioned not to hire salaried employees at permanent pay the year round, the Indian Office having had sad experience along such lines.⁷¹

Hurt embarked upon his farming project with enthusiasm, trusting that Washington would approve, but not waiting for that approval. Farming operations in 1855 were not an unqualified success, in part because of the grasshopper infestation of that year. But Hurt was pleased with the assiduity of the farmers at Nephi and at Corn Creek and with the generally coöperative attitude of the Indians and settlers,⁷² and in November went to Fillmore to work out more permanent arrangements. In company with prominent citizens of Fillmore and several Pahvant chiefs, on November 5 he visited Corn Creek and laid out a

68 Hurt to McClelland, February 7, 1855 (F/846-1855).

69 Sustained agitation during 1856 for an Agency in Carson Valley finally resulted in authorization from Congress on March 3, 1857 (*U. S. Stat. at L.* 11 (1859): 169), but the office was not filled until the summer of 1858. Thus this agency was nonfunctional during the period of Young's superintendency.

70 Hurt to Young, undated but clearly his quarterly report for March 31, 1855 (H/904-1855).

71 Manypenny to Hurt, June 20, 1855, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 52, 53.

72 Hurt to Young, June 30, 1855 (H/997-1855).

36–square-mile “reservation”—the quotation marks denoting its unofficial character. He went on to Twelve Mile Creek in Sanpete Valley, where he laid out a 144–square-mile “reservation” designed for the Ute chief Arrapine and his followers; and finally, he laid out a 640–acre “reservation” on the western bank of Spanish Fork Creek near its mouth, in Utah Valley.⁷³

All this was done in advance of authorization from Washington,⁷⁴ so Hurt justified himself at length in his quarterly report of December 31, 1855. He had no hesitation in asking that Congress be requested to appropriate from \$75,000 to \$100,000 for such purposes as its current session, “and at least \$30,000 to meet my present engagements with the neighboring tribes.”⁷⁵

Getting an appropriation from Congress, however, is, as the American experience has abundantly shown, a fine art which requires to be cultivated, and by now Hurt had plunged the whole superintendency into something of a financial predicament. On receipt of his report for the quarter ending September 30, 1855, when his farming program was just getting under way, Manypenny bluntly reminded Hurt that he had disbursed during the quarter nearly \$12,000.

When you consider that there is another Agent in Utah, and that part of the appropriation for the ‘incidental expenses of the Service in Utah’ may be required also to meet requisitions of the Governor—and that the whole amount of the appropriation for the year 1855 & 6 [fiscal year 1855–1856] is but \$20,000, you will perceive that the rate of expenditure indicated by your accounts, cannot be sanctioned. . . .⁷⁶

On March, 19, 1856, Hurt was advised still more forcibly

of the propriety of there being some understanding between yourself and the Governor & Agent Armstrong, as to the manner in which the funds applicable for the Territory, will be taken up. It is not deemed proper, without hearing from them, to permit you to draw on account of the appropriations applicable to the Service there, that will leave little to

73 Hurt to Young, December 31, 1855 (H/115–1856).

74 In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1856, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., Senate Executive Document 5, pt. 2 (Serial 875), 567. Manypenny summed up Hurt’s project:

That agent has . . . taken the responsibility of collecting Indians at three several locations within the Territory of Utah, and commenced a system of farming for their benefit. As the enterprise has not been sanctioned or provided for by appropriations for that purpose, and was believed to involve a larger expenditure than existing appropriations would warrant, without condemning his action in this respect, I have felt constrained to withhold an express approval. . . .

75 Hurt to Young, December 31, 1855 (H/115–1856).

76 Manypenny to Hurt, November 14, 1855, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 53, 42.

meet their drafts. Unless there be some explanation, at the present rate of drafts, the department may be compelled to reject yours in future.⁷⁷

On July 9 the agent was informed that his most recent draft had not been accepted: "This Department is without funds under the appropriation for the general incidental expenses of the Indian Service in Utah to meet this draft." And Hurt was reminded that "this result is the necessary of your not strictly observing the cautions given you in the letters of this office of Nov. 14th, 1855, and March 19, 1856."⁷⁸

At once the harassed agent sat down to write the Indian Office a justification of his course. To counteract the effect of the Mormon missionary program, he had thought a liberal policy necessary, so that the Indian prejudices toward the government and himself might not be confirmed. Young himself had always been liberal with respect to the making of presents, which made it all the more necessary not to relinquish such a policy too hastily. Besides, he had instructions from Young authorizing all the expenditures he had made since entering upon the duties of his office. The Indian farm program was of course his own idea, but even in that he had received Young's most cordial approbation. Out of necessity he had had to draw upon the fund for contingent expenses to meet his engagements, which could not be relinquished without "blighting at once and perhaps forever the growing confidence which was arising in the minds of the Indians towards government and its accredited agents"; he had had the reasonable expectation that Young, approving so highly of the farm program, would relinquish in some degree "his own peculiar policy," and thus increase the amount of funds available for the farming operations.

Consequently, he had been disconcerted to receive, in the spring, instructions from Young to make a trip to Carson Valley, which would cost from \$5,000 to \$6,000.

I am charged in your letter of the 19th March, with neglecting to consult his excellency and Agent Armstrong as to the manner in which the public funds should be taken up. . . . I will say . . . that I called at his office directly after receiving the letter of instructions to visit Carson, and expressed my fears that there would not be funds enough to meet our engagements for farming purposes; that the agency had been expensive during the winter; that I had been purchasing stock and farming implements. . . . His only reply was that he had no doubt but my drafts would all be paid.

77 Manypenny to Hurt, March 19, 1856, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 53, 517.

78 Manypenny to Hurt, July 9, 1856, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 54, 454.

Hurt ended by vigorously defending his farming policy.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, the agent was conscious of the embarrassments of his position. Within a few weeks he wrote a friend in Congress seeking his influence in having an appropriation put through to finance the farms. Hurt had never been very favorably impressed with the Mormons and their influence on the Indians, and in his official reports a somewhat restrained dislike of Brigham Young had been apparent, but now the pressure of events led him to speak out harshly. The steady dispossession of the Indians from their lands, he said, made it “a beautiful time for unprincipled men to prejudice their minds against the government,” and he had

seized the opportunity as one portentous of the future destinies of these people, as well as that of the Indians. For the time is near at hand, when they [the Mormons] must espouse the institution of our government or reap the penalties consequent upon the debasing and corrupting doctrines of Mormonism. There are hundreds of honest, poor people here, (I might say thousands) who would gladly renounce the church if they were not afraid, and are ignorant of their own strength.⁸⁰

Soon after his arrival in the territory, he asserted in a second letter, he had been impressed with the fact

that the fund for incidental expenses had been used among the Indians in such manner as to exalt Brigham Young, without giving government any credit whatever in the matter. It has been my policy to teach them the source from which they derived their favors, and in doing so I have occupied an exceedingly delicate position between the two races. The policy of His Excellency, of feeding and clothing the Indians has caused them to become clamorous and insolent, and has imposed upon the people of the Territory a most oppressive burden. But His policy is to endure all manner of insult rather than be at war with the Indians. This however is done to preserve a christian relationship with a few chiefs, whom they have baptized into the Church. But the burden of this policy falls upon the poorer classes who are mostly foreigners inured to servitude, and have never learned their true relationship to our government. But many of them begin to see how they have been duped by a set of lying Missionaries and would gladly cast aside the galling yoke but for fear of the Priesthood, and it is this class whom their leaders would gladly see torn to pieces by the ruthless hand of the savage rather than see them return from them and expose the wickedness of their secret

79 Hurt to Manypenny, August 30, 1856, *Utah Expedition*, 179–81.

80 Hurt to J. M. Elliott, October 1, 1856 (E/29–1856).

designs. It has been my object, to introduce a policy, which would be calculated to enable both classes [to] appreciate the relationship they occupy towards government.

He appended some estimates of the year's crop and improvements, as an indication of what had been accomplished. The value of crops and improvements for the three "reservations" he estimated at \$20,000.⁸¹

Hurt was no less willing to speak his mind to the Saints themselves. At the end of October he complained to Young about the treatment he and the surveyor general, David H. Burr, had received on a visit to the Indian farms, which had included the stoning of their house by some Mormon rowdies.

Now I am satisfied, sir [he insisted], that you cannot approve of such conduct. . . . Soon after commencing my labors among the Indians of this Territory, I learned that they made a distinction between Mormons and Americans, which I thought was not altogether compatible with correct policy, believing that it would ultimately operate to the prejudice of one or the other party, and I have not been backward in expressing my views on all suitable occasions, to the people in regard to this matter, and have [taught the Indians] that there is no distinction between the two classes, but that we were all the Great Father's people. . . . I am not unmindful of the delicate position I occupy as a mediator between the two races in this Territory, yet I am not unwilling that my official conduct should be subjected to the strictest scrutiny. . . .⁸²

Fortunately, the financial pressure relaxed. Hurt did not get the news until March, but on September 24, 1856, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had written him that, in consequence of a \$45,000 appropriation by Congress on August 18, funds were again available for the Utah superintendency, and steps were being taken to pay drafts amounting to some \$7,000 which previously had been rejected. At the same time he was pointedly reminded that the Utah officers had better get together and decide how much each needed for disbursements, as the appropriation must not be exceeded.⁸³

This happy concurrence of Congress in his farm problem by no means solved Hurt's problems. Almost immediately he found it necessary to write the Indian Office that on learning the appropriation had been increased by \$25,000, he had

reasonably supposed that this amount would be applied to that purpose; but much to my regret I have learned recently, (though not officially) that

81 Hurt to Elliott, October 4, 1856 (E/29-1856).

82 Hurt to Young, October 31, 1856, *Utah Expedition*, 181-82.

83 Manypenny to Hurt, September 24, 1856, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 55, 123.

His Excellency Brigham Young, through Agent Armstrong and himself, is arranging to take up the larger portion of the appropriation for the present year. And I have reasons to believe that this move is being made with the view of forestalling me, and throwing the expenditures of making these settlements upon my own shoulders without the means of liquidating them.

The awkward situation by which he seemed oblivious to the needs of his colleagues he felt frankly to be not of his making. Young had districted the superintendency during Bedell's time but had allowed that arrangement to lapse, and Hurt and Armstrong were dispatched here and there throughout the territory as exigency might dictate. In the summer of 1855, Hurt said, he had requested of Young that the territory be districted, but he felt that it was rapidly becoming

utterly impossible that any concert of action between His Excellency and myself can be had, and though it would be inconsistent with justice to myself as well as the great mass of the people, as also of the Indians, to relinquish these improvements without some assurance that the expense would be endorsed, yet, if some change, more compatible with the dignity and credit of the government cannot be made in the public functionaries of the Territory, I have to say, that it will be perfectly compatible with my feelings and desire, that my successor be named immediately, for I cannot consent any longer to take upon myself the burden of the service under the supervision of one who would decoy me into ruin, and who has so much disgraced the dignity of his position, and the name of an American Citizen.⁸⁴

This was harsh language, but Hurt felt himself to have been badly used; and certainly Young could have made better administrative provision for his superintendency. As Hurt observed on receiving word by the June mail that others of his drafts had been rejected, he was in no way at fault that the superintendency had not been so districted that funds could be allocated; as it was, he was charged with all the expenses contingent upon the operation of the Indian farms, and at the same time was incurring expenses all over the territory in carrying out special assignments from Young. He felt himself, indeed, to have performed "the greater portion of the Service," in addition to overseeing the farms.⁸⁵

Accordingly, Hurt demanded to know whether or not the Indian farms were to be considered "part and portion of the Indian Service in this Territory." He estimated the value of crops growing on the reservations in the summer of 1857 at \$24,752.75, saying that some seven hundred acres were under cultivation. The

84 Hurt to Manypenny, March 30, 1857 (H/639–1857).

85 Hurt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, James W. Denver, July 2, 1857 (H/684–1857).

uninterrupted harmony which had prevailed among the tribes for over a year he thought attributable to the efforts made to establish them upon suitable reservations, “and to introduce among them a system of agriculture, and though these reservations have been visited during the season by large bands of wild Indians who live east of the Wasatch Mountains, the influence which those farms exerted upon them, through the home tribes, has enabled [us] to conduct our intercourse with them in a very tranquil manner.”⁸⁶

The date of this report, June 30, 1857, marks the high point of Hurt’s labors in the Utah superintendency. The “Utah War” was about to break upon the territory, and Indian affairs with all other affairs in Utah were about to undergo some violent readjustments. Indian affairs, in fact, were not without some agency in the precipitation of the crisis. The long undercurrent of antagonism in the Indian service was symptomatic of deep maladjustments which extended into other areas, but the letters of Holeman and Hurt played their part in heightening the social and political tensions which culminated in the Utah Expedition.

Granted a historical perspective neither of the Gentile agents had, and removed from a situation in which refractory social attitudes made balanced judgement difficult, one can concede the essential good will of the Saints in their relations with the Indians, yet one can also allow for the reactions of the Gentile agents to a dynamism with which they could not identify themselves and the end purposes of which they could not foresee. There were plenty of intolerance on both sides, sharpened by a kind of moral outrage, with an admixture of distrust, fear, and social dislike. The result was an Indian service which in the nature of things could not be altogether efficient.

Yet would higher efficiency have resulted from a superintendency wholly Gentile or wholly Mormon? With the one, the problem of relations with the community, central to the handling of frontier Indian affairs, would still have remained to be solved; with the other, the separatist factor working in Mormon culture would have been granted fuller scope. The in-group psychology of the Mormons, with all its difficult social intransigence, stood as a barrier in any approach to the Mormon problem. Only great patience and understanding on both sides could have evolved a better working relationship, and once the social forces were set in motion, working at cross purposes became inevitable. Thus the Indian Office in Utah was the product of a larger social situation even as it helped to shape that situation.

In giving sustained attention to Garland Hurt’s role in the Indian affairs of the territory, it has been necessary to pass by some aspects of Young’s own relationship to the Indian Office.

The governor had got along well with Luke Lea, but things did not go so smoothly after George W. Manypenny succeeded to the commissionership in

86 Hurt to Denver, June 30, 1857 (H/685-1857).

1853. Thus, Young, by March 31, 1854, was finding it “strange, to say the least,” that his drafts were not “more seasonably paid, or official information furnished . . . why they are not.” The late course of the department with his accounts and drafts, he complained, had a direct tendency to embarrass his official usefulness and the responsibilities devolving upon him.⁸⁷

And, for his part, Manypenny wrote the Secretary of the Interior suggesting that Congress be asked to repeal the ex-officio arrangement and authorize an independent superintendent for Utah Territory.

It is a public and well known fact that his excellency Brigham Young, the present governor, is also the head of the church of Latter Day Saints, and I am informed that the duties of his spiritual office require a large portion of his time and attention. . . . I should not, therefore, deem it good policy to superadd to the duties and responsibilities of his official positions as governor and head of the church the additional duty—one requiring time and deliberation, and to be performed most properly at points distant from the seat of the government of the Territory, and of the spiritual hierarchy—or visiting and negotiating treaties with the various Indian tribes within the limits of the Territory.⁸⁸

In his annual report in November, Manypenny restates this conviction in oblique official language. He felt that “the harmony and efficiency of the Indian service” would be promoted by separating the office of superintendent of Indian affairs from that of governor in the four territories (Utah, New Mexico, Washington, and Minnesota) where the two offices were combined; it had been found more satisfactory in the territories of Oregon, Kansas, and Nebraska to have the superintendent an independent officer.⁸⁹

Congress slept with this proposal for two years. During the interval, Young wrote a letter which, as a picture of Brigham in the toils of the bureaucrats, is something of a classic. In biting sarcasm he depicted his troubles in getting anything done over the obstructionism of the red tape in the Indian Office, and struck the commissioner over the head a time or two with a blunt instrument.⁹⁰ The letter was merely filed on receipt, although when Young wrote in critical vein two years later,⁹¹ at a time when government officials were on the *qui vive* in regard to Utah, it was dug up and acidly replied to by the then commissioner.⁹²

87 Young to Manypenny, March 31, 1854 (U/30–1854).

88 Manypenny to McClelland, April 10, 1854, *Utah Expedition*, 165–66.

89 33rd Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 1 (Serial 777), 225.

90 Young to Manypenny, June 26, 1855, *Utah Expedition*, 170–75.

91 Young to Denver, September 12, 1857, *Utah Expedition*, 183–85.

92 Denver to Young, November 11, 1857, *Utah Expedition*, 186–88.

The majority of the Gentile officials in Utah had left their posts by the time the Utah War broke upon the territory. Hurt, however, stuck it out until September 27, 1857. Then, fearing for his life, he fled from the Spanish Fork farm via the Uinta Basin to the haven of the advancing troops, whom he met on the Sweetwater on October 23, 1857.⁹³

This was, it would seem, an ill-advised action of which Brigham Young took full advantage. On October 7, Young wrote the Indian Office that Hurt had seen fit

to leave the field of his official duty on the 26th [27th?] of September last, in company with some Indians, whom it is said he had hired to escort him to the United States troops, and without having made any report to me of his wishes and designs, or of the disposition he had made of the affairs of his agency. Such an occasionless and unwise movement on his part, altogether needlessly exposing himself to sickness, hardship, and danger, I did all in my power upon the earliest intimation of his plans, to prevent, as will be seen by a letter addressed to him . . . which unfortunately did not reach his place of residence until a few hours after his departure.

He enclosed a copy of a letter dated September 26 which he said he had addressed to Hurt. It expostulated against Hurt's rumored intention of "going to the States by some unfrequented route, and in company with certain Indians as pilots and travelling companions," characterizing such a course as "very unsafe and highly improper in an officer of our government," and requesting him, when ready to start upon his journey, to call at Young's office, when he would be furnished a sufficient escort and a comfortable carriage for his "speedy and safe transportation to the protection of the United States troops."⁹⁴

On October 16, Young instructed Armstrong to take charge of the property of the various farms,⁹⁵ and this the agent did to such good purpose that when the new superintendent, Jacob Forney, arrived the following year, he was "agreeably disappointed with the condition of things on the [Spanish Fork] farm, I was led to believe, through Agent Dr. Hurt & others, that the grains—cattle & other property was taken away." On the contrary, he had found things in good order.⁹⁶

The state of upset in the territory this year and the next made inevitable a degree of neglect, and, on visiting the Spanish Fork and Corn Creek farms in

93 Hurt to Col. A. S. Johnston, October 24, 1857, *Utah Expedition*, 205–8.

94 Young to Denver, October 7, 1857, with enclosure dated September 26, 1857, *Utah Expedition*, 209–10. The possibility must be suggested that the letter to Hurt was written *after* rather than *before* his departure, as a good joke on Hurt and as a shrewd stroke to counteract the unfavorable effect upon public opinion of his seeming to have had to flee for his life.

95 Armstrong to Denver, December 1, 1857, *Utah Expedition*, 210.

96 Forney to Mix, June 18, 1858 (F/262–1858).

the summer of 1858, Forney reported that he thought the farms had not been advantageously conducted, and showed “a lack of judgment and economy in their management.”⁹⁷ The farms were, however, even more badly conducted during the next few years.⁹⁸

With respect to Hurt himself, Forney reported on July 9, 1858, that he had not yet returned to the field of his former labors, adding that almost without exception the inhabitants in the neighborhood where he had lived positively denied that he had just cause for leaving as he did.⁹⁹ It has to be taken into account, of course, that these informants were Mormons, and that Forney himself disliked Hurt. The agent’s commission expired on August 15, 1858, and he advised Forney that he did not desire a reappointment,¹⁰⁰ an idea with which Forney was glad to fall in. Of all the agents and subagents who labored in Young’s superintendency, Hurt was the only one who served out the full period of his appointment.

Congress finally acted on the suggestion of the Indian Office, and on March 3, 1857, provision was made for an independent superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah, New Mexico, Washington, and Oregon.¹⁰¹ Jacob Forney, of Philadelphia, was nominated to the Utah office on August 27, 1857.¹⁰² Like the other federal officials and Johnston’s entire army, he was unable to get through to Great Salt Lake City in the fall, and wintered at Camp Scott. The practical result was that during the winter of 1857–1858 Utah had two superintendents, Young at Great Salt Lake City, and Forney at Camp Scott. The government had failed to notify Young officially of his removal as governor, and he made the most of this error of omission. The two superintendents both desired that the Indians be kept neutral in the hostilities which seemed imminent between the Mormons and the government, but each suspected the other of “tampering” with the Indians.¹⁰³ Forney also asked that Armstrong, as a Mormon, be removed from office.¹⁰⁴ This had been done already, and Columbus L. Craig was finally appointed in his place.¹⁰⁵

In the spring of 1858 the new governor, Alfred Cumming, went on from Camp Scott to Great Salt Lake City, and a few weeks later Forney rode in, in company

97 Forney to Mix, undated letter probably written in August 1858 (F/298–1858).

98 Cf. Benjamin Davies to Commissioner William P. Dole, June 30, 1861, in 37th Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1, pt. 1 (Serial 1117), 739–44.

99 Forney to Mix, July 9, 1858 (F/273–1858).

100 Forney to Mix, August 27, 1858 (F/312–1858).

101 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 11 (1859): 185.

102 Mix to Forney, August 27, 1857, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 57, 326–28.

103 [See appendix for note text.]

104 Forney to Denver, January 1, 1858 (F/189–1858).

105 Denver to Forney, January 6, 1858, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 58, 199.

with the troops. On June 30, Young wrote a final report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Forney, he said,

tho doubtless having been some time in the Territory and probably officiating partially in his office while at Camp Scott did not until quite recently sufficiently assume its duties that I could feel relieved therefrom. Being now at the scene of his duties, these matters will hereafter devolve upon him, thus closing my official correspondence with this department.¹⁰⁶

A stiff epilogue was provided by Forney nine days later. On that morning one of Young's clerks called with a bundle of vouchers for expenditures to June 30, principally for flour and beef issued to various tribes. All, however, were signed "B. Young, Governor & Superintendent of I. Aff.," and, accordingly, Forney addressed his predecessor the following frosty communication:

I have the honor to inform you, that I was appointed supt of Ind affairs, for U. T. Augt 27th 1857, an[d] subsequently confirmed by the United States Senate, of which I presume you have been advised.

By a refference to the enclosed papers, I perceive that you assume to exercise the authority vested, in me; it is therefore quite obvious that I cannot be the medium of communication between the Indian Department and yourself, in the transmission of these papers.

Whenever is suits your convenience I will be pleased to receive all papers and property, belonging to the U. S. in your possession.¹⁰⁷

Young had to wait with great patience for the settlement of his accounts. They were spread before Congress in a House document in 1862,¹⁰⁸ but four years later they had not been paid. The subject was debated in the House on March 1, 1866,¹⁰⁹ and payment of \$38,487.53 was finally authorized in April,¹¹⁰ the Secretary of the Interior instructing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on July 7, 1866, to make the requisite payment.¹¹¹

The career of Brigham Young as ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs was from beginning to end a stormy one. His administrative abilities as evidenced

106 Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1858 (Y/34-1858).

107 Forney to Young, July 9, 18, 1868, copy enclosed in Forney to Mix, same date (F/272-1858).

108 [*Accounts of Brigham Young, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah Territory: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting Report of the Investigation of the Acts of Governor Young, Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah Territory, 1862 Jan 15,*] 37th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 29 (Serial 1128).

109 *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 2: 1127-29.

110 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 14 (1868): 25. The amount approved by the Second Auditor's Office of the Treasury Department in final settlement was \$34,145—\$342 less than the Congressional appropriation.

111 Secretary of the Interior to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 7, 1866 (I/439-1866).

in the discharge of this responsibility may be called into question, and his single-minded viewpoint on the Saints and their relation to the federal government undoubtedly was responsible for a great deal of the trouble that beset his superintendency. But the larger result of his policy was to establish himself in the minds of the Indians as their friend, a realistic rather than a merely sentimental humanitarian. His due was given him officially by O. H. Irish, then superintendent, who in June, 1865, asked him to aid in the treaty making with the Utes at Spanish Fork. Though some might prefer it to be otherwise, Irish wrote the Indian Office, the fact remained that Young had pursued so kind and conciliatory a course with the Indians that it had given him great influence over them: "It was my duty and policy to make use of his influence for the accomplishment of the purposes of government."¹¹²

112 Irish to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 29, 1865, 39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 2 (Serial 1248), 318.



Shoshone Indians, Humboldt plains, 1869. Photo by Alfred A. Hart. *Alfred A. Hart Photograph Collection, PC 002, Dept. of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.*

DALE L. MORGAN

Indian Affairs on the California Trail 1849–1860

THE RECORD OF EMIGRATION ACROSS Nevada has a persistent local violence which, in its day, gave the California newspapers a sufficiency of reports of “Indian Outrages on the Plains,” and which, in our own time, has survived somewhat gaudily in tradition and the reminiscences and journals of the overland travelers. Between City of Rocks and the Sierra Nevada the warfare was intermittent but desperate through more than a decade, and it had an historic climax in the Paiute war of 1860.^[1]

Intervention by the Office of Indian Affairs, and the activity of its agents among the Nevada Indians during this decade of violence, affords more objective information about conditions on the California Trail than may be had from the narratives of the emigrants, and also provides a viewpoint reflecting, in some degree, that of the Indians.

The United States government took preliminary steps for administering Indian affairs in the Mexican Cession far in advance of measures for political organization of its new territory. In March 1849, President Taylor directed that the Indian agencies for the Upper Missouri and Council Bluffs should be transferred to Santa Fe and Salt Lake. On April 7, James S. Calhoun and John Wilson were named general Indian agents, with Calhoun going to New

Editor's note: This study, produced here from a revised but not fully complete manuscript, remained a work in progress when it was set aside in 1949. The text has been copyedited as well, so that this printing is a clear and accurate but not exact reproduction. All citations to Morgan's own works in this manuscript were left incomplete; several notes were left entirely blank, doubtless to be filled in at a later writing or editorial stage. When the referent is clear and data is available, notes are completed here at the editor's instance, although a few for which he left no text or incomplete clues must remain documentary blanks. The unnumbered manuscript citations Morgan penciled in during revision are inserted as numbered notes with an *a* after the number.

A fine transcription of many letters from the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs relating specifically to Nevada 1849–61 are available electronically through the *Nevada Observer's* Reading Room, an electronic newspaper which maintains a collection of historical source material (as of 2006) at <http://www.nevadaobserver.com/ReadingRoom.htm>.

- 1 The general ground of this article has been covered by Effie Mona Hack in the chapter, “Federal Relations with the Nevada Indians, 1850–1860,” in her *Nevada: A History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1935 [i.e., 1936]). However, Dr. Mack's pioneer endeavor is inaccurate in a great many respects and is irrelevant in much of its statement of background. The present discussion

Mexico and Wilson to California.² There is, however, strong reason to believe that the real motive behind these appointments was political, to further a project for admitting states to the Union from the territory newly acquired from Mexico.³ Though Wilson wrote at various stages of his journey to report in general terms the situation of the Western Indians, he resigned his post soon after reaching the Pacific coast, and for the present study, there is little that is fruitful in his official correspondence.⁴ A successor, Edward Cooper, was appointed in September 1850, but shortly thereafter, Congress admitted California to the Union and created Utah—together with New Mexico—as a territory. Utah's organic act provided that the governor should be ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, and the "Salt Lake Agency" was soon abolished, Cooper's job with it.⁵

Brigham Young took the oath of office as governor on February 3, 1851, and formally organized the Utah Superintendency when sub-agents Henry R. Day of Missouri and Stephen B. Rose of New Jersey (the latter a Mormon) reported for duty early in the summer. By proclamation, on July 21, 1851, Young divided the territory into three agencies. The California trails, the southern as well as the northern, fell largely into the jurisdiction of the third or "Parowan" agency,

benefits from the fuller manuscript records of the Indian Office now deposited in the National Archives, which amplify in important respects the published documents on which Dr. Mack's work was based. Larger administrative questions, and the relations between the superintendents and agents of the Utah Superintendency, are given only passing attention here; the writer has examined the subject in considerable detail in "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851–1858," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): _____. [At the time this draft was completed the paper Morgan tentatively cites had been submitted but was not in print. In fact, it never appeared in the journal under the title "Brigham Young as Indian Agent." The manuscript was instead revised and published in *Pacific Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (Nov. 1948): 383–409 and forms the preceding chapter in this volume. —Ed.] More sketchy for Utah but more far-ranging as an overall picture of what was done in the West is Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration, 1849–1860* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1932; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1972).

- 2 Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 383–84 [pp. 47–58 in this volume].
- 3 Historical Records Survey [i.e., Dale L. Morgan], "The State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 1–3 (1940): 130, 131. [Also in a new edition: ed. Charles S. Peterson (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1987), 86–88. —Ed.]
- 4 Wilson's letters from Fort Bridger, August 22, 1849, and from Great Salt Lake City, September 4, 1849, were printed in 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 5 (Serial 570), 184–87, 104–22. His unpublished letters from San Francisco, December 22, 1849, and from San Jose, December 28, 1849, are in the 1850 papers of the Utah Superintendency in the National Archives [and Records Administration, Record Group 75.15.13]. The San Francisco letter is almost solely concerned with Wilson's dispute with Capt. R. M. Morris, the officer in charge of his escort.
- 5 Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 384–85 [pp. 57–58 in this volume], cites the primary sources for this and the generalized matter immediately following.

which comprised the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin and south of the southern line of Pahvan Valley (in central Utah) to the western boundary of the territory.*

Young had intended assigning the Indian agent himself, Jacob H. Holeman of Kentucky, to the Parowan agency. However, when Holeman reported for duty on August 11, he sought Young's permission to attend the great council at Fort Laramie with the Plains Indians, so that he might treat with a band of Shoshoni he had encountered en route to Utah. The governor agreed, and Holeman immediately retraced his way east, accompanied by Rose. The other sub-agent, Day, was to have taken a group of Utes to the treaty-making, but this fell through, and soon after, Day chose to return east with the federal judges. For a while the Mormons believed that Holeman had also gone, but the agent returned to Great Salt Lake City late in October.

As the colonizing genius of Mormonism, Brigham Young had already devoted some thought to the Nevada area. He had begun to act upon what became his established policy, to locate Mormon colonies at all strategic approaches to the Utah Zion. This policy had a double aim: to forestall Gentiles in seizing desirable areas for settlement, and to win the good feeling of the Indians. On October 20, 1851, he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

There, is one exception to be made as to peaceful relations [in the Territory]; the Indians on Mary's river [the Humboldt] are exceedingly troublesome to emigrants and travellers, having killed quite a number of white men the past Season. It is desirable that an Agency supported by a Settlement should be established at this point; some of the Citizens of this City and recruits are about raising a Company to go and settle there, and organize a new county which they propose to call 'Humbolt County.' This course, I doubt not, will have a tendency to keep them in check, and hold a salutary influence over them, and be far more efficient than a military Post in preserving the safety of the traveller. It may become necessary to chastise them, in order to bring them to terms; but even if it should, if that chastisement could be followed up with good and genial influences, and the means on hand to conciliate and soothe their feelings, the happiest results might follow.⁶

Measures were on foot to make this settlement a reality, for the mail party from Salt Lake brought word to California in late October that, "Some twenty or thirty

* [Here Morgan penciled himself an editorial reminder in the margin: "Comment on myopic significance of 'Parowan' as a name for this agency." He probably meant that the use of the southern-Utah place name hardly encompassed the scope of the actual geography assigned the agency, but he gave no further clue to his thought. —Ed.]

6 Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851).

persons from Salt Lake were about establishing a trading post at the head of Mary's river."⁷ But nothing concrete had been done at the end of the year, and in his message to the Utah legislature on January 5, 1852, Young pointed out anew the desirability of this particular settlement, "In order to preserve peaceful relations" with the Mary's River Indians, as they had "become of late very troublesome to travelers, stealing their animals, robbing and killing them as they have opportunity"⁸

At the end of March, however, in reporting to the commissioner of Indian affairs that the mail contractor, A[bsalom] Woodward, had unquestionably been cut off with the November mail from California, Young had to say that the colonizing venture had failed, owing, it was to be presumed,

to the known hostility of the natives, and the location itself not being as regards natural resources, such as good land, timber &c. very desirable. These reasons will probably delay any settlement being made at that point, so long as the Territory affords any other unoccupied situation, of equal if not superior facilities, and a quiet understanding with the native tribes: albeit it is supposed, that the Indians who inhabit in the vicinity of Weber, and Bear rivers, living in peace with the citizens of these regions, are the same who frequently extend their excursions to Mary's river, and there commit the most wanton depredations.

Nevertheless, he reiterated his opinion that a settlement

would be far more productive of good, and better subserve the interest, and purposes of the Government, than a military post; to say nothing of the vicinity of the mines, inducing the desertion of soldiers. The influence is more genial, and far better calculated to induce the savage from the vile habits of his nature, and gradually lead him to the peaceful avocations of civilized existence.

The employment of a few farmers, [a] school establishment, accompanying an agency to be established at that point, and the necessary expenditure thereon, in the employment of mechanics, would furnish sufficient inducement for a settlement, from the influence of which the happiest results might reasonably be expected to follow, not only in the safety and protection of the emigrant, and traveller; of the transmission of the mails; but also in behalf of the natives with whom they are brought into immediate association, in restraining them from indulgence in their wild propensities. I therefore urge upon your attention, the propriety of obtaining an appropriation from the present Congress, for the purpose of holding a treaty with

7 *Daily Alta California*, November 2, 1851, quoting the *Sacramento Placer Times & Transcript*.

8 *Deseret News*, January 10, 1852.

these, and also other Indians of this Territory; and defraying the expence of such stipulations as may be entered into, for land or other purposes. Major Holeman I understand intends visiting the Indians on Mary's river, and will extend his excursions to Carson valley the ensuing season.⁹

Independently, Holeman had already declared to the Indian Office his support of such proposals. "As the Indians have been very troublesome on this route," he wrote Lea,

I think it important that something should be done in that direction to protect the property and lives of the emigrants. An Agency at Mary's River, some 300 miles from this city, would do much good, and have a tendency to quiet the disorderly Indians, if in the hands of a proper person. I consider it the most important point for operations this spring. There was such destruction of life and property on this route, during the last season, that I should like to be instructed to regulate matters there, before the emigration arrives. I think by proper management the route may be made safe. Not, however, without some expense. If I do not hear from you, and the emigration should make a move, I shall use all efforts to give them a safe passage, so far as the Indians are concerned. I shall visit them and endeavor to conciliate them; and if possible establish friendly relations between us—At all events, so far as the limits of this Territory extend.¹⁰

A month later, Holeman wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs with more specific proposals. He pointed out that it was about 175 miles from Great Salt Lake City to the intersection of the emigrant roads near the Goose Creek Mountains, another 130 miles to the head of the Humboldt, and 60 miles additional down the river to the canyon (i.e., Palisade Canyon)

making from this to the Canyon, about 365 miles. It is the opinion of the best informed, with whom I have conversed, that a post, or agency established, at or near this Canyon, would afford the best protection to this route. The distance from this Canyon to Reese's Station^{10a} in Carson Valley, is about 360 miles—this station is in Utah Territory, near the California line and is about 180 miles from Sacramento City. There is a settlement about this Station of about 80 persons, and extends in the direction to this city for near 40 miles. Should I receive no instructions to the contrary, I have concluded to visit this section of the Territory—and should I find it advantageous to the interest of the Government and the Indians, I shall

9 Young to Lea, March 30, 1852 (U/4–1852).

10 Holeman to Lea, February 29, 1852 (H/44–1852).

10a As to Mormon Station [*sic*; an inserted, possibly incomplete, manuscript note. —Ed.]

make arrangements to establish an Agency, at some point which will be the best calculated to give the greatest amount of protection, and at the same time be most convenient for operations with the Indians. As the emigration will be leaving this valley about the 20th of April, I have concluded to leave this city with them.¹¹

Holeman's initial relations with Young had been not uncordial, and there is evidence of good feeling on Young's part to the end of November. The agent's trip to Laramie, however, and his association with the mountain men who looked with no favor upon the Mormons and their developing settlements, instilled in him a prejudice against the Saints. He wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs from Laramie on September 21, 1851, that the Mormons were driving off and killing the Indians' game and, in some instances, the Indians themselves, thus provoking the Indians to "attack emigrants, plunder and commit murder whenever they find a party weak enough to do it." He had other hard things to report about the Mormons during the course of the winter, after his return to Great Salt Lake City.

Young took natural exception to Holeman's strictures on receiving his copy of the annual "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" for 1851, which incorporated as the only communication from Utah the letter Holeman had written from Laramie. Young called on the agent in person to point out that at the time he submitted his opinions, Holeman had never seen an Indian upon whose land had settled whites who made improvements and cultivated the earth, that no Indians had ever been driven off these lands that he had ever heard of, and that the Shoshoni—the only Indians with whom Holeman had come in contact—not only were not driven to depredations but were so universally known for their friendliness, that immigrants ceased keeping a guard as soon as they reached the Shoshoni country. He hoped, he said, that Holeman's "longer residence in the Territory and more extended acquaintance had served to correct the views which he had so erroneously entertained and expressed."

The only satisfaction Young got from the agent was that he "promised to look over the matter" and if he say anything to retract . . . he would take great pleasure in doing so." Holeman indeed adhered to his views "so strenuously" as to induce in the governor's mind "the belief that he was at least indifferent to the interests of the community." The upshot was that Young figuratively washed his hands of the agent. Holeman, left to wonder about the status of the proposed Humboldt expedition, got no satisfaction from the governor, who finally set out for a trip to southern Utah leaving unanswered a letter the agent wrote him on April 19, asking advice and instruction. A man who took the

11 Holeman to Lea, March 29, 1852 (H/79-1852).

duties of his office seriously, Holeman thereupon decided to go ahead on his own initiative, and he so wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs.¹²

Holeman had hoped to get away by April 20, but was detained beyond that time in making his arrangements. On May 2, he reported to Washington,

I have been informed this morning, that a Mr. Williams received a letter from a friend of his, a Mormon, stating that he is associated with a company of white men and Indians, who are stationed near Carson Valley, and that their object is, to plunder and rob the emigrants. He advises Williams, who is a Mormon also, to paint the horns of his cattle so that he may be known, as they do not wish to molest the brethren. We ought to have troops here—These whites associated with the Indians are committing so many depredations on this route, that something ought to be done. . . .¹³

A letter six days later elaborated on these facts. Holeman had learned that the writer of the letter was “a notorious character, by the name of Reading,” once a member of the Mormon Church, but “now held by them in utter contempt, and looked upon as a great scoundrel.”¹⁴ Notwithstanding, in consequence of some act of personal friendship shown him by Williams previously, he had sent him this information, thus fulfilling the old adage of there being honor among thieves. This was not, however, to be understood as reflecting upon Williams. “From what I can learn,” he added, “there is no doubt of the existence of this band, and that there [*sic*] object is, to plunder the emigrants, and all who travel that road,” the principal robberies occurring beyond the intersection of the Fort Hall and Salt Lake roads. He would, he said, use every exertion to reconcile the Indians and prevail on them to withdraw from this band. He had previously expressed the opinion that white men were the instigators of the disturbances on the California road, and the matter was now reduced to a certainty. If he should find it important to the interests of the government, and necessary for future operations with the Indians, he would establish an agency at some point on the Humboldt, as it would have a tendency to protect the route and afford facilities for emigration. If he should establish such an agency, and if the government approved, he would be pleased to have that

12 The foregoing is summarized from the detailed discussion of the controversial relations between Young and Holeman in Morgan, “Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah,” 385–92 [pp. 59–67 in this volume].

13 Holeman to Lea, May 2, 1852 (H/90–1852). The Williams referred to was Thomas S. Williams, a man of somewhat mixed talents discussed to some extent in my *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1943), 203–4, 213–19. He broke with the church and left Utah early in 1857, returned after the garrisoning of Utah by U.S. troops in 1858, and was killed by Indians on the Mojave [Desert] in 1860.

14 The activities of Return Jackson Redden and his associates on the California Trail are discussed in Morgan, *Humboldt*, 214–20.

agency assigned to him. Mentioning rumors of Indian massacres currently in town, he observed that there was

a great want of certain information relative to the condition and numbers of these bands or tribes, which renders it very difficult to form any opinion of the best course to pursue. From such information as I can get, they seem to have no fixed location, but assemble on the road as the season for emigration approaches—they then infest the road from the goose creek mountains to Carson Valley—a distance of about 500 miles.

In summary,

We are in great confusion here—we want a few troops on this route, very badly. The *white* Indians, I apprehend, are much more dangerous than the *red*. The renegades, deserters, and thieves, who have had to fly from justice in California, have taken refuge in the Mountains—and having associated themselves with the Indians, are more savage than the Indians themselves—by their cruelty to the whites, they have stimulated the Indians to acts of barbarity, which they were never known to be guilty of before. It has not been known, until recently, altho' strongly suspected, that whites were engaged with these Indians and believing that the Indians, alone, were the depredators, our people have shown them but little favor or kindness—often, no doubt treating the innocent with severity. This has produced a state of feeling, unfriendly to the whites, generally; and although it cannot be said that we are really in a state of war with these Indians, yet the effect upon our people is the same. These Indians, by their frequent depredations on the whites, are supplying themselves with horses, arms ammintion [*sic*] &c. and if not checked, they will very shortly be able to make a formidable resistance, as their revengeful feelings will be stimulated by the prospect of plunder. The rugged state of the country, and their knowledge of the mountain passes, will enable them to flee wherever and whenever they may wish—this will render it almost impossible to subdue them by waging war upon them. The best mode to pursue, at present, is to conciliate them, if possible, by kindness—Should this course prove unsuccessful, we shall then have left no other alternative but force.¹⁵

Holeman finally got away from Great Salt Lake City on May 13, with an escort of thirty-five men.¹⁶ The emigrant trains, he reported to the commissioner of

15 Holeman to Lea, May 8, 1852 (H/125–1852), printed in *Message of President, Transmitting Reports of Secretaries of State, War, Interior, and of Attorney General, on Military Expedition Ordered into Territory of Utah*, in 35th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 71 (Serial 956), 150–51. This Executive Document, is subtitled “The Utah Expedition,” and is hereafter so cited.

Indian affairs, traveled within a few days' march of each other, and as they traveled only from eighteen to twenty-five miles a day, he was enabled to be with the trains as occasion might require, sometimes in front, sometimes in the rear. All got through safely, with very little trouble from the Indians. He himself arrived in Carson Valley on June 18.

The effect of his investigations had been to confirm his conviction that

the great, almost the sole cause of all the difficulties—the destruction of life and property on this route, is owing to the bad conduct of the whites, who were the first to commence it—and in many instances the whites are the sole depredators, yet they manage to have it charged to the Indians. I have been informed by respectable and reliable authority, that many of the whites who travel this road, have been in the habit of persuading the Indians into their camps, under the most solemn assurances of friendship—and then, without any cause on the part of the Indians, they would shoot them down—others are in the habit of shooting the Indians whenever and wherever they can find them, whether the Indians are molesting them or not. These white men, frequently take excursions through the country, in search of the Indians, robbing and plundering them of every thing they possess. The Indians retaliate upon the whites whenever they have it in their power, and thus the excitement is kept up. In many instances, innocent persons are made to suffer for the bad conduct of others. . . .

He had found it difficult even “to get any conversation” with the Indians along the emigrant road, since they had no confidence in any professions of white friendship. To those with whom he had talked, he had given presents and assurance of “their great father’s” friendly disposition toward them; all “seemed friendly disposed and expressed an anxiety to be on friendly terms with the whites, yet they doubted our sincerity—but if we walked straight, and had not forked tongues, they would be very glad.”

Holeman further announced his intention of staying on in Carson Valley for a few weeks so that his horses might recruit. In the meantime, he proposed visiting the Indians in the mountains, and if possible, having a meeting with their chiefs, two of whom were said to have complete control over their tribe. In hope of arranging this meeting he had employed two men well acquainted with the Indians in the quarter and on the Humboldt to accompany his interpreter.¹⁷ He had great hopes in the success of this expedition, “as one of these men, *James Beckwith* has been with the Indians many years, is well known to them—He is a very intelligent half breed—he was in the employment of Government as an

16 Holeman to Lea, June 28, 1852 (H/133–1852).

17 The interpreter was Hubert Papan [or Papin], “a very efficient man” who spoke Shoshoni

express man, between the various divisions of the army in this section, during the Mexican War.”¹⁸

Holeman seems to have reported on July 19, concerning his stay in Carson Valley.¹⁹ The letter certainly would be of great interest, but unfortunately, it is not to be found in the records of the Indian Office; it cannot even be established that it was ever received in Washington. Subsequent to the date of this letter, the agent visited a village of Paiutes numbering some 350 who were “friendly disposed” “but somewhat excited on account of the repeated abuses which they had received from the whites.” A council of some four hours’ duration had a favorable effect upon these Indians, and Holeman thought if they were treated kindly by the whites, there would be no trouble with them. Turning back to Great Salt Lake City, he crossed the Carson desert on July 29, and, by slow stages, traveled back to his official station, which he reached on August 22. He had hoped to meet again with the Indians along the Humboldt with whom he had talked outward-bound, but was more or less disappointed in this, as “the vast number of emigrants on the road, and the disposition of some, to kill the Indians, had kept the Indians from the road.” Those to whom he did talk, he found shy but friendly.

To his efforts along the Humboldt, Holeman attributed the fact that there had been no depredations or attacks on the emigrant trains this year, whereas in 1851

not a train passed without murders and rob[b]eries.” On his return, along the whole course of the Humboldt, he had met “with hundreds of waggons, daily—with many small companies, some on foot, some packing, and frequently a solitary traveller, and none had been molested, as they informed me, by the Indians—many had not even guarded their stock at night, yet they had gone through without any difficulty. There had been some few robberies, cattle or horses stolen,

and Ute. He resided in the mountains some fifteen years and was well acquainted with the Indians and the country. Holeman to Lea, September 30, 1852 (H/163–1852). [See also appendix, note 70 in this volume.]

18 Holeman to Lea, June 28, 1852 (H/133–1852). The redoubtable Jim Beckwith (or Beckwourth, as he was beginning to prefer to spell his name) only eight weeks previously had embellished his reputation as “the gaudy liar” by taking in the editor of the Marysville *Herald* with a story of having crossed the Plains in advance of the emigration, which he estimated at 75,000. He had, he said, left Fort Leavenworth on March 3, and he claimed that a large proportion of the immigration would “take the route discovered by him, known as ‘Beckwith’s Route,’” and would come in at Marysville. His route was claimed to be “the best and nearest one from the other side of the mountains into the Sacramento Valley.” However, the Marysville *Express* promptly reported that Jim Beckwith had wintered on Feather River, and consequently could bring no news from Fort Leavenworth. *Daily Alta California*, May 6, 1852.

19 [Morgan inserted two text references to note 19. See the next page. —Ed.]

but those who were robbed, assured me, that it had been done by white men. . . . There had been a great many outbreaks and difficulties between the emigrants, themselves—companies have quarreled, killed each other, and broken up—some, from, their bad conduct have been driven from their companies—many of these men are scattered over the road, without means, living on the charity of others—they, also, steal and commit other deprivations, which they endeavor to lay upon the Indians. The truth is, this portion of the emigration, and these *pretended traders*, are decidedly worse than the Indians, and cause nearly, if not all the troubles on the road. It is the universal opinion of the emigrants that the Indians have been quiet, and have acted friendly throughout—and that all the deprivations are the acts of white men—these, however, have been few.

Judging from the difficulties which had occurred during the two preceding years, hundreds of lives and thousands of dollars worth of property had been saved through the efforts of his expedition, Holeman suggested, “to say nothing of the suffering of the emigrants themselves,—besides, the Government, is made acquainted with facts, which will enable her to establish peace and quiet on this route in future.”¹⁹

Meanwhile, Brigham Young had returned from his southern trip to be faced with Holeman’s *fait accompli*. In a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs he discussed his estrangement with Holeman and how it was that he had declined “giving him any instructions as was designed.” His statement of the case was not unfair to Holeman, and he expressed the hope that the enterprise would prove beneficial. “I shall now await the result of his enterprise before acting in the premises.”²⁰

That Holeman’s venture did not set well with Young is, however, indicated by the reaction of the *Deseret News*, which reported on May 29, that Holeman had left “as rumor says, on an excursion to Mary’s river or Carson Valley to treat with the Indians,” without the sanction or knowledge of the Superintendent. “The station assigned the Major by the Superintendent was in the south part of the Territory, as we had supposed, that being the only vacancy, according to the proclamation of the governor on that subject previous to the arrival of the Major in the Territory. We cannot put that together, i.e., how the Major can be on official duty, as Indian Agent, while he is several hundred miles from his post and still going further. . . .”²¹

19 Holeman to Lea, August 30, 1852 (H/152–1852).

20 Young to Lea, May 28, 1852 (U/8–1852).

21 Willard Richards, editor of the *News*, was also Second Counselor to Young in the First Presidency of the church. Young gave private and more forcible expression of his

Young chose not to make an issue of what he might have regarded as Holeman's insubordination, but he dismissed Holeman's claims with polite skepticism in his quarterly report of September 1852, saying simply, "all is peace among the native tribes in this superintendency, even on Mary's river. We learn of no depredations of importance; this however is the usual result during the heavy emigration; whether they will again commence when that has passed, and small companies again tempt their rapacity time will develop. It is to be hoped that all parties traveling in that direction will give them no opportunity."²² The commissioner of Indian affairs, however, was pleased to give publicity to Holeman's journey, the object of which, he said, was

to prevent a recurrence, if possible, of numerous and often fatal collisions between the emigrants and Indians. It seems to have been eminently successful, as no murders or robberies are reported to have been committed by these Indians during the present year. To give some idea of the immense travel along this route, and the consequent importance of conciliating the Indians, the agent states that in returning to Salt Lake, he passed on each of several days as many as three hundred wagons.^{22a}

Objectively considered, Holeman's trip seems to have contributed to the betterment of relations between whites and Indians along the emigrant road, though his reports are so indefinite as to make it difficult to ascertain whether other causes may not have operated this year to improve conditions in the Humboldt Valley. However, he had in no way rectified that "great want of information relative to the condition and numbers of these bands or tribes, which renders it very

resentment of Holeman's action in a letter to John M. Bernhisel, Utah's delegate to Congress, on May 27. Holeman had left, he said, altogether without his consent or any instructions from him. He was inclined to believe the agent was doing everything he could against him, and he announced his intention of improving "an early opportunity of investigating matters pertaining to his doings." Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 390–91 [pp. 64–66 in this volume].

- 22 Young to Lea, September 29, 1852 (U/17–1852). Another letter to Bernhisel exhibited a certain scorn.

Major Holeman . . . assumes that he has accomplished great things. I hope it may prove so, but have my doubts, if it has accomplished any good. I should not have instructed him, if I had given him any to have gone with a large company. It was not at all necessary when there was so much emigration on the road, but I am desirous of getting along with him with as little difficulty as possible, therefore pass by many things, that might with a great deal of propriety be commented upon.

Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 391 [p. 65 in this volume].

- 22a *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852, 32nd Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1 (Serial 658), 299–300.*

difficult to form any opinion of the best course to pursue.” He had nothing specific to say about any of the Indians encountered; no information was provided as to the composition and social organization of individual bands or as to their range and location. Ethnologically, his reports were almost valueless.

Holeman’s relations with the Mormons continued on no particularly cordial plane through the fall and winter. In effect, he wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs that it was to the best interests of the department that Young or himself should be replaced. This had become the idea also of the Indian Office, and on April 30, Edward A. Bedell of Warsaw, Illinois, was named Holeman’s successor. Meantime, the agent had planned a new expedition to Carson Valley, and although rumors of his displacement had reached him in June, he concluded to go ahead anyway. He set out for the Humboldt on July 6, 1853, this time with Young’s sanction.²³ In Thousand Spring Valley he had a council with Too-ke-moh (“the rabbit”), a Shoshoni chief whose band, Holeman reported, numbered some six hundred,^{23a} and who claimed the country adjacent to Thousand Spring Valley and as far west as the Humboldt. On arriving at the Humboldt, he lay-by two days for a council with Ne-me-te-kah (“man eater”), whose Shoshoni band numbered about five hundred. Each of these chiefs he found well-disposed toward the whites. Holeman described Ne-me-te-kah as “an intelligent Indian, noble in appearance, and a very particular friend to the whites. He had never permitted any of his band to disturb the Whites; and told me, that there were bad Indians on the Humboldt—that they would sometimes steal from the whites, but if they did not cease their deprecations on the whites, he would collect his band together and make them.” Ne-me-te-kah sent two braves as guides when Holeman resumed his journey down the Humboldt; one of these, Pant-wa-arante (“the drowned man”), had a separate band of about two hundred occupying the country around the first crossing of the Humboldt. These guides were instructed to find still another chief, Oh-hah-quah (“yellow skin”), who lived near Stony Point (Battle Mountain) with his band of 450 Shoshoni. Oh-hah-quah was absent on a hunt and could not be found, but two of his braves accompanied Holeman a hundred miles down the river, enabling him to see many more Indians. Seventy-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt, he met a party

23 Morgan, “Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah,” 392 [pp. 66–67 in this volume]. Holeman wrote Lea on May 21 (H/252–1853) of his intention of going to Carson unless otherwise instructed. He had received intelligence of a restless spirit among the Indians along the California trail and of some minor disturbances. He thought it better to mend matters at once than to allow the breach to widen, and commented anew on the fact that it was much more difficult to manage the whites than the Indians—“they are continually mistreating in Indians, and it is not to be wondered at that the Indians retaliate.”

23a Stewart terms this estimate excessive, and probably was of a transient population, perhaps from Fort Hall (157—also Hunt, 1856 re this). [This editorial reminder to himself was not completed. —Ed.]

of Bannocks belonging to a band under Te-ne-ra-wenah²⁴ (“the long man”), two of whom accompanied him to the sink and promised they would find the chief—then off in the mountains on a hunt—and meet him at their village near the Big Meadows on his return.

Few Indians were met after crossing the desert until Holeman arrived at Mormon Station where he found a number of Paiutes and Washoes, stragglers from their bands, hunting and fishing along the Carson River. “The Washaws,” Holeman advised,

reported that they had two chiefs, who were at that time in the Mountains, they knew not where. This tribe is, and has been very troublesome.

The many deprivations which have been committed on the Whites, in Crossing the Siera Nevada, no doubt has been by this tribe. The Pi-Utes are in two separate bands, commanded by two chiefs—estimated, one at 300, and the other at 350—they reside on Carson river and in the Mountains east and south east of the river—they have been generally friendly to the whites—they are very poor.

Holeman commenced his return journey on September 7. Again he did not succeed in seeing the chiefs of the Paiute bands on the Carson, but he sent presents to the two men, observing that these Indians had been very friendly and that there had been no disturbance by them during the present season. He crossed the desert, and at the Big Meadows had the promised meeting with the Bannock chief, Te-ne-ra-wenah, whose band he was informed numbered about six hundred. The Bannocks were pleased with their presents, and assured Holeman that the whites would not be disturbed by them. Above the Big Meadows, Holeman observed, the Humboldt ran through a very narrow channel for some forty-five miles; as the bottoms were narrow and afforded little grass and consequently, no game, the Indians did not reside near the river; and he encountered none until a point fifty miles below Stony Point. These belonged to Oh-hah-quah’s band and went with him to their village. From these Indians also assurances of good will were obtained, and Holeman thought no trouble need be expected from them.

However, Ne-me-te-kah and the whites had not, after all, got on so well this season. A party of Californians on a trading expedition on the Humboldt had killed six Indians, taken their horses, and left for California. One of the slain was Ne-me-te-kah’s son, and he had sent to Oh-hah-quah asking the latter to join in killing all the whites who passed down the river, but Oh-hah-quah had refused, at least until he should see Holeman on his return.

At once Holeman hastened up the river. On arriving at Gravelly Ford, he met two emigrant trains which had been attacked, with four men badly wounded

24 Holeman also renders the name Te-ve-ra-wenah.

and much stock, a wagon, provisions, and other valuable property lost. The two Indians who had accompanied the agent from Oh-hah-quah's village were dispatched in search of Ne-me-te-kah and returned with him two days later. Ne-me-te-kah confessed he was afraid to see Holeman—

that his conduct had been so different from what he had promised me, that he feared I would be mad with him—he still expressed a great desire to be friendly with the whites, but said the whites would not be friendly with him—that the whites had killed his son and his men, and taken their horses and guns, without any cause,—that they had never disturbed the whites or their property—that it had made his heart feel bad, had made his men mad, and he could not restrain his men—they were determined to be revenged on the whites.

Holeman explained the difference between the traders and the blameless emigrants, and Ne-me-te-kah said finally “that all further troubles should cease.” Distributing the usual presents, to Ne-me-te-kah and to Pant-wa-a-rante, Holeman left the Humboldt with the conviction that if those still emigrating this year would treat the Indians kindly, they would experience no trouble. In Thousand Springs Valley he found that Too-ke-moh's band had left for the neighborhood of Fort Hall, where there was more game and where they intended to winter, so without delay, he continued on to Great Salt Lake City, where he arrived September 29, to find that his successor had reported for duty.

In this, his final report as agent, Holeman reiterated his conviction that it was very important to the peace and safety of travel on the California trail that the government should establish a post along its length.

the road is lined with trading posts, from California to within 150 miles of this city—principally by men from California—they station themselves at every point where good feed is to be found—their stock in trade consists principally in Liquor—scarcely an article is found, such as the emigrants stand most in need of—by their unkind treatment to the Indians, they make them unfriendly towards the emigrants—scisms arise, which they take advantage of, and steal, and commit more deprivations on the emigrants, than the Indians—all of which they manage to have charged to the Indians. I was told by the Indians, that propositions had been made to them by some of these traders, to steal the stock of the emigrants, run them off into the vallies of Mountains, and after the emigration had ceased passing, they could come, bring them guns, amunition and blankets, and trade with them for the stock stolen. I endeavored to put a stop to this species of trade and traffic. I informed them that they were violating the laws, and subjecting themselves to fines and punishment, and that

I should be compelled to put the laws in force against them—they laughed at me—they defied me and the laws—they told me, there were so many of them, that they could and would do as they pleased, law or no law. As I had not a force, sufficient to enable me to enforce the laws, I could do nothing with them—it was useless to attempt. . . . I feel satisfied, that until the Government throws protection over this route, and places the means within the reach of the officers to enforce their authority and the laws, there can be no safety to the travel—the whites who infest the country are far more troublesome than the Indians.²⁵

The new Indian agent, Edward A. Bedell, had arrived in Great Salt Lake City on August 15, and Young promptly redistricted the territory. No successor had ever been named for sub-agent Day, and Indian affairs in the territory had been administered without much regard for the original agency plane, which in any event, had been a nearsighted arrangement having primary relevance to the well-being of the Mormon community. Now the superintendency was divided into two districts—the eastern and the western—with the U.S. Territorial Road (approximately present U.S.91) adopted as the line of division. Bedell was named to the eastern district and Rose to the western.²⁶

The California trail was, however, almost neglected for the next two years. A fruit of this neglect was an initiative taken by the inhabitants of Carson Valley toward having an Indian agency especially established for their benefit.

From the beginning, Young had recommended that something of this kind be done, and it was more probably owing to inadequate staffing of his superintendency than to indifference that a sub-agent was not specifically assigned to the Humboldt-Carson area. As early as 1851, Young had wanted an agency on the Humboldt, and on December 31, 1853, he proposed four new sub-agencies, including one for Carson Valley and the Humboldt River area.²⁷ As nothing was done by the Indian Office toward authorizing such a sub-agency, the inhabitants of Carson Valley themselves took action. On January 21, 1855, 145 citizens of Carson petitioned that, in view of the unprotected state of the residents of Carson and the adjacent valleys, an agent be appointed to assist them in trading with the Paiutes and Washoes. “We have in our Valley, some permanent settlers, who are making improvements as fast as Circumstances will permit, already having in operation a large Flouring mill and saw mills. Many more Emigrants would make this their home, Could they feel that their lives and property were secure from Indian depredations.” They recommended the appointment of Thomas

25 Holeman to Young, September 30, 1853 (U/26-1853).

26 Morgan, “Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah,” 393 [p. 67 in this volume].

27 Ibid.

Knott as agent, and delegated him to bear their petition to Washington.²⁸ Knott himself argued his qualifications to the Indian Office, referring to his two-year residence in Carson Valley, and explorations he had participated in during the last year.²⁹ He had, he said,

erected 2 saw mills and a large f[l]ouring mill in the said Valley have been one among others that have had to suffer losses to keep on good terms with the Indians; I had to bestow many dollars worth of provisions & clothing on those Tribes; and now it is for your Honors to say whether we as a small company of unprotected American people shall receive any support or protection from the General Government. . . . It is not a desirable place to be situated in those mountains, and among these Savage Tribes. And if the Department see proper or feel disposed to take any notice of this, which we feel to be for the good of the American people, they will please give me an answer to this.³⁰

Knott did not get much satisfaction from the Indian Office, which wrote him on April 17, that the agency and sub-agency provided by law for Utah Territory had been filled, and that there was no authority for appointing an additional agent.³¹

The next developments along the California trail originated in the Superintendent's Office in Great Salt Lake City. By the spring of 1855, the Utah Superintendency had both a new agent and a new sub-agent. En route east to bring out his family, agent Bedell died at Green River on May 4, 1854, and was succeeded by a Kentuckian, Dr. Garland Hurt, a zealous official who proved quite as much a thorn in Mormon flesh as Holeman but who also set up the first large Indian farms in the territory. Rose, the sub-agent, gave way to another

28 Petition to the Senate and House of Representatives, January 21, 1855, copy attached to Knott to Department of Indian Affairs, April 10, 1855 (K/76–1855). This petition was signed by 145 residents of Carson Valley, including such familiar names as John and Enoch Reese, James and John McMarlin, William B. Thorrington, Henry Vansickly, and Stephen A. Kinsey. I have not established whether it was ever presented to Congress. It was never printed as an Executive Document.

29 The explorations are described in general terms in Morgan, *Humboldt*, 223–33. Knott had been with John Reese and Oliver B. Huntington in the westbound reconnaissance for Lt. Col. E. J. Steptoe from Great Salt Lake City, and he and two others accompanied Reese in the exploration, splitting off from Huntington's eastbound party, which seems to have been the first exploration of the Reese River country, among Indians who, Knott said, "had never seen the face of an American before[!]"

30 [Morgan did not complete this citation, but from the context the quotation is likely from the April 10, 1855 letter cited in note 28. —Ed.]

31 Manypenny to Knott, April 17, 1855, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 51, 274. Manypenny did not say so but there was none but financial reasons to prevent his naming an additional sub-agent! Full agents, however, could be provided for only by Congress.

Mormon, George W. Armstrong, who on July 1, 1855, upon authorization by act of Congress, was promoted to the status of a full agent.³²

Unfinished business dating from Holeman's time required Hurt's attention during the summer. Hurt wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs on July 14:

During the time of Maj. Holeman and while he was on the Humboldt a party of emigrants killed several Indians, among whom was the Chiefs son. This came near resulting in a general massacre of some trains then in the neighborhood, but was settled by heavy promises on the part of Maj Holeman. These promises with many others which have been subsequently made have not been met, on the contrary depredations have been frequently committed upon them by inconsiderate persons which have provoked the Indians to commit[t]al of crimes which might have been avoided. They still claim the fulfillment of the promises made them, but are becoming very impatient, and are wreaking their vengeance upon small parties who are continually passing the road. It is eminently desirable that something be done to stay the hand of destruction to life & property that has so long been waged in that region[.] I have therefore, equip[p]ed myself for that purpose—and shall take with me a sufficient amount of presents to be able to meet their expectations, and shall endeavor to negotiate with them for peace, and if possible for the right of way through their Country binding them to guarantee our people perfect safety to life and property.³³

Hurt limited himself to the business at hand, going only as far as the South Fork of the Humboldt, where he met with the chief Holeman had called Ne-metek-ah.³⁴ "It was fortunate," he subsequently reported to the Indian Office,

that my visit among them preceded for [by] a few days the feeble emigrant parties that passed through this season, for had not something occurred to divert their attention the scenes that were enacted near Ft. Boyse in Oregon last season would have been repeated in the valley of the Humboldt in a more frightful and heartrending manner. The Indians claim that we have eaten up their grass and thereby deprived them of its rich crop of seed which is their principal subsistence during winter. They say too that the long guns of the white people have scared away the game

32 [This citation was left blank in the manuscript, but Armstrong's appointment is cited in Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 393 n. 44 (p. 68 in this volume). Morgan's manuscript fails to document Armstrong's July 1855 full appointment. —Ed.]

33 Hurt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny, July 14, 1855 (H/999-1855).

34 Hurt renders the name Nim-oh-lee-cap.

and now there is nothing left for them to eat but ground squirrels and pis-ants.³⁵

Although Holeman had no proper authority to negotiate a treaty with these Shoshoni, he decided to take the responsibility upon himself. On August 7, 1855, he concluded a treaty between the U.S. government and “the chiefs, head men, and warriors of the Sho-Sho-Nes nation of Indians (commonly called snake Diggers) occupying the northern, and middle portion of the Valley of the Humboldt River.” The treaty—which was understood to be subject to ratification by the president and Senate of the United States—provided that the Indians would respect the lives and property of U.S. citizens in their territory, have friendly feelings for them and grant them a right of way through their country, respect the supremacy of U.S. laws, and when called upon, would help arrest and bring to justice, persons who committed crimes within the limits of their country. In return, the U.S. promised the friendship and good will of its citizens and government, together with \$3,000 in presents to be delivered to them on or before September 30, 1857.³⁶

Well-intentioned as it was, Hurt’s treaty ran afoul government red tape. A duplicate rather than the original was transmitted to Washington,³⁷ and the department finally informed Hurt that since only the original of such a document,

- 35 Hurt to Manypenny, August 27, 1855 (B/105–1855). A more general account of Hurt’s expedition was written by his clerk, Columbus L. Craig, for the *Deseret News*, August 29, 1855. The council with these Indians was held at Haws’s Ranch with A. P. Haws acting as his interpreter, for which and for whom see Morgan, *Humboldt*, 217–20, 225. While on this expedition Hurt discovered, at a number of points, quantities of garnets, or “rubies,” as he termed them (Hurt to Manypenny, September 1, 1855 (H/1074–1855)). The Huntington-Reese reconnaissance of the previous fall also had made such discoveries, and it is probably that the name of the Ruby Mountains dates from about this time.
- 36 Hurt’s original copy of the document is filed in the Indian Office records with “Treaties, Talks and Councils,” (H/1032–1855), Utah. A duplicate is in the papers of the Utah Superintendency, [Record Group 75.15.13], B/105–1856. [Though never ratified by the Senate and therefore never in force, the text may be found more readily in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Charles J. Kappler, vol. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), 685–86. —Ed.] The Indians who signed it by mark were Nim-oh-lee-cap (“man eater”), Sho-cap-it-su (“old man”), Pan-tow-quan (“diving mink”), Two-quan-du-at-su (“young groundhog”), Sho-cap-it-su Senr (apparently a father-and-son relationship with the second Indian named), Pow-wan-tah-wah (“strong smoker”), Jan-cup-pah (“climbing man”), Ink-ah-bil (“red man”), Ko-too-bol-se, and Wot-sow-wit-su-mot-tow (“the four Shians”). The orthography of all these names is somewhat difficult and the transcription may not be exact.
- 37 Hurt’s explanation of this aberration was that the duplicate was forwarded to the superintendent soon after his return to Great Salt Lake City, “whose sanction I deemed necessary, and without which I did not suppose any notice would be taken of them at Washington, in which event I prefer[r]ed the original copy to remain in my own office.” Hurt to Acting Commissioner Charles E. Mix, March 27, 1857 (H/638–1857).

as signed by the Indians, could be presented for the constitutional action of the president and the Senate, nothing had been done in the matter.³⁸ The extreme slowness of the mails resulted in Hurt's not getting this communication until March 27, 1857, and as by that time it was too late for action, he simply let the matter slide.³⁹ Thus, the only definite attempt throughout the 1850s at negotiation of a treaty of any sort with the Indians came to nothing.⁴⁰

The agitation for appointment of an Indian agent or sub-agent for the Carson-Humboldt area now began to acquire real force. From the beginning, Carson Valley had been marginal to Mormon colonization of the mountain-desert country, never wholly accepted and not quite rejected. Separatist political activities of the settlers there, however, had resulted in formal creation of Carson County in 1854, and in the dispatch of a characteristic colonizing mission under Orson Hyde, apostle and probate judge, in the later spring of 1855. On February 2, 1856, the Utah delegate to Congress, John M. Bernhisel, called to the attention of the Indian Office a message he had received from Genoa, Carson County, dated December 4, 1855: "It really needs an Indian agent or sub-agent in this county. There are two tribes that rende[z]vous or roam here. The Washoos and the Pah Utahs. Many of the latter are very good workers. An agent here would be very useful to them, and a relief to the people."⁴¹

The commission recommended to the secretary of the interior on February 15, that a sub-agent be appointed for the Carson territory,⁴² and accordingly, he was advised that if he would name a suitable person for the office of sub-agent, he should be appointed. Here, however, the matter bogged down, for Manypenny replied that he knew of no person in the Territory of Utah whom he could recommend for the office of sub-agent in that territory.⁴³

38 Mix to Hurt, September 1, 1856, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 55, 73.

39 Hurt to Mix, March 27, 1857 (H/638-1857).

40 Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 395-400 [pp. 69-74 in this volume], discusses efforts to arrange for treaties with the Utah Indians to acquire land titles. These never reached the stage of active negotiations with the Indians.

41 Bernhisel to Manypenny, February 2, 1856 (B/19-1856).

42 [Morgan failed to cite the commission's recommendation in his manuscript, thus we are left without his specific source. —Ed.]

43 Secretary of the Interior Robert McClelland to Manypenny, February 19, 1856 (I/47-1856). Manypenny's reply appears as an endorsement on this document under date of March 7. The fact that he could or would name no suitable person for appointment is evidence that he either had forgotten or had no faith in recommendations Young had made at various times since 1853 for appointment of men he regarded as qualified. Cf. Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 391-93 [pp. 65-68 in this volume]. Since this article had not appeared in print at the time Morgan drafted this article he did not specify the pages he intended to cite, but the pages supplied here address the topic and may have been the ones he intended. —Ed.].

The problem could not be solved by ignoring it, however. On April 10, 1855, Hurt wrote earnestly recommending provision for this additional Indian agency, “to embrace Carson County and Humboldt River County.” The cost of travel to Carson for an agent located in Great Salt Lake City would, he said, exceed the salary of a full agency. “An agent could be located there only two hundred miles from Sacramento City, and as the Indians are very numerous in that region a great saving to Government would be made in establishing the Agency.” As a suitable person for the appointment, he named Decatur J. Thompson of Great Salt Lake City, “A Kentuckian, of fine education a warm friend of the administration Party now hostile to factionists.” Hurt’s recommendations were warmly endorsed by J. F. Kinney, chief justice; W. W. Drummond, associate justice; William Bell, postmaster; and David H. Burr, surveyor general for the territory.⁴⁴

Bernhisel himself returned to the wars in June. “Having recently received several communications from citizens of Carson county, in the Territory of Utah, urging the establishment of an Indian agency in that region of country, and the appointment of an Indian agent, I would respectfully request you to favor me with your opinion as to the necessity and propriety of the desired agency, and that you would state what would be the amount of the salary of a minor agent.”⁴⁵ In reply he was assured that in the judgment of the commissioner of Indian affairs, “the interests of the citizens as well as the Indians, of Carson Valley Utah Territory, would be promoted by the establishment there of such an agency as you refer to,” and was informed that the salary of a minor agent was fixed by law at \$1,000 per annum.⁴⁶

Bernhisel’s labors in the House finally bore fruit when on March 3, 1857, an additional Indian agent was authorized for Utah,⁴⁷ but for some reason not clear— unless it was the general upset in Washington over Utah affairs—the post was not filled until [May] 1858, when Frederick Dodge was named to the post.⁴⁸

Meantime, with his refreshed interest in Carson Valley, during the spring of 1856, Brigham Young instructed Agent Hurt to undertake a visit to that area. Preoccupied with establishing his new Indian farms, Hurt was reluctant to go,⁴⁹ but he set out on May 17. His report on his expedition is long and instructive. On arriving in Thousand Springs Valley on May 31, he learned that Indians had mur-

44 Hurt to Manypenny, April 10, 1856 (H/168–1856). A letter of similar import was written the previous day to the secretary of the interior. Both were merely filed on receipt.

45 Bernhisel to Manypenny, June 17, 1856 (B/93–1856).

46 Manypenny to Bernhisel, June 26, 1856, Indian Office Letter Book, no. 54, 401, 402.

47 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 11 (1857): 169.

48 [Morgan left part of the date and the note blank in the manuscript, obviously intending to complete it in a later revision. Dodge’s appointment was ratified June 4. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*, vol.10 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 437. —Ed.]

49 Hurt to Manypenny, August 30, 1856 (H/288–1856).

dered Carlos Murray, an event instrumental in breaking up Haws's Ranch on the South Fork of the Humboldt.⁵⁰ Hurt traveled to what he termed "the bridge on the Humboldt"—evidently at the first crossing of that stream—where he met a large band of Indians with whom he had negotiated the previous summer. The Indians seemed "well disposed" and promised to try to get back the livestock which had belonged to Murray and turn it over to his brother-in-law, A. P. Haws. From this point on, until passing Stony Point on June 12, the road was thronged by Indians, who came by the hundreds into camp each night. "They presented a sad state of destitution, and said that many of their children had perished during the winter. They are all parties to the treaty of last summer, and seem to be trying to live up to their treaty obligations." The Indians living about Stony Point, whom Hurt identified as being called To-sow-witches or "white knives,"⁵¹ so named for a beautiful flint found in the mountains and formerly used by them as a substitute in dressing their food. He did not encounter in numbers on the outbound trip except for a party of about fifty on the evening of the fifteenth, who said they lived north and had come over to trade with the emigrants; this group was well-supplied with guns and horses and was anxious to trade for ammunition. At the meadows, and about the sink of the Humboldt, Hurt encountered some two hundred Paiutes quite as wretched as the diggers, from whom it was learned that about six hundred of this tribe were camped in the mountains north of the sink. An all-night journey across the desert brought Hurt to Ragtown on the morning of the twenty-third, and here and on the following three days of traveling up the Carson, he met with other Paiutes, numbering in all about one hundred fifty. Many of them had acquired some knowledge of English and having become domesticated were employed by the Carson settlers as herdsmen and farm laborers. The "Was-saws" living in the Sierras, Hurt learned, claimed the Carson as their land and had made several attempts to collect rent, but not being very numerous, they had found a mild course the better policy. The agent reached the settlements on the Carson on June 28.

The homeward-bound trip was commenced July 30, by way of Washoe and Truckee valleys. The meadows at the sink of the Humboldt were reached on

50 Murray, a somewhat unsavory character, is described in Morgan, *Humboldt*, 217–20, an account based in part on Jules Remy and Julius R. Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*, 2 vols. (London: W. Jeffs, 1861; New York: AMS Press, 1971), 1:137–40, 152–56.

51 The term "To-sow-witches" was loosely applied to all the Indians west of present Utah, in central as well as northern Nevada. See, e.g., Armstrong to Young, September 30, 1856 (A/149–1857). Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 154 comments on this name as one of those which "have gained some prominence in literature but are not band designations." The name in actuality "was usually applied only to a small group at Iron Point, near Battle Mountain, where good white flint occurred, though there was no consistency in its application."

August 6, when Hurt found two hundred or more of the Paiutes harvesting the grass seed, an important article of their diet. Above Stony Point there was news that the Indians were exhibiting the greatest hostility, attacking the emigrant trains night and day; in some part, this information seems to have been mere rumor, but Hurt learned that things were not as peaceful as was to be desired. From the old chief, Ne-me-te-kah, he learned that although the Indians were starving for meat, the emigrants would sell them no powder; and the more anxious the Indians were for the powder, the less inclined the whites were to trade it to them. Hurt was, however, encouraged to hear that a band under a chief named Pho-cup-ut-su had planted fifteen acres of wheat, potatoes, and squash at Haws's Ranch that year.

The most critical section of the trail was the stretch between the Bear and Humboldt rivers. Scarcely a train this season had not lost property or been fired upon in this section; Hurt estimated that no less than three hundred head of cattle, and sixty or seventy horses and mules had been stolen or killed here. A difficulty was that the area was more or less neutral ground into which all the surrounding tribes made incursions in search of plunder. If the government did not take steps to check the growing insolence of the reckless and unprincipled men of the various tribes active in such enterprises, Hurt reasoned, their success would encourage others, "and in a short time, perhaps in another season, their merciless deeds may exceed any thing known to the history of Indian barbarity." He laid particular stress upon this because he thought "no part of our extended country [is] more exposed to Indian ferocity, than this great Western thoroughfare, and there is perhaps no class of our people more deserving the fostering care of government than the emigrant citizen. . . ."⁵²

It was two years before any other measures were taken to conciliate the Indians along the California trail. Events were not propitious during 1857 for any sort of activity out of Great Salt Lake City. During that summer, things went from bad to worse in the Humboldt area, so much so that when Brigham Young called for abandonment of the Carson Valley settlement in consequence of the approach of the Utah Expedition, his post west was sent by the new "central route."⁵³ In his annual report to the Indian Office in September, Young vehemently protested against the behavior of the emigrants on the California trail. It was, he said, the practice of the citizens of Utah to give the Indians food, tobacco, and other presents, so that the Indians thronged the road with a view to receiving such presents. "When therefore travellers from the States make their appearance they throw themselves in Sight with the Same view and when they are Shot at Some of their numbers killed as has frequently been the case, we cannot but

52 Hurt to Young, September 1856 (U/12-1856).

53 Cf. Morgan, *Humboldt*, 230-57.

expect them to wreak their vengeance upon the next train.” He voiced his outrage at a company of some three or four hundred returning Californians who “travelled those roads last spring to the Eastern States shooting at every indian they could see, a practise utterly abhorrent to all good people. . . . It is hard to make an Indian believe that the whites are their friends and the Great Father wishes to do them good, when perhaps the very next party which crosses their path shoots them down like wolves.” First and foremost, among the things to be done if friendly relations with the Indians were to be maintained, he suggested, was that travelers “omit their infamous practise of shooting them down when they happen to see one.”⁵⁴

Congress had made provision in March, 1857, for an independent superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah,⁵⁵ and on August 27, a Philadelphian, Jacob Forney, was nominated to the office. He had to spend the winter at Camp Scott with the U.S. troops, however, and it was not until June, 1858, that he entered Great Salt Lake City.

Although conditions had been bad in the Humboldt area in 1857, during 1858, the Indians were found by the mail contractors to be friendly though very poor.⁵⁶ On August 30, however, a five-man mail party to California was attacked on the Humboldt some 325 miles from Great Salt Lake City and robbed of everything, though the men were not personally harmed.⁵⁷ Reports came to Forney that “several thousand hostile Indians” were assembled in the Humboldt Valley, “and that the mail and all connected with it, and all travellers were threatened.” At his request, Governor Alfred Cumming made requisition on General Albert Sidney Johnston for troops to march to the Humboldt without delay, and accordingly, Captain [James W.] Haw[e]s, with 150 men, was dispatched on this mission, with orders not to proceed beyond the first crossing of the Humboldt.⁵⁸

54 Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver, September 12, 1857 (U/19-1857).

55 Morgan, “Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah,” 405, 407 [pp. 79, 81 in this volume]. The author struck the remainder of this paragraph and two notes that may be of interest to modern students, reproduced here with the notes placed inserted:

As early as January, when he recommended the appointment of one John Kerr as agent in the newly created post [Forney to Denver, January 1, 1858 (F/189-1858); Forney to Acting Commissioner Mix, February 10, 1858 (S/273-1858)], he was devoting some thought to the Carson area, and on May 28, while still at Camp Scott, he announced his intention of visiting the tribes from Great Salt Lake City to Carson Valley during the coming season [Forney to Denver, May 28, 1858 (F/251-1858)].

56 Forney to Mix, August 6, 1858 (F/296-1858).

57 Forney to Mix, September 3, 1858 (F/309-1858).

58 Forney to Mix, November 5, 1858 (F/337-1858). [This expedition summarized somewhat differently in Donald R. Moorman and Gene Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1992), 195-97].]

As far back as May 28, Forney had anticipated a trip to the Humboldt Valley,⁵⁹ and he had originally expected to begin about August 25. Now, with the dispatch of troops to a critical area, it was imperative that he make the trip, that no circumstances should arise to bring about “a conflict between the Military & the Indians.”⁶⁰ The new agent for Carson Valley, Frederick Dodge, arrived by stage just in time to go with him, and the two men set out on September 12, with five camp attendants. The troops had left the city on the Wednesday before the eleventh [i.e., September 8] and Forney overtook them at Cedar Springs, two hundred miles along the way. In the Goose Creek Mountains he pushed on ahead, and on September 24, by way of “a narrow and decidedly one of the most strange Kanyons in the Territory”—Bishop’s or Emigration Canyon—he reached the Humboldt Valley. Along the way he had met with “Chief Po-Ko-Tell’s” band of Shoshoni. This chief, to be famous three years later for a massacre perpetrated in the City of Rocks area, he described as a young man who seemed to exercise complete control over his band, who “acknowledged no chief superior to” himself. They claimed to be friendly, and to substantiate these claims had testimony from Colonel F[rederick]. W. Lander, then surveying the “Fort Kearney, South Pass, and Honey Lake route” to California. The haunts of these Indians in summer were Deep Creek, Raft Creek, and other neighboring valleys; in winter, they roamed near the northern Utah settlements. All he found “very destitute, many entirely naked.” Along the way, at the first mail station beyond the settlements, Forney picked up a chief of one of the Humboldt bands, “a decent old man,” who proved of considerable service to them.^{60a} On reaching the Humboldt Valley, Forney initiated a series of talks with the Indians of the area, culminating with a council on September 30, with four [i.e., five] chiefs representative of two bands, Py-poo-roo-yan San-Pitch, We-ra-yoo, Tse-mah, and Paw-sha-quin.⁶¹

Forney moved on down the river to Stony Point to confer with the two bands of White Knives of which he had heard. One of these was on Snake River, where the band had gone north to winter. But on October 3, he talked to the other, which numbered two or three hundred, and had a chief exercising complete

59 Forney to Denver, May 28, 1858 (F/251–1858).

60 Forney to Mix, September 11, 1858 (F/313–1858).

60a Additional details on this portion of Forney’s trip are provided by letters to Mix written en route: “Among Hills, about 120 miles west of Salt L. City,” September 16 (F/318–1858); “Rock Creek,” September 18 (F/314–1858); “Valley of 1000 Springs,” September 23 (F/322–1858).

61 The possibility suggests itself that these Indians roamed fairly widely, since Forney says they were Shoshoni who recognized Washakie as their great chief. This was well west of Washakie’s country. A chief, San-Pitch, was among the Indians slain by Connor’s forces on January [29], 1863, in the Battle of Bear River [i.e., Bear River Massacre], and the one here named may have been the same.

control over them. Hoping to meet with the Paiutes, Forney traveled another hundred miles down the river, but at the mail station five hundred miles west of Great Salt Lake City, he learned this band was at Pyramid Lake, and by reason of the shortness of the season and having so much to do elsewhere, he decided to turn back. These Paiutes were, in any event, in Dodge's Carson Valley agency.⁶² Forney separated from Dodge on October 8, and returned to his official station on October 29.⁶³ The troops had preceded him back and when they were still fifty miles from the Humboldt, he had decided that there was no need for them. Forney considered his expedition to have been successful beyond all expectation in instilling friendly feelings in the Indians. Additionally, he had information of general interest for the department:

There are four "Bands" of Sho Sho Nees living in and about Humboldt Basin. These claim the Valley for about two hundred miles, extending from the eastern boundary to a range of hills about 30 miles west of "Stony Point," which is the dividing line between them and the Pey-Utes, and I cannot learn [that] either encroach upon the others land. The land claimed by the four Sho sho nee Bands is divided into two, about equal parts, two Bands occupying each, together. The White-Knife Sho-sho-nees, live in the Western portion, and are ruled by two chiefs.

Whilst I consider Humboldt valley one of the largest and best watered in the Territory, and adapted to agricultural & herding purposes, yet, in its natural state, it affords very little for Indians to subsist upon. Like every other portion of this Territory, with which I am acquainted, Humboldt Valley is devoid of game, with the exception of a few Antelope and Rabbits. The Indians there, like those I met in Raft Creek Valley, and many others in this Territory, are obliged, to sustain life, to eat, besides the usual game, snakes, lizzards, swifts, wolves, Grass hoppers, crickets, ants and their eggs &c &c. All the Indians I saw west of the settlements, are poor, miserably poor, many entirely naked. In this trip, I met four Bands of the Sho-Sho-Nees, and over 600 Indians who had never been officially seen by any Government officer, previously.⁶⁴

62 Forney to Mix, November 5, 1858 (F/337-1858).

63 Forney to Mix, October 29, 1858 (F/331-1858).

64 Forney to Mix, November 5, 1858 (F/337-1858). Although Forney, like Holeman and Hurt before him, talks so positively in terms of bands and band organization, Steward declares that subsistence activities for the Humboldt area "had not become a fixed routine and families often found themselves in different places associating with different people from year to year. Communal hunts and dances which tend to amalgamate large groups of people consequently did not always unite the same people. In short, there was no band organization whatever." Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 153.

On returning to Great Salt Lake City, Forney set about expanding the Indian farms. He proposed four reservations: on Henry's Fork in present Wyoming for the Shoshoni and Bannocks, in Cache Valley for the scattered bands adjacent to Great Salt Lake Valley, in Ruby Valley for the Shoshoni of the Humboldt area, and in Skull Valley or on Deep Creek (Ibapah) for the Gosiutes.^{64a} Forney preferred Ruby Valley to the Humboldt Valley because of the latter's adjacency to the troublesome Oregon Bannocks and its "destitution"^{64b} of timber. Only the latter reservations became a reality.

Forney had two new agents to assist him. Garland Hurt's commission expired in August, 1858, and his successor, named the following January, was Andrew Humphreys of Indiana, a conscientious man [who] was assigned to the reservations in the central Utah valleys. The Mormon agent, George Armstrong, was to have been replaced by one R. C. Morgan; the latter declined the appointment and it was given to Columbus L. Craig, who had at one time been Hurt's clerk. But Craig also was soon removed from office, and in the fall of 1858, Robert B. Jarvis of [blank] was nominated agent. Jarvis reported for duty on [blank], and was soon placed in charge of the Deep Creek and Ruby Valley "reservations."^{*}

These two new farms were of particular importance because the California mail contractor, George Chorpenning, was working out a "central route" for his mail stages,⁶⁵ and Captain J. H. Simpson had begun the explorations which culminated the next summer in establishment of his route to Carson Valley and a stream of travel across the central Nevada valleys.

Forney's ideas as to the Deep Creek and Ruby Valley reservations crystallized upon receipt of a letter from Howard Egan, Chorpenning's route agent west of Great Salt Lake City, on February 29. In that communication Egan pointed out that depredations by the Indians in the Nevada area arose from their "ever recurring want" of food and raiment: "I conceive the only effectual and reliable way to eradicate the evil, is a *farm*, under proper supervision." An establishment of

64a The Gosiutes have been found culturally and linguistically identical with the Nevada Shoshoni, but the name as applied to the Shoshoni of the Great Salt Lake desert are among official reports and travelers journals. Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 132–33.

64b Forney to Denver, February 15, 1859 (F/414–1859).

* [Robert B. Jarvis's appointment, which Morgan cites but does not document, does not appear in the indexed *Senate Executive Journal*. —Ed.]

65 [George] Chorpenning and Howard Egan worked out their route to Ruby Valley in the fall of 1858. From that point on, the Hastings Cutoff around the Rubies and down the South Fork of the Humboldt was adopted; this was the route traveled next summer by Horace Greeley and described in his *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York: C.M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860; Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, c1999), 258–274. After [James H.] Simpson's explorations across the Great Basin in the summer of 1859, the captain's outbound route was adopted for the stage lines, and the California trail proper (the Humboldt route) was left to emigrants and stock drivers.

soldiers would solve nothing; “a farm—a concentration of Indians to some one or more points is the only effectual cure for the evils of which I complain.”⁶⁶

Accordingly, on March 5, Forney instructed Agent Jarvis to undertake locating the respective Indians on the two proposed farms. He was to obtain the assistance of Harrison Sevier, a Tooele County settler of note, in establishing the Deep Creek reservation, and of Howard Egan in establishing one in Ruby Valley. He stressed that the Indians themselves would have to work the farms that were opened. “I will pay for no white labor on these farms after they are under way. The idea of hiring white men, as heretofore, to raise grain for the Indians and they lying about, is to me abominable and will not be tolerated any longer. A few white men may be necessary on each farm for one or two months.”⁶⁷

Egan, informed of these developments, wrote Jarvis on March 7, of the imperative need of doing something at once to ameliorate the condition of the Indians; by the last mail he had received “an account of the slaying of 8 cattle and 2 mules . . . from pure necessity and to avoid death by starvation. And from present indications I see no chance to preserve our mules from a similar fate; unless some immediate steps are taken we shall be seriously crippled in our operations. . . .”⁶⁸

In turn, Forney wrote the department concerning his plans. About the first of December, he said, the California mail had ceased to be carried on the Goose Creek and Humboldt road, and had since and would undoubtedly continue to be carried

on a new Road, directly West from this City, south of the old Road, to which it unites near the sink of the Humboldt. This new and much improved route is the result of extensive explorations by Mr Howard Egan and Major Chorpenning. It shortens the distance at least 250 miles between this city and Carson Valley and they are confident it can be still more improved. It is quite obvious that this new road must attract the principal travel, possessing special advantage over the old road. As in addition to Water and Grass there is along the new route plenty of timber, with no interruption at any time by snows, also avoiding several large and troublesome Streams and high hills.

The farms would “without doubt afford protection to the U. S. Mail, Employees and Stock,” while at the same time there would follow “the occupation of a large

66 Egan to Forney, February 19, 1859, copy filed with Forney to Denver, March 9, 1859 (F/405-1859).

67 Forney to Jarvis, March 5, 1859, copy filed with Forney to Denver, March 9, 1859 (F/405-1859). This communication has a number of details of interest concerning what was known of the localities and the Indians involved.

68 Egan to Jarvis, March 7, 1859, copy filed with Forney to Denver, March 9, 1859 (F/405-1859).

extent of country by active and industrious farmers, which has been heretofore a dread to white men.” He proposed using no white labor on the farms excepting two men on each farm for several months; no expensive buildings were to be put up. “In short the Indians must work or be treated like other persons that refuse to labor. . . . I may feel over sanguine, but I feel confident that Indians can be got to work” The cost of cattle and implements to place the farms in full operation would not, he estimated, exceed \$3,500. Deep Creek Valley he termed the only valley unoccupied by whites, susceptible of agriculture, in the country claimed by the Gosiutes. “The valley is small, being only 15 by 4 to 8 miles in extent, and in it, a white settlement is in progress of being made.” Ruby Valley, “the most eligible location for the Humboldt Shoshonnes”—at the point where the farm was proposed—was 250 miles from Great Salt Lake City; it had “an abundance of grass, water and timber, & there are as yet no white Settlements in it, but several are in progress of commencement this spring.”⁶⁹

A week later, Jarvis left with Egan for Deep Creek and Ruby valleys, and Forney sent two wagons after them loaded with flour, wheat, and some farming implements.⁷⁰ At the end of May, the superintendent was able to advise that Jarvis reported favorably concerning the two farms,⁷¹ but about this time Jarvis abandoned his work, came to Great Salt Lake City, and resigned. Although regretting the loss of the agent’s services, Forney was able to report that he had “a good Farming Agent on each farm” and that it was the general opinion that the Indians would soon do all the work.⁷²

Who carried on the work at Deep Creek is not known. The agent at Ruby Valley was one William H. Rogers, who, in December 1860, described himself as “now near seventy years old,” and who had spent his life in the West, principally among the Indians.⁷³ It was fortunate that there was someone devoted to the

69 Forney to Denver, March 9, 1859 (F/405–1859).

70 Forney to Denver, March 22, 1859 (F/419–1859).

71 Forney to Mix, May 31, 1859 (F/2–1859).

72 Forney to Commissioner of Indian Affairs A. B. Greenwood, July 25, 1859 (F/43–1859). In a letter of June 16, first reporting Jarvis’s intention of resigning, Forney commented, “The reason assigned is, the very small salary. The public service will not materially suffer from this event as I find no difficulty in procuring the services of efficient farmers.” (F/9–1859). Forney and Jarvis parted on good terms. The latter was one of the two men delegated to accompany fifteen of the Mountain Meadows [Massacre] children [returned to family in Arkansas].

73 Rogers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ruby Valley Indian Farm, December 18, 1860 (F/1336–1861). In this letter, as interesting for its orthography as for the information it provides, Rogers said that he

was engaged By Jarvis more than two years ago to manage the liddle beginning of a farm Scituated on whot is colled the Ruby Valley Indian reserve I have since that time been constantly at this place except when Cold away by my superiours in office Raised as I have been amongst the Indians I have felt sorry to see

interests of these farms, because after Forney visited them in late August of 1859, for more than a year they had to get along without supervisory attention owing [to Forney's activity as an investigating official in the wake of] the [Mountain Meadows] massacre.*

bis ness carried on here as It has bin but it was not my place to report or to complain to you unless cold on and Vixed and worrid as I was I tried to grin and bare and amidst a thousand dificultes I have kept my poste and soported my selef by living more like a saviag then a white man

In an earlier letter, July 23, 1860 (R/928-1860), Rogers described some of his trials and tribulations: unprovided with funds, he had "Spent the entire Autumn, Winter & Spring in uncertainty as to what course to pursue," and had "Exerted all my Energies & Exhausted all my means, to maintain myself in my position, but finding my private means Exhausted & driven to seek my own subsistence for credit," he wanted the counsel and aid of the Department.

* [Forney's actions as an investigator of the Mountain Meadows Massacre are summarized in his own letters of May and August, 1859 which appeared in separate contemporary publications but are collected as appendices 9 and 10 in Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 2nd ed. (1950; Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1962). Forney, in fact, observed "I fear, and I regret to say it, that with certain parties here there is a greater anxiety to connect Brigham Young and other Church dignitaries with every criminal offense than diligent endeavor to punish the actual perpetrators of crime" (Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1887* [San Francisco: The History Company, 1890], 561).

In his revisions Morgan cut two pages from the manuscript (36 and half of 37) which included a second note 73 and note 74. Both notes had been left blank for later completion. The excision from msp. 36, the first paragraph, was dropped entirely, and included the following text:

Contributing to Forney's difficulties may have been his difference with the Carson agent, Dodge, which are examined below. But more serious were charges of misfeasance, if not even malfeasance, of office, leveled against him by Judge Charles E. Sinclair and John Cradlebaugh. Their hostility in some part may have been motivated by the fact that Forney sided with Governor Cumming in opposing the Gentile extremists after the entrance into Utah of Johnston's army, but there was sufficient irregularity in his finances for the Indian Office to order a hearing in Great Salt Lake City in May, 1860, but on the basis of evidence elicited the Indian Office was sufficiently dissatisfied to order his removal from office in July and to name Benjamin Davies of [blank] to succeed him. Davies did not reach Utah until the fall of 1860, and his activities are not pertinent to this study. It is here chiefly important that during 1860 the Utah Superintendency was in such an administrative mess that the Department function in Utah almost exclusively in the local labors of Humphreys at the central Utah farms and of Dodge in the Carson Agency.

Although Dodge in Carson Valley was answerable to Forney as superintendent, the Carson Agency soon acquired a status so independent to constitute it virtually a separate principality of the Indian Office. Contributory causes were the remoteness of the agency and, perhaps, a certain intransigence in Dodge; but some informality in Forney's bond soon created a grievous tangle of his financial affairs. On April 20, 1859 Dodge wrote Mix of his "sad and humiliating condition" and the hazard to his private reputation consequent upon the

Forney gave Dodge his official instructions at their camp on the Humboldt on October 6, 1858. Much would be left to his judgment as the practical administration of affairs in his agency, but Forney recommended that as soon as possible Dodge should ascertain the number of tribes and their location in his agency, make geographical explorations with a view to settling the Indians upon suitable reservations, and endeavor to persuade the Paiutes living in the western portion of the Humboldt Valley to locate on a suitable reservation in Carson Valley. In addition, during this first winter, he was to “exercise circumstantial supervision over the several bands of the Sho-Sho-Nees at present living in the eastern portion of Humboldt Valley.”⁷⁵

Proceeding on to Carson Valley, as one of his first acts, Dodge issued a public notice that the practice which had previously prevailed—of trading, selling, and giving spirituous liquors to Indians “especially on the great thoroughfare of the Carson and Humboldt rivers”—was in violation of U.S. law. Hereafter, violators would be liable for fines ranging up to \$500 and to imprisonment ranging up to two years. A “rigid observance by all persons, of the above laws and regulations,” he announced, would “greatly tend to promote the welfare of our Indian population, and the safety of our great Overland Mail and Emigrant Route, particularly that portion on the Carson and Humboldt River.”⁷⁶

Following this vigorous announcement of his presence, Dodge began to size up his responsibilities. Nine weeks later, he estimated to Forney that there were some 6,000 Paiutes in his agency, of which he had seen and given presents to

protesting of Forney’s drafts, two of which he had cashed and used in paying the expenses of his agency; he asked that the drafts in question be honored and he himself, if necessary, held responsible for the amount. ⁷³Ultimately the financial affairs of the Agency were arranged by placing with the Assistant U.S. Treasurer at San Francisco funds on which Dodge might draw. ⁷⁴This must be seen as background to a discussion of the agency itself and of the friction with Forney.

The second paragraph above was ultimately moved and reworked into msp. 45, so Morgan’s second note 73 and note 74 thus became notes 86 and 87. The Beinecke Library at Yale University now holds a file of material from Forney and his chief accuser, John Cradlebaugh, directly relating to Forney’s trouble (United States Office of Indian Affairs Papers Relating to Charges Against Jacob Forney, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library); a larger file may be found in the Special Files series of RG 75, ser. 98 (L2), reel 24, file 127. The Yale material was in the hands of collector and Utah State Historical Society board chairman Herbert S. Auerbach but would have been unavailable to Morgan at the time he was writing. —Ed.]

75 Forney to Dodge, October 6, 1858, copy in Dodge to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Carson Valley, February 18, 1859 (D/635–1859).

76 Printed broadside dated Carson Valley, Utah Territory, October 30, 1858, copy enclosed in Dodge to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 18, 1859 (D/635–1859). Nevada bibliographers wonder whether this was the first Nevada imprint; it might be added that it was printed at Placerville.

3,735, and that there were some 900 Washoes,^{76a} of which he had seen one band numbering 342 souls. He thought the Paiutes “the most interesting and docile Indians on the continent,” and that by proper management they might “be made to compete with the whites in agricultural pursuits,” as they were extremely anxious to cultivate their lands and would make excellent men to work—some of them could take hold of a scythe and mow, or drive oxen or a four-horse team, as well as a white man. The Paiute bands he located as being on Smoke Creek near Honey Lake, under “Wun-a-Nuc-a” (“the giver”); in Carson Valley at the forks of the river, under “San-joaquin”; at Gold Canyon on the Carson, under “Had-sapoke” (“horse stopper”); at the big bend of the Carson, under “Wa-He” (“fox”); three bands under “O-derk-e-o” (“tall man”), “Pe-tod-se-ka” (“white spot”), and “To-Sarke” (“grey head”), who frequented the country around the lakes and sinks of the Carson and Walker rivers; below the big meadows on the Truckee, under “To-no-yeit” (“woman helper”); near the lower crossing of the Truckee, under “To-keepe” (“lean man”); at the mouth of the Truckee, under “Ge-Nega” (“dancer”); along the shores of Pyramid Lake, under “Wat-se-que-order” (“four crows”); and along the shores of lower Mud Lake, under “Wun-a-muc-a” the Younger, or “Second,” as Dodge phrased it.

He found the Washoes divided into three bands: one under “Capt Jim,” the head chief of the entire nation, that resided in the vicinity of Carson, Wahoe, and Eagle valleys and the Tahoe area; another under “Pos-Sarke,” located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of the Carson; and a third band under “Derr-Dick” in Long Valley, southeast from Honey Lake. He regretted being unable to speak in very favorable terms concerning the Washoes, who were “not inclined to agricultural pursuits, nor to any other advancement towards civilization,” and had no clothing “except the merest apology for a breech-clout.”

All the Indians he found miserably poor, and Forney was told that whatever policy might be adopted in relation to them, none could be worse or more productive of evil both to them and to the whites than “the present joint and promiscuous occupation of the country.” He thought the Paiutes should be allowed to retain some of their present locations, particularly the valley of the Truckee. No other area seemed so well adapted to reservation purposes as the Truckee Meadows, which had great natural advantages, and unlike the other valleys, was as yet unsettled except for one settler “whose improvements consists of a tolerable good frame house” in the center of the Meadows; he could either be bought out or ordered off, as the Department might see fit. But Dodge recommended immediate action, as he was advised that as soon as the snow disappeared there would be quite an emigration to these valleys. Dodge openly

76a He later reduced the estimate to about seven hundred. Dodge to Greenwood, August 9, 1860 (D/184–1860).

expressed his sympathy for the Indians—“him whose name we are all proud to own; (the true American)”—and the straits to which they were reduced by the white invasion of their hunting grounds. The Indians only lacked something to eat, “and [t]here lies the secret of most of the Indian depredations upon this great line of travel.” The encroachments of the emigrants had “driven away the game upon which they depend for subsistence. They cannot hunt upon the territories of neighboring tribes, except at the risk of their lives. They must therefore steal or starve. Every few miles too on this great thoroughfare, both on the Humboldt and Carson Rivers, can be found a whiskey shop, the proprietors of which have the presumption to call trading posts.” And some of these “inhumane venders” were willing to take the last badger or rabbit skins of the Indians in exchange for their “poisonous Liquor.”⁷⁷

Dodge wrote Forney a month later in even more forceful terms about conditions on the Humboldt. He had received from a Carson resident, Charles B. Lafitte, statements by John Rondeaux and Oliver Cromwell, both characterized by Lafitte as being “esteemed, reliable, and truthful men,” concerning certain events in November. Late in that month, the mail company sent Cromwell out with ox teams loaded with provisions for the stations on the Humboldt, and on being asked by the Indians if he was from Col. Forney, he had replied yes, thinking they were trying to say “Californy.” The Indians, who it was claimed had been promised cattle, flour, and the like by Forney, followed him for several days and were becoming very unruly when Cromwell fell in with a certain Jim Stevenson who understood the language and finally explained things to the Indians. “I think it is exceedingly wrong to make these promises to the Indians on the Humboldt, and then not keep them,” Cromwell said censoriously. “For it endangers the Emigrant parties coming over and the people along the whole line.” Rondeaux had a tale about crossing to the Sink of the Humboldt, eastbound on November 9; on reaching a trading post kept by two partners, Tyler and Bennett, he learned that some Indians in the vicinity were given liquor, ammunition, and flour by the partners as pay for standing by in a planned assault upon some incoming immigrants. These statements, said Dodge, confirmed “a sad state of affairs on the Humboldt,” and showed “the absolute necessity of the strong arm of the government, to ‘awe’ the ‘brigands’ of that River.” There was not a speck of law in the entire seven hundred miles from Camp Floyd to the California line and from Oregon to New Mexico—not even a justice of the peace. The “monsters” went to the Humboldt area “for no other purpose than to enrich themselves by plunder.

77 Dodge to Forney, January 4, 1859, copy filed with D/635–1859, [as] cited in note 75. The letter was printed, with the omission of a sentimental verse with which Dodge satisfied his feelings, in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1859, in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Executive Document 1 (Serial 1023), 741–45.

They are principals in murder, and recipients of robberies, and sad spectacles of which have been chronicled from year to year, in the newspapers, but the true history and enormity of crime, is now beyond an earthly restitution, and must therefore ever remain with the perpetrators and their God.” As for himself, he said he was “powerless—without money and without law.”⁷⁸

Without waiting for comment by Forney, eleven days later Dodge wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs directly, to complain about not receiving Forney’s replies to his letters and about the financial embarrassments consequent upon not being provided with funds. Moreover, he could not “reconcile his mind” to the fact that the department was aware of “the sad condition of Indian Affairs in the western part of this Territory.” He complained that Forney had authorized a stage driver named Chapman, by letter dated August 2, 1858, to act with the authority of an Indian agent, “to the great detriment of the public good,” in issuing powder and lead to hostile Indians a man so indiscreet as to tell the Indians all along the line of travel, six weeks ahead of Dodge, that the agent was coming with large loads of goods for them, when in actuality, Dodge was sent to establish himself in his agency “without goods and without a dollar.” Dodge thought his agency one of the most important on the continent, requiring the agent to be veritably Argus-eyed, since the mail and emigrant route was a great resort of “*Friends*’ whose sole purpose is to enrich themselves by plunder, and charge the same to the Indians.” Procrastination and broken promises would certainly not do for the Indians on the Humboldt, he insisted; his ten years’ experience on the frontier had taught him, indeed, that it was “the most disastrous course that can be pursued towards Indians of any locality.” With his other enclosures, Dodge sent copies of his letter to Forney of February 7, and the statements by Rondeaux and Cromwell.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, Forney was experiencing a natural irritation over the tone of Dodge’s letter of February 7. To the commissioner of Indian affairs he wrote that there seemed to be “a determination, by certain individuals, to misrepresent and falsify my official acts. Whether the motives are to benefit the public or subserve political aspirations is not for me to say.” Enclosing Dodge’s letter, the Cromwell and Rondeaux statements, and a hostile article cut from a California newspaper,⁸⁰ he commented:

78 Dodge to Forney, February 7, 1859. A copy of this letter, together with Lafitte’s letter dated at Genoa, Carson Valley, January 27, 1859, Cromwell’s statement undated but attested by John F. Long, and of John Rondeaux’ statement (signed by mark before Dodge [on] January 28, 1859), was transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of February 18, 1859.

79 Dodge to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 18, 1859 (D/635–1859).

80 The slip is not identified, but it is to be found in the [*sentence incomplete*]. It speaks of Dodge’s intention of going to Salt Lake by the next stage “to see the promises made by Dr. Forney to the Shoshonee Indians fulfilled” and comments that the Indians were “justly

What Mr Dodge can mean when he says “I am powerless without money and without law” seems strange to me. I sent him \$1,000, the last of December, & paid an order for \$150 more, and told him when he ne[e]ded more to let me know. And as to law, the Governor long ago took the steps necessary to remedy that evil.

I made no promises to furnish the Sho So Nees, on the Humboldt, with flour and Beef. If necessary, I can furnish an affidavit from every employee with me, to that effect.

I did most of my talking with the Indians in the presence of Agent Dodge.

Col. Reese and Mr Clements, the former the first settler in Carson Valley, are both highly respectable gentlemen; neither of them ever heard of Cromwell or Rondeaux.

Howard Egan Esqr, principal Route agent for the mail line, knows nothing of Cromwell, and yet, has a list of all the road employees.

Major Chorpenning and Mr Egan were at Stevenson[']s Station, in Humboldt Valley, in November and December. Major C. was frequently in my office after he returned, before he left for Washington, he spoke favorably of the Indians. Mr Egan was there again in January, and heard of no disturbance of the Humboldt Sho Sho Nees.

I am confident those Indians have not misbehaved since I was among them last fall, notwithstanding the imaginary statement of a supposed Oliver Cromwell.⁸¹

To back up these assertions, Forney enclosed sworn statements by Hiram B. Clements and John Reese. Reese, who had left Genoa for Salt Lake [City] in the mail stage of November 13, had a long conversation with Stevenson at his Station on the Humboldt.⁸² He termed Stevenson “a very correct and gentlemanly man”

indignant” at not receiving promised cattle. Also mentioned is the difficulty between traders and a small party of immigrants, “when the traders armed fifty Indians, by means of which they overawed the immigrants. This matter Major Dodge assures me he will see properly punished.” The correspondent of the [blank] added by way of post-script, “I informed you by telegraph of the appointments made by Governor Cumming for this county. As I have intimated above, the persons appointed are all members of what is known here as the Mormon clique; consequently great dissatisfaction is the result among those of the opposing faction.” Dodge was clearly behaving insubordinately in ventilating official business in public press without waiting to learn from his superior the latter’s side of the affair. [Morgan left the blanks in the manuscript to be completed later. —Ed.]

81 Forney to Denver, March 11, 1859 (F/407–1859).

82 Practically nothing has been known about the location and names of the mail stations on the Chorpenning route. Clements locates the Stevenson Station as being “in the Humboldt Valley, 225 miles from Rag Town.” The Tyler and Bennett Station was “at

having “great control over the Indians, by whom he is much respected;” Stevenson had at no time intimated that he expected trouble from the Indians unless through the misconduct of white men debauching the Indians with liquor. On the whole route, Reese said, the mail party was visited daily by Indians, “who on no occasion manifested any hostile feelings, but were kind, getting wood for us. Nor did we receive from them the slightest intimation of any idea among them that Superintendent Forney, or any Indian Agent, had promised them anything.” As to the difficulty at Tyler and Bennett’s station, Bennett was in Carson Valley at the time Reese left, and had been for several days. Consequently, he could not have been at the station at the time of the affray spoken of by Rondeaux. Reese said he had been well acquainted with Bennett since 1853 and with Tyler since 1850, the latter having traveled with him “from the States to Carson Valley,” having been in his employ for two years. Both were “reliable, honorable men, just such, as . . . ought to be where they are for the safety of the Emigrants.” By contrast, he knew nothing of Cromwell, Rondeaux, and Lafitte. Reese’s explanation of the disturbance at Tyler and Bennett’s station was that an emigrant party of twenty-one people had purchased an ox at an agreed-upon price from a trader named Blanchard, who had a trading post some ninety miles east of Tyler and Bennett’s, but after butchering it, refused to pay for it, then left. Blanchard went on ahead of the emigrants, sending word among the Indians to come armed to Tyler and Bennett’s, which they did in considerable numbers. “Shortly after Blanchard reached the station with the Indians, the train came up, who after talking the matter over before Mr Tyler, paid the amount and the matter was settled as I suppose.”⁸³

Clements, a resident of Carson Valley since 1856, and elected a member of the Utah legislature on October 31, who had come by the mail stage from Genoa on November 27, had also heard nothing of Indian complaints against Forney, or of any Indian difficulties along the route. Intimately acquainted with George W. Tyler and his partner, Bennett, he “knew them to be reliable honorable men, and well suited for the Post they have.” Lafitte, he said, had come into Carson Valley for the first time on or about the twentieth or twenty-first of November the previous year as clerk to Major Ormsby. He knew nothing of Cromwell or Rondeaux.⁸⁴

the sink of the Humboldt directly at the commencement of the Desert.” Reese mentions a station at Gravelly Ford, “which had been broken up by the Indians in consequence of the bad conduct of the white men,” including a certain Alexander Stewart. He also mentions “a trading post about 90 miles east of Tyler & Bennetts,” kept by a man named Blanchard. These latter were establishments of the type that annually appeared and disappeared in the Carson and Humboldt valleys. However, Blanchard had a post on the Humboldt as early as 1857; *Daily Alta California*, [blank], 1857.

83 Statement of Col. John Reese, March 11, 1859, notarized copy filed with F/407-1859.

84 Statement of Hiram B. Clements, March 11, 1859, notarized copy filed with F/407-1859.

The friction between Forney and the Carson agent in no way diminished as the weeks went by. There was certainly an element of intransigence in Dodge, but he presently had some real grievances in consequence of some informality in Forney's bond which created a blockade in the latter's accounts. On April 20, Dodge wrote Mix of his "sad and humiliating condition" and the hazard to his private reputation consequent upon the protesting of Forney's drafts, two of which he had cashed and used in paying the expenses of his agency. He asked that the drafts in question be honored and he himself, if necessary, held responsible for the amount.⁸⁵ Again in July, when another draft was protested, he wrote the Indian Office asking what course to pursue, as he had "addressed Supt Forney on the subject without avail."⁸⁶ The upshot was that funds on which Dodge could draw finally were placed with the Assistant U. S. Treasurer at San Francisco,⁸⁷ and this had the effect of giving the Carson Agency a quasi-independence which may be regarded as an appropriate counterpart to the confused political affairs of the region itself during this period just before creation of the Territory of Nevada.

Incursions by marauding Indians in the country between the northern Utah settlements and the head of the Humboldt during the summer piled work on both Forney and Dodge. Raiding Bannocks and Shoshoni in a running flight during the last week of July killed half a dozen emigrants near Raft River,⁸⁸ and a

85 Dodge to Mix, April 20, 1858 (D/656–1859).

86 Dodge to Greenwood, July 8, 1859 (D/25–1859).

87 [Morgan left this note number blank, but the note is the same as note 74. This paragraph reworked text that had been cut from msp. 37; regrettably the note had been left blank there as well. —Ed.]

88 A description of this affair by four survivors, in a statement sworn in Carson Valley on September 2, is enclosed in Dodge to Greenwood, September 3, 1859 (D/38–1859). It was in consequence of this fight that Major Lynde [*blank*] was ordered to the Humboldt (cf. his report, published in [*blank*]). Johnston and Cumming were engaged in a dispute as to the nature of their authorities, civil and military; the former would not honor the latter's requisition for troops, but did send a force of his own accord. Forney's practical object was thus attained, but he confessed discouragement to the Indian Office over having to carry out his duties within a realm of conflicting orders. Forney to Greenwood, August 10, 1859 (F/47–1859). [The blanks were left by Morgan in the manuscript. The Lynde report he cites here may be the brief letter concerning the condition of the road dated January 27, 1860 in *Letter of the Acting Secretary of the Interior Transmitting Reports and Maps of the Fort Kearney, South Pass, and Honey Lake Wagon Road*, in 36th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 64 (Serial 1100), 14, or it may be a misattribution he would correct later. The entire document reports F. W. Lander's road-maintenance effort between western Kansas and Nevada and includes several references to military presence along the trail. Its effect on the native population is attested by William H. Wagner of the Topographical Engineers, who was also traveling the road when "we met several men of the band under the chief Ne-met-teh. They were hunting in the Goose Creek mountains. I tried to engage one of them as guide, but the presence of some companies of the United States army, under the command of Major Lynde, intimidated them so

month later, some twenty-five miles west of Fort Hall, another train was attacked, white men apparently participating,⁸⁹ which added to the prevailing excitement and confusion.

The arrival of the survivors of the first massacre, including two widows and four orphan children, gave Dodge a chance to go east to argue his case, and he seized on the chance without delay, taking the precaution to arm himself with a letter of introduction from the former Commissioner, James W. Denver, to the incumbent, Greenwood:

Having been almost entirely neglected by Superintendent Forney and left altogether to his own discretion—without instructions and without funds to manage the affairs of his Agency—he found these helpless creatures on his hands and had either to leave them to the mercy of strangers or take the responsibility of extending to them the protection of the government to enable them to return to their friends in the Atlantic States. The course he has thought proper to pursue certainly speaks well for his humanity and comme[n]ds itself to the kind considerations of the Department.⁹⁰

Dodge arrived by sea in New York on November 10⁹¹ and thus was in the East when the proportions of the stampede to Washoe became evident. To add to this general picture of neglect, Forney turned up in Washington at the same time, having brought east the last two of the children who had survived the Mountain Meadows Massacre.⁹² Governor Cumming had agreed to act in Forney's office during his absence, but in the nature of things Indian affairs in the western Utah

much that they left again for the mountains. The same was the case in Thousand Spring Valley." "Our interpreter, Alek Frapp, collected, on the north fork of Humboldt river," he continued, "all the Indians around and brought them, at the request of Major Lynde, just returned from Gravelly Ford, to his camp. Major Lynde made an appropriate speech, and presented them with flour and meat. They informed him that most of their tribe had left the Humboldt and gone south to avoid the passing soldiers. (Wagner to F. W. Lander, February 29, 1860, *ibid.*, 25–26)." Isaac Lynde's report is not his better-known account made three years later when the career Army officer was at the center of a well-known Civil War fiasco on the Western Frontier (*Official Record*, ser. 1, vol. 4, pt. 1 (1882): 2–22). —Ed.]

89 [Morgan did not complete this citation. —Ed.]

90 Denver to Greenwood, October 14, 1859 (D/57–1859).

91 Dodge to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Telegram, November 10, 1859 (D/55–1859).

92 For more than a year, Forney had attempted to get permission to come east to attend to some family affairs; he had been refused on two different occasions, but now had an ample justification. Two of the Mountain Meadows children had been retained in Utah when it appeared that criminal indictments might be found against the perpetrators of that affair, but by autumn it was evident that prosecutions would be indefinitely postponed. Thereupon Forney brought the children east.

area during the fall and winter of 1859–60 had no hand at the helm responsible enough to cope with conditions which had their full fruition in the Indian outbreaks the following spring.

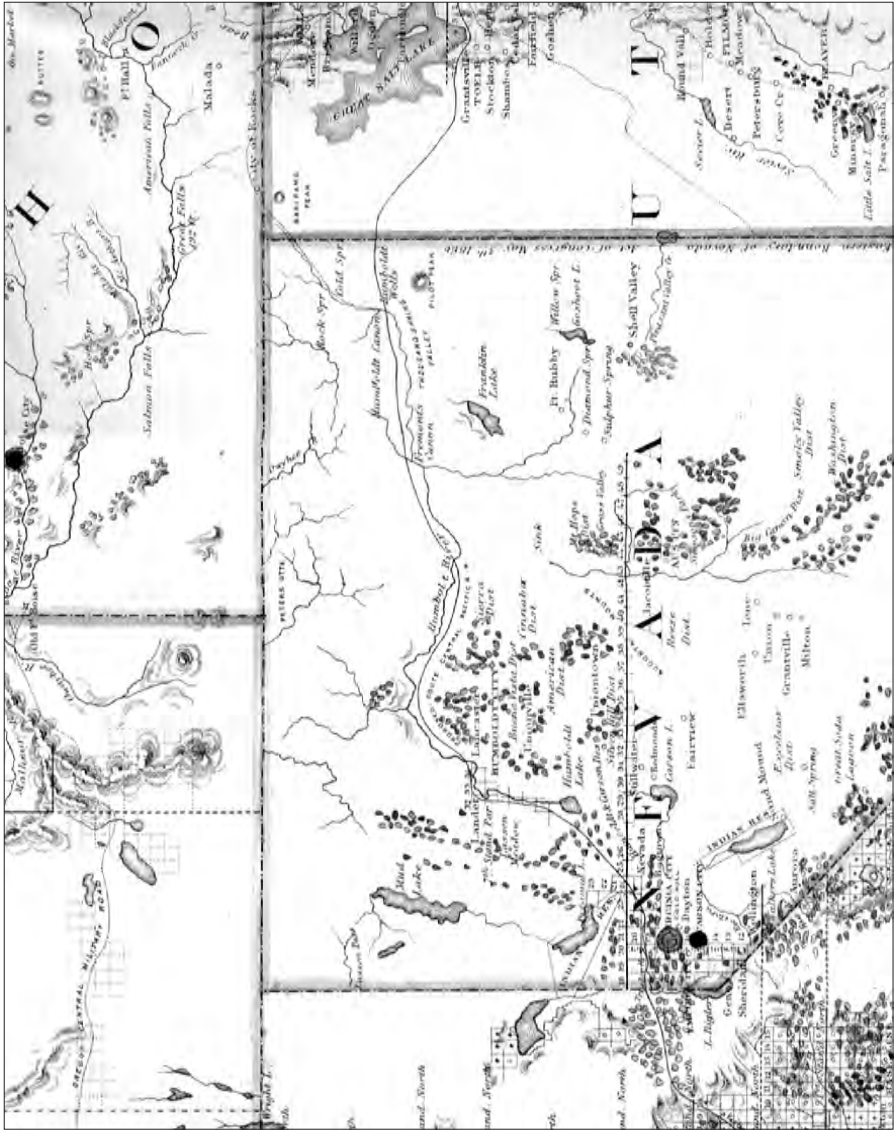
Although the Paiute wars of 1860 fall within the purview of this study, and indeed, virtually mark the end of an era along the California trail, space is lacking for an authoritative account of them,⁹³ and this discussion must be limited to other aspects of the final months in which Indian affairs for the Nevada area were administered by the Utah Superintendency.

Forney, shortly after his arrival in the East, ran into trouble which placed him in a situation where he was unable to take any effective part in the administration of Indian affairs in Utah. Judges Charles E. Sinclair and John J. Cradlebaugh leveled against him charges of misfeasance of office, and although their hostility may have been motivated in some part by the fact that Forney sided with Governor Cumming in opposition to the Gentile extremists after entrance of Johnston's army into Utah, there was sufficient irregularity in his finances for the commissioner of Indian affairs to order a hearing, pending which he was suspended in office. Nothing conclusive emerged from the hearing, in Great Salt Lake City in May, 1860, but on the basis of evidence elicited the Commissioner was sufficiently dissatisfied to order his removal from office in July, and to name Benjamin Davies of [Missouri] to succeed him. Davies did not reach Utah until the fall of 1860, and his activities are not particularly pertinent to this study.*

Even local supervision was lacking during most of the time until creation of the Territory of Nevada brought about a new order of things. It was early in the spring of 1860 before Dodge left Washington to return to his agency, and June before he arrived there. He spent an active summer in the field, some results of which will be described, but in the fall he returned to Washington. The Civil War

93 Accounts of the Paiute wars have been written by Mack, *Nevada*, 301–34; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1890), 205–24; David Williamson, "When Major Ormsby Was Killed," *Nevada Historical Society Papers* 4 (1923–24): 1–28; William Wright, *History of the Big Bonanza* (San Francisco, Calif.: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1877), 121–30; and Myron Angel, *History of Nevada* (Oakland, Calif.: Thompson and West, 1881), 145–65. A definitive account, however, must take into consideration the documents in the records of the Indian Office, including letters by Dodge under dates of June 7, 16, 23, 26, July 8, and August 9, 1860, and the report by F. W. Lander, November 25, 1859, none of which have been published or utilized by historians; such an account must also be supplemented by material in the files of the San Francisco newspapers, comprehensively represented for this period in the Library of Congress. It is noteworthy that Dodge, who represents Major Ormsby to have been one of Walker's disappointed Nicaragua adventurers, likens the two battles of the Truckee to mere filibustering operations.

* [Benjamin Davis's—not Davies—nomination was made by President Buchanan June 14, 1860. *Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, vol.11, 208. —Ed.]



Section of the Map of the United States and Territories: Shewing the Extent of Public Surveys . . . [Serial 1284, inserted] (Washington, D.C.: 1866) illustrating the vast political and economic change along the California trail in the half decade before 1865. Courtesy of USU Special Collections.

broke out in the following spring; he enlisted in the Union forces and was killed in action on [sentence incomplete].**

If a memorial remained for Dodge's labor in the Carson agency, it was the reservations he established. During his first visit to Washington, on November 25, 1859, he suggested that in view of the "general Stampede of persons from California to the mining localities within my Agency," word of which was just received, additional force was given his recommendations for "reserving a sufficient portions of their lands" to enable the Indians to sustain life. Respectfully he suggested that "the North West part of the Valley of the Truckee River including Pyramid Lake, and the North East part of the Valley of Walker[']s River including the Lake of the Same, be reserved for them. The localities and bound[a]ries of which are indicated on the accompanying map. These are isolated spots, embracing large fisheries, surrounded by Mountains and Deserts, and will have the advantage of being their home from choice. Such asylums, he hoped, would free the Indians "from the influence of the 'White Brigands' who loiter about our Great Overland Mail and Emigrant routes,—using them as their instruments to rob and murder our citizens."⁹⁴

[Morgan's revised draft manuscript was abandoned incomplete and therefore lacks a conclusion. —Ed.]

** [Morgan's research had not progressed to the point that Dodge's death was confirmed. In fact, no Frederick Dodge is listed on the master casualty rolls. The only identifiable figure is a first lieutenant with that name in the Pennsylvania Third Cavalry who appears as a mustering officer, recording movements of companies E–H of the Pennsylvania 82nd Infantry. Cf. *Alphabetical Index to Places of Interment of Deceased Union Soldiers . . .* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886); *Index to the Roll of Honor*, ed. Martha Reamy and William Reamy (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing, 1995); *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ed. Janet B. Hewett, pt. 2, "Record of Events" (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing, 1997), 60: 600, 604, 610–11. —Ed.]

94 Dodge to Greenwood, November 25, 1859 (D/63–1859).



Couple on horseback near man and tipi encampment, 1870 (Washakie's band in the Wind River Mountains). *Photo by William Henry Jackson, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.*

DALE L. MORGAN,* EDITOR

Washakie and the Shoshoni
A Selection of Documents from the Records of the
Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs

SCARCELY A BEGINNING HAS BEEN made in reconstructing the history of the Shoshoni. Grace Raymond Hebard in two biographies, *Sacajawea* and *Washakie*, dealt with the two most famous figures of Shoshoni history, and published incidentally a good deal of information about the history of the tribe, but conscientious as was Dr. Hebard's work, her books are merely suggestive of the riches that await a serious student of the Shoshoni. The same may be said of the few ethnological studies that have so far appeared. No one has yet undertaken a serious investigation of Shoshoni contacts with the Spanish frontier, a major field of study in itself, and if more work has been done on the next

Editor's note: The texts of Morgan's notes are reproduced precisely in this collection, although occasionally a textual clarification by the editor is inserted in brackets; the original redirections to data found in other notes ("see citation in note . . .") have been eliminated and the notes filled out with proper short-form citations to ease reading. Further, the citation forms from half a century ago have been converted to current descriptive standards, including the insertion of publication or descriptive details originally omitted, and all citations have been standardized for consistency. A few new notes, supplied by the editor, are inserted with typographic symbols rather than numbers.

Morgan informed readers of his first Indian affairs article that "File marks [cite] . . . original documents in the records of the Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Where the documents have been published, citation is made to the published texts instead, but all quotation is from the original documents." This citation practice carries through all the publications collected here. Many of the documents he cites now form part of the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75. Utah Superintendency records specifically (1855–1870) are subseries 75.15.13; records for the Nevada Superintendency (1869–1870) form subseries 75.15.8, Idaho (1863–1870) in 75.15.4, and those for Wyoming (1870 only) 75.15.16.

Throughout these studies, Morgan also cites nineteenth-century editions of federal documents, such as the first sixteen volumes of the privately published *United States Statutes at Large* (Boston: Little, Brown 1845–1869), the Government Printing Office editions of works like the *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the United States of America*, and select documents out of the 14,000–volume *United States Congressional Serial Set*. Very few complete collections of the Serial Set exist. Many (but not all) volumes are now available electronically by durable universal resource locator (URL) through the Library of Congress at <http://frontiers.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw>. The microform edition of this set is most easily available at many law school libraries.

* For a biography of Dale L. Morgan see *Annals of Wyoming* 21, nos. 2–3 (July–October 1949): 108–9. [This is Morgan's note, not the editor's, despite the asterisk. —Ed.]

period, when explorers and fur traders converged upon the Shoshoni country from east, north, west, and south, most of what has been published does not properly reflect the resources of the existing literature and has made seriously uncritical use of that literature.

We can call attention to these lacks without for the moment attempting to do anything about them. The present contribution deals with a still-later era in Shoshoni history which is hardly less in need of fresh documentation and critical restudy, the period after settlement had commenced in the mountains and overland travel to the Pacific had reached floodcrest. No era had graver import for the Shoshoni, for their continued existence as a people, even, depended upon the terms they could make with the forces operating to destroy their way of life.

The documents we are printing reflect the principal official contacts between the Shoshoni and the United States government from 1849 to 1868, and are drawn from a single archive, the records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs. The Shoshoni province was divided among several jurisdictions when the United States government, after the war with Mexico, addressed itself to the problem of administering the Indian affairs of the Far West. Most important among these was the Utah Superintendency, in part because its jurisdiction extended over the Uinta Mountains and the Bridger Valley, favorite haunts of the Shoshoni, but also because the settlement of the Mormons in the valley of the Great Salt Lake created a power center which profoundly affected everything in the region roundabout. This jurisdiction ended with the territorial line at 42°; north of that, Shoshoni country lay in the Oregon Superintendency, a remote and in some ways inconsequential factor in Shoshoni affairs. Much farther to the east, and not at first particularly relevant to Shoshoni life, the Central Superintendency at St. Louis extended a long jurisdictional arm up the Platte and Sweetwater as high as the Oregon boundary in South Pass. The papers of the Oregon and Central superintendencies will eventually have to be studied for such light as they may shed on Shoshoni history, but the Utah documents in themselves comprise a major field of study, and from them we have now drawn everything that significantly relates to the history of Washakie and the Wyoming Shoshoni.

The emphasis rests upon what we call the Wyoming Shoshoni because historically they have had the nearest approach to a unified history. Shoshonean peoples are the most widespread linguistic stock in the West. The Comanches, perhaps the closest relatives of the Wyoming Shoshoni, had moved to the southern plains long before our time and do not figure significantly in Shoshoni history proper during the [eighteen] fifties and sixties. Shoshonean bands of the Snake Country, near cousins of the Wyoming Shoshoni, if indeed any true ethnological distinction can be made between them, merit a separate study which

would also deal with the Bannocks; but these figure only peripherally in the documents we are publishing; the same may be said of the western Shoshoni of Utah, Nevada, and Oregon, the northern Paiutes of Nevada and Oregon, and the southern Paiutes of Utah, Nevada, and Arizona. The Utes have a more central role in the documents now printed, in part because they constituted an administrative problem for the Utah Superintendency even more pressing than did the Shoshoni, and the affairs of the two tribes are intermixed.

How early the Wyoming Shoshoni became identified with the area with which history chiefly associates them, the Green River Valley, is a problem yet to be worked out. William H. Ashley in 1825 spoke of the Shoshoni as inhabiting principally north, south, and west of the Tetons, but included in their domain “the headwaters of the Rio Colorado of the West and down the same to Mary’s river”—that is, the Green River as far down as the Yampa. As against this, Nathaniel Wyeth, writing in 1848 on the basis of his experiences of 1832–36, called the Green River Valley “a den of thieves, where every one keeps every other at arm’s-length,” and added, “I am uncertain if any Indians inhabit any portion of this valley, as being particularly their own, above Brown’s Hole. If so, it is the Green River Snakes, whose village of 152 lodges, I met on the main fork of Grand [Colorado] River, on the 18th July, 1836.”¹ However this may have been, by mid-century the Shoshoni were definitely in possession of the Green River Valley, subject only to occasional raids by tribes from the north, east, and south. By then, too, Washakie had definitely established his ascendancy over the Wyoming Shoshoni—an ascendancy which, except for a brief period during the Civil War, he maintained to the end of his life; he is thus the dominant personality among the Snakes through all the events with which we shall be concerned.

The first two of the documents that follow predate the Utah Superintendency, though they form a part of the archive of that jurisdiction. One of the earliest acts performed by Zachary Taylor after entering the Presidential office in March, 1849, was to extend the jurisdiction of the Indian Office over the vast territory just acquired from Mexico through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; to effect this in advance of actual political organization of the new territory, he ordered the Indian agencies for the Upper Missouri and Council Bluffs to be transferred to Santa Fe and Salt Lake. On April 7, 1849, John Wilson of Missouri was notified of his appointment to the Salt Lake agency, and as soon as possible he set out for the field of duty, traveling in the midst of the gold rush.

1 H. C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific 1822–1829* [rev. ed.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1941), 151; Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851–57), 1: 217–19.

Wilson's first report was written from Fort Bridger, in the heart of the Shoshoni country, on August 22, 1849, and is the more interesting for being the first official contact of any kind between the United States government and Washakie and his Shoshoni. Wilson went on to Great Salt Lake City and wrote another letter on September 4 which was also concerned more or less with the Shoshoni. He then continued on to California and soon after passed out of the sphere of Indian relations altogether, for he resigned early in 1850. The various reports written by Wilson constitute nearly the whole of the papers of the "Salt Lake Agency," for of course that agency was transformed with the creation of the Territory of Utah in September, 1850. Under the organic act, the governor of the new territory was made ex-officio superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Owing to the slowness of communications, Brigham Young did not learn that he had been appointed Utah's first governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs until January, 1851, and he did not commence to act in the latter capacity until July following, when the sub-agents reported for duty. There were two sub-agents in addition to an agent, and Young divided his superintendency into three jurisdictions. However, some dissension broke out among the Utah territorial officials in the fall of 1851, and when some of them returned East, one of the sub-agents went with them. He was never replaced, and through the rest of Brigham Young's tenure as superintendent, Utah had just one agent and one sub-agent to look after Indian Affairs in the far-flung territory.

That the territory was truly far-flung, to the point of presenting serious administrative difficulties, is evident when it is remembered that in the 1850's Utah extended all the way from the California boundary in the Sierra Nevada to the continental divide, within its present north and south boundaries [see map on p. 48]. It was impossible that three men, with limited funds, could attend properly to all the wants and needs of the tribes and bands who occupied this vast area. Apart from that, there was always a very practical aspect to the administration of Indian Affairs by the government; time and money were principally spend on areas of friction, and therefore usually in the vicinity of white settlements or along the overland trails traveled by the whites. In consequence, there are many shortcomings in the kind of information that is developed in the documents we are printing; they are chiefly valuable for their bearing upon the exterior relations of the Shoshoni, although much is to be inferred from them about the domestic economy of Washakie and his people through a difficult time of transition.

It is not my purpose here to go into the frictions within the Utah Superintendency itself, the conflict of Mormon and non- or anti-Mormom which generated a continual heat and made more wasteful and inefficient the actual administration of Indian Affairs. The documents themselves amply reflect

both sides of this situation; and I have elsewhere treated the matter in broad perspective.² We are concerned with the records of the Utah Superintendency mainly as a source of information on the Wyoming Shoshoni, including enough collateral documents to illustrate the administrative structure of the Superintendency insofar as Shoshoni affairs were concerned. Some of the records now printed contain a good deal of extraneous matter which is nevertheless important to Western history; it has seemed desirable to print the whole texts of most of the documents, for not only does this make them available in their entirety—it permits Shoshoni affairs to be seen in context.

The existence of these papers among the records of the Office of Indian Affairs in the National Archives was first called to my attention in 1939 by my good friend, the late Maurice L. Howe, who has an insatiable interest in everything that pertained to the Indians or the West. Maurice had transcribed and sent to me a considerable volume of these records. Later, over a period of ten years when I myself was intermittently living in Washington, I systematically finished the job of working over the Utah Superintendency papers. Over this long time the staff of the National Archives has been most helpful, and it is a pleasure, on Maurice's behalf and my own, to thank them for their aid.*

2 Dale L. Morgan, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851-1858," *Pacific Historical Review* 17, no. 4 (Nov. 1948): 383-409 [pp. 57-83 in this volume].

* This entire documentary section was published in ten Serial parts in *Annals of Wyoming* issues, as follows:

Part I: v. 24, no. 2 (July 1953): 141-89, docs. 1-12, 1849-52;

Part II: v. 25, no. 1 (January 1954): 141-90, docs. 13-18, 1852;

Part III: v. 25, no. 2 (July 1954): 141-90, docs. 19-37, 1852-57;

Part IV: v. 26, no. 1 (January 1955): 61-88, docs. 38-50, 1857-59;

Part V: v. 26, no. 2 (October 1955): 198-220, docs. 51-63, 1860-62;

Part VI: v. 27, no. 1 (April 1956): 80-93, docs. 64-74, 1862;

Part VII: v. 27, no. 2 (October 1956): 193-207, docs. 75-90, 1862-63;

Part VIII: v. 28, no. 1 (April 1957): 86-102, docs. 91-108, 1863-64;

Part IX: v. 28, no. 2 (October 1957): 195-227, docs. 109-133, 1864-66;

Part X: v. 29, no. 1 (April 1958): 53-89, docs. 134-54, 1867-69. —Ed.]

1849

1

JOHN WILSON, SALT LAKE INDIAN AGENT, TO THOMAS EWING,
SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, DATED FORT BRIDGER, ON BLACK'S
FORK OF GREEN OR COLORADO RIVER, AUGUST 22, 1849³

Sir: We arrived here yesterday. Messrs. [Louis] Vasques and [James] Bridger are the proprietors, and have resided here and in these mountains for more than 25 years. They are engaged as traders, belonging to the American Fur Company. They are gentlemen of integrity and intelligence, and can be fully relied on in relation to any statement they make in regard to the different tribes, claims, boundaries, and other information in relation to the Utah and Sho-sho-nie tribes and a small band of Punnacks, as they have during all their residence been engaged in trade with them.

Among the Sho-sho-nies there are only two bands, properly speaking. The principal or better portion are called Sho sho nies, (or Snakes) who are rich enough to own horses. The others, the Sho-sho-coes (or Walkers) are those who cannot or do not own horses.⁴ The principal chiefs of the Sho-sho-nies are *Mono*, (about 45 years old) so called from a wound in his face or cheek from a ball, that disfigures him; *Wiskin*, (Cut-hair) *Washikick*, (Gourd Rattle)⁵ with whom I have had an interview; and *Oapiche*, (Big man.)

- 3 The original of this document not being present in the Utah Superintendency files, a printed text is followed (31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 17, [Serial 573], 184–87). The ceremonious salutations and signatures of all these letters I omit in this printing.
- 4 This division of the Shoshoni into Sho sho nies and Sho sho coes is not ethnologically accepted; see Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 264ff. The term “Sho sho co” may have been as much a coinage of the mountain men as “Digger,” applied to the same Shoshoni.
- 5 Washakie’s name is variously spelled—Dr. [Grace Raymond] Hebard’s *Washakie: An Account of Indian Resistance of the Covered Wagon and Union Pacific Railroad Invasions of their Territory* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1930), 313, lists no less than 35 variants. The diversity is amply reflected in these documents. Washakie was born, Dr. Hebard thought, about 1798 in the upper Bitterroot valley of western Montana. His father, Paseego, is said to have been of Umatilla, Flathead, and Shoshoni blood, and to have belonged to the Flathead tribe; his mother is said to have been Shoshoni, and it is inferred that she came from the Lemhi band. According to family tradition, when Washakie was 4 or 5 years old, the village in which he lived was attacked by Blackfeet and his father killed. The mother with her 3 sons and 2 daughters found



Chief Washakie (Shoots the Buffalo Running) in Partial Native Dress, Near Tipi, 1870. *Photo by William Henry Jackson. National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.*

Of the Sho-sho-coes, *Augutasipa* is the most noted. Both bands number, probably, over 1,000 lodges of four persons each. Of the relative portion of each band, no definite account can be given; for so soon as a Sho-sho-nie becomes too poor or does not own a horse, he is at once called a Sho-sho-coe; but as soon as a Sho-sho-coe can or does own a horse he is again a riding Indian, and therefore a Sho-sho-nie.

Their language, with the exception of some *Patois* differences, is said to be that of the Comanche tribe. Their claim of boundary is to the east from the Red Buttes, on the north fork of the Platte, to its head in the Park, (decayague,) or Buffalo Bull Pen, in the Rocky mountains; to the south, across the mountains over to the Yom-pa-pa [Yampa], till it enters Green or Colorado river, and then across to the Back-Bone, or ridge of mountains called the Bear River mountains, running nearly west towards the Salt Lake, so as to take in most of the Salt Lake; and thence on to the Sinks of Mary's or Humboldt's river; thence north to the fisheries on the Snake river in Oregon, and thence south (their northern boundary) to the Red Buttes, including the sources of Green river—a territory probably 300 miles square, most of which has too high an elevation ever to be useful for cultivation of any sort. In most of these mountains and valleys it freezes every night in the year, and is in summer quite warm at noon and to half-past three p. m. Nothing whatever will grow of grain or vegetables, but the most luxurious and nutritious grasses grow with the greatest luxuriance, and the valleys are the richest meadows. The part of the Salt Lake valley included in this boundary, the Cache valley, 50 by 100 miles, and part of the valley near and beyond Fort Hall, down Snake river, can be cultivated, and with good results; but this forms a very small part of this country. How these people are to live or ever exist for any great length of time, I cannot by any means determine. Their support has heretofore been mostly game and certain roots, which, in their native state, are rank poison, (called the tobacco root,) but when put in a hole in the ground and a large fir burnt over them, become wholesome diet. The Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake valley has not only greatly diminished their formerly very great resource of obtaining fish out of the Utah lake and its sources, which to them was an important resource, but their settlement, with the great emigration there and to California, has already nearly driven away all the game, and will, unquestionably,

refuge among the Lemhi Shoshoni on the Salmon River, and here Washakie grew to manhood. Afterwards he joined a party of Bannocks, living among them from 3 to 5 years and then he joined the Shoshoni of Fort Bridger country, among whom he spent the rest of his life. It is conjectured that this last move was sometime between 1826 and 1832. The first white mention of Washakie is by the trapper Osborne Russell, in his journal of 1840. Apparently Wilson in 1849 was the next to mention him by name. There are various interpretations of his name including "The Rattler," "Gourd Rattle," and "Gambler's Gourd." The name is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable.

soon deprive them almost entirely of the only chances they have for food. This will in a few years produce a result not only disastrous to them, but must inevitably engage the sympathies of the nation. How this is to be avoided is a question of much difficulty, but it is nevertheless the most imperative on the government not only to discuss but to put in practice some mode of relief for these unfortunate people, the outside barriers or enclosing mountains of whose whole country are not only covered in their constant sight with perpetual snow, but in whose lodges *ever night in the year* ice is made, over water left in a basin, of near seven-eighths of an inch in thickness. Except in three small places already named as exceptions, and two others, the Salt Lake valley and Snake river are already taken from them by the whites, and there is but little doubt the *Cache* valley will soon be so occupied.

The *Utahs* probably amount to from two to three thousand lodges, and are divided into many bands—as the *Taos*, 300 lodges; the *Yom-pa-pa Utahs*, 500 lodges; *Ewinte*, 50 lodges; *Ten-penny Utahs*, 50 lodges, (this band are about all who reside in the Salt Lake valley;) *Pavant Utahs*, not estimated. *Pahutes* (or *Paynutes*) *Utahs* and the *Sanpiche Utahs* of these last bands, numbers not known. Their claim of boundaries [are] all south of that of the *Sho-sho-nies*, embracing the waters of the Colorado, going most probably to the gulf of California.

This is a much more fortunate location, and large portions of it are rich and fertile lands and a good climate. Their language is essentially *Comanche*; and although not technically, yet it [is] supposed to be substantially the same as that of the *Sho sho nies*; for although, on first meeting, they do not fully understand each other, yet I am informed four or five days' association enables them to converse freely together. Some of the people are already engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and large tracts of the country afford ample rewards to those who thus expend the sweat of their brow. Portions of these bands have always been at war with the *Mexicans*, constantly making inroads into *New Mexico* and *California* to steal horses. Portions of them are at present at variance with the *Sho-sho-nies*; and, indeed, the manners and customs of the *Yom pa-pas* render an association on the part of the whites with them dangerous, for should one be found amongst them when a sudden death, from either accident or common sickness, takes place amongst them, the relatives of the dead man are at liberty, and are sure to exercise it, of killing any stranger who may happen to be amongst them. Thus, until this custom is abandoned, no safe intercourse can be carried on with them. Their country being more south and out of the range of white settlements or emigrants, the game is not likely to be so scarce for many years to come as it is in the *Sho-sho-nie* country even now, for already it has nearly all left their boundaries, except a small corner in the northeast corner of their claim; and as they are at war with the *Utahs*, near whose lines it is, they are afraid to go there to hunt.

Supposing the government will be prepared next summer to take some decided steps towards a regular system of intercourse with them, and with a view of enabling the government as effectually as possible to guard against the unfortunate results in operation for their entire starvation, a few only of which I have mentioned, for want of time, I have concluded to so arrange matters before I leave that both these nations will be able to send large delegations, if not most of the principal bands of their tribes, to a great council to be held *here* next summer, being by far the most convenient place for such a council, but is also where the principal agency ought to be established; and here also ought to be established the leading military post of these mountains, for which hereafter I shall give my views more at large.

I have suggested the matter of the great council to Washickick, the only principal chief I have seen, and he highly approves of the plan. I have already made such arrangements, though the assistance of Mr. Vasques, (Mr. Bridger not being at home)⁶ that all of both tribes will be notified of my design to hold such a council; and as soon as I shall hear your pleasure on the subject, which I hope will be at an early day after I get to San Francisco, in November, I will then fix a time which will best suit the views of the department, (if it shall meet with your approbation, as I hope it will,) and will then cause them to be notified of the day, which must, of necessity, not be later than August, and not earlier than July, as any other month would not be convenient for them to attend. The Sho-sho-nies are reputed an honest and sober people, decidedly friendly to the whites; and if proper agents can be provided for them, they will be easily managed, if a fair support can be provided for them. Some of the objects which I have supposed might be gained by such a council, you will easily perceive from what I have said above; and may others of perhaps equal importance may also be accomplished. It is of great importance that these Utahs should be laid under obligations to cease their accustomed depredations on the whites and their property; and it is of greater importance to adopt some mode or other to save the Snakes from utter destitution, which, in a year or two, must inevitably take place if things remain as they now are.

I write this in great haste; and, having broken my spectacles, I have to go it blind nearly. This, with the shortness of my stay here, is my excuse for not writing more; but I have touched on all the subjects most important at the present moment. When I get to Salt Lake, I shall have more time and better eyes, and will go more into detail; till when I remain your obedient servant. . . .

6 Bridger had left his fort two days before to guide Captain Howard Stansbury to the Great Salt Lake Valley over a prospective new immigrant road north of the existing route.

2

JOHN WILSON, SALT LAKE INDIAN AGENT, TO THOMAS EWING,
 SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY, SALT
 LAKE INDIAN AGENCY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1849⁷

Sir Referring you to my letter dated at Fort Bridger, for what I said in relation to the Indians east of the Sierra Nevada, as to nations, bands, numbers; *claimed* boundaries; as well as some few Items as to their manners & customs; my opportunities since have been such as to not add much to the information I there had the honor to communicate. All subsequent information received strongly confirmed my then impressions—that the Sho sho nies as a nation must soon perish for want of food, unless the Philanthropy of Individuals, or the wisdom & energy of the government shall devise some method of staying the march of causes which inevitably must produce Such a distressing result. You will observe that their claim of boundaries gives them a vast territory not far from being square, perhaps however a little the longest east & west. Our rout has thus far led us transversely across their territory from the Red Buttes (their S. E. corner,) in a pretty direct line towards the S. W. corner (somewhere west of the Salt Lake.) Hereafter we shall turn more North till we strike the road which leads from Fort Hall to San Francisco, & this will thus cause us to pass through the intire length & *almost* center of their country. This valley, a very small portion of the country about Fort Hall, *probably* a part of *Cache* Valley & it may be New Park (which latter you will observe is the vally of the head of the North fork of the Platte; are the only portions of all their *claim* which can ever be applied to the purposes of agriculture, on account of the high altitude of its position; their whole country is essentially a fine grazing country during the summer & fall & many places in the valleys stock (I mean cattle, horses mules &c) sustain themselves all the year round; & this I am informed they can always do except when the snows are too deep; indeed with the exception of this valley, the snows always fall too deep but the face of the country is so covered with high mountains & deep valleys, which produce so many currents of the winds as to almost insure that much of the land is left bare by the drifting in the deepest snows, so that the cattle &c can still get access to the grass, which remains upon the land all winter and although dry it is good hay because it is cured without much if any rain—so little of it falls in this country, as to leave the grass cured for hay. This valley having been already taken up by the *Latter day Saints* who will soon spread to Cache & Bear river vallies if

7 Filemark W/399–1850. The letter was printed in 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 17 (Serial 573), 104–12.

they shall be found to produce grain & vegetables (which is exceedingly doubtful) the govt. have already occupied the most favored portion about Fort Hall,⁸ & then the Indians will have only the New Park (if indeed it will answer for agricultural pursuits) & this is a very small peice of country for so many people to attempt the cultivation of the soil, if it should be the policy of the government to attempt to draw the attention of the Indians to that persuit to enable tham to sustain the simplest but imperative calls of nature. The Valley along Blacks fork & Hams fork of Green River & their tributaries (in which is Fort Bridger) is perhaps next to this valley (& you will see the Sho sho nies do not claim all this) is the most extensive & most beautiful & as to *pasturage* is perhaps little behind this but yet it is conceived to be intirely beyond the power of the most approved cultivation to raise either grain or vegetables, so as to pay for the labour of the husbandman for there is frost nearly every night in the year as it is reported by those who have long resided therein. The elevation of Fort Bridger is 6.665 feet above the level of the Sea—That of the south pass 7085 feet—that of Bear river (where we crossed it) 6836 feet while the elevation of *this* valley is only 4300 feet. & is inclosed in; *intirely* surrounded by mountains about 1/2 miles high.⁹ Even in this valley there are light frosts, many nights during all the summer months, as I am informed & indeed in last month several have fallen while we have been here. It then remains to be stated that the New Park and *Browns hole* (See Fremonts Map, by Col. J. A. Abert)* if indeed that belongs to the Sho sho nies (or Snakes) in which we can expect to find land within their reach & claim fit for cultivation & it is very questionable whether “*the play would be worth the candle*” in either. Under the Present Statute policy of the government it will unqu[e]stionably become its duty at as early a day as possible to extinguish by Treaty their title to this, & the Cache Valleys & the adjacent country and a portion near Fort Hall; & at least negotiate for a highway through their Country to this valley & Fort Hall. & I think to the Country about Fort Bridger, where in my opinion without delay there ought to be established a Military Post; in a very short time (next year) all the emigration to the oregon & California as all to this valley does now, will pass that place & from thence diverge into separate roads which will lead to their respective destinations. There is a road already opened by partial travel almost in a direct line from Fort Bridger to Fort Laramie (see the Map before Quoted)

- 8 Cantonment Loring, just established near Fort Hall by the Mounted Rifles, and abandoned the following year.
- 9 These altitudes Wilson derives from William Clayton's *Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* (St. Louis: Missouri Republican Steam Power Press, 1848).
- * [Probably “Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains . . .” (Baltimore, Md.: Weber, 1845), which would have come from either the Senate or House imprints of John C. Frémont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*. . . (Washington, D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 1845). —Ed.]

which crosses Green river below the mouth of Hams [Blacks] Fork and perhaps above the mouth of Marys [Yampa] river & thence pretty directly across to one of the Forks of Larame river (perhaps the right hand one) & thence down to Fort Larame which will cut off more than 150 miles in the distance—& Mr. Vasques one of the firm of Bridger & Vasques (who reside at & own Fort Bridger, & who have both resided in this country about 28 years) says is a much better road & passes the rocky Mountains by a pass considerably *lower* than the South pass, & affords a far better supply of both water & grass the whole road; & as proof that his statement is made upon a complete knowledge of the country, he is now (Mr Vasques) upon his journey on that road with 7 or 8 ox teams to Fort Larame for their fall supply of goods which are already at Fort Larame & he intends returning that way with his loaded waggons¹⁰—thus avoiding a most barren & indeed to cattle mules &c a disastrous road now traveled from Larame to the South pass called, & properly, the road through the black Hills [Laramie Mountains]; which we found for many long distances without both water & grass.—The country in general through which the present travel goes between Fort Larame & the S. pass is a desert, in every sense of the term. Capt. Stansberry under the guidance of Mr. Bridger has already traced out & reviewed a road direct from Fort Bridger so as to cross Bear river just above where it flows into the Great Salt Lake thus making the road almost straight from Larame to the north end of the Salt Lake which is the direct course towards where the road crosses the Sierra Nevada to California; not only bettering the road for water & grass, but shortening it to this Valley 150 miles & to the Sierra Nevada more than 300 miles on the one at present traveled by Fort Hall, leaving the latter place more than 100 miles to the north.¹¹ If Mr. Vasques is not deceived (& he cannot be as he has often traveled it) in relation to the improvement this cutt off will make in the road between Forts Bridger & Larame all the travel hereafter to Oregon California & this valley which comes up the platte, will unquestionably pass by Fort Bridger; even this year more than half the California emigrants, passed by Bridger & those who did not are said to have nearly perished for water & grass.¹² Thus; if the above information proves to be correct (& I have taken all the pains in my power to have it so) you will see at once the great importance of the position of Fort Bridger & the

10 These remarks are an interesting forecast of the route over which Jim Bridger guided Captain Stansbury eastbound in the early fall of 1850, a route roughly followed today by U.S. 30 [present Interstate 80]. So far as known, Vasquez did not in 1849 travel the indicated route via Bridger's Pass.

11 Stansbury and Bridger reached Great Salt Lake City August 30. The report of their reconnaissance is much too sanguine, and to this day no main-traveled road exists along their line of travel.

12 Those who did not travel via Fort Bridger took the Greenwood cutoff—or as it was this year renamed, the Sublette Cutoff.

inevitable propriety of making it *The great Military Post* of this country. Aside from its peculiar propriety, when the facility of the department over which you preside as regards its intercourse with both the Snake & Utah tribes of Indians is considered it is unquestionably the most convenient of all others, so far as I am informed for the *center* of your operations with all the Indians in California east of the Sierra Nevada. To come to this valley is intirely too much to the west to stop short of Bridger would be too far to the East Was there any direct communication with the middle or old park, (where the grand [Colorado] river takes its rise) it might be more central for a communication with both Snakes & Utahs, & still more central would the South Park be for a direct communication with the Utahs alone. From the best information I can obtain (and I hope you will appreciate what I say, when I state that my oportunities have been very limited) & yet nearly all the sources of information except that of personal examination have been within my reach, that the country affords to gain any thing like a personal knowledge of the actual situation of these tribes less than 5 years travel on pack Mules,—would scarcely justify the attempt to answer the many questions with any degree of certainty & accuracy, which are propounded to me, in the instructions which were furnished me for my official guidance. I think it probably certain that the two nations not very far back in their history were one, & that they originally were but a branch of the Camanches. I suppose it is true that the Snake & Utah languages are now somewhat different although not essentially so, & yet agree more nearly than either does with that of the Camanches. & that probably the Utah Language more nearly resembles the original than the Snake does & one evident cause of this, is (if the supposition be true) that they have remained nearer the Parent nation, than the Snakes.

The Green (or Colorado) river which rises in the wind river mountains; the sources of which interlock with those of Lewis' fork of the Columbia north west of the south pass, is where we cross it on the present road from the latter place to Fort Bridger a fine stream nearly of the size of the Ohio at Pittsburgh at low water & as far as we traveled along it (only 8 or 10 miles) continued to be so with a regular but very rapid current. Its valley however did not present any signs to encourage the husbandman to make that his home nor to intice the herdsman to drive his flock there for pasturage & it is not untill we arrive at *Browns hole*, if then, that it becomes very valuable for either, after that it is said to furnish in its own as well as the valleys of its tributaries; (as the Yampah, the White and Grand rivers) fine & extended bottoms in many places that will prove fruitful & will deeply reward the labours of both the agriculturist & herdsman. This including the New, the Middle & South Parks (the two latter & perhaps the first are fine valleys for cultivation) would make a *large and fertile* country amongst & surrounded by mountains, not desirable for settlements for white people & perhaps

better fitted than any other portion of the United States, now to be had, for the settlement & collocation of a large number of the original inhabitants of the wilderness, & indeed if my information be correct, it is the only large & proper space of country within the reach of the government & suitable for such a purpose, beyond & out of the reach of the Millions of anglo Saxons who are pressing towards the setting sun with almost race horse speed & *will soon* cover every reasonably inhabitable spot within our very extended national boundaries, especially towards the west & south. The country spoken of—including the valley of the Green & parts of the headwaters of the Platte & the Arkansas rivers, is the only fitting & sufficiently secluded spot that seems to be left in which to attempt to extend that national Philanthropy to the Indians of the mountains which has so many years engaged the attention & expended such vast sums of the treasure of the Nation, & which has unquestionably fallen far short of the end expected by those who originated & put it in motion. This system for civilizing the aborigines of the Forest, which has been for many years the business of the Indian Beareau to carry out, & perfect, The Philanthropy which originated the measure was certainly correct, whether the system was founded on the best basis was then a question of division & which perhaps still divides the opinions of some of its best wishers; but I suppose all agree that no very satisfactory results have been attained when I say all agree, I mean all true Philanthropists for the greedy & Land hungry Politician, many of whom went eagerly for the system; have been amply repaid for their support; in the vast territories that have been purchased—perhaps extorted—from these natives of the Forest; & who by this system are supposed to be intirely capable of managing their own affairs; while in practice, they have been either Cajoled or menaced out of the soil that contained the Bones of their fathers for many generations past for which in fact they only have to shew as the price they have recd. in exchange Gew Gauds & other worthless articles at the most enormous & unreasonable prices, which giving [?] consciencies of those *licensed* sharpers chose to ask into whose hands these simple & inexperienced people have been suffered to fall; untill their all is spent & they left a thousand times worse off than they were when the system began & the true Philanthropist may well exclaim that scarcely any of the benefits of the Civilization intended by its original framers have been imparted, to these suffering and *receding* people. The fault is either in the system; or fails of its benefits by the incompetence or corruption of its administrators, or grows out of both, & to them both, I attribute the unquestionable failure to impart any of the substantial benefits of civilization, except in a very few & isolated cases. The system I have always considered radically wrong in *supposing* the untutored Indian to be capable of dealing with, the anglo Saxon race, especially those who have descended from the first settlers of America, My idea is they ought to be treated *intirely* as

wards of the government, and that the execution of the law ought to be confided to the true philanthropist & not entrusted to the broiling & often bankrupt Politicians, who seek the office to restore by speculation out of these uninstructed people, what he has spent in aiding in the political intrigues & caucusses in his Township or country & as soon as he is thus fully indemnified which he is almost sure to secure in an incredibly short time, he leaves them—& instead of teaching them the beauties & benefits of civilization leaves amongst them disgusting evidences that he has by *his example*, encouraged them, to continue in their basist immoralities. The answer, to these charges which cannot be denied by any, is often given by those who uphold the unparelled Scenes of corruption & [s]peculation, that has so generally attended the whole system, with a few honorable exceptions; is by declaring that men cannot be found honest enough to carry out a system founded on the presumption of the intire innability to act for himself & therefore the present system say they is better managed where the Indian is allowed to make his own bargain for him. This declaration is founded upon the presumption that honest men cannot be found to manage such a system; but if Indeed this is true than we ought to be blotted out as a nation, and branded as degenerate sons of worthy ancestors.—This cannot be true,—we have thousands of virtuous & self-sacraficing & Pholosophic persons who for a fair but moderate Salariry, which the government could easily afford to pay, would devote their whole time & talents for the benefit, not only the poor unfortunate tenants of the forest, but of true Philanthropy which teaches us to wish the civilization of all mankind If the System was change to the one I suppose, of considering the Indians minors in relation to all their interests, subject to be released under some prescribed rule, when they *come of age* in their progress towards civilization, the government would only have to turn their attention to that part of the community in making appointments (& we have such a class) who would look with anxious care to the elevation of the morals & character, of the red men of the Forest. Whether the present System is to be changed or not, I feel bound to say to the department that the best plan to manage & conduct the affairs of the nations of Indians over which for the present, I hold by appointment of the government the direction & Management is if possible to unite the Sho sho nies & Utahs into *one* nation, & which I believe can be done & then, endeavor if possible to turn their attention *to some extent at least* to the cultivation of the soil; for I do believe no other employment, will civilize a wild man of the Forest. There is no part, of the snake country (except indeed exceedingly small portions intirely inadequate) that they can *now* occupy for such a purpose; whilst that of the Utah's contains (if I am correctly informed) an ample space & perhaps prolific soil to answer all the demands of both nations in parts too now wholly appropriated to the red men & beasts of the Forest & to which region the

latter are constantly receding from the advance of the Anglo Saxon on the south the east & North east, as well as from the west & North west. The upper end of the valley of the arkansas, the south & Middle Park are said to be splendid valleys of the richest lands & finest pasturage, & that although perpetual snows cap the high rugged mountains by which these valleys, are, for the greater part, hemmed in; still these valleys are of an altitude low enough to produce fine rewards to the husbandman, & these hills & mountains, ample space for the herdsman, & for a long series of years, the hunter also—while the climate is supposed to be comparatively mild & pleasant. The larger portion of the Snake tribe are called *Sho sho coes* or walkers—that is they are too poor to have horses—they usually draw most of their subsistence from roots & the black mountain cricket & are usually called *Root diggers*—(not *Gold diggers*) which costs them very considerable labour, & it is supposed that this portion of the tribe at least, could be easily trained by the *right sort of men*, to engage in the labours of husbandry—while some of the utahs are already engaged in raising corn & potatoes. The only way in which any such attempt can be made with Success; it seems to me, is to call a great counsel of both nations & see what can be done & if present policy is to be persued, buy of them such parts of their country as we need, including at all events, this valley now settled by the whites its adjacent country, as also a high way through their country, & such places as will be wanted for Forts & other public agencies, & agree to pay them, in useful implements of husbandry & clothing, at the nett cost of carriage of such articles,—which they should not be allowed to resell to any white man, & then send proper men amongst them, who should out of parts of the annuity coming to them; if any; establish farms,—model farms,—not modles of extravagance in fine buildings & fine inclosures but plain symple & well conducted farms, with inducements held out to the Indians to work upon them, the avails of which to be appropriated to the nations use, & then, with directions to aid all such as should attempt to establish farms of their own. In this way if few honest & self sacraficing men were sent amongst them it seems to me, in a few years a beneficial change would be perceptible in the condition of the Indians. It is true in the snake claim of the bounderies, there are many large valleys where I believe cattle could be reared, with even profit & therefore it may be said that it would be good policy to endeavor to turn them into herdsmen, & teach them to raise & herd stock; this if accomplished would perhaps better their condition because thus they might Secure for themselves & families meet enough for food, which now they do not get but I very much question whether their moral condition would in any way be bettered, whilst their physical constitutions would unquestionably be enervated in the lazy habits, of the herdsman, but, while you may easily & fast cause a civilized man to approximate towards the savage life by turning him out

a herdsman, alone to eat the beef he tends for his support, still it will be absolutely impossible, to make a civilized man out of a savage by teaching him the lazy & idle employment of herding cattle in a barren wilderness, amongst the mountains. There is no employment, like that of agriculture which ties them to a local spot of land, to cultivate the feelings of virtue & social intercourse which are essential ingredients of civilization even in a savage. To attempt an accomplishment or rather an innitiation of such a policy, I have given notice already that I will; if approved of by the department; next summer hold a grand Counsel of the two nations at Fort Bridger when I will endeavor to carry out these or such other views as the department shall direct me, with these two nations. The counsel is not only essential to settle the difficulties between themselves for they often go to war with each other but it is the only way in which the government can with any probability expect to become acquainted with their wants; for their country is too extensive, their bands too numerous & widely Scattered to enable any one or even half a dozen agents & their assistants to even see them, & when he should do so in relation to one band, the next nearest would probably be several hundred miles distant without whole assent, they could not finally act; & by the time you had seen half a dozen bands & got their consent to any proposed measure, it would be needful to go back, for some of them by this time will have rued their bargain.—In fact, it were as well to say at once that nothing but a great counsel of both nations together promises any probable favourable result, in negociation with them. Under all circumstance, of the case, I suppose Fort Bridger to be the most proper place, as it is unquestionably the easiest of access to them & besides it has for a long period been the principal place, where they have traded; & then the vast valleys of the fines grass, on the very many find small streams & brooks in that vicinity which abound in fur makes it the most fit place for such an assemblage & then there are no settlements of white in the vicinity to corrupt them with spirits & other things to annoy, for such traders as may be there will be subject to the law, & can be restrained under proper regulations, & then it will be within a reasonable distance of Fort Hall, or Bear river from which a company or two of troops could easily attend to keep proper regulations, & it will be quite within reach of this place to obtain *then* such supplies of provisions as may be wanted to give a feast & such like affairs to facilitate the intercourse with them. Whether the whole system as at present practiced with the Indians under the present Statue regulations of the nation is to be changed or not so far as these tribes are concerned, it ought to be greatly modified; as this is their first intercourse with us & some wholesome regulations may easily be adopted with them, that perhaps could not so easily be introduced amongst those already accustomed to the old mode—for instance I would exclude from the trade all matters of ornament,—such as beads rings, rattles, paints; & a thousand other GewGaws

which have been invented expressly for the purpose of cheating these poor people out of whatever little they may have to dispose of, & thus impose upon them articles not only worth less in them selves but calculated expressly to deceive them as to their intrinsic value. Heretofore the Utahs have driven a large trade in horses the larger number of which they have stolen from the Mexicans. Some check should be placed on this trafic which now forms much the larger item of the trade between them & the traders who have heretofore enjoyed a monopoly of this trafic, either to forbid a Sale of a horse altogether, except the consent of some proper man duly appointed for that purpose was first had, or unless it could be shewn satisfactorily that the Indian had raised or purchased fairly the horse he offered for sale, for it will be exceedingly hard to induce them to quit stealing horses as long as traders are at liberty to purchase all they bring them & it cannot be possible that the government can discharge its duty so as to fairly satisfy that Philanthropy which unquestionably gave rise to the Indian system under our government, unless traders are regulated both as to the *Kind* & *prices* of the goods they are allowed to vend to them. The plan however which my judgement dictates as the most proper is that the government itself should be their *sole factors* & allow no private trader to go amongst them. Let the government receive transmit & dispose of all they have to spare & furnish them with all that their produce could pay for, & such other gifts as the govt may see proper to add without charging commission for goods sold for them or levying per cents on those sold to them charging only actual costs & charges this system if adopted & placed under the charge of the proper class of men & I will venture the opinion that in a few years you will see a corresponding improvement of the Indians, & if the previously formed opinions in favor of the old System are too Strong to allow a change of the whole, let it be tried with these unfortunate people within the bounds of Mexican California & I venture the assertion that these wild & degraded Indians will be greatly improved more than half of whom already are reduced to the necessity of living upon roots & the *Mountain Black Cricket* (some what resembling; only larger than, the grass hopper) & which in this country is far more destructive on vegetation than the latter. That portion of the Sho shonies, called the Sho sho *coes*, or walkers (being without horses) cannot now even go to where a Buffaloe is to be killed and consequently, are not only deprived of the meet so necessary for their support but also of their skins which are equally indispensable to make lodges & clothes to keep them from freezing in these mountains where the perpetual snows are forever within their sight & the consequence is they are obliged to seek such holes & caves in the declivities of these "everlasting Hills" as they can find to keep them & their Children from freezing. There are many warm & hot springs throughout this country & it is said to be no uncommon thing to see the Indians sheltering themselves & their children from

the bleak & terrible storm which prevails in these grand & rugged mountains by lying during a great part of the day & perhaps night too in the water.

It were useless for me to say more at present. The above views appear to me to be correct & although the miserable condition of these poor Indians furnish many other facts & reasons to inforce the necessity of the changes recommended to be made still I have not time or room to place them before you now at some future period I may do So.—I hope to have Your response to these views as early as possible directed to San. Francisco, that I may have ample time if you approve of them to call the tribes together as I propose. . . .

1851

3

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S FIRST PROCLAMATION AS
SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
JULY 21, 1851¹³

PROCLAMATION,

To All whom it may concern.

Whereas, the law of Congress entitled "An act to establish a Territorial Government for Utah, approved Sept. 9 1850, devolves the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs within said Territory upon the Governor of said Territory, and

Whereas there have been appointed by the United States Government one Indian Agent, and two Sub-agents for this Territory.

Now therefore by virtue of said authority and to advance the purposes of the Government for the benefit of the Indians. I do hereby order and direct that this Territory be divided into three Agencies as follows. to wit—

The first or Parvan [Pavant] Indian Agency, to include all within the limits of the Territory west of the Shoshone nation; and north of the South line of the Parvan Valley.

The Second or Uinta Agency to include all of the Snakes or Shoshones within said Territory, the Uinta and Yampa & all other tribes South, within said Territory, and east of the Eastern rim of the Great Basin.

13 A certified copy enclosed with Brigham Young's letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87-1851). The proclamation was printed in the *Deseret News*, August 8, 1851.



Brigham Young, ca.1853, Utah territorial governor and Indian superintendent, 1850–1857. *LDS Church Historical Dept.*

The Third or Parowan Agency, to include all the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin and South of the South line of the Parvan Valley to the Western bounds of the Territory.

Henry R. Day and Stephen B Rose, the Sub-agents having arrived and being ready to enter upon the discharge of their respective duties are hereby temporarily, and until further directions assigned to their respective agencies as follows: to wit—Henry R Day to the first or Parvan agency; and Stephen B. Rose to the Second or Uinta agency.¹⁴

Brigham Young
Governor of Utah Territory, and
Superintendent of Indian Affairs
G S L City July 21 1851

exd. [examined]

TB [Thomas Bullock]

14 Day and Rose reached Great Salt Lake City from the east July 19. The former was a Missourian, the latter a Mormon from New Jersey. [Indian agents Stephen B. Rose (1851–1897) and Henry R. Day were vice to agent Jacob H. Holeman and among the earliest federal appointees to the newly created Utah Territory, arriving in Utah in the company of Almon W. Babbitt and John M. Bernhisel. Bancroft notes that Day was relieved of his office in 1852 (*History of Utah*, 478 n.75). In 1852,

4

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
TO STEPHEN B. ROSE, SUB-AGENT, DATED
G.S L CITY, JULY 21, 1851¹⁵

Sir,

In accordance with the provision of the law making it my duty to assign to Indian agents their districts or locations I have this day issued my proclamation dividing this Territory into three districts or Agencies, and have assigned unto you the Second or Uinta Agency. This district includes first the Shoshone or Snake Nation so far as the same is included in this Territory North of the Uinta, and east of the Great Salt Lake and Utah Vallies The Uinta and Yampa Utes are next South inhabiting east of the Utah, Sanpete and Parvan Vallies, to the Eastern boundary of the Territory, and as far South as Tab-a-Wits and Salt Mountain Utes, these last extend as far south as the Southern boundary of this Territory;¹⁶ these are all the Utes that I have any knowledge of at this time, but it is more than probable that you will, by paying more strict attention to these matters ascertain more definitely the location of various tribes, names of Chiefs &c. as well as every other information pertaining to the Indians in the Location assigned to you. All such information it will be necessary for you to collect, and will become useful in making full reports to the Department. Uinta Valley is hereby suggested as a suitable place for the location of your agency, combining it is believed the greatest facilities for exercising a favorable influence for uniting the various tribes and bands in one common interest. . . .

exd

TB

Rose led an expedition eastward into the Uinta Basin. He eventually settled in Salt Lake City and is buried in the city cemetery. Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1849–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 211; Sexton's records, Salt Lake City, Utah (grave H-11-6-1-E). —Ed.]

15 Enclosure "B" in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87-1851)

16. More exactly, they lived in what is now southeastern Utah, in the vicinity of the La Sal Mountains.

5

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG,
 SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 1, 1851¹⁷

Sir. In obedience to orders from the Commissioner of Indian affairs, the Hon. Luke Lea, I have the Honor of presenting myself to you, as Agent for the Indians in the Territory of Utah and have the pleasure of saying to you, that I am ready to receive any instructions and to cooperate with you in the matters connected with our respective duties.

With the exception of my orders to report to you, as Agent for the Indians in this Territory, I have no instructions in writing. In the various conversations with the Commissioner, and with Col. D. D. Mitchell of St. Louis, they express to me their desire to have the Indians of this Territory, or any portion of them attend the treaty at Laramie, to be held the 1st of September. Under the belief that it would meet the wishes of the Department, and greatly assist us in our future operations with the other tribes, I have taken the responsibility, before reporting to you, of making arrangements with the Shoshonee, or Snake tribe of Indians, to meet me on the Sweet water river beyond the South Pass, on the 20th inst Therefore, I desire to return immediately, and have made my arrangements to be at Fort Bridger on the 15th inst where I will meet my Interpreter and guide [James Bridger], and proceed to meet the Indians at the appointed time and place, and proceed with them to Fort Laramie, in time to attend the Treaty.

I have, also, suggested to Messrs. Rose and Day, Sub Agents for this Territory, that they attend the treaty, and have employed several competent gentlemen as Interpreters and guides, who are now on a visit to some of the Tribes adjacent to this City, making an effort to get some of their principal chiefs to attend the Treaty also. Should these gentlemen, succeed, they cannot reach this place before my departure for Fort Bridger—if, therefore, it should meet your approbation, you will please give them such orders and instructions, as may be necessary, to

17 Enclosure “C” in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851). Holeman arrived in Great Salt Lake City the very day of this letter; he was a Kentuckian, and was accompanied west by his son, Alex. [Jacob Harrod Holeman (1793–1857) was born in Virginia, was a veteran of the War of 1812, which accounts for his honorific as “Major,” and in 1819 participated in a particularly notorious duel. Badly wounded in that fracas, he recovered to marry Mary Ann Wake in 1823 and spent years as a central Kentucky newspaper editor before his appointment to Utah in 1851. The son Morgan mentions, Alexander Wake Holeman (1827–1887), was an only child and Civil War veteran of note. Biographical data courtesy of descendant Georgia Kinney Bopp, August 2006. —Ed.]

enable them to convey those Chiefs to the treaty. It will be necessary, perhaps, that they should be conveyed through the Snake and Crow tribes, in carriages, and privately as possible—to effect this it may be necessary to make some arrangements—you will, therefore, be pleased to give Mr. Day such orders as in your pleasure you may deem necessary, as it has been arranged that Mr. Rose will accompany me to Fort Bridger.

Hoping that the arrangements I have made will meet with your approbation. . . .

an examined copy

Thos. Bullock

Clerk

Robt Cambell

6

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JACOB H.
HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, AUGUST 11, 1851¹⁸

Sir—Your Letter of this date pertaining to your appointment instructions and operations as Indian Agent, is just received, and I proceed immediately to answer it.

I should have been most happy received a Letter of instructions from the Department at Washington, informing me in relation to the policy the Government wishes to have carried out in relation to the Indians in this Territory, as also its appointment in regard to councils, &c; but not having received anything of the kind, and left to the exercise of my own judgment with respect to this matter; much unquestionably is, and should be left to the discretion of those connected with the Indian Department, located at such a distance from the Seat of Government, and amongst Tribes, where little or comparatively nothing is known concerning them.

It therefore becomes the duty of those who being entrusted by the Government with the performance of those duties, to call into requisition their best judgment and intelligence which they may possess. and use every exertion compatible with existing circumstances to facilitate communications of the Government, through its Agents with the various Tribes.

This I am happy to learn you have done so far as laid within your power, and permit me here to say, that your proceedings thus far meet with my most cordial approbation.

¹⁸ Enclosure “D” in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851).

Previous to your arrival, not having any information in relation to your movements, and the Sub-agents having arrived and reporting themselves ready for instructions; they were assigned their locations with such information as I considered requisite for them, so far as locations, names of tribes, &c were concerned. As I presume it will submit them to no inconvenience, I fully coincide with your suggestion that they accompany you with the Indians to Fort Laramie. I have sent a Letter with the messengers to some of the Utah Chiefs, inducing them to go; Indian Walker¹⁹ and in fact many others of the chiefs are at war with the Shoshones and other tribes who will probably be en masse, at Laramie. It will therefore be of the utmost importance, if Walker and others of the Tribes should go (which I apprehend will be an exploit not easily accomplished) to take such measures as to ensure their safe return to their various tribes, free from the molestation of other Indians. I do most earnestly recommend that they go as privately as possible, in citizens dress, such as white men wear. They will of course be furnished rations; and I think should go in carriages or covered wagons; and when they shall arrive at Laramie, have a room where they can remain in safety, unless their will of their own accord go out and mix, with other tribes.

It is to be regretted that information of the Council at Laramie, and the desire of the Commissioner to have the Indians of this Territory attend could not have been known at an earlier date, as now it will necessarily involve great haste, and may delay the expedition to a late day. Future treaties, or Councils should be held at some point within this Territory or some point more adjacent thereto. Sow er ette²⁰ I particularly recommend to go, and as he is quite aged particularly recommend him to your care, and protection, owing to the shortness of the notice he will probably be the most influential Chief that can at present be secured for the occasion. Walker's band will most probably not accompany him, and he will need considerable care as the Shoshones and other hostile Indians probably have good cause to remember him, will seek to obtain his scalp in preference to any other.

If as I presume there are sufficient funds at Laramie appropriated to defray the expences of the expedition from this Territory, you are hereby authorized to draw the same and defray the expences thereof, making a full report of all your

19 The Ute chief whose name was render Wak, Wakara, Wachor, etc., and anglicized to Walker, was sometimes called "Indian Walker" to distinguish him from the celebrated mountain man, Joseph Reddeford Walker. Walker had been known to range peacefully as far into Shoshoni territory as Fort Bridger; Theodore Talbot met him there in the summer of 1843.

20 Sowiette, who has been called the peace chief of the Utes to distinguish him from Walker, the war chief, was still living when Major John Wesley Powell made his exploration of the Green and Colorado Rivers in 1869; Powell met him at the Uinta Agency and described him as very old, his skin lying in wrinkles and deep folds on his limbs and body. See "Major Powell's Journal, July 2–Aug 28, 1869," ed. William Culp Darrah, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 125.

doings and acts upon your return to this place, after which, I shall be happy to communicate with you again in relation to your further duties, and in the mean time, if you will take the trouble, I should be glad to hear from you.

Feeling an earnest desire for the welfare of the Indians in all of their transactions with the Government I expect ever to be found ready to cooperate with you, and all those connected with the Indian Department in whatever shall be conducive to their mutual interests.

If the messengers sent south should not return before you leave, I will do whatever may be requisite in connexion with Mr. Day, to further the enterprize, and have them join you as soon as possible relying upon your exertions, and those connected with you for a favorable termination of this Council. . . .

7

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA,*
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
FORT LARAMIE, SEPTEMBER 21, 1851²¹

Dr Sir—In obedience to orders from your department, I proceeded to the Territory of Utah, and reported myself to His Excellency Governor Young, Ex-Officio Superintendent of Ind. Affrs. for that Territory on the 9th day of August.

On my rout to Utah, I passed many trains of Emigrants, some for Oregon, some for California, but mostly for Utah. I found many of them in great distress from depredations and robberies committed by the Indians—some were robbed of all provisions, and even of the clothing on thier backs—many had their stock stolen, &c. These depredations, so frequently occurring, compelled them to collect together many teams, in order to have a force sufficient to defend themselves, that they were unable to get grass for their cattle—they could not let them go out of their sight to graze, for fear of having them stolen by the Indians, but kept them in Carrels of nights—the Indians being constantly hovering about them. Consequently, their teams were daily giving out and the

* [Robert A. Trennert, "Luke Lea, 1850–53," *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824–1977*, ed. Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola (Lincoln, Nebr.: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1979), 49–56.]

21 The original of this document bears no filemark but is endorsed as having been received November 13, 1851; the manuscript is now much worn and frayed, and the full text has been restored by reference to the printed copy in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 2, pt. 2 (Serial 636), 444–46. The printed version incorrectly gives Holeman's first name as John.

road was strewn with the dead—waggon, and other property destroyed to the great injury of the Emigrants. The Indians who reside about and below Fort Laramie, were thought to be the principal aggressors; the Crows, occasionally. The emigrants not being able to distinguish one tribe from another were equally fearful when they arrived in the Territory of the Shoshonies or Snakes, whose country embraced portion Oregon Territory, a portion Utah, and a portion of the St. Louis Superintendency they therefore, continued their practice of correlling their stock still apprehending danger. The Indians below, having been publicly invited to the treaty at Laramie, and as I understood, would generally attend, I thought it advisable to endeavor to get the Shohonies to attend also, believing that it would promote the interest of the country and the Indians, and greatly benefit the vast number of Emigrants who were daily passing the road. I believed, also, that it would not only meet the approbation of the department, but that it greatly desired to have them there as the main route for emigration passed through their country. I was justified in this opinion from a conversation held with you, on the subject of the Indians in Utah, in May last, at Washington, in which you expressed the wish, that they, or as many of the tribes as could be got, should attend. Believing therefore, that it would be beneficial to the Indians and the country, and believing that it would secure to the Emigrants peace and safety in travelling the country; in short—believing it to be my duty, when I reached the country of the Shoshonies, I immediately hired an interpreter and guide, collected some of their chiefs and braves, and made an arrangement to attend them to the treaty at Laramie. I then hurried to Salt Lake City and reported to Gov. Young the arrangements I had made—it met with his approbation, and he ordered me, to fulfil my engagements with the Indians. I immediately returned, and met the village assembled on Sweet Water, about fifty miles east of the South pass, on the 21st of August. I held a talk with them which resulted in their selecting sixty of their head men fully authorised to act for the whole tribe²²—we arrived at Laramie on the first day of September. I regret that Col. Mitchell so construes his powers and instructions as to exclude them from being parties to the treaty, believing that they are not properly in his superintendency,²³ but that they belong to the Superintendency of Utah. He has however, expressed much gratification at their being here, and will give them presents with the rest of the Indians; which will be, I hope satisfactory to them. They are a tribe who have been universally friendly to the whites, and seem to have great confidence in, and respect for the whites.

22 The number of Shoshoni who went to the council at Fort Laramie has been variously given, from 40 to more than 250; see Hebard, *Washakie*, 70. Holeman himself is inconsistent in his reports, for in Document 9 below he estimates the number as 80.

23 The Central or St. Louis Superintendency.

I have given you above, my reasons for the course I have pursued—I hope they meet your approbation. Co. Mitchell and Maj. [Thomas] Fitzpatrick, will explain to you more fully all matters connected with my operations in this particular. I shall, however, as soon as I return to Salt Lake City, make a report, in full, and forward to your department.

If it can be done, and you should deem it advisable, I would like more particular instructions in relation to my duties and powers—I find much excitement among the Indians in consequence of the whites settling and taking possession of their country, driving off and killing their game; and in some instances driving off the Indians themselves—the greatest complaint, on this score, is against the Mormons; they seem not to be satisfied with taking possession of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, but are marking arrangements to settle, other, and principally, the rich valleys and best lands in the Territory. This creates much dissatisfaction among the Indians and excites them to acts of revenge—they attack emigrants, plunder and commit murder whenever they find a party weak enough to enable them to do so—thereby, making the innocent suffer for injuries done by others.²⁴

I find also, another class of individuals, a mixture of all nations, and although less powerful in numbers, are equally injurious to the country and the Indians—these are a set of traders called here, “*free men*,” who are settled around and amongst the Indians—some have married among them; all, however, have an influence which is exerted to serve their particular personal interests. This is operating against the interests of the Indians and the country, and tends greatly to prevent the agents from doing that which is required by the department. These scenes are transacted so far from the officers of the law, and by a set of men who are somewhat lawless, that it will require extreme measures and some force to relieve the country of them. With regard to all these matters, I would like to have particular instructions

I am of the opinion, that it would be greatly beneficial to the interest of the Indians to have an agency established for the Shoshonies tribe, and located on Green River, at or near the ferry or crossing. It is on the main road, and is one of those places where “*the freemen*” generally collect in the Spring, to prey upon the misfortunes and necessities of the Emigrants—the Indians are consequently drawn there and I am informed, that they have induced Indians to drive off the stock of emigrants, so as to force them to purchase of “*the Freeman*” at exorbitant prices and after the emigrants have left, make a pretended purchase of the Indians for a mere trifle, and are ready to sell again to the next train that may pass, and who may have been served in the same manner. I think that a treaty with the various tribes of Indians in Utah, would be productive of much good, if held immediately—it would have the effect of preventing depredations on their lands,

24 See Brigham Young’s rejoinder, Document 17.

quieting their excitement against the whites and ultimately save the Government from much trouble and expense. If the department should agree with me on this subject, and Congress will make provisions, I can have them assembled at any point in the Territory during the next Spring and Summer.

It would be of great importance to order a delegation of the principal men, say three from each tribe, to visit the States and Washington City, during the session of Congress. They have no idea of the power of the Government—many think that the emigration they see passing and repassing through their country comprises the principal portion of our population—and, like themselves, having killed all the game in our own country, we are travelling in pursuit of a better—and that very soon, none will be left behind. All these matters, I submit to the department, after a hasty view of the condition and interests of the country—and shall with much pleasure, obey any wish or instruction of the department. . . .

8

STEPHEN B. ROSE, SUB-AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN
AFFAIRS, DATED Uinta AGENCY, GREAT
SALT LAKE, OCTOBER 20, 1851²⁵

Sir.

In pursuance of your instructions I most respectfully submit to the department, the following brief report of affairs in connection with the Uinta Sub agency during the past Quarter.

The Tribes included in this Agency are the Shoshonee or Snake Indians, inhabiting a section of country west of the Rocky Mountains lying along the Wind River Mountains, Henry's Fork Snake, and Bear Rivers; And the Uintas Tribe lying on the South Eastern Borders of the Territory. First the Shoshonee or Snake Tribe, with whom I have spent almost my entire time with, since my arrival in the Territory seem to be very friendly disposed towards the Whites, and very anxious to be at peace with the neighbouring Tribes. Their main band numbers about Twelve Hundred. They subsist upon fishing and hunting, and are tolerably well armed, and have a very large number of horses. They seem to be perfectly aware that in a few years that their game will be destroyed and that it will become necessary to seek some other mode of obtaining a living. On the 13th of August last I started in connexion with Mr Holeman to take the Tribe to the Treaty, to be held by the Government with the different tribes at Fort Laramie. They were not

25 Enclosure "E" in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87-1851).

received into the Treaty as they were not considered by the Commissioners to belong to that portion of Territory to which they were authorised to Treat with. They were however much pleased with their reception by the Commissioners and were successful in making a friendly Treaty with the different Tribes assembled there, with whom they had been at war for a long time. The Uinta [Ute] Tribe it has not been in my power to visit yet, but from the best information that I can get, they are friendly disposed towards the Whites, and are very anxious that the Government will authorise a Treaty to be held for the various tribes inhabiting Utah Territory, that they may come to a friendly understanding with each other; and in case of injuries inflicted by the different Tribes, they may have some one to look to for redress. On the 16th of August last, when on my way to Fort Laramie I was compelled to buy a pair of Horses and draw upon the department at Washington when I arrived at the Fort I turned them over to the Quarter master, to be herded, until my return, with the Government herd by the orders of Col Mitchell, when nearly ready to return, upon making inquiries for my horses, I could obtain no information with regard to them, but it was supposed that they had gone to Fort Leavenworth as all the Government horses had been sent off there. I drew up a description of the horses, with the certificate of two responsible witnesses, of the delivery of them to the Government Herder, and delivered it to Mr. King the Quarter Master's Clerk at Fort Leavenworth. . . .

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9

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UTAH INDIAN AGENCY,
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, NOVEMBER 10, 1851²⁶

Sir,

I have the honor, in accordance with instructions, to forward to you, to be transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a report of my operations since my arrival in the Territory.

I received orders from the Department on the 25th of April, and left Washington City on the 8th of May, to report to you, as Governor and Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for this Territory, which duty I performed on the 11th day of August. On my route to this city, as I then informed you, I met,

26 U/1-1852.

at Fort Bridger, with some of the principal chiefs and braves of the Shoshonie, or Snake tribe of Indians, who had collected there, expecting an officer of the government, and were waiting to see him. I informed you, also, that I had held a talk with them, which resulted in their expressing a desire to attend the Treaty to be held at Fort Laramie on the 1st of September, ensuing—and that, if I would accompany them, they would be pleased to go down. This arrangement I considered myself authorised to make, as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had expressed a wish, that the Indians of this Territory, or any portion of them, that could be got there, should attend the treaty. You were pleased to approve my course and instructed me to comply with my engagements with these Indians. Having but a few days to prepare for this expedition, and having been on duty and travelling from that time until the 25th of October, I have not had it in my power to make a report, at all satisfactory until the present. Since the 1st of June, I have travelled upwards of three thousand five hundred miles—most of the time, without any other provinder for my horses, than the dry grass of the plains—At the proper time for making my report, it was not in my power to do so, as many of my papers were in this city; and besides, I was not at a point from which a communication could have reached you, sooner than I would have the opportunity of meeting you in person. It is unnecessary, therefore, to make an apology for not making my report, for the quarter ending 30th September—as on that day I was on the North Fork of the Platt, on my return from Fort Laramie. Owing to my Horses failing, I was unable to travel more than from 8 to 15 miles per day—laying by sometimes all day, in Snow storms & rain, and did not arrive in this city until the 28th of October.

In obedience to instructions, I left this city on the 12th of August, and proceeded, with as little delay as possible, to meet the Indians at the place agreed upon east of the South Pass—I arrived at Fort Bridger on the 15th where I had previously employed an interpreter; and after making the necessary arrangements for the transportation of provisions, &c, and a few presents for the Indians, we proceeded on our journey, and arrived at the village of the Snake Indians, on the Sweet water, on the 22nd Augt. We found the village in good health, and much pleased with the idea of their trip, the whole village intending to accompany us to Laramie—but the next morning, as we were on our march, we found two of their tribe, killed and scalped, lying on the side of the road. This threw us into great confusion—The Indians became furious—but there being an emigrant train near by, who had witnessed the transaction, we were informed, that the murders had been committed, the evening previous, by a war party of the Cheyennes. After a hurried pursuit, for several hours, the warriors returned to the village. They were much excited—I had to talk with them on the subject of the murder—to my great surprise, I found that they had not only determined

to stop the trip, but that they were disposed to censure the whites for the murder, and seemed to express a total want of confidence in their friendship—they stated, that they had been advised not to go—that if they did go, they would be killed—that the whites were deceiving them—that they only wished to get them into the country of their enemies to have them all murdered—and as an evidence, that they had been correctly advised, they had scarcely made a move before they had found two of their tribe killed; and finally, they avowed their determination to go no further.

Under all these circumstances, I felt it my duty to use all efforts in my power, to correct such impressions; believing, that if left in this state of mind, it would be difficult to make any arrangements with them in future—I therefore, invited another talk, which was granted, but with much reluctance. I succeeded, to a considerable extent, in relieving their minds in relation to the friendly feelings of the whites, but they still objected to going any farther. Although disposed to be on friendly terms, yet, having had but little intercourse with the whites they were fearful of doing something wrong, by which, they would lay themselves liable to attack and abuse by the other Indian tribes, through whose country they would have to pass. In order to assure them of their security, and to satisfy them that their great Father was sincere in his professions of friendship; and that his object was to do them good instead of injury, I proposed to send to Laramie for an escort of Soldiers to accompany them—This seemed to inspire them with confidence, and I immediately started an express to Laramie, consisting of two men, my son Alex. W. Holeman, and Mr. Jas. Fergusson.* That night the chiefs and braves held a council, and consulted their *Medicine*, as they term it—the result of which was, that they determined to send with me a deputation of their principal men, leaving the balance to protect their village. After making the necessary preparations for the comfort and protection of their families, we left the village on the 28th accompanied by about 80 of their leading men, authorised to act for the tribe, and reached Fort Laramie on the 1st of September—all in good health and spirits, and well pleased with the treatment they had received.

As it was the first effort which had been made by the government to establish friendly relations with the Indians in this territory, I felt it incumbent on me to pursue such a course as would not only be satisfactory, but which would

* [See note 17 for data on Alexander Holeman. James Ferguson (1828–1863) was an Irish convert and had been a member of the Mormon Battalion before becoming a deputy sheriff and occasional actor in the local theater. *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, ed. Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1964), 2:408n; Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City and its Founders* (Salt Lake City: The Author, ca. 1886); Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah: Comprising Preliminary Chapters on the Previous History of Her Founders, . . .*, 4 vol. (Salt Lake City: G. Q. Cannon & Sons, 1882–1904), 4:180–183.—Ed.]

inspire them with confidence and respect in the future. And if I may be permitted to judge from their conduct and the manifestation of entire satisfaction on their whole route, and also, on their return to their village, I am compelled to believe that their trip will result in much good both to the government and to the Indians. Although the Snake Indians have not been among those who have committed such depredations on the emigration travelling the plains, yet a state of war has existed between them and other tribes, which agreeable to the usage of the Indians, has justified each tribe in sending their war parties to harrass and plunder the other—These war parties, when on their excursions in the enemy's country, would plunder and rob the emigrants, while their depredations would often be charged to other and innocent tribes—thus, the country of the Snakes is frequently made the rallying ground and as the road to California, Oregon, and the Salt Lake City passes through their lands, these war parties are constantly committing depredations, which in many instances are charged to the Snakes—And although the Snakes are friendly to the whites, and do not participate in these robberies, yet the emigrants do not feel secure while there is an Indian or Indian sign in view—and not being able to distinguish one tribe from another they are constantly in fear of an attack; to prevent which, they assemble together in such numbers, as to render it impossible to get grass for the subsistence of their cattle, or enclose them in correll—in either case, the result is the same—their cattle are starved to death, and their property, scattered over the plains. Seeing the distress which these scenes presented, I considered it my duty to use all the means in my power to prevent it; I therefore determined to use all efforts to get the Snakes attend the treaty—and although attended with more expense and trouble than I had expected, yet I do not hesitate to say that it has been time and money well spent—as they met there, and made peace with several tribes with whom they were at war, among whom were the Cheyennes and Sioux tribes who were the principal disturbers of the peace on this rout. This will insure safety to emigration in future—it will put a stop to the excursions of these war parties, and I feel well assured, that the Snakes will not only treat the emigration, hereafter, with kindness but that they will protect and assist them wherever in their power. I conceive it of great importance of the Indian department in this Territory, that the Indians visited Laramie. The friendly welcome they received from the Indians of other tribes—their intercourse with the whites during the expeditions, and while there, has impressed them with very different feelings from those entertained towards the whites previously. Our friendly intercourse with the Snakes is now, I trust, established upon such a footing as to inspire them with confidence and respect—this feeling will diffuse itself throughout the other tribes, and greatly assist our future operations with the Indians in this Territory.

They were not made parties to the treaty at Laramie; in this, I was somewhat disappointed, as the Commissioner had expressed a desire to have the Indians of Utah at the treaty, or any portion of them which I might be able to be there. Col. Mitchell and Maj. Fitzpatrick, however, expressed much gratification at their being there, and at first determined to make them a party—but on further reflection, as they were the only tribe from the Superintendency of Utah, and as it was desirable to establish friendly relations with all the tribes in this Territory, they thought it best to exclude them, and recommend to the department, the importance of holding a treaty the ensuing year with the various tribes in Utah. This course, if it can be effected, will be productive of much good, as it will bring together the various tribes, some of whom are unfriendly towards each other, and by establishing peace, and friendship between them, by treaty, the Indian affairs in this territory will be easily managed. I therefore earnestly recommend it to the early consideration of the department.²⁷

I would also respectfully recommend to the department, that while the Indians of this territory are generally friendly disposed towards the whites, that some arrangement should be made with them, by which their rights, as well as those of the Government, should be distinctly understood. The Indians desire this,—they have been told, repeatedly, by travellers passing through the country, that their “Great Father” would liberally reward them for the right of way, and the destruction of the game, timber, &c. as well as for any kindness shewn to the whites. The great leading thoroughfares to Oregon, California and to this City, pass through the Indian country, and as they subsist entirely by the chase, having no permanent abode whatever, the destruction of the game is of the utmost importance to them. Therefore, as they have been led to expect it, something should be done at once—delays, and putting off matters of this kind, has a tendency to create in their minds a want of confidence—they are jealous, selfish, and full of deception, yet, there is nothing they abhor more, than to find such characteristics in the white man. And although these promises are made without any authority from the government, but by travellers passing through the country, who care but little about the consequences so they can pass safely themselves, yet the effect with the Indians is the same. A promise made by a white man, and violated, is held as good grounds for suspecting treachery in the whole race. Therefore, if it is the intention of the government to make any treaties with the Indians in this territory, I feel confident that they will never be found in a better condition or more disposed to enter into amicable arrangements than they are at this time. In addition to this, a duty which we owe to the Indians, in protecting their rights from violations by the white man, makes it necessary that something should be done as early as possible—and at the same time, the government

27 Unfortunately, this was done only informally; see Document 18.

should look to the interests of her own citizens, who are emigrating to this territory in vast numbers. And if something is not done to give them the right to settle the lands, quietly, the Indians may resist, and the consequence will be the shedding of much blood. As evidence to sustain this opinion, and to show the necessity of immediate action, witness the destruction of life and property which is almost daily occurring on the Oregon and California routs, where the Indians have become excited, by what they consider as trespasses and encroachments of the whites upon their lands.

In returning from Laramie, I met a deputation of the Utes from the Uwinty valey, at Fort Bridger, sent by their chief, with overtures of friendship, and requesting that I would send them traders, to their village. I gave them a few presents and promised to visit them during the winter, if the weather would permit—they received the presents with kindness and promised to use every effort with their tribe, as well as all other Indians, to promote friendly relations with the Whites. I sent them traders and expect to have a report in a few days of their reception and treatment.

I also met with a few lodges of the Digger Utes;²⁸ they informed me that they belonged to a band who resided part in this territory and part in Oregon—they seemed very friendly disposed, and gave me a most horrible account of the robberies and murders committed by the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Hall. They informed me that there were several white women now held as prisoners by these Indians—they stated that the emigrant trains had been attacked, the men all killed, the property taken or destroyed, and the women made prisoners. They could not tell me at what point the women were confined at present, but promised to get the information their return home, and advise me whether any thing could be done for their relief. It is thought by many that there are white men engaged with these Indians, as, until very recently, they have been considered as the most worthless and cowardly tribe in the whole country. I addressed a letter on this subject, to Mr. John Owens, Ind. Agt. at or near Fort Hall,²⁹ advising him of this information I had received, and requesting him to make such enquiries as will enable him to ascertain whether this report is to be relied on or not—and if necessary, promising my aid in any effort to recover them from captivity.

28 The term "Digger" was indiscriminately applied to the various Shoshonean peoples who inhabited the intermontane region, including the western Shoshoni and the Northern and Southern Paiute. Ethnologists classify the Wyoming Snake bands as Northern Shoshoni.

29 John Owen had come west in 1849 as sutler to the Mounted Rifles and wintered with them at Cantonment Loring. Subsequently he established himself in the Bitterroot Valley to become one of the most eminent of Montana's pioneers, his wife, Nancy, was a woman of the Snake tribe. See *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen*, ed. Seymour Dunbar, 2 vols. (New York: Edward Eberstadt, 1927).

The tribe to which the Indians who have committed this act of barbarity, belong, claim a boundary of land lying in this, as well as Oregon Territory.

The short time since I entered upon the duties of my office—no documents or papers coming into my possession, by which I could get information, it has placed it out of my power to be as well informed as I could wish, and hope to be in future. Should the weather permit, I hope to be able to visit several tribes during the winter, when I shall have it in my power to give you farther information. Should I receive information relative to the captivity of these white women, there whereabouts, &c I should like to be instructed what course to pursue.

Herewith, you will please find a report of expenses, incurred in travelling to this city from my residence in Kentucky—also, the expenses of my trip with the Snake Indians to the treaty at Fort Laramie, with the amount of presents &c given to the Indians, as well as a statement of property now on hand. . . .

10

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY,
UTAH TERRITORY, DECEMBER 31, 1851³⁰

Sir

In my report made to your Excellency on the 20th [10th] of November last, I gave you a statement of my transactions as Indian Agent for this Territory up to that time—since which, I have nothing of importance to communicate. I left this city on the 1st inst. on a visit to Fort Bridger, where I expected to meet a party of the Utah Indians from the Uwinty Valley; I had previously, at the request of their chief, sent some traders to their village. The weather had been bad for some time previous, and still remained very cold, which no doubt prevented their attendance. I also visited a settlement of “*Freemen*” as they are called, on Green River, some sixty miles beyond Bridger—I there found several Lodges of the Shoshonie tribe of Indians, several of whom had accompanied me to the Treaty at Laramie. They expressed great delight in seeing me—brought up their friends and introduced them, telling them of the kindness of the Whites throughout the whole expedition, and particularly of their Great Father, who had given them so many presents, that he had made them all rich. Those who visited that treaty, returned so well satisfied, that they are

30 Enclosure in Young to Lea, December 31, 1851 (U/6-1852).

doing much good with the other Indians—they take great pleasure and pride in telling of the Kindness and respect shown to them, and express their feelings of gratitude and friendship in the warmest manner. I regret, very much, that more of the Indians of this Territory could not have been at that treaty. Many of the tribes in this Territory have had but little intercourse with the whites, and that has been with the traders, principally, who have universally cheated and defrauded them, by the enormous prices they have charged them for every article of trade. I have come to the conclusion, that it would be to the interest of the Indians, to license a good number of traders, as competition would enable them to trade on more advantageous terms.

The traders who lately visited the Utah tribes, at Uwinty reported the Indians very friendly, and much gratified that they had come among them. Throughout all their intercourse, the Indians manifested the greatest friendship, and expressed a desire that they would visit them frequently—that they would always meet a Kind reception.

Although I have heretofore expressed the opinion that it would be greatly to the interest of the Indians, to hold a treaty with the various tribes in this territory, I cannot refrain from again bringing the subject before the department. The unfriendly feelings which exist between many of the tribes and bands, has a tendency to keep up a continual excitement. If they could be brought together, peace and friendship would be established between them, which would enable them to visit each other, and by an interchange of the products of each tribe, it would tend greatly to better the condition of all. This treaty could be easily effected, as the Indians with whom I have conversed desire it very much. I have also heard from many others who would be pleased, could it take place.

You will find enclosed, an abstract, and an account current,³¹ for the Quarter ending on the 31st inst. which, with the report I had the honor of making to your Excellency on the 20th of November, will give a full account of all my transactions for the present year. . . .

31 Financial records of this sort were not kept in the Office of Indian Affairs files but were passed on to the auditors and the General Accounting Office.

1852

11

HENRY R. DAY, SUB-AGENT, TO LUKE LEA, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN
AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON
CITY, D. C., JANUARY 2, 1852³²

Sir.

I have the honour to report that agreeably to instructions from your Department I proceeded to the Territory of Utah and after a tedious trip arrived at the City of the Great Salt Lake on the 19th of July.

On the 21st I Officially reported myself to his Excellency Brigham Young, Governor, and Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for "Instructions, Location &c" as instructed by your Department.

After the elapse of a few days I received a note from the Governor³³ locating me in the 1st or "Parvan District, With Verbal instructions to remain in the City of Great Salt Lake until Spring before I permanently established my Agency.

The Tribes or Bands in my Agency are Composed of the Snake Diggers or Cum-em-bars Which are the Desert Indians, inhabiting Most of the Tooele, Yoab [Juab], and Sevier Vallies.

There is a tribe Known as Goships and Wan-Ships Band, Who inhabit the Northern part of this Districk, North from the Great Salt Lake towards the Weber Country, West of the Tooele's and East of the Shoshone or Snake Nation.³⁴

South are the Tin-pan-a-gos Who inhabit the Utah Valley, they are More Commonly Called the Tinpany or Lake Utes, and are divided into small Bands each having a Chief—Stick-in-the-head-Peteetneet and others are Known as Chiefs—

The Next are the San-Petes Who are South of the last Named Tribes roving through the Yoab and San-Pete Vallies, and thence South to the Sevier River,

32 D/1-1852. Day was the sub-agent who left his post in the fall of 1851 to return to the States with others of the territorial officials. The episode is briefly discussed in Morgan, "Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 385 [000 in this volume]. Five weeks after writing this letter Day resigned, asking that his resignation be accepted as of January 16, 1852.

33 Young to Day, July 21, 1851, (Enclosure "A" in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87-1851)). The information in the six paragraphs following Day derives from Young's letter to himself.

34 More precisely, Wanship's band had Salt Lake Valley as their home, and their range should be described as east of the Tooele Valley and west of the Shoshoni country. These Indians were a mixture of Ute and Shoshoni.

South of them are the Paroans, Which Nation extend to a Tribe Called the Piedes—³⁵

The Next and last Known Tribe Composing My District is a roving Band Who roam through the Whole of the Other Nations, and are Confined to No particular part of the Territory. they are Called Cho-Ver-ets, and Known as Walker's Band—

All the different tribes in this Territory Show Much deference to Walker, Connected With him or his Band are Arra-Pines,—Grose-Pines, Tab-ba and Some others, these Bands frequently rove high up in the Sevier River in search of Game, but are generally found in the Neighborhood of San-Pete and Utah Vallies.

I held several Councils or “talks” With some of the different Chiefs and Braves. and explained to them What their Great Father at Washington desired to do for them and What he expected of them, they expressed Much pleasure and satisfaction.

I Made Them several presents Which delighted them exceedingly, the Indians in this Territory are Mostly Very poor. Game being excessively scarce they are from Necessity, and to prevent Starvation Often impelled to Steal Cattle, Horses, Mules, &c. for food.

Some of the Tribes Inhabiting this district are find looking Men and apparently quite intelligent Indians, others of them, Viz— the Snake Diggers or Cum-em-bars, are Small in Stature, and filthy looking beings, they Subsist Mostly upon Roots, Crickets, Insects, &c. are extremely poor and Wild.

All these Tribes before mentioned acknowledge Walker as their War Chief and Sow-er-ette as their head Civil Chief, but the Majority of the Tribes, obey the Mandate or Council of their Civil Chief, Sow-er-ette, including Walker.

They all expressed a Willingness and desire to Cultivate the Soil, provided the Mormons Would not drive them off from their lands. In the latter part of September I sent out to the Snake or Shoshone Nation, and invited Cut-nose one of the Chiefs of that Nation to Come in and hold a Council or talk With Me, promising to protect him. My object was to Make peace between them and the Utah Tribes in my District, he came in with Others, and we held a “talk of several hours, I gave him some small presents, he expressed himself Much pleased to hear from their Great Father, and agreed to Meet Me a[t] Fort Bridger one hundred and thirteen Miles South East of Salt Lake City on the 1st of October.

I also sent Word to Sou-er-ette to Meet me there, With his Warriors, promising to protect him, accordingly I repaired to the Fort and they Met Me there as per Agreement.

35 These were principally Southern Paiute.

These Nations have been at War for Many years and there Seemed to be a deadly hatred between them, after a Council of Several hours during Which time recounted their alledged Causes of quarrel, I told them their Great Father wished them to be at Peace With all the different Nations of Indians. and With the Whites. and that they must Not Steal, Which after Smoking the Calumet of peace again, they all clasped hands and agreed to—The Indians Complained bitterly of the treatment they had received from the Morman Settlers, from the time they first entered the Territory up to the present, Such as driving them off of their lands. Stealing their Stock &c.

I can perhaps convey their Ideas better by giving you the language of the Old Chief Sou-er-ette, Who raising himself up to his full height said to Me, American—good! Morman—No good! American—friend—Morman—Kill—Steal—

The Chiefs Said they claimed all the lands upon which were settled the Mormans, and that they were driving them further every Year, Making use of their Soil and what little timber there was, and Expressed a Wish If their Great Father was so powerfull, that he Would Not permit the Mormans to drive them out of the Vallies into the Mountains where they Must Starve—

Some of these Tribe Cultivate the Soil, raise Indian Cor[n] &c.

About the 9th August Major Holeman Indian Agent arrived at Great Salt Lake City, and the Governor, after Some Consultation With him and Myself ordered us to attend the Treaty at Fort Laramie on the 1st of September, With a Delegation of Indians. I sent out Interpreter among those in My District to prevail upon the Chief to attend the Treaty, by the Governors orders purchased a Carriage &c. to Convey them down privately and in disguise, it being his Opinion and Instructions that they should be Conveyed in that Manner to prevent being attacked by Other Tribes—

Four only of the Different Bands Came in Gro-se-Pene, a Chief, Quon-di-ats son of Sou-er-ette, Tomey, sent by Walker, Sou-ette sent by Wanship— and Gro-se-Pene's Sister.—

The Governor thought they Could Not properly represent the different Tribes, and ordered me Not to Make the trip, but to purchase them a Suit of Cloths each Knvs, Tobacco &c. Which I did.

The reasons given me by Sou-er-ette, Walker and the Other Chiefs Why they did Not Come in and go down, was that they beleived it to [be] a trap set by the Mormans to Kill them, They seem to have but little Confidence in anything the Morman people say to them, and decidedly stand in Much fear of them and from all the Information I could gather not Without good Cause. I am decidedly of Opinion that a treaty held of all the different Tribes in the Territory Would be of incalculable benefit, and that a Delegation sent to Washington, and through the

State[s] Would add Much to give them an Idea of the Power of the Government, and have a Much greater tendency to Civilize these Indians than any other Course that Could be adopted. they have No Conception of the population and power of the United States,—

Christian Missions, other than Mormans, Would also do Much to advance these Indians towards Civilization. . . .

12

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, MARCH 29, 1852³⁶

Dr Sir— On the 28th of November last, I addressed you a letter, containing, in substance, what you will find in this. Believing it important that the department should be possessed of some of these facts, and understanding that there was a failure in the Mail of the 1st of December, I have concluded to write you again, as I have now a safe conveyance by private hands. In my letter above alluded to, I informed you, that I had made a report to his Excellency, Gov. Young, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in which I had given a statement of my accounts and transactions, generally—But owing to a difficulty which had occurred between the Governor, and Judge Brockus [Perry E. Brocchus] and other officers of Government, during my absence to Laramie, I did not think it prudent to touch on matters connected with the conduct of the Governor, and the Mormons in general, as it had to pass through the hands of the Governor. It was not, however, because I feared that any thing I stated, could or would be contradicted by the Governor—but because I apprehended, that if I said any thing which he did not like, in my report, that it would never reach you— The “*Gentiles*,” as we are all called, who do not belong to the Mormon Church, have no confidence in the management of the Post Office here,—it is believed by many that there is an examination of all letters, coming and going—in order that they may ascertain what is said of them, and by whom it is said. This opinion is so strong, that all communications touching their character and conduct, are either sent to Bridger or Laramie, there to be mailed. I send this communication, by a friend to St. Joseph, Mo. there to be mailed for the City of Washington

36 H/79–1852. The hostility that recurrently developed in the Utah Superintendency between the Mormon and non-Mormon officers is illuminatingly reflected in this letter. Young’s side emerges in some of the later documents in this series. The problem is discussed in larger perspective in Morgan, “Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah.”

I alluded, in my report, to the necessity of adopting such measures, by the General Government, as will protect the rights of the Indians in this Territory—they are becoming very much excited by the encroachments of the Mormons, who are making settlements, throughout the Territory, on all the most valuable lands—extending these settlements for three hundred miles South, from this City—and north to Marys River, and Carson Valley. In the first settlement of this city, and the adjoining country, by the Mormons, they at first, conciliated the Indians by kind treatment, but when they once got foothold, they began to force their way—the consequence was, a war with the Indians, and in many instances, a most brutal butchery, of the Indians. This, they fear, will again be the result, wherever the Mormons may make a settlement. The Indians having been driven from their lands, and their hunting grounds destroyed without any compensation therefore, they are in many instances reduced to a state of suffering bordering on starvation. In this situation, some of the most daring and desperate approach the settlements, and demand some remuneration or compensation for their lands, &c. when, upon the slightest pretexts, they are shot down or driven to the Mountains. These scenes frequently occur—but the other day, an Indian was found dead in the vicinity of the City, shot through the body.

You will no doubt be informed by Judge Brockus, Secretary [Broughton D.] Harris and others, officers who have returned from this city, to the States, of the conduct and character of Gov. Young, his treatment to them, &c. I was not here at the time—on my arrival in the City, from Laramie, I found the Governor absent on an expedition to the Indians, some 150 Miles distant— He had taken with him, Sub-agent, S. B. Rose, who is a Mormon, with several hundred dollars worth of Indian goods, as presents, for the purpose, no doubt, of conciliating the Indians and getting permission to extend his settlements—thus making use of his office, as Superintendent, and the money of the Government, to promote the interest of his church—therefore, it seems to me, that no Mormon, should, officially, have any thing to do with the Indians.

From what I can learn here, there is no doubt, but every effort will be made by the Mormons, to prevent the Government from peaceably extending her laws over the Territory. Since the departure of the Judges and other officers, they have levied additional taxes on all classes, of ten cents on the dollars worth, of all description and kind of property. This, it is thought, is for the purpose of preparing for resistance. It is said, upon good authority, that there is an effort being made, to form an alliance with the Indians, to resist the Government, should it be determined to force authority in the territory—and from all the circumstances, and information I can gather, something of the kind may be in agitation— It would not surprise me in the least, as many of

the Utah tribe have been Baptised in their church,—and feasted upon all occasions, and treated in the kindest manner. Sub agent Rose, has just returned from another Southern tour, and the Governor will leave again, in a few days—neither have spoken to me on the subject, nor do they let me know any thing of their actings or doings.

I think it would be advisable to hold a treaty with the Indians as soon as possible—they are generally friendly disposed to the whites—a deputation of some of their principal men, to visit the states would have a very good effect—they know nothing of the power of the Government, or the number and manner of living or our people.

I have just been informed, that the Snake and Utah tribes, who have been at war with each other, have assembled for the purpose of settling their differences— they are now in council. I suggested this course to both tribes, and have no doubt but it will result in an adjustment of their difficulties— It will set an example to the other tribes, and will ultimately, I have no doubt, produce a very good effect. This is the band of the Snakes who visited Laramie—they are very friendly to the whites, and have great respect for their Great Father— The Indians are very much scattered over this Territory— The tribes are split up into small bands, ruled by some favorite chief—some of them are very small— The Tribe of Shoshonies, or Snakes is very large, and being divided into many bands they occupy a large portion of the Territory, but are all on friendly terms with each other. They have nothing like a settled residence, but roam the country from the head waters of the Platt, near the South Pass, to St Mary's river, including a portion of the Territory of Oregon. There are two bands of Utah's, of considerable size—one residing South of this city, and are very friendly towards the Whites—the other who are called "Diggers," reside north, and range over a portion of country lying between this and California—they are said to be a tribe formed by the poorer classes of the Utah's, the Snake's, the Pa-nacks, the Crows, and the Flat-heads.³⁷ They have, heretofore, been considered as the most worthless and trifling Indians in the Territory— subsisting on roots, principally, from which they take the name of Diggers. It is said they eat any thing that has life in it, from a cricket to a Buffalo. It is principally in their country, that the robberies and murders which have occurred during the past season have been committed. Many are of the opinion, that they have been encouraged and assisted by white men. And judging of their past character, and their bold and daring conduct now, it would seem that there is strong grounds for the opinion. There are many bands of the various tribes above named, of a more elevated character, who pursue the chase for a living, and travel the country in search of game, from the Platt

37 This is fantastic misinformation about the western Shoshoni, who assuredly had no large admixture of Crow or Flathead blood.

river to California, and from this city to Oregon. I visited a village of the Snakes³⁸ about 80 miles north of this city, in January last—it was reported here, that they had information of two white women, who were said to be held as prisoners by a band of the “White Knives”—all the information I could gather, seemed to justify the belief that they had been killed by the Indians. The name of *White Knife*, has been given to these Indians who have been committing the robberies on the California and Oregon Routes, in consequence, they say, of white men being connected with them and their being to completely armed with almost every description of weapon. The Indians I visited, professed great friendship for the Whites, and seemed disposed to enter into any arrangement with the government which would have a tendency to secure, permanently, this friendship. I have met with many of the Utah tribe, who reside south and south east of this city—they are also friendly, and are anxious to make such arrangements, by treaty or otherwise, as will establish on a firm footing, their friendly relations with the whites.

I have suggested, in my previous letters, the necessity of doing something to protect the route between this and California and Oregon—the Indians have been very troublesome during the last year—robberies and murders, of the most brutal character, occur with almost every train. The November mail from California has been cut off—all killed by the Indians near Mary’s River; the mail contractor, Mr. Woodward among them, and the mail destroyed.³⁹ The February mail, from the same place, arrived here on the 26th inst. after much suffering—all their mules and horses were frozen to death—the men were compelled to lay by 18 days in a snow storm, and travelled 13 days on foot, packing the mail on their backs, with nothing to eat but mule meat, and 4 days without any thing—they accidentally met a band of the Snake Indians, who fed them, and brought them into the settlements. Something should be done by the Government, to aid this mail route. The December and January mails could not pass the mountains, and returned.

It is not, perhaps, any portion of my duty, yet it may not be amiss to give you some account of the persecution and tyranny of the Mormons towards the Gentiles, as all are called, who do not belong to the Mormon Church. They have levied a very exorbitant tax on all emigrants who have been compelled to

38 Various references occur in the reports of the Utah Superintendency to Shoshoni in the near vicinity of the Mormon settlements, and to others who frequented the Snake country near Fort Hall and the headwaters of Goose Creek on the California Trail. As it is clear that these have nothing to do with the Wyoming Shoshoni, and as inclusion of these reports would swell this study to unmanageable proportions, only incidental references to them are here published.

39 See LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849–1869* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1926[; NEW YORK: AMS PRESS, 1969]), 63–64. [Earl Spendlove, “Goshute Revenge,” *Golden West* 5 (1968–69), 24–27, 50–52. —Ed.]

winter in this valley—they collected this tax last fall; and now, when these emigrants are preparing to leave for California and Oregon, they tax them again. The Legislature has passed a law giving licenses to men belonging to their church, to establish ferries, and build bridges over all the streams over which emigration will have to pass, and regulated the toll at \$3 for each wagon, and 50 cts for each head of loose cattle—while the citizens of the valley, or members of the church, are exempted from this tax, or toll—one half of which, is to be paid into the tithing office, for the benefit of the church.⁴⁰ Some of the emigrants, who from the lateness of the season when they arrived here, were compelled to remain during the winter—being good mechanicks, they were employed by some of the heads of the Church; to labor on their buildings and public works; and wishing to leave this spring, have been turned off without pay, or any satisfaction—they refused even to give their notes—among these men, is Willard Richards, who keeps a harem of some dozen or fifteen women, to all of whom he is wedded.⁴¹ He is acting Secretary of State, and Post Master of the City. Every description of tyranny that they can invent, is made us of, to persecute the emigrants. They issue from the tithing office a kind of Scrip, as evidence of the indebtedness of the church, for labor or services performed by individuals—this scrip forms a kind of circulating medium, and is received from the members, in payment of their taxes and tithing; but when it falls into the hands of a gentile, it will not be received from him for his taxes, and he is forced to pay the cash—All he can do with it, is to receive such articles of trade, as they may choose to give him, at from 1 to 400 per cent above the valley prices, for the same article.

They are in the habit of drilling the Militia weekly—The commanding officer, in impressing upon them the importance of punctually attending these drills, has been heard to say, “that they were in the habit of drilling punctually, while in Navoo, when they had but one state to oppose them, but now they have the whole United States, they should be properly drilled and equipped.” Others say, “they do not fear the United States—they have neither respect for her, or her citizens; and should they want assistance to defend themselves against the Government, they can easily get it from England.” They have their missionaries travelling all over the world, almost, collecting men and contributions, to give greater strength to their church—they calculate upon a large emigration this season, to reinforce their ranks; and are using every effort to prevent their people from leaving the valley—Many have made preparations for emigrating to California, but Brigham has put his veto against it, and in a great measure, has put a stop to it.

40 To this topic we will return in connection with the events of 1854 and later.

41 The report about Willard Richards was newsworthy, in view of the fact that the Church did not formally avow the practice of plural marriage until August, 1852, but as usual the number of wives was grossly exaggerated by rumor.

I could give you thousands of circumstances, tending to show their deadly hostility to the Government, and their determination to resist her authority, in all matters which conflict with their notions, and church regulations—They say, that “*God and the Governor Commands,*” and they obey no one else.

I mentioned in my previous letters, the difficulty attending the route, from this city to California—the main route from the states to California and Oregon, passes to the north of this, and intercepts the road from here, at or near the Goose Creek Mountains, about 175 miles from this place. It is then about 130 miles to the head of Humbolt river, where the road strikes it—thence down the river, to the Canyon is about 60 miles—Making, from this to the Canyon, about 365 miles. It is the opinion of the best informed, with whom I have conversed, that a post, or agency established, at or near this Canyon, would afford the best protection to this route. The distance from this Canyon to Reese’s Station in Carson Valley,⁴² is about 360 miles—this station is in Utah Territory, near the California line and is about 180 miles from Sacramento City. There is a settlement about this Station of about 80 persons, and extends in the direction to this city for near 40 miles. Should I receive no instructions to the contrary, I have concluded to visit this section of the Territory—and should I find it advantageous to the interest of the Government and the Indians, I shall make arrangements to establish an Agency, at some point which will be the best calculated to give the greatest amount of protection, and at the same time be most convenient for operations with the Indians, As the emigration will be leaving this valley about the 30th of April,⁴³ I have concluded to leave this city with them. I shall write you again before I leave, and shall advise you from time to time, of my operations, and prospects of quieting the Indians, and the state of the country generally.

I fear you will think me extravagant in the expenditure of money, but I assure you, things are quite different here from what they are in the States—every thing is from 2 to five hundred per cent higher than they are there. Consequently, our living, though much more common, is quite dear. All my expenditures have been as economical as possible—particularly my trip to Laramie. It was the first attempt that had been made by Government to establish friendly relations with the Indians in this Territory, and I thought that a few dollars was a matter of no importance, when compared with the effect which would be produced upon their feelings, by showing them that their Great Father as well as the Whites generally, would be good to them if they would treat the White with kindness. They returned to their

42 The celebrated Mormon Station at present Genoa, Nevada, established by John Reese in 1850 as the first trading post in Carson Valley.

43 Holeman refers to that part of the immigration of 1851 which had wintered in the Mormon settlements, together with such members of the Mormon community as had business in or were moving to California. Normally the overland immigrants did not arrive from the Missouri River before June.

village so much pleased with the trip, and the evidences of friendship they received, that they are using all their influence with the other tribes, not only to make peace between themselves, but to establish peace and friendship with the Whites.

It may be prudent, perhaps, to keep my name secret, in relation to these statements—if it was known here, that I had made such a communication, there is no telling what would be the result. I have heard them boldly assert, that if Brigham was to tell them to cut any man's throat, they would do it without hesitation. I make these remarks to let you know my situation—I do not fear a contradiction—use your judgment on the subject. . . .

13

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO LUKE LEA,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, MARCH 30, 1852 (EXTRACT)⁴⁴

Major Holeman's report for this quarter, having been received subsequent to the foregoing writing and just previous to the closing of this mail, is the reason of its not being mentioned therein. It is however transmitted herewith (marked B) together with the usual endorsement which is enclosed in this package. I will merely observe than an agency establishment in the Uinta valley would accommodate the Indians of that region known as the Uinta and Yampah Utes, and the Snakes or more properly Shoshone Indians in this Territory and being supported by a settlement will have a tendency to harmonize any ill feeling that may have heretofore existed among them. . . .

14

STEPHEN B. ROSE, SUB-AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, MARCH 31, 1852

Sir

I have the honor of Submitting the following to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs through Your Excellency. I received a communication from your Hon on

44 This letter (U/4-1852) is voluminously concerned with Indian affairs in general; only the postscript is here printed. With his own letter Young enclosed the quarterly reports of Rose and Holeman transmitted through his office, these are our Documents 15 and 16.

the 10th of Jan mentioning that a difficulty had been reported to you as haveing occurred between the Snake Indians and the Citirens of Box Elder⁴⁵ and wish- ing me to procede there immediately and investigate the matter which request I complied with an am happy to inform you that all is amicably settled On my return I learned that the Indian children found in the possession of the Spaniards had been returned to the Indian Department and agreeable to your order I have provided them with good comfortable homes where they are well treated and seem happy they were in a most deplorable condition and I was compelled to get some clothing and give them to keep them from perishing⁴⁶ On the 16th of Feb I found a company of men starting for Uwinta Valley and haveing received a note from you last fall wishing me to procede there and ascertain the situa- tion of the Indians in that Part of the Territory and not haveing had an oppor- tunity before in consequence of having been occupied on other duties I thought it a good opportunity to visit the Valley. but upon my arrival there I found the Indians had all gone to the Buffalo country and therefore cannot give you any account of them. I would suggest the propriety of calling the attention of the Department to a number of French Canadian Traders settled upon Green River and in the neighborhood of Fort Bridger who are constantly trading with the Indians although they have been notified to the contrary they have had a num- ber of the different Tribes together this winter and made a number of speaches to them endeavouring to prejudice them against the peacefull inhabitants of this Valley Accompanying this report you will find a schedule containing an account of the expenditures of the quarter ending this day. . . .

15

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, MARCH 30, 1852

Sir,

Since my report, made to your Excellency, on the 31st of December last, there has nothing occurred of importance in my department.

Agreeable to your instructions, in January last, in company with Sub-Agent S. B. Rose, visited the Indians north, as far as Box Elder [east of the north end of

45 Present Brigham City.

46 The reference is to New Mexican slave traders, to the Utah operations of whom Brigham Young put a stop. [Cf. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 473-76. —Ed.]

the Great Salt Lake]. We found them friendly disposed towards the whites, and in the General, on friendly terms—there had been previously, some little disturbance, but all had quietted down. The information we had received of their having a considerable quantity of American Gold, we found to be true—we made every effort to ascertain in what manner they came in possession of it. One, who had several pieces, stated, that he had received it two or three years ago, in a horse trade, from an emigrant—others accounted for having the Gold in various ways, but to my mind, not satisfactory. A great portion of this band, was absent on a hunting expedition—we could not see their chief, nor could we get any information which seemed of a character to be relied on. Whether these Indians have participated in the roberies on the California route, or not, is extremely doubtful—I thought some circumstances looked rather suspicious—Yet they professed friendship towards the Whites, and many of them had given such evidences of their friendship, as to induce the citizens there, to believe they were sincere. We made every effort to ascertain the true situation of the white females, who were said to be held as prisoners, by a band of Indians in that neighborhood. So far as we could learn, from Whites and Indians, no prisoners had been in that neighborhood. We learned, however, from the Indians, that a band of the “white Knives,” as they are called, residing perhaps in Oregon, had sometime previous, two white women as prisoners, but for some cause, which they could not explain, they had killed them both. We, however, could get no information except from the Indians—and not being acquainted with the character and conduct of these Indians, I placed but little reliance in any thing they said. I gave them a few presents, which pleased them very much and they promised a great deal in future.

I met with a deputation of the Utah Tribe, from Uwinty Valley, at Fort Bridger, in December last, as I previously informed you—they had been sent by the chief of the band, with overtures of friendship, and requested that I would send some traders to visit their village. I selected a competent man, who was acquainted with them, and who spoke their language, to accompany the traders, with a few presents to their chief men. He has just returned, and reports very favourably of the kind feelings of these Indians. In accordance with my request, they have determined to meet the Snakes, in a council, for the purpose of establishing a treaty of peace and friendship between the tribes—and are now engaged in that laudable object. From the assurances given me, both by the Utes and Snakes, I hope, and believe, that they will succeed—and that they will make a treaty, which will place their friendly relations upon a much more lasting foundation than they have ever been heretofore. I enclose you my report for the quarter ending 31st inst. . . .

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
 GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, APRIL 29, 1852⁴⁷

Sir—I have advised you, in my previous communications, of the difficulty and danger to emigrants who travel the Oregon and California route—and of the necessity of doing something for their protection. I also informed you, that if not instructed otherwise, I should visit that section of the Territory, and endeavor to make such arrangements with these Indians as would insure safety to emigration in future. I have had several conversations with the Superintendent upon this subject, without coming to any determination or receiving from him any particular instructions. For the purpose, therefore, of bringing the matter to a close, and that there should be action upon the subject, I address to him the enclosed letter. He left this city on the 23d inst. on a southern tour, to be absent several months, without giving me any instructions, or even acknowledging the receipt of my letter. He has been in an ill humor with me, since the receipt of your annual report, in which is a letter I address you from Fort Laramie, and in which I speak of the excitement of the Indians on account of the whites settling their lands—and more particularly against the Mormons. In order to justify myself for the statements made in that letter, I have thought it advisable to give you my authority, as I have been threatened with denunciation and a contradiction of all matters concerning the Mormons.

Mr. James Bridger, who was the Interpreter of the Snake Indians at the Treaty of Laramie, and who is very favorably noticed in the Communication of Col. D. D. Mitchell, informed me, that the Utah Indians, residing in Uwinty valley, had frequently expressed their dissatisfaction in the strongest terms, against the Mormons making settlements on their lands; that they had understood they intended to do so—and were anxious to know what they should do, or if they had the right to prevent it. This was stated to me, in such a manner, that I could not hesitate to believe it. In addition to this, Mr. Barney Ward,⁴⁸ a Mormon, who was the interpreter of Sub-agent S. B. Rose, in conversation, frequently stated

47 H/89–1852. Enclosed with the letter is a copy of Holeman’s letter to Young, dated Great Salt Lake City, April 19, 1852. It is sufficiently summarized for our purposes in Holeman’s letter to Lea.

48 Elijah “Barney” Ward has a certain celebrity status in history as the only mountain man permanently converted to Mormonism. A brief biography appears in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia . . .*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: A. Jenson History Company, 1901–36), 3: 552–54.

that the Mormons intended to make a settlement in Uwinty Valley, and that he was going to reside there as an Indian trader. With this information, believing that if the settlement was attempted, that it would cause an outbreak, and another "Indian war," for which Government would be called upon to defray the expenses, I made the statement in my communication from Laramie—not however, for the purpose of producing unkind feeling towards the Mormons, but to impress upon the department the necessity of adopting such measures, as would place both the whites and the Indians in a position to understand their rights and privileges, and thereby prevent further disturbances among them; as there had been, as I conceived, great injustice done the Indians already. I subsequently met a deputation of the Uwinty Utes, sent by their chief Soweates, who confirmed the information I had before received and expressed their decided disapprobation to any settlement being made on their lands by the whites, and more particularly by the Mormons. This same deputation was directed by their chief, to request, that I would send them some traders, towards whom and the government they pledged friendship in the strongest terms. I sent them two different companies of traders, one from Fort Bridger, who they treated with great kindness and respect—the others went from this city—upon learning they were from the Mormon city, the Indians immediately demanded to know if they were Mormons—and although one was a Mormon they were compelled to deny it,—such was the feelings of hostility expressed towards the Mormons, that if they had been known to be so, they would have been driven from the village. The Shoshonies or Snakes, were equally opposed, and expressed their disapprobation to the Mormons settling on their lands, in the strongest terms.

I thought I was in the discharge of my duty, in giving to the department this information, as I conceived it of some importance. The Indians in this Territory, have, in the general, been badly treated—upon some occasions, so much so, as to produce resistance. Then, upon the most trivial occasion, would follow, as the Mormons call it, an "Indian War"—and being better armed and equipped than the Indians, a most brutal butchery would follow. For all these services, in all these "Indian Wars," I understand, that there is a petition presented or will be presented to Congress, for the Government to pay the Bill. Before they do so, however, I hope they will enquire into particulars—as these people seem more inclined to fleece the Government of her money, than to render her any important service or friendship. I have thought it to be my duty to inform the department of all matters calculated to produce excitement or dissatisfaction among the Indians. With this view, I have made you the several communications, relative to matters and things here—I shall continue to do so as circumstances may occur. And while I confine my statements to facts, I feel confident I shall be sustained by the department.

I shall, in accordance with my previous advices to the department, leave in a few days for the Humbolt, where, if I find it necessary, I shall establish an agency, as it is no doubt, the most important point on the route. If it should be necessary, and any good can be effected, I will extend my trip as far as Carson Valley, near the line between this Territory and California. If I should not succeed in establishing friendly relations with these Indians, I shall, on my return, have it in my power to give the department such information, as will enable them to act more advisedly in future. At present but little is known, except, that they are murdering and plundering every train that passes the road. As the Treaty of Laramie has given security to emigration, from the States to the country occupied by these Indians, an arrangement with them will open a general highway through all the country, from Missouri to California, and give security to the numerous and increasing emigration which is annually passing to California and Oregon, and which at present is attended with so much danger and loss of life and property. The Indians in this section have had but little intercourse with the Whites, and what they have had, has rather tended to excite them against the Whites, than to create friendship or respect. The first were a set of traders and trappers, &c whose practice was to cheat them out of what little they possessed, or take it by force when able to do so—the Second was the Mormons, who forcibly took possession of their country, drove off their game, and killed many of the Indians—the last was the emigration, who often committed deprivations on those who were inclined to be friendly, through the mistaken idea that all Indians were treacherous—and by this means frequently caused the innocent to suffer. Such transactions, has, in a great measure, brought about the present condition of things here. Many of the tribes, however, are becoming friendly, and by a prudent and humane course which has characterised all the acts of the government in regard to this unfortunate race, I hope the balance may be reconciled, and the country and the highways be relieved of the distressing scenes, which so often occur.

I mentioned to you in my last communication, that the November mail from California to this place, had been cut off by the Indians, and the contents destroyed. The remains of Mr. Woodward, the contractor, has since been found, some forty miles beyond the settlements in this valley. We have received information, from the Indians, near Fort Hall, that he and his escort, five in number, were attacked by this marauding band of Indians on the Humbolt, and that four was killed—the fifth, Woodward, made his escape. it is supposed that he must have been wounded, and died from exhaustion, as his watch and many valuable papers were found near the remains of his body, which was almost entirely destroyed by wild beast—it was identified, however, by his clothing, watch, papers, &c.

The Snake Indians, who attended the treaty at Laramie returned well pleased with their reception and treatment—they are very friendly with all who pass

through their country, giving them every assistance in their power, and pledging a continuance of their friendship; on account, as they say, of the kindness of their Great Father to them. This feeling is diffusing itself throughout many of the other tribes and bands, who regret that they had not been there also. In fact, I believe, that there is but one tribe in the Territory who are disposed to molest the emigration, and that is the tribe, I contemplate visiting. I shall be compelled to incur some expense, but shall be as economical as possible. I shall have to hire some ten or fifteen men, an Interpreter &c. to accompany me, and shall make all other arrangements, as far as possible, subject to your advice and instruction, which I shall expect on my return

I regret that I have not been able to receive positive instructions in relation to my duties, and more particularly in regard to expenditures, and the particular kind of expenditures. I fear that I have already gone too far—all I can say on this subject, is, that in attending the Snake Indians to the Treaty at Laramie, although somewhat expensive, it has done much good, and will have a very happy effect upon our Indian operations in future. One thing, however, is certain—all operations with the Indians cost money, perhaps more in this Territory, than many other places. I have therefore, thought it better to incur a little expense, for purposes, which I deemed of importance to the Indians and to the Government, than to wait for instructions so distant and difficult to obtain. Besides, I can see no use in my remaining idle, when there is important work to perform—particularly as it will have to be done, at some time, and perhaps at a much greater expense.

Will you be so kind, as to say to me, on the receipt of this, what will be the proper allowance to these men, who accompany me, either as their per diem or monthly pay. I fear you will consider me somewhat *pestiferous*—but you must recollect that I have had no instructions by which I could form a correct opinion of the extent of my powers and duties, or the particular wishes of the Government. I was directed to report to the Governor, which duty I performed without delay—He having no instructions, as he informed me, I was left to act upon your verbal instructions, to take such steps as in my judgement would best conduce to the interest of the Indians and the Government. I have endeavored so to act, and hope my conduct may meet the approbation of the department, and that I may hear from you by the return mail.

I received a communication by the last mail, informing me, that in consequence of my having failed to render my accounts up to the 30th of September last, I had been reported to the President. I regret that it was not in my power to make my report at the time alluded to—I had been in attendance at the treaty of Laramie, with the Snake Indians, where I was detained much longer than I had anticipated, when I left this city—not doubting, when I left, but that I should return before the time specified for making my report, I did not take with me,

many papers, necessary to enable me to do so. In addition to this—my horses failed, on my return, to such an extent, as to prevent my travelling at the usual speed—I had to wait on them or to leave them—I thought it more prudent to sacrifice my personal comfort, than to leave my animals which would have been a total loss to the Government, and did not reach this city until the 26th of October, too late to make a report. I however forwarded my accounts by the November mail, which I have no doubt you have received, ere this, and which I hope may be satisfactory to the department. . . .

P. S. May 1st. Not receiving any communication from you, and being left to act from my own judgment, I shall proceed to equip ten men, with an Interpreter, and two friendly Indians, and proceed immediately to the Humbolt. It is reported here, that these marauding Indians in that section, have been making great preparations for these operations on the emigrants; and as there is nothing else, of an importance, for me to do at present, it seems to me, that my duty prompts me to this course. I shall use every effort in my power, peaceably, to quiet the Indians on this route, and to get all the information possible, concerning them, their habits, disposition &c. and the prospects of doing any thing with them in future. I shall use economy and discretion in all matters, and report the result to the department, on my return. If I find it necessary to go as far as Carson Valley, I may be detained some two or three months. It is unnecessary to take this trip, unless a thorough investigation is made of all matters which may be of interest to the Government or to the Indians, so as to enable the department to act more advisedly in future. It is very necessary that something should be done, and as speedily as possible, as the longer it is delayed, the more difficult, and expensive it will be to the Government. I shall be compelled to draw on the department for funds, to defray expenses. I shall also take with me a few articles, to be used as presents, if I can dispose of them, to advantage an effect. The April mail from the States has just arrived. . . .

17

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO LUKE LEA,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, MAY 28, 1852⁴⁹

Sir, Your two letters of January 28th and February 20th were received per last mail, which arrived during my absence on a tour south, being *only* about two and a half months since the date of the last written; another month before

49 U/8-1852.

a reply can be started, and the same time allowed to reach Washington making in all, to write and receive an answer, six months! This shows how we are blest with mail facilities.

I do not know that you ever received my first report dated 13 September 1851, as I have received no acknowledgement of its reception. I observe that the only paper which has found its way into the annual report, from Utah, is Major Holeman's, written at Fort Laramie and dated September 22, 1851. This is also attributable it is presumed to deficient postal arrangements. I wish to correct some erroneous statements made in that report, of the truth of which at that time Major Holeman might either through misconception or misinformation entertain an honest belief. I allude to the following paragraphs. "I find much excitement among the Indians in consequence of the whites settling and taking possession of their country, driving off and killing their game, and in some instances driving off the Indians themselves" "the greatest complaint on this score is against the Mormons; they seem not to be satisfied with taking possession of the valley of the Great Salt Lake, but are making arrangements to settle other, and principally the rich valleys and best lands in the Territory. "This creates much dissatisfaction among the Indians; excites them to acts of revenge; they attack emigrants, plunder and commit murder whenever they find a party weak enough to enable them to do so, thereby making the *innocent* suffer for *injuries* done by *others*. I find also another class of individuals, a mixture of all nations, and although less powerful in numbers *equally injurious* to the country and the Indians. These are a set of traders called here Freemen," &c again, "I am informed that they have induced Indians to drive off the Stock of emigrants, so as to force them to purchase of the "Freemen" at exorbitant prices and after the emigrants have left, make a pretended purchase of the indians for a mere trifle, and are ready to sell again to the next train that may pass, and who may have been served in the same manner" "These scenes are transacted so far from the officers of the law, and by a set of men who are somewhat lawless that it will require extreme measures and some force to relieve the country of them."

With the exception of a few, perhaps fifteen or twenty white men at Fort Bridger and vicinity, who make no improvements nor raise grain, no settlement has been made or attempted upon the Shoshonees or Uinta Utes land. Some twenty years ago the Shoshonees claimed a small tract at the mouth of Weber upon which there is now a settlement,⁵⁰ but abandoned it as the Buffalo receded, and it has since been held by the Cumembahs or Snake Diggers who united by marriage with a broken off band of Shoshonees which the Shoshone Indians do not claim as at all belonging to their nation.

50 Then called East Weber, now Uintah, at the mouth of Weber Canyon.

At the time Major Holeman made the above statements he had never seen an Indian upon whose land the whites who make improvements and cultivate the earth had settled, and no Indians have ever been driven off these lands that I have ever heard of. The Shoshonees and Uintas, to whom I more particularly allude being the only ones in the Territory with whom the Major had at that time had any knowledge of, or intercourse with, have at various times solicited settlements to be made in their respective lands in order that they might be benefited in the articles of clothing provisions, as the game spoken of affords even in the most retired and secluded places, but a very precarious dependence for subsistence. The only dissatisfaction that I have even been able to learn as existing among them, was in consequence of no such settlements being made as they desired although they have been told that they will be accommodated in this thing as soon as circumstances will permit. Many upon whose lands settlements have been made have gone to work and bid fair to become quite useful in their new avocation. There seems to be a mistaken idea in relation to the Shoshone Indians committing depredations, murders, &c upon emigrants. It has been and is the universal practice of emigrants upon reaching the country of these Indians, to relax their vigilance and usually dispense with their guard. This feeling of safety and sense of security is induced from the known friendly disposition of the Shoshonees in whose country the weary traveler can repose in safety, and the emigrant pass with impunity. As long as my acquaintance with them has existed, this is the first time that I have heard of such charges coming against them. The Uinta Utes and also all others in this Territory live south of all the travel to Oregon, California, or this place, and being at enmity with the Cheyennes and Shoshonees never extend their travels as far north as the line of travel, consequently could not, were they so disposed, trouble the emigrants; unless they should take the southern route from this place, which in the emigrating season is seldom done. Of these facts and especially the peaceable disposition of the Shoshonees the traveling public should be advised, that their minds might be disabused of prejudice against them; not so much to relax their vigilance, as to refrain from the wanton and murderous practice of shooting them, whenever they show their heads; a practice too often indulged in, by those travelers, who apparently bereft of every sensibility of feeling, consider and treat all Indians as enemies.

Whether the settlements are or have been detrimental to the "country" the "Indians" or the traveler, let those answer who are acquainted, a few items like the following. Have they received any benefit by finding in the valleys of the mountains, a resting place where they could recruit themselves and animals in peace and safety while on their toilsome march across the plains and mountains?—Is it any benefit to have a civilized society and an abundance of supplies of every kind of provision and grain furnished midway of the journey where its

absence leaves nothing but a dreary waste and arid desert, involving starvation or inevitable destruction to the belated traveler in the interminable snows of the mountains? Would not Captain (Indian) Walker otherwise most likely extend his exploits, in seriously annoying the traveling public? Are not the Indians better fed, better clothes, and more peaceably disposed towards the whites than before their settlement among them? An affirmative reply must be made to all these queries, by any person who is at all acquainted with the circumstances, and disposed to speak the truth.

In relation to the "Freemen" of Green River I will only say that usually emigrants upon arrival at that point very frequently find their stock so much reduced by hardships that they are often very glad of an opportunity of exchanging for fresh animals at almost any rate that may be asked, thus furnishing an opportunity to those who have stock, an abundant source of profit without stealing themselves, or inducing the Indians to steal for them. Having long followed this practice of trading with the emigrants many of them are very well supplied with good stock which readily recruits when turned upon the rich pasturage of that region.⁵¹

It is not safe to trust too far the savage Indians notwithstanding all their professions of friendship. Hence the impropriety of extending settlements faster than can be maintained; for our experience proves to us that although the whites, at their most earnest solicitation, may locate upon their lands with every assurance of safety and protection for themselves and property, yet when coming into daily contact with them, and stock begins to fill the range, their indolent and predatory habits lead them to incur the *risk* of satisfying their wants. They also sometimes become saucy and offensive to females who are left without sufficient protection, but in most cases if their wants for food, and clothing are supplied, but little difficulty occurs. We have had some serious difficulties at various times with them, but it has been caused usually through these sources, as the people have been unable to furnish them with all they wanted; their *involuntary contributions* become too *burdensome* and when withheld exasperation ensued. But chastisement when so richly deserved has had a most salutary effect, and in all instances with the exception of some Cumembahs; the hostile belligerents have come to terms and subsequently lived in peace with seemingly a better understanding than before.

These Cumembahs inhabiting principally the central part of this Territory extending north and south and westerly from the settlements and bordering upon the Desert as related in my former report of Sept 13/51 have as yet never

51 As Brigham Young was later to have trouble enough with the mountain men living in Green River Valley, and for three years had regarded doubtfully the influence exerted by Jim Bridger against the Mormons, these remarks are interestingly dispassionate.

come under the influence of a settlement of whites; but in Tooele and other places made such inroads upon the settlements, which altho' in their vicinity were yet upon other Indian's lands, as to compel the citizens in order to ensure their own safety to repel them and seek to break up their haunts by force. These are the Indians that so infest Mary's river. It was supposed that some Panaks and Shoshonees attracted thither by their success in plunder had joined them; but a small representation from those tribes inhabiting in the vicinity of Fort Hall with whom I conversed a few days since, strenuously deny that either of their tribes or any part of them have ever gone there, and they seemed totally ignorant of the fact if any such existed; although they admitted that they had heard rumours of emigrants being robbed and killed upon that river.

Availing myself of the protection afforded in the emigration to California I intended to send out an expedition to treat with the Indians on Mary's river this season, and had prepared instructions accordingly to Major Holeman. At this time the copy of his report herein alluded to having arrived, I improved an early opportunity of calling upon him, hoping that his longer residence in the Territory and more extended acquaintance had served to correct the views which he had so erroneously entertained and expressed. I sincerely regret to say that he still adhered so strenuously to them as to induce the belief that he was at least indifferent to the interests of the community, by so manifestly endeavoring to prejudice the mind of the Government against them. He however promised to look over the matter and if he saw anything to retract that he would take great pleasure in doing so. But as he has failed to do it, I declined giving him any instructions as was designed. And he during my absence with an escort of twenty five or thirty men employed at the expence of the Government, as I understand, has gone, intending to visit Carson Valley before his return. It is to be hoped that the enterprise will prove beneficial. I shall now await the result of his enterprise before acting in the premises.

It cannot be expected much will be done towards establishing farms and other improvements for the Indians unless some appropriations are made for that purpose.

Having just returned from my tour to the southern portion of the Territory, and not having time previous to the departure of this mail to make all the statements required in your letter, must crave the indulgence of another mail, when the required information will accompany the quarterly report ending 30 of June. If it is usual to furnish superintendencies with blanks they would be very gratefully received. . . .

18

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO LUKE LEA,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1852⁵²

Sir, Herewith is transmitted my report ending this 3 quarter of the present year, together with Major Holeman and Rose reports. I will briefly remark, that all is peace among the native tribes in this Superintendency, even on Mary's river. We learn of no depredations of importance; this however is the usual result during the heavy emigration; whether they will again commence when that has passed, and small companies again tempt their rapacity time will develop. It is to be hoped that all parties traveling in that direction will give them no opportunity.

On the 6th day of August Ultimo, there arrived in this city six of the Shoshones as messengers from the tribe to make inquiry in relation to trade, and ascertain if possibly peace might be made with Wa-chor and the Utahs. This being a desirable object to accomplish, I made the messenger some presents, and informed them that I would send for the Utahs to meet them, if they would come and endeavor to accomplish the object which they seemed so ardently to desire. Accordingly on the 3rd day of September after many fruitless efforts on our part to procure the Utahs, who appeared very wary, and inclined to try the patience of the Shoshones to the uttermost, they were brought together, the Shoshones having been in waiting some two or three weeks. There were present on the part of the Utahs, Wachor, Sowiette, Antaro, Anker-howhitch (Arrow pine being sick) 34 lodges. On the part of the Shoshones, Wah-sho kig, To ter mitch, Watche namp, Ter ret e ma, Persh e go and 26 lodges. The lodges were left a short distance from the city, the braves amounting to about fifty in number on each side attending the treaty. Major Holeman having arrived from Carson valley just previous, by my invitation was also present, Interpreters D. B. Huntington, and Elijah Warde. The main difficulty seemed to be accomplished in getting them together upon a friendly footing I led off by asking Wa chor and Wash a kick if they wished to make peace and be friends with each other. They replied they did Will you make good peace that will last? Answered yes. I then said to Wachor tell all of your tribe this, and ask them, if they will do the same, and if so, let every one arise and hold up their right hands It was done unanimously, and the same explanation being made to the Shoshones by their chief, they also responded unanimously in the same manner. I then told them they must never fight each other again, but must live in peace, so that they could travel in each other's country and trade with

52 U/17-1852. The substance of this communication has been printed by Dr. Hebard though she is mistaken in referring to the document as Brigham Young's "annual report."

each other. I then asked the Utes if we had been friends to them and if they loved us. As soon as the question was explained to their understanding, they answered in the affirmative by acclamation, with evident signs of joy and good feeling. The pipe of peace being first offered to the great Spirit, was often replenished, and sent around by the Shoshones' chiefs until every one had smoked in token of lasting friendship. The Utahs were then asked, if they had any objection to our settling upon their lands, and if they had not, to raise their right hands, which they did unanimously. Sow er ette being the Chief of the Uinta Utes and two of his sons being present, was also asked the same question, Replied that it was good for them to have us settle upon their lands, and he wanted a house close beside ours. I then asked the Shoshones how they would like to have us settle upon their land at Green river; they replied that the land at Green river did not belong to them, but that they lived and inhabited in the vicinity of the Wind river chain of mountains, and the Sweetwater (or Sugar Water as they called it)⁵³ but that if we would make a settlement on Green river, they would be glad to come and trade with us.⁵⁴ I expressed unto them my good feelings for their kindness, in always being friendly to the whites, and for the safety in which all of the emigrants had ever been able to pass through their country, and hoped they would always continue the same. If any of the whites should steal anything from them, it should be returned if I could find it and if any of their tribe should steal anything from the whites, they must do the same. The Shoshones were expecting that Wa chor and the Utes would give them some horses according to their usual custom for a certain number of Shoshones which they had killed in their last conflict which occurred something over a year ago. Ten seemed to be about the number which had been killed, and the same number of horses were required. But finally agreed upon nine head. Walker now led off in quite a lengthy speech in which he said that he had done wrong and was sorry for it, His friends had been killed on the Shoshones land, and he had supposed that they had done it, but now he was satisfied that it was not them, that Brigham told him not to go, but he would not hear him, he had been sorry ever since, and so forth; had no horses now, but was going to trade with the Moquis next winter and would bring the horses to Green river when he should return. I will hear now what Brigham says to me, me good, placing his hand on his breast, have been a fool, but will do better in future. To ter mitch Shoshone chief then said a few words; his ears were open wide to hear, it was good, and he felt well, his heart was good. I then directed that the Chiefs should have some clothes and

53 It has always been supposed that the name of the Sweetwater was bestowed by the trappers who frequented its waters from 1824; the French name, Eau Sucree instead of Eau Douce, has given some validation to the story that a mule with a load of sugar once fell in the stream. Under the circumstances it is very curious that the Shoshoni themselves should be represented as using the name, "Sugar Water."

54 Although it was some time in materializing, this is the genesis of the Fort Supply settlement near Fort Bridger.

ammunition given them, and some beef cattle, and flour having been procured for the purpose, was distributed among them, when they left in apparently high spirits and good and friendly feelings towards each other as well as the whites.⁵⁵

I have been thus explicit in giving the particulars of this interview, as it is the first that has occurred of a like nature since the settlements were founded; and it is hoped will result in long continued amity between the tribes. The Indians are universally fed and partially clothed throughout the Territory where settlements have been made, according to the ability of the people, and very many children are taken into families and have all the usual facilities for education afforded other children

The following estimates are made out from past observation and experience, as well as a knowledge of the actual wants and necessities of the Superintendency.

Goods for presents, such as blankets, shirts, hats caps shoes pants &c	5000—
Ammunition and guns	1500
Provisions and tobacco	<u>5500</u>
Total for presents	12000—
	12,000
For Major Holeman's Agency current expenses as per bills of last year	5000
Major Rose Do Do Do	3500
*Two [<i>Stricken out</i> : interpreters pay	1000]
Total agencies	9500
	9,500
Superintendent's Defraying expenses of farming operations	2700
Messengers on various business	600
Expenses of office, clerk hire, and other general contingencies [<i>Stricken out</i> : * including Interpreter \$500	2500]
	5,800
* (leave out)	
	c 5,800
	D\$27,300

It will be observed that the above estimates do not contemplate holding of treaties or establishing schools, blacksmiths, mills &c at agencies, as usual in other Territories, and would be desirable in this. The estimates for such purposes were made in my report of estimates to Elisha Whittlesey Esq: December 31st, 1851, and have probably been received 'ere this. . . .

55 For additional details about the summer's council with the Indians see the *Deseret News*, August 2, 21, 30, 1852.

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA, COMMISSIONER OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER, UTAH TERRITORY,
NOVEMBER 3, 1852⁵⁶

Sir—During the past Summer, there has been some excitement with the Indians and Whites, in this Territory in consequence of the establishment of a ferry and bridge across Green River, by the Legislature of Utah Territory. It seems, that for several years previous, ferrys have been established by the Mountaineers, for the accommodation of travellers, on the various roads crossing this river. At the last session of the Legislature, a charter was granted to a Mr. Moore, (a Mormon) giving to him the exclusive privilege of ferrying, and thereby excluding all others—a certain portion of the tolls, were set apart, by this act, for the benefit and use of the Mormon Church.⁵⁷ A charter was also granted to a company, all Mormons, for the purpose of building a bridge across this river.⁵⁸ These charters, and the occupation of the country by the Mormons, have produced much excitement among the Indians, who express their disapprobation, in the strongest terms.⁵⁹ I received a few days since the following letter:

56 H/201–1853.

57 The legislature of the State of Deseret, precursor of the Territory of Utah, granted the first ferry rights to Green River on February 12, 1850, to whom is not known; see Dale L. Morgan, “The State of Deseret,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8, nos. 1–3 (1940): 99. The first Utah Territorial Legislature, in an act approved January 16, 1852, granted these ferry rights to one Thomas Moor; he was granted “the right of erecting one or more ferries on Green river, for one year, at any point within Utah Territory, for the accommodation of travelers: *Provided* he pay ten per cent of all moneys collected on said ferry, to be paid into the Territorial treasury, for the benefit of the Territory of Utah, on or before the first day of October next ensuing.” A schedule of rates was adopted, ranging from 25 cents for individual animals to \$6 for wagons over 4,000 lbs. The act also provided that if any person should erect “any public ferry over said river with Utah Territory, without permission of the Legislature of the Territory of Utah, said person or persons shall pay the sum of one thousand dollars, to be collected for the use of the Territory of Utah.” *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the . . . Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 166–67. (These, the sessions laws, will hereafter be cited simply as *Laws of Utah* for the date in question.)

58 No charter for a bridge is recorded in *Laws of Utah*, 1852, but see note 60 [in appendix].

59 See Morgan, “The State of Deseret,” 99 n. 83, in which comment is made on the group psychology involved in these ferry grants. The Mormons, themselves essentially squatters, calmly ignored the squatters’ rights of the mountain men. Unable to cope with the Mormons in the Territorial Legislature, the mountain men improved upon their close relations with the Shoshoni to stir up the Indians against the Saints and build a case they were better able to defend. The issues were complex, and they are argued at length

“Fort Bridger, Oct. 9. 1852

“Maj J. H. Holeman, Ind. Agt.

“Dr Sir—I beg to call your attention to the disturbed state of the Snake Indians at this moment, in consequence of the occupation of a part of their country by the *Mormon Whites*. Being an American citizen, and having the welfare and honor of my country in view I believe it is imperative for you, without delay, to alay, by all the means in your authority, the present excitement. I saw the Chiefs here, in council, at this Fort, and heard them assert, that they intended to immediately drive the whites from their lands, and much persuasion was used to pacify them for the present time. And now, dear sir, if you do not use the authority vested in you, speedily, I do believe and fear scenes of destruction and bloodshed will soon ensue.

“Respectfully—Yours

“A. Willson”

The above letter is from a gentleman, passing through the country, on his return to the States from California, and who was remaining at Fort Bridger a few days. I visited, immediately, the section of country alluded to and found that a company of Mormons, under the charter of the Legislature of Utah Territory, had assembled on Green river, and had commenced the construction of a bridge, but finding so much opposition on the part of they [*sic*] Indians, they determined to abandon it for the present, and all have returned to Salt Lake City.⁶⁰ This satisfied the Indians, who immediately left, and at present all is quiet. The Mormons, I understand, intend to resume their efforts to build this bridge in the spring—the Indians I also understand, have resolved, that the Mormons shall neither occupy a ferry, nor build a bridge on the river, which is some 160 miles from the settlements in Salt Lake valley. Both parties I understand are determined. Should the Mormons persist in their determination, a war will be the consequence, and great distress and suffering must follow, as it is on the main emigration route from to California and Oregon.

In regard to the occupation of the Indian country, under these charters from the Legislature of the Territory, and their authority to grant them, I should be pleased to have advice and instruction immediately. Maj. [John] Hockad[a]y, who will hand you this, is fully advised of all the circumstances—I refer you to him for further information. In relation to these ferry’s and bridge, the charter provides that 10 cents on every dollar received as toll, shall be paid into the tithing office, for the benefit of the Church.⁶¹ This seems to me, to be unconstitutional—advise

in subsequent official correspondence, a major theme, in fact, of Indian relations in the Wyoming area over the next four years.

60 [See appendix for note text.]

61 It will be seen that this does not square with the language of the law as quoted in note 57.

me, in relation to this matter—I am called upon, almost daily, for information and am not able to give it, not knowing the power of the Territorial Legislature.

I wish, also, advice in relation to the use of Spirituous Liquors—On the route from the states to Salt Lake City, there are two establishments for the accommodation of travellers and emigration—I have given them Licence, as Indian traders, being in the Indian country—they keep spirits for the use of the travel, but in no case, do they permit the use of it by the Indians—they are what may be termed *Tavern Keepers*.⁶² If it is improper for me to allow them this privilege, please advise me.

The Mormon authorities have levied a tax on these Mountaineers and have collected, in some instances—as the tax is considered extravagant, and partly for the use and benefit of the Mormon church, it is producing much excitement, and I fear will produce bloodshed. These men declare their willingness to pay any tax which the Government may demand, but refuse to pay a *Mormon Tax*, as they term it. As I am frequently called upon for information on these subjects, I should like to be fully advised, as it may prevent difficulty and trouble in future. . . .

1853

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JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA, COMMISSIONER
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WEBER STATION,
(UTAH TERRITORY), MARCH 5, 1853⁶³

Sir—I addressed you a hasty note, in November last, from Fort Bridger in relation to difficulties between the Mormons and the Indians. I remained on Green River, had frequent conversations with the Indians until all matters were quieted for the present. But I fear a disturbance, if the country should be settled and occupied by the Mormons, or if they should attempt to build Bridges and establish ferries under the acts of the Territorial Legislature, alluded to in my note of November last. I am at a loss to know how to act—I have so frequently asked for information and instructions, on various matters, without receiving any, that I fear my communications have not reached you. I hope, however, that they have

62 These “taverns” may have been located on Green River; but one of them was possibly Fort Bridger.

63 H/234-1853.

not miscarried, and that I shall receive them by the first mail. We have not had a mail from the States since October. There has been so much snow, that the Mountains and roads have been impassable, except on foot, with Snow Shoes. I have been unable to reach Salt Lake—I was compelled to remain at Bridger until January, when a warm spell dissolved the Snow, and I made an effort—but could get no farther than this place, where I have been compelled to remain ever since, some three months—living upon wild game that we could kill. There are three Mormon families living here⁶⁴—all they have to live on is flour—they have no meat but such as they can kill. From these we have been enabled to get bread, and such other accommodations as they can afford, but at a very high price, and none of the best at that—they have but a scant supply for themselves. I have remained here in this predicament on account of my horses, being satisfied, that if I left them, they would be lost—I have a hired man with me, and by our constant attention we have been enabled to save them through the winter. The snow is disappearing on the South hill sides, the grass is commencing to grow, and I hope to be able, in a few days to reach Salt Lake City, when I will communicate to you more fully—there being no mails from this Territory, to the States, since October has prevented me from writing before. The mail carrier of October, was compelled to leave his horses, and part of his mail here, and take the letter bag to the City on foot. He has just arrived from the city, with the March Mail, after a laborious travel of five days, only forty miles, and will make an effort to reach the states. He reports the Mountains impassable for horses, particularly weak as ours are—but I hope to be able to leave in a few days. You will please receive this as my excuse for not communicating to you at the end of each quarter.

My situation with Gov. Young, as Superintendent, is rather an unpleasant one—While I feel disposed to treat all parties fairly, and protect the Indians so as to prevent difficulties with the Whites, he seems to have no other anxiety but to favor his own church and people. If things are not changed I feel satisfied, I can be of no great service to the Indian department. My course is well known to the department—I have acted from circumstances, and to the best of my judgement, and hope that my conduct has been justified by the department. If matters are not changed, so as to produce a better feeling in the Mormons, toward the Government, of if the authority and laws of the Government are not enforced, if it should be the wishes of the department I would like to be called home, as my duty to the Government compels me to act in such a manner, as to give offence, frequently, to the Mormons, who seem to recognize no law but their own self will. This is a very unpleasant situation and one that can be productive of not much service either to the Government, to the Indians, or to myself. They seem

64 The “Webber” or Weber Station from which this letter was written was probably in the locality of present Henefer.

desirous to hold all the offices themselves—and when a Gentile is appointed he is never treated with respect, but is abused let him do as he will. I have, and do yet, disregard their abuse, but feel that my efficiency as a Government officer is impaired by such conduct.

I have heretofore suggested to the department, various matters—having taken some pains to acquire information, and at the expense of the Government, and having formed a friendly acquaintance with the Indians and made myself acquainted with the country, if my suggestions should meet the views of the department, I will, with pleasure, give them such attention as the department may direct—as I do not feel disposed to relinquish a duty imposed on me, however arduous and disagreeable the service may be—particularly, having recommended them. . . .

P. S. I have written in a great hurry, on a board on my knee; you will therefore excuse the scrawl. . . .

21

STEPHEN B. ROSE, SUB-AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, JUNE 30, 1853⁶⁵

Dear Sir

Since my last report there has nothing of importance occurred amongst the Indians under my charge, with the exception of a fight between the Sioux and Utes of Uwinta Valley but I apprehend there will be some considerable fighting between them as all the Tribes of Nebraska are collecting their warriors together for a general war with the Utes. I would respectfully call the attention of the Department to the Sale of ardent spirits by the French Traders or Freemen as they are called upon the rivers and road from the States to this City as they are carrying on the sale of it to a great extent I wish to have particular instructions as to what course to pursue in this matter as I think it a serious matter Accompanying this report you will find a Schedule and Vouchers of the expenses of this Agency up to the present time which I hope will meet with the approbation of the Department. . . .

65 Enclosure in Young to Manypenny, September 30, 1853 (U/26-1853).

EDWARD A. BEDELL, INDIAN AGENT, TO GEORGE W. MANYPENNY,*
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
 LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1853⁶⁶

Dear Sir,

I arrived in this city on the 15th day of August ult, and on the same day reported to Governor Young that I was ready for duty, but could not relieve Major Holeman according to the *strict letter* of your instructions, as he was away on a trip to Carson Valley; and as he did not return until yesterday I have not yet had time to receive and receipt for the Government property in his possession, and include the same in this quarter's return, but will attend to it forthwith.

Under the direction of the Superintendent, I have written the Indian Chief named Little Soldier, and his band, who are at present near the mouth of Weber River Kanyon, about 45 miles north of this city; also the Shoshones, and Yampah and Uinta Utahs, in the neighborhood of Fort Bridger.⁶⁷ I found them all friendly & professing much friendship, & made them suitable presents, so far as I thought

* [Robert M. Kvasnicka, "George W. Manypenny, 1853-57," *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 57-67.]

66 B/295-1853. Bedell had been named to succeed Holeman after the Democratic victory in the election of 1852. He came from Warsaw, Illinois, and had been on cordial terms with the Saints before their expulsion from that state. [Edward A. Bedell (1819-1854) was born in New York and moved westward to Hancock County, Illinois just before the Mormons began arriving in 1839. The year before Joseph and Hyrum Smith were lynched in the county seat, Bedell served as justice of the peace in Warsaw, one of the hotbeds of anti-Mormon activity. He was attached to Gov. Thomas Ford's party during the weeks of that crisis and had been present in Carthage, Illinois when Joseph and Hyrum Smith's bodies were taken from the jail following their lynching. He became active around the edges of state politics by serving as sergeant-at-arms for the two sessions of the Illinois Senate between 1850 and his 1854 Indian agency appointment. Virtually nothing more is known of his career, but he does not appear in the 1860 census in Illinois. Eight U.S. Census (1850), Illinois; Report of Edward A. Bedell dated 17 Aug. 1854, LDS Church Historical Department; *Blue Book of the State of Illinois* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., 1903), 312-13. —Ed.]

67 During the period covered by this report, Jim Bridger had been driven from his fort by a Mormon posse—the date, August 26, 1853, being fixed by the diary of a California immigrant, Dr. Thomas Flint (see *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 12, pt. 3 (1923): 97.) There had been hard feelings between Bridger and the Mormons for more than 4 years, and according to Bill Hickman, "About this time it was rumored that Jim. Bridger was furnishing the Indians with powder and lead to kill Mormons. Affidavits were made to that effect, and the Sheriff was ordered out with a *posse* of one hundred and fifty men to arrest him, capture his ammunition, and destroy all his liquors." Bridger easily evaded the posse, but Hickman says the liquor was destroyed "by doses." See William A. Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel: Being the*

warranted under the strangely small amount appropriated for the expenditure of this Superintendency, but far short, in my estimate, of what they actually need and deserve.

My Account Current, and accompanying papers are in the hands of Govr Young, & will be forwarded by this Mail, and I hope will prove entirely satisfactory.

Please permit me to indulge in a few remarks, which, though perhaps not immediately pertaining to my duties, I deem of importance.

I will not stop to use argument but simply state what I know and most assuredly believe to be facts. This Territory is known as a whole to be exceedingly destitute of game, and to be poor in spontaneous edible roots, & Seeds; and the Lakes and Rivers afford but a limited supply of fish, and the crickets are abundant only for a short season, and in certain localities. The Indians inhabiting this region, like the great majority of their red brethren, delight in leading a life of indolence, and indulge in thieving at every safe opportunity. Very many of the Stock owners enroute for California, and emigrants to Oregon & California stop & winter in these valleys with large numbers of stock. This stock, as it recruits, is very tempting to the Indians, who would take it to the extent of their fancies, were they not prevented by the fear of the settlements. A great proportion, if not a large majority of the white Inhabitants of Utah, are American born citizens, and generally the foreign population naturalize as fast as the laws will allow, and there is not a more loyal set of people, or inhabitants within the United States.

I need not weary your patience with an extended detail of kindred facts, and characteristics relative to the inhabitants, Indians, and temporary sojourners of this Territory, as I have already stated more than may be sufficient to make it evident that the appropriations for the Utah Superintendency are altogether too small, unless the Government design to let these Indians starve, so far as it is concerned, or live by plundering, or be sustained by the voluntary contributions of the different settlements. Neither of these courses is presumable, and I fully and cordially coincide with the judgment of Governor Young that \$40,000. is the smallest amount that ought to be appropriated for the years ending June 30th 1854 & 55, and think a larger sum would be much nearer strict justice in the case. . . .

Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, the Danite Chief of Utah (New York: Geo. A. Crofutt, 1872), 91–92. Bridger did not return to his fort until he came with Johnston's army in the fall of 1857.

23

EDWARD A. BEDELL, INDIAN AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY,
DECEMBER 31, 1853⁶⁸

Dear Sir

In compliance with the regulations of the Indian Department I have the Honor to submit my Second report in relation to the affairs of my Agency. Nothing of importance has occurred Since my last quarterly report dated Sept 30th 1853 made to your excellency except the Masacre by the Indians of the lamented Capt [John W.] Gunnison and his party. In the fore part of October according to your suggestion I visited Fort Bridger and Henrys Fork I found but few Indians there Antero a Ute Chief with a Small band I found on Henrys Fork Encamped I held a conference with him had a talk I made his band presents of a few Blankets shirts & Tobacco He seemed much pleased and they all promised to keep up a friendly intercourse with the whites and remain quiet and at peace— Early in November I started for the Severe [Sevier River] where Capt Gunnison fell but on meeting my interpreter Demick Huntington and being informed by him that he had recovered the Government propperty or all of it that could be got I returned from Utah Valey to this City. The night before my arrival in Provo City the Indians killed several head of cattle Col [Peter] Conover followed them with a small party of men some twenty miles in the mountains but was not able to over take them. I found a small boddy of Utes Encamped on battle creek had a talk with them They promised to be Peacible and friendly. I received your instructions the last of November to visit the vicinity of Green River but was not at the time able to go in consequence of Sickness Deeming it important I procured the Services of the Hon Orsen Hyde and Sent with him Wm Hickman Esqr as Gua[r]d and Rober Coster⁶⁹ they found a few Indians made them presents and warned them against being led a stray by the notorious Rian⁷⁰ and I am satisfied that their visit had a good Effect and was well timed. As far as I can ascertain there is decidedly a better feeling towards the whites Generally among the Indians of this Territory You will find my account for this quarter for grain tolerably large My Excuse is to be found in the fact that the Horses I received from Major J H Holman My predesessor were in verry low flesh and I was obliged to feed them grain to keep them a live. . . .

68 Enclosure in Young to Manypenny, December 31, 1853 (U/28-1854).

69 [See appendix for note text.]

70 [See appendix for note text.]

1854

24

JACOB H. HOLEMAN TO GEORGE W. MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON CITY, MARCH 7, 1854⁷¹

Sir—In reply to your verbal request, for information, “whether at the time of the organization of the Territory of Utah, the Indians in that Territory, occupied, possessed or claimed title to the whole of the Territory—whether the possessions of the different tribes, bounded on each other, or if not, about how much was not possessed by the Indians at the time of its organization.”

Having resided in the Territory, of Utah, as Indian agent, since 1851, and having had considerable intercourse with the various tribes and bands of Indians in that Territory, I have no hesitation in stating, that within the boundary of the Territory, as I have understood it, the Indians claim all the land.—There are the Shoshonies—the Uwinte Utes—the Pi-Utes,—the Timpany Utes—the Parvante Utes—the Banacks—the Washaws—Sosokos, &c. Many of these tribes are divided into bands, under some favorite chief, and are scattered over the Territory, claiming large boundaries of land.—They move from place to place, within these boundaries, in search of game, and other necessaries, but generally, confining themselves within the limits of the grounds claimed by the respective tribes to which they belong.—These claims seem to be acknowledged and respected by the different tribes and bands and are defined by Mountains, water courses &c. There is a small tract of country, lying on the North Platt, between the Shoshonies, and the Sioux and Cheyenes, which is considered as neutral ground, and where they sometimes meet to trade with each other, or for war, as either tribe may feel in the humor. This ground is frequently occupied or visited by the various bands in the vicinity, when game is plenty,—each tribe conceded this privilege to the other; no one tribe or band claims the exclusive right to do so.

The land, in the valley of Salt Lake, upon which the Mormons have settled, was claimed and occupied by the Utes and Shoshonies, until settled by the Mormons. Much complaint has been made by the Indians, and frequent difficulties have occurred, in consequence of this occupation of their lands, by the whites, without their assent. If something is not done, by which the Indians, and the whites may know their respective rights and privileges, much difficulty may be expected. . . .

71 H/574-1854.

25

EDWARD A. BEDELL, INDIAN AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE, UTAH TERRITORY,
APRIL 6, 1854⁷²

Sir,

In obedience to your instructions, Dated March 24th 1854, informing me that you had received a communication from Maj Higgins commandant at Manti of the whereabouts of the Indian Chief—Walker, and wishing me to proceed with my interpreter to Fillmore City & hold talk with him.

I have the honor to state most respectfully that I proceeded on the 25th of March, in Company with D. B. Huntingon Esq^r Interpreter. On the 27th of March, we held a talk with Panawick a Ute Chief with a Small party of Indians at Payson in Utah Valley. He informed me that he had used his influence to get the Indians belonging to old Squash-Head's band, who had stolen from the neighborhood of Springville, some Eighty head of Cattle a short time previous to return them to their owners, and we ascertained that he had succeeded in procuring the return of 24 Head, I told him he and his band had done right, and that I would report their good conduct to you, and that you would inform the great father of his good conduct, I then made them some small presents of Shirts, Tobacco &c. they seemed well pleased & promised to go again into the Mountains, and if the Indians had not killed the remainder of the cattle, to bring them in. I told them to tell old Squash-Head & Peteetneet to come in, & bring the Cattle back if they had not killed them, & be honest, and cease stealing. I also found quite a number of Indians at work on lands that had been ploughed for them by the citizens of Payson.

We then proceeded on our way, and arrived at Salt Creek on the 29th March, a fine flourishing Settlement, where I found Ammon, Walker's Brother, with 10 or 12 lodges of Indians. They seemed very much pleased to see us. Ammon talked very much in favor of establishing a permanent peace, & said he was glad we were going to have a talk with Walker, for he was sure Walker wanted to be friendly. I ascertained that Ammon furnished Captain Fremont with the first provisions he got after entering the Valley in a Starving condition; the citizens also spoke well of the band, they surveyed off & set apart for them 80 acres of land near the Fort, and was assisting such of the Indians as would work to plough and Sow wheat.

I gave Ammon two Blankets, and his men some Shirts, & Tobacco, & explained to them the object of the great father in having the Surveys made by

72 U/31-1854.

Col Fremont, and the late lamented Captain Gunnison. They seemed much pleased and said, that the Parvan Indians that murdered Captain G had done very wickedly, and they were sorry, for they believed he was a good man.

We arrived at Fillmore City on the 31st of March, and found the celebrated chief Walker encamped near the Fort with about 75 braves with him. I visited him at his Lodge on the morning of the 31st March, in Company with the officers of the Fort and my Interpreter. He appeared quite reserved, but glad to see us. Said he had a great deal to say, and hoped we would make a stay of several days I told him I could not spend more than a day: he said Kenosh a & other chiefs were there, and he wanted the Indians all as also the officers of the Fort to hear what he had to say, for my Interpreter M^r Huntington could understand him.

I procured a large room from the Hon James McGaw, and commenced a talk with Walker in presence of the Officers of the Fort Authorities of the City & about Eighty Indians, which continued all day. I furnished dinner for the Chiefs at the Hotel, & furnished provisions for the other Indians also. Walker said from the first he had been opposed to this difficulty, & that he had done everything in his power to prevent it, but that he could not control some of his men, and when he found they were determined to steal & murder, he went off to New Mexico to get away, for he felt bad. I told him that the Report had gone to the States, that he & his men had murdered Captain Gunnison & part of his Surveying party, and that the people and also the Great father were justly indignant that such a terrible cold blooded murder should be committed upon men in the service of the United States, and sent by the Great father to locate a Road that would enable them to get a much larger amount of presents, by reducing the cost of transportation. He said, he had heard about it, & seen one party South, making a similar survey & had rendered them assistance & was much pleased. He said he was truly sorry the Pauvants had acted so hastily and indiscreetly, in committing the assault & murder on that party, but tried to apologise for them. Said a train of Emigrants a few days before, had killed an Indian without any provocation, and that the friends & relations of the Indians came upon the party while their hearts were bad. I told him Captain G & his men knew nothing of that, & were entirely innocent, & tried to show and explain to them how wrong it was to punish & murder innocent men, for the acts of bad, and wicked men.

The Pauvant Chiefs Kenosh & Parashunt were present, and quite a number of their men. They seemed very uneasy, and much alarmed. Walker wished me to ask you to inform the Great Father, & the people of the States, that it was not him, or his party that done the deed, & also to ask the Great Father, not to send soldiers to punish the Pah-vants, for he was afraid some innocent Indians would be dragged into difficulty. I talked with him in reference to selling his land to the

general government. He said he would prefer not to sell if he could live peaceably with the white People, which he was anxious to do.

The citizens of Fillmore had set apart Eighty acres of excellent land for the use of the Indians.

I asked Walker, if he or his men desired to raise wheat & Potatoes &c. He said he would much prefer to trade & hunt himself, but he would be glad to have the Indians work & raise wheat & Corn &c (which many are doing).

Walker I found with a large band of horses, which he wanted to trade, or sell, & other property. Walker said that the Shoshones in November last, stole 150 Horses from the Utahs. I promised them to enquire into it & endeavor to get the Shoshones to return the Horses.

I made Walker, presents of Blankets, Shirts, and Tobacco; and also presents to his men. They all said, they were anxious to live in peace, & promised to be friendly to Emigrants & citizens. Said they would not steal any more Cattle, for when they came into Fillmore hungry, the Citizens gave them a beef ox. & Wheat bread &c.

I am firmly of the opinion, if the Emigrants treat them with any degree of kindness & forbearance, as also the citizens of the Territory, they will be peaceable and quiet, which is greatly to be desired.⁷³

In February last, a Deputation of Seven Bannack Indians visited this City for the purpose of having a talk with Your Excellency and myself; the weather was extremely cold & Stormy, & I was compelled to keep them in my Office for several days until the storm abated, and also keep their horses. I think the General Government should build a carroll, and some kind of cheap quarters for the Indians when they come in; for it is almost impossible to get them Kept, while in the City on business.

I am much indebted to D. B. Huntington Esq^r for the favor of providing for them, as also Col [J. C.] Little.

The Bannacks are a friendly race of Indians, & quite intelligent; they say they have never received any presents from the Great Father, but that the citizens of the Territory have been usually very kind to them, and that you have been uniformly been [*sic*] good to them. I made them presents of Shirts, Tobacco, provisions, and such things as I had and could procure. They seemed much pleased, & promised to continue friendly &c. They said it was not good to steal from, or murder the whites, although, they said on several occasions, the emigrants had

73 The peace talks with Walker, described here and in Document 26, as also in S[olomon] N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856 [i.e., 1857; ed. Ava F. Kahn, Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2004]), 187–96, settled the difficulties with the Utes which are remembered in Utah history as the Walker War of 1853–54. Walker took no very prominent part in the war, and died soon after, on January 29, 1855.

treated them badly. I told them, that you & the Great father would do everything in your power to have their wrongs atoned for, & that if they would inform me, I would always endeavor to regain any property that the emigrants wrongfully deprived them of.

The Shoshones, as far as I can ascertain, continue to be friendly, they say they do not receive as many presents as they are entitled to, the price of goods is so high here that the appropriation does not seem to go far, for the Indians of this Territory are so very numerous.

Hoping that we may be able to live in peace with the Native tribes. . . .

26

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W.
MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 30, 1854⁷⁴

Sir,

Since my last quarterly report, our relations with our red neighbors have remained uniformly friendly towards the whites, so far as I have information.

I have recently heard rumours of hostile feeling between the Shoshones on Green River, and Country adjacent, and the Utahs of Uinta Valley. As these tribes as in the agency assigned to the late Agent E. A. Bedell, who dies on Green River [on May 3] on his return to the States, and as no authentic information has yet reached me, of any serious outbreaks upon each other, I have not deemed it best, up to the present date, to incur the expense of sending an express party to enquire into the matter; and, also, as I expect to visit that region personally during the next month, when I shall be able to learn definit[e]ly the facts in the case.

On the 3rd of May Ult. I left this City on a tour South, with the design of visiting, and talking with the various Indian tribes which might at the time be reasonably near the traveled route, and returned on the 30th Ult. having seen, and conversed with a majority of their principal men, and made such presents of cattle, clothing, &c as the exigences of the case seemed to require. all the Indians thus met with, expressed strong desires for "good peace," and thus far have acted in accordance with their professions. But they are generally very poor, and have few and scanty resources for subsistence, and are much given, very naturally, to contrasting our apparent wealth with their destitution, and from the contrast make *onerous* demands upon the white settlers for food, and clothing, which,

74 U/36-1854.

when not complied with from any cause, occasions ill feelings on the part of the Indians, resulting often, even now, in thieving, and on the other hand renders it difficult for me to make our poor citizens understand at all times, that it is cheaper, and far better for us to feed & clothe the Indians, learn them to labor, and to read & write, than it is to fight them, more especially as they deem that to belong to the proper sphere of duty of the General Government, in accordance with her proclaimed policy.

Doubtless Congress in their appropriations, and the Indian Department in auditing my accounts, will duly appreciate the circumstances, and position of our recent & aboriginal population, and adopt a course that will tend to lighten the difficulties under which we are struggling to make the desert blossom as the rose, to extend the area of enlightenment, and civilization, and to ameliorate the condition of the untamed, & untutored savage.

As the only Agency as yet allowed to Utah is made vacant by the death of Major E. A. Bedell, and our only Sub-Agency will soon be vacated by the removal, to the States, of the present incumbent Major S. B. Rose, I beg leave to call your early attention to this subject, and most respectfully suggest, that James Brown 3rd be appointed Indian Agent,⁷⁵ & Dimick B. Huntington Indian Sub-Agent for Utah Territory, as persons every way qualified to act efficiently and with correctness and good judgment in official duties, both towards the natives, and the Department.

You are already familiar with the extend of this Territory, & with the number, & scattered situation of her tribes; would it not therefore be just to allow Utah one or two more Sub-Agents? Should your judgment permit you so to decide, it would be gratifying to me, and highly beneficial to all parties concerned if you would appoint John D. Lee, and Isaac Bullock.⁷⁶

75 James Brown 3rd, as then called, later changed his name to James Stephens Brown, to distinguish himself from other Browns in Utah. In his quarterly report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of December 31, 1853 (U/28-1854), Brigham Young had recommended that sub-agents be appointed for "Carson Valley, Mary's river, & that region, one for Green River County, one for the tribes who can be easily reached from the confluence of Grand and Green Rivers, and one for Washington, Iron, and Millard Counties"; he names as suitable persons George P. Dykes, Levi Stewart, Dimick B. Huntington, and John D. Lee. That James S. Brown was now recommended for an agency shows that Young appreciated the services he had performed during May and June in making contact with Washakie, a difficult and dangerous mission. Soon after writing these remarks, Brigham Young wrote in his History, "Learning that the principal chief of the Shoshones had invited Elder James Brown to go into his lodge and remain and identify himself with them, I wrote to Brother Brown counseling him by all means to do so, for it was what was needed and the very purpose for which the mission was established. The hand of God was in it. So that we could gain influence with the tribe to make them peaceable and do them good." ("History of Brigham Young," 1854, 64, quoted in the Journal History, July 18, 1854.)

76 Bullock subsequently became probate judge of Green River County. He led to Fort Supply the second company sent there, which arrived close on the heels of the first, November 26, 1853. The company consisted of 53 men, and brought 190 head of cattle.

I presume you will extend to Utah all the facilities in your power, to enable her population to be benefitted, at the earliest practicable date, by such treaty regulations with her tribes as the liberality of Congress may provide.

Accompanying this my Report, I forward the vouchers from No. 1. to 10. inclusive, the a/c Current, and the abstract for the 4th Quarter, ending June 30th, 1854, and amounting to \$2185 08/100.

Trusting that the official papers now forwarded will be found just, correct, & satisfactory. . . .

27

2D LIEUT. H. B. FLEMING, COMDG. FORT LARAMIE, TO GEORGE W.
MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
FORT LARAMIE, AUGUST 15, 1854⁷⁷

Sir

A copy of a letter has been sent me requesting me to forward the same to you for your decision thereon. There has been a great deal of trouble between the Mountain Men and the Mormons for some time past, which has resulted in the death of several persons on both sides. The Mountain Men have wives and children among the Snake Indians, and therefore claim the right to the Green River country in virtue of the grant given them by the Indians to whom the country belongs; as no treaty has yet been made to extinguish their title—The Mormons, on the other hand, claim jurisdiction over the country, paramount to all Indian titles, in virtue of it being in Utah Territory.

Now, the question, in issue, appears to me this; since the country lies in the Territory of Utah, have the Mormons or have they not the right to dispose of the country to settlers, to dispose of its resources, revenues, and finally everything in the country or exercise judicial power over revenues before the *actual Indian title* has been extinguished

These questions have been and are now agitated among the people of the new Territories—have caused a great deal of trouble and will cause more unless permanently settled by proper authority. Since the large emigration to Oregon and California, the Ferries, Bridges, &c., have been profitable investments.

Your decision in this case I consider of great importance as it is time such

77 F/117-1854. The questions raised in this and the document following were on September 15, 1854, referred by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior. The Interior files in the National Archives do not indicate that any reply was ever made.

things were settled and unnecessary blood-shed saved by placing the right where it properly belongs. Both parties contend for the right & I might add I think both equally honest in their convictions

Enclosed I forward the letter for your decision. . . .

28

JOHN M. HOCKADAY TO GEORGE W. MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, JUNE 17, 1854⁷⁸

Sir,

Whereas the Boundaries of Green River County in the Territory of Utah were defined and attached to Great Salt Lake County for "Election, revenue, and Judicial purposes" by a special act of the legislature of said Territory approved March the 3rd 1852, and was detached from said Great Salt Lake County by another act of said Legislature approved January 13th 1854, and is now organized with its Judiciary and officers and lies in the first Judicial District of the United States Court for said Territory and,⁷⁹

Whereas an act was passed by said Legislature, approved January 17th 1853, Granting a Charter Unto Daniel H. Wells Esqr the right to Erect Ferries for the Conveyance of stock waggons, Passengers &c Over Green River in said County of Green River in said Territory, on the lands claimed, by the tribe of Shoshone Indians,⁸⁰ and which said Charter or Right of erecting ferries has been transferred

78 Enclosure in Fleming to Manypenny (F/117-1854), Document 27. The copy transmitted by Hockaday himself is H/628-1854.

79 The citations are *Laws of Utah*, 1852, 162-64; and *Laws of Utah*, 1854, 259-60.

80 *Complied Laws of Utah*, 1855, chap. 50, 237-38. The charter required Wells to pay into the treasury of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company ten percent of all proceeds; the right to the Green River ferries was granted to him for three years, from and after May 15, 1853. Wells was expected to maintain ferries "at two of the most convenient and safe places of crossing," i.e., on the Sublette Cutoff and on the Salt Lake Road. Subsequently, by an act of the Utah Legislature approved December 27, 1855, Isaac Bullock and Lewis Robison were granted the exclusive right and privilege of ferries across Green river . . . for the space of three years from and after the 15th day of May, A. D. 1856. (*Laws of Utah*, 1856, 16-17.) Thus they succeeded Daniel H. Wells as the statutory owners of the Green River ferry rights. Robison became more or less the proprietor of Fort Bridger after buying from Louis Vasquez, on August 3, 1855, the claim of Bridger and Vasquez. (The records concerning the purchase of Fort Bridger are in the Salt Lake County Clerk's Office, Record Book B, 68, 125-28.) Alfred Cumming, who succeeded Brigham Young as Governor of Utah Territory, was averse to the granting of special privileges in the shape of herd grounds, ferries, etc., and in 1859 all such special grants were repealed.

by said Wells to others and at present Capt. W. J. Hawley, James H. Jones & John Kerr (of the firm of Jones & Kerr) Frances M Russell & John M Russell are proprietors of said Ferries (the said Charter Expiring on the 15th day of May A D 1856) And:

Whereas the said Shoshone's are displeased with the said granting of such Charter, and being in possession of "white men" not married into their nation or tribe and Claim the right, and Jurisdiction of Granting or giving the land, timber, River and the Right of erecting Ferries, to whom they please, Claiming all as belonging to them on their Lands, in said Green River county and that they have given the said River and the right of erecting Ferries on the same to the white men that have married Squaws of their tribe, and have children among them and which said Ferries or the right therefore said white men claim, contending that there has been no treaty made with the Indians and that the land, Timber Rivers &c legally belongs to them, until purchased of them by treaty with the U States Government. and that the Legislature of the Territory of Utah, have no right or authority to grant such Charter on Indian lands; but are willing to submit the same to the decision of the legal and constituted authority at Washington City,

Now in Order to allay all excitement or ill feeling that may exist in the heart of said Indians or White men at the present time in regard to said Ferries, and to conduce to peace now and hereafter, we sent this letter of Enquiry to you, that we may have your honorable opinion or decision of the same, Whether or not the said Legislature of Utah, have the right to Grant Charters for Ferries on Green River, or any other Rivers or waters in said Territory, w[h]ether in organized Counties or not, where said Rivers and lands are claimed by the Indians. If said Legislature have not, we wish to be informed and have the matter In dispute settled at the Proper Department and an answer returned at as as [*sic*] early a day as possible and to which decision all concerned will cheerfully submit. . . .

John M. Hockaday

N. B. Selected by the parties to address you this letter of Enquiry

N. B. Please direct your answer to the Commanding officer at Fort Laramie—⁸¹

81 [See appendix for note text.]

29

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W.
 MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
 GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1854⁸²

Sir,

I transmit by the Mail of the 1st proximo, the vouchers numbered 1 to 17 inclusive, the account Current and the abstract for the first quarter ending at date, amounting to \$4175 61 1/2 /100 and report of employees, together with this my quarterly report now due.

Since my Report, the Indian tribes in this Superintendency have observed peaceful relations towards the whites and each other with two exceptions so far as I am informed. A few reckless Indians in Cedar Valley unprovokedly killed two whites who had gone to the Kanyon for wood. Some friendly Indians succeeded (in accordance with agreements previously entered into) in capturing two of the murderers, and delivered them up to the U. S. Marshal.

They had a fair and impartial trial before the U. S. District Court of the District where the deed was committed, Hon Leonidas Shaver presiding Judge, were sentenced to be hung, and were executed accordingly.⁸³

In addition to killing those two men, a few of the small bands of Utahs at Provo, and Nephi are at times very ugly in their conduct and conversation, frequently taking garden vegetables, wheat &c. not only without leave, or compensation of any kind, but insolently in the presence of the owners, occasionally shooting cattle, and often threatening.

This course on their part makes it very difficult to restrain the feelings natural to American citizens, and induce them to realize the ignorance and degradation of the red men, and preserve peaceful relations; and how suddenly gross aggravation on the one hand, and a hasty retaliation on the other, may result in bloodshed and rapine is not always foreseen.

It is obvious that means are necessary, and that too in at least a *just* proportion, to enable me to carry out the Pacific designs of the government towards its red children, and it would seem reasonable that the accounts of this Superintendency be audited and paid promptly, and with all that liberality towards any unknown, or accidental & immaterial informality which can be consistent with Justice, and well established usage.

82 U/39-1854.

83 The hanging of these two Indians for the killing of the Weeks brothers [William F. and Warren D.] in Cedar Valley was the first execution under judicial process performed in the Territory of Utah. [A contemporary first-hand account may be found in Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:526. —Ed.]

Last week a small party of Shoshones fell upon some Utahs near Provo City, killed four and wounded a few, and after some skirmishing and having two of their party wounded, returned to their usual camping grounds. The Shoshones made this attack when searching for some of their Horses which they said the Utahs had stolen, Such outbreaks will sometimes occur, notwithstanding the most vigilant effort to the contrary, unless force be resorted to, which I have invariably deemed it most prudent to avoid, even against the anxious desires of each party for us to side with them.⁸⁴

Finding the indians in Iron and Washington Counties naked, peaceful, and disposed to cultivate the arts of peace, I forwarded a small amount of plain clothing, cheap and substantial, to be distributed among them as per accounts now rendered, and which I feel to say, are at the lowest reasonable total for their real necessities at the time.

On the 1st Inst at their earnest solicitation I made a short visit to some chiefs, and quite a company of Shoshones who had assembled just north of Ogden City. They were very friendly and appeared well pleased, and highly gratified with the presents my Judgment dictated as suitable for the circumstances, & their condition and feelings.⁸⁵

It affords me pleasure to commend the faithfulness and vigilance of the Employees in this Superintendency, and to congratulate the Department upon the beneficial results to the natives, notwithstanding the limited amount of facilities & means with which to operate.

It would materially facilitate my operations if the Department would transmit official blanks.

I have drawn upon the Department in favor of the Hon John M. Bernhisel, Utah Delegate, for the sum of \$4176 61 1/2 /100.

Trusting that these papers will be found in due form and receive audit & allowance conformable with the position of business upon reception. . . .

84 It is more probable that these Shoshoni came from the northern part of Utah than that they were Wyoming Shoshoni. Some frictions involving the latter are, however, intimated by the *Deseret News* of July 20, 1854: "Our red neighbors remain friendly towards the whites; but there are rumors of slight disturbances, and one or two small fights between the Green River Snakes and the Uinta Utahs." For a fuller account of the Provo fight, see Almon W. Babbitt's letter, September 26, 1854, in the *St. Louis Luminary*, November 22, 1854. [The Shoshonis' passage through the city to and from the altercation was noted by Hosea Stout. *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:528. —Ed.]

85 James S. Brown [in] *Life of a Pioneer*, 346, back from the Green River country for the winter, describes this visit to what he calls "Chief Catalos' camp of Shoshones, four miles north of Ogden." Another account is found in the *Deseret News*, September 7, 1854. Elsewhere the chief's name is given as Katat or Ka-tat-o, and he is termed chief of the Shoshoni bands of northern Utah.

1855

30

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W.
MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, JUNE 30, 1855⁸⁶

Sir,

Herewith I forward my accounts for the Quarter ending the 30th of June/55.

The Indians are universally quiet, and many appear inclined to work, and raise Grain, although, the Grasshoppers, and low stage of water, in all the Streams used for irrigation, affords but poor encouragement the present season.

The Shoshones have expressed a desire to commence farming operations next spring, and have solicited me to make a location for them, which I intend to do, this season, probably in the month of August.⁸⁷

I have met several of the bands of Utahs, the present season, during my tour to the Southern part of the Territory; they all seem friendly disposed, though considerable fault is found by them, in regard to not paying them for the use of their lands, although they have universally acknowledged that they were essentially benefitted by the settlements being made among them. It is not an unfrequent occurrence, to see an Indian driving team, and performing other common labor in the Southern Settlements, nor Indian children playing with those of the inhabitants; clothed, fed and Schooled the same as their own.

The idea of cultivating the earth, for a subsistence, gains slowly among them, for it is very adverse to there habit of idleness; still their necessities reason strong with them, and furnish forcible reasons why, they, should pursue the peaceful avocations of Agriculture, raising Stock &c, for a subsistence, instead of longer following in the habits of savage barbarity, idleness, and war, to which they have so long been accustomed.

In many places, however, they may be said simply to exist without either hunting or war; wikeup, or Lodge, utensils, or clothing of any kind. This Class

86 U/48-1855.

87 Somewhat more precisely, George A. Smith wrote on June 20, 1855, in a letter from Great Salt Lake City to the editor of *The Mormon*, "The Indians are very quiet, and are disposed to learn to raise grain. Wa-she-kik has sent a request to Governor Young to select him a farm on Green River, as he is unacquainted with farming. He is anxious to farm, as *game* is scarce." *Millennial Star* 17, no. 40 (6 Oct. 1855): 636. The contact with Washakie was made by James S. Brown early in June, 1855; Brown found the chief in the upper Green River Valley, apparently on the heads of Horse Creek. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 350-68.

are a constant prey to other more warlike bands, who steal their children; they possessing no means of defence, seek their safety in flight, & concealment; they live upon roots insects, and seeds gathered from a Kind of Tmisquit grass, which yeilds quite bountifully. Indians of this description remain in their localities, and until hunted up and meet the traveler, have never seen white men, they are mostly to be found bordering upon the Deserts, and are called Diggers.

I am happy in informing you that the Indians on the Humboldt, or Marys River, are more peacefully inclined than heretofore; they have not committed any depredations of importance upon travelers this season so far as has come to my Knowledge. Although, I heard, during my recent trip North, that two or three Indians have been inhumanly Killed by California Emigrants, but I hope that it may not result disastrously to succeeding traveling.

The Pah-vante Indians, who inhabit Millard County, are much inclined to go to work, owing principally to the influence of their young Chief Kenosha, who has long sought to bring about this result. Ken-osha, is quite young, and many of the Old warriors of his tribe do not like the idea of labor, hence, he meets with more, or less difficulty, in his laudable endeavors of introducing such of them, an extreme innovation.

He has some Stock, over which he exercises great care, and begins to realize, the benefit accruing therefrom. Arrow-pin, the Newly elected Chief of the roving band of the Utahs, is also, more or less, engaged in raising Stock, but careless about Agriculture, as his Stock can travel with him in his wanderings; nevertheless, he is extremely gratified, as was also his brother, late Chief Capt. Walker, in having grain Sown, Cultivated, and harvested by the inhabitants for them, which has been done every Season in most of the Settlements, more especially South. There should be an agency established in the Uinta Valley, or thereabouts, as the Indians of that region are frequently brought into collision with different tribes, by seeking trade with the mountain men, inhabiting in the vicinity of Green River. Its impossible to establish such agencies, in a manner to accomplish much good without some means to commence with. In order to have anything successful, there should be means to build a Fort, some *carols*, furnish farming utensils, teams, some oxen, & cows, & wagons; as also some provision, and Clothing.

If an arrangement of this Kind could be made, it would soon induce more, or less families of whites to settle there also, which would soon prove beneficial in rendering assistance to the Sub Agent who would have charge, and be greatly instrumental in exercising a beneficial influence among the natives.

This location would contain the Uinta Utahs, the Elk Mountain Utahs, Yampa Utahs, and would be convenient to the main tribe of the Shoshones, who inhabit farther north, but sometimes frequent in that region. Not having personally examined as yet for a location, for a farm, for the Shoshones, I cannot

speak with as much certainty, as I shall be able to, after my return from my contemplated visit in August; but I expect to find a suitable place for their farming operations near Green River, in the direction of Fort Supply, at which place grain was raised last year, and a tolerable fair prospect of raising some this.

So far as I can at present determine, the Shoshones, or Snakes, number about 300 Lodges, but they, as well, as the Utahs, Cum-um-bahs, Piedes, Pah Utahs, Pav-Vants and Diggers are so broken up into small bands, that it is impossible to tell with any degree of accuracy their numbers.⁸⁸

As the settlements extend, and the people make more explorations, as before remarked, Bands are found, who have never before seen White men.

I received pr last Mail, a request for estimates for the appropriation of Forty five thousand dollars in which letter it was also observed, that a similar request had previously been made, but not Complied with. I have only to state, that the desired estimate was made, and forwarded to the Department via of Independence, and Duplicates via of California in January 1st 1855.

Immediately after the receipt of your last letter, a Triplicate Copy was made out, and forwarded by last Mail, some of which I presume you have received. If you have not, and no movement has yet been made, in regard to that matter, it is rather late to make much out of it this season. If the funds could now be placed, at the disposal of some Agent, or person authorized to hold the treaty with the Indians, and expend the appropriation, it would be none too soon to effectually bring the business to a bearing another year.

The goods wanted, as set forth in the estimate, would have to be brought from S^t Louis, and it is too late now, to make a successful operation of that matter this season. The goods could probably be obtained here but it would be at such

88 In conformance with these views, the L. D. S. Journal History, under date of November 30, 1854, records: "During this month I [Brigham Young] wrote to Washakee and Katat, two Shoshone chiefs, advising them to not let their people divide into small parties, as their enemies would have more power to injure them, also advised them to not depend on hunting for a living, but to settle on good localities where they could raise grain, and I would send them men to teach them the arts of husbandry and civilization." [These may be the letters later collected in Rhett S. James, "Brigham Young-Chief Washakie Indian Farm Negotiations, 1854-1857," *Annals of Wyoming* 39, no. 2 (Oct. 1967): 245-56. — Ed.] James S. Brown says that on October 10 he received a letter from Orson Hyde "stating that Governor Young wished me to go on a mission among the Shoshones that winter. I answered the call, but when I got to Salt Lake City, on the way, it had been learned that the Indians had gone out so far into the buffalo country that it was not advisable for me to follow them. . . ." (*Life of a Pioneer*, 346-47.)

Other events of the winter pertaining to various Snake bands are not reflected in the Superintendency records, especially some trouble with the Shoshoni in the Ogden area. For some account of these, see D. B. Huntington's letter of December 5, 1854, in the *Deseret News*, December 21, 1854; Wilford Woodruff's journal entry for December 3, 1854, printed in the [*Deseret*] *News* of December 28; Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 347-50, and Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 105.

an advance, that it would be much better, and far more economical to purchase them in S' Louis, and freight them out.

I cannot in justice to my feelings, conclude my Report, without expressing my sentiments in relation to the true policy to be exercised towards the Indians, to keep them friendly, and slowly, but surely lead them to adopt a more peaceful, industrious, useful, and civilized existence. I am also happy to learn, that my views, opinions, & policy upon this subject, so intimately correspond with yours. To feed, and clothe them, is not only much cheaper; more humane, but far the most effectual, and if rigidly adhered to must make its impression, and eventually be successful.

It is with profound regret, that I witness the preparations for waging war upon the Sioux; they have generally, I might almost say, always, manifested the greatest friendship toward the Whites. In all of our intercourse with them, (and it has been considerable within the last nine years,) we have ever felt safe in their country, and had the most convincing proofs of their friendly disposition toward the Whites.

In all their depredations which have come to my knowledge, (with perhaps the single exception of the attack upon the mail, last September,) they have been strongly incited thereto by some mismanagement, or wrong on the part of the whites. And so far as regards that perticular instance, I have no doubt, but that those who were actually guilty of the act could be brought to justice which would be much better than to visit wholesale destruction upon all alike, both the innocent, and guilty. Indeed I find, that in all such cases, the guilty are the most apt to escape. I do not entertain a doubt, but all the difficulty with those Indians could be amicably arranged, leaving a much better & more favorable, and lasting impression of friendship without, than with the aid of Military force. You will please excuse me, for thus deviating from my subject, but while seeking a location in 1846 & 7. and at various times then, and since, not only myself, but hundreds, and thousands, of others, not only citizens of this Territory, but emigrants to Oregon, and California, having experienced not only friendship, but hospitality, and protection, which rude though it might be, nevertheless, being genuine and effecient, seemed to require a word in their favor from me; which, although, it may be considered obtrusive, and make nothing in their behalf, will still be an abiding satisfaction to me.

I understand that your influence has been, and is enlisted adversely to hostile operations against the Sioux. I can only say, may you be successful, in restraining the horrors of war, and the shedding of innocent blood, of the native tribes, to cry like *Abel's* for vengeance from the native soil.

In carrying out the policy indicated by you, and I beleive by many other influential members of the Government, for the extension of good to the native tribes; also securing their friendship, and peaceful disposition to the frontier

settlements, traveler, and passing emigrant, you may confidently rely upon my most cordial Co-operation.

I have forwarded by this mail to your address George W. Armstrong's bond which I hope you will duly receive. His papers, or quarterly Returns, have not come to hand. Doctor Hurt's the Indian Agent came in too late to be examined at this office, to be forwarded by this mail.

Hoping that my a/cs may be found satisfactory. . . .

31

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W.
MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UTAH
TERRITORY, GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1855⁸⁹

Sir: it gives me great pleasure to inform you of the steadily increasing success of the pacific policy, which you so properly and ably direct and advocate should be invariably pursued towards the red men, most wisely considering their degraded and ignorant condition, and advocating a course not only the least expensive to the general government, but the only one that promises any success in ameliorating the circumstances of a race who have long been a prey and enigma to their brethren, the whites.

As an incontestible proof of the last assertion, and an argument which you can use without fear of successful contradiction, the natives within Utah's borders are universally at peace among themselves, also with their white neighbors and the passing travellers; have begun to bend their unwilling backs to the useful toil of the laborer and husbandman, and realize the benefits thereof; and all this has been accomplished at far less expense than has ever been incurred under anything like similar circumstances. The force of this comparison, and the small amount disbursed for the attainment of such rapid beneficial and flattering results, will be readily appreciated by yourself and by all who are in the least familiar with the great number of numerous, wild, and unusually degraded tribes claiming this Territory for their home, few of whom, until quite recently, had ever seen the abodes of civilization.

True, the cheap rates at which these results have been attained have to be debited with the large amount of expense to our population accruing through

89 The original of this letter not being found in the Superintendency files—a usual circumstance when a letter has been printed—the text is derived from the version in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1855*, 34th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Executive Document 5, pt. 1 (Serial 810), 515–17.

the begging and thefts of the original settlers; yet, with this sum added, I am sanguine in the belief that Utah would compare much to her credit, in expenditures and results, by the side of any other portion of our extensive territories; and I can but trust that your honor, and all candid men, will at once subscribe to the correctness of my briefly expressed though firm belief.

The hitherto small amount of expenditures; the expectation (rightfully, perhaps,) raised in the minds of the Mary's River Indians by Major Hurt's predecessor; the general understanding of the various tribes, through some source, that a large appropriation had long ago been made for the purpose of making treaties with them, and the actual extensive occupancy of their lands, will easily account for what might otherwise be deemed the large disbursements for the quarter now ending, more especially those made by Agent Garland Hurt; still, after a careful examination of all the accounts and reports now forwarded, I am not able to state in what particular the total could be lessened in justice, and presume the department will come to the same conclusion, and duly honor the corresponding drafts.

I have at different times divided the Territory, and allotted the agents and sub-agents, the last division being by the Territorial road running north and south nearly through the centre, which was made on account of its definiteness and to accommodate the officers so far as consistent, all of whom hitherto have preferred to live in this city, with the late exception of Agent G. W. Armstrong, whose residence is at Provo. Death, changes, &c., have caused the last named line to remain until now, but as the present agents bid fair for a greater permanency, another division may ere long be deemed necessary.

On the 7th instant I had the gratification of meeting large bands of Shoshonees (Snakes) and Utahs in council in this city, where they made a "good peace," which I hope will prove lasting.

They came into this city during the latter part of August, had a friendly meeting on the 2d instant, and of course had to be fed and required presents; this I caused to be complied with as economically as my judgment could dictate, as will be seen by a portion of my own and Agent Hurt's vouchers. That you may become cognizant of the minute particulars of this visit, I take the liberty of forwarding to you Nos. 27 and 28, volume 5, of the *Deseret News*.⁹⁰

You will at once perceive that not only myself, but the subordinate officers of this superintendency, find it impossible, as proven by our united best endeavors and judgments, to carry out your admirable policy—which we all most heartily coincide with—except at considerable expense; hence may I not rely upon your

90 The enclosure is now lost, but Young had reference to Dimick B. Huntington's two accounts of the treaty-making published in the *News*, and these are consequently made our Document 32.

powerful mediation with the next Congress for appropriations commensurate with the justice of the case and the magnanimity of our nation?

I take pleasure in forwarding the reports and accompanying papers of Agents Major Garland Hurt⁹¹ and Major G. W. Armstrong, for the quarter ending September 30, 1855, trusting that their suggestions will meet with due consideration, their papers prove every way acceptable, and their accounts be satisfactorily adjusted.

So far as careful supervision gives me information, I am happy in being able to commend the diligence, economy, and success of the few employes under our control.

To prevent future misunderstanding, permit me to enquire whether I have a right to request agents and sub-agents to lodge in my office a copy of their quarterly reports and other documents of theirs, which the law requires me to examine and forward in addition to the one forwarded, and that remaining in their offices.

Owing to Mr. James Case (farmer for the Sandpitch Indians) having left for the States,⁹² I appointed Mr. Warren Snow in his place on the 2d of July last.

I transmit by the mail of October 1st proximo, this my report, the account current, abstract return property, and vouchers, from 1 to 15, inclusive, for the quarter ending September 29, 1855; also abstract of employes, and have drawn upon you in favor of the Hon. John M. Bernhisel, Utah delegate, for \$2,949 50, that being the amount shown in the accompanying account current.

Trusting that this report may be found sufficiently explicit, and not tedious through minute detail, and that the accompanying above named papers may prove to be correct in accordance with prescribed requirement. . . .

32

MEETING OF THE SNAKES AND UTAHS⁹³

By Br. D. B. Huntington we learn that Ti-be-bu-tow-ats (meaning the White man's son, so named, by being made a chief by the U. S. Agents at Laramie in

91 [See appendix for note text.]

92 The life of James Case would reward investigation. At the time of the Mormon movement west of the Missouri River in 1846, he was a farmer to the Pawnees on the Loup Fork in Nebraska. He joined the Saints, was consequently expelled from his post, and eventually went on to Utah.

93 *Deseret News*, September 12, 1855. The letter by Huntington which follows, dated September 11, 1855, is from the [*Deseret*] *News* of September 19, 1855.

1852.)⁹⁴ one of the Chiefs of the Snake Indians, and Ka-tat-o Chief of the northern Snakes, had come into this city for the purpose of making a treaty with the Utahs; they were met on Sunday 2nd Sept. By T-shar-poo-e-ent (White eye), An-ta-ro Chiefs of the Yampa Utes, Tin-tick, the hereditary chief of the Timpno-quint band; Sow-i-etts son represented his father and band, Tab-be-, a Chief of Ar-ra-peen's band, and Pe-teet-neet, chief of the Spanish Fork band, accompanied by subordinate chiefs and braves on each side.

The Utes met at the Governors office fully armed with bows and arrows, and guns, at 10 a.m.

The Snakes formed a line opposite the Tabernacle unarmed.

A messenger went from the Utes to tell the Snakes to stop where they were; they tarried awhile and then moved east opposite the Deseret Store, led by D. B. Huntington, Utah and Sho-sho-nee Interpreter, where they encountered the Utes, who formed a line painted black as if for battle, and completely armed in violation of the usual Indian custom of making peace.

Huntington went over and told the Utes to put away their guns, when they dismounted, and all placed their guns against the wall, except Squash and To-ma, and Batieste retained his war spear. When the Utes had laid down their guns, many of them commenced concealing their bows and arrows under their blankets, which Kat-tat-osaw, when he lifted up the pipe of peace towards Heaven, as high as he could raise his arm and shouted in a loud voice, "THIS IS

94 This is the same assertion James S. Brown made, and which was too easily rejected by Grace Raymond Hebard in her *Washakie*, 82–83. Some further research in the Federal archives seems indicated, to establish under just what circumstances an officer of the government treated with the Shoshoni, or some Shoshoni, at Fort Laramie in 1852. Brown's remarks, when he sought out Washakie somewhere on the upper North Platte on the mission previously referred to, in the spring of 1854, are to the following effect:

Washakie told us that only a few snows before then he was chief of all the Shoshones, and the Indians acknowledged him as such, but he was called to Fort Laramie, to have a talk with the agents of the big father at Washington, and to receive blankets and many other things. There the agents called a quiet, unobtrusive man, who never had been a chief, nor was in the line of chiefs, and designated him as head of the Shoshones, telling the Indians that they must have him as chief, and respect him as such, and that they, the agents, would recognize him in that position, and through him they would do all government business. Then the agents passed out a great quantity of blankets and other Indian goods, through their appointed chief. In this act, the Indians saw that the agents had chosen a favorite of their own, so the red men called him 'Tavendu-wets' (the white man's child), but never recognized him as chief.

That act of the government agents was the opening wedge to divide the Shoshone tribe into discontented factions, and thereby weaken it. Possibly that was the purpose in view, for before the tribe was very powerful, with a chief at their head unexcelled for bravery, skill and farsightedness. Chief Washakie was a bold, noble, hospitable, and honorable man. As an orator, I think he surpassed any man I ever met. (Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 318–19.)

THE WEAPON I COME TO FIGHT WITH.” At this time Batteiste, the coward, commenced dancing the War dance and singing the War songs in front of his men, and thrusting his spear to the earth. Huntington told the Utes to come and meet the Snakes in peace, when Old Pe-teet-neet started, followed by the other chiefs and braves. On approaching the Snakes, Pet-teet-neet offered Ti-be-bu-tow-ats his hand, who refused to take it. He then raised his own hand towards the Heavens, whereupon Pe-teet-neet did the same, then they solemnly lowered their hands low towards the earth, then raising up looked each other in the eye, eagerly grasped each other by the hand, and then embraced each other in their arms. The several Chiefs then went thro’ the same solemn ceremonies.

The Snakes maintained their position in the line, when the Utes passed along the line, measuring arms and shaking hands, and embracing each other. When this portion of the ceremony was done, it was agreed they should adjourn to the encampment of the Snakes, on Union Square. They went promiscuously, and the Utes encamped in D. B. Huntingtons door yard.

The Snakes and Utes then formed two parallel lines, about two rods apart and sat down on the grass. Ka-tat-o and Ti-be-bu-tow-ats then filled the two large pipes with tam-i-nump and tobacco, commenced on the right of the line of the Utes, presenting the pipe to the first man, not allowing him to touch the pipe with his hands; who having smoked until satisfied, the pipe was presented to the next; and thus passed through the entire company. If any one was unaccustomed to smoking, he was excused, by putting his right hand on the shoulder of the Snake, and drawing it slowly down his arm and along the pipe.

After the Snakes had passed the pipe to all the Utes, Pe-teet-neet and Tin-tick presented the pipe to the Snakes in like manner. They spent the remainder of the day in eating and refreshing.

Great Salt Lake City, Sept. 11, 1855.

Editor of the News—Dear Sir:—

On Friday, Sept. 7, Ar-ra-pine, or Senioroach, the Utah Chief in Walker’s place, came into the city to make a treaty of peace with Ti-be-bu-tow-ats, the Chief of the Snakes. The Utahs were about thirty in number, the Snakes about sixty.

The Utahs called at the Governor’s Office to pay him a visit: the Snakes on hearing of their arrival, came up in line in the usual manner of receiving each other, singing as usual. When Ar-ra-pine heard them singing, he said it was not good that they should sing the war song: I went out and told the Snakes to stop their singing, when Ar-ra-pine requested me to go out with him. We met the Snakes in front of T. S. Williams & Co.’s store. I introduced the two chiefs to each other, and after shaking hands, Ar-ra-pine took the Snake chief in his arms and gave him a tremendous hug, and raised him clear from the ground.

They went through the usual compliment of shaking hands and then repaired to the Temple Block, and were seated under the bowery to smoke until the Governor should come to talk to them. I seated the two tribes in front of each other. Ar-ra-pine took the presidency of the meeting, and having requested the citizens to be seated, he called upon all his men to raise their hands toward Heaven as a token or covenant of peace. They did so twice; all the Utahs then knelt down, and Ar-ra-pine made a lengthy prayer. He prayed like unto the ancients, for his wives and children, flocks and herds, and for all that he could think of.

The pipe of peace was passed around until the Governor arrived, when Ar-ra-pine requested all who wanted to speak to do so, reserving his own until the last. Several spoke on both sides, expressing a desire to be on friendly terms with each other. The Governor gave them some good counsel.

It was agreed that the Utahs should visit the Snakes, encamped on Union Square, and the Snakes agreed to take their lodges and move about four miles south, to where the Utahs were encamped.

The Indian Agent, Dr. Garland Hurt, kindly furnished them provisions, and gave the Utahs some presents; they appeared to be well satisfied. I visited the encampment the next day; they were enjoying themselves well. They say they have not had so good a treaty for twenty years.

Ar-ra-pine has just returned from the Navijos, and reports that they have raised a good crop of corn this season. He has established friendly relations between the Navijos and the Elk Mountain Utahs, and is doing much to reconcile the different tribes and bands to each other, teaching them to cultivate friendship with the whites.

The Utes and Snakes have agreed to meet on White River, and hunt buffalo together this winter.

Yours respectfully,
D. B. Huntington, Interpreter.

33

GEORGE W. ARMSTRONG, INDIAN AGENT, TO BRIGHAM
 YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
 PROVO, DECEMBER 31, 1855⁹⁵

Sir,

In compliance with the regulations of the Indian Department, I have the honour to forward this my report for the Second Quarter of the fiscal year beginning December 31st 1855.

Since my last report and in compliance with your recommendation I have visited a portion of the Shoshonee or Snake Indians. As I was informed by good authority that Wash-a-keek the chief of this tribe was camped on Green River or near that point I left this city on the 3^d of October for the purpose of meeting him and his band at Fort Supply, a white settlement about fifteen miles South west of Fort Bridger having previously sent word to him that I would be at that place on or about the 10th of October. On the morning of the 9th about 8 o'clock I was met by an Express from Fort Bridger informing me that Fort Supply was Surrounded by a Hostile band of Indians and that they had threatened to burn the Fort and also threatened the lives of the citizens; desiring me at the Same time to make all possible haste and render what assistance was in my power. I complied with his request and made all possible haste to Fort Bridger which is Situated immediately on the main road to the place of excitement. When I arrived at the Fort I found Considerable alarm at that place in consequence of the various reports that was in circulation concerning the hostility manifested by the Indians against the people of Fort Supply. After making various enquiries I deemed it unsafe to take my wagons containing the property belonging to Government along with me to the place of excitement as I thought my guard was not sufficiently strong to defend it in case of an attack (only nine men) and as there was none at Fort Bridger that could be spared I concluded to place the property inside of this fort leaving two of my men in charge and proceed with the balance on horses to Fort Supply. Before leaving, however, I was informed that the Indians on learning by Some means or other that a Government Agent would be at Fort Supply that day, had left and had camped on a small stream known as Smith's Fork a tributary of [Blacks Fork of] Green River about eight miles east of the Fort. I afterwards concluded to venture into the Indian camp before going to the Fort having procured at Fort Bridger the very best Sho-sho-nee Interpreter that could be found. When within sight of the Indian camp I was met by a half breed splendidly attired in

95 A/38-1856.

Indian costume who spoke very good English and who gave the camp a sign that something very unusual was at hand by galloping his horse round making a circle three times, then bringing him suddenly to a halt. He spoke in a very courteous manner and informed me that the chief was at his lodge. I was met by the chief Te-boo-in-dowetsey who was informed by the Interpreter that I was an Agent of the Government of the United States, he extended his hand in a friendly manner and bid me welcome to his camp. I learned that this was only a small portion of Wash-a-keek's band numbering one hundred warriors with their squaws and children and who had been located near Fort Supply during the Summer and fall. I made known to him that I had been informed that a misunderstanding existed between his band and the inhabitants of Fort Supply and requested him to accompany me to the fort where we could hold a Council and settle the matter satisfactory to both parties. He expressed his willingness to comply with my request and immediately left his camp being attended by thirty of his warriors armed with bows and arrows as a guard. On arriving at the Fort I found all the men under arms (being only fifteen) Supposing the Indians were about to attack the fort, and presuming that myself and guard were mountaineers who had joined them for that purpose. Before arriving at the Fort, however, their picket-guard discovered and informed the fort that we were friends and on arriving we were permitted to enter. I had previously disarmed the Indians and taken possession of their bows and arrows, at the same time assuring the chief that I would be responsible for their Safety. The citizens at my request immediately put away their arms. I then informed them that I wished to hold a council to ascertain the nature and extent of the difficulty. We held a council of about three hours duration and I learned that the Indians had made a demand on the fort for a large quantity of provisions, a demand which the citizens did not and would not comply, in fact the demand was unreasonable and had it been complied with would have left the fort destitute. I would here state that the grasshoppers here as in almost every Section of the Territory had been very destructive to the crops and the wheat which was then standing at this late season of the Year was the result of the Second sowing the first having been entirely destroyed. The Indians asserted that promises had been made to them by the fort that when the crops were harvested that they were to have much the largest portion which the citizens denied, but admitted that they had promised a certain amount which promise they were and had been willing to fulfill. To this the Indians took exceptions and threatened that if their demands were not Complied with to possess themselves at all hazard with as much as they desired. The citizens informed the Indians that they would resist to the extent of their power any and every attempt to dispossess them of their property. The Indians admitted that they had behaved in a rude manner on several occasions by throwing down fences, riding their

horses through the grain, making threats &c against the citizens; they excused themselves, however, by saying, that as the citizens would not do as they had agreed, and as they considered themselves as the rightful owners of the Soil believed themselves justified in doing as they had done. After explanations on both sides had been made I then addressed the Indians at some length showing them the impropriety of their course telling them that the great chief at Washington (the President of the U. S.) should he hear of their conduct would be much displeased and would look upon them as bad Indians. After I had done speaking they expressed through their Chief their determination to renew their friendship with the people of the fort and promised not to disturb the property of the citizens for the future. I then returned their bows and arrows when they all left for their camp well Satisfied with the proceedings of the Council. They expressed a great desire to see the President and hear him talk. I remained at the fort four days to satisfy myself as to the sincerity of the Indians, they returned several times to see me and manifested the most friendly feelings towards me as well as to the people of the fort. The day previous to leaving them I sent for the entire band and gave them presents at the same time assuring them that if they should renew their hostilities that the President would not send them any more presents and that I would be under the necessity of resorting to measures to enforce peace. I have since been informed on good authority that the Indians have faithfully kept their promise and are now in the Buffaloe country on a hunt. I would here state that the chief who acted as spokesman at the council was Tab-aboo-in-doweteey (or white man's Son) the chief of the band being on a war party with Wash-a-keek in the Crow Country. I would also state that this band had not been visited by an Agent nor received any presents from Government. Their presents were distributed by the Chief in a very satisfactory manner, when they all left the fort. The Sho-sho-nee or Snake Indians have heretofore manifested the most friendly feelings towards the emigrants to California, Utah and Oregon in fact they boast that their tribe have never shed the blood of a white man and this is the first difficulty of any magnitude as far as I am informed that ever has taken place between them and the whites. I would further add that the message which I sent Wask-a-Keek did not reach him as he had previously left on a war party against the Crow Indians, Consequently I was disappointed in Seeing him but learn from good authority that his expedition proved very profitable to him as he has taken about seventy five horses and a large amount of skins and furs from the Crows. Many of the Sho-sho-nee Indians expressed a great desire to be instructed in farming having learned by the example of the white man that it is much better to raise their bread than to depend upon the chase for their Subsistence. I regret that I did not see Wash-a-keek as I have since learned that he expressed a great desire to see me on hearing that I had visited Fort

Supply for the purpose of meeting him and that he wished me to to [*sic*] communicate his feelings to the great Chief at Washington (meaning the President of the U. S.) As I purpose visiting him in the Spring as soon as the snow on the mountain, will admit of travelling, I will then be able to learn the number of his band, his intentions &c and communicate through Your Excellency to the Department of Indian Affairs. . . .⁹⁶

1856

34

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM
A. HICKMAN, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE
CITY, AUGUST 11, 1856⁹⁷

Sir,

Inasmuch as Agent Garland Hurt is still on a visit to the Indians in the neighborhood of Carson Valley, and as Agent G. W. Armstrong has but recently returned from an official tour among the Indians south, hence is unable to start at once for Green river, and as the Shoshones on and about that stream will soon be obliged to leave on their hunt, you are hereby appointed to take an outfit of two wagons, 8 men, yourself, interpreter and teamster included, and proceed to Fort Bridger in Green river County to meet the Shoshone Indians, who are on a visit to that post with their chief, Wash-i-kik.⁹⁸ You will provide yourself with some goods, as per bill shewn me by Levi Stewart, merchant in this place, ammuniton and provisions as presents for them and hold a council with Wash-i-kik and his principal men, during which you will endeavor to inculcate friendly feelings, and give such instruction as shall have a tendency to induce the Indians to abandon their wandering and predatory mode of life, and induce them to cultivate the earth, and raise stock for a subsistence. You will also seek to impress upon their minds the benefits of civilized existence, and of their locating themselves so that schools may be established among them. You will seek to conciliate them towards each other and with other tribes as well as towards the whites, with whom however it is believed they have ever been at peace and friendly.

96 [See appendix for note text.]

97 Enclosure in Young to Manypenny, September 30, 1856 (U/13-1856). See Document 37.

98 [See appendix for note text.]

Upon your return you will make report to this office of your expenses, and of all occurrences of interest transpiring during your visit & interview with the Indians, persons employed in your service &c. You will particularly consider economy and promptness in the performance of these duties, and seek to make as favorable an impression as possible upon them.

In the distribution of the presents you will collect as many of the Indians together at Fort Bridger as you can, and call to your aid M^r Lewis Robison of that place and M^r Isaac Bullock of Fort Supply. I also suggest the name of M^r. Joshua Terry as Interpreter. . . .

35

WILLIAM A. HICKMAN, ISAAC BULLOCK, AND LEWIS ROBINSON TO
GOV. BRIGHAM YOUNG, DATED FORT BRIDGER, GREEN RIVER
COUNTY, UTAH TERRITORY, AUG. 19, 1856⁹⁹

Sir,

We address you a few lines to inform you of the intercourse we have had with Wash-i-kik and his tribe. There were present 40 lodges, 300 persons. On the arrival of the Indian goods at Fort Bridger, pr. William A. Hickman, Isaac Bullock of Fort Supply sent Joshua Terry in Search of Washikik and his band, found them high up on Bear River on the eve of Starting to this place. Terry informed them that W^m. A. Hickman was at Bridger with presents for them. On the 16th Wash-i-kik & his band arrived here. We Smoked, had dinner and & gave them a beef, after which we had a treaty or Council with Wash-i-kik and Some 15 of his braves, explained the nature of Hickman's Coming and by whom Sent. A good Spirit Seemed to prevail and after much conversation adjourned till next day at which time Wash i kik was notified that he Should have another beef, and also his presents as sent by Gov^r. Young per W^m. A. Hickman, and that Isaac Bullock & Lewis Robinson were his assistants in the matter, which Seemed to render good Satisfaction to all the Indians present.

The following morning according to promise the presents were Spread upon the green adjacent to Fort Bridger Wash i kik and his band amounting

99 Enclosure in Young to Manypenny, September 30, 1856 (U/13-1856). Hickman's book does not refer to this particular mission, though he does tell of an earlier unavailing effort, in company with Elisha Ryan, to "hunt up and invite in Washakie, a Shoshone chief, and his band of Indians," for a council with Brigham Young. That mission was evidently in the winter of 1854-55; the unsuccessful search for Washakie was pursued in the northern part of the Green River Valley. Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 105-6.

to over 300 came. We again explained the nature of the presents, that it was because they had been good they had been Sent, after which Wash i kik gave a long and good address to his band who paid great attention to what he Said. We then with the assistance of Wash i kik and 3 of his men made a distribution, all were well pleased.

We find him friendly to the whites, and willing for them to occupy as much of his land as they want or any other favor his country affords.

While distributing Said presents the best of order was preserved by Washikik and his people they Seemed to observe with great reverence all that he Said to them, not a violation of any order he gave by any of his band. While writing this letter Wash-i-kik came in, Said his heart was good and wanted to talk, and hear us talk. M^r. Bullock expressed to him our mind and feelings concerning all good Indians, which made him rejoice much, also to have peace & good feelings towards all Indians & whites. Washikik replied that he had been to the Sioux and all the tribes near, and had wished much that they all might be friends, that they would promise, but would Soon break it, which made him feel bad that he did not know what to do, had thought he would Stay on his own land and not go about any more of them, but he felt very good over what he had heard today. The Indians were well pleased with their presents, and departed upon their hunt expressing the most friendly feelings towards the whites. . . .

36

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W.
MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, AUG. 30, 1856¹⁰⁰

Sir,

[Encloses two drafts, one for \$840 in favor of Joseph F. Mason of Weston, Mo., and one for \$3,756.50 in favor of Levi Stewart & Co. of Great Salt Lake City.]

The above amounts have arisen through the necessity of making purchases of certain presents for the Shoshonee Indians, and have the fullest Sanction of my judgment as to the most judicious management of the affairs of this Superintendency as far as that tribe is at present concerned.

I deemed this disbursement, and the requisite steps for the early distribution of the presents purchased therewith, the more imperative from the fact that

100 U/10-1856.

those numerous Indians, located immediately upon the Emigrant Road have been invariably friendly to the whites: also because they received no presents of consequence while at the treaty held at Laramie in 1851, where and when nine tribes were presented, all of whom except the Shoshonees received presents, and still they nearly if not entirely alone of all those tribes have stood fast by the agreement there made to be at peace; and also because they visited the upper crossing of the North Fork of the Platte by the request of the U. S. Troops, as they allege, and again had no presents given them. These circumstances, together with the invariably peaceful course, and pacific disposition of the Shoshonees, will, I trust, most amply justify in your estimation, the small outlay now made in their behalf, not only as a matter of justice in past but as another step in that conciliatory policy you so correctly and ably endeavor to have carried out. . . .

37

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W.
MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1856¹⁰¹

Sir.

Accompanying herewith you will find my abstract, account current and vouchers from one to thirty inclusive amounting to \$6813 25/100. As advised by last mail a draft was given to Levi Stewart & Co for \$3756 50/100 and one in favor of Joseph P. Mason Weston M^o for \$840 0/100 which amount was entirely expended in Sending out presents to the Shoshones or Snake Indians at Fort Bridger, and distributing the Same to them.

The occasion which demanded this expenditure is Simply this, 1st The Shoshones have never had any presents of consequence, while almost every Surrounding tribe have had more or less given to them. 2nd They have always been friendly to travellers, and have long felt that while other Indians who have been more or less troublesome and unfriendly have received considerable quantities of presents, they have received nothing.

In the Shoshones country which lies in this Territory and through which the trading routes to Oregon and California pass, no traveler or whites have ever

101 U/13-1856. Nothing is said of it in this or other official reports, but some 30 bushels of wheat and some vegetables were raised this year at Fort Supply by Bazil, marking the first effort at agriculture by the Wyoming Shoshoni. Isaac Bullock, in a letter to the *Deseret News*, of October 1, 1856, said that Bazil and his squaws had harvested the wheat "clean and neat, and appear to feel well satisfied with their prospects for grain this winter."

been molested. those acquainted with this feel perfectly Safe when they arrive in their country, and can rest in quiet and peace.

For over two years these Indians have been expecting presents from the appropriation of \$45,000, which from Some cause has been retained as yet—by the department. For these reasons, and believing that it would meet with the views of the department, determined me, when informed that the main body was encamped at Fort Bridger waiting for an Agent to visit them and make them Some presents to forthwith respond to their wishes. D^r Hurt, being absent on his Carson County expedition, and Major Armstrong, who having just returned from his Southern trip, not being able to go in time to meet them, I appointed M^r William Hickman to take charge of the expedition and to call to his assistance M^r Lewis Robinson [Robison] of Fort Bridger, and Isaac Bullock both residents of Green River County, to aid and assist him in the distribution of the presents to the Indians. A copy of instructions to them, as well as their report to me upon their return is herewith forwarded.

I am happy to be able to Say that the Indians throughout the territory are generally friendly, although I have heard of Some difficulty being experienced by travelers on Marys River the particulars of which I expect will be found in Agent Hurt's report, which with major Armstrong's I yet hope will be in in time for this mail.

The report of this quarter Should Show the employees of this Superintendency, and these failures of Agents reports not coming in time, I fear will disenable me for giving it in full. Agent Hurt has visited the Indians in Carson County, and the Indians on the route usually travelled by the emigrants to California.

He has also continued his farming operations, which I consider have been quite Successful. Major Armstrong has also been quite active in visiting among the Indians, having visited Since his return from South the Ivanpah Indians about 140 miles west, bordering upon the Desert, and among whom Tintick harbored with his hostile band last winter and Spring. The operations altogether involve considerable expense but I assure you it is needful and just.

The Indians in the vicinity of the Settlements have long depended upon the liberality of the people for a great Share of their Support. Hence whenever Scarcity prevailed, So that provisions could not be Supplied to them, it often caused much ill feeling and was calculated to incur hostilities. They moreover frequently become unreasonable in their requisitions and get angry if they are not immediately complied with. These considerations are Sufficient in themselves to justify opening up a few farms for their temporal benefit, to Say nothing of the Salutory influence which it is calculated to exercise over them in leading them back to the arts of civilized existence.

I need hardly Suggest to one So well acquainted with the difficulties with the natives in other territories, that it is by pursuing this conciliatory course towards them that in this territory we enjoy that degree of peace and quiet So happily existing

They are now [*page frayed: five or six words lost*] Somewhat appreciate the efforts making for their relief and benefit

For amount of balance for this quarter to wit, \$2216 75/100. I have drawn as usual in favor of our Delegate in Congress, Hon, John M. Bernhisel.

Trusting that my course, and those associated with me, may prove Satisfactory to the department. . . .

P. S. Oct. 1st Agent Hurts report and accompanying accounts, came to hand last evening and owing to the detention of the mail one day has given us an opportunity to forward them herewith, though not Sufficient time to So thoroughly examine them as I should have done. His report is interesting and true and his expenditures reasonable and just, and should be promptly met, and I take great pleasure in recommending their favorable consideration to the department[.]

1857

38

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER,*
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
 LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1857¹⁰²

Sir,

Enclosed please find Abstract account current and vouchers from 1 to 35 inclusive (also abstract of employees) for the current quarter up to this date, as owing to the stoppage of the mail I have deemed it best to avail myself of the opportunity of sending by private Conveyance not knowing when I may have another chance. The expenditure as you will observe by the papers amount to

* [Donald Chaput, "James W. Denver, 1857, 1858–59," *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 69–75. —Ed.]

102 U/19–1857. This letter, written as the Utah Expedition was marching toward Utah, reflects the general insecurity of the Mormon position. Brigham Young later made much of the fact that the Federal government had failed to notify him of his having been superseded as governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the letter is an example of scrupulous avoidance of these topics.

\$6411.38 for which I have drawn my drafts on the department in favor of Hon. John M. Bernhisel delegate to Congress from this Territory. You will also observe that a portion of these expenditures accrued prior to this quarter, which may need a word of explanation. Santa Clara is in Washington County the extreme Southern County of this Territory and this labor was commenced and partly performed, seeds, grain &c furnished prior to the time that Major Armstrong visited those parts of the Territory, hence failed to find its way into his reports and failed being included in mine because the accounts & vouchers were not sooner brought in and hence not settled until recently; but little has been effected in that part of the Territory at the expense of the Government, although much has been done by the citizens in aiding the Indians with tools, teams and instruction in cultivating the earth. The bands mentioned are part of the Piede tribe of Indians who are very numerous, but only in part inhabit this Territory. These Indians are more easily induced to labor than any others in the Territory and many of them are now engaged in the common pursuits of civilized life. Their requirements are constant for wagons, ploughs, spades, hoes, teams and harness &c to enable them to work to advantage.

In like manner the Indians in Cache Valley have received but little at the expense of the Government although a Sore tax upon the people; West and along the line of the California and Oregon travel, they continue to make their contributions, and I am Sorry to add with considerable loss of life to the travellers. This is what I have always Sought by all means in my power to avert, but I find it the most difficult of any portion to control I have for many years Succeeded better than this. I learn by report that many of the lives of the emigrants and considerable quantities of property has been taken. This is principally owing to a company of some three or four hundred returning Californians who travelled those roads last spring to the Eastern States shooting at every indian they could see, a practise utterly abhorrent to all good people; yet I regret to say one which has been indulged in to a great extent by travellers to and from the Eastern States and California, hence the Indians regard all white men alike their enemies and kill and plunder whenever they can do So with impunity and often the innocent Suffer for the deeds of the guilty. This has always been one of the greatest difficulties that I have had to Contend with in the administration of Indian Affairs in this Territory. It is hard to make an Indian believe that the whites are their friends and the Great Father wishes to do them good, when perhaps the very next party which crosses their path shoots them down like wolves. This trouble with the Indians only exists along the line of travel west, and beyond the influence of our Settlements. The Shoshones are not hostile to travellers so far as they inhabit in this Territory except perhaps a few called "Snake diggers" who inhabit as before stated along the line of travel west of the settlements. There have however been

more or less depredations the present season North and more within the vicinity of the Settlements owing to the causes above mentioned and I find it of the utmost difficulty to restrain them. The Sound of war was quickens the blood and nerves of an Indian. The report that troops were wending their way to this Territory has also had its influence upon them. In one or two instances this was the reason assigned why they made the attacks which they did upon some herds of Cattle they seemed to think that if it was to be war they might as well commence and begin to lay in a Supply of food, when they had a chance. If I am to have the direction of the Indian Affairs of this Territory and am expected to maintain friendly relations with the Indians, there are a few things that I would most respectfully suggest to be done. First, that travellers omit their infamous practise of shooting them down when they happen to see one.

Whenever the citizens of this Territory travels the roads, they are in the habit of giving the Indians food, tobacco and a few other presents, and the Indians expect Some such trifling favor, and they are emboldened by this practise to come up to the road with a view of receiving such presents. When therefore travellers from the States make their appearance they throw themselves in Sight with the Same view and when they are Shot at Some of their numbers killed as has frequently been the Case, we cannot but expect them to wreak their vengeance upon the next train.

Secondly. That the Government should make more liberal appropriations to be expended in presents I have proven that it is far cheaper to feed and clothe the Indians than to fight them. I find moreover that after all when the fighting is over, it is always followed by extensive presents which if properly distributed in the first instance might have averted the fight. In this Case then the expense of presents are the Same and it is true in nine tenths of the Cases that have happened.

Third. The troops must be kept away for it is a prevalent fact that where ever there are the most of these we may expect to find the greatest amount of hostile Indians and the least Security to persons and property

If these three items could be complied with I have no hesitation in Saying that so far as Utah is concerned that travellers could go to and from pass and repass and no Indian would disturb or molest them or their property.

In regard to my drafts it appears that the department is indisposed to pay them, for what reason I am at a loss to conjecture. I am aware that Congress Separated the office Superintendent of Indian Affairs from that of Governor, that the Salary of Governor remained the Same for his Gubernatorial duties, and that the Superintendent was fifteen hundred I do think that inasmuch as I perform the duties of both offices that I am entitled to the pay appropriated for it, and trust that you will so consider it.

I have drawn again for the expenditure of this present quarter as above Set forth. of course you will do as you please about paying as you have with the drafts for the two last quarters.

The department has ofen manifested its approval of the management of the Indian Affairs in this Superintendency, and never its disapproval. Why then should I be subjected to such annoyance in regard to obtaining the funds for defraying its expenses? Why should I be denied my Salary, why should appropriations made for the benefit of the Indians of this Territory be retained in the treasury and individuals left unpaid? These are questions I leave for you to answer at your leisure, and meanwhile Submit to Such course in relation thereto as you shall See fit to direct. . . .

39

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT, GREEN
RIVER COUNTY, UTAH TERRITORY, NOVEMBER 30, 1857¹⁰³

Sir,

I arrived here several days ago, with Col Cooks command. Circumstances compells the Army, to remain here untill spring. All the civil officers for Utah are here & must of course remain under the protection of the Army. The Gove[r]nor will in a few days organize the Territorial Government.

I expect within two weeks, to have an interview, with the Cheif of the Snake Tribe, which are in winter quarters a short distance from here. I will also within a few months visit in company with Agent Dr. Hurt, several other tribes

Dr Hurt, was driven from his "indian Farm" in "Salt Lake Valley," by the Mormons, & is & will remain in this camp. the Dr. will report to me as soon as we get fixed. We are at present engaged building Houses (cabins & fixing up for the winter. I am at present writing in my carraige with gloves on my hands—the thermometer below zero. . . .

103 F/172-1858.

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT,
 GREEN RIVER COUNTY, DECEMBER 14, 1857¹⁰⁴

Dear Sir

In compliance with a regulation of your department, making it the duty of superintendents to report annually, I submit the following report.

Having been in the Territory of Utah, but a few weeks, I have consequently but little to report. I arrived at this Camp the latter part of last month, & was informed by Col. [Albert Sidney] Johnston, the Commanding Officer, that the Army, would go into Winter quarters at this place. All the civil officers are Stopping here, and I am obliged to do the same. I have been buisily engaged erecting a cabin in some degree suitable for an office and dwelling, will have it finished in a few days.

“Little Soldier,” Cheif of a Small Tribe of Sho-Sho-Ne Indians visited me last Tuesday and remained in Camp Two days. This Cheif had with him several of his men, and also an Indian named Ben Simons, formerly of the Deleware Tribe, but for the last Twenty years a trader among the Indians of this Territory. Ben Speaks most of the languages of this region, and English sufficiently well to answer for an interpreter.¹⁰⁵

104 F/176–1858.

105 Most of what is known about Ben Simons emerges in the records of 1857–58, and a considerable part of that is developed in the documents now printed. He is said to have been a Cherokee, or a half-breed Cherokee of French parentage, and attained to the status of a sub-chief with Little Soldier’s band of mixed Shoshoni and Utes. Another man of like character, variously referred to as Jim Simons or Jim Cherokee, appears fugitively in the same records. Perhaps the earliest documentary reference to Ben Simons occurs on Oct. 14, 1852, in the letter by Brigham Young quoted in note 60. He frequented, with Little Soldier’s band, the Weber River area in particular, and Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, carrying on the Pacific Railroad survey after Gunnison’s death, in the spring of 1854 referred to his presence in the Morgan Valley, even calling a creek by his name. On Aug. 7, 1858, Richard Ackley referred to Ben’s presence with a detachment of troops as far east as the North Platte (*Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (1941): 203). During the winter of 1857–58 he moved back and forth between the lines of the Mormons and Camp Scott, and was a principal source of information for both. He appears to vanish from the record in 1859; the last reference I have to him is a report of a conversation made by Dimick B. Huntington on Feb. 14, 1859 (*L. D. S. Journal History* for this date). Arrapine and Ben Simons had been visiting Huntington in Great Salt Lake City, and Ben, who apparently was a black-bearded man, is represented as having told Arrapine “that somebody had got to die for shooting at him last winter in the mountains—he did not say who it would be.”

Little Soldier's Tribe is at present encamped in Weber Valley, on the road leading from this Camp to Salt Lake consequently in close proximity to the Mormons, and in a position to render assential service to the Mormons, should they be so disposed. Little Soldier assures me however, that they have always kept aloof from Mormon delusions and maintained strict integrity towards the U. States and any of her Citizens, who have traded through his country. I have satisfied myself that they have not deceived me. Inasmuch as this Tribe have not acceded to the wishes of the Mormons, & as an inducement for a continuence of friendship I have given them some presents for which they were very thankfull and much pleased.

I herewith transmit to you, the Report of Agent Dr Hurt. I have examined the Report carefully and have talked with men, of unquestionable integrity who have seen the Indian Farms, and so far as I have been able to investigate the matter, justice compells me to bear favourable testimony to the policy of Dr. Hurt, in introducing agriculture among these Tribes.

Dr. Hurt has undouptably given his entire time & energies to improve the condition of the Tribes, in his neighbourhood, & has by his devotion to their interests endeared himself much to them, and also stimulated other Tribes, who have come many miles, to visit these farms, and are asking instructors, Dr H. has accomplished all this without any assistance from those around him, but in many instances had to encounter obstacles thrown in his way. For the reasons, for which Dr. Hurt, abandoned the farms, I refer you to his letter to Col. Johnston.¹⁰⁶

Permanently locating the Indian Tribes of this Territory, and the introduction among them, of agriculture and Mechanical persuits, shall be my cheif aim. . . .

1858

41

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT, GREEN
RIVER COUNTY, UTAH TERRITORY, JANUARY 1, 1858¹⁰⁷

Dear Sir.

There is now, no probability of the Army or civil Department getting into Salt L. City, before May or June or even then.

106 For the general background to Indian Affairs at this time in Utah Territory see Morgan, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah," 405-9 [pp. 79-83 in this volume].

107 F/189-1858.

In compliance with the Special request of the Acting Commissioner Mr Mix—I have availed myself of every opportunity to get reliable information of the true condition of the Indians in this Territory. I have obtained Some useful and interesting information. Since my last communication, Five chiefs and Seventy to Eighty of their principal men, visited me—representing two of the Utah Tribes or Bands. The Utah claim the country—between Salt L. City, Rocky Mountains—New Mexico & Serrie Nevada. Those that were here seemed peacefull, but, evidently poor, they belong to Dr Hurt Agency, & the Dr. informs me that they have rendered him some service on the Indian farms. These Bands are anxious to engage in Agriculture & asked me to assist them, and also send a white man to instruct them. they informed me, that game, was very scarce in their country, but plenty of good land. Wash-a-Kee—principal Cheif of a small Tribe called “Snakes,” send me a special Message last week, informing me, that he would visit me before the Army left. This Tribe is at present on Wind River, on lands belonging to the Crous,¹⁰⁸ they claim Green River County, but game is too scarce here, & hence they go elsewhere for subsistence. The Snakes, & Some of the Utah Bands, have been at variance for some years, but both Seem willing, to make friends, which I will endeavor to consummate in the Spring or sooner if possible.

Several persons who have done business among these different Tribes, inform me that they have never molested any Whites. I give the Utahs that visited me some presents. The Department have directed me to examine the financial accounts of Agents Hurt & Armstrong, which I cannot do, untill we get into (If Ever) Salt Lake City.

I have received a communication Since here, informing that the person appointed to the Agency at Salt L. City, had declined, & I am consequently requested to continue Mr. Armstrong—Mr A. is a Mormon, & untill further instructed, I must decline recognizing him as an Agent. I believe the last Congress passed an Act for an Indian Agency, in Carson Valley. I think it would be advisable to appoint a suitable person to that Agency. Mr John Kerr, is here, in the employ of Mr Livingston, and who I think would make a very good & reliable Agent. Mr Kerr has lived several years in this Territory, and seems familiar with Indian affairs. I also reccomend the appointment of some person in the place of Mr Armstrong, at Salt Lake city. . . .

108 This is one of the earliest documents that shows Washakie’s Shoshoni frequenting the country that eventually became their reservation.

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,*
 ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT,
 GREEN RIVER COUNTY, UTAH TERRITORY, FEBRUARY 10, 1858¹⁰⁹

Dear Sir.

The bearer Lewis M. Stewart Esq—is my Brother-in-Law, who I take pleasure in introducing to your favourable consideration, he is a Scholar & Gentleman, & in every way worthy your confidence. Mr Stewart, come out with me, & has rendered me assential service. Mr. S. visits the States, to attend to some private business for me, & bring out my family;

I requested Mr. S.—to visit Washington, for reasons, that will appear in this letter. The Mails have been very irregular; indeed no Mails, at all, untill within the last three weeks, & then only part of the Oct. Nov & December Mails. These Mail delinquences are insufferable, especially when the roads, have ben in a traveling condition all Winter. There is a strong presumption, that the Mail, has been intercepted, we are forced to this belief, from the fact that no official, Civil or Military officer have received any thing from Washington, & very few letters of any kind. I have received but three letters since I left home.

I have communicated all my official acts, among the Indians, to your Department, which I hope, has met with approval. I came into this country, with a full determination to do my duty, both to the Government & Indians. The duties pertaining to my office, are very different from my former habitudes, and it would not be very strange, if I would commit some errors, in the outstart of my Mission. Rest assured, my Dear Sir, that I have not been idle, to inform myself, of the duties of my office. My principal associate, is Gov. Cumming,¹¹⁰ a man of extraordinary acquirements, & my warm friend. I beg leave to remind, you, of a promise to send me a Book, containing a general & special Hystory, of all the Indian Tribes, in the U. States. I will regard it as a very great favour, to send me said Book, by my friend Mr. Stewart.

I forwarded several weeks ago, my first financial Report, which from the peculiar condition of affairs here, may need some explanation. If so, I feel

* [Harry Kelsey, "Charles E. Mix, 1858," *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 77–79. —Ed.]

109 S/273–1858.

110 Alfred Cumming, a Georgian, governor of Utah from 1857 to 1861, had previously been Superintendent of the Central Superintendency at St. Louis, and had ample background to give Forney wise counsel.

confident, Mr. Stewart can make a satisfactory explanation. I am very anxious to make a right beginning.

I wish to be rightly understood, in refference to my motives, for comming out, into this country, that it was or is not to make money, but reather a hope & prospect, of improving a broken down constitution, & avoiding the development of already incipient CONSUMPTION. I am happy to inform you that my health is already greatly improved.

I see it stated in the papers, & the impression seems to be general, that some of the Indian Tribes, are in the employ of B. Young, there is no truth in this, & I think I stated so, to the Department, in my communications. I am assured, by reliable persons, that the Indian Tribes, in this Territory, with the exception of those in & about Carson Valley, have been uniformly peaceable, & never molested any of our people & the Government, altho frequently impertuned by the Mormons, to steal from & murder Emigrants. To improve the condition of the Indians, in Carson Valley, I reccommended the appointment of an Agent for that locality—the person whom I reccommended, left here, a few weeks ago, for the States, & may be at Washington about the first of March. I also advised the appointment of a new Agent at Salt Lake City, I cannot think, that you, will want to continue a Morman in office. I believe I reccommended no one for this Agency—I do now respectfully reccommended Dr. C. B. Gillespy, Bradys Bend P. O., Armstrong Co. Pa. I know the Dr well, and consider him well qualified for any position, & I feel confident he would come out.

I see it stated, that Genl [James W.] Denver has been appointed, Secretary for Kansas, how is this—I was in hopes that the Kansas, troubles were all rightly fixed up long before this. With a veiw to the prospective good of Kansas, I would respectfully reccommend, the Hanging or exporting, some of the scoundrals, who seem so bent on mischeif. Did Walker & Stanton, brake down. I hope the President will not suffer by the Kansas difficulties.

It is my full purpose, to visit every full Tribe, in this Territory, within the next ten months. I will have an interview with the “Snake” Tribe, before we leave this point, these are wintering on “Wind River,” this section of the Territory belong to this Tribe.

My oppotunities have been too limited, to enable me to say much of the real & true condition, of the Indians, in this Territory. I have talked with the representatives of two Tribes, from these & other sources, I have learned, that all are poor, scarcity of game, is the cause. The Cheifs, & principal Men, with whom I have talked, are anxious to be taught farming. The “Utah” Cheifs, who visited me last Month, told me that they had very little game, but plenty of good Land, and asked me, to send a white to teach the Art of farming. I am anxious to give these people an opportunity to work

If the Department, have any communication to make, please send it by Mr. Stewart, as the Mail is uncertain. Mr. Stewart will give you any information about the condition of things here, It is very uncertain when the Army will leave, not perhaps untill June. Present my compliments to the Secretary of the Interior. . . .

43

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT,
GREEN RIVER COUNTY, MARCH 11, 1858¹¹¹

Dear Sir.

I received a letter from Col. Johnston, several days ago, requesting my Co-operation in furthering the operations of the U. Army, by employing some expert Indians, for the performance of certain kinds of duty, which might prove efficacious to all here encampment.

The intention is not to engage Indians, for actual fighting, but as scouting parties. On reflection, I have concluded, that it is my duty, to render the Army, all the aid in my power. I have send for the "Snake Tribe," they being the most intimately acquainted with this portion of the Territory.

I received a letter, yesterday evening, from "Little Soldier" principal Cheif, of a small Tribe, at present encampment on Bear River, some fifty miles from this camp. Weaver & part of Salt L. Vally, was the home, of this Tribe, untill driven from all their best land, by the Mormons. They were encampment, all winter near "Ogden City," Weaver Vally—they left there several days ago, crossed the Mountain & Cannons—between this & S. L. City, the road, they inform me, is in a good Condition. I will see the Tribe in a few days.

"Little Soldier"'s Tribe—have been suspected, by some, for having formed friendly relations with the Mormons. This Cheif, with some of his principal men, visited me last fall, shortly after our arrival here. There own Statements, & the testimony of reliable men, convinced me, that this Tribe, have ever, been faithful, to the Government & our citizens. All subsequent information of this people, strengthens my good opinion of them.

It is uncertain, when I may have another safe opportunity of sending letters—this goes by the Army Express. . . .

111 F/227-1858.

44

D. W. THORPE TO CHARLES E. MIX, ACTING COMMISSIONER OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON,
D. C., MARCH 26, 1858¹¹²

Sir

In the establishment of an Indian Agency for the "Snake Nation" I would respectfully mention that if the Government should Deem the season to[o] far advanced to make the usual arrangements for the purchas[e] and transportation of Goods for that Tribe, I will be able to have the goods furnished and fraightted at the ordinary Government rates, by the direction of the Department.

In this connection I would beg to suggest that a limited amount of goods for that destination would be most advisable untill those Indians have been visited and there chiefs and head men assembled and the numbers and wants more certainly ascertained.

A few thousand dollars properly and carefully distributed among them would be an e[a]rnest of the kind feelings of Government in their behalf and would be most salutary in the prevention of any undue influence being used over them by the mormons in connection with the difficulties now pending in that region. . . .

45

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
FORT BRIDGER, APRIL 17, 1858¹¹³

Dear Sir.

There has nothing peculiarly interesting transpired in my department, since my last Communication.

I visited last week the Sho-Sho-Ne- Tribe at present encamped on Bear River, fifty miles from here, in the direction of Salt L. City. I promised the Cheifs of this Tribe, sometime ago- and when yet encamped in Weber Valley, that whenever they had moved to Bear River, I would endeavor to visit them, consequently

112 T/286-1858.

113 F/260-1858.

Tuesday evening of last week, two Cheifs, with seventy men, came to my place, all well mounted, to escort me to there Camp. There was no backing out, on the following day we starded. This was my first visit to an Indian Camp. I was decidedly pleased with the general appearance & appearently industrious habits of these people. I was informed by one of the Cheifs, Ben Simons, who acted as Interpreter, that they had out almost constantly hunting parties They have killed this Winter, over a hundred elk, & a large quantity of small game —They have also commenced traping in Bear River, & have already Caught considerable Otter & Beaver.

A small party, from this Tribe, were the first Indians that visited me, after our arrirel here. This is one of the Tribes—B. Young, boasted, would assist him, in the event of a conflict with the U. States. Several days intercourse, on my recent visit, ennables me to say most confidently, that this Tribe, is true, to the Government, beyond all peradventure.

I received your communication informing me of the appointment of an Agent at S. L. City.

I will send my financial report, for the quarter Ending March 31, the first of next month. My visit to B. River, last week, & other official matters, prevents me, sending it by to Morrow's Mail.

Wash-A-Kee.—Principal Cheif of the Snakes, had send me word, that he & his principal men will visit me within two weeks.

White-Eye—Principal Cheif, of a large Tribe, of "Utes," spend part of a day at my Tent, he is evidently a man, Calculated to rule, he wants me to see all his Cheifs & Principal men, before we leave this. Three of the Sho-Sho-Ne Cheifs, have requested me, to meet them & all there people at "Bear Lake," in May, & give them a talk - which I can do on my way to Salt Lake City. . . .

46

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
FORT BRIDGER, MAY 21, 1858¹¹⁴

Dear sir.

I succeeded on the 12th inst. of consummating a Treaty of Peace, between the Snake Tribe, under Cheif Wash-A-Kee—his five sub-Cheifs, and the Utah Tribe, under White-Eye— Sow-At- & Sam Pitch—equal Cheifs, These two Tribes have

114 F/252-1858.

been at enmity for years, fighting and killing each other, and endangering the lives & property of Whites.

I seen and talked with both Tribes, before they met here, and at my request met in Council, at my office. All differences are adjusted, and I have good reason to believe, that the peace will be permanent.

The line deviding these Indians, was never deffinately explained to them, both Tribes, now understand where the dividing line between them is.

The Bannack Tribe, were present at the Council. I will give you, on the first June a full account of the above transaction, and also, all my other official doings, since in the Territory & to the end of the fiscal year.¹¹⁵ It is my intention, and will make my arrangements accordingly, That from the first of July, to December or January, my time will be principally occupied traveling—visiting the Tribes & Bands, in other portions of the Territory, unless prevented by political entanglements. I have satisfactorily arranged the boundaries, and concluded permanent friendship with four Tribes, of considerable importance.

I will leave this next Monday or Tuesday, for Salt L. Valley, & the Indian farm, near Provo City. My friend Govenor Cumming, visited the Indian farm, during his trip through the Mormon Settlements, and found things on the farm in a very different condition, then represented to me by the Agent. The Govenor seen about 2000 bushels of wheat—Cattle and farming implements. The person on the farm, was requested to remain untill my arrival there, which will, I trust, be next week, & in time, to have some potatoes &c—planted.

I will return here again in a few weeks, I have an appointment to meet the whole Sho-Sho-Nee Tribe, on Bear River Lake, in June. I intend also, if possible, to make a visit to several Valleys, from thirty to fifty miles, south-East of this, and also explore some along Green River, and a Valley east of this River. This exploration is being made, with the veiv of determining the feasibility of permanently settling the Snake Tribe, for Agricultural purposes. Wash-A—kee, principal Cheif, of this Tribe, is very anxious to settle his people permanently, he assures me, that all he wants is a good White man, to instruct his people, & farming implements, & his young men will do the work.¹¹⁶

115 His official duties so pressed upon him that Forney, as he reported later, did not find the time to prepare this “full account” of the “Treaty of Peace” he brought about between the Shoshoni and the Utes; the same cause prevented his making the visit to Bear Lake which he had contemplated. In view of what Forney says about his having defined a “dividing line” between the two tribes, this dereliction in duty becomes the more lamentable.

116 Each succeeding wave of Indian officials heard a similar tale from the Indian chiefs of Utah Territory. Alas, the young men did not take kindly to “doing the work” which in their view was properly the sphere of the squaws.

I respectfully invite your attention to my financial report, the amount expended in presents may seem large. I may have exceeded the bounds of discretion in making so many. I will explain my principal motives for doing as I have done. All the Tribes I have had intercourse with, have always been faithfull to the Government, & never molested any of our people. Three of the Tribes, have never received any presents. These Indians were & are in a position, which, if disposed, could have done us more harm than the Mormons. After consulting a few friends last fall, & the destitute condition of the Indians, many really almost naked & starving, I felt it to be my duty, to do as I have done. I have given all the presents, I intent to give, to the Indians, in this portion of the Territory, which at the price even here will not exceed Eight thousand dollars, to the end of the fiscal year. . . .

N B. I have much more to say, but have been & still too sick an express will leave here June 1st, when I will write again.

47

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO COMMISSIONER OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY,
UTAH TERRITORY, JUNE 30, 1858¹¹⁷

Sir:—

Enclosed please find an abstract account current, property return, and vouchers from one to seventeen inclusive. Showing an expenditure during the quarter ending June 30, 1858, of Seven thousand and Sixty eight 57/100 Dollars, for which I have drawn two drafts No 95 for Three thousand five hundred and thirty four Dollars, and No 96 for Three thousand five hundred and thirty four 57/100 Dollars, in favor of Hon. J. M. Bernhisel Delegate in Congress.

Of the above amount, One thousand three hundred and sixty eight 44/100 Dollars, was expended as you will perceive at Fort Bridger in presents to Wash-e-kik, Standing Rock, Tib-en-de-wah and their respective bands, all of the Shoshone tribe of Indians, at their annual visit made at that place in August last.¹¹⁸ These accounts would have been included in my former reports, but have not been rendered until the 3rd of April of the present quarter, as appears in voucher No. 1.

117 Y/34-1858.

118 "August last" would have been the summer of 1857. Very little information has turned up bearing on the movements of the Shoshoni in 1857.

Since my last report the Indians have generally been rather more quiet and in a few instances returned some of the horses which they had previously stolen. One exception however to this is a portion of the Utahs under White-Eye, Anthro, Peeteeneet, Sandpitch and Tin-tic who with their bands numbering above six hundred, came into the Settlements, about the last of May, from the vicinity of Fort Bridger, very hostile in their feelings and apparently only awaiting the advance of the troops from that point to make a general attack. As it was they committed many depredations, by stealing horses, Killing Cattle Sheep &c., but since they have learned the peaceable advance of the troops, their hostile feelings seem to be somewhat subsiding.

Owing to these causes, it became necessary to not only hold them in check but to feed them in order to conciliate and keep them from actual outbreak until matters could be explained to them understandingly.

I trust that the foregoing explanations will be deemed sufficient and satisfactory and the account paid accordingly.

Dr Forney Superintendent of Indian Affairs, tho doubtless having been some time in the Territory and probably officiating partially in his office while at Camp Scott did not until quite recently sufficiently assume its duties that I could feel relieved therefrom. Being now at the scene of his duties, these matters will hereafter devolve upon him, thus closing my official intercourse with this department.

Trusting that Dr. Forney's intercourse with the department may be congenial, as well as satisfactory to the native tribes. . . .

48

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH TERRITORY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1858¹¹⁹

Sir: In accordance with the regulations and requirements of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit to you a report of my doings among the Indians of this Territory.

I received my commission on the 9th day of September, A. D. 1857, and with the least possible delay thereafter commenced my journey to my superintendency. It was the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior and yourself that I could reach

119 The original manuscript having disappeared, this report is reprinted from the published version in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1858, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1, pt. 1 (Serial 974), 561-65.

Fort Leavenworth in time to come out under the protection of Colonel [Philip St. George] Cook[e]'s command, but I found on my arrival at the fort that the command had left and were *en route* twelve days. I did not overtake it until it reached Fort Laramie.

My party reached Camp Scott, near Fort Bridger, on the 17th day of November last, after experiencing extremely cold weather in the mountains; and it was only through the kindness of Colonel Cook (to whom I am much indebted) that we were able to reach the camp of the Utah army.

On account of the inclement state of the weather, and the troubled condition of affairs in this Territory, I was compelled to remain during the whole of last winter at Camp Scott, and of course was not very favorably situated to attend to the duties of my office. I had a building erected, however, and entered upon my official duties in the best manner possible under the circumstances.

The tribes and fragments of tribes with whom I had business relations during my forced residence at Camp Scott are as follows, to wit: on the second day of December last I was visited by San-Pitch, a principal chief of the Utahs, and a few of his men. I will speak more elaborately of this tribe in the progress of this report. They wished to see Agent Hurt, who was then residing at Camp Scott. I gave them a few presents; this was my first official act with the Indians.

On the 10th of December following, Little Soldier, chief, and Benj. Simons, sub-chief, of a band of Sho-sho-nes, with some of their principal men, called on me; several merchants, however, who had recently and for several years resided in Salt Lake City, and who were well acquainted with this tribe from their proximity to the Mormon settlements, regarded their visit with suspicion. It was believed by many that they were spies. I learned, however, that their reason for visiting camp was to ascertain the object and ultimate destination of so many soldiers in the Territory. All this was explained to them, and after receiving some presents they departed for their homes in Weber valley. Ben Simons understands and speaks English sufficiently well to answer for an interpreter. I visited this tribe in April last. They then encamped on Bear river. The territory claimed by them includes Salt lake, Bear river, Weber river and Cache valley. Almost all the arable land belonging to them is occupied by white settlers, and, if not in actual cultivation, is held by virtue of certain legislative grants as herd grounds. I can learn of no effort having been made to locate any portion of this tribe.¹²⁰ This is to

120 The Mormons at Ogden, in November 1854, undertook the expedient of disarming Little Soldier's band and distributing them among the families in Weber County, "where the people were best able to feed and clothe them for the winter, and set them to work"; the whites succeeded in disarming the Indians, as related with some gusto by James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 347–50. Brown implies that after the initial excitement died down, Indians and citizens got along very well together. But his forced acculturation of Little Soldier's people had no permanent results.

me surprising, as they have frequently solicited me to select some suitable place to enable them to raise wheat and corn. It was my intention to visit Weber and Cache valleys with this object in view. Several events, however, which have lately transpired, render this impossible this season. There is no tribe of Indians in the Territory with whom I have any acquaintance that have been so much discommoded by the introduction of a white population as the Sho-sho-nes. For the past few years they have been compelled to live in the mountains, (as the game has all been driven off the lowlands,) where the snow frequently falls to such depths as to be destructive to man and beast. But notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they labor from the introduction of a white populace, I cannot learn that they have ever molested any of our citizens, but, on the contrary, have always been friendly.

About the 22d day of December last, I was visited at Camp Scott, by White-eye and San-pitch, Utah chiefs, with several of their bands. They were destitute of provisions and almost in a starving condition, while it was not in my power to procure provisions for them. I was assured by Agent Hurt that they had always been peaceably disposed towards the whites. After making them some presents I dismissed them, and they returned to their camp on Henry's fork. These Indians belong to one of the principal tribes of this Territory. There is but one other large tribe, (the Snakes,) as I am informed. Both the principal tribes are, of course, divided into a great number of small bands, but all submit to the authority of one or the other of the chiefs of their respective tribes.

The best land belonging to the Utahs is situated in Utah valley, which is well watered by numerous small streams. All the land that is susceptible of cultivation is occupied, and most of it is now being farmed. There are eight towns in this valley, with populations ranging from three hundred to four thousand souls. It was once the favorite hunting ground of the Utahs, but civilization has driven the game from the valleys; there remains, however, an abundance of fish in all the streams. Much has been done and is doing for this tribe, (the Utahs.) Three years ago Agent Hurt opened up two farms for them on land claimed by them, one on Spanish Fork creek, in Utah county, the other on Salt creek, in Sanpete valley, one hundred and seventy miles south of this city. I visited Spanish Fork farm in June last, and, together with ex-agent Armstrong and Thomas J. Hurt [Hunt?], took a list of the government property on the farm.

There is quite a discrepancy in relation to the extent of this reservation between the agent who commenced it and the authorities of Spanish Fork City. Upon my first visit to the farm Agent Hurt had not returned to it. Not knowing the quantity of land he intended to include in the reservation, I marked some natural boundaries myself. Upon the return of Agent Hurt he assured me that

the points I had designated were the ones he always intended as the boundaries of the reservation.

In regard to the reservation I had a personal interview with the authorities of Spanish Fork City, and it is really extraordinary to me that they have never raised objections to this reserve prior to this time. It is with extreme regret that I am forced into a controversy with them, imperative duty requiring me to take the course I do. Years ago, at the request of the then superintendent, (B. Young,) Agent Hurt commenced the Indian reservation precisely where indicated—has made improvements from time to time at a cost of from \$15,000 to \$20,000, and now, for the first time, is required to give an account of his “stewardship” to the inhabitants of Spanish Fork City. I am clearly of the opinion that this claim is unfounded, from the letter of Agent Hurt as well as from my own observation. I shall, therefore, proceed to have the reserve enclosed as soon as possible.

Strenuous efforts will be made to induce this tribe (the Utahs) to locate permanently, as no permanent good can ever be done for them so long as they roam about in their wild state.

I visited San-Pete creek farm last month, (August,) which is situated in the west end of San-Pete valley and county. This farm was opened about two years ago, under the directions of Agent Hurt, for a band of the Utahs under Chief Arapeen, a brother of San-Pitch. It is the second farm within the boundaries of this tribe, and is well watered and timbered, and has a sufficiency of good grazing land; for these reasons I consider it a more eligible location for an Indian reserve than that at Spanish Fork.

On this farm there are one hundred and ninety-five acres of land under cultivation, and will produce this year (1858) about twelve hundred bushels of wheat, besides small quantities of corn and potatoes.

From the loose manner in which business has been previously conducted on the farm, I appointed a new overseer, who is acquainted with the Indian language.

The Indians are to perform all the work; with proper care in imparting instruction, not only this but all the other Indian farms may in a short time be worked by Indian labor.

The experiment of agriculture among the Indians of this Territory has not been as successful as might have been anticipated, when we consider the destitute condition of those for whom it has been introduced.

Indians are proverbially lazy, and only the pinchings of hunger will drive them to work so much white labor has heretofore been employed to do work for them, and they have not been sufficiently taught that their subsistence depends upon their own labor. But notwithstanding, the comparative ill success of the agricultural experiment, it is the only available means of ameliorating the

condition of the Indians in this Territory, as game enough could not be found to subsist them for one year. In my opinion, reservations should be made without delay. Every acre of arable land that can be irrigated will be occupied in a very short time. I will give this subject my earliest attention. I have instructed Agent Dodge to attend to this as soon as possible in Carson valley.

A farm has commenced several years ago for a small tribe called the Pah-Vants, on Corn creek, in Millard county, under the direction of Agent Hurt. Ranosh [Kanosh], the chief of this tribe, visited me, and expressed a desire that some good white man might be placed upon the farm to direct them, assuring me that the Indians would do all the work. His request was not as Indians' generally are, for paint, beads, &c., but for agricultural implements. I employed a Mr. [Peter] Boyce to take charge of this farm, at fifty dollars per month. No other white labor will be employed. Eighty acres of wheat were raised upon this farm this year. I will visit it in January and define a reservation.

I have visited a small tribe called the Go-sha-utes, who live about forty miles west of this city. They are, without exception, the most miserable looking set of human beings I ever beheld. I gave them some clothing and provisions. They have heretofore subsisted principally on snakes, lizards, roots, &c. I made considerable effort to procure a small quantity of land for them, but could not find any with water sufficient to irrigate it. I will give this matter my attention as soon as possible after my return from the Humboldt.

I have heretofore spoken of a large tribe of Indians known as the Snakes. They claim a large tract of country lying in the eastern part of this Territory, but are scarcely ever found upon their own land.

They generally inhabit the Wind river country, in Oregon and Nebraska Territories, and they sometimes range as far east as Fort Laramie, in the latter Territory. Their principal subsistence is the buffalo, and it is for the purpose of hunting them that they range so far east of their own country. This tribe numbers about twelve hundred souls, all under one principal chief, Wash-a-kee. He has perfect command over them, and is one of the finest looking and most intellectual Indians I ever saw.

He prides himself that neither he, nor any of his tribe, have ever molested a white, although the great overland route from the States to California passes immediately through their country.

It seems somewhat strange that this tribe has never received any attention whatever from any of the officials of this Territory.¹²¹ This I learned, not only from the Indians, but from other persons who have been among them for

121 It was a consistent ellusion [*sic*] of various agents of the Indian office that nothing was ever done before they, individually, took a job in hand, and it will be seen that Forney's remark is not strictly true.

several years, and especially from Major Bridger, one of the earliest pioneers of this country.¹²²

The only portion of the country of this tribe suited for agricultural purposes is the valley of Henry's Fork, about forty miles south of Fort Bridger and opening out into Green River valley. This Wash-a-kee wished to reserve, and is very anxious I should open a farm for them. For this purpose I sent Agent Craig to Green River county; but I fear the matter will have to be postponed for this winter for want of a suitable person to take charge of the farm.

For several years an enmity has existed between the Utahs and the Snakes. My attention was directed to this soon after entering upon my official duties. I alluded to the feud during my first interview with the Utahs, in December last, but their warchief, White-eye, did not seem disposed to talk about it, and it was not until April last that they signified their willingness to make peace with the Snakes. On the 3d day of May I received information that the Snake tribe of Indians were encamped on Green river. Reports were in circulation that they had come to make war upon the Utahs, who were encamped in the vicinity of Camp Scott. Immediately upon hearing the report, I despatched a messenger to Wash-a-kee to learn his intentions, and if he intimated hostility to the Utahs to persuade him to encamp at some convenient place, until I could have a talk with him. On the 6th day of May my express man returned, and informed me that Wash-a-kee was willing to leave the adjustment of the difficulties between his tribe and the Utahs to me.

Accordingly, on the 13th of may, Wash-a-kee, of the Snakes, White-Eye, Son-a-at, and San-Pitch, of the Utahs, with the sub-chiefs of the different tribes, and also several chiefs of the Banacks, (of whom I will speak further hereafter,) assembled in council at Camp Scott, when, after considerable talk and smoking, peace was made between the two tribes. After I had given the Snakes and Banacks some presents they left camp.

The latter tribe (Ban-acks) I had frequently heard of, but supposed they were part of a tribe of the same name who live in Oregon Territory, and consequently not within my superintendency; but upon making inquiry I learned that they were a separate and distinct people, claiming a country lying within my superintendency.

In their habits and appearance they are much like the Snakes, with whom they are on terms of the greatest intimacy. They number between four and five hundred, and are all under one principal chief, named Horne.

Immediately after I received your communication in relation to the massacre of the Arkansas emigrants, three hundred miles south of this, on the southern

122 Jim Bridger returned to his fort in the fall of 1857 as a guide for Johnston's army. He remained in the military service until July 2, 1858.

California road, I procured the services of a reliable person [Jacob Hamblin], well acquainted with the southern Indians and their language, and since the latter part of June have been in constant communication with these Indians. My endeavor to establish peaceful relations with them has proved successful beyond my expectations. This route to California is now free from all danger from Indians.

I have succeeded in recovering ten of the children remaining from the massacre of last September. It is supposed that there are more in the neighborhood; if so, they will be found.¹²³

I am now busily engaged in preparing for a trip to the Humboldt river. Having learned that the Indians in that region were committing depredations upon travellers, and, in one instance, having attacked the mail party and stampeded their stock, I will travel with an escort. In addition to which, one hundred and fifty men, (one hundred mounted and fifty infantry,) upon a requisition from his excellency Gov. A. Cumming, will proceed to the Humboldt, subject to my orders.

It is my present intention to proceed to Gravelly Fort [near present Beowawe, Nevada], which is one hundred miles beyond the first crossing of the Humboldt, and, if circumstances permit, will proceed to Carson valley and establish Agent [Frederick] Dodge, who accompanied me, in his position. . . .

49

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
DATED NOVEMBER 5, 1858¹²⁴

Sir,

I have already apprised you, in several Communications, of my intention to visit the Humboldt Indians and latterly of my having done so. I returned from this trip last Friday evening. It has been my intention from my first advent into this Valley, so soon as compatible with other official duties, to visit the Indians, on the great Northern Rout to Califa.

It was only since the middle of last June, that my movements have been unincumbered by political entanglements. Since then, as I have frequently advised your Department, my entire time has been devoted to official duties.

123 See Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1950; rev. ed., Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1969]). [His detailed report on the matter, dated the previous month, appears as Brooks's appendix 9. —Ed.]

124 F/337-1858.

In pursuance of your request, that I would visit, with as little delay as possible, the Indian Tribes, and ascertain their locality and condition. This I have done, so far as time and other duties would permit.

The Tribes & Bands in this Territory, with but one or two exceptions, live almost entirely in, and adjacent to, the Valleys through which the Northern and Southern Roads to California from this City, pass. As also on and near the road to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains.

Previous to my trip to the Humboldt, I had visited or had had business relations, with the following Tribes; the Snakes, under their Chief Wash a keek, the Sho Sho Nees, under Little Soldier, the Utes, the Bannocks, the Pah-vantes & Go Sha Utes. I have given a hasty account of all the above tribes in my last report.

About the last of August or beginning of September last, I was apprised that the Indians of Humboldt Valley had committed depredations on the U. S. Mail, and took immediate steps to ascertain the facts from what seemed, reliable testimony. It was said that several thousand hostile Indians were assembled in that Valley, and that the mail and all connected with it, and all travellers were threatened. I immediately made known the statements to his Excellency Govr Cumming, who at once, made a requisition on Genl Johns[t]on for One hundred and fifty troops, to march to the Humboldt without delay. In pursuance of this request, Captain Haws with 150 men, were sent on said expedition, with orders not to proceed beyond the first Crossing of the Humboldt.

Twenty men of said command were (if necessary) to accompany me to Gravelly Ford. I left this City Sept 12 for the Humboldt, having with me, an ambulance,* one Govt wagon with provisions and presents, One hired wagon & term & driver in all seven men including Interpreter, guide, drivers, cook &c.

Mr. Dodge, Agent for Carson Valley, also accompanied me. Sept 13. At Farmington 16 miles north of this City I met "Little Soldier" a Chief, with about fifty Sho-Sho-Nees. For prudential reasons, it was deemed advisable to give them some provisions. This Band, with others of the Sho-Sho-Nees, have been solicited by the hostile Indians in Oregon to aid them against the Government, but without success. Chief "Little Soldier" expressed great solicitude for my safety, was fearful I would not return safe. By my directions a small quantity of flour and beef was distributed to his Band.

[A lengthy account follows of meetings held with other Indians along the overland trail, especially down the Humboldt, including two bands of Shoshoni—concerning whom Forney observes: "There are now four chiefs present viz Py-poo-roo-yan—San-Pitch—We-ra-yoo—Tse-Mah & Paw-sha-quin Representing . . . probably 4 to 600 Indians. . . . One of these 'Bands' have some horses and ponies,

* ["Ambulance" is the term for a wagon enclosed with a hard top and board-paneled sides, often used for the same purpose as modern vehicles with the same name. —Ed.]

and a few of the men have Buffalo Robes. They are Sho-Sho-Nees and recognize Wash-a-keek as their great chief." Forney went as far west as Stony Point, treating with a band of White Knife Shoshoni, before turning back to Great Salt Lake City.]

On my way home, at Box Elder, seventy miles north of this, a Band of Sho-Sho-Nees, numbering 128 met me. These have recently broken off from Little Soldiers Tribe. I was unable to learn from them the Cause.

They made demands for sundry things. I distributed among them a small quantity of flour, beef and a few presents. The Indians loafing about the Northern Settlements, are a source of considerable annoyance to the inhabitants, much complaint was made to me, while passing through there, recently. . . .

1859

50

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO A. B. GREENWOOD,*
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
 LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1859 (EXTRACTS)¹²⁵

Sir: In accordance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following as my annual report for the year 1859.

* * *

The Indians, claiming a home in Utah Territory, are evidently the offspring of two nations who migrated west of the Rocky mountains from the northwest many years ago. It is probable that most of the descendants of those nations are now within the boundary of this Territory. They have greatly decreased in numbers, and proportionately in their mental and physical condition, during the past thirty years. Their degeneracy in the mode of living and comforts has been more manifest during that period.

This I learn from old mountaineers who have lived among them, corroborated by Indian testimony.

The descendants of the two nations above alluded to are now called Sho-shone or Snake, and Utah or Ute.

* [Gary L. Roberts, "Alfred Burton Greenwood, 1859–61," *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 81–87. —Ed.]

125 This document, like number 48, has to be recovered from its printed occurrence, in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Executive Document 2 (Serial 1023), 1: 730–41. Owing to its great length, some parts have been omitted—a few paragraphs at the beginning concerning a rape by two Utes and its aftermath, and at the end a considerable discussion of the reservations then existing in Utah, an equally lengthy account of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and some remarks on difficulties with Shoshoni in the Idaho area.

The only exception is a small tribe of Bannacks, numbering about five hundred. "Horn," the principal chief of these, with his people, visited Fort Bridger in April, 1858, where I had an interview with them. This chief claimed a home for himself and people in this Territory, and informed me that he and those old men around him were children, young men, and now old men, in this country.

Major Bridger, my interpreter at the time, assured me that for the last thirty years he had traded, almost yearly, with this tribe in that section of country, and that, when he first knew them, they numbered twelve hundred lodges.

I granted to this tribe of Bannacks a home in the portion of this Territory claimed and inhabited by Wash-a-kee and his tribe of Sho-sho-nes, and with that chief's entire consent. These two tribes are extensively intermarried, and live together amicably.

SHO-SHO-NE OR SNAKE.

This division of the Indians is subdivided into fourteen regularly organized bands.

One of these, by common consent, is denominated a tribe, and is under the complete control of Chief Wash-a-kee, assisted by four to six sub-chiefs. These number, at least, twelve hundred.

The remaining thirteen bands have each one principal and several sub-chiefs.

Five of these bands, numbering about one thousand, roam through Salt Lake, Weber, Ogden, Bear River, Cache, and Malad valleys, and the adjacent mountains and canons. One band, of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty, mostly confine themselves to the regions along the northern California road, from Bear and Malad rivers to the Goose Creek mountains.

Seven bands roam through the valleys of the Humboldt, and in the regions over one hundred miles south of the Humboldt, to the Peyute country, and east and west about two hundred miles. These bands frequently subdivide into many small squads, to clean thoroughly the country, through which they roam of everything containing a life-sustaining principle.

Included among the Sho-sho-nes is a band called Go-sha-utes, who speak the same language, and live in and roam over those portions of the territory claimed and inhabited by the latter. This band is a mixture of Snake and Ute, the former preponderating. A few years ago the Go-sha-utes were a considerable tribe. Their principal and only chief died about four years ago, since which they have remained broken and subdivided into small fragments, except about sixty, who have organized into a band, and have a quiet and well disposed chief to control them. This band is now permanently located on the Deep Creek Indian farm. The remainder roam over a region of country from forty to two hundred miles west of this city. A concentration of them all into Deep Creek valley is in

progress. I have had intercourse with every tribe and band of Sho-sho-nes in the Territory, and have endeavored to learn from them their number. And, in my opinion, they number about forty-five hundred. They occupy about one-third of the Territory, the northeast portion.

UTAH OR UTE.

The Utah, Pahvant, and Pey-uet, constitute the second division of the Indians.

Although these are designated by several different names, yet they all emanate from one nation or tribe, and speak the same language.

The Utes are subdivided into several tribes and many bands. Those known as Uinta-utes, claim Uinta valley and the country along Green river. A portion of these have lived, part of last and this summer, at the Spanish Fork Indian reservation.

This tribe is governed by four chiefs, and numbers about one thousand.

There is a band of Utes, with several chiefs, numbering about five hundred, who, in pursuance with my request, mostly located last May on the Spanish Fork reservation, where it is presumed they will continue. Another band of about eighty are living on the San-Pete Indian farm.

PAH-VANT.

These are Ute Indians, but are a distinct, organized tribe and number about seven hundred. They obey and are controlled by one principal, and several sub-chiefs. About half of them have their home on the "Corn Creek" Indian farm. The other wing of the tribe lives along the "Sevier lake" and surrounding country, in the no[r]theast extremity of Fillmore valley, and about fifty miles from Fillmore city.

There are seemingly two distinct, organized divisions of Pey-Ute Indians. One division inhabit the Humboldt, north, from about fifty miles west of Strong [Stony] Point to the California line, and northwest to the Oregon line. These are estimated to number about six thousand, by Agent Dodge.

For further particulars, I refer you to the accompanying report from Frederick Dodge, Esq., Indian agent in Carson valley.

There is a tribe of Indians who dwell along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake to one of the forks of Walker's river: these are called Wa-sho, and are supposed to number from five to eight hundred. I am not certain whether or not they belong to the Ute division.¹²⁶

The ten bands (Ute Indians) inhabiting the southern portion of the Territory are scattered along the California road, generally adjacent to the settlements, from Beaver valley, along the Santa Clara, Virgin, Los Vegas, and Muddy rivers, to the California line and New Mexico. These bands number about two thousand

126 The Washoe are regarded as a separate linguistic stock.

and two hundred. I am credibly informed that there are large numbers of Ute Indians roaming at and in the neighborhood of the Elk mountains, in the south-east part of the Territory. The number of these is variously estimated at from one to three thousand.

The supposed total number of Indians in Utah Territory is as follows:

Sho-sho-nes, or Snakes.....	4,500
Ban-nacks.....	500
Uinta Utes.....	1,000
Spanish Fork and San Pete farms.....	1,000
Pah-vant, (Utes).....	700
Pey-utes, (South).....	2,200
Pey-utes, (West).....	6,000
Elk mountain Utes.....	2,000
Wa-sho of Honey lake.....	<u>700</u>
	18,500

The Sho-sho-nes claim the northeastern portion of the Territory for about four hundred miles west, and from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five miles south, from the Oregon line. The Utes claim the balance of the Territory.

I have visited within the last twelve months every portion of this Territory where it is supposed Indians are living, except the Carson agency and Elk mountain.

The public interest required me to visit different portions several times during the last year, and my almost constant intercourse with the Indians has afforded me ample opportunities to become familiar with their true condition.

The tribe of Snakes, under chief Washakee, and the small tribe of Ban-nacks, living in the regions northeast, near Fort Bridger, go east yearly to hunt elk and buffalo; this, with still considerable game in their country, keeps them from absolute want.

The balance of the Indians in Utah are extremely poor. The utmost ingenuity is put in requisition to sustain life; they eagerly seek after everything containing a life-sustaining element, such as hares, rabbits, antelope, deer, bear, elk, dogs, lizards, snakes, crickets, grasshoppers, ants, roots, grass-seeds, bark, &c.

Many men, women, and children are entirely naked.

With some of the Indians, stealing cattle, horses, mules, &c., is a matter of necessity—*steal or starve*.

It is my clear conviction that the immigration of a white population into the Territory has had a deleterious effect upon the Indian. Game cannot exist except in the fertile watered valleys; these, with a few exceptions, are occupied by a thrifty population, and, consequently, the game is exterminated.

It is proper to remark that those Indians who roam adjacent to the settlements, have received, and are receiving, considerable aid from the inhabitants.

All the tribes and bands visited by me have received presents, such as blankets, various kinds of clothing, and ammunition: the last was not dealt out indiscriminately. To some of the bands I have given frequent material aid in flour, beef, &c., especially to those who have been forced to give up to whites the valleys which furnished them with subsistence.

About five bands of the Sho-sho-nes are severe sufferers by the influx of whites; those who inhabited Great Salt Lake, Weber, Bear, Cache, and Malad valleys, extending eighty miles north. These valleys, which, in their natural state, furnished the Indians much subsistence, are now entirely occupied by permanent inhabitants.

Game in this country must become extinct when the valleys adapted to farming purposes are occupied by white men, which is already the case, with few exceptions: so much so, that it will be difficult, even now, to procure an advantageous location for a reservation for the Sho-sho-ne bands above alluded to, without paying for more or less improvements.

With the exception of the Uinta and Elk Mountain Utes, the country of the Utahs is fast filling up with settlers. The government has, however, made three eligible Indian farms in the country claimed by the Utes. The Uinta Utes, the band at Spanish Fork, the one at San Pete, and the Pah-Vants, at Corn creek, have received much more assistance heretofore than all the other Indians in the Territory; and, unless I am much deceived, these same Indians have been guilty of more depredations than any others in the Territory. It is gratifying, however, to be justified in saying that these Indians have done better this season than ever heretofore, and they promise fair for the future. I am endeavoring to have them permanently located on the several farms; and, until this is accomplished, no salutary improvement can be expected in their habits and condition.

The bands of Pah-Utes, in the southern portion of the Territory, are extremely destitute; the country they inhabit is almost a continuous desert. This is especially the case with those bands south of Cedar city, and which constitute by far the largest portion of them. Almost every band yearly cultivates small patches of wheat, corn, beans, &c., along the banks of the streams. The small expenditure I made the last year among the southern Pah-Utes has had a salutary tendency.

I saw many of those Indians last spring, and it was my intention to send an agent to remain among them for some time. This, heretofore, has not been possible; but I will instruct Agent Humphreys to start for that quarter in a few weeks, to visit all the bands, if practicable, with instructions to ascertain their true condition, and the geographical character of the country they inhabit.

An intelligent gentleman,* who was guide to the first emigrant company which passed through the southern part of the Territory to California, twelve years ago, informs me that he then saw wheat and cornfields, with at least six acres in each, successfully cultivated by those southern Pah-Utes, and that his company would have fared badly but for the wheat, corn, peas, and beans purchased by them from the Indians.

It is to be regretted that this condition of things has not been continued. These Indians have evidently degenerated very rapidly during the last twelve years, or since white men have got among them.

1860

51

F. W. LANDER, SUPT., U. S. OVERLAND WAGON ROAD AND SPECIAL AGENT TO TRIBES ALONG THE ROUTE, TO COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 11, 1860 (EXTRACT)¹²⁷

Sir.

In pursuance of the letter of instructions of Acting Commissioner Charles E Mix of March 26th 1859, I have carried out the Specifications therein embraced, visited the tribes enumerated, and have the honor to report;

* [Jefferson Hunt. See Pauline Udall Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan Foundation, 1958), 150–62, and *Journals of Addison Pratt*, ed. George S. Ellsworth (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1990), 369–412. Hunt had pioneered the route in 1847. —Ed.]

¹²⁷ L/318–1860. The whole of Lander's report is printed in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Executive Document 42 (Serial 1008), 121–39. At the time Lander was preparing to leave Washington, Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, wrote Acting Commissioner Mix on March 25, 1859, to say:

Mr. F. W. Lander Superintendent of the Fort Kearney South Pass & Honey Lake road is about to proceed across the Rocky Mountains to Californian *via* the South Pass, the Upper basin the Green River and the Valley of Snake River near Fort Hall, through the Shoshone or Snake Indian region and the country of the Pannocks and others small tribes.

The opportunity afforded by this journey of Mr. Lander, to hold intercourse with these Indians and impress upon them the importance of maintaining amicable relations with the whites and to secure a pledge to abstain from molesting the Emigrants who may pass over the new road has induced me to adopt suggestions made by him in regard to distributing presents among them, To enable him to do so, you will place at his disposal a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars from such appropriations as you may deem

THE EASTERN SNAKES.

On the second day of July [1859], the principal payment was made to the Eastern or Washikeek Band of Snake Indians at the Crossing of Big Sandy river, forty miles west from the South Pass in the presence of a large number of emigrants. Subsequent payments were made to small parties of this tribe as the Expedition proceeded.

No instance is on record of the Eastern Snakes having Committed outrages upon the whites. The presents were given as a reward for their good behavior in the past, and as a payment for the destruction of their root and herding grounds by the animals of the emigration. They were requested to aid overland travellers by every means in their power, to restore strayed and lost stock and in case of any outrage being committed upon them by emigrants, to refrain from reprisal, but report it through their chief to proper authorities. These points were explained to them by excellent interpreters, were agreed to and have been implicitly regarded. The life of an emigrant was saved by an indian at "Green river crossing" and great assistance rendered at the same dangerous for in passing trains, by the mounted warriors of the tribe. Lost Stock has been driven in, and by a paper bearing over nine thousand signatures, the emigrants state "that they have been most kindly treated by the indians."

At the payment, the emigrants were given to understand the object of the disbursement of presents and have treated the indians with consideration and respect.

The Eastern Snakes range from the waters of Wind river or latitude 43° 30' on the north and from the South Pass to the head waters of the North Platte on the east, and to Bear river near the mouth of Smith's Fork on the west. They extend south as far as Brown's Hole on Green river. Their principal subsistence is the roots and seeds of the wild vegetables of the region they inhabit. the mountain trout, with which all the streams of the Country are abundantly supplied; and wild game. The latter is now very scarce in the vicinity of the new and old emigrant roads.

The immense herds of antelope I remember having seen along the route of the new road [Lander Cutoff] in 1854 and 1857 seem to have disappeared. These indians visit the border ground between their own Country and the Crows and Blackfeet for the purpose of hunting Elk, Antelope and stray herds of Buffalo[.]

applicable and give him such instructions as may be proper to secure the end desired, it being understood that the service is to be performed without compensation. . . .

Lander himself, under date of March 23, 1859, set forth a schedule of articles desired, adding, "The above is the amount for a single half lodge or a very small family and should be multiplied by 300 for the Washikee band of Snakes with their friends & visitors, the Northern Pannacks & sheep-Eaters—by 200—for the Pannack tribe, and by 300 for the two bands of Western Snakes." He also wanted "1 Uniform Coat or Suit for the Chief Washikee," valued at \$50. (L/739-1859).

When these trips are made they travel only in large bands for fear of the Blackfeet and Crows. With the Pannachs and parties of Salt Lake Diggers they often make still longer marches into the northwestern buffalo rangers on the head waters of the Missouri and Yellow Stone.

These excursions usually last over winter, the more western indians who join them passing over a distance of twelve hundred miles on the out and return journey.

They are at peace with the Flatheads, hunting with them on the buffalo grounds. They seem to have no discretion in the killing of game. The antelope "surrounds" in which the whole tribe often engages are made at that season of the year when the antelope is heavy with young or has the fawn by her side. I witnessed one of these "surrounds" on the head waters of Green river in 1858. On this occasion the whole herd of Antelope was slaughtered indiscriminately.

Wash-ikeek, the principal chief of the tribe is half Flathead. He obtained his popularity in the nation by various feats as a warrior and it is urged by some of the Mountaineers by his extreme severity. This has in one or two instances, extended so far as taking life. The word Washikee or Washekeek signifies "Gambler' Gourd." He was originally called "Pina-qua-na" or "Smell of Sugar." "Push-e-can" or "Pur-chi-can," another war Chief of the Snakes, bears upon his forehead the scar of a blow of the tomahawk given by Washikee in one of their altercations. Washikee, who is also known by the name of "the white man's friend," was many years ago in the employment of the American and Hudson's Bay Fur Companies. He was the Constant Companion of the white trappers, and his superior knowledge and accomplishments may be attributed to this fact.

He is very light Colored, remarkably tall and well formed, even majestic in appearance, and in my own opinion, an undeniable half breed. He is desirous of visiting Washington with the principal warriors of his tribe, never having been further east than Fort Laramie. The policy of making provision for this visit is evident, many of the more warlike tribes in his vicinity and some of the Eastern Snakes having been led to believe that the whites are very few in number.

I have not heard the Chiefs of the more western tribes speak of such a visit, but they would probably join in it. As my instructions did not direct any such arrangement, I could only inform the Chief that I would make his wishes known to the Great Father.

Washikee expresses himself in favor of the Reserve System, and has named a section of Country near the Medicine Bow Butte [Elk Mountain, north of the Medicine Bow range] on the border lands of his tribe as a suitable place for farming purposes I should anticipate some difficulty at the present time, in any endeavor to unite the Eastern Snakes upon a reserve. I made them offers of seeds and utensils which were not well received. They express themselves very

favorably in reference to herding and might be restrained to habits of discipline and self denial in this respect were suitable agents appointed to reside among them. They are a wandering tribe and range at different seasons of the year, as necessity calls, over the entire region I have described.

The Salt Lake Diggers intermarry with the Eastern Snakes and are on good terms with them. Among these indians, are some of the worst in the mountains. Washikee will not permit a horse thief or a vagabond to remain in his band, but many of the Mormon indians go about the Country with minor Chiefs calling themselves Eastern Snakes. Old Snag, a Chief sometimes seen on Green river, who proclaims himself an Eastern Snake, and friend of the Americans, but who is, I am informed, half Pannack, is of this class.—His character is very doubtful; although no actual proof exists of his participation in robberies, he has been known to permit young men to travel in his band who have stolen horses from emigrants.—An instance of this sort has occurred the present season, to which I shall refer in my remarks upon the Pannack tribe.—

Southern indians pass, on their way “to Buffalo” (a technical term) through the lands of the Eastern Snakes and Pannacks, and the latter are often made to bear the blame of their horse-stealing proclivities.—The Southern or Salt Lake Snakes or Diggers are, as a class, more civilized than Washikee’s band; many of them speak English exceedingly well and are very good farm laborers.—They are the most dangerous indians in the country. and if they could be gathered on a reserve during the passage of the emigration, where they can be made to support themselves much more readily than the Northern indians, it would be a matter of great benefit to the overland travel.—

Any steps which could be taken to augment the power of Washikee who is perfectly safe in his attachment to the Americans and Northern Mountaineers, would also prove beneficial.—

A depredation was committed in the Eastern Snake country by Salt Lake Diggers on their way “to Buffalo,” a fine ox being shot down owing to a quarrel which grew out of a horse trade with an emigrant named Amberson Huff.—The man could not have gone on without another ox, which was purchased for him out of the funds of the Wagon Road Expedition and charged to your Bureau.—

The Eastern Snakes speak the same language as the Camanches and often visit that warlike tribe. The Southern Snakes or Diggers have slightly different pronunciation for some words. Their language is called by mountaineers Digger Snake.

The Western Snakes who go about the Country with the Pannacks also use a slightly different pronunciation from the Camanche or pure Snake of the Eastern Mountains.

[There follow discussions of the Bannacks or Pannacks, reported to live in the Snake country and as far south as Cache Valley on occasion, with special

attention to the chiefs Mopeah and Tash-e-pah (who, like Washakie, was reported to be half Flathead, and a friend to the Americans), with some account also of the activities of "Salt Lake Diggers" in the Snake area. Subsequently Lander remarks upon the "Western Snakes" of the Humboldt River area, mentioning that these are called by the mountain men "Sho-sho-kos.]"

Schedule of the number of the various bands referred to in this report or visiting the emigrant roads via the South Pass.

* * *

I have estimated seven individuals to the lodge This is a larger number than is usual in a buffalo Country where the skin lodge is less costly than among the snakes.

SHOSHONEES OR EASTERN SNAKES

Chief Wash-i-kee or Wash-i-keek—in english "Gambler's gourd," or Pina-qua-na, in english "Smell of sugar."—Lodges, 125. Subsistence—Buffalo, small game, fish, wild roots and seeds.—Range—Green river Country. Horses, a large number.

SALMON RIVER SNAKES; BANNACKS AND SNAKES AND SHEEP-EATERS

Chief. Qai-tan-i-an—in english "Foul Hand" with "Old Snag" and the Bannack "Grand Coquin"—Lodges 50—Subsistence—Salmon and trout, elk, deer and antelope Range—On Salmon river and the mountains north of it—Horses—a small number.

A Small band of the Sheep Eaters are very fierce and wild, rarely visiting whites.

WESTERN SNAKES

Chief. Am-a-ro-ko—in english. "Buffalo Meat under the Shoulder"—Lodges 75. Subsistence—Buffalo meat and wild vegetables.—Range—Kamass prairie—Horses—Large number.—Po-ca-ta-ro's band. Goose Creek mountains, heads of Humboldt, Raft Creek and Mormon settlements.—Horses—Few.

BANNACKS OR PANNAKEES OR PANNACKS

Chief Mo-pe-ah, in english—"Horn of hair on the forehead"—Lodges—60. Subsistence—Buffalo meat and wild vegetables—Range—In Country of Salt river and tributaries—Horses—Large number.

BANNACKS OF FORT BOISE

Chief—Po-e-ma-che-ah,—in english "Hairy Man"—Lodges 100. Subsistence—Salmon fish, wild vegetables and roots—Range—In neighborhood of Fort Boise. Horses—large number.

SALT LAKE DIGGERS; LOWER OR SOUTHERN SNAKES

Chief. Indian name unknown—in english "Long Beard" Lodges—50. Subsist Amongst the Mormons and by hunting and plunder Range—Around Salt Lake—Horses—Few.

WARRARICAS—(IN ENGLISH—“SUN FLOWER SEED EATERS”) OR DIGGERS OR
BANNACKS BELOW FORT BOISE, WEST OF BLUE MOUNTAINS.

Chief Pash-e-co or Pa-chi-co. in english “Sweet Root” Medicine man and head of all the Bannacks or Pannakees; thought a wonderful prophet by the Snakes—Lodges. 150. Subsistence—Roots and the Kamass with plunder Range—Head of John Days river and west of Blue mountains—Horses—very few—They steal the latter from the Cayuses.

All the above indians travel together and intermarry. They hold the entire country. I Consider the Eastern Snakes as in some measure isolated from the rest and as being more particularly under the direction of the reliable chief Washikee.

If the leading men of the disaffected tribes could be induced to visit Washington it would serve an important purpose. They know nothing of the number and actual power of the Gentiles, so called, and in my opinion are constantly deceived in regard to them.

I recommend to you any of the following individuals as suitable persons to carry out your views in reference to the collection of any information required or the establishment of Agents in the Country.

Timothy Goodale would make a suitable agent for the Eastern Snakes. He is very reliable and has great influence with the Chief Washikee. From circumstances occurring which led me to doubt some of the statements of individuals having influence with the tribe, and present at the payment, I sent a night express after Goodale and he was of great service to me at that time. He is now in this city [Washington, D. C.], if required for service would need a notification as he is a mountain trader, and will soon leave for the border.

Thomas Adams, a citizen of this District, but who has passed the last seven years in the Rocky Mountains is well known among those Pannacks and Western Snakes who range east of Salmon Falls and north of Snake river. He is also familiar with some of the Salt Lake Diggers.

Old Richard Grant who was for many years the Hudson Bay Factor at Fort Hall understands these western indians perfectly and is now in that Country. His son John Grant, who is married into the Western Snake tribe and is brother-in-law of the celebrated Ten-toi, is not so well educated, but can give much information about them. He was born and reared in the vicinity of Fort Hall.

Thomas Lavatti, the half breed already referred to in this report is one of the best men in the mountains; brave, reliable and sensible in all his views in relation to the Indians. I think his advice as to the best method of approaching and Controlling the western Snakes and Pannacks to prevent war by the use of presents or by a little timely severity to the worst members of the tribes in concert with their Chiefs might be received with Consideration. He is a most excellent interpreter.

Isaac Frapp or Shoshonee Aleck,—the half breed, who has been two years in the employment of the [Wagon Road] expedition, is a very excellent and faithful man. He is both brave and honest. His services of the present season are referred to in Mr. [William H.] Wagner's report.

I think it will be necessary to have a road agent at the South Pass the coming season to inform emigrants of the new road—and to prevent the emigration being directed across the desert by interested parties who pick up the abandoned, or buy, at low prices, the tired cattle of overland travellers. This road agent should have the protection of a few companions.

It is my opinion that Indian presents should again be sent into the Country, for the agent can do nothing without them.

52

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO A. B. GREENWOOD,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 27, 1860¹²⁸

Sir: On the subject of new Indian farms, in addition to what I have already said, in letters and in my last annual report, I respectfully call your attention to the propriety of immediately locating the proposed new farms, as it will be difficult, even now, to obtain a sufficiency of eligible farming land, not already occupied by settlers, for two of the proposed new farms. The third is not so absolutely material, neither in regard to locality, or condition of the Indians; this third new farm is intended for Wash-a-kee's tribe of Shoshonees; numbering about 1200; and a small tribe of Banacks about 500. (See my last report.)

I recommend a concentration of all "Pah-Utes," now roaming in small bands through the southern portion of the Territory, on one reservation, if one sufficiently large can be found. These bands extend from Beaver City, & valley, south to California, and are the most destitute Indians of the Territory.

Another farm is intended for the Shoshonees, roaming in Salt Lake, Ogden, Weber, Bear river, Cache, and Malade vallies.

All these could be concentrated on one reservation to be located somewhere in the northern part of the Territory. (I again refer to my last report.)

On these three new farms, and on the five already in progress, all the indians of the Territory (excepting those in the Carson Valley Agency,) could be concentrated.

128 F/103-1860.

The 4th farm is intended for Carson Valley Agency; the locality &c. must be determined by the Agent.

Five thousand dollars, for each proposed new farm, is in my opinion, sufficient to start these farms successfully. . . .

53

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO A. B. GREENWOOD,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, JUNE 11, 1860¹²⁹

Sir: I have resumed the duties of the Superintendency for reasons that I have stated

We have already learned from papers and other sources, of Indian depredations in the western portion of this Territory, principally on and adjacent to the California Mail Route.¹³⁰ These depredations have been principally, if not altogether confined within the limits of the Carson Valley Agency, and among the Western Pey Ute Indians.

Immediately upon hearing of these Indian outbreaks Gov Cumming promptly communicated with Col [Charles F.] Smith, the present commander of the Department of Utah, who without delay, detailed several companies of U. S. Troops for the California Mail route. This prompt action with the movement of a portion of the U. S. troops under General [N. S.] Clarke in California, and the volunteer organization and action in Carson Valley will, I am confident, speedily bring the Indians to terms.

I also despatched a reliable person, with certain appliances, among the Go Sha Utes and Sho Sho Nees along the Mail Route as far as Ruby Valley and even beyond if deemed necessary. Bad Indians and worse white men, with the aid of causes that at present exist to the great detriment of the public interest, have conspired to excite the Indians all over the Territory

The Northern Sho Sho Nees and Bannacks have been annoying the northern settlements. I will leave tomorrow to visit the northern Indians. I expect to meet

129 F/176–1860. Various charges having been brought against him, the Indian Office ordered hearings on these charges in Great Salt Lake City in the spring of 1860, during which time Forney was under suspension. Eventually he was dismissed from office. These troubles contributed to the neglect of the Indians in Utah during 1860.

130 Forney refers to Nevada's "Paiute War" of 1860, which gave a thorough scare to the miners and occasioned a good deal of trouble to the overland mail. [See "Indian Affairs on the California Trail," note 93, this volume. —Ed.]

a considerable body of them in Cache Valley or some other point north. I sent an express for this purpose, North last Saturday.

I will give Agent [A.] Humphreys instructions about the Utes and Southern Py-Utas. I will also visit the Sho Sho Nees between Fort Bridger and Rocky Mountains

Under existing circumstances it cannot be expected that I can accomplish much. I will however devote my time, energies and private credit for the benefit of the public interest, until I leave for the East.

The great wonder to me is, that the Indians are not much worse, and even as it is, the Indians are accused of many thefts, which are committed by white men, such as discharged soldiers & Teamsters, Camp followers, apostate Mormons &c. . . .

54

GOV. ALFRED CUMMING, ET AL., TO A. B. GREENWOOD,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, NOVEMBER 1, 1860¹³¹

To the Hon. A. B. Greenwood Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington D. C.

The undersigned actuated by a sense of duty, would respectfully call your attention, and through you the attention of Congress to the pressing necessity of taking immediate steps towards bringing the Indians of the Territory of Utah under treaty obligations.

It is believed that this Territory presents the only instance of the organization of a Territorial Government by Congress,—the country thrown open to settlement, without measures being first adopted to extinguish the Indian title,—The result has been repeated, and almost constant depredations by the Indians upon the settlers, the destruction of whole fields of grain,—stealing and driving away stock, and in many instances the most wanton and cruel murder of peaceful and unoffending citizens. Those more kindly disposed have resorted to petty theft, and begging; all however urging in Justification of their course, that their own country was taken possession of without their consent; their grass and water used, their game driven off, and they left to suffer and starve. The burthens of all this, to the amount of thousands of dollars annually, have been born by the

131 R/1276–1860. The memorial was transmitted in a letter from Special Agent E. F. Ruth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs A. B. Greenwood, dated Washington, Dec. 8, 1860.

people of this Territory, which has operated very oppressively when taken in connection with other hardships, incidental to the settlement of a new country, so far in the interior: —

Your memorialists need not refer in detail to the murder of Capt. [John W.] Gunnison and party by the Indians, while engaged in a government exploration and survey, or the more recent and atrocious murders in western Utah [i.e., Nevada], by which a number of valuable lives were lost—all of which we doubt not would have been prevented, had the Indians been treated by the government as other Indians in settled Territories, and placed under treaty stipulations. —

Why we might ask, has the government neglected to make treaties with the *Utes*, the *Digers*, the *Shoshones*; and left the settlers of Utah at *their* mercy; and in the meantime formed treaties with other Tribes, paying them tens of thousands annually in the way of annuities and presents. The argument we believe in justification of the course pursued towards the Indians of Utah, is that as the country was obtained from Mexico, and as that nation, never recognized the Indian title, the United States would adopt the same policy, and if necessary take possession of the country by force.¹³²

We would respectfully submit whether this is not too enlightened, too great, and too humane a government, to borrow and adopt the errors and barbarities of any semi-savage nation. Besides, the country was purchased with the incumbrance of the possessory right of the Indians, and when thrown open to settlement, if Mexico does not remove the incumbrance, it seems but reasonable that the United States should.

The first great duty of the government—is to protect the citizen in the full enjoyment of all his civil and political rights, and by the organization of a Territory, it invites settlement, derives revenue from the sale of public lands, and is presumed to follow the citizen with its protecting arm; Its duties are two fold:—as the guardian of the Indian, it must see that his rights are preserved, and a fair compensation rendered for the possession which the government seeks to appropriate, and as the protector of the citizen, it must guard carefully his life, liberty and property.

All Indian treaties have been based upon the ground of policy;—*justice* to the savage, *not* title in him.—Upon the ground that it was more just, more humane, to purchase their possession, and dispossess them peaceably, than to take possession by force,—The Indians of Utah have a possession which to them is as valuable, as sacred as that of any other Tribe with which the government ever treated.—To say to them that the country was derived from a nation that did not recognize their right of occupancy, and therefore the United States would not, would be using logic, which they would neither regard nor understand.

132 This was never the policy of the United States government.

It is sufficient for them to know that the Great Spirit gave this country to their fathers, sent the deer and antelope here for their food, and that while all that remains of their fathers are their graves, the hunting ground as their descendants belongs to them.—

Already do they well understand, that Treaties have been made with other Indians, by which *their* lands have been purchased, and they are becoming impatient and indeed hostile, because the same course is not pursued with them. We are fully satisfied that much longer they cannot be restrained from open and avowed hostility. They fully realize the effect produced by settlement, taking possession of their most valuable hunting ground, driving off their game, consuming their grass; and begging and plunder, seem to them not only Justifiable but their only alternative.—

Therefore, as an act of Justice to the Indian, for the peace of the country, for the protection of settlers and travelers, we would most earnestly recommend that immediate steps be taken, to form Treaties, with the *Utes*, *Pi-Utes*—*Diggers* and *Shoshones* or *Snakes*, conscientiously believing, that such Treaties will be less expensive to the general government, than the present Indian policy in Utah, and that such action is indispensable in preventing the sacrifice of human life.

Great Salt Lake City

Nov. 1st 1860

J. F. Kinney

Ch. Justice

Henry R. Crosby

Associate Justice

Wm H Rogers Ind Agent

Respectfully Yours

A Cumming

Gov. U Ty.

Francis H. Wooton

Secretary of State

S. C. Stambaugh

Sur. Genl.

1861

55

WILLIAM H. ROGERS, INDIAN AGENT, TO WILLIAM H.
 RUSSELL, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE
 CITY, APRIL 18, 1861¹³³

Dear Sir

Knowing the interest that is felt in the Great Overland central rout, by the public, and your self, I deem it my duty as an Indian Agent to let you know the condition of Indian Affairs in this Territory at present (that is in my agency).¹³⁴ I wrote a letter to Mr. Mix about the first of March last, asking him to answer my letter by pony [Pony Express]—I have not received a line from him; since writing that letter, I have had frequent appeals from the “Snake Indians” to make them a visit and give them a few presents; but have had no means to do so; and I now think if something is not done there will be trouble this summer, and I take this opportunity of informing the Department through you that if these Indians, who are the best in the Rocky Mountains and who pride themselves that they have never spilled the blood of a white man are not looked after, the Department must answer for it; they have been deceived by promises from both Forney and Davies,¹³⁵ and have received nothing since the winter of ’57, and then only a small quantity of good[s]—they are a large band—Washakee is their Chief, they are the bravest and most intelligent Indians in the Territory:—his tribe have deserted him, or as they say they have thrown him away, he has always ruled them and could hold them

133 C/1203–1861. This letter reached the Indian Office under cover of one by Frederick Cook, Treasurer, Overland Mail Co., New York, June 3, 1861, which says further:

This, & like intimations from other reliable sources, lead us to believe that the immediate & most earnest attention of the Department is needed to prevent Serious trouble, which will cost the Govt. much money and many lives if it runs into actual war.

Except under the protection of the Govt., which we have supposed would be ample for emigration and for us, it will be impossible to perform our service in transportation of the mails.

William H. Russell, to whom Rogers’ letter was directed, was the well-known member of the firm, Russell, Majors & Waddell, which at this time was operating the Pony Express.

134 Rogers’ post of duty was primarily Ruby Valley in present Nevada. He had served since September, 1859.

135 Benjamin Davies succeeded Forney as Superintendent in the summer of 1860. He served a little over a year, being in turn succeeded by Henry Martin and James Duane Doty.

in complete subjection until now. He told me last Summer that his Indians lost Confidence in him that he had made them promises of good on the word of the Superintendent to him; there is no Indian in the Tribe who can manage things so well as Washakee—he should be restored to his former position as Chief, this can be done at present with but little trouble, the Snakes say they do not intend to let the Mail or Emigrants pass through their Country if they do not get some presents this Spring; it should be attended to without delay; they seem to think that the bad Indians who kill & steal get presents while they get only promises, and seem to have come to the conclusion that bad Indians are the only ones who are rewarded, which is very near the truth as far as this Territory is Concerned—

I have had a long conversation with Mr. James Bromley your Mail Agent this morning, he informs me that if something is not done soon, there will be trouble in the Snake Count[r]y, which is in his division.—There are not enough U. S. Troops in Utah to whip this tribe,¹³⁶ they are the best fighters and the bravest in the Territory and are better prepared for fighting.—

Col. Davis the present Superintendent has given out a few goods only to the Indians who hang arou[n]d the Settlements, they do not deserve them, for they are a miserable lazy set who would starve before they would go on a hunt.

You can if you think proper show this letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and state to him that I think these Indians should have at lease [*sic*] eight or ten thousand dollars distributed to them in good[s] immediately. — If the Department will enclose me such an amount in a draft, you can send it by Pony, and I will assure them that Washakee will be reinstated and the whole tribe reconciled; as it is of no little importance to both the Government and to the Contractors of the Central overland Mail line.

The Indians in the vicinity of Ruby Valley and Deep Creek west of this on the Mail line are becoming daily more and more hostile towards the whites who keep the Stations, I have had reliable information if something is not done soon that they intend wiping out the Stations and Stock; they say Col. Davis did not give them any good[s] last winter on his visit to that Country, they are preparing for another summers Campain; they are principally Goshutes. . . .

P. S.

I am just from the South pass the Snake Country, and have informed Mr.-Rogers of the above facts in relation to the Snake Indians. If these Indians make an outbreak they will be hard to Stop as I am personally acquainted with this Indians

James. E. Bromley
Agent for Cent O S Comp
[Central Overland Stage Company]

136 The Civil War having broken out earlier this year, the forces which garrisoned Utah since 1858 were in course of being evacuated.

56

BENJAMIN DAVIES, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,*
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UTAH
 TERRITORY, JUNE 30, 1861 (EXTRACT)¹³⁷

Sir:

. . . The immense depth of the snow, which in some places was said to be as much as fifty feet, rendered locomotion with wheeled vehicles impracticable, and although I ventured as far as the safety of my animals and men permitted, I was forced to confine my operations principally to the bands and tribes who came from necessity by hundreds to visit me at my quarters. Including those whom I have visited and the multitudes that have congregated around my quarters, I have seen and made liberal distribution of presents among every tribe and band in this Territory, except those in Carson valley and certain remote bands on the head of the Humboldt river and Goose creek. The chiefs and principal men, with their families, have spent some time with me, and I have conversed fully with them, through my excellent interpreter, Mr. Dimmick B. Huntington, who has lived here twenty years, converses freely in each language, is well known by every band and chief throughout the Territory, and wields great influence over them all. In these conversations I discovered that they had a suspicion that it was the policy of the whites to populate their country and drive them into the big waters west of them, and some trouble may be anticipated in attempts to negotiate the purchase of their lands by treaty or otherwise. Most of the soil susceptible of cultivation is now settled and occupied by white persons, and the tide of population, attracted hither by the peculiar religious notions of the settlers of this Territory, will soon leave but little space for the poor Indian. I have again to urge the importance of extending the limits of the reserve at Ruby valley and Deep creek, (or Ibimpah) so as to embrace the whole of said valleys, and that surveys of the same be immediately made and their boundaries regularly designated. I also recommend the establishment of reserves and farms for the Snakes (Wash-akeis band and Bannacks) on Green river, three hundred miles east of this city, and also for the Weber-Utes, Little Soldier's band, on Weber river. For the various bands of Utes, Pah-Utes, Pah-vants, and others, who congregate at the Spanish Fork farm, I recommend the establishment of a reserve, including

* [Harry Kelsey, "William P. Dole, 1861-65," *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 89-98. —Ed.]
 137 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Executive Document 1 (Serial 1117), 741-43. In the earlier part of this report, Davies discussed at considerable length the Indian situation west of Great Salt Lake City.

the whole of Winter [Uinta] valley¹³⁸ in addition to the Spanish fork, Corn creek, and San Pete reserve. As the sum appropriated for the Indian service in this Territory is only about forty thousand dollars per annum, I beg to suggest that the amount expended in cultivating cereals is disproportionate to what should be invested in raising cattle, and supplying clothing.

These are unquestionably the poorest Indians on the continent. There is no game to subsist them, and from the nature of the country there never can be. Animals whose nature it is to inhabit forests will not abide in the beds of saleratus and on the barren rocks and dismal wastes of this insalubrious clime. If the system of cultivating grain be so modified as to substitute in part the raising of cattle for the subsistence of the Indians, it will operate beneficially in various respects. The Indian is by nature a herdsman, and he will readily fall in with the idea of taking care of cattle in preference to performing the more civilized labor of the farm. Besides, it is their nature to need meat. When fed on flour without meat for any length of time, they become diseased, and a change from that to meat will soon restore them to their wonted health. Owing to the d[i]fficulty of getting beef, I have tried to substitute the use of bacon. During last winter starvation compelled many of them to eat it, but some had to be supplied with beef. If four or five thousand dollars were invested in yearling heifers, and proper care were taken of them on the different reserves, beneficial results would soon follow. The plan of making up the goods designed to clothe them into garments, such as are worn by white persons, male and female, operates finely, and cannot be too strongly recommended. They are well pleased at being dressed like citizens, and it tends to make them more cleanly and careful of their person and their clothing, and the cost of making is saved by the less quantity necessary to be given. It also has the effect of preventing them from trading off their garments, which is invariably practiced when the raw material is given them. The destitution of these Indians and the excessive severity of the wintry seasons cause much sickness, especially inflammatory and pulmonary diseases, among them.

Great suffering and many deaths transpire, which might be mitigated, and perhaps prevented, by proper medical treatment. Syphilis prevails to a fearful extend among the Pah-vants and Pi-utes, which it is said they contract among the Navajoes, with whom they do much trading. I recommend the appointment of an experienced physician, whose duty it shall be to render medical assistance to all who may need it within this superintendency. Owing to the high price of everything in this remote region, and the laborious, perilous, and self-sacrificing labor of the office attached to the Indian service here, I submit that their compensation is inadequate, and recommend that their salaries be increased.

138 President Lincoln set aside the Uinta reservation for the Utes on Oct. 3, 1861, spurred by representations from the then superintendent, Henry Martin.

The pay of the superintendent should be three thousand dollars, and that of each agent, two thousand dollars. From the best information I can obtain from traders, mountaineers, travellers, and other persons, I presume there are some twenty thousand souls embraced within the jurisdiction of this superintendency. I have, therefore, to submit that an appropriation of forty thousand dollars per annum is quite insufficient for their wants. After deducting salaries of officers, their incidental expenses, pay of farm agents, other employes, and incidental expenditures of the reserve, but little is left for clothing, which is more needed among them than anything else. To put the Ruby Valley reserve in successful operation will require—

At least.....	\$7,000 00
Deep Creek or Ibimipah	7,000 00
Corn Creek	4,000 00
San Pete	4,000 00
To open a farm on Weber for Little Soldier's Utes.....	8,000 00
To open a farm on Green River for Wash-a-kees, Snakes	10,000 00
Besides what may be necessary to make repairs and carry on the Spanish Fork and Carson Valley farms, which may perhaps require	<u>10,000 00</u>
Making in the aggregate.....	\$60,000 00
Add to this for clothing, blankets, lodges, arms, ammunition, &c., two dollars per capita	\$40,000 00
And we have an aggregate of.....	100,000 00

which would not be more than might be judiciously and beneficially expended the ensuing year.

57

HENRY MARTIN, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
 LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 1, 1861 (EXTRACT)¹³⁹

Sir: In accordance with a regulation of the Indian department, requiring me to make an annual report of the situation of affairs in this superintendency, and to prepare estimates for the guidance of Congress in making annual appropriations for the support of the Indians in this Territory, I have the honor herewith to transmit to you my first annual report.

139 37th Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1 (Serial 1117,) 744-48.

I regret that my arrival in this Territory being of so recent a date, August 6, 1861, rendered it impossible for me to ascertain, as fully as I could wish, the exact condition of all the different bands of Indians in my superintendency.

I have, however, been as diligent as circumstances would permit in finding out, from personal examination and reliable information from parties in whom I place confidence, the wants and necessities of most of the tribes and bands of Indians placed in my charge, and am sorry to say that I found them in a very poor condition, both as regards a sufficient supply of clothing to protect them from the severity of the weather in this mountainous country, and the necessary amount of food to keep them from actual starvation.

Too little attention, I am fearful, has heretofore been paid to the fact that there is very little game in this Territory, of any description, which the Indians can kill to keep them in food. There is no buffalo whatever that range in this Territory, and very few antelope, elk, deer, mountain sheep, or bear, and these only in certain localities.

Civilization seems to have had the same effect here as has been noticed elsewhere in this country since the first settlement by our forefathers, in driving before it the game natural to a wilderness, and the Indians complain bitterly that since the white man has come among them their game has almost entirely disappeared from their former hunting-grounds, and that are now obliged either to beg food from the white settlers or starve.

The driving away of the buffalo not only deprives them of their principal supply of food, but also of a great source of revenue and comfort in the skins, which they sold and used to keep them comfortable in cold weather.

I have had more applications from Indians for beef and flour since I have been here than anything else. They frequently come to me and fairly beg for some beef, to keep their squaws and papooses from starving.

Owing to the limited amount of money placed in my hands, I have been unable to entirely satisfy their demands, but I am confident that what I have distributed in that way has been a great deal more satisfactory to the Indians than three times the amount expended in any kind of trinkets usually disbursed by the department would have been.

The annual appropriation for this superintendency has, in my opinion, always been too small to allow the superintendent and agents to give that satisfaction to the Indians which their wants demand, and a proper regard for the rights and safety of the white settlers, by preventing depredations, requires.

The establishment of the overland daily mail and telegraph lines, and their recent completion through this Territory—consummations of such vital importance to the people throughout the Union—renders it necessary that steps should be immediately taken by the government to prevent the possibility of their being interrupted by the Indians.

On this subject I have taken much pains to consult with most of the leading men connected with these great enterprises, and also with nearly all of the head chiefs of the Indians that range on their lines in this Territory, and have, after mature deliberation, come to the conclusion that the only manner in which this can be effected to the entire satisfaction and protection of all the parties concerned, is by a treaty between the United States and the tribes of Indians ranging in this superintendency.

In recent consultations or "talks" with Wask-a-kee and Sho-kub,¹⁴⁰ the head chiefs of the Shoshones or Snake Indians, Nava-coots and Pe-tut-neet, chiefs of the Ute nation, and many of the sub-chiefs of both nations, I find that they are unanimously in favor of a treaty with the United States, and agree with me in considering that to be the only effectual way to check the stealing propensities of some of their Indians; and from information gleaned from them on various occasions, I have made the following memorandum in regard to the probable cost and effect of a treaty.

They express their willingness to cede to the United States all the lands they claim in this Territory, with the exception of reservations necessary for their homes; and ask, in return, that the United States shall make them annual presents of blankets, beads, paint, calico, ammunition, &c., with occasional supplies of beef and flour sufficient to make them comfortable, which I estimate can be done with a small addition to the usual appropriation.

They seem fully to understand the nature and effect of a treaty, and the chiefs agree to hold themselves responsible for any depredations committed by any of their bands, if a treaty should be made, by deducting the amount of damage done from the annuity paid them.

I cannot too strongly recommend this course to the department, and sincerely hope that it will meet with that prompt attention that, to my mind, the importance of the subject entitles it.

I had expected on my arrival in this city, and after assuming the duties of this office, to find matters in a shape that I could immediately proceed to the discharge of my duty towards the Indians, but was very much disappointed; and instead of finding an office properly in order, with facilities for doing business, I could find nothing but an old bundle of papers to show that there had ever been a superintendent in the Territory.

This state of affairs necessarily delayed my intercourse with the Indians until I could procure an office and the fixtures necessary to do business with, which, owing to the exorbitant price charged for everything in this country, and the scarcity of material to manufacture office furniture, delayed me much longer than I had anticipated.

140 A chief of the Shoshoni living in eastern Nevada.

I have, however, succeeded in establishing an office here in a becoming and comfortable style, at an expense much less than has heretofore been allowed for that purpose.

59*

JAMES D. DOTY, SPECIAL AGENT OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
TO GEORGE W. McLELLAN, ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DECEMBER 14, 1861 (EXTRACT)¹⁴¹

I cannot think that Government has any cause to fear for the safety of the mail from this source; [the disloyalty of employees of the Overland Mail Company] but it has occasion to apprehend danger from the Indians.

Seeing the large supplies of provisions and feed which the Co. has been compelled to accumulate this fall and to keep at each Station, these people, who are very wild, when hungry or starving, and perhaps at other times, are disposed to take by force what they require if they are not freely given what is demanded. The men of the Co. cannot, of course, comply with their demands—for they present themselves by fifties & hundreds and hence difficulties ensue.

Two days before I passed the Red Butte, an assistant agent of that division was shot and instantly killed, as he was riding alone in his waggon near that place and his mules driven off. There can be no doubt that it was done by Shoshonee Indians who had been to a station near by demanding food which was refused. I have sent for the principal Chief of the Nation, hoping he may be able and willing to identify and deliver up the parties.

Threats and demands for food are made along the entire line to Carson Valley; they insist that the Country is theirs; that they have made no treaty for it with government, and unless troops are placed at two or three points along the line, or I am authorised as Superintendent of Indian affairs to distribute provisions to them occasionally and thus draw them away from the line, serious difficulties may be apprehended and the mail cease to be carried for some period during the winter. The cost of provisions is very great; for they must either be purchased here, in this settlement, or at Atchison; from which place there are no trains for freight during the winter season. The sum of twenty thousand

* The original printing of "Washakie and the Shoshoni" did not include a document numbered 58.

141 This extract of a report by Doty was transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior on Jan. 9, 1862, by George W. McLellan, 2nd Asst. P. M. [Post Master] General (P/463-1862).



James Duane Doty, 1860, Utah territorial governor and Indian superintendent, 1861–1863. *Wisconsin Historical Society, image 11337.*



Luther H. Mann, ca.1870, Shoshoni agent at Fort Bridger, 1861–1869. *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.*

dollars I should think would be required from this purpose—and even this may prove insufficient. I am the only Superintendent on the line; and for the purpose, in part, of protecting the route, I have established an Agent at Fort Bridger and another at Ruby Valley near the Humboldt Mountains—but government has placed nothing in my hands to give the Indians at those points. These are the only Agencies with permanent agents in this extensive territory, which is bounded by the Indian country upon every side. The Telegraph line follows the Stage Route; and, allow me to urge, that both of them are now of too great importance to the commercial and other interest of the United States to be interrupted or destroyed; and that adequate protection should immediately be given to these great enterprises.

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE DOTY,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, DECEMBER 27, 1861¹⁴²

Sir

On my arrival at this place I found that the Beef Cattle belonging to the Military Department has been Sold to Judge [W. A.] Carter with the Exception of two head which wer held by that Department The Commanding Officer proposed to turn them over to me if I would receipt for them I accepted his offer and gave him the following Receipt

Copy

Received December 23^d 1861 of Capt J C. Clark 4th Inft. Act. C. S. two head of Beef Cattle Commissary Stores for Issue to Indians at Fort Bridger

Signed

Luther Mann Jr Ind. Agt.

The Officer in Command still holds five Mules which they have no use for The Secretary of War on application might turn them over to the Indian Department I have obtained one of the Government Buildings for an Office I shall require Some fixtures for the Same also Wood & Lights You will confer a favour by remitting me at your Earliest Convenience Some funds for that purpose as I hold no funds in my hands belonging to the Ind Department It will require Some two hundred dollars or more for that purpose There are some Indians in my agency that have not received any presents this fall or Winter I had about twenty five visit me on the 25th of the present month Should you think best to give them presents you can remit to me the funds for that purpose as Every thing they want Except flour can be obtained of Judge Carter of this place as Cheap if not cheaper than at the City Please answer at your Earliest Convenience and Greatly Oblige. P S I would like some Powder and lead if you have received it send by stage

142 Utah Field Papers, 1861. As appears hereafter, Mann, the first agent regularly detailed to the Shoshoni, took up his duties at Fort Bridger on Dec. 19, 1861. [Morgan's "Field Papers" citation provides a documentary puzzle. He gives no full citation to the collection and no location information. I have found no further data among his papers or correspondence, no record of a collection so identified in any Utah institution, nor at the National Archives. It is possible this could be an old title for the Utah Superintendency records, RG 75.15.13. It could also be one of the two groups of Utah territorial papers in either the State Department (RG 59.4.3) or Indian Division records of the Interior Department (RG 48.5.4). —Ed.]

1862

61

WILLIAM T. ATWOOD TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON, D. C.,
FEBRUARY 13, 1862¹⁴³

Sir:

I have the honor herewith to transmit to you my appointment as temporary clerk by James Duane Doty* Superintendent Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah; and beg leave to report myself to you in accordance with the instructions therein contained.

I left Great Salt Lake City, Utah, the headquarters of the Utah Superintendency on Tuesday, December 23^d, 1861, and agreeably to my instructions, visited the Indians in the eastern part of the territory, on the mail route, and am happy to report that I found them all quiet and peaceable, and not in the least interfering with the white settlers in that section of country.

After concluding my visits to the Indians I at once proceeded on my way to this city, arriving February 1st 1862, after a cold & tedious ride across the plains.

143 A/465-1862.

* [James Duane Doty, who figures prominently in Morgan's documentary selection, had served in Michigan and Wisconsin territorial positions between 1820 and 1853, including a term as Wisconsin governor between 1841 and 1844. Following the Whig/Republican-dominated election of 1860 he had been appointed to a post office position in Utah, then as Indian Superintendent for Utah in 1861. He proved a conscientious and effective superintendent and in 1863 was appointed by President Lincoln to Utah's territorial governorship. In the fractious and heated sectional politics of the time, Doty's gubernatorial appointment was a straightforward attempt to mollify the hawkish radical Republicans, who were agitating for a wholesale post-Gettysburg displacement of James Buchanan's Democratic appointees in order to monopolize federal positions, preparatory to the Reconstruction debates. In Doty's appointment Lincoln was desperately trying to avoid the strident trouble of the two previous spectacularly negative gubernatorial appointments in Utah, John W. Dawson and Stephen S. Harding. Among Utahns, Doty was perceived a capable moderating influence and is still widely credited with repairing relations between the Mormons and the federal government. Despite his public reputation, Doty worked secretly with the radical Republicans to end Mormon influence in Washington politically. Vincent G. Tegeder, "Lincoln and the Territorial Patronage: The Ascendancy of the Radicals in the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (Jun. 1948): 86-89 (and more fully, pp. 77-90), cites letters to Interior Department secretary William Seward that cast Doty's administration in an entirely different light than is typically reflected in contemporary sources. His quiet Jekyll-Hyde role in the devolution of Mormon-federal relations has never been explored. Doty died in office and is buried at Fort Douglas. —Ed.]

I also enclose my account for my salary for two months from Dec. 13th the date of my appointment amounting to two hundred & fifty dollars (\$250.) with the request that you will cause it to be paid as soon as practicable.

My traveling expenses were advanced to me by Supt Doty, before leaving Gt Salt Lake City. . . .

62

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE
DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, FEBRUARY 15, 1862¹⁴⁴

Sir.

I have this day appointed Jack Robinson¹⁴⁵ as Indian Interpreter for the Fort Bridger Agency, at a Salary of five hundred dollars pr year, subject to your confirmation.

Should such appointment meet your approval you will please advise. . . .

To the Commissioner

I respectfully recommend the confirmation of the above nomination of Jack Robinson to be Interpreter at Fort Bridger Utah Territory for the Shoshonee Indians in the North East part of said Territory

Superintendency Ind Affs	James Duane Doty
Great Salt Lake City, February 20, 1862	Superintendent

63

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, APRIL 15, 1862¹⁴⁶

Sir:—The accounts & vouchers for the 1st quarter 1862, for this Superintendency are herewith transmitted. They would have been forwarded earlier but for my

144 Utah Field Papers, 1862.

145 John Robertson, "Uncle Jack Robinson," had been a fixture in the Fort Bridger area since Jim Bridger's day, and dwelt there until his death in 1882; he is buried in the Fort Bridger cemetery. Some early letters by him are printed in Elizabeth Arnold Stone, *Uinta County: Its Place in History* (Laramie, Wyo.: Laramie Printing, 1924), 42–43.

146 D/596–1862.

absence from this city from the 25th of March to the 7th of April, to the northern part of Salt Lake and Cache Vallies. I desired to have visited Bear Valley, where Washikee & his Band wish to settle, but found the Mountains covered with deep snow; and was detained four days in Cache Valley by snow storms.

The Indians have been, in great numbers, in a starving and destitute condition. No provision having been made for them, either as to clothing or provisions, by my predecessors, I have been compelled to purchase supplies where they could best be obtained, & transport them to the places where the Indians had assembled, and where they were enduring great suffering. At the time of their greatest need the rains and snows had rendered the road impassable; and the Indians condition was such—with the prospect that they would rob the mail stations to sustain life—that I felt compelled to send Agent [F. C.] Hatch to them and to purchase the wheat of James Worthington & 200 bushels of Livingston Bell & Co., charged in my account, and distribute it gradually among them. I also sent them some flour and clothing. It cost more than I wished, but it was the best under the urgency of the circumstances that could be done. If the present system is to be continued, I propose with your permission, during the autumn, when grain is cheaper and transportation can be obtained at reasonable rates, to provide at proper points the supplies of provisions which will probably be required during the winter—But the Department will have no freedom from their demands—nor from those of the Mail Station Keepers, and inhabitants—until these Indians are removed from the line of the road by force, or by their settlement further south, as suggested in a former communication. If they are placed where they can have stock, and give their attention to raising it, I am confident they will soon cease to be beggars and depredators, and become the best of herdsmen. At present they are not satisfied with all that I have done for them, when they have in addition received largely from the Mail Company and from the inhabitants.

The snow on the Wausatch Mountains has, since my arrival, presented an insuperable barrier to Uinta Valley; and it will be several weeks before they can be crossed. As soon as the passage is practicable, I shall execute your instructions by making a personal examination of the Valley, which I think can be done with a guard of eight or ten men. The Elk Mountain Utahs, who inhabit that region of country, are understood to be unfriendly. None have visited the Superintendency since my arrival. It may, perhaps, become necessary to treat with them before occupying that Valley with other Bands.

The remittance for salaries of Agents & Agency expenses, has been received. . . .

James Duane Doty
Superintendent

WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES
DUANE DOTY, ET AL., DATED OFFICE OF INDIAN
AFFAIRS, JULY 22, 1862¹⁴⁷

Jas. D. Doty Esq.
Supt. Ind. Affairs.
Luther Man[n] Jun^r. U. S. Agent
for Indians in Utah
Henry Martin Esqr.
Present
Gentlemen.

Congress at its recent session having appropriated Twenty Thousand dollars for the purpose of making a treaty with the Shoshonees or Snake Indians, you have been designated by the President to carry into effect the object of the said appropriation.—No sufficient reports of explorations are in the custody of this office to enable me to state definitely the boundaries of the Country inhabited and claimed by these Indians, but it is understood that they inhabit the Country in the Northern part of Utah and eastern portion of Washington Territories,¹⁴⁸ through which lies the route of the overland mail, and the emigrant route through Utah and into Washington Territory and it is mainly to secure the safety of the travel along these routes that a treaty is desirable.¹⁴⁹

It is not expected that the treaty will be negotiated with a view to the extinguishment of the Indian title to the Land, but it is believed that with the assurances you are authorized to make of the amicable relations which the United States desires to establish and perpetuate with them, and by the payment of twenty thousand dollars of annuities in such articles as by the President may be deemed suitable to their wants for which you are authorized to stipulate, you will be enabled to procure from them such articles of agreement as will render the routes indicated secure for travel and free from molestation; also a definite acknowledgment as well of the boundaries of the entire country they claim, as

147 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157,) 536–37.

148 The Territory of Idaho was not created till March 3, 1863. The Territory of Washington was extended to include this area when Oregon became a State in 1859.

149 As will be seen hereafter, 1862 was a critical year along the Overland Trail. Emigrant travel by the familiar South Pass route became hazardous, and the overland mail route was shifted south to the old Cherokee Trail between Denver and Fort Bridger. The U. S. Government, which so long had taken Shoshoni friendship for granted, all at once awakened to the value and meaning of that friendship and began to “talk treaty.”

of the limits within which they will confine themselves, which limits it is hardly necessary to state should be as remote from said routes as practicable.

It must however be borne in mind that in stipulating for the payment of annuities the sum mentioned above is not to be exceeded, so that if for any reason, you are unable to treat with all the bands of the Shoshonees, the amount of annuities stipulated to be paid must be such a proportion of said sum as the number of the bands treated with bears to the number of the entire nation.

It will also be well so to frame the treaty that while on the one hand it is expressed that the United States being aware of the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away the destruction of the game along the route traveled by whites, are willing to fairly compensate them for the same, the Indians on the other hand shall acknowledge the reception of the annuities stipulated for, as a full equivalent therefore, and shall pledge themselves at all times hereafter to refrain from depredations and maintain peaceable relations with the United States and their Citizens.

Should you find it impracticable to make one treaty which will secure the good will and friendship of all the tribes or bands of Shoshonee Indians, you will then negotiate only with that tribe or band which is most dangerous to emigrants and settlers upon the route of travel over which the mails are carried and also the overland route of travel north of that, and you can only secure protection for one of said routes, you will negotiate a treaty with such tribe or bands as will secure that protection to the route over which the largest amount of travel and emigration passes without reference to the mails.

I have to direct that you arrange the times and places of your Councils with the Indians that so far as practicable the entire nation shall be represented, which it is presumed the amount appropriated will with proper economy enable you to very nearly if not completely accomplish.

Mr. Martin, one of your commissioners having filed the necessary bond, has been entrusted with the funds and will make all such arrangements for the purchase of goods and disment [i.e., disbursement] of money as may be necessary. . . .

65

HENRY MARTIN, SPECIAL AGENT, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 22, 1862¹⁵⁰

Sir

Fearing that it may be necessary for the safety of Government Trains transporting Indian goods in my charge, en route for the Sho Shone Indians, I desire the authority to call upon any Commanding officer on the Plains for the necessary military escort for that purpose, and for our personal safety during our sojourn in the Indian country on official business. . . .

66

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UTAH
TERRITORY, AUGUST 5, 1862.¹⁵¹

At Midnight on the 2d inst. Little Soldier, Chief of the Cum-um-bahs, or Utah Digger Indians,¹⁵² who has always been a good friend to the white people, and who has always notified them of any approaching danger, arrived at the residence of D. B. Huntington, Interpreter for the Superintendency, and informed him as follows:

That the Shoshone or snake Indians, and the Bannack Indians, inhabiting the northern part of this Territory and the Southern portion of Eastern Washington Territory, have united their forces for the purpose of making war upon, and committing depredations on the property of, the white people, settlers in this Territory, and the Emigrants to the Pacific coast by the Northern route. That for this purpose the Sho-sho-nee Indians have set aside Wash-i-kee, the great Chief of that Nation, because he is a man of peace and a friend to the whites,

150 M/613-1862. Martin three days before had officially transmitted his bond as "Special Agent to negotiate a treaty with the Shoshonees or Snake Indians" (M/610-1862).

151 D/639-1862. Encl. Printed in 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 357-58.

152 Little Soldier has figured in many prior documents of this series as chief of a mixed band of Shoshoni and Utes living in the Great Salt Lake Valley and also ranging through the Wasatch Mountains.

and have chosen in his place, as their leader, Pash-e-go, because he is a man of blood.¹⁵³ That they are trying very hard to get the Cum-um-bahs, the Gos-Utes, and Sho-e-gars or Bannock Diggers, to join them. That they have already killed a number of Emigrants and committed many depredations on the property of the Settlers and Emigrants, stealing horses, cattle, &c.—That lately they have stolen and run off one hundred and fifty horses & mules at and about Ft. Bridger; a large number in the northern part of the Territory, and three head north of and within ten miles and seven head within fifty miles of Great Salt Lake City. That they are now removing their families to the Salmon River country to get them out of danger—and that when the leaves turn red in the fall is the time they have agreed upon to assemble and when the leaves turn yellow and begin to fall the time they are to fall upon and exterminate all the settlers in the Territory. That all these war movements are instigated and led on by War-a-gi-ka, the great Bannock prophet, in whom the Bannocks and Sho-sho-nees have unbounded confidence and faith—who lives in the vicinity of Walla Walla, in Oregon, or Washington Territory.¹⁵⁴ Little Soldier, very urgently warns the people of the great danger hanging over them and advises them to have their guns with them at all times, in the Kanyons and in their fields. . . .

- 153 Frederick Lander (see Document 51) placed the range of “Pash-e-go” as the head of John Days River and west of the Blue Mountains—that is, in Oregon and apparently it is he who is referred to here. But there seems to have been a subchief of similar name among the Wyoming Shoshoni, called by Lander “Push-e-can” or “Pur-chi-can,” who as Lander said, bore upon his forehead “the scar of a blow of the tomahawk given by Washikee in one of their altercations.” The diaries of Mat Field in the Missouri Historical Society mention this latter chief in connection with the celebrated raid by Cheyennes and Arapahoes upon the horses of Shoshoni and mountain men at Fort Bridger in the summer of 1843, and intermittent later mention may be found of him, e.g., Document 18. Some confusion of identity is possible.
- 154 See again Document 51. It seems likely that Doty was again referring to Pash-e-go, and that the name “War-a-gika” refers rather to the tribe or band, whose name was rendered by Lander as Warraicas, or sun flower seed-eaters. This was the division of the Bannock headed by Pash-e-go.

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 13, 1862¹⁵⁵

Sir:—On the 6th of March last I deemed it my duty to advise your Department, as also the Secretary of War, of the threatened attacks by the Shoshonees upon the Emigrant Trains passing through the Mountains the then coming season, and to suggest the occupation by a Regiment of Troops, of some point in the vicinity of Fort Hall on Shoshonee river, near the point of intersection of the Northern California road with the roads to Oregon, and from this city to Salmon river Gold Mines.

Subsequently, as additional information was received from friendly Indians that it was the intention to assemble a large force—estimated by them at two thousand—sufficient to overpower any Train, I ventured to again call the attention of the government to the threats and conduct of those Indians, and the prospect that many emigrants would lose their lives, or be robbed of their property, if military protection was not given at that point; and asked of the Secretary of War a portion of the \$25,000 appropriation for the defence of Emigrants, to provide for their protection at the place threatened.¹⁵⁶

The subject was renewed in my letters of April 11th; with the further information that they would certainly commence their depredations upon the Overland Mail Line East of this City. All the officers of the United States then here, and the officers of the Overland Mail and Telegraph Companies united in a Telegram to the Secretary of War, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, conveying to him the same intelligence, which they deemed altogether reliable, and urging that Troops be raised here for temporary service, and until the Troops of the United States could reach this country.

No notice appears to have been taken of these representations¹⁵⁷—certainly no favorable response was given; and it is supposed, from the published Letter of

155 D/639–1862. Printed in 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 354–56.

156 Congress had appropriated this money in an act approved January 27, 1862. The funds were principally expended by an “emigrant escort to Oregon and Washington Territory” commanded by Captain Medorem Crawford, whose journal is printed as 37th Cong., 3rd sess., Senate Executive Document 17 (Serial 1149). West of South Pass Crawford traveled the Lander Cutoff; he notes that many parties went on ahead, as he stayed behind to look after the rear of the year’s emigration. A Utah contribution to the security of the overland trail this year is noted below.

157 This matter got mixed up with the anti-Mormon politics of the period in Utah

Brigham Young also herewith enclosed, and from other information, our efforts to protect the lives and property of our citizens and the Overland Mail and Telegraph Lines, have been counteracted by his—or some other invisible influence, and that our exertions have resulted only in increasing his power in this country and not that of the United States—the President having conferred upon him the authority to raise troops and withheld it from the officers of the United States.

The events which have occurred since our communications were made confirm the correctness of our information, and prove that the assertion of Brigham Young was not reliable, that “the statements of the aforesaid Telegram are without foundation in truth,” as he believed.

Before the Emigration appeared on the road the Shoshonees, in connection with Dakotahs and Cheyennes, robbed the Overland Co. of their Stock upon more than three hundred miles of the road west of Fort Laramie, killed several of their drivers & employes, and effectually stopped the mail.

Early in June, Smith, Kinkaid, and others, forming a small party, on their way from California to the States, were attacked by the Eastern Bannacks, who hunt with the Shoshonees between Raft river near Fort Hall, and Bear river, and all but Smith & another were murdered, and the entire party robbed. Smith was shot in the back, with an arrow, but succeeded in reaching the settlement on Bear river, with the arrow yet in him.

territorial history. A report by the Adjutant General of the Army on April 24, 1862, as to measures taken to make secure the Overland mail route to California notes in part:

The suggestion of the acting Governor and other civil functionaries of Utah that a regiment of mounted men be raised in that Territory is not concurred in because it is not supposed so large a force is necessary. The proposition of Senator Latham, deemed by him most expedient and reasonable, is that Brigham Young be authorized to raise, arm, and equip a company of 100 mounted men for not less than three months, to protect the mail and route, and the telegraph line west of Salt Lake near Independence Rock, from Indian depredations and to recover the stock and property of the mail company which has been stolen. From the personal interest Brigham Young is said to have in the telegraphic communication with Salt Lake and from his known influence over his own people, and over the Indian tribes around, this plan is supposed to offer the most expeditious and economical remedy to the obstructions to the mail route. The objection to this plan is that Brigham Young is not a functionary recognized by the United States Government, and a requisition for volunteers from Utah should be made upon the Governor of the Territory. There are two companies of the Third Regular Cavalry, paroled men, now at Detroit. These might be mounted and sent to the point where troops are required, but a considerable time would elapse before they could reach there. (U. S. War Department, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897], ser. 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, 1023–24.)

The sequel appears in the text. The company of Mormon volunteers eventually raised was commanded by Lot Smith. Their experiences are set forth in *Utah and the Civil War*, ed. Margaret Fisher (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1929).

In that month three Emigrant Trains were waylaid by the Shoshonees, near Soda Springs, and the people robbed & killed.

During the month of July, I am informed of several Trains being attacked & robbed, and many people killed. A man returned from Salmon River informs me, that at the crossing of the Salt Lake and California roads, he saw two wag-gons standing in the road, and the dead bodies of three white men lying beside them. There is no doubt that there have been many murders committed there of which no account has been given.

The robbery of 200 head of stock last month, owned by Jack Robinson and other settlers, took place near Fort Bridger, and within six miles of the camp of the forces put into service by Brigham Young.

I also transmit herewith a statement of the chief, "Little Soldier"—of the danger of a proposed general rising of the Shoshonees and Utahs made to the interpreter; and yesterday I received information that the Indians in Tuilla & Rush vallies declared their intention to commence robbing on the *Western* road. They have stolen many horses & cattle of late from the settlements, and they enter the houses of farmers, and in an insolent manner demand food, and that meals shall be cooked for them.

A regiment of California Volunteers, under the command of Col. Connor,¹⁵⁸ are said to be at Fort Churchill, in Nevada, 600 miles west of this, on their way to this City; but unless their march is hastened they will not reach here until winter. A telegraph-order from the Secretary of War to increase their speed, would soon bring them upon that part of the road which is threatened by those Utah Indians—

It is stated that General [James] Craig is five hundred miles east of this City, and that he has no orders to advance his troops into this territory, nor into the Washington territory. . . .

158 The California-Nevada Volunteers, commanded by Col. Patrick Edward Connor, reached Great Salt Lake City in October, and on the bench above the city founded the post which became Fort Douglas. The garrison was maintained until the close the Civil War. [Cf. Brigham D. Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Conner* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1990); James F. Varley, *Brigham and the Brigadier: General Patrick Conner and His California Volunteers in Utah and along the Overland Trail* (Tucson, Ariz.: Westernlore Press, 1989). —Ed.]

[UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER CLIPPING]¹⁵⁹

The federal authorities in Utah and Brigham Young have between them a question of veracity to settle, as will be seen by the following correspondence. Brigham does not want any troops sent to Utah. It might interfere with his pretended State government.*

Great Salt Lake City, April 11, 1862.

To Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington

The Indians in Utah are robbing the Overland Mail company of their horses and provisions, and destroying their stations, and declare the paper wagons shall be stopped within two months. They are killing the cattle of the inhabitants, and demanding provisions of them and of the Superintendent in an insolent and threatening manner, and 2,000 Shoshones are now entering the northern settlements, demanding food and clothing. An imperative necessity demands immediate military protection for the mail company and settlers. We ask that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, James Duane Doty, be authorized by the Secretary of War to raise and put in service immediately, under his command, at the expense of the General Government, a regiment of mounted rangers from inhabitants of the territory, with officers appointed by him, each man to furnish his own horse, clothing, arms and equipments, to serve three months or longer, if required, or until troops of the United States can reach the territory; and that he be authorized to procure the necessary subsistence.

(Signed)

Frank Fuller,

Acting Gov. of Utah.

J. F. Kinney,

Chief Justice Supreme Court, Terr. of Utah.

Samuel R. Fox,

Surgeon [Surveyor] General, Utah

Frederick Cook

Assistant Treas. Overland Mail Company

159 This clipping appears as an enclosure of D/635-1862 [Document 69], and is printed with it in the same serial, pp. 356-57.

* [The "pretended State government" invoked here was a proposal for statehood under the name "Deseret," launched in 1862—the fourth such effort—and a clear attempt to capitalize on the political uncertainties of the Civil War period. The story is outlined in Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Ann Arbor: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1970), 166-69. —Ed.]

H. S. R. Rove,
Superintendent Overland Mail Company
E. R. Purple,
Agent Overland Mail Company.
Joseph Hollady,
Agent Eastern Division Overland Mail Co.
W. B. Hibbad,
Assistant Superintendent Pacific Telegraph
Company.

* * *

Great Salt Lake City, April 14, 1862.

Hon. John M. Bernhisel, Washington, D. C.

I am informed that a telegram has been forwarded from here over the signatures of Frank Fuller, J. F. Kinney, and six others, not one of whom is a permanent resident on this Territory, to the Secretary of War, asking him to authorize James D. Doty, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to raise and officer a regiment here for three months, or until United States troops can reach here, under the general allegations that the property of the Overland Mail Company and the settlers are in danger from the Indians. So far as I know, the Indians in Utah are unusually quiet; and instead of 2,000 hostile Shoshones coming into our northern settlements, Washekeek, their chief, has wintered in the city and near it, perfectly friendly, and is about to go to his band. Besides, the militia of Utah are ready and able, as they ever have been, to take care of all the Indians, and are able and willing to protect the mail line if called upon so to do. *The statements of the aforesaid telegram are without foundation in truth*, so far as we know.

(Signed) BRIGHAM YOUNG

To these I will only add that I deeply regret the collision in these two despatches. I very much respect Fuller and Doty and the chief representatives of the Overland Mail, but am forced to say that the Indians have, I think to them, been greatly misrepresented by interested persons. I have seen times in the mountains when there was anxiety, but that is not the present time. If the traders on the eastern road, who are buying up stock for the Salmon River Mines, were all gibbeted, there would be less, if any at all, loss of mail stock.

UTAH.

69

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
 LAKE CITY, AUGUST 25, 1862¹⁶⁰

Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of Instructions dated July 7th, 1862, transmitting a printed Circular of the Secretary of the Interior dated June 5th, in relation to Contracts for the government; and requiring an estimate for the amount of goods or service required to be made in time for the transmission of the contract for approval.— My Bond as Superintendent, executed according to the “form” received, was transmitted on the 23d. instant.

Also, by the same mail, the Commissioners Letter dated July 19th, was received, advising of the appointment of Luther Mann Jr. in conjunction with Henry Martin a special agent of the Department, to negotiate a Treaty with the Shoshonee nation of Indians; and that Mr. Martin, as disbursing agent, will arrange for all the necessary expenses. I have requested Mr. Mann, as directed, to hold himself in readiness to enter upon his duties; and I await Mr. Martin’s arrival in the Country, from whom nothing has as yet been heard. . . .

70

BEN HOLLADAY TO M. P. BLAIR, DATED
 SALT LAKE, AUGUST 26, 1862¹⁶¹

Sir: A general war with nearly all the tribes of Indians east [i.e., west] of the Missouri river is close at hand. I am expecting daily an interruption on my line, and nothing but prompt and decisive action on the part of government will prevent it. The lines should be protected by soldiers at intervals of one hundred miles. General Paige’s force is too small. I think it my duty to give [the] government this information through you. Colonel Conner’s forces are four hundred miles west, travelling slowly.

I leave for home in the morning. Hope to see you by September 10. . . .

160 D/635–1862.

161 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 358. The writer of this letter was the celebrated Ben Holladay, who figures so largely in the annals of the over-land mail. The recipient, Montgomery P. Blair, was at this time the Postmaster-General.

71

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 29, 1862¹⁶²

Sir:— I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated July 22nd, enclosing “a copy of instructions issued to myself in connection with Messrs. Henry Martin & Luther Mann Jr. as Commissioners to negotiate a Treaty with the Shoshonee Indians.” Mr. Martin has not yet arrived in this Territory, and I do not know when he can be expected, as I have not heard of his departure from the East.

Those Indians have committed so many outrageous murders and depredations this season, that it is doubtful whether they will venture to meet us in Council. They still continue their attacks upon the Trains, near the junction of the Northern California, Oregon & Salmon river roads.

Military agricultural settlements along those roads, as suggested to the Department, & to the Secretary of War, in my communications last year, can alone be relied upon, in my opinion, to restrain these Indians and to give efficient and adequate protection to emigrants and property on those roads. Permission to form settlements and establish Ferries on the Shoshonee river ought perhaps to be obtained.

The robberies which they have lately [inserted with caret: been] committed in the vicinity of this City, of large bands of Horses, indicate their disposition, I think, to make war upon the white settlers. On Saturday last they took a drove of one hundred & forty horses from a ranch about twenty miles from this. . . .

72

CHARLES E. MIX, ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.
OPEN LETTER, DATED OFFICE INDIAN
AFFAIRS, SEPTEMBER 19, 1862¹⁶³

TO THE PUBLIC: From information received at this department, deemed sufficiently reliable to warrant me in so doing, I consider it my duty to warn

162 D/640–1862.

163 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 359.

all persons contemplating the crossing of the plains this fall, to Utah or the Pacific coast, that there is good reason to apprehend hostilities on the part of the Bannack and Shoshone or Snake Indians, as well as the Indians upon the plains and along the Platte river.

The Indians referred to have, during the past summer, committed several robberies and murders; they are numerous, powerful, and warlike, and should they generally assume a hostile attitude are capable of rendering the emigrant routes across the plains extremely perilous; hence this warning.

By order of the Secretary of the Interior.

73

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE DOTY,
Supt. of Indian Affairs, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, SEPTEMBER 20, 1862¹⁶⁴

Sir: I have the honor of submitting the following report relative to the affairs of this agency.

There is but one tribe in care of this agency, (the Shoshones;) there are, however, several small bands of Utes, numbering some thirty or forty lodges ranging upon the lands of the Shoshones by permission, awaiting, no doubt, the action of the government to settle them upon their own lands, the Uintah reservation.

The Shoshones within this agency number, as near as I can ascertain from information derived from the mountaineers, (some of whom have been living in this country for the last thirty years,¹⁶⁵ four thousand souls. The relative number of males or females of the different ages I am unable, with any degree of certainty, to state; suffice it to say, however, that the females very largely predominate.

I arrived at my agency December 19, 1861, entirely destitute of the means of transportation, or of funds belonging to the department to procure the same. I am unable, therefore, to give you but a limited amount of information in regard to the Indians under my charge. Those, however, who have ranged in the vicinity of this agency are in a very destitute condition, and from the best information that can be obtained, the whole tribe are unquestionably the poorest Indians that range in the mountains. A few ponies constitute their entire wealth.

164 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 348-49. This is Mann's first annual report.

165 More properly, 38 years. Ashley's men penetrated to the Fort Bridger area for the first time in 1824.

There is very little game in this Territory, by which the Indians are enabled to procure the necessary means of subsistence. Large herds of buffalo that used to range in this vicinity have entirely disappeared, depriving them of their usual amount of food, likewise a great source of comfort derived from the manufacturing of the skins into tents and clothing to keep themselves comfortable in cold weather. The small amount of provisions and clothing distributed to them by Superintendent Martin, before my arrival in this Territory, was entirely inadequate to their wants. Owing to the limited amount of means placed in my hands, I have been unable, as fully as I should have desired, to supply their wants, thereby preventing them from supplying themselves by unlawful means.

Large numbers of the Shoshones, in conjunction with the Bannacks, who range along the southern boundary of Washington Territory, have been committing upon the emigrants travelling to California and Washington some of the most brutal murders ever perpetrated upon this continent.

I am glad to say, however, that Washakee, the head chief of the Shoshones, and his band, have abstained from any acts of violence or theft, which have characterized a large portion of the tribe. From conversations or talks recently held with Washakee, I am apprehensive that a general outbreak of hostilities will take place throughout this entire region of country. Large herds of stock have been stolen and driven off by predatory bands of Shoshones, during the present season, none of which have as yet been chastised for their stealing propensities, thereby emboldening them to commit further acts of theft and violence upon the whites living or travelling through this country.

In view, then, of the threatened or anticipated hostility of the Indians against the whites, as well as for the protection of the overland stage and telegraph lines, I would most earnestly recommend that three or four companies of soldiers be stationed at this post, its capacity being ample, without the expenditure of but a very small amount of means, to quarter that number.

In obedience to the request of circulars, I will transmit to the department separately the information desired: first, as to the employes; second, as to schools; also, as to farms and farming.

I cannot too strongly urge upon the department the necessity of placing the Shoshones upon a reservation to be located at one of the three points, viz: The Wind River valley, which is said to be one of the finest valleys in the mountains. It lies in the western portion of Nebraska, east of the Rocky range, and is susceptible of a high degree of cultivation. The only objection that can be urged against its location is its close proximity to other tribes with whom the Shoshones are at war.¹⁶⁶

166 Coming four and a half years after Forney's report of Feb. 10, 1858, which showed the Shoshoni frequenting the Wind River area (see Document 42), Mann's proposal seems to have been the first to advance the idea of settling the Shoshoni permanently in that area.

The next location that I would mention is the valley of Smith's fork. This valley, however, is embraced within the limits of the large military reservation, twenty by twenty-five miles square. Large bodies of land along the fork are susceptible of a high state of cultivation. Judge Wm. A. Carter, the sutler at this post, is successfully farming some three hundred acres in that locality. The last and only location that I would call your attention to is the valley of Henry's fork, in conjunction with the Green River valley. This location is situated north of the Uintah range of mountains, and south and east of the military reserve. Large numbers of the mountaineers who are living in this locality have been in the habit of wintering there. The amount of lands susceptible of cultivation is somewhat limited.

Hoping that the department will approve of my recommendations in this report, alike vital to whites and Indians, I have the honor to be, very respectfully

74

HENRY MARTIN, SPECIAL AGENT TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
 SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER 9, 1862¹⁶⁷

Sir:

From information derived by me as to the existing feeling & condition of the "Sho-sho-nee" Indians, I deem it expedient and necessary that the balance of the appropriation for making a treaty with those Indians, now remaining in your hands, five thousand dollars (\$5000.) should be immediately remitted to me or placed to my credit in this city.

The hostility of these Indians toward the emigrants and white settlers, will, in my opinion, oblige me to make larger purchases of blankets &c. in this city, than I had at first anticipated, and in order for me to be able to do anything with them before the winter sets in I shall require nearly the entire amount of the appropriation, and therefore ask that the balance in your hands may be placed to my credit without delay. . . .

Please address me in care of Wells Fargo & Co to this city, and the letters will be forwarded to me wherever I am.

167 M/647-1862. This letter shows that Martin attempted to reach his assigned field of duty via [the sea route to] California, not overland.

75

DAVID MOORE, ET AL., TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED OGDEN,
NOVEMBER 23, 1862¹⁶⁸

Sir

We understand through Indian Tom that a company of Cavalry from Col. Connor's Command are in search of a white child, said to be in Bear Hunters band,

(Who are freindly indians and never known to be engaged in plundering Emigrants) From Indian Tom's positive information and other reliable statements their is no white child in that band, but there is a half breed the son of a French Mountaineer—by the sister of the cheif WashaKee Principal cheif of the Sho-sho-Nee Nation, Said child is about 15 years old with yellow hair and light complexion cannot talk English, on the approach of the Soldiers the Band fled to the Mountains to avoid colission with them, and sent this Indian as a Messenger of peace

David Moore Col. Com^{dg}
5th Regt Weber Co. Mil.
F. A. Hammond Major
George Hill Indian interpreter
pf Danl. Gamble Clk.

76

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, NOVEMBER 26, 1862¹⁶⁹

Sir:—The Shoshonee Tribe have been engaged with the Banucks during the past summer in committing depredations upon Emigrant Trains, and the inhabitants of this Territory. On the termination of their attacks upon the Trains, the Chiefs with a majority of the Tribe proceeded immediately up Shoshonee [Snake] river to the Buffalo hunting grounds on the tributaries of Missouri river and the Eastern slope of the Mountains. There they will remain until spring, from three to six hundred miles distant from this place.

168 Utah Field Papers, 1862.

169 D/723-1862.

Whether they can be induced to meet the Commissioners in Council and enter into a Treaty, after what has transpired, remains doubtful. I think they cannot be assembled until Spring, about the first of May. A point on Shoshonee river should be selected for that purpose, about two hundred miles north of this City, where they may be met on their return from their Buffalo hunt. The point which I would select, is on the Northern California road, near its junction with the Oregon road and the road to the northern Gold Mines, where there is a plenty of fish in the streams and game in the mountains for their support. It is the field of their massacres for years past.

The Shoshonees and Banucks are now mixed; they live and hunt together, ranging through Nevada, Utah & Washington Territories, into the Western parts of Nebraska and Dakotah Territories. The Shoshonees are also much mixed with the Utahs; and it is not probable that a Council can be held with the Shoshonees without many Banucks and Utahs being present.

It will, I think, be hazardous to the lives and property of the white men in Nevada and Utah who are surrounded by the Utahs, and to the peace of the country, for the Commissioners to treat with the Shoshonees, and not in the same season to treat with the Utahs and Banucks. They at once say, that the Shoshonees receive presents for killing the white men; and conclude that they will be rewarded in like manner if they do the same. The Utahs have several times this season threatened to rob the Mail Stations and Trains on the road west of this City, saying, that until they do so they will not receive from the Whites what they demand in provisions and clothing. For this reason I have deemed it imprudent to attempt to treat with the Shoshonees this fall or winter; hoping that Congress will early this winter make an appropriation for a Treaty with the Utahs in this Territory and Nevada, and for another with the Banucks in Oregon, Nevada, Utah & Washington. This appropriation I would earnestly recommend. I understand from the Commissioners Letter of instructions that the appropriation made at the last session of Congress only authorizes a Treaty with the Shoshonees, and therefore it is presumed no other Tribe can receive any portion of it.

If, according to our instructions, cessions of territory so as to include the white settlements—and thus relieve the settlers from the tribute constantly demanded of them by individuals of these Tribes, are not to be made in the Treaty, provision I think ought to be made by which the discoverers of gold, silver and other minerals are permitted to explore and occupy any portion of the country for mining purposes. At this moment valuable discoveries of gold & silver are being made in this Territory, as well as in Nevada and the Eastern part of Washington, in the country claimed by these Tribes, but now in the actual possession of several thousand miners.*

* [The Nevada discovery alluded to was the beginning of the fabulous silver lodes, which

The goods required for presents, to be made to the Shoshonees when treating with them if purchased at San Francisco, cannot be forwarded from San Pedro before the 25th December. They will probably arrive here soon after the first of February. Messengers ought to be despatched then to the principal Shoshonee Chiefs, inviting them to the Council. The Commissioner will perceive the impossibility of assembling them and holding the Treaty earlier than the month of May next. They will not leave their hunting grounds until about the first of April. . . .

77

JOSEPH A. GEBOW, INDIAN INTERPRETER, TO JAMES
DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
OGDEN, DECEMBER 18, 1862¹⁷⁰

To
Ex Governor Doty,
Superintendent of Indian Affairs

Dear Sir,—

To your request, if the weather is favourable I shall meet at the time appointed. I have met Mr. [David] Moore in Ogden with two Copies one of Demic and Jebows Dialect,¹⁷¹ our mind was quite congenial concerning the interpretation of words that pertains to the Indian language hoping that your health will keep

were almost coincident with Idaho's Salmon River placer gold strikes and the Bannack strike on the Beaver Head River across the continental divide, in what would become Montana. —Ed.]

170 D/723–1862.

171 Gebow's language is somewhat obscure, but apparently he has reference to Dimick B. Huntington's *Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-Sho-Ne or Snake Dialects*, first printed at Salt Lake City in 1854, and his own *A Vocabulary of the Snake or Shoshone Dialect*, first printed at Great Salt Lake City in 1859, reprinted in 1864, and in 1868 reprinted at Green River as one of the earliest Wyoming imprints. A note on the third edition of Gebow's work is printed in *Annals of Wyoming* 11, no. 2 (Apr. 1939): 113. [Here Morgan makes an uncharacteristic bibliographic error. Dimick B. Huntington's 36-page booklet is titled *A Few Words in the Utah and Sho-sho-ne Dialects, Alphabetically Arranged* (Salt Lake City: W. Richards, 1854), rather than as he transcribes it. His error seems to be a conflation of the two titles, no doubt a result of haste while compiling his notes. This rare work was issued in November the previous year (*Deseret News*, December 1, 1853) as a stated second edition. No prior edition has ever been located in print, suggesting that any earlier vocabulary may have been circulated in manuscript form (a common practice at the time). The "Dialect" noted here and "Vocabulary" Mann cites in Document 79 is Joseph A. Gebow, *A Vocabulary of the Snake or Sho-sho-ne Dialect* (Salt Lake City: Printed at the office of the Valley Tan, 1859), a sixteen-page booklet that stands as the earliest imprint issued in Utah from a non-Mormon press. Gebow planned to use his

with maturity & a long life upon this Earth, and you shall live fourfold, and have a happy time in this and next world—Your true & faithful friend . . .

78

LUTHER MANN, JR., TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER,
DECEMBER 21, 1862¹⁷²

Sir I Send you by Coach to day two Mountain Sheep Skins presented to you by Jack Robertson You will please accept them as a token of Old Jacks regard for you and greatly oblige . . .

1863

79

LUTHER MANN, JR., TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER,
JANUARY 10, 1863¹⁷³

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of drafts for Salaries of Jack Robertson and myself I would like to get Gebos^s Vocabulary of the Snake language if you will procure a copy and forward to this place with Bill I will forward the amount Having but very little to do I have concluded to study the language . . .

compilation as a textbook for a Shoshoni language class to be held in Salt Lake City late that year or early in 1860, but there is presently no known record of lessons actually being held. Gebow expanded his work to nineteen pages for a second edition under the slightly variant title *A Vocabulary of the Snake of Sho-sho-any Dialect*, 2nd ed. rev. ed. (Camp Douglas, U.T.: Printed at the Daily Union Vedette Book and Job Office, 1864). An 1868 reprint of this second edition was produced in a railroad-flatcar printing office, side-tracked at Green River City, by tramp printers Legh and Fred Freeman. This impression became Wyoming's second documented imprint: *A Vocabulary of the Snake or Sho-sho-nay Dialect* (Green River City, W.T.g. Ter.: Freeman & Bro., 1868). The third edition was the subject of a second comment, one which appeared after the note cited in this installment, in *Annals of Wyoming* 28, no. 2 (Oct. 1956): 195–98. —Ed.]

172 Utah Field Papers, 1862.

173 Utah Field Papers, 1863.

80

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO SCHUYLER
COLFAX, DATED FORT BRIDGER,
JANUARY 19, 1863¹⁷⁴

Sir

My Interpreter Jack Robertson had stolen from him last July by the ShoShonee or Snake Indians five Mules and One hundred and Sixty Horses two Emigrants on their way from California to the States while Encamped on Bear River had some forty head of Horses stolen by the Same Indians Francis Boisvert a Citazen of this country had some Forty Eight head taken by the Same Indians about the first of Jany 1863 What course can they pursue if any to recover the pay from the Government Robertson was in the Employ of the Go^t at the time the two Emigrants wer traveling from California to the States the Other was a private Citazen living in the Country You will confer a favour by making Enquiry of the Com of Indian Affairs what course if any the Parties can take to be remunerated partially for their losses Your Early attention is desired. All well . . .

How did the Boys behave themselves at the Election last fall if any of them Played fals please inform me who they are

81

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM
P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JANUARY 18, 1863¹⁷⁵

Sir:

I have received your two Letters dated December 23^d, 1862, with circulars, regarding degrees of relationship among different Nations—

I have given the Circulars to the Interpreters of the Utah & Shoshonee Nations, an requested them to reply to the questions as they are able, or can obtain information.

174 C/57-1863. Schuyler Colfax, then a member of Congress from Indiana, later this year became Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was Vice President during Grant's first term. The letter sounds as though Mann might have owed his appointment as Indian Agent to Colfax's influence.

175 D/39-1863.

Allow me to suggest, that if an intelligent clerk was employed for this purpose, one who has resided long enough in this Country to form an acquaintance with these Tribes—the information obtained, I have no doubt, would prove to be more reliable and much more satisfactory. The Interpreters in this Country are not educated men. . . .

82

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, FEBRUARY 16, 1863¹⁷⁶

Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of January 15th, approving the nomination of Joseph A. Gebow as Shoshonee Interpreter. He is now on a visit to some of that nation, who, I have learned, are disposed to be friendly to the whites; and if this is so, to see that they are separated from those who are hostile who I expect will soon be attacked or pursued by the soldiers. The Indians state that there were 255 men, women and children killed in the late engagement on Bear river.¹⁷⁷ Their camp was well filled with provisions, bacon, sugar, coffee &c. and with various other articles, all of which had obviously been taken from the Trains which they had robbed during the past season. I enclose the Colonels account of the affair. The killed were chiefly of the Bands of Bear Hunter and Sagowits, including those chiefs.

When Mr. Gebow returns, I shall make the arrangement with him as to salary as directed, or discharge him. I had not intended to retain him more than one quarter, having heard of an excellent Interpreter, formerly in the employ of the Hudsons Bay Co., now residing at Deer Lodge, 450 miles north of this City, to whom I have written and offered the Situation. I hope at least to obtain his services when the Treaty is held with the Shoshonees in the Spring. The main body of the Shoshonees and Bannacks are now in his vicinity. . . .

176 D/61–1863.

177 Connor on Jan. 30 [i.e., 29], 1863, attacked the mixed bands of Bannocks and Shoshoni then living in Cache Valley. The “Battle of Bear River” drastically solved the Indian problem in this area, and led to the early colonization by the Mormons of this part of Idaho. [Since Morgan wrote, the “Bear River Massacre” has been well studied. Cf. Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1884* (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1995); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1985); Newell Hart, *The Bear River Massacre: Being a Complete Sourcebook and Storybook of the Genocidal Action Against the Shoshones in 1863* (Preston, Idaho: Cache Valley Newsletter Publishing, 1982). —Ed.]

[Enclosed, as a clipping from an unidentified paper, is a dispatch from Col. P. Edward Connor, Franklin, Utah, Jan. 31, 1863, with a brief account of the battle on Bear River the day before; also a second dispatch dated Salt Lake City, February 1]

83

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, MARCH 30, 1863¹⁷⁸

Sir:—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt today of your Letter dated Febry. 21st. 1863, informing that Special Agent Hy. Martin has been directed to turn over the property & funds in his hands to Supts, Wentworth or Hansen &c.—Mr. Martin sent to me at this City from San Francisco last month, a few articles of Stationary, and \$500. in Treasury notes, for which I gave him a receipt by the gentleman who brought them. I had previously requested Mr. M. to send me this sum, to enable me to send Runners to the Shoshonees, inviting them to meet the Commrs. early this spring, according to the arrangement made with him last fall.

But, learning that he had returned to Washington at the time I was about to dispatch the Runners, I have delayed them until I can receive further instructions. The Commissioner will readily perceive that I cannot with propriety make any proposition to these Indians to treat, unless the funds *are here*, or under my control, and the persons appointed to treat, are also in this country. Mr. Mann and myself are at all times ready; but when a third Commissioner will arrive—or whether he will come at all—cannot be calculated. I have therefore deemed it prudent *not* to communicate with the Indians on this subject of a Treaty.

When they return from their Buffalo Hunt in April and May would, as I have heretofore suggested, undoubtedly have been the best time to assemble them. The scattering Bands who have not been to the Hunt, and who have lived chiefly upon the plunder taken from Emigrants & travellers last season, are now being pursued by a few of the U. S. Troops stationed here. They have lately attacked the Mail Station in the Goaship country, on the Overland road, about 200 miles west of this, killed a stage driver on his box, wounded a passenger who will probably die, and killed two Station keepers. They burned two station houses &c., and took 12 of the Company's horses. They also stole 30 horses from a gentleman

178 D/95-1863.

residing at Ibimpah. I hope soon to hear that they have been overtaken by the Troops, and punished. It is a wanton aggression on their part, and was without the slightest provocation. . . .

84

WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES
DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED OFFICE
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, JUNE 1, 1863¹⁷⁹

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 30th March last in relation to the proposed Treaty with the Shoshonees.

I exceedingly regret that unforeseen circumstances have combined to cause so much delay in the attempt to effect the contemplated negotiation. From the instruction forwarded to late Special Agent Martin in February last I had reason to suppose that fund[s] would be at the disposal of yourself and Agent Mann so that a council with the Indians could be held early in the Spring. In this however I was disappointed as late Agent Martin returned bringing with him the unexpended balance of the funds entrusted to him.

An answer to your letter has been delayed some days with a view to consulting with Gov. [James W.] Nye (who has been expected in this City) in relation to the Treaty. As it is now probable that Gov. Nye will not now visit this place I have to inform you that the balance of the funds returned by late Agent Martin amounting to the sum of \$15,783.88. will be deposited to your credit with John I. Cisco Asst. Treas. U. S. at New York when notice shall be received from you as to the time that the negotiation will be attempted, and that the funds are needed for that purpose.

Agent Martin having wholly failed in accomplishing the object of his appointment, the negotiation will henceforth be confided to you and Agent Mann under the instructions heretofore issued, unless it shall be found practicable, and in your judgment expedient to associate with you Gov. Nye of Nevada and Gov [W. H.] Wallace of the New Territory of Idaho in addition to Agent Mann, in which event you will be authorized to do so, but I suggest that no great delay, nor any considerable expense should be incurred for that purpose.

In regard to the suggestions of your letter of 27th Nov. last in relation to the necessity of treaties with the Utahs and Bannacks I have to state that you are

179 38th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1182), 514–15.

authorized to make a joint treaty with these tribes and the Shoshones if one can be negotiated with the funds appropriated for the purpose of treating with the latter and now at your disposal.

While I do not hesitate in view of the urgent necessities of the case and the weighty reasons therefore suggested by you to divert the specific application of the appropriation to the extent indicated, I do not feel warranted in attempting any negotiation with the Utahs and Bannacks in advance of an appropriation, unless it shall be found practicable to accomplish it as above indicated.

In view of the limited amount of the appropriation it is exceeding vexatious that so much thereof should have been expended by late Agent Martin to so little purpose and that the necessity for the exercise of the strictest economy should thereby be enhanced to so great an extent, I have however full confidence that whatsoever is practicable will be accomplished by yourself and those who may be associated with you.

Trusting that I may receive an early and favorable report from you

85

LUTHER MANN, JR., TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TELEGRAM DATED
FORT BRIDGER, JUNE, 1863¹⁸⁰

Sir.

Five hundred Shossonee or Snake Indians will visit this agency today for the purpose of delivering up the stolen stock in their possession & of pledging themselves to keep quiet in the future they are entirely destitute of food or clothing shall I feed them for a few days Please answer immediately Supt Doty being now north I am compelled to apply for instructions from you direct

L Mann Jr

180 M/65-1863. The telegram was received in Washington June 2.

86

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 20, 1863¹⁸¹

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated May 22d, 1863, in relation to my northern Expedition, and to report:

That I returned to this city from that Expedition on the 19th instant, having been absent six weeks in the Indian Country, and travelled over eight hundred miles. I accompanied Genl Conner to Snake river Ferry,¹⁸² two hundred miles, where we separated; and he proceeded with his Cavalry up the Blackfoot river, and south, across the dividing ridge to Soda Springs, at which place he has established a Military Post [Camp Connor], on the old California & Oregon roads.

The Bannacks and Shoshonees I met in small Bands, and, after counselling with them, I am satisfied they are disposed to be peaceable and friendly. The Exhibition of a Cavalry force among them apparently satisfied them that they could be reached by the power of the government, and that they would certainly be punished if they committed depredations upon the white men. There are undoubtedly, as they say, some bad men among them, who will not be controlled by the Chiefs, but efforts are made by the peaceable Indians to restrain them.

The only Bands that appear determined to continue hostilities were those of Pokatelo, Sagowitz, and Sanpitz—and with these I could obtain no communication. They must be left to Genl Conner's troops.

When at Snake river Ferry two Express-men arrived bringing information about a large body of Shoshonees and Bannacks were assembling at Kamash Prairie,¹⁸³—about one hundred miles farther north and on the road used by Emigrants to Bannack city—with the intention to either fall upon the miners on Beaver Head and with its branches, or upon the Emigrants along the road between South-Pass and Bridger. If this could be prevented by an interview I felt it my duty to make the attempt, and therefore proceeded with my Interpreter to the place

181 D/155–1863. Printed in 38th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1182), 515–16.

182 At the mouth of the Blackfoot River, below present Blackfoot, Idaho.

183 There were several Kamas prairies in Idaho; the one here mentioned lay along the lower course of present Camas Creek, north of Idaho Falls. Bannack City, to which Doty traveled from Kamas Prairie, was one the early boom camps which sprang up in Montana after the major gold strikes of 1862–63, located in the highlands between the Big Hole and Beaverhead rivers.

indicated to meet them. At Kamash prairie I found but few Indians, those remaining stating that those who had been there had gone in different directions to the Mountains to hunt, and that they were all friendly to the whites and disposed to be peaceable. They complained of the white men at Bannack city firing upon them in the streets of that place, when they were there upon a friendly visit, and were molesting no one, and killed their Chief Shnag, and two others. They said they did not intend to revenge this wanton act, because it was committed by men who were drunk, and they thought all the people there were drunk at the time. I advised them not to go there again, and to keep away from drunken white man; to be kind & render good service to the Emigrants along the road, and that they would be generously rewarded. I gave them a few presents of Blankets &c. However, fearing there might be trouble from this gross attack, and that other bands might not feel disposed to overlook it. I determined, as there was no Indian Agent in this section of country, to proceed to Bannack City, about Eighty miles distant, to ascertain the truth of their statement, and to counsel with those who might be along the road thro' the Mountains. On entering the Mountains I encountered a large band of Shoshonees, who manifested a friendly spirit, expressed a desire to be at peace, and thankfully accepted the few presents I was able to make them.

On arriving at Bannack I learned with regret that the statement by the Indians of the murder of their people, was true; that they were fired upon as they were sitting quietly in the street by a dozen white men; and that their sole object in visiting the place was to give up a child (which they did) which had been demanded of them on the supposition that it was a stolen white child. I saw the child, & have no doubt that it is a Half-breed, and was rightfully in their possession. I would have adopted legal measures for the punishment of these offenders but there were no civil officers there, and no laws but such as have been adopted by Miners. The matter must rest until the organization of the government of Idaho.¹⁸⁴

Whilst at Bannack, I ascertained that Bands of FlatHeads had passed on the road by which I came, in search of the Bannacks & Shoshonees, for the purpose of stealing their horses and making war upon them. Deeming it unsafe to return alone, I employed Mr. [Robert?] Dempsey, an excellent interpreter, to send a guide and guard of Indians with me. These accompanied me faithfully to the settlements of Box Elder, and will on their way back give useful information to those of their Nation they meet.

All the Indians I met, during my absence, appeared desirous to form a treaty with the U. S., and I told them that when the Commissioners were ready to meet them, I would send a runner to them to inform them of the time & place for them to assemble. . . .

184 Montana Territory was created in 1864. At this time western Montana was nominally a part of Idaho Territory, created earlier in the year.

87

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UTAH
 TERRITORY, JUNE 20, 1863¹⁸⁵

Sir:—Your Letter of instructions in relation to the proposed treaty with Shoshonees, dated June 1st, 1863, I have the honor to acknowledge, and to inform you that I shall proceed the coming week to Fort Bridger for the purpose of meeting the Shoshonees who are assembled there—some of whom I met on my late expedition—and of treating with them according to your Instructions of the 22nd of July, 1862, and of those now given.

Many of these Indians have been hostile, and have committed depredations upon the persons & property of Emigrants & settlers, but now express a strong desire for peace. Agent Mann informs me that he is now feeding them under your authority; I therefore hasten to meet them, that some arrangement may be made by which they can with satisfaction return to their hunting grounds, and upon terms which shall secure peace hereafter, safety to the Emigrants & travelers, and relieve the Department from the expense now being incurred.

These are about one third of the Shoshonees with whom treaties may be held; and I shall endeavor to limit the expenditures to the least amount to obtain the objects desired by government.

You will please make the deposit with M^r. Cisco, as indicated in your letter, that my drafts may be provided for on presentation.

The Shoshonee Bands are scattered over so vast an extent of country that it will be necessary for the Commissioners to meet them at several points. The whole Nation can never be assembled, without bringing them hundreds of miles. . . .

88

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 26, 1863¹⁸⁶

Sir:

By the efforts of Genl. Connor & myself, "Little Soldier," the Chief of the

185 D/149–1863. Printed in 38th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1182), 514.

186 D/154–1863. Printed in 38th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1182), 512–13.

“Weber Utes,” who had been hostile & committing depredations for some months past, has been induced to come in with his Band and promises to remain at peace with the whites.¹⁸⁷ He met us, with 14 of his warriors today in council; wished to make a firm and lasting peace, encamped at a place near the City where we can supervise his conduct & agrees to remain there until we tell him to go to his hunting grounds; and has sent messengers to other Ute Bands assuring them of their safety if they join him & of our friendly disposition, and advising them also to come in.

I have now strong hopes that hostilities on the part of the Utes will cease. . . .

89

JAMES DUANE DOTY AND LUTHER MANN, JR., COMMISSIONERS, TO
WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, UTAH TERRITORY, JULY 3, 1863¹⁸⁸

Sir: We have the honor to transmit herewith a Treaty which we concluded yesterday with the Shoshonee Nation, which we hope will be approved by the Department. The terms were more advantageous than we had expected to obtain.

The representation of the nation was very large, being from all the bands of the nation except four. The parties treating occupy the whole of the country east of—and including—Salt Lake Valley. The two principal Chiefs of the nation, Washakie and Wanapitz, were present.

One of these absent Bands is in Ruby Valley and on the Humboldt mountains and river. The other three continue their hostilities, but are now much reduced in numbers, and have been driven by the Troops north to the valley of Snake river. We may now perhaps be able to get messengers to them, and induce them to treat with us for peace.

The amount expended in making this Treaty, is about six thousand dollars: The account, with the vouchers, will be forwarded without delay. There was near one thousand Shoshonees—and no Bannacks or Utahs—on the ground. They have been fed, according to your instructions, for the past month, which has somewhat increased the expenditure of the Treaty fund, to which it is charged. . . .

187 This is curious information about Little Soldier, who had never been particularly unfriendly toward the whites. It may be that he had been alienated by the slaughter in January, at the Battle of Bear River.

188 D/157–1863.

TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SHOSHONE
NATION OF INDIANS. CONCLUDED JULY 2, 1863¹⁸⁹

Articles of Agreement made at Fort Bridger in Utah Territory this second day of July A. D. One thousand Eight hundred and Sixty three, by and between the United States of America represented by its Commissioners, and the Sho-Sho-nee nation of Indians represented by its Chiefs and principal Men and Warriors of the Eastern Bands, as follows:

Article I Friendly and Amicable relations are hereby reestablished between the Bands of the Sho-Sho-nee nation parties hereto, and the United States. And it is declared that a firm and perpetual Peace Shall be henceforth maintained between the Sho-Sho-nee nation and the United States.

Article II. The Several routes of travel through the Sho-Sho-nee Country now or hereafter used by the white men, Shall be and remain forever free and safe for the use of the Government of the United States and of all emigrants and travelers under its authority and protection, without molestation or injury from any of the People of said nation. And if depredations should at any time be committed by bad men of their nation, the offending Shall be immediately seized and delivered up to the proper officers of the United States, to be punished as their offences Shall deserve. And the Safety of all travelers passing peaceably over Said routes is hereby guaranteed by Said nation.—Military-Agricultural Settlements and Military Posts may be Established by the President of the United States along said routes: Ferries may be maintained over the rivers wherever they may be required and Houses Erected and

189 D/157–1863. Encl. This was the first copy of the treaty sent on by Doty. As we shall see in Document 92, on July 18 he transmitted “the original copy” of the treaty, at that time asking the Commissioner to add to the duplicate transmitted on July 3 “the name of the Chief *Bazil* who signed his name to this but did not arrive with his Band until that copy had been mailed.”

A memorandum by the Indian Office filed with I/222–1866 comments, with respect to the treaty of July 2:

This treaty, with three others, made with different bands of Shoshonees and Goships, by Gov. Doty, of Utah, was acted upon favorably by the Senate March 7th 1864, with an amendment—the same amendment, as shown upon paper marked “A”, being made to each treaty. All of the treaties were returned to Gov. Doty May 17th, with instructions to secure the assent of the Indians to the amendments, and all were returned by him before he was superseded as Sup’t by Mr. Irish, Except this one, with Washakee’s band, Gov. Doty reporting that he had not been able to get the chiefs together. The treaties thus returned were ratified and proclaimed by the President Jan’y 17, 1865.

Settlements formed at Such points as may be necessary for the comfort and convenience of travelers.

Article III. The Telegraph and Overland Stage Line having been established and operated through a part of the Sho-Sho-nee Country, it is expressly agreed that the Same may be continued without hindrance, molestation or injury from the people of Said nation; and that their property and the lives of Passengers in the Stages and of the Employees of the respective Companies Shall be protected by them. And further, it being understood that provision has been made by the Government of the United States, for the Construction of a Railway from the Plains West to the Pacific Ocean, it is Stipulated by said nation that Said Railway or its Branches may be located, constructed and operated without molestation from them through any portion of the Country claim by them.

Article IV.—It is understood the boundaries of the Sho-Sho-nee Country, as defined and described by Said nation, is as follows: On the North by the Mountains on the north Side of the Valey of Sho-Sho-nee or Snake River; On the East by the Wind River Mountains, Peenahpah, the north fork of the Platte or Koochina-gah and the north Park or Buffalo House; and on the South by Yampah River and the Uintah Mountains. The Western boundary is left undefined, there being no Sho-Sho-nees from that district of Country present; but

After Mr. Irish had left Utah on leave of absence to come to Washington in the winter of 1866, this treaty was sent to him, having been found among Gov. Doty's papers [he being then deceased].

It is recommended that the paper should be sent to the Supt. of Utah, with instructions to obtain the assent of the Indians to the amendment as soon as possible. The appropriation of \$10,000 pr annum is made by Congress without the treaty having been ratified.

[The 1863 Fort Bridger Treaty with the Eastern Shoshoni was one of several treaties enacted with various Shoshoni groups (see Document 101). The treaties “represented part of a process to clear a corridor for safe travel for whites emigrating to the west and for railway and communication routes,” notes a heading to the ratified text available on the Wind River Indian Reservation Web site.

This treaty came on the heels of two important events: first, the Homestead Act of 1862 created a mechanism to encourage white settlement in the western territories of the United States. Second, and more important to the Shoshones, the Bear River Massacre of early 1863 made it quite clear that the United States was prepared to go to great lengths to compel Shoshones west of Wyoming to comply with the demands for passage. The treaty essentially sets the boundaries of the Eastern Shoshones to reflect their traditional base since the early 1800s, namely from the upper Snake River on the north, east to the Wind River Mountains, south into northern Colorado and Utah, and no further west than Salt Lake. It did not include the present-day boundaries of the Wind River Reservation, which lies *east* of the Wind River Mountains.

The Senate ratified the treaty with an amendment in March, 1864, the Shoshonis agreed to the amendment in 1865, and the treaty was proclaimed to be in force in the first week of June 1869. —Ed.]

the Bands now present Claim that their own Country is Bounded on the West by Salt Lake¹⁹⁰

Article V.—The United States being aware of the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away and destruction of game along the route traveled by Whites and by the formation of agricultural and Mining Settlements are willing to fairly compensate them for the Same; therefore, and in consideration of the preceding stipulations, the United States promises and agree to pay to the Bands of the Sho-Sho-nee nation Parties hereto, annually, for the term of twenty years, the sum of ten thousand dollars in Such articles as the President of the United States may deem Suitable to their wants and condition Either as Hunters or Herdsmen. And the Said Band of the Sho-Sho-nee nation hereby acknowledge the reception of the said stipulated annuities as a full compensation and Equivalent for the loss of game and the rights and privileges hereby conceded.

Article VI.—The Said Bands hereby acknowledge that they have received from said Commissioners provisions and clothing amounting to Six thousand dollars as presents at the conclusion of this Treaty

Done at Fort Bridger the day and year above written in presence of

Jack Robertson	James Duane Doty	
Interpreter.	Luther Mann Jr	Commissioners
Samuel Dean	Washakeex	
	Wanapitzx	
	Toopsapowitx	
	Pantoshigax	
	Ninabutzx	
	Narkawkx	
	Tahvonshe'ax	
	Weer'angox	
	Tootsahpx	
	Weeahyukex	

190 These comments on the limits of the Shoshoni country should be compared with the reports of John Wilson in 1849, Jacob Forney in 1858, and F. W. Lander in 1860 (see Documents 1, 47, and 51).

91

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TELEGRAM
DATED SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 6, 1863¹⁹¹

Your letter dated June 6th is received on my return from Bridger Gov [James W.] Nye is not here nor heard from. Pokatelle sends word that he wishes to treat for peace Sanritz [Sanpits] & Sagoity [Sagwitch] have fled north of Snake River. The Utahs also wish to treat I wait your instructions

92

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, JULY 18, 1863¹⁹²

Sir.

Herewith I transmit the original copy of the Treaty concluded at Fort Bridger on the 2nd. inst. by Agent Mann & myself with the Shoshonees—a duplicate of which was forwarded from that place on the 3d inst.

The Commissioner will please to add to that copy the name of the Chief *Bazil* who signed his name to this but did not arrive with his Band until that copy had been mailed.

I have just received word from Pokatello that he wishes to meet me in his country north of Bear River to make peace. With Genl. [Patrick Edward] Connor I shall meet him as soon as the place can be designated. . . .

191 D/147–1863.

192 D/174–1863. Endorsed: “Treaty Sent to Sec. of Intr. for transmission to the President to be laid before the Senate for its action thereon. Dec. 30, 1863.”

93

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, JULY 18, 1863¹⁹³

Sir: On the 7th of this month Genl. Connor and myself made a Treaty of Peace with "Little Soldier" and his band of "Weber Utes," who have assembled at a point in the vicinity of this City indicated by us for their Camp, about twenty miles distant. We found with him individuals of several other Bands, who attended our meeting to ascertain, it is presumed, if we were sincere in accepting Little Soldiers proposals for peace, and if so, to let us know that the disposition of other Bands was favorable to peace. All who were present participated in the presents of provisions and goods which I made to Little Soldier and which were distributed by him; and promised to cease all further depredations and faithfully to maintain peace and friendship with all white men.

The other Bands of Utahs, to whom messengers had been sent, proposed to meet us at Spanish Fork, at an early day to be appointed, for the purpose of making peace. The 14th. instant being the time selected by Genl. Connor, we met there on that day, all of the principal men of those Bands, excepting two who sent word by others that they would abide by whatever terms were agreed upon.

It was agreed that hostilities should cease immediately; that the past should be forgotten; that the Utahs should give up any stolen horses in their possession; that no further depredations should be committed by them; that they would remain peaceable and quiet in future; and if any of their people should hereafter murder white men, or steal their horses, they would make every exertion to arrest the offenders and deliver them up for punishment.

We promised them liberal presents of provisions and clothing, and that these presents would be continued to them by the government as long as they kept their word—but no longer. We assured them that if any act of aggression upon the whites was committed by them, the soldiers would immediately enter their country and pursue the culprits until redress was obtained—to which they assented. We also assured them that if any injury was done to them by white men, the offenders should be punished, if they made complaint and gave the proper information to Genl. Connor, or to the Superintendent.

They appeared to be very anxious for peace, and to have their friendly relations with the government restored; and I feel confident the troubles with the Utah nation (in this Territory) are now terminated. The large presents which

193 D/173-1863. Printed in 38th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1182), 513-14.

I have made this Spring, and on this occasion, have undoubtedly contributed to this result; but I think the government is mainly indebted for it to the able Commanding officer of this military Department, Genl. Connor, and the efficiency and bravery of the officers and soldiers under his command.

These Treaties were made orally, and not reduced to writing, being without instructions from the Department; and our only purpose being to obtain peace with these Indians, and to stop further hostilities on their part—for the present at least.

They appeared to be very thankful for the food and clothing which I gave them; and I promised them, when the goods arrived which are now on their way, further presents would be made them—if they remained good. This I consider the best application of the Funds under my control for the general service, which could be made, for the benefit of the Indians, the security of Emigrants and of the Telegraph & Overland mail Lines, and the interests of the government. When they are assembled again to receive presents of provisions & goods, I think a Treaty may be effected with them upon such terms as the Department may desire.

I can but repeat the recommendation which I have heretofore made, that the Utah Bands ought to be collected on the Uintah Reservation, and provision made for them as herdsmen. Genl. Connor informs me that some of the Troops under his command can be employed (peace being now established with the Shoshonees) in settling and protecting them there, and in aiding them in erecting their houses and making other improvements for permanent homes. In this manner government may soon obtain perfect control over this nation, and with a less expenditure of money than is now required to maintain the very unsatisfactory and imperfect relations existing at present. . . .¹⁹⁴

194 In a parallel letter to Lieut. Col. R. C. Drum, Asst. Adjutant-General, San Francisco, dated Great Salt Lake City, July 18, 1863, General Connor described these same events. The meeting with Little Soldier Connor placed in “the valley of the West Mountain, about twenty-five miles west of this city,” i.e., Tooele Valley. The Utes who conferred with him and Doty at Spanish Fork on July 14 included the chiefs “Antero, Tabby, Canosh, Ute-Pete, Au-ke-wah-kus, and Black Hawk,” San Pitch being the only principal Ute chief not present. (Note that there were two chiefs by this name, one Shoshoni, one Ute, a circumstance which has sometimes baffled historians.) The consequence of the recent Shoshoni treaty-making, Connor added, was:

The several bands have been once more united under the chieftainship of the peaceful Wa-sha-kee, and are living in quiet contentment near Bridger, under the charge and guardianship of the Indian Department. Since the date of the Snake treaty I have received a message from Pocatello, the celebrated Snake chief, begging for peace and asking for a conference. He says he is tired of war, and has been effectually driven from the Territory with a small remnant of his once powerful band. He now sues for peace, and having responded favorably to his request I will meet him at an early day, and will conclude with him what I

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 30, 1863¹⁹⁵

Sir,

Acknowledging your Letter dated July 22^d, I have to request that two or more copies of the Map lately prepared at the General Land Office may be procured and sent to me, that I may be enabled to show the boundaries of the Country ceded by the Shoshonees-

The most accurate map which I have of this Country is the Military Map of Utah; but this does not exhibit the northern part of the Shoshonee Country— . . .

have no doubt will be a lasting peace. Thus at least I have the pleasure to report peace with the Indian on all hands, save only a few hostile Goshutes west and north of Deep Creek. . . . I may therefore confidently report the end of Indian difficulties on the Overland Stage Line and within this district, from the Snake River, on the north, to Arizona, on the south, and from Green River to Carson Valley. . . . (*Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, 527–31.)

Another echo of these times and events is found in the narrative of William Elkanah Waters, an army surgeon who traveled out to Utah in the spring of 1866. In his anonymously-published *Life Among the Mormons, and a March to Their Zion: To Which Is Added a Chapter on the Indians of the Plains and Mountains of the West* (New York: Moorhead, Simpson & Bond, 1868), 204–5, Waters writes:

The Shoshone (or Snake) tribe have their favorite hunting-ground in the Wind River Valley, and travel south and west during the summer months. These two tribes [Utes and Shoshoni] are now at peace with the white man, and receive their annual presents from the Government. Only three years ago [i.e., from 1866] the Snakes were at war with the troops stationed in Utah, but after a severe battle on Bear River, in which they were severely punished, and sustained a great loss, they in the dead of winter, and in an almost starving condition, begged for peace, and for subsistence. When they arrayed themselves against the white men in the territory, it was in opposition to the advice of their chief Washiki, who is the finest specimen of an Indian I ever saw. He abandoned the leadership of the tribe, rather than indulge in a war which he knew must prove disastrous to the red man. For their folly they elected another chief, and paid for it in the disaster to which I alluded. During the war, Washiki, with his squaws and a small party, camped in the vicinity of Fort Bridger, and after its termination the tribe were only too glad to reinstate him in his former official position.

These various accounts considerably elaborate Grace Raymond Hebard's discussion of this critical era in her *Washakie*, 106–9.

195 D/203–1863. The requested maps were forwarded from Washington on Sept. 22.

95

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE
DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, SEPTEMBER 21, 1863¹⁹⁶

Sir please find Enclosed Receipts for goods Sent me for distribution to Indians You will please inform me whether they are to be distributed for Treaty purposes by you as disbursing agent of said commission or whether I shall place them on Property return as received by you and disbursed by myself as Indian Agent I have purchased Beef to feed the Indians agreeable to your Telegraph and have Paid for part of it out of my own money will it be charged to Treaty fund and paid by you as disbursing agent of said commission please inform me fully in the matter and greatly Oblige. . . .

[*Endorsement:*] Answered “property to go in to his own accts as “agent”

96

JAMES DUANE DOTY, COMMISSIONER, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 21, 1863¹⁹⁷

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a treaty with the Shoshonee bands of the Goship tribe, which was concluded at Tuilla [Tooele] valley on the 12th October. I had previously made a verbal treaty of peace (on the 5th October) with the remaining portion of the southern bands who are connected with the Pahvont tribe. They gave their assent to all the provisions contained in this treaty. The largest portion of these bands have been killed by the troops during the past season. Also a treaty of peace and friendship with the mixed bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks of the Shoshonee (or Snake) River valley, concluded at Soda Springs, in Idaho Territory, on the 14th of October.¹⁹⁸ In the month of September I advised Governor [W. H.] Wallace, by letter, of the proposed treaty, and of the time and place of holding it, and, agreeably to your suggestion, invited him to be present, but received no answer. I presume my letter did not reach him.

As many of these Indians, as also others with whom treaties have been made this season, have been engaged in hostilities, I deemed it proper that General

196 Utah Field Papers, 1863.

197 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 317–18.

Conner [i.e., Connor], who commands this military district, and has been personally in the field against them, should unite with me in the councils which have been held with them, and in forming the treaties of peace. He has rendered great service to the government in punishing and subduing them. By the rapid and skilful movement of his troops, and their repeated successful attacks, he has been mainly instrumental in bringing the Indians to acknowledge, for the first time, that the “Americans” are the masters of the country.

I hope these treaties, and the councils which have been held with the tribes with which I was not authorized to make formal treaties, will receive the approbation of the President.

My duties as commissioner being now terminated by the conclusion of treaties with all the bands of the Shoshonee nation, my accounts for treaty expenditures will be prepared and forwarded as soon as possible.

Allow me to congratulate the department upon the successful negotiation of these treaties, and the restoration of peace with all the tribes within this Territory. . . .

97

JAMES DUANE DOTY, COMMISSIONER AND BRIG. GEN. P. EDWARD CONNOR TO A. J. CENTER, TREASURER, OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY, NEW YORK, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 21, 1863¹⁹⁹

Sir: Treaties having been concluded with all the hostile tribes of Indians in this country, and peace restored, we deem it proper to inform you of the fact, and to express the opinion that all the routes of travel through Utah Territory to Nevada and California, and to the Beaver Head and Boisé river gold mines, may now be used with safety.

No fears of depredations or molestation need be apprehended from the Shoshonee, Utah, Goship, or Bannack nations, judging from the feelings manifested by them, and their strong professions of friendship and desire for peace at the signing of the treaties, the last of which was made with the Bannacks of the Shoshonee River valley, at Soda Springs, on the 14th instant. . . .

198 This particular treaty was never perfected. A copy of it is in Unratified Treaties File, I/463-1863. [See also note *, p. 319 —Ed.]

199 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 317.

JAMES DUANE DOTY, ACTING SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM
P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 24, 1863²⁰⁰

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to present the following annual report for the year 1863. Its earlier transmission was impracticable, having been engaged in the performance of my duties as commissioner to treat with the Shoshonees until this date.

I beg leave to refer to the annual estimate for this superintendency which was submitted last year as proper for the coming year, and also to respectfully recommend that the goods for presents, farming implements, &c., be purchased in New York and shipped as early as practicable in the spring, as it is difficult to obtain them in this city, and only at extravagant prices.

Several of the Utah bands are both willing and desirous to become settled, as herdsmen or husbandmen, on the Uinta reservation. It is now unoccupied, except for hunting during the winter. It would be advantageous to the government to comply with their wishes, and it is again suggested that treaties be made with them for their removal and location there. They would then be withdrawn from the present routes of travel though this Territory, and peace insured hereafter with a people strongly inclined to agricultural pursuits, but who have, from unknown causes, at several times this season, attacked the stages and killed the drivers.

Their friendship cannot be relied upon whilst they are in the immediate vicinity of the white settlements; and for this as well other reasons it is believed that all expenditures upon the farm at Spanish Fork are a waste of public money; that the farm ought to be abandoned, and the agency removed to Uinta valley, where all improvements made would have a permanent value. The inhabitants at Spanish Fork, as also in other quarters, for their own security against depredations, seek to maintain friendly relations with the Indians, as in previous years the government has not been able to give them adequate protection.²⁰¹

During the year 1862 and the winter months of this year many of the Indians in this superintendency manifested decided evidences of hostility toward the

200 38th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1182), 539–40.

201 Many small reservations for Utes and Paiutes had come into being in the 1850's. In October 1861, as we have seen, President Lincoln set aside the Uinta Basin as a reservation on which the Utes might be gathered, and the smaller reservations were in course of being liquidated. The Utah Legislature in January, 1864, memorialized Congress to have the Spanish Fork Reservation disposed of, and this was done by legislation passed the same year.

whites. The numerous murders and depredations upon property which they committed, as also their language, indicated a determination to stop all travel upon the overland routes and upon the roads leading to the gold mines in Idaho Territory. It became unsafe even for the Mormon settlers to go into the canyons for wood; and the Bannack prophet said the Indians would combine and drive the white men from the country. This was his advice to the Shoshonee bands.²⁰²

The battle with the Shoshonees on the bank of Bear river in January, and the subsequent engagements with the Utahs on Spanish Fork, and with the Goaships in their country,²⁰³ effectually checked them, and severely and justly punished them for the wanton acts of cruelty which they had committed. The fight on Bear river was the severest and most bloody of any which has ever occurred with the Indians west of the Mississippi. One band that of Sanpitz) was almost exterminated. It struck terror into the hearts of the savages hundreds of miles away from the battlefield.

As soon as it was ascertained that any of the bands were inclined to peace they were met by General Connor and myself at places selected in their own country, and treaties of peace and friendship entered into with them—a service which, in some instances, was regarded as both difficult and hazardous. These negotiations have been communicated to the department from time to time as they occurred, as also other treaties formed by Governor Nye, Agent Mann, and myself, with the eastern and western bands of Shoshonees. These treaties could not have been made without the aid of the appropriations made by Congress for this superintendency, which have been wholly applied to the great object of restoring peace; and also to the presence of the military, who have rendered distinguished and lasting service to the government in subduing the Indians throughout this Territory.

It appears now as though peace was again permanently established with all of the tribes in this country, and that no danger from them is to be apprehended by emigrants moving in trains or singly, nor of an interruption in future to the overland stage or telegraph lines. They now acknowledge the Americans are the masters of this country. But peace can only be secured by regular, liberal, but just appropriations, and by the continuance of a strong military force upon the main routes of travel through this city, and especially on the routes north of it.

It was only by the judicious application of the appropriations made by Congress at its last session for the Indians in Utah that this department has been

202 See Doty's prior letter of August 5, 1862, Document 66.

203 These troubles between March and June, 1863, are reported in the *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. 50, pt. K, 200–8, 229. A summary appears in Fred B. Rogers, *Soldiers of the Overland: Being Some Account of the Services of General Patrick Edward Conner and His Volunteers in the Old West* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1938), 88–94.

so successful in restoring peace, not only throughout this Territory, but in the southern part of Idaho also, It is believed that Congress will not be called upon for like appropriations again if the treaties are ratified and the goods required for the annuities are purchased and forwarded from the Missouri river early in the spring. It must be observed that it will take about three months' time to transport them to the places where they are to be distributed. If this is done, this country can be prospected for its minerals, and the northern gold mines worked with safety and increased advantages. . . .

99

WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO J. P.
USHER, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, DATED
OCTOBER 31, 1863 (EXTRACT)²⁰⁴

With the exception of a report from Agent [F. S.] Hatch, who is in charge of the Spanish fork reservation in Utah, and Agent [A. A] Bancroft in Washington Territory, no reports have been received from any of the respective superintendents of Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, and Idaho; consequently I can present but little information in regard to the wants and requirements of the Indian service within the limits of each. . . .²⁰⁵

Treaties of amity and peace have been concluded with the Shoshones, of Utah and Nevada, as follows, viz: At Fort Bridger, July 2, 1863, by Governor Doty and Agent Mann, as commissioners on the part of the United States, and the eastern bands of said Indians; at Box Elder, July 30, by Governor Doty and General Connor, on the part of the United States, and the northwestern bands; and at Ruby valley, October 1, by Governors Doty and Nye, on the part of the United States, and the western bands. These Indians have long been a scourge to the citizens of Utah and Nevada, and a terror to the emigrants and travellers over the routes leading through those Territories. From the representations made by Governor Doty, we have reason to believe that those treaties have been entered into by the Indians with a sincere desire for peace, and I have no doubt that the friendly relations thus inaugurated may be maintained by wise and judicious action on our part. The scarcity of game in these Territories, and the occupation of the most fertile portions thereof by our settlements, have reduced these

204 38th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1182), 155–56.

205 The Utah report came in belatedly and was appended to the Commissioner's Annual Report; see Document 98.

Indians to a state of extreme destitution, and for several years past they have been almost literally compelled to resort to plunder in order to obtain the necessities of life. It is not to be expected that a wild and warlike people will tamely submit to the occupation of their country by another race, and to starvation as a consequence thereof. It was perhaps unavoidable that, in taking possession of these Territories, hostilities should ensue between our own people and the Indians, as the latter knew but little of the vast disparity between their resources and power and our own, and consequently would not listen to any reasonable propositions on our part. Much credit is due to General Connor and the forces under his command, for their prompt and efficient services in chastising these Indians for their outrages and depredations upon the whites, and in compelling them to sue for peace. Now that this desideratum has been attained, I respectfully recommend that measures be taken for the negotiation of further treaties with the Indians, having for their object the extinguishment of their title to the soil, and the setting apart of a suitable portion of the public domain upon which they may be concentrated, and so provided for that they need not be compelled to resort to plunder in order to sustain life.

100

JAMES DUANE DOTY, COMMISSIONER TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, NOVEMBER 10, 1863²⁰⁶

Sir

The Map transmitted to me by the Department is herewith returned, with the exterior boundaries of the Territory claimed by the SHOSHONEES in their recent Treaties, as also the lines of the country occupied by different portions of the Tribe, indicated upon it as correctly as the map will allow. They fixed their Eastern boundary on the crest of the Rocky Mountains; but it is certain that they, as well as the Bannacks, hunt the buffalo below the Three Forks of the Missouri and on the headwaters of the Yellow Stone and Wind rivers.

As none of the Indians of this country have permanent places of abode, in their hunting excursions they wander over an immense region, extending from the Fisheries at and below Salmon Falls on the Shoshonee [Snake] river, near the Oregon line, to the sources of that stream, and to the buffalo country beyond. The Shoshonees and Bannacks are the only nations which, to my knowledge, hunt together over the same ground.

206 [See appendix for note text.]

Replying further to your Letter, dated July 22nd, 1863, I beg leave to refer to my Letter to the Commissioner, dated February 7th, 1862, in relation to the Indian Tribes in this Superintendency; and to add, that the Bands represented at the Treaty of Fort Bridger, on the 2nd day of July last, it was estimated numbered between three and four thousand souls, over a thousand of whom were present at, and immediately after, the conclusion of the Treaty.

They are known as Wau'shakee's Band (who is the principal chief of the nation;

Won'apitz Band,		
Shau'wuno's	“	
Tiba'gan's	“	
Pee'astoa'gah's	“	
To'timee's	“	
Ash'ingodim'ah's	“	He was killed at the battle on Bear River.
Sagowitz	“	Wounded in the same battle.
O'retzim'awik	“	
Bazil's	“	
Sanpitz	“	The bands of this chief and of Sagowitz were nearly exterminated in the same battle.

The chiefs at this treaty in fact represented nearly the whole nation; and they were distinctly informed—and they agreed—that the annuities provided in this treaty and such others as might be formed, were for the benefit of all the Bands of the Shoshonee nation who might give their assent to their terms. And this has been the understanding at each treaty.

At the Treaty concluded at Box Elder on the 30th of July, the first object was to effect and secure a peace with Pokatel'lo, as the road to Beaver Head Gold Mines, and those on Boisé river, as well as the northern California and southern Oregon roads, pass through his country. There were present

Pokatello's Band		
Toomont'so's	“	
Sanpitz	“	
To'so	“	
Bear Hunter's	“	All but 7 of this Band were killed at Bear river battle.
Sagowitz	“	This chief was shot by a white man a few days before the treaty, and could not come from his Weekeup to the Treaty ground, but he assented to all of its provisions He, and Sanpitz endeavored to be at Ft. Bridger, to unite in the treaty there, but did not arrive in time.

The chiefs of several smaller bands were also present and signed the treaty, which is considered of more importance than any made this season, in saving the lives and securing from depredations the property of our citizens—Emigrants as

well as others. These bands are generally known as “The Sheep Eaters”; and their number is estimated at one thousand.

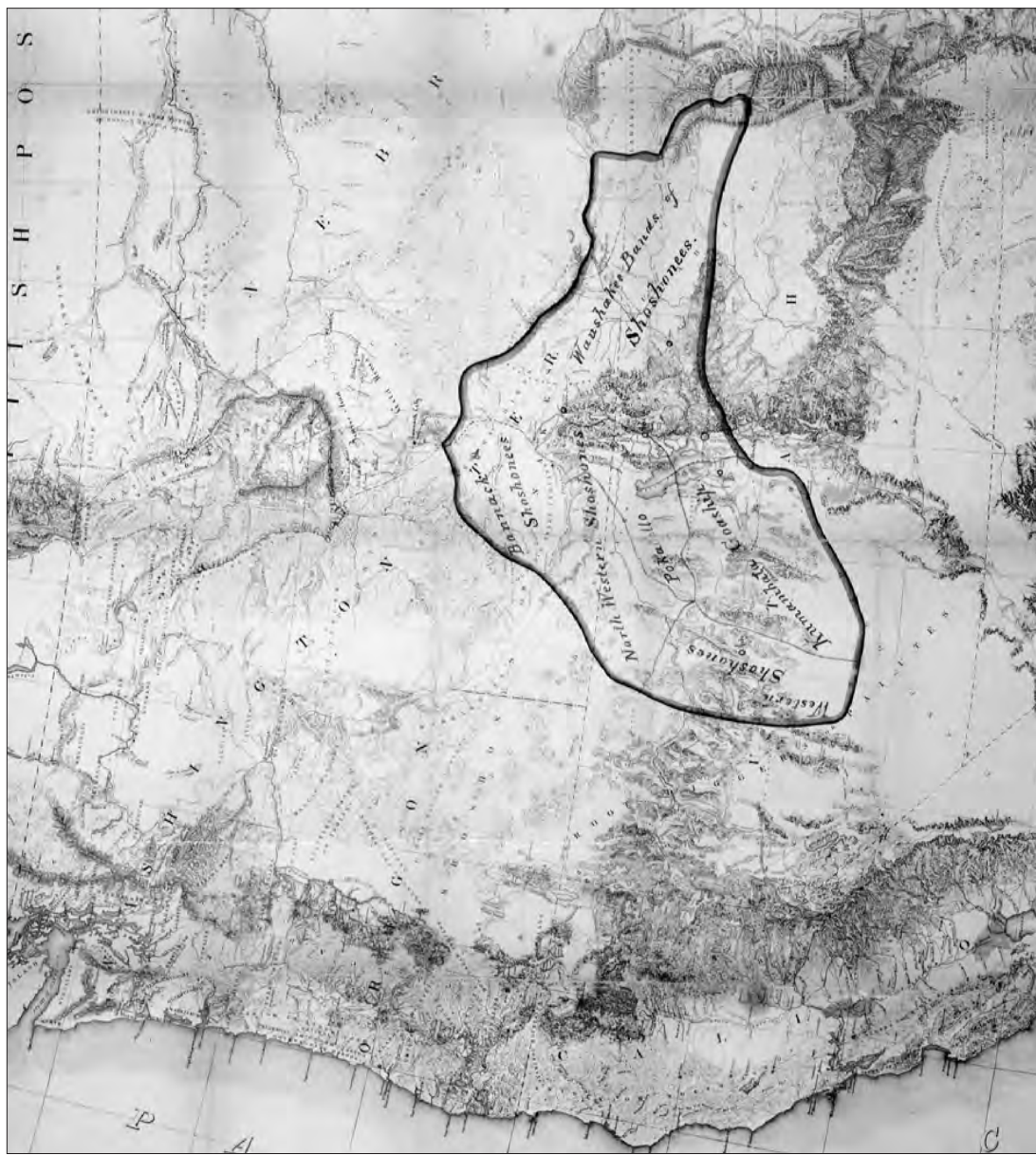
At the Treaty concluded at Ruby Valley, on the 1st. of October, the Western Shoshonees were represented by the two principal Bands—the Tosowitch (White Knife) and Unkoah’s. From the best information I could get, I estimated the Western Bands—sometimes called “Shoshonee Diggers-” —at twenty five hundred souls. But the Bands on the lower Humboldt and west of Smith’s Creek, are not included in this estimate. Govr. Nye proposed to meet some of them at Reese river, on his return to Carson from Ruby.

At the Treaty at Tuilla Valley, on the 12th of October, with the Goaship or Kumumbar Bands, who are connected with the Shoshonees and are chiefly of that Tribe, there were three hundred and fifty present. Others, from Ibapah, Shell creek, and the desert, would have joined them but for their fear of the soldiers. They number about one hundred more; and there is also a portion of this tribe who are mixed with the Pahvon’tee tribe, and occupy the southern part of the Goaship country, amounting to two hundred more. They are the poorest and most miserable Indians I have met. They have neither horses nor guns. I have seen several of them at work for farmers at Deep Creek and Grantsville, and therefore conclude that they would soon learn to cultivate the ground for themselves and take care of stock, if they were assisted in a proper way. They have expressed a strong desire to become settled as farmers, and I should be glad to see them located as such, at a distance from the Overland Mail route. More than a hundred of them have been killed by the soldiers during the past year, and the survivors beg for peace. It was the intention & understanding that all of the Goaship Tribe shall participate in the benefits of the treaty.

At the Treaty of Soda Springs on the 14th of October, with the mixed Bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks roaming in the Valley of Shoshonee river, there were one hundred and fifty men present with their families. Tindo’ah and the chiefs of several other bands sent word that they assented to the Treaty, and desired to be considered parties to it; but they could not remain, as it was so late in the season they were compelled to leave for their buffalo hunting grounds. I had seen these bands, on Snake river, in the mounth of May last, in council, found them peaceable and friendly, and explained to them the objects for which it was proposed to hold a treaty before the snow fell.

Those now present were—Toso-kwan’beraht, the principal Chief of the Bannack nation, commonly known as “Grand Coquin”: Tah’gee:—Mat’igund, and other principal men. This last chief and his band live at the Shoshonee river Ferry, where he meets all the travellers to and from the mines.²⁰⁷ He has always been friendly to them; and all of these Bands can render great service to the

207 This ferry was at present Idaho Falls.



Map prepared by Doty, which accompanied treaties to Senate. Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Emigrants, or do them great injury. They number about one thousand souls, as near as I can ascertain.

The whole number of Shoshonee, Goaships, and Bannacks, who are parties to these Treaties, may be estimated at Eight thousand, six hundred and fifty.

The amount to be paid to them annually in goods, &c., is—to the Shoshonees & Bannacks, twenty thousand dollars; and to the Goaships one thousand dollars, for the term of twenty years. This last sum I think ought to be increased to two thousand dollars, especially if they are to be settled as husbandmen or herdsmen.

The importance of these Treaties to the Government and to its citizens, can only be appreciated by those who know the value of the Continental Telegraph and Overland Stage to the commercial and mercantile world, and the safety and security which peace alone can give to Emigrant Trains, and to the travel to the Gold Discoveries in the North which exceed in richness—at least in the quality of the gold—any discoveries on this Continent. . . .

101

WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO J. P.
 USHER, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
 DATED DECEMBER 30, 1863²⁰⁸

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith, for your consideration, and if approved by you, for transmission to the President of the United States, to be by him laid before the Senate for its constitutional action thereon, the following named treaties with certain Indian tribes, viz:

With the eastern bands of Shoshonees, July 2, 1863, at Fort Bridger;

With the northwestern bands of Shoshonees, at Box Elder, July 30, 1863;

With the western bands of Shoshonees, at Ruby valley, October 1, 1863;

With the Goaship bands of Shoshonees, at Tuilla valley, October 12, 1863;

and

With the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, at Soda Springs, October 14, 1863.*

208 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 318.

* [Texts of these treaties, several of which were never ratified by the Senate, may be found as follows:

2 Jul. 1863: Document 90

30 Jul. 1863 with Northwestern Shoshoni bands: *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Charles J. Kappler, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), 850–51

I also enclose a copy of a letter of Governor Doty, relating to the Indians, parties to the foregoing treaties,²⁰⁹ with a copy of a map furnished by that gentleman, showing the territory ceded. . . .

1864

102

J. P. USHER, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 12, 1864²¹⁰

Sir,

I herewith transmit to you:

1. A treaty with the Mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshones, concluded on the 14th of Oct^r. 1863, together with a resolution of the Senate of the 7th instant, advising and consenting to the ratification of the same with an amendment.²¹¹

2. A treaty with the Shoshone Nation of Indians, of the Eastern Bands concluded on the 2^d. of July 1863—with a resolution by the Senate of the 7th inst. advising and consenting to the ratification of the same with an amendment.

3. A treaty with the Northwestern Bands of Shoshone Indians, concluded the 30th of July 1863, together with a resolution of the Senate of the 7th inst. advising and consenting to the ratification thereof with an amendment.

4. A treaty with the Shoshone-Goship Bands of Indians, concluded on the 12th of October 1863, together with a resolution of the Senate, of the 7th instant, advising and consenting to the ratification of the same with an amendment.

To the end that these amendments proposed by the Senate, may be presented to the tribes of Indians named, for their acceptance. . . .

1 Oct. 1863 with Western Shoshoni bands: Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:851–53

12 Oct. 1863 with Shoshoni-Goship bands: Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:859–60

14 Oct. 1863 with “Mixed Bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees”: Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 5:693–94. —Ed.]

209 See Document 100.

210 I/463–1864.

211 The substance of the amendment in each case, was: “Nothing herein contained shall be construed or taken to admit any other or greater title or interest in the lands embraced within the Territories described in Said Treaty in Said Tribes or Bands of Indians than existed in them upon the acquisition of said Territories from Mexico by the laws thereof.”

103

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, CHARLES M. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
NEW YORK, APRIL 21, 1864²¹²

Dear Sir

Mr. Dole authorise me to ask of you to send to me *here*, by the Express, two of the Small *medals* for Chiefs—I wish them for Waushakee and Dindoah [Tendoy?]- Please sent them before Monday, if you can—. . . .

104

WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES
DUANE DOTY, GOVERNOR AND EX-OFFICIO SUPT. OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED MAY 17, 1864²¹³

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith four treaties negotiated with the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, the eastern band of Shoshonees, the northwestern bands of Shoshonees, and the Shoshonee Goship bands of Indians, respectively, to each of which treaties the Senate has made an amendment.

You will please cause these several treaties, as amended, to be laid before the respective tribes, and endeavor to secure their assent thereto at as early a day as practicable, and return the same to this office.

As there is no fund from which to defray the expenses incidental to calling the Indians together for the express purpose of procuring their assent to the amendments, you can, for this purpose, probably improve the occasion of their assembling for their payments; otherwise the expense will have to be paid out of such funds as are at your disposal for the incidental expenses of your superintendency. . . .

212 D/399-1864.

213 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 323.

JAMES DUANE DOTY, GOVERNOR AND EX-OFFICIO SUPT. OF INDIAN
AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN
AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 13, 1864²¹⁴

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge your Letter dated May 17th '64, with its enclosures—being four Treaties with the mixed Bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks, with instructions to procure their assent to the amendments proposed by the Senate.

Having lately returned to the Territory I have not learned where these Bands are now to be found—except Washakee's Band (the Northern Eastern Shoshonees) who I am informed are on the Wind river Mountains, where they have lately encountered the Crows in several battles, the occasion for which, it is represented, was an attempt made by the Crows to steal the horses of the Shoshonees who were hunting the Buffalo in the vicinity of those Mountains.

As funds will be required for the purposes indicated in your Letter, as also for the current expenses of the Superintendency (without which the duties cannot be performed) I hope to receive soon a notice of a deposit to my credit with the Assistant Treasurer N. Y. of such sum as you may deem adequate for those objects until the arrival of the Superintendent.²¹⁵ Whether he has left the Missouri is unknown to me. I infer from your Letter that the Department desires that I should as Governor of the Territory, continue to perform the duties of Superintendent.

The best time to procure the assent of these Bands to the Amendments, will be on the arrival of the goods which are to be received by them under the provisions of the Treaties. It is very desirable that I should be informed *when* the goods are to be delivered by the Freighters at the places where the Treaties were held, that I may be able to give due notice to the Bands who are to receive them. As they are scattered over a country several hundred miles in extent, it will take several weeks to assemble them.

Having just passed through about eleven hundred miles of the Indian country from the Missouri to this place, I am enabled to state to the Department that there were but few Indians upon the Overland Mail Route, and that they were entirely peaceable and friendly to the whites. . . .

214 D/449–1864. Now filed in Ratified Treaties File.

215 The new superintendent was O. H. Irish, Doty having in 1863 been elevated to the governorship. [See notes ' on p. 273 and 220 on p. 325].

106

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, ACTING
SAPT. INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER
AGENCY, JUNE 20, 1864²¹⁶

Sir One of Washakees Indians brought to this place Nineteen, 19, head of Horses Said to have been Stolen from the Miners at Beaver Head [Montana] by a party of Too Coo Rekah or Sheep Eater Indians they make the Excuse that they did not know that a treaty had been made with the Whites After being informed of that fact they delivered to One of Washakees Indians the Horses who brought them here by whom Shall they be received the Military here or by myself The Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians appears to make it the duty of the agent Section Seventeen of the act requires that all applications for redress of recovery of the Stolen property Shall be made to the agent please confer a favour by giving me instructions in the matter and greatly Oblige. . . .

107

JAMES DUANE DOTY, EX-OFFICIO SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO
LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 23, 1864²¹⁷

Sir: Your Letter dated June 20, in relation to 19 Horses Stolen by the Sheep Eaters & delivered by them to Waushakee, is received this morning. It is proper that you as Agent should receive them of the Indian having them in charge, and immediately give notice to the parties from whom they have been taken that they are in your charge, and requesting them to come forward and prove their property and take them away after paying expenses. A proper reward should be given by them to the Indian who has brought them to you, as well as to Waushakee—

If the Claimants are unknown, it seems proper that you Should give notice in the Settlements on Beaver Head in some public manner, that these horses are in your possession.

I shall forward your Letter to the Commissioner, and request of him to give you further Instructions if required. . . .

216 D/461-1864, Enclosure.

217 Ibid.

108

JAMES DUANE DOTY, EX-OFFICIO SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO
WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 23, 1864²¹⁸

Sir:

I enclose herewith a Letter from Agent Mann in relation to Horses stolen in the Beaver Head country (Montana) by the Sheep Eaters, and surrendered by them to Waushakee on being informed by him of the provisions in the Treaties made last season — Also my Letter to Mr. Mann; wishing such further Instructions may be given him by the Commissioner as the case may require.

This is one of the benefits derived from the Treaties of last year, and shows the determination of Waushakee to maintain peace with the whites . . .

109

JAMES DUANE DOTY, LATE ACTING SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO
WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1864²¹⁹

Sir.

Mr Irish, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah Territory, arrived in this City on the 26th of August. He desired me to continue to perform the duties of Superintendent—there being then several parties of Shoshonees and Utes here—until the 31st., which I did; and on that day delivered to him all the public property in my hands belonging to the Indian Department, for which his receipts were taken.

My account and Return, up to that date, will be forwarded in a few days. . . .

218 D/461-1864.

219 D/551-1864.

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1864²²⁰

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to make the following report of the condition of Indian affairs within this superintendency, so far as I am able to obtain information in the short time I have been here, less than one month.

I took possession of what property there was on the first of September, and relieved Governor Doty from the further performance of duty as acting superintendent of Indian affairs. . . . [A considerable discussion of Ute affairs follows.]

. . . I have to-day received a telegram from the operator at Shell creek, two hundred miles southwest, that the Indians are gathering in, demanding their annuity goods, and out of humor by reason of the delay. Another despatch from Fort Bridger informs me that Shoshonees are in large numbers at Bear lake, one hundred and forty miles north, impatient because they are not paid, so that they can go to their winter hunting grounds on Wind river.

I also subjoin a copy of a letter handed me the 16th instant, from his excellency Governor Doty and Brigadier General Conner, late commissioner for negotiating the treaties with those Indians, urging me to make some provision to pay them now, and not wait the arrival of the annuity goods:

Great Salt Lake City,
Utah Territory, September 15, 1864.

Sir: The undersigned trust that their long connexion with the Indian service of this Territory will excuse them in addressing you, who have but recently assumed the duties of your office here, on matters which we consider of great importance connected with your department.

220 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 313–15. [Doty died in office. His replacement, Orsamus H. Irish (1830–83), was a native of New York who moved to Nebraska in 1857 and became involved in Indian affairs. His name is appended to the September 24, 1857, treaty with the Pawnees as a witness, and he was appointed as the Omaha Indian agent in 1861. Irish left Utah in 1866 and returned to Nebraska, where he practiced law until being appointed U. S. Consul at Dresden, Germany, a post he held until returning to Nebraska in 1873. After a business failure Irish left the West and moved to Washington, D. C. in 1875. His public service concluded abruptly with his death in 1883 while serving as chief of the U. S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing. *New York Times*, January 28, 1883; *BEP History* (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Engraving and Printing Historical Resource Center, 2004), 17; Gustive O. Larson, “Uintah Dream: The Ute Treaty, Spanish Fork, 1865,” *BYU Studies* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1974). —Ed.]



Orsamus H. Irish, ca.1880, Utah superintendent of Indian affairs, 1864–1866. *Department of the Treasury, U.S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, D.C.*

You are aware that treaties were made in the year 1863 with the Shoshonee Indians and mixed bands of that nation, by which they were to receive a certain sum annually, in such articles of property and presents as the President of the United States should think best for them.

Our Indian relations, so far as maintaining peace along and in the vicinity of the overland route, and generally throughout this rich mining country, is concerned, have been and still are so delicate, and the interests involved in the preservation of peace so important, that, in our opinion, the greatest care should be taken on the part of the government in strictly complying with its obligations with these Indians.

The time has already passed when they had a right to expect their annuity for this year. They will soon leave for their winter hunting grounds, some four or five hundred miles from this place.

Should they not receive their annuity before their departure, dissatisfaction and disturbance may be the result.

It is understood that the presents that the government is forwarding to them cannot arrive here until quite late in the fall, and so late that it will be impossible to deliver them to the Indians this season.

We therefore respectfully but urgently recommend that you make some other provision to fulfil the obligations assumed by us on behalf of the government in these treaties at an early day, and before they depart for their hunting-grounds.

The peculiar circumstances with which we are surrounded in this country, the fact that we are cut off from communication with the department at Washington, and the generally disturbed condition of the Indians throughout the whole country, will, in our opinion, justify you in assuming the responsibility.

Very respectfully, &c.,

JAMES DUANE DOTY,
Governor and late Commissioner.
P. EDWARD CONNER,
Brigd. Gen. U. S. V., Commanding District Utah.
Hon. O. H. IRISH,
Superintendent Indian Affairs.

I have accordingly sent a messenger after Washakee, with a present of some tobacco, and a letter inviting him, with four other chiefs, to come in and consult with me as to what had better be done. I cannot determine until I have seen these Indians, and have so informed Governor Doty and General Conner.

The difficulties of our situation cannot be appreciated by any one not here to share them. I have not received a letter from any eastern correspondent dated since the 6th of last July, and I cannot, owing to the condition of the mails, expect therefore to be advised by you as to what to do in the emergency.

The goods were, I am informed, shipped from Nebraska City about the 18th of August, and I have not heard of them since. They cannot reach their destination before the 18th of November, and that is doubtful, as snow fell in the mountains on the 22d instant, while I travelling between here and the Spanish Fork farm. While I am anxious to keep the peace among the Indians in the mountains, I am still determined not to overreach appropriations and embarrass the department by making it necessary to beg from Congress money to make up deficiencies.

I have written you from time to time, since my arrival in this Territory, as to my movements, and it will be seen that I have not had the opportunity as yet to inform myself fully as to the condition of Indian affairs within this section of the country, as is necessary to making a full report.

After my council with Washakee, I will send such further report as circumstances may require. I will endeavor to make up for the deficiency in this in my subsequent communications. . . .

111

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 1, 1864²²¹

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I have this day appointed Dimick Huntington U. S. Indian Interpreter for this office in place of Joseph A. Gebow, removed for selling Indians Liquor, of which offence he has recently been convicted. I have also to inform the Department that I have employed temporarily, until Agent [L. P.] Kinney takes possession, George [Washington] Bean as U. S. Indian Interpreter at the Spanish fork Agency to commence his services the 1st of October, in place of Mr. Ellsworth who cannot speak the Utah Language fluently enough for the purpose for which an Interpreter is required at that Agency. . . .

112

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO O. H. IRISH, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER
AGENCY, OCTOBER 5, 1864²²²

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the affairs of this agency for the past year. I take pleasure in bearing testimony to the uniform good conduct of the eastern bands of the Shoshonee Indians towards the white citizens living in, as well as all emigrants travelling through, this country during the past year. All with whom I have conversed have expressed a very strong desire to fulfil their treaty obligations, and report to me any depredations committed by any of the tribe with great vigilance. About the first of June a part of Loo-coo-rekah or Sheep-Eater

221 I/696-1864.

222 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 316-17.

Indians stole and brought into camp nineteen head of horses belonging to a part of miners at Beaver head, Montana Territory. Washakee, the chief, informed them that a treaty had been made with the whites. They surrendered the horses to him, and he sent them to Fort Bridger and turned them over to the military authority of the post. A large number of the tribe visited this agency and were very anxious to receive their presents before leaving for their hunting-grounds, (the valley of Wind river.) I was unable, however, to give them any information at what time they would arrive. They were induced to leave the agency without them, under the promise that, should the goods arrive, I would retain them and distribute them in the spring, which appeared to satisfy them. In order that such an occurrence may not again arise, I would recommend that in the future all supplies designed for this agency should be forwarded as early as practicable, that they might reach their destination by the first of August each year. It would thus give the agent time to collect the Indians, who from necessity are scattered over a very large extent of country, distribute their presents, and send them to their hunting-grounds early, thereby enabling them to collect their food for the winter. I have been unable, for the want of proper facilities, to take an enumeration of the Indians under my charge during the present year; from all the information that I have been able to obtain, however, I believe there are about fifteen hundred souls.

The hunting-grounds of the Shoshonee Indians being in a section of country where the whites, during the last year, have been in search of gold, their game is becoming exceedingly scarce, much of it having been killed and a great deal of it driven from the country; hence it will be absolutely necessary in the future to feed them during the winter months. In view, then, of the scattered condition of the Indians, and their almost extreme destitution, I would recommend that some suitable measures be taken to locate them upon a reservation where they might be protected by the government until they could be taught to take care of themselves. I would respectfully urge that an appropriation be made by Congress for that purpose. I am happy to be able to state that the introduction of whiskey has been much less during the past year than formerly; enough, however, still finds its way into the nation to cause considerable trouble. The Indians find no difficulty in procuring what they desire. It is generally obtained in the settlements. My attention has been called to a case that occurred lately in the vicinity of Cache valley, where, to obtain a buffalo-robe, one of the citizens of that locality sold to an Indian whiskey, which caused him to become intoxicated, causing some trouble, and finally in the shooting of the Indian, mortally wounding him. He is at this agency in a very critical condition.

223 [This note credited a reproduction of the Doty map found on p. 318 of this edition. Morgan received the print too late to illustrate the letter which described the map, included as Document 100. The photo subsequently appeared here, later in Morgan's series. —Ed.]

I would most respectfully urge upon the department the necessity of erecting an agency building. I am at present entirely dependent upon the military authority of this post for shelter. I have been destitute of an office a large portion of the year. I would also urge upon your department the necessity of furnishing the agent with an ambulance and mules for the use of his agency. I would ask for an appropriation of \$2,000 for the above purposes. . . .

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O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 13, 1864²²⁴

Sir

I would respectfully call your attention to that portion of my Annual Report made under date of the 26th of Sept. last, which refers to the matter of paying the ShoShonies their Annuity Goods; You will observe therein that I had sent for Washakee the principal Chief to see what arrangements could be made to enable them to reach their hunting grounds.

I have now the honor to report that Washakee finally came in after a good deal of difficulty to Fort Bridger, and then in company with one other Indian and Agent Mann he took the stage and came into the city.²²⁵

He refuses absolutely to start on the hunt now at all, says he cannot go over the Mountains with his Women and Children, it is too cold; That they are affraid of the Souixs, and that they will leave their families in the vicinity of Ft Bridger for safety, and will hunt in that neighborhood and do the best they can, but that they depended upon their Great Father helping them to live now that the White Man have driven off their game and that he must give them some provisions for the Winter or they will starve.

224 I/707-1864.

225 Mann to Irish, Dec. 3, 1864, Estimate of funds . . . for the quarter ending December 31, 1864, an enclosure in Irish to Dole, Dec. 23, 1864 (I/765-1864), has among the items:

Expencc in Sending Messenger to Washakee	22	50
Fare of Washakee to Salt Lake & Back	60	00
Fare on One other Indian " " " "	60	00
Fare of Myself to Salt Lake & Back	60	00
Expense incurred on round Trip	37	00

The exact date does not appear.

He further says that they do not need all of the presents in Blankets, Calicoes, Shirts, &C. That they want provisions first and Clothing next; He insists upon this. Agent Mann [Acting] Governor [Amos] Reed and all others whom I have had the opportunity of consulting, and who are familiar with the matter say that Washakie is right; That they must have help in Subsistence, that there is not game enough to sustain them in the country.

I have urged as earnestly as possible, that they Should go to their hunting grounds, but it is of no avail, and useless to say more; I told them that the Great Father had sent them goods of such things as he thought best for them, and that when they arrived, I would see that they received them; He again said that they did not want them all, wanted me to keep back part of the goods, and give them something to eat, that they did not want to hear Blankets again but wanted meat—This was his answer to all my propositions, and I promised to lay the matter before you, and ask you for your instructions by Telegraph.

He went away apparently greatly dissatisfied at not having some understanding now.

I am entirely satisfied that we will be under the necessity of furnishing those Indians provisions; and that the cost of doing so should come out of their Annuity, for if taken out of the funds for “Incidental Expenses of the Indian Service in Utah” it would be drawing directly from the resources upon which we must depend for aiding those Indians who receive no stated Annuities from Government, and who have claims as just and urgent as the Shoshonies.

The [blank] ShoShonies are entitled to \$10,000 in presents, this is double the amount in proportion to their numbers, which we will under present approp[r]iations be able to give the other Indians of this Superintendency.

I would therefore respectfully request that \$4,000, from the appropriations for the “Incidental Expenses of the Indian Service in Utah” be set aside for the purpose of furnishing them provisions, and that this amount of goods be taken out of those sent to them and distributed among the Indians who would otherwise have to be provided with goods from the appropriation out of which the \$4,000. is taken.

This would be fulfilling the Treaty Stipulations by giving them the \$10,000 in presents as follows. Viz. \$6,000. in goods \$4,000. in provisions; And the withdrawal of this sum from the resources of the Department for aiding the Southern Indians would be made good by permitting me to retain that amount out of the goods originally intended for the ShoShonies, and distributing them to the other Indians not provided for by Treaties as their necessities required it.

This plan if admissable will enable us to comply with the demands of these Indians, quiet all apprehensions of difficulties from that source, and at the same time avoid any danger of increased liabilities. Agent Mann says that he can help them through the Winter with that Sum.

I promised the Indians that I would ask you to Telegraph me whether I might do this or not. It is highly important that I should receive an answer as soon as possible; So earnest were they in the matter that they refused all presents for the people except provisions. Refused even some small presents I offered them individually; I desire however to say in their favor that they gave not the sligh[t]est intimation of an unfriendly spirit; They evidently feel that the neccesities of their people are such that they should make the request, and persist in it even if they seemed obstinate; They tried to make this apparent in such a manner as to give me no offence.

I have written the foregoing in the absence of any official information, as to the quantity of goods purchased, but upon what Hon J F. Kinney, told me at Nebraska City, you intended doing, Viz. Expending in the purchase of goods, all of the appropriations of \$16,000 made for fulfilling the obligations of the Treaties negotiated by Governor Doty, Ten Thousand going to the ShoShonies, \$6000 to other Indians.

I presume the same question will occure as to those to whom the \$6,000. is to be paid; they will want provisions in part, and the same necessity will exist in their case, as there does in this they have not talked with me directly upon this subject; but enough has been said to satisfy me that they will make the same demands; I have simply informed them that when the wagons come, I would go and see them, and give them their goods; That they should be patient, and make an honest living until then.

If I am misinformed, and you are not sending the whole amount in goods, and there are unexpended balances of the appropriations made for carrying out these Treaties, I would urgently request that said balances be at once placed at my disposal for Winter is upon us, and arrangements must be made now, and I cannot buy on credit in this market.

It is during the approaching winter months we will need the most of the funds for the remainder of the fiscal year for all purposes; save the settlements of the Indians in the Uinta Valley, and the regular and contingent expenses of the Service; from the 15th of October to the 1st of June is the time when provisions, and clothing are more necessary than at any other season of the year; with the appropriations made by Congress, if I can have them to expend from time to time, as circumstances may require, I am confident peace will be maintained within this Superintendency, and the Indians will feel the practical benefits of the human policy of the Indian Department.

I am greatly embarrassed from the want of Mail facilities, I have received no letter from the Indian office since the 6th of July; No information from Indian Goods. We are informed that the route is open, but I don't see it at present writing; we get no Mails, and I presume some of these will never come to hand.

The press of business is such that we will not be able to depend upon them for some time; Hence I would the more urgently request (that I may act understandingly in all of these matters) information by Telegraph as follows. Viz. How much funds can be placed to my credit with the Assistant Treasurer in New York under the following appropriations, Viz.

1st For paying Annuities under the Treaties negotiated by Governor Doty.

2nd For the "Incidental Expenses of the Indian Service in Utah."

3rd The appropriation for deficiency under which it was understood arrangements were to be made for transportation of 1000 Sacks of Flour. Having no Mails I am not informed whether arrangements were made for the purpose of purchasing, and transporting it or not, if it has not been done I can use the money to advantage here; will buy some flour, but principally wheat and have the Indians boil it, if the suggestion meets your approval.

By responding by Telegraph to these questions, refering to them as they are numbered, I can with the copy of this letter before me understand your wishes.²²⁶

In this connection I beg leave to say that we are called upon to minister in this Superintendency to the wants of Indians residing not only within its limits but numerous bands roaming on the frontiers in the adjoining Territories not understanding jurisdiction; They seem to make this a central point, not being governed at all by the boundary lines of the Territories as designated by the laws of Congress but by the natural divisions of the country marked out by the Rivers, and Mountains which they have for Generations regarded as the boundaries of the lands belonging to their respective Tribes, and though this throws them principally into other Territories, yet because a corner of the land they claim to occupy runs into my jurisdiction they consider themselves under my care, and do not in any instance as I can learn seem to know that they should apply to other Indian Authorities over the Mountains, East or West. . . .

226 The Commissioner wired Irish on November 10 and wrote him on Nov. 14 to say that \$4,000 had been placed to his credit in New York, and he could apply that amount in provisions for the Shoshoni in place of the same amount in goods. In effect, he would buy \$4,000 in provisions from the fund for Incidental Expenses of his Superintendency, and trade it for the same amount of goods bought with Shoshoni annuity funds, distributing such goods to his non-Shoshoni Indians. Office of Indian Affairs, Record Copies of Letters Sent, vol. 75, 411, 427-28.

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 18, 1864²²⁷

Sir: I have the honor to herewith enclose the annual report of Agent Luther Mann, jr., received at this office on the 15th instant.²²⁸

I would respectfully recommend to the favorable consideration of the department that portion of his report referring to the locating of the Shoshonees on a reservation. The Indians, in all this mountain country, cannot live any longer by hunting; the game has disappeared, the old hunting-grounds are occupied by our people to their exclusion. We must instruct them, therefore, in some other way of making a living than the chase, or else support them ourselves in idleness, or leave them to prey upon the emigration pouring into the country. For starving Indians will steal, pillage, murder, and plunge the frontier, from time to time, into all the horrors of savage warfare. Thus the country demands from government defence, retribution, and often the extermination of the starving savages, at a cost of millions of dollars to the national treasury, when thousands would have sufficed if placed in the hands of the Indian department to be used in settling them in homes and instructing them in the peaceful arts of industry.

The farmer, with the plough, hoe, and axe, will, if used at the first, be more efficient in keeping peace on our frontier than the soldier with cannon, muskets, and bayonets. With the tribes in these mountains, the first means should be directed to locating them on reservations, and I feel that we cannot too strongly recommend the policy suggested by Agent Mann as to the Shoshonees, but that it should be carried out as to all the tribes in these mining Territories. Herein lies economy, peace and safety. . . .

227 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 315.

228 See Document 112.

115

BRIG. GEN. P. EDWARD CONNOR TO O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN
AFFAIRS, DATED HEAD QUARTERS DISTRICT OF UTAH, CAMP
DOUGLESS, UTAH TERRITORY, NEAR GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY NOVEMBER 4, 1864²²⁹

Sir

I have to inform you that I have this day received a letter from Ben Holladay Esq. Proprietor of the Northern [Overland] Stage Line, on whose complaint the Indian Chief "Pocatello" was arrested by me. Mr. Holladay informs me that on further examination he finds that the alleged offences of "Pocatello" are not of that serious character he at first apprehended and understood them to be, and requests that no further action be taken by me.

Under those circumstances, I deem it proper to transfer the prisoner "Pocatello" to you, for such action in the premises, under the treaty and the laws, as you may regard necessary to maintain friendly relations with the Indian tribes and for the prompt punishment of offenders. . . .

[I/735-1864 Encl.]

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O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, NOVEMBER 9, 1864²³⁰

Sir

Referring to my communication of the 29th ulto, I have the honor to report that Genl. Connor has sent the Indian Chief, "Pocatello" to the office, with a letter explaining his reasons for so doing, a copy of which I herewith enclose.

The Northern Bands of the Shoshonees upon learning of Genl Connors intention of hanging Pocatello had gone to the Mountains with an intention of preparing for war as soon as he was turned over to me I sent him to Box Elder [Brigham City] from which point he will start in search of his people and will bring them to Box Elder to meet me in Council next week.

229 I/735-1864, Enclosure, marked "Copy" [with Document 116].

230 I/735-1864.

If the Military authorities will allow me to manage these Indians without any further interference, I am satisfied that by a judicious use of the appropriations made I can maintain peace. . . .

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
NOVEMBER 15, 1864 (EXTRACT)²³¹

UTAH SUPERINTENDENCY.

At the date of my last annual report advices of the negotiation of treaties of peace and friendship with several of the tribes of Indians of Utah, as well as of Idaho, whose range lies along the great overland route, had been received, and the annual report of Governor Doty, in relation to the affairs of his superintendency, and particularly in reference to these treaties, was received in time to be published in the Appendix. In addition to the treaties, verbal or written, referred to in my last report, as having been already made, and from which great good was expected to result in securing a peaceable transit of emigrants throughout the great routes of travel, two other treaties were forwarded by Governor Doty, under date of October 21, 1863, having been effected by him, in conjunction with General Conner, commanding the United States forces in Utah Territory, to whose energy and good judgment, combined with the bravery of his troops in their previous operations against the Indians, great credit is due, as having impressed the latter with a wholesome idea of the power of the white man, and disposed them to seek for peace. The two treaties referred to were made - the one October 12, 1863, at Tuilla valley, with the Shoshonee bands of the Goship tribe, and the other October 14, at Soda Springs, Idaho Territory, with the mixed bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks, of Snake River valley. After negotiating these two treaties, Governor Doty and General Conner had the pleasure of announcing that there remained no hostile tribe along the routes of travel to Nevada and California. In a later letter from Governor Doty, much valuable information is given in relation to the various bands and tribes of Indians whom he had visited, and with whom he had treated, and an approximate estimate of their numbers is given.

The various treaties thus made were transmitted to the Senate in due course. They were all returned from the Senate, confirmed, but with amendments, which amendments were forwarded to Governor Doty with instructions to obtain the assent of the Indians to them. There is not in our files any acknowledgment by

231 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 160-61.

him of their receipt, neither does Superintendent Irish, who succeeded Governor Doty, allude to them in his report. In the letter of instructions sent with the amendments to the treaties, it was suggested that, inasmuch as there existed no appropriation to defray the expenses of getting the Indians together to obtain their consent thereto, the object might be attained at the time of the payment of their annuities.

The subject of abandoning the several small reservations in Utah, and concentrating the Indians upon one large reservation, known as the Uintah valley, has been frequently urged upon the attention of this office, but for want of proper information as to the locality and its resources, and on account of the hostility of and pending military operations against, several of the tribes, nothing has yet been accomplished in that direction. In January, 1864, a memorial was received from the legislature of Utah, asking that the smaller reservations might be surveyed and opened to the whites for settlement, and by the act of Congress approved May 5, 1864, provision was made for their survey, and for the permanent reservation of Uintah valley as a home for the Indians of Utah. An appropriation of \$30,000 was also made for the purpose of preparing homes on the reserve for those Indians who should be removed to it, and for aiding them in becoming self-supporting, by means of agriculture. The Uintah valley had been by order of the President, as recommended by his office, set apart for the exclusive occupation of the Indians as long ago as October, 1861, but in the imperfect geographical knowledge of the country, its exact limits could not be defined. The tract set apart by following what are supposed to be dividing ridges, so as to include the whole region traversed and drained by the Uintah river and its upper branches down to its junction with the Green river, is understood to be ample in extent, containing two million acres, abounding in valleys of great fertility, with all the necessary water-power for mills, and having an abundance of timber; indeed, as being admirably adapted for the purposes of a large Indian reservation. Many of the Indians exhibit a desire to be placed upon it, and undertake in earnest the pursuit of agriculture. A difficulty presents itself in the want of accurately surveyed lines, so that, by the exclusion of whites from them, the Indians may be left in undisturbed possession, and I recommend that application be made to Congress for an appropriation for the purpose of making this survey; but meantime the superintendent has been directed to warn all white settlers now on the tract to leave it, (describing it as fully as possible,) and to notify all other white persons, who may be found upon the reservation when its limits shall be definitely established, that they will be required to remove. The superintendent has further been instructed to prepare and submit, as soon as possible, a plan for removing the Indians from the old reservations to the Uintah valley. It is confidently expected that the most gratifying results will follow the

completion of the plans thus set on foot for the concentration of the Indians in their new homes.

Superintendent Irish, who succeeded Governor Doty in charge of Indian affairs in this Territory, did not arrive at Great Salt Lake City until August 25, having waited some time at Nebraska city, in the expectation of taking with him the annuity goods, upon the prompt distribution of which much seemed to depend in regard to preserving peace with the Indians. It is to be regretted that, in consequence of apprehended danger of Indian hostilities upon the plains, the goods were not shipped from Nebraska city until late in August, and were therefore not expected to arrive at their destination in less than three months, if indeed they are not delayed on the way until spring. Some apprehension is therefore felt lest the Indians, who have kept their faith and observed the terms of the treaties made with them, should become dissatisfied and hostile, some symptoms of such feeling having exhibited themselves already; and the superintendent was urged by Governor Doty and General Conner to make, if possible, some temporary arrangements in advance of the arrival of the goods, so as to prevent an outbreak. At the last dates received Mr. Irish had sent presents to the principal chief, and invited him, with four others, to come and see him, when, it was hoped, some satisfactory arrangement would be effected. . . .

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JAMES DUANE DOTY, COMMISSIONER, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, NOVEMBER 25, 1864²³²

Sir:—On the 18th of this month the Northwestern Bands of Shoshones were met by Col. Irish and myself, by invitation, at Box Elder in this Territory; and their Treaty as amended was submitted to them, and their assent was given to the proposed Amendments of the Senate, by adding Article 5 to the Treaty; and their Agreement, duly executed according to your Instructions, is herewith transmitted.

One of the principal men who signed the Treaty, and whose name does not appear to this agreement, died during the past year; and another was absent on a hunt, as was reported.

There was however, between four and five hundred of these Bands present, who gave their assent freely to the Senates Amendment, and joyfully participated in the annuity provided by the Treaty. It is believed the only individuals of these

232 D/586–1864. Printed in 39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1248), 326.

Bands who were absent on this occasion, were those of five lodges—to one of which it is supposed the absent chief belonged—on the Goose Creek Mountains, who refused last year to unite with these in their Treaty. With these Lodges it is hoped the Superintendent may be instructed to open negotiations during the winter, or spring, as they are on the northern California road, and near the newly traveled road to Bois  from this City.

The Treaty with the Shoshonee-Goship Bands, as ratified by the Senate, was submitted to those Bands at Tuilla Valley on the 24th instant; and their assent was given to the Senate Amendment by an Agreement adding Article 8 to the Treaty, which was duly executed by the Chiefs and principal men, according to your Instructions, and is herewith transmitted. Harrynup, who signed the Treaty had died last winter; and Dick Moni, one of their principal and best young men, now signed in his stead as a chief.

Col.^o Irish as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in this Territory, joined by my invitation in these Councils and negotiations; and the funds for holding intercourse with these Bands being in his hands—none having been received by me for this special service—he has paid all of the expenses incurred.

The North Eastern Bands of Shoshonees who were treated with at Fort Bridger, and the mixed Bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees treated with at Soda Springs, had left for their Buffalo hunt near the Wind river Mountains in the Territory attached to Nebraska, before the arrival of the Superintendent; and it is not probable they can be met until Spring, when the Senates amendments will be submitted to them; and from what I have learned of their feelings have no doubt of their acceptance. They could not be negotiated with at an earlier day, for the reasons stated in my Letter to the Commissioner of the 13th, of June last. . . .

1865

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[CERTIFICATES OF ISSUE, 1865]²³³

[The Utah Field Papers for 1866 contain three certificates of issue for the first three quarters of 1865. The first, signed by Jack Robertson, Interpreter, and Harry

233 The record does not show whether there was any extensive distribution of provisions to the Shoshoni in the winter of 1864–65. Any major distribution presumably would have been through Superintendent Irish. Issues of wheat and a beef ox by Mann, as attested herewith, were too slight to have much bearing on the problems with had preoccupied Irish in the autumn of 1864.

Rickard, Fort Bridger Agency, March 29, 1865, certifies that they were present at the distribution by Agent Luther Mann of certain articles. The issue dates were Jan. 16, 29, Feb. 8, and March 5, 1865, and were for various dry goods except for 2 bushels of wheat on Jan. 16, the same on Jan. 29, 4 bushels on Feb. 8, and on March 5 a beef ox and 6 bushels of wheat. On the verso of this document appears the certificate: "We the undersigned Chiefs Head Men and Delegates of the Eastern Bands of ShoShonee Indians and duly authorized by them to represent Said Bands do hereby Certify that we have received from Luther Mann Jr. U. S. Indian agent the Within named Goods and Provisions being a portion of the amount due our Said Bands for the Year A. D 1864 under the Fifth article of Out Treaty made with the United States at Fort Bridger U. T. dated the Second day of July A D. 1863." Dated "Fort Bridger Agency U. T. July 16th 1866," and signed by mark by Washakee, Wanapitz, Toopsapowet, Pantoshiga, Narkawk, Taboonshea, Neeranga, Tortsaph, and Bazil.

[A second such certificate, for the second quarter, 1865, attested by Jack Robertson, Interpreter, and L. B. Chapman, shows issues on April 10, 26, May 7, and June 20, exclusively of dry goods, certified by the same chiefs, July 16, 1866. A certificate for the third quarter, signed by Robertson and P.[?] V. Lauderdale, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. A., attests issues on Sept. 17, 1865, all of dry goods except 54 bushels of wheat and 94 lbs. of tobacco. Again signed by the chiefs, July 16, 1866.]

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O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 4, 1865²³⁴

Sir

Yesterday (3^d inst) I received the following telegram from Agent Mann Jr at Fort Bridger, Viz "I learned this morning that a large party of the ShoShonees are preparing to leave that Agency for the purpose of fighting the hostile Indians who are Engaged in committing depredations on the Overland Mail Line and Telegraph Lines, Shall I permit them to leave if I can avoid them? Please answer at once and oblige Washa-Kie and his band here."

I answered immediately as follows "With the concurrence of and by placing themselves under direction of the Military Authorities I am willing they should fight the bad Indians. Let them be good Soldiers that the Great Father may think well of them."

234 I/1254-1865.

I have entire confidence in the fidelity and efficiency of the ShoShonee Indians and believe they will do good service at this time. . . .

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O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO D. N. COOLEY,*
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
 LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1865 (EXTRACT)²³⁵

Sir: I have the honor to submit my annual report of the general condition of Indian affairs within the Utah superintendency for the past year.

The tribes included within this superintendency are the eastern and northwestern bands of Shoshonees and the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, the Goships, the Cum-umbahs, the Utahs, Utes, Pah Vants, Pi Edes, and Pah Utes.

THE SHOSHONEES.

The eastern bands of Shoshonees and mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees number upwards of four thousand souls. These bands are under the control of Wash-a-kee, the finest appearing Indian I have ever seen. He is justly regarded as a firm friend of the government and the whites, and steadily refuses to hold communication with bad Indians. He offered his services with his warriors to fight against the hostile Indians on the plains, as I informed you by letter of the 4th ultimo.

The treaty negotiated by Governor Doty, at Fort Bridger, on the 2d day of July, 1863, was with the eastern bands of the Shoshonee Indians.

The treaty negotiated at Soda Springs on the fourteenth day of October, of the same year, was with the mixed bands of the Bannacks and Shoshonees, in which it was agreed that the latter bands should share in the annuity provided for by the Fort Bridger treaty with the eastern bands. These Indians have not, since the making of the treaties referred to, received their presents as promptly as they expected them, owing to the burning of some of the goods on the plains, and the lateness of the season when the balance were received for last year, it being after most of the Indians had gone on their winter hunt. This year, all but the old men and some of the women and children have gone on the hunt without their presents, for fear they would suffer the same disappointment as last year, the goods not having come to hand yet, and there being no prospect of their arrival until

* [Gary L. Roberts, "Dennis Nelson Cooley, 1865–66," *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 99–108.]

235 39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1248), 310–16.

the snow falls in the mountains. These bands range through the northeastern portion of Utah Territory and that portion of southern Idaho lying along and south of Snake river. They generally inhabit the Wind River country and the headwaters of the North Platte and Missouri Rivers. Their principal subsistence is the buffalo, which they hunt during the fall, winter and spring, on which they subsist during that time, and return in the summer to Fort Bridger and Great Salt Lake City to trade their robes, furs, &c., for such articles as they desire and can obtain in the market. The only portion of their country suited for agricultural purposes is Wind River valley, in which they are desirous that government should set aside a reservation for them.

These Indians do not properly belong to this superintendency, their country being north and northeast of Utah, principally in Idaho Territory and Wyoming,²³⁶ (now attached to Dakota.) With their agency located in Wind river valley, as they desire it should be, they would remain away from the white settlements, the mail and telegraph lines. They have repeatedly asked that this should be done. The reports of Agent Mann of last year, concurred in by the superintendent, recommended a compliance with their wishes.

THE NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONEES.

There are three bands of Indians known as the northwestern bands of the Shoshonees, commanded by three chiefs, Pocatello, Black Beard, and San Pitch, not under the control of Wash-a-kee; they are very poor, and number about fifteen hundred; they range through the Bear River [and] lake, Cache and Malade valleys, and Goose Creek mountains, Idaho Territory, and should be under charge of the superintendent of Indian affairs for that Territory. They come into Box Elder and the northern settlements, within this Territory, for the purpose of living off the people, but their country is almost entirely outside of our limits.

Governor Doty negotiated a treaty with them at Box Elder, Utah, on the 30th day of July, 1863, by which the government agreed to pay them a yearly annuity of five thousand dollars (\$5,000.) They have kept the treaty, as a general thing; but, owing to their country being so much of it occupied by the whites, the game almost entirely destroyed and driven away, they suffer frequently from hunger, and I have been compelled to assist them a great deal during the past winter, or else they might have felt themselves compelled to commit depredations upon the stock of settlers in order to keep themselves and families from starving.

236 One of the earliest allusions to Wyoming by its present name. The previous January a Pennsylvanian, James M. Ashley, had introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to provide "a temporary government for the Territory of Wyoming," referred by the House to the Committee on Territories. So late in the session, the bill never got out of committee. Abortive proposals in 1866 and 1867 were for a Territory of Lincoln, but the name Wyoming was revived when on the initiative of the Senate a Territory was actually created in 1868.

I made an arrangement early in the winter with the leading citizens of the northern portion of the Territory to employ chief Black Beard and his band to herd their cattle, and pay him in flour and beef. This, with relief I furnished enabled them to get through the winter.

But they should be attached to an agency in Idaho, and instructed in farming. They would like a reservation on the Snake river, in the southwestern corner of Idaho.²³⁷ Though they are called Shoshonees, they are an entirely separate and distinct people from those under the control of Wash-a-kee, and while they are friendly they are not disposed to associate together. . . .²³⁸

122

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO O. H. IRISH,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER
AGENCY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1865²³⁹

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to affairs at this agency during the past year:

The Territory over which my surveillance extends is bounded on the north by Snake river, east by the Sweet Water and North Platte rivers, south by Yampa and Bear mountains, and west by the valley of Salt lake.²⁴⁰ The Indians occupying this tract are known as the eastern band of the Shoshonee tribe, under the acknowledged leadership of Wash-a-kee, an Indian chieftain who has never been known to have held hostile relations with the whites, and who, when a portion

237 Such a reservation was never set aside. President Andrew Johnson, by Executive Order on June 14, 1867, had created a reservation for the Boise and Bruneau bands of Shoshones and Bannocks,

Commencing on the south bank of Snake River at the junction of the Port Neuf River with said Snake River; thence south 25 miles to the summit of the mountains dividing the waters of the Bear River from those of Snake River; thence easterly along the summit of said range of mountains 20 miles to a point where the Sublette road crosses said divide; thence north about 50 miles to Blackfoot River; thence down Snake River to the place of beginning.

This, the Fort Hall Reservation, embracing about 1,800,000 acres as estimated, was situated in southeastern rather than southwestern Idaho, and it was here that the so-called mixed bands of Shoshoni and Bannocks were eventually located.

238 Irish's further remarks, on the Goships or Goshua Utes, Cumumbahs or Weber Utes, Utahs, Pi Edes, and Pah Utes are omitted in the present printing.

239 39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1248), 326-28.

of his tribe deserted him to join a band of insurrectionists, remained firm in his allegiance, though bound to keep the peace by no treaty stipulations.

In my report of last year I estimated the number of these Indians at fifteen hundred souls. No enumeration could be made this year, but from the best data I am able to obtain I should set the population at eighteen hundred—men, women, and children. In addition to the natural increase by births, there have been additions from neighboring tribes by old deserters coming back, and those individuals who, attracted by Wash-a-kee's rising home [i.e., fame?] have cast their lot with him.

This tribe is entirely nomadic; and there being no reservation on land which they can call their own, they spend about eight months of the year among the Wind river mountains and in the valleys of the Wind river, Big Horn and Yellowstone. Here they subsist entirely by chase—buffalo, deer, elk, and the mountain sheep affording them their only food. They are tolerably well provided with comfortable lodges, perhaps one hundred and fifty in all. They clothe themselves almost exclusively with the skins of the deer, sheep, and buffalo, made into garments of a style peculiarly their own. The leggings and breech-cloth are not very soon to be replaced by the pantaloons worn by the whites. I observe a marked improvement each year in their means of protection against the inclemency of the weather. This people have never turned their attention to agricultural pursuits, nor can it be expected of them until they are placed upon a reservation where they can have the necessary protection. If they are not provided with such a home, they are destined to remain outside of those influences which are calculated to civilize or christianize them, as has been done in many parts of our country to tribes not one whit more susceptible of being rendered useful members of society. Wild Indians, like wild horses, must be coralled upon reservations. There they can be brought to work, and soon will become a self-supporting people, earning their own living by their industry, instead of trying to pick up a bare subsistence by the chase, or stealing from neighboring tribes with whom they hold hostile relations.²⁴¹ I trust this matter will engage the serious attention of the department.

As I have said, this tribe live entirely by hunting wild animals, because their only source of revenue is derived from the sale of skins. The result of the past year's hunt might be stated approximately at eight hundred buffalo robes, five

240 As Mann describes his jurisdiction, it extends far beyond the boundaries of Utah Territory on the north and east, the jurisdiction being tribal rather than geographical, except that he leaves out of account the Wind River country where the Shoshoni now lived most of the year.

241 The history of a tribe even so peaceably disposed as the Shoshoni, as brought out in these documents, shows that the acculturation of Plains Indians was far more difficult than such idealism as Mann's could well comprehend.

hundred beaver skins, and four hundred elk and mountain sheep skins. These products of their only industry are either bartered with other tribes for ponies, or with white traders for small articles of merchandise—paint, beads, and trinkets.

The Shoshonees are friendly with the Bannacks, their neighbors on the north, and with the Utes on the south, but are hostile toward the tribes on their eastern boundary, viz: Sioux, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Crows, between whom there is more or less stealing continually going on. Wash-a-kee feels himself too weak to engage in any aggressive movements against either of these tribes, but says that if he should be attacked he would give them battle. When the tribe arrived at this agency, in June last, some fifty of the braves hearing of General Connor's expedition against the Sioux,²⁴² presented themselves armed and equipped, eager to join the troops in a campaign against their old foes. The lack of a suitable military organization moving from this point alone prevented the acceptance of their services.

The sanitary condition of the tribe is good; no epidemics have visited them and vaccination never has been thought necessary. They mingle so seldom with the whites that they are not exposed to their diseases. Pulmonary affections are infrequent, and deaths from any cause whatever are comparatively rare.

On the seventeenth of this month I turned over to Wash-a-kee the annuity goods for last year, which came too late for delivery. These, consisting of blankets, calicoes, butcher knives and tobacco, were distributed to the most needy ones, and seemed to give universal satisfaction. The time had arrived for the tribes to return to their hunting grounds and make preparations for winter, or I should have insisted on their remaining until the goods for the present year came to hand, which would have made their outfit more complete.

It affords me pleasure in stating that the Indians belonging to this district are peaceable and well disposed; that all their acts have been in strict accordance with

242 Indian troubles, rising in intensity through the sixties, led the War Department in March, 1865, to merge the districts of Utah, Colorado, and Nebraska into a single District of the Plains, with General Connor in command. He garrisoned key posts along the overland trail, and after a number of bitter local engagements, in one of which Lieut. Caspar W. Collins met a celebrated death, sent four columns north into the Sioux country. This "Powder River Expedition," as it has become known, has a complex history but was on the whole a failure. Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool wrote a detailed account of the campaign in *The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest, and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1922), 1: 131–200, 237–61; and another appears in Rogers, *Soldiers of the Overland*, 146–246. Col. Rogers (pp. 244–45) contributes a military critique of the campaign, and on p. 167 notes from a contemporary Denver newspaper Washakie's premature judgment, voiced at the outset of the expedition, that the hostile Indians could not escape.

Washakie's interest in a successful campaign is evident from what is said in various of our documents concerning pressure upon his people in this climactic era of Sioux power on the Plains.

the friendly relations which have heretofore existed between themselves and the white resident population of this Territory, as well as those passing through. In many instances they have aided persons seeking to develop the mineral resources of the country by pointing out valuable deposits of silver and coal or oil springs.

No outbreak has come to my knowledge; few, if any, trespasses have been committed, and no incursions have been made by them, and I am proud to say that they remain true to their treaty stipulations.

Some dissatisfaction has been expressed by them that the annuity goods do not reach this agency in time enough for distribution to let them get to their winter hunting grounds before the snow prevents their progress thither. I would therefore urge upon the department the recommendation made in my last annual report, that all goods designed for this place be shipped at the earliest practicable moment, in order that they may reach the agency in time for such distribution.

I would again most respectfully urge upon the department the necessity of erecting an agency building. I am at present entirely dependent upon the military authority of this post for shelter.²⁴³ I would also urge upon your department the necessity of furnishing the agent with a pair of mules for his ambulance. . . .

123

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO D. N. COOLEY,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 9, 1865²⁴⁴

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of 13th ulto granting me leave of absence to visit Nebraska and Washington in which I am requested to advise you of the probable time of my arrival in the latter place.

I am at this time unable to say when I can in justice to the public service leave, but will advise you as soon as I can do so. The delay in the reception of the annuity goods is going to operate more unfavorable than I anticipated. We have had heavy snows in the mountains already, and a large proportion of our goods are now, as near as I can learn at least 400 miles distant. One train is expected here in

243 Troops had been stationed in the Fort Bridger area since the fall of 1857, and a military reservation was created in 1859. Most of the troops were withdrawn in 1861, with the outbreak of the Civil War, but a sergeant's guard remained, and in December, 1862, the post was re-garrisoned by Connor. Fort Bridger was maintained as an army post till 1890.

244 I/1347-1865.

about five days, whether I will receive by it a sufficient assortment of goods so that I can proceed to distribute, I will not be able to determine until it arrives.

The North Western Sho-Shonees are now in the neighborhood of Box Elder waiting for their annuities and if the goods are not on this train, I do not see any other way for us to do than to get goods to supply deficiencies of the merchants here, to be paid for out of the goods to arrive. If I do not make some such arrangement I must either subsist these Indians, until the goods come which our limited resources will not warrant or send them away without them which they would regard as a violation of the treaty.

The Eastern Bands of ShosShonees have gone to their hunting grounds. I arranged with them satisfactorily. I gave them presents amounting to \$2487.- and then they proceeded to Fort Bridger where Agent Mann gave them what goods he had over from last year, and they were satisfied with the assurance that they would receive the balance of their annuities for the year, on their return next spring.

I am informed that the unforeseen delay in the arrival of the goods is occasioned by the difficulties on the plains that the train was attacked by hostile Indians and some of the stock run off, and one man killed.

Under ordinary circumstances the goods cannot be got here as early as the necessities of the service requires them, so long as the present plan of transportation is adhered to. In this connection I beg leave to refer you to my letter of the 30th of January 1865 and other communications referred to therein as well as to my annual report dated the 9th of September last. . . .

124

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO D. N. COOLEY,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
 WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 15, 1865²⁴⁵

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a Treaty made with the Eastern bands of Sho-Sho-ne Indians, in which they give their assent to the amendment proposed by the Senate on the 7th of March AD 1864, to the Treaty made and concluded at Ft Bridger Utah Territory on the 2^d day of July AD 1863, by and between the said Indians and the United States, represented by James Duane Doty and Luther Mann Jr. Commissioners. . . .

[*Endorsement:*] Enclosure sent to Secretary with report May 31, 1869.

245 I/1393-1865.

1866

125

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO D. N. COOLEY,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 2, 1866²⁴⁶

Sir

I would respectfully suggest that a large Medal [inserted with caret, apparently in another hand: of President Johnson] be given to Washakee the principle Chief of the Shosho-nees. There is no more deserving Chief Among all the Indians—

I have a safe opportunity of transmitting it to him by the hand of W A Carter Esq Special Mail Agent for Utah. . . .

126

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO D. N. COOLEY,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
NEBRASKA CITY, N. T., APRIL 3, 1866²⁴⁷

Sir.

I have the honor to herewith transmit the original Treaty, negotiated with the Eastern Band of the Shoshonee Indians which was recently found among the late Gov. Doty's papers and forwarded to me here. . . .²⁴⁸

[*Endorsement:*] Treaty and amendments sent J. Duane Doty Mar 18 1864

[*Endorsement:*] treaty sent to Secretary with report May 31, 1869

246 I/128–1866.

247 I/222–1866.

248 Governor Doty died in office in Great Salt Lake City June 13, 1865. As an exception among Territorial officials, he had been liked by the Mormon people, who would also have been gratified had Irish been appointed his successor. For the Indian Office memorandum filed with the present letter, see Document 90, note 189. (*Annals of Wyoming* 28, no. 2 (Oct. 1956): 205 [p. 303 in this volume].)

127

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, JUNE 9, 1866²⁴⁹

Dear Sir

. . . I have word this Morning that Washakee the Head Chief of the Eastern Band of Sho.Sho.nee Indians will be here this Week I Should be much pleased to receive your Contemplated Visit on his arival or the arival of the Goods designed for this agency I have nothing to feed them on their arival and Stay at this place. It would be very desirable that the Goods for this agency should reach here at the Earliest practicable opportunity as it will be imposible for them to subsist for any length of time in this locality. . . .

128

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TELEGRAM
DATED JUNE 14, 1866²⁵⁰

By Telegraph from Bridger

WashaKee the Head Chief of Eastern Bands Shoshonee Indians Arrived this morning²⁵¹

249 Utah Field Papers, 1866.

250 Utah Field Papers, 1866.

251 While at Fort Bridger on this visit, Washakie and other Shoshoni chiefs acknowledged certain issues made the tribe in 1865. See Document 119.

129

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TELEGRAM
DATED JUNE 18, 1866²⁵²

By Telegraph from Bridger

Washakee desires to know if the ute Indians are friendly—

130

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, JULY 26, 1866²⁵³

Sir

The Within Bill of Provisions was received by Mr James on his departure from this place you will please retain from any Money due him the amount and remit by letter \$14.50

The following amount was furnished James and the Indians with him on their arival here the day you left Bridger Sugar Tea Bread Beef Amounting to \$10.50 which was paid for by me if that amount Could be paid for by you it would releive me please write me on the Subject and greatly Oblige. . . .

131

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO D. N. COOLEY,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 13, 1866²⁵⁴

Sir-

Washakee, the chief of the Eastern Bands of Shoshonees, with some 300 of his men came in a few days since to make me a visit. He wears about his neck

252 Utah Field Papers, 1866.

253 Utah Field Papers, 1866.

254 H/340-1866. Printed in 39th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1248), 128.

the medal which you sent him by Judge Carter of Ft Bridger and with which he is exceedingly pleased—The enclosed photograph [not present] was taken at the time of his visit, and is a very good likeness. He is by far the noblest looking Indian I have ever seen, and his record is untarnished by a single mean action- In your last report you recommend that medals be given Washakee and Kanosh Chief of the PahVents who is equally deserving of such a testimonial, or present.²⁵⁵ I beg you will send me a medal to be presented to Kanosh. I shall visit his tribe in about six weeks if the new goods arrive when I expect them and would like to take it with me—It would be safely transmitted by mail. . . .

132

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER
AGENCY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1866²⁵⁶

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the affairs of this agency:

About the 20th of September, 1865, the season being far advanced and game scarce, the Shoshones immediately set out for their winter hunting grounds across the mountains, if possible to reach there before the snow fell.

The whole tribe accompanied Chief Washakee thither, with the exception of five or ten lodges, who passed the winter on Green river, about fifty miles from here, where they subsisted on the small game there to be found, and making no demands upon me for assistance. The main portion of the tribe proceeded to the valleys of the Pawpawgee [Popo Agie] and Wind rivers, where they spent the winter hunting the buffalo, deer, elk, and mountain sheep. They procured during the season upwards of one thousand buffalo robes and few dressed skins

255 In his annual report, Oct. 31, 1865, the Commissioner had remarked:

I recommend that medals and presents be given to Washakee, chief of the north-east Shoshonees, and to Konosh, chief of the Pah-Vants, as a special testimonial of appreciation by the department of their good conduct and good influence over their people. Washakee recently asked permission to take part in the campaign against the western Sioux, and this was granted, subject to the arrangements to be made with the military commander of the district of the Upper Platte. . . . (39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1248), 187.)

The medal was sent out to Washakie in March; see Document 125. A similar medal was sent to Kanosh on Sept. 1, 1866.

256 39th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1284), 126–27.

of other named animals, a much larger collection than during any previous year. They also secured a good supply of dried meat. Although the past was the severest winter on record for the past ten years, the Indians of my agency never fared better nor looked so fat and healthy as they did on their arrival here this summer, proving conclusively that they had fared sumptuously every day. Such well-fed Indians could not be otherwise than healthy, so that the mortality among them has fallen far below the average.

I did not have a favorable opportunity for taking the census of the tribe this year, but estimate the number of Shoshones at nineteen hundred. Aside from the natural increase by births, which has not fallen short of former years, there has been a considerable addition from neighboring tribes. About four hundred Bannocks, under a chief named Tahgay, (a very worthy Indian, and in whom I fully repose confidence,) who have been residing in the vicinity of Soda Springs and along the Snake river, passed over into the Wind River valley and located themselves adjacent to the Shoshones, with whom they are at peace. They also accompanied the Shoshones on their visit to this agency, and, from all that I can learn of them, I think they desire to be on the most friendly terms with the whites. I did not have any presents for them, and was informed that they had not received any from the Great Father in times past. The neglect, if any, must be owing to their being so far removed from any agency. I supplied them, however, with a few articles of food for their immediate wants out of my own pocket, and would recommend that such provision be made for them in future that they too may receive a share of the annuity goods with their neighbors, the Shoshones.

These Bannocks will undoubtedly return to this agency once or twice during the year.

The supply of presents for the Indians of this agency reached me in due time, was ample in quantity, and gave universal satisfaction.

Shortly before the distribution I had the pleasure of meeting, in company with Superintendent Head, Washakee and his chiefs in council, on which occasion the superintendent made them a speech, and the best of good feeling prevailed. Washakee has lately received, under the pledge of friendship from the President, a fine large silver medal, bearing the image and superscription of the Great Father.

There were present at the distribution about one hundred and fifty Utes from the Uintah agency, who came for the purpose of trading with their neighbors, the Shoshones.²⁵⁷ Some of my Indians were dilatory in coming in this season, but I did not distribute the goods until all, or nearly all, had arrived. The cause

257 Although there were intermittent periods of bad relations between Utes and Shoshoni, Utes had frequented the Fort Bridger area for purposes of trade from the time the fort was founded, in the early forties.

of this delay is the scarcity of game and the consequent difficulty in maintaining an independent sustenance at this post, for they have but little money to buy food with. I would here observe that the location of this agency is a bad one, and for this reason: the Indians are obliged to come a long way from their hunting grounds to receive their presents, and by the time they reach me their stock of provisions is well-nigh exhausted, and for them to maintain themselves in this vicinity without an abundance of game is an impossibility, and discourages some from coming at all. I would therefore recommend that a portion of their annuities be given them in money, to enable them to defray the expenses of subsistence during their visit at this agency.

In this connexion I would again recommend the plan of locating this tribe upon a permanent reservation and establishing thereon an agency, and make such other arrangements as I have heretofore suggested for improving their condition.

The valley of the Wind River mountains is the territory which the tribe have selected for their home, and this is the place where such a reservation should be set apart and an agency established.

The country abounds in game, has a very mild climate, and possesses agricultural advantages which make it a great desideratum to the white man. Numerous oil springs have been discovered and located in the valley of the Pawpawgee,²⁵⁸ but this tribe are strongly opposed to any invasion of their territory by the whites.

I greatly fear that these mineral and agricultural resources of the country will turn out to be a bone of contention between the whites and the reds, and would therefore urge that the tribe have a reservation staked out which may be held sacred to them, and not be encroached upon by the whites.

Several of our citizens are looking toward the Wind River country with a view to its development, and I give you a few extracts from a letter written by one who passed the winter and a part of the spring in the valley. He says: "The air is pure, the water of the best, the climate mild and regular. The soil is not second in fertility to that of Illinois or Iowas, farming land enough to support a population of two hundred thousand persons, the climate well adapted to the growth of small grain and fruit, especially apples and vegetables. There is plenty of timber for building and fencing purposes. The scenery is most beautiful and picturesque. There are two oil springs in the valley, one of which pours forth one hundred barrels per day. There are good indications of stone-coal and iron, with numerous quarries of limestone suitable for building purposes. The foot-hills and valleys are covered,

258 These springs had been known since the earliest days of the mountain men, recorded on maps by Jedediah Smith, Captain Bonneville, and others, and their value has been realized in the Lander oil field.

winter and summer, with a luxuriant growth of nutritious grass, making the finest grazing region west of the Missouri. The mountains give indications of mineral deposits. But little snow fell, and what did fall soon disappeared. Stock can be wintered without any feeding. Buffalo, and other game, abounds," &c., &c.

As long as our Indian tribes are permitted an existence in the land, I contend that they should have a territory assigned them where they can procure a living, instead of being driven away to the poorest tracts of country, where a white man, with all of his superior knowledge, would fail to make a living. Washakee and his tribe deserve a permanent and exclusive reservation in the valley of the Wind river, and I pray you to let them have it at once. The subject demands serious attention, and I hope it will receive a proper consideration. The Indian must be reclaimed from his wild ways, or he will continue to be an expense to the country so long as he lives; and no plan of rendering him a self-supporting and law-abiding citizen is so effectual as that one which civilizes, educates, and christianizes him, and this work cannot be done save on a reservation.

The Shoshones have not been engaged in any warfare, offensive or defensive, during the past year with neighboring tribes, have been at peace among themselves, and I am proud to say, continue faithful their treaty stipulations. . . .

133

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO D. N. COOLEY,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY,
SEPTEMBER 20, 1866 (EXTRACT)²⁵⁹

Sir: I have the honor to submit my annual report of the general condition of Indian affairs within the Utah superintendency for that portion of the year past during which I have been acting as superintendent. The Indian tribes within this superintendency are:

1. The eastern bands of Shoshones and the mixed bands of Bannocks and Shoshones. These bands all recognize Washakee as chief. They number about four thousand five hundred souls.
2. The northwestern bands of Shoshones. These Indians number about eighteen hundred. Pokatello, Black Beard, and San Pitz are the principal chiefs.
3. The western Shoshones. These Indians number about two thousand.

259 39th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1284), 122–26.

4. The Goships or Gosha-Utes. These Indians number about one thousand.
5. The Weber-Utes or Cum-umbahs. These Indians number about six hundred.
6. The Utahs. These Indians are now principally consolidated into two bands, one under the control of Tabby, who has succeeded to the chieftainship made virtually vacant by the old age and infirmity of Sow-i-et. This band is composed of the Tim-pa-nogs, the Uintas, and the San-pitches, and numbers about four thousand. The other Utahs are known as Pah-Vants, and are controlled by Ranosh [Kanosh], and number about fifteen hundred.
7. The Pah-Edes. These Indians number about six hundred. Their principal chief is Tut-sey-gub-bets.
8. The Pah-Utes. These Indians number about sixteen hundred.

THE EASTERN BANDS OF SHOSHONES.

These Indians are under the special supervision of Agent Luther Mann, whose annual report [Document 132] is herewith transmitted. They are the most wealthy of any Indians in the Territory, owing to their hunting grounds embracing much territory still frequented by the buffalo. The robes taken by them on their hunting excursions form an article of traffic of considerable importance, and enable them by the sale of their surplus skins to purchase ponies, ammunition, &c. During the year these Indians have been entirely friendly. Washakee, their chief, is the noblest Indian, both in act and appearance, that I have ever known. When young he spent much of his time for many years in company with the famous Kit Carson, then an adventurous trapper among the Rocky mountains. Carson and his companions had frequent skirmishes with hostile savages, and the familiarity which Washakee thus acquired with the arts of civilized warfare enabled him to rise to the chieftainship of his tribe.²⁶⁰ It is his boast that he has never shed the blood or stolen the property of a white man. The propriety of soon locating these Indians upon a suitable reservation is discussed at large in the report of Agent Mann, and his views are such as meet my entire approbation. The Wind River valley, which is the favorite hunting ground for these Indians, will be the most suitable locality, unless it shall be found to be rich in mines of gold and silver and springs of petroleum. Should this be the case, it would not perhaps be the policy of the government to prevent the development of its mineral resources by setting it apart as a reservation. Its location,

260 It is difficult to judge the correctness of these comments. Although Head may have been reporting something said to him by Washakie, Carson's fame had been spread abroad by Fremont as early as 1845, and he had recently been much praised for his campaign against the Navajos in the Canon de Chelly, in January, 1864. Head may thus have been disposed to play up an acquaintance between Carson and Washakie, though Carson did not enter the Shoshoni country until the fall of 1831, and it was some time after this that he attained prominence among the mountain men.

too, is a considerable distance from the usual lines of travel, and would render the transportation of supplies, present, &c., somewhat inconvenient and expensive. The miners are, however, already prospecting this valley, and the results of their researches will soon be known. The rapid development of the surrounding territory will soon render the isolation of the valley less complete, and should it not be valuable for mining an exploration of the same should be made, and the Shoshones permanently located thereon. These Indians receive an annuity of \$10,000, according to the provisions of the treaty of July 2, 1863. This amount is usually sent in goods, and is ample to comfortably clothe the Indians in connexion with the proceeds of the sales of their surplus robes and furs.

NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONES.

These Indians are very poor, their country affording but little game. They are peaceably disposed, and will probably become merged in the eastern bands within a few years, should Washakee live and retain his popularity and influence. A considerable number of these Indians, including the two chiefs Pokatello and Black Beard, have this season accompanied Washakee to the Wind River valley on his annual buffalo hunt. These Indians receive an annuity of \$5,000 in goods by the provisions of the treaty of July 30, 1863. This is sufficient to clothe them comfortably, but it is necessary to furnish them, during the winter season especially, a considerable amount of provisions to keep them from starving. Neither these Indians nor the eastern bands have as yet displayed any inclination to agriculture, or an abandonment of their nomadic life.

* * *

EDUCATION AND WEALTH.

There are no schools of any kind yet established among the Indians in Utah. The wealth of the Indians consists almost entirely in horses, of which some bands have a considerable number. No accurate report can be made in respect to the number owned by the different bands, but from the best information I can obtain I should place it as follows:

Eastern bands of Shoshones	500
Northwestern bands of Shoshones	100
Weber-Utes	50
Goships	20
Utahs	400
Total number of horses	<u>1,070</u>

The horses are all of the breed usually known as Mustangs, being very small, but capable of great endurance. Their average value would be probably about \$30, making the wealth of the tribe in the Territory \$32,100.

1867

134

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD,
 SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TELEGRAM
 DATED JULY 1, 1867²⁶¹

By Telegraph from Bridger

Anteroes band of Utes are at this agency is there an order not to sell them amunition. please inform me in regard to this matter. . . .

135

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD,
 SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
 BRIDGER AGENCY, JULY 8, 1867²⁶²

Sir

I have the honor to make the following reporte relative to the population individual Wealth and Value of the Furs and Skins Sold by the Indians under my immediate controll.

From the best information in my possession I would place the number of Souls in this agency at two thousand The relative number of Either Sex I am unable with any degree of certainty to give but can Safely Say that the Females very largely predominate

The number of Horses (For in them constitute their Entire wealth) I would place the number at Six hundred and Seventy five and would fix their Value at Thirty dollars pr head Making a total of Twenty thousand and two hundred and fifty dollars.

The value of the Furs and Skins Sold by them during the year would probably reach the Sum of Ten thousand dollars

The above Estimates are made from the most reliable information that could be obtained

261 Utah Field Papers, 1867.

262 Utah Field Papers, 1867.

This report may not be in form yet I hope it gives the desired information upon the Subjects named in your letter of May 29th 1867. . . .

136

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER
AGENCY, JULY 15, 1867²⁶³

Sir

Your communication of June 3^d in regard to the Mixed Bands of Indians who range about the head waters of the Yellow Stone Galiton [i.e., Gallatin] Madison Snake and Green Rivers around Bannack and Boise frequently in the Territory of Utah was duly received. According to your request I have had conversations with Washakee and other head men of the Eastern Bands of Shoshones also with Tahgee the Chief of the Bannacks and find that there does exist a very large Band of Bannacks numbering more than One Hundred Lodges. I also find a few Lodges of Shoshones with them There also exists another Band of Tookooreka or Sheap Eaters a branch of the Shoshonees who live almost Entirely in the Mountains very Seldom visit the white Settlements the last named Band Speak the Shoshonee dialect the former have a dialect of their own. All of these Indians are very poor and require the fostering hand of the Government. They are very friendly and desire to cultivate the most friendly relations with all of whom they meet. Large numbers of Bannacks visit this agency every year more than fifty of their lodges wer present at the distribution to the Eastern Bands of Shoshones of their annuities this year I made a request of Washakee for them to Share in the distribution of their goods this year but he peremptorily refused I also held a long conversation with the Chief Tahgee he informed me that his Indians feel very much hurt to think that the Great Father had not made them presents. Knowing as they did that all the Indians with whom they wer Surrounded wer receiving goods every year they claim that They are good Indians and that the Government ought to in view of the fact that their country has been Settled with the whites give them a fair compensation for their loss. The Settlement of Boise Beaver Head Bannack and Viriginia City have driven them to Seek for other Hunting grounds and they are compelled to travel long distances and that too in an enemys Country where they are liable to loose their

263 Transmitted in Head to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 3, 1867, H/325-1867, having inadvertently been omitted from Head's letter of July 25, Document 137, printed in 40th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1326), pt. 2, 189.

Horses the only wealth they possess, they informed me that they lost Sixty head last winter I would most earnestly recommend that Some provisions be made for them in the future. . . .

137

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR,*
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, JULY 25, 1867²⁶⁴

Sir

On the 17th of October last I received from the Comm^r a communication bearing date Sep. 24— enclosing copy of letter from N. P. Hill, to the acting Governor of Montana, relative to certain bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, and instructing to direct Agent Mann to procure through Washakee, all accessible information regarding such Indians—

At the time of the reception of such instructions Washakee and all his principal men had started on their annual Buffalo hunt, and could not readily be reached. At once on their return, about two months since, I transmitted to Agent Mann copies of the correspondence above referred to, and have just received his report, which is herewith transmitted [Document 136]. Washakee and several hundred of his principal men visited me a few days since, and I had a conversation with them relative to the same subject, from which I am satisfied that the Indians in question are the same band, usually known as the “mixed” or “broken bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees.” with whom the late Gov. Doty made a Treaty at Soda Springs. Oct. 14 1863. From the best information I can get, I judge their number to be about 2500, of whom about 1500 are Shoshonees, but the balance Bannacks. they live, wander about together and intermarry.

The treaty made as above seems scarcely reconcilable with justice to the Shoshonees—Treaties were made July 2^d and July 30th 1863, with the Eastern and North Western bands of Shoshonees, providing for annuities of \$10,000 and \$5000 respectively. By the Treaty of Oct 14, 1863, at Soda Springs it is provided that the mixed bands shall share in the annuities of the Shoshonees, which in

* [William E. Unrau, “Nathaniel Green Taylor, 1867–69,” *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 115–22.]

264 H/324–1867. Printed in 40th Congr., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1326), pt. 2, 188.

effect is a reduction of the Shoshonee annuities below the amount agreed to be paid them, without their consent.²⁶⁵

The mixed bands have faithfully observed their treaty, and I invited last Fall a portion of their number to be present and participate in the annuities of the N. W. Shoshonees—I have also during the past Quarter made them presents of goods and provisions to the value of about \$2000. I suggested to Agent Mann to let a portion of the tribe who were with Washakee participate in the E. Shoshonee annuities, but from the report enclosed, Washakee evidently and sensibly objected to such arrangement—

In my estimate for the coming year I shall include an item of \$5000, as being justly due the mixed Bands under treaty stipulations, and trust such suggestion may be favorably considered by yourself and by Congress.

These Indians, to the number of nearly 2500, have been for the past 3 or 4 months in N. Eastern Utah, scattered along the Bear river and through Cache and Bear Lake Valleys—They spent about seven or eight months in each year within this Superintendency, and the balance of their time in Southern Idaho, where game is more abundant during the winter months. . . .

138

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER AGENCY,
UTAH TERRITORY, JULY 29, 1867²⁶⁶

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the condition of the eastern band of the Shoshones, for the year ending June 30, 1867:

Immediately after the distribution of their annuity goods last year, they left this agency for their hunting grounds in the Popeaugie and Wind river valleys, the only portion of the country claimed by them where they can obtain buffalo.

While there they live well, and are generally healthy.

From the buffalo robes and other skins and furs obtained by them during the past hunting season, I estimate, from the best knowledge I can gain, they

265 This treaty of Oct. 14, 1863, in any event was never ratified. [See new note to Document 101. Annuities were a bone of contention for the public, which generally viewed payments as straightforward handouts. Cf. "The Indian War," *New York Herald*, July 7, 1867 p. 3, cols. 5–6, quoting an Atchison, Kansas correspondent of a Chicago journal under date of June 26. —Ed.]

266 40th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1326), pt. 2, 182–84.

have realized some \$10,000, and their present comfort has been greatly increased by the addition of a large amount of skins and furs, used for their lodges and clothing.

Early last spring the near approach of hostile Sioux and Cheyennes compelled them to leave before they could prepare their usual supply of dried meat for summer use, and upon their arrival at the agency they were almost destitute of provisions.

I at once commenced issuing to them the flour and beef procured from you by the exchange of goods, and they were so well pleased with the exchange thus made, I would recommend that \$2,000 of their annuity be, in the future, paid in money, to be used in the purchase of beef, cattle, and flour, to feed them during their stay at the agency.

These Indians have faithfully observed the stipulations of the treaty made with them in 1863, and since my last annual report there has been no departure from a uniform line of good conduct.

On the 8th of June, I assembled all of the tribe within reach, and made the annual distribution of goods, which was perfectly satisfactory to them, and they have since gone to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, as is usual with them, preparatory to their return to their hunting grounds in the autumn.

I would call you attention to the fact that the goods distributed this summer were those which arrived last year after the departure of the Indians from the agency, and the goods intended for the distribution of 1867 it is probable will not reach here until too late to be given out before the summer of 1868.

Their sanitary condition remains good, and there has been but little change in their numbers, either from mortality or accessions from other bands.

From careful inquiry among them, I estimate the present number of Washakees tribe at about 2,000 souls, being an increase of 100 since my last report.

In former reports I have recommended the setting apart of a reservation for the Shoshones in the valley of Wind river. For various reasons I would still urge the propriety of doing so.

The abundance of nutritious grasses, in connection with the mild winters, would enable them to subsist their stock during the entire year, and situated in the best game region of the mountains, they could furnish themselves with an ample supply of meat.

Their occupancy of the valley, with suitable protection from the government, would prevent the raiding war parties of Sioux from interfering with the development of the mines just discovered and being opened in the vicinity of South Pass, where, within a few days, a large party of miners were driven away by a small band of hostile Indians, after three or more of their number had been inhumanly murdered.

The entire range of country west from the South Pass to the Mormon settlements on Weber river is almost destitute of game, and while these friendly Indians are obliged, during the summer months, to subsist on the small game of this vast area of sage brush, the powerful and hostile Sioux are roaming unmolested over the beautiful valleys east and north of the Wind river chain of mountains, with grass and game at their disposal, which enables them to murder and rob with impunity the soldiers near their garrison, the almost defenceless emigrant crossing the plains in search of a new home, and the hardy miners who are toiling to develop the mineral resources which constitute the base of our national wealth.

I would again call your attention to the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshones that range in the northern part of Utah and the southern portion of Montana, to whom I have heretofore referred.

Although holding themselves entirely aloof from the eastern bands of Shoshones in regard to their tribal arrangements, they do, for the purpose of protection, accompany each other to their hunting grounds east of the Rocky range, and the most friendly feeling still exists between them.

It affords me pleasure to say that these Indians have abstained from any act of hostility towards the whites since my last report. They accompanied Washakee on his recent visit to the agency, and were present at the distribution of goods to him.

In view of their friendly relations and their great destitution, I would recommend that an appropriation of \$8,000 in goods and \$2,000 in money be made annually to supply their wants while they continue friendly.

Should the appropriation be made, and the department deem it advisable, they could be placed under the protection of this agency.

I strongly recommend that some provision be made for the erection of an agency building at this agency, as soon as practicable, and trust that its importance will be sufficient excuse for urging it upon the attention of the department.

For agency purposes I am now using one of the buildings erected by the military department. It is in a very bad condition and utterly unfit for the protection of the annuity goods, which I am compelled to retain for more than six months after their arrival. . . .

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
 SALT LAKE CITY, JULY 30, 1867²⁶⁷

Sir: I observed among the telegrams published in our papers here, an exceedingly meagre synopsis of your report, made during the recent special session of Congress, relative to the causes of the present Indian war.²⁶⁸ Washakee and the other principal chiefs of the Eastern Shoshones visited me a few days since, and I had a conversation with them relative to the same subject. I write you regarding this, thinking the views of Washakee, who is undoubtedly the most sagacious, honorable, and intelligent Indian among the uncivilized tribe, might be of interest to you, especially as they would seem to corroborate your own, in every particular. Washakee said that the country east from the Wind river mountains, to

267 40th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 2 (Serial 1326), 186–88.

268 The report mentioned is *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Communicating, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of March 29, 1867, Information in Relation to the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 40th Cong., special sess., Senate Executive Document 4 (Serial 1308), 50 pp. The Commissioner's report therein, dated April 12, 1867, was not particularly concerned with "The causes of the present Indian war," but on p. 12 did comment, in respect of the nine bands of Sioux in Dakota Territory who were parties to a treaty of 1865, that unsatisfactory relations had existed since the Minnesota outbreak of 1862, one of the causes being "the rush of emigrant travel across their country, driving away the game." The Commissioner seems more particularly to have had in mind conditions in what is now North and South Dakota.

Some remarks in this particular report may be noted here from the discussion of the Utah Superintendency:

Fort Bridger agency. — The Indians under the general charge of this agency are the eastern bands of Shoshones and Bonnacks, of which Washakee is chief. These bands, with others of the same people, having their range of country along the great emigrant and stage routes to California, Idaho, and Oregon, it was deemed advisable that some arrangements should be made to prevent obstructions to travel, and accordingly Governor Doty, of Utah, in 1863, met their chiefs at various points and concluded separate treaties of friendships with them, under which the government undertook to pay them annuities of from \$1,000 to \$10,000 for each band, as some compensation for the inevitable destruction of game by whites, they undertaking to keep the peace. The Senate amended all of these treaties by inserting a certain proviso in each, which made it necessary to submit them again to the Indians. A part of them reached the Indians, and the amendments being assented to, the treaties were published, but some of them, Governor Doty having meanwhile died, failed to reach them. The appropriations have, however, been made under all. Washakee's band is one of those which has not yet had the amendment submitted to them. He and his people have

the settled portion of eastern Nebraska and Kansas, had always been claimed by four principal Indian tribes—the Sioux, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Crows. That it was a country abounding in game, thus furnishing to the Indians an abundance of food as well as large quantities of surplus robes, skins a[n]d furs, by the sale of which they were made comparatively wealthy. That all the tribes inhabiting that region were contented and entertained towards the whites the most friendly feeling until the opening of what is usually known as the Powder river route to Montana, a road leaving the old express route near Fort Laramie and passing by a circuitous course to Virginia City.²⁶⁹ That all the Indians objected strongly to the opening of this road, knowing by experience that the game would, in consequence, soon disappear, but did not commence hostilities at once, since they were informed by the whites that there was no other way for them to go to the gold mines of Montana. That they soon found this was not true; that but few people passed over the road, but that forts were built, soldiers sent out to protect the road, and trains were often passing, but only to carry supplies to the troops.²⁷⁰ That the soldiers, too, gave the Indians whiskey, seduced from them numbers of their squaws, and otherwise maltreated them. And after mature deliberation the Indians were satisfied that the road was only made to afford employment to the soldiers and to destroy their game; that they must starve after a few years with the disappearance of their game, and that it was as well to die fighting as by starvation. They had accordingly all taken up arms, resolved to drive out the whites from their country or perish in the endeavor. I asked Washakee if the

faithfully kept their treaties, and indeed the same may be aid of all the other bands treated with in 1863. The ranges of country claimed by these bands are noted at the end of table C. They are thoroughly wild Indians, living by the hunt, and have, and at present need, no reservations. Luther Mann, jr., appointed July 31, 1861, is the special agent, and has given full satisfaction. . . . Mr. F. H. Head, appointed March 23, 1866, is the superintendent, and is a careful, energetic, and prompt officer. . . . (p. 9)

In Table C (p. 35) the “Range of country” of the Eastern bands of Shoshones and Bannocks is described as “Commencing at Bridger’s Pass; thence north to Independence Rock; thence up the line of the Rocky mountains to about 112° west longitude; thence southwest to Salmon Falls on Snake river; thence up that stream to Fall creek; thence southeast to Utah lake; thence east to headwaters of North Platte, in North Park; thence down that stream to place of beginning.”

- 269 This road, pioneered by John Bozeman in 1863–1864, is now better known as the Bozeman Trail; it struck out for Montana from the northernmost bend of the North Platte, the site of Fort Fetterman, near Douglas, Wyoming. Keeping east of the Big Horn Mountains, the road did not penetrate Shoshoni country as did the Bridger Trail, over which Jim Bridger guided immigrants to Montana in 1864; it passed through the heart of the Sioux domain, and was at once beset by those Indians.
- 270 The forts built to garrison the Bozeman Trail were Reno, Phil. Kearney, and C. F. Smith, all constructed in the summer of 1866. After two bloody years, they were abandoned, and the Bozeman Trail was not reopened until after the Custer Massacre of 1876.

white traders had, by their conduct, in any way aided in the present state of affairs. He replied that they had not; that the regular traders, licensed by the government, were nearly always good men, since they were under the control of the Great Father, but that there were great numbers of white men, thieves and murderers, who were outlaws because of their crimes, who had taken up their residences among the Indians, and were always inciting them to outrages; often leading in their stealing raids.

The views of Washakee, although somewhat crude as to the reason for keeping open the road, are in most respects entirely correct, and are the views of all disinterested men familiar with the subject.²⁷¹ What is known as the Powder river road is one of the most complete and expensive humbugs of the day.

Attention was first called to this road and its opening, secured by certain speculators, owning or expecting to own certain lucrative toll-bridges, roads and ferries thereon. It was claimed to be many hundreds of miles shorter than the road via Fort Bridger. I have however myself conversed with the numbers of freighters who have passed over the road, and without an exception they have stated that they would never go by that route again; that although on a map it would appear shorter than the route via this city, yet that, by reason of the numerous *detours*, they believed it actually longer, and that it was a worse road in every respect, especially as it regards wood, water, grass, and streams difficult to cross.

These reasons would of themselves have been sufficient to cause an abandonment of the route, but it was at this time found that the Missouri river, contrary to ancient theories, was navigable for light-draught steamboats. For the last two years all freight for Montana from the States has gone by the Missouri river. Had the Powder river road, therefore, been all that was at first claimed for it, it would have been abandoned by freighters, since freight could be taken by steamboat to Montana, profitably, at six to eight cents per pound, while land

271 In the Annual Report on Indian Affairs, Nov. 15, 1867, Acting Commissioner Charles E. Mix commented:

Noted among the Indians of this (Utah) Territory is "Waskakee", chief of the eastern Shoshones, always friendly, and deserving the praise awarded by all who know his virtues and noble characteristics. I refer to his sensible views as to the probable cause of the hostile views and demonstrations by the Sioux and other Indians on the upper Platte, embodied in a letter from Superintendent Head, which will be found among the documents accompanying this report. His people numbering about 2,000, usually spend the winter in Wind River valley, Dakota, which abounds in game, and affords them mainly their supplies for subsistence. They want that valley for a reservation, and if it be practicable I shall favor granting it to them. . . . (40th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 2 [Serial 1326], 11.)

It requires to be born in mind that at this period a bitter struggle was going on between the War and Interior departments as to whether the Office of Indian Affairs should remain under civilian control or be handed over to the military.

transportation would cost about three times such rates. In view of above facts it has at all times seemed to me most singular that the government should persist in keeping troops along a road abandoned by all freighters and emigrants, when the result of such a course, unless the Indians were induced to cede the right of way, could not fail to be an Indian war. I think it would be within bounds to say that every pound of freight taken over the Powder river road for the past two years has cost the government already at least \$1,000, and the expense would seem to be but commenced.

Many of the Indians within the superintendency, in the hunting expeditions, meet and converse with the hostile Indians. From their statements I feel entirely certain that if the troops were withdrawn from the Indian country, and a treaty made with the hostile Indians guaranteeing them the occupation of the territory cut by the Powder river road, for a certain term of years, peace could be at once restored and kept. It has been the correct theory of our government that since the Indians do not make the highest use of the soil, we may take it from them after reasonable compensation, as fast as the same is needed for settlement. There is not, however, in all the vast region cut by the Powder river road, and now occupied by troops, a single settler or white person, other than the hangers-on of the army. No person, save the pure-minded, patriotic army contractors, would be injured by such abandonment. The many expenses for a single week would be sufficient to perpetually tranquilize the hostile tribes. At the expiration of 10 or 15 years, were it deemed advisable to open the country for settlement, arrangements could be made with the Indians accordingly, either by setting apart certain portions as reservations, or by removing them to some suitable portion of our territory between Montana and Alaska. . . .²⁷²

140

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER,
UTAH TERRITORY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1867²⁷³

Sir

I have the honor to transmit herewith Triplicate Receipts for Seven Hundred ten dollars and Seventy five Cents Absence from Bridger looking after the Indians under my charge is my excuse for the delay in not sending them Earlier.

272 An extraordinary remark; how would Head have defined "our territory" between Montana and Alaska?

273 Utah Field Papers, 1867.

The Snake and Bannack Indians wer on their way to their hunting grounds in the vicinity of the late discovery of the Gold Mines²⁷⁴ and Knowing the big Scare of the Minors in regard to Indians I thought it advisable to accompany the Indians to and through the Camp in order to avert any collision between them I accomplished the object of my mission and am Satisfied that the Minors wer well pleased with the visit by the Indians. . . .

1868

141

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR,
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
 DATED FEBRUARY 12, 1868²⁷⁵

Sir.

On the 2^d day of July, 1863 the late Gov. Doty, pursuant to instructions from the Indian Bureau, concluded a treaty with the Eastern bands of Shoshonees, providing that they should receive an annuity of \$10,000. On the 30th of the same month, he concluded a treaty with the North Western Bands of Shoshonees, providing that they should receive an annuity of \$5000. and on the 1st. day of October 1863, a treaty with the Western bands, providing for the payment of the same annuity-

Shortly after these treaties were concluded, he made a fourth treaty with a tribe known as the "mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees," by the terms of which, it was provided simply that they should share in the annuities of the Shoshonees—

It seems impossible to reconcile the provisions of the treaty last referred to, with good faith on the part of the Government toward the Shoshonees- It is simply diverting from them a portion of their annuities, without their consent.

In view of this fact, in my estimate for the coming year, I inserted an item of \$5000. to carry out the treaty with the mixed bands, as being fairly due to them under the treaty- Observing that this item is not in the printed book of estimates,

274 The so-called Sweetwater Mines at the south end of the Wind River Mountains, the northern shoulder of South Pass. Intermittent prospecting in this area had been prosecuted all through the sixties; interesting finds were made in 1864, and a mining district came into being in 1865. It was not until the fall of 1867, however, that South Pass City assumed its identity.

275 H/516-1868. This letter, like Document 142, was written on a letterhead of the House of Representatives, Fortieth Congress, U. S., Washington, D. C., which indicates that Head was then in Washington and had political entree.

emanating from the Treasury Department, I beg to again call your attention to this subject—

It would seem to me but Just, that an appropriation be recommended for the \$5000 above referred to, as well as a reasonable amount, on account of what should Justly have been given them during the past four years—

The mixed bands number about 2500, & have observed their treaty stipulations with entire fidelity. . . .

[*Endorsement:*] The recommendation within is just if practicable. The mixed band ought to stand upon an equal footing with the other bands—and inasmuch as we have no right to divide the money of the Shoshonees with others without their consent—a fair interpretation of the treaty would be that they are due a pro rata sum equal with that paid to the Shoshonees.

This matter ought to be brought especially to the attention of the Secretary & Congress and an appropriation made—

Taylor
Comm^r

142

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
DATED FEBRUARY 15, 1868²⁷⁶

Sir -

The treaty, made in 1863, with the mixed bands of Bannacks & Shoshonees, & to which reference was made in mine of the 13th [12th] inst. was ratified by the Senate upon condition that a section be added, defining the character of the Indian title to the land, recognized by the Government.

This rendered it necessary to submit the treaty to the tribe for their acquiescence to the added section, which has never been done -

I shall meet this tribe probably early in June next, & can then submit to them the treaty for their signatures.

I would respectfully suggest—that the treaty, before being again submitted to the tribe, be modified by inserting a provision, providing for the payment of an annuity of \$5000. instead of the indeterminate amount, named in the present treaty—

Should this suggestion meet with your approval, will you please instruct me accordingly? . . .

276 H/520-1868. See preceding note.

143

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR,
 PRESIDENT, INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION, DATED
 SALT LAKE CITY, APRIL 14, 1868²⁷⁷

Sir: I am Just in receipt of a letter from Mr. [A. S. H.] White, Secretary of the Peace Commission,²⁷⁸ transmitting your kind invitation to meet you at Ft. Bridger in June next, at the councils to be held with the Bannacks and Shoshonees— Have any steps been taken to assemble the tribes at Ft. Bridger in June? They are, during the summer, scattered over a great extent of country, fishing & hunting, and at least a month's time would be required to get them together in any considerable numbers.

²⁷⁷ H/595-1868.

²⁷⁸ The Indian Peace Commission was appointed in conformance with the Act of Congress, July 20, 1867, "to establish peace with certain hostile Indian tribes," the Commissioners being N. G. Taylor, President, J. B. Henderson, Lieut. Gen. W. T. Sherman, [Brevet] Maj. Gen. William S. Harney, John B. Sanborn, Bvt. Maj. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, S. F. Tappan, and Bvt. Maj. Gen. C. C. Augur. The Commission organized at St. Louis on Aug. 6, 1867, and until the close of the year treated with tribes on the Missouri and the Arkansas, and up the Platte as far as Fort Laramie. The Oglalla chief Red Cloud, who had been on the war trail since July, 1866, declined to come in, but sent a message "that his war against the whites was to save the valley of the Powder river, the only hunting ground left to his nation," and gave assurance "that whenever the military garrisons at Fort Phil. Kearney and Fort C. F. Smith were withdrawn, the war on his part would cease." Before adjourning, the commissioners sent word to Red Cloud that they wished to council with him the following year. In the Commission's report of Jan 7, 1868, the final recommendation was as follows:

A new commission should be appointed, or the present one be authorized to meet the Sioux next spring, according to our agreement, and also to arrange with the Navajoes for their removal. It might be well, also in case our suggestions are adopted in regard to selecting Indian territories, to extend the powers of the commission, so as to enable us to conclude treaties or agreements with tribes confessedly at peace, looking to their concentration upon the reservations indicated.

In the course of a short time the Union Pacific railroad will have reached the country claimed by the Snakes, Bannocks, and other tribes, and in order to preserve peace with them the commission should be required to see them and make with them satisfactory arrangements. (40th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1, Serial 1366, 509.)

A further factor, exhibiting the economic facts of life, may have been the land grants to the builders of the Pacific Railroad; technically, the Government had to extinguish the Indian title before it could give the railroad a valid title to the lands being granted. This consideration probably outweighed all of Agent Mann's recommendations on the basis of simple abstract justice to the Shoshoni.

I would respectfully suggest, that as soon as you are able to designate a certain day for the conference, you should notify me, & I will get the Indians together at the time, and will also, should you desire it, have at Ft. Bridger, some beef and flour, to distribute among them. . . .

[*Endorsement:*] See tel^g to Supt Head and Genl Sanborn, April 29, 1868

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LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER AGENCY, MAY 12, 1868²⁷⁹

Sir

Your letter of the 30 April this Moment received by Coach from the East and hasten to reply I will not distribute goods untill after Meeting of Peace Commission I am collecting the Indians as rapidly as possible and hope to have a large portion of them if not all by the time the Commission arive the fourth of June there are at present here 96 Lodges of Shoshonees and forty nine Lodges of Bannacks Washakee is not here I am Expecting him Soon I am feeding the Indians with Beef and flour in Small quantities in order to keep them here I have already given them One hundred Sacks Flour and a thousand pounds Beef which is a very Scarse article here I will try and Keep all of the Indians here that come the Flour you speak of would be very acceptable I understand that arrangements have been Made by the Indian Bureau with Judge Carter for feeding Indians what those arangements are I do not know I will send copies of Telegrams from Genl Sanborn

From Genl Sanborn April 20

Do you desire the assistance of Mr [James] Bridger If so we will Send him at once to you²⁸⁰ We will meet the Indians at Bridger on the fourth of June

My reply April 21

Will not require the assistance of Mr Bridger It will be necessary to feed the Indians to Keep them at the agency what Shall I do

279 Utah Field Papers, 1868.

280 Bridger had spent part of the winter at Westport, but was on hand for the councils with the Sioux which culminated in the treaty at Fort Laramie on April 29, 1868. On May 15 he was placed on the Army payroll as a guide, and during the summer served with Lieut. P. F. Barnard of the Fourth Infantry in removing property from the forts which were being abandoned along the Bozeman Trail. See J. Cecil Alter, *James Bridger: Trapper, Frontiersman, Scout, and Guide*, rev. ed. (Columbus, Ohio: Long's College Book Co., 1951; Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 469, 591-92.

From Genl Sanborn April 29th

Arrangements are made by Indian Bureau with Judge Carter for feeding Indians at Bridger & they may be collected at once

I had however commenced feeding them Soon after the 20th of April I have been using the Shoshonee Flour for that purpose Judge Carter expects three hundred Sacks here in a few days and I will replace it I shall be pleased to see you at Bridger with the Commission. . . .

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ARTICLES OF A TREATY WITH THE SHOSHONEE (EASTERN BAND) AND BANNACK TRIBES OF INDIANS, FORT BRIDGER, UTAH TERRITORY, JULY 3, 1868²⁸¹

Articles of a Treaty, made and concluded at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, on the third day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty eight by and between the undersigned Commissioners on the part of the United States and the undersigned Chiefs and headmen of and representing the Shoshonee (Eastern Band) and Bannack tribes of Indians they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

Article 1. From this day forward, peace between the parties to this Treaty shall forever continue. The Government of the United States desires peace and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace and they hereby pledge their honor to maintain it.

If bad men among the whites or among other people subject to the authority of the United States shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians the United States will upon proof made to the Agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States and also reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of anyone, white black or Indian subject to the authority of the United States and a peace therewith, the Indians herein named, solemnly agree, that they will on proof made to their Agent, and notice by him deliver up the wrong doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to

281 The manuscript copy of the treaty here printed is one found in the Ratified Treaties File No. 373. This was one of the last treaties negotiated by the United States with an Indian tribe, for after 1868 all reservations were created by Executive Order. The treaty was ratified by Congress Feb. 26, 1869. [Cf. Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2: 1020-24.]

its laws, and in case they wilfully refuse so to do the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss, from the annuities or other monies due or to become due to them under this or other Treaties made with the United States. And the President on advising with the Commissioner on Indian Affairs shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no such damages shall be adjusted and paid, until thoroughly examined and passed upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and no one sustaining sustaining [*sic*] loss, while violating, or because of his violating the provisions of this Treaty, or the laws of the United States, shall be reimbursed therefor.

Article II. It is agreed that whenever the Bannacks desire a reservation to be set apart for their use, or whenever the President of the United States shall deem it advisable for them to be put upon a reservation he shall cause a suitable one to be selected for them in their present Country which shall embrace reasonable portions of the “Port Neuf” and Kansas [Kamas] prairie” countries and that when this reservation is declared the United States will secure to the Bannacks the same rights and privileges herein and make the same and like expenditures wherein for their benefit except the Agency House and residences of Agents in proportion to their numbers as herein provided for the Shoshonee reservation.

The United States further agree that the following district of country, to wit. Commencing at the mouth of Owl Creek and running due South to the crest of the divide between the Sweetwater and Popo Agi rivers—thence along the crest of said divide and the summit of Wind River Mountains to the longitude of North Fork of Wind River—thence due north to mouth of said North Fork and up its channel to a point twenty miles above it mouth—thence in a straight line to head waters of Owl Creek and along middle of Channel of Owl Creek to place of beginning, shall be and the same is set apart for the absolute and undisturbed²⁸² use and occupation of the Shoshonee Indians herein named and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing with the consent of the United States to admit amongst them,²⁸³ and the United States now solemnly agree that no person except those herein designated and authorized to do so, and except such officers or Agents and employees of the Government, as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over settle upon or reside in the Territory described in this article for the use of said Indians and

282 Notwithstanding these fine words, and after the usual manner of the “permanent” arrangements made by the United States with Indian tribes, the Shoshoni were afterwards persuaded to concur in the reduction of the size of their reservation; it was cut down in 1872, 1896, 1904 to approximately one-fifth the size of that defined in 1868.

283 As this worked out in practice, the U. S. government placed upon the Shoshoni reservation numbers of Northern Arapahoes, their hereditary enemies.

henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all title claims or rights in, and to, any portion of the Territory of the United States except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid.

Article III. The United States agrees at its own proper expense to construct at a suitable point in the Shoshonee reservation a warehouse or storeroom for the use of the Agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; an Agency building for the residence of the Agent to cost not exceeding three thousand; a residence for the Physician to cost not more than two thousand dollars, and five other buildings for a Carpenter, Farmer Blacksmith, Miller and Engineer each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school house or Mission building, so soon as a sufficient number children can be induced by the Agent to attend School, which shall not cost exceeding twenty five hundred dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said Shoshonee reservation near the other buildings herein authorized a good steam circular Saw mill with a Grist Mill and Shingle Machine attached the same to cost not more than eight thousand dollars.

Article IV. The Indians herein named agree when the Agency House and other buildings shall be constructed on their reservations named they will make said reservations their permanent homes, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere but they shall have the right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the United States, so long as game may be found thereon and so long as peace subsists among the whites and Indians, on the borders of the hunting districts.

Article V. The United States agrees that the Agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the Agency building on the Shoshonee reservation but shall direct and supervise affairs on the Bannack reservation,²⁸⁴ and shall keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent enquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their Treaty stipulations as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded together with his finding to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs whose decision shall be binding on the parties to this Treaty.

Article VI. If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians or legally incorporated with them being the head of a family shall desire to commence farming he shall have the privilege to select in the presence and with the assistance of the Agent then in charge, a tract of land within the reservation of his

284 This provision, if not a fossil relic from an earlier draft of an insufficiently revised treaty, represented a lingering hope that the Bannacks would yet be domiciled with the eastern Shoshoni.

tribe not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent which tract so selected certified and recorded in the "Land Book" as herein directed shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above described.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded shall be delivered to the party entitled to it by the Agent after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection which said book shall be known as the "Shoshonee (Eastern Band) and Bannack Land Book." The President may at any time order a survey of the reservations, and when so surveyed Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of the Indian settlers in these improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property as between Indians and on all subjects connected with the Government of the Indians on said reservations, and the internal police thereof, as may be thought proper.

Article VII. In order to insure the civilization of the tribes entering into this Treaty, the necessity of education is admitted especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservation and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children male and female, between the ages of six and eighteen years to attend school and, it is hereby made the duty of the Agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with and the United States agree that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for twenty years.

Article VIII. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected land and received his certificate as above directed and the Agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year in value, one hundred dollars and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid in value twenty five dollars per annum. And it is further stipulated

that such persons as commence farming shall receive instructions from the Farmers herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons on either reservation shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil a second Blacksmith shall be provided with such iron, steel and other material as may be required.

Article IX. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named under any and all treaties heretofore made with them, the United States agrees to deliver at the Agency House on the reservation herein provided for on the first day of September of each year for thirty years the following articles, to wit;

For each male person over fourteen years of age a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of, hat coat pantaloons, flannel shirt and a pair of woolen socks.

For each female over twelve years of age a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the Agent, each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians on which the estimate from year to year can be based. And in addition to the clothing herein named the sum of ten dollars shall be annually appropriated for each Indian roaming, and twenty dollars for each Indian engaged in agriculture, for a period of ten years, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper

And if at any time within the ten years it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the tribes herein named, Congress may by law change the appropriation to other purposes but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery.

Article X. The United States hereby agree to furnish annually to the Indians the Physician, Teachers, Carpenter, Miller, Engineer, Farmer and Blacksmith as herein contemplated and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

Article XI. No Treaty of the cession of any portion of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any force or validity as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by at least a majority of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in such manner as to deprive without his consent any individual member, of the tribe of his right to any tract of land selected by him as provided in article VI of this Treaty.

Article XII. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from the date when they commence to cultivate a farm shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe, who in the judgment of the Agent, may grow the most valuable crops for the respective years.

Article XIII. It is further agreed that until such time as the Agency Buildings are established on the Shoshonee reservation, their Agent shall reside at Fort Bridger U. T. and their annuities shall be delivered to them at the same place in June of each year.

N. G. Taylor (Seal)
 W. T. Sherman Lt. Gen^l. (Seal)
 Wm. S. Harney (Seal)
 S. F. Tappan (Seal)
 C. C. Augur (Seal)
 Bv't-Major Genl. U.S.A.
 Commissioner
 Alfred H. Terry (Seal)
 Brig. Genl. & Bv't Maj Gen^l. U.S.A.

Attest
 A. S. H. White
 Secretary

Shoshonees.

Wash-a-kie	x	his mark
Wan-ny-pitz	x	his mark
Trop-se-po-wot	x	his mark
Nar-kok	x	his mark
Taboonsheya	x	his mark
Bazeel	x	his mark
Pan-to-she-ga	x	his mark

Bannocks

Taggee	x	his mark
Tay-to-ba	x	his mark
We-rat-ze-mon-a-gen	x	his mark
Coo-sha-gan	x	his mark
Pan-sook-a-motse	x	his mark
A-wite-este	x	his mark

Witnesses.

Henry A. Morrow
 Lt. Col. 36 Infantry & Bvt Col U. S. A.
 Com^dg Ft. Bridger

Luther Manpa [Mann]
 U. S. Indian Agent
 W. A. Carter.
 J. Vanallen Carter
 Interpreter.

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LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
 OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER
 AGENCY, AUGUST 16, 1868²⁸⁵

Sir

I have the honor to transmit herewith an Estimate of funds for the Fort Bridger agency for the quarter Ending Sep^r 30th 1868

The Estimate for Wood is made upon the Suposition that I will be able to procure an Office at this agency I am Entirely destitute of One at present and have been for more than a month and there is but very little prospect if any of my obtaining one unless I build one for myself In view than of the uncertainty of obtaining one I would Very respectfully suggest that leave of absence on business be granted me say from the first of November untill the first of May thereby precluding the necessity of building an office or of furnishing Wood for the Same you are aware that the Indians of this agency have left for their Winter hunt and will not return before the first or middle of June. the Service therefore would not suffer on account of my absence I desire that you would give me your opinion and advice upon the matter as I have no desire that the Service shall suffer on my account please let me hear from you Soon and greatly Oblige. . . .

285 Utah Field Papers, 1868.

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER
AGENCY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1868²⁸⁶

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the affairs of this agency.

About the first of September, 1867, the Indians under my charge (the eastern bands of Shoshones) left here for their hunting grounds in the Wind River valley. There had then recently occurred a series of depredations by hostile Indians upon prospectors and camps of the newly discovered Sweetwater mining country, and threatenings were bitter against all Indians. As this region was directly in the route of the Shoshones, I deemed it advisable to precede them and allay the ill feeling so far as they were concerned. I did so, assuring the miners that the best feeling existed between these Indians and the whites, and that their presence in the valley would be protection against any more raids by the Sioux, which proved true, all hostilities having ceased against the miners until after the Shoshones had returned to this agency.

As early as May 1, 1868, advance parties reported themselves. About that time I received telegraphic notice from General John B. Sanborn that the peace commission would visit this agency, the 4th of June, and requesting all Indians under my control, also the Bannocks of this vicinity, to be assembled by that time. I immediately sent out couriers to accomplish this object. Through the efforts of Tag-gee, their principal chief, I succeeded in assembling about 800 Bannocks, who had arrived by the 15th May. By telegram I was authorized to purchase subsistence for all Shoshones and Bannocks until the arrival of the commissioners. Owing to the ill condition of roads in their route they were unable to reach here according to appointment, and in consequence nearly half the Bannocks had grown impatient and left for their fishing and summer resort before the arrival of General C. C. Augur, who represented the commission. In the mean while a full assemblage of the Shoshones was accomplished, notwithstanding the annuities were withheld, and the most favorable representations made to them of the benefits to result by remaining to meet the commissioners; even a few restless ones among these, unable to resist their roaming inclinations, and therefore not

286 40th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1366), 616–19. This was Mann's last annual report submitted from the Utah Superintendency; his final annual report from the Wyoming Superintendency and dated Fort Bridger Agency, July 24, 1869, is published in 41st Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 3 (Serial 1414), 714–15.

present either at the conference of distribution of annuities. Immediately upon his arrival General Augur had an informal meeting with Washakie and other leading men of the Shoshones, and Tag-gee of the Bannocks, informing them of the object sought, and desiring them to communicate with their tribes preparatory to a formal meeting. On the 3d of July all of the headmen and a large number of their followers were present, and had explained to them fully the terms of a treaty, which is made known to you in the report of the commissioners. The result of this meeting was the acceptance of a treaty, under which added benefits are guaranteed, and a reservation in the country of their choice made for these Indians. It is especially gratifying to me to report this fact, having repeatedly urged the thing accomplished for several years.²⁸⁷ The meeting was most satisfactory, and I trust that an early ratification and appropriations under the new treaty may be made in time for the goods to reach the Indians by their next annual visit. I am especially desirous that such may be accomplished in behalf of the Bannocks, these Indians having for years been entitled to annuities under a former treaty, but as yet deriving no benefit from their faithful observance of treaty stipulations. Following the signing of the treaty a valuable present was made them, the greatest harmony prevailing.

The relations existing between the Shoshones and Bannocks are of so amicable a nature that it is hoped they may yet consent to join together upon one reservation. Indians are perhaps more jealous than whites of such rights as are claimed by them, and I would advise that time, and the evident advantages of such an arrangement as it will develop, may be allowed to accomplish this object.

The Bannocks are greatly in minority, and to urge too speedy occupation of one ground in common might produce a change in the relations of these tribes, which for a great many years has been harmonious.

During the past winter, frequent inroads have been made by northern tribes unfriendly to the Shoshones, and their hunting excursions thereby rendered somewhat less successful than usual. The enmity existing between them and the Nez Percés, Crows, Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes is of long duration, and the raids of these tribes upon their hunting parties have by degrees deprived them of no inconsiderable amount of stock killed and captured. While en route to the agency this spring a united party of Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, about 300 warriors, led by a son of Red Cloud, attacked Washakie. A lengthy fight ensued. Their leader and several of the opposing party were killed. Four Shoshones were killed, and a number wounded, who have mostly recovered. The attacking party captured about 80 horses. These were a party of the same combination of refractory warriors who refused to be present at

287 Mann had urged the creation of a reservation for the Shoshoni in the Wind River country in every annual report, beginning in 1862.

the recent visit of the peace commissioners at Fort Laramie, who, later, killed a number of prospectors in Wind River valley, and have more recently committed a series of atrocities along the Union Pacific railroad and on the route from Benton to South Pass. The hostility of these tribes will be a temporary drawback to the peaceful occupation of the reservations allotted to the Indians of this agency. An effort is being made on the part of the Crows to procure peace, to which I heard no opposition on the part of Washakie, though he signed his desire that for that purpose they meet him in the presence of some government official. I sincerely hope that the late treaties with the Sioux and their confederates will be the means of withdrawing them from the vicinity of the Indians under my care, who may then speedily secure the advantages of the treaty of July 3, 1868, and at the same time, to themselves and their property, security while hunting.

A decrease, consequent upon their losses in fight, and by such diseases as are prevalent, is manifest. While at the agency the past spring a number of deaths occurred, with but few exceptions among children. The diseases most fatal have been whooping cough, with some complication, result of exposed habits, and diarrhoea among children. Intermittent and continued fevers are frequent and severe among adults, especially women. Such deaths as have under my notice occurred among adults have been from old age.

The long detention to await the peace commissioners, already alluded to, gave rise to impatience, and in consequence, when I hoped to obtain the most complete estimate of population I found many absent. There were present at one time, of both tribes, about 1,750. Of these 450 were Bannocks; the remainder Shoshones, in approximately the following proportions: Of males between the ages of 15 and 60 years, 400; adult females and girls over 12 years old, 500; the remainder, children from infancy to 10 years old. The above estimate does not include quite half of the Bannocks, who under the new treaty are placed under the control of this agency. The proportions are about the same as herein detailed, as relating to ages and sexes among the Shoshones.

The general social condition of the Indians in my care is good. A few small bands have for a year or two past failed to visit the buffalo country, being unwilling to expose their property to the predatory visits of hostile Indians. These have remained near here, on Green river, where a sufficiency of game is found to subsist them, and whereby they obtain a large quantity of salable skins. This diminution of his strength is not satisfactory to Washakie; hence I have instructed all who have the means and are not too aged belonging to these bands to follow Washakie, impressing them with the fact that he alone is recognized as their head, and assuring them that if they expect to share the rewards they must participate in all dangers incident to the tribe.

For the purchase of medicines and medical attentions, and for other incidental expenditures, I deem a small contingent fund for the use of this agency advisable. Such articles of traffic as the Indians themselves possess are usually exhausted in the purchase of sugar, coffee, tea, and ammunition, articles very scantily and mostly not at all supplied among annuities. Every year numbers of them bring me arms needing repairs, funds for which purpose I am not supplied with; hence I have either to supply them from private means, which I do not think the salary of this office justifies, or I have to refuse them altogether. . . .

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LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT.
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER,
SEPTEMBER 14, 1868²⁸⁸

Sir

I have the honor to transmit herewith Statistical reports of Education and Farming There is Very little to reporte on these Subjects No Schools and no farming I hope the reports will be satisfactory if not please instruct. . . .

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F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED SALT LAKE CITY,
SEPTEMBER 16, 1868 (EXTRACT)²⁸⁹

Sir: I have the honor to submit my annual report of the general condition of Indian affairs within the Utah superintendency for the past year.

INDIAN POPULATION

The numbers and classification of the Indians within this superintendency as given in my last annual report is, I am satisfied from careful investigation made during the past year, substantially correct. For convenience of reference the tabular statement is repeated, and is as follows:

288 Utah Field Papers, 1868.

289 40th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1366), 608-14.

Tribes speaking the Utah language.

1. Uintas.....	100
2. Timpanoags.....	800
3. Sanpitches.....	400
4. Yampah-Utes.....	500
5. Fish-Utes.....	100
6. Goshen-Utes.....	400
7. Pah-Vents.....	1,500
8. Pah-Edes.....	4,000
9. Pah-Utes.....	1,600
10. Pahranagats.....	700
11. She-ba-retches.....	1,500
12. Elk Mountain Utes.....	<u>2,500</u>
	15,300

Tribes speaking the Shoshone language.

1. Eastern Shoshones.....	2,000
2. Northwestern Shoshones.....	1,800
3. Western Shoshones.....	<u>2,000</u>
	5,800

Tribes speaking dialects containing both Utah, Shoshone, and Bannock words:

1. Cum-min-tahs, or Weber Utes. This tribe is formed from numbers of different Utah and Shoshone bands, the Utah element largely predominating in their language, and numbers about 650

2. Goship, or Gosha Utes. This tribe is similarly formed to that last named, the Shoshone element, however, largely predominating. There are also numerous Bannock words in their language, and many Goships marry Bannock squaws. They number about 1,100

3. Mixed bands of Bannocks and Shoshones. About three-fourths of this tribe are Shoshones, and one-fourth Bannocks. This tribe, as its name indicates, is formed from the two tribes last mentioned. Its members speak a language mostly of Shoshone words, although some of the more recent additions to the band speak only the Bannock tongue. This tribe numbers—

Shoshones.....	1,800
Bannocks.....	<u>600</u>
	<u>2,400</u>
	4,150

Recapitulation.

Utah tribes.....	15,300
Shoshones.....	5,800
Mixed tribes.....	<u>4,150</u>
	25,250

* * *

THE EASTERN SHOSHONES.

This band has been, since 1861, under the immediate care of Agent Luther Mann. Chief Washakee retains the same upright and manly character he has ever sustained from the first settlement of Utah. His control over his Indians is more absolute than that of any other chief within the superintendency, and such influence is uniformly [*sic*] exercised wisely and for the best interests of the Indian. In the full and well-considered report of Agent Mann, which is herewith transmitted, a detailed account is given of the conference between General Augur, of the Indian peace commission, and the eastern Shoshones and Bannocks, with its successful results. The setting apart of a portion of the Wind River valley as a reservation for the eastern Shoshones is calculated to perpetuate the good feeling now existing between these and the whites, since this has long been an object of their most ardent desire.

WESTERN AND NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONES.

No especial effort has yet been made to engage the northwestern Shoshones in agricultural pursuits. They are very anxious to have cattle given to them, from which to raise stock; and during the past summer I presented to some of their most reliable chiefs fifteen cows, which they promised to keep as breeding animals. I visited them again a few days since, and found that they had as yet eaten none of the cows. They promised faithfully that these cows and their increase should be kept until they had a large herd of cattle of their own. The western Shoshones during the past year have shown a most commendable zeal in their farming operations. At Deep creek and at Ruby valley are the two principal bands of the tribe, numbering about 600 each. Shortly after my last annual report, when I visited the tribe, I gave to them some working oxen and ploughs, and in the spring furnished them some seed grain. With very slight aid from a white man at each place, to occasionally instruct them in the manner of their cultivation, they have put in about forty acres of land, the crops upon which are excellent, and will greatly aid in their support during the coming winter. Their success has greatly encouraged them, and they are eager to engage still more extensively in farming the coming year.

* * *

EDUCATION AND WEALTH.

No schools or missions or any character have been established among any of the tribes within this superintendency.

Some tribes have a considerable number of ponies, some also a few goats and cattle. The number of each is as follows:

	Ponies.	Cattle.	Goats.
Eastern Shoshone and Bannock	700		
Northwestern Shoshones.....	166	30	
Western Shoshones	90	30	
Weber Utes	70	5	6
Goships	50	4	
Pah-Vents.....	175	2	6
Uintah Utes, Yampah Utes, Fish Utes	1,200	100	55
Total	2,451	171	67

	Price.	Average value.
Ponies	\$30	\$735 30
Cattle	40	68 40
Goats	3	2 01
Total wealth		805 71

The country occupied by many of the tribes is nearly destitute of game. The eastern Shoshones and Bannocks range during the winter in a country abounding in buffalo, and take annually robes of the value of almost \$20,000. They also take considerable numbers of deer and beaver skins. The Indians ranging along the Uintah, White, and Green rivers take beaver and buck skins of the annual value of about \$8,000. The value of furs and skins taken by other tribes is about \$6,000, making a total value of \$34,000 for robes, skins, and furs, taken by all the tribes. There is a demand among the settlers for home use for all the robes, furs, and skins, and the Indians take them principally to the settlements for sale and receive for them probably more nearly their actual value than in any other portion of the United States. With the increase of the population the game of every sort disappears, and this resource of the Indians is becoming less valuable and reliable every year.

* * *

APPROPRIATIONS.

The appropriations for the Indian service in this superintendency, in proportion to the number of Indians therein, are much smaller than in any other portion of the United States. For the current year the usual appropriations have been largely reduced. This is especially unfortunate, since, owing to the near approach of the Pacific railroad and the increased demand for supplies engendered thereby, the prices of beef and flour have considerably advanced. The fact that the Indians within this superintendency are peaceable and friendly should induce increased liberality on the part of the paternal government rather than a

reduction of the supplies to which they have been accustomed. Starvation leads to stealing, and stealing to war, with its fearful and costly train of evils, retarding the settlement of this country and the development of its agricultural and mineral resources, imperilling the safety and speed of mail and passenger transit across the continent, and deranging the commerce of the entire Pacific coast. . . .

150

BREVET MAJOR GENERAL C. C. AUGUR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION, DATED HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT
OF THE PLATTE, OMAHA, NEBRASKA, OCTOBER 4, 1868²⁹⁰

Sir.

At the last meeting of this Commission, held at Fort Laramie, A.D. May 9th 1868, it was "*Resolved*," That General Augur proceed to Fort Bridger, to make arrangements with the Snakes, Bannacks, and other Indians along the line of the Union Pacific R. R. in Utah." The "arrangements" referred to in the resolution, were understood to be the making of a treaty with the tribes referred to, on the same basis as those made with the Sioux and other tribes already treated with by the Commission. The "Snakes and Bannacks" were the only tribes it was Supposed I would meet, and these had been notified through their agent to meet me at Fort Bridger on the 15th of June. Certain presents for them had been already ordered by the Commission, and were then Supposed to be on their way to them.

In pursuance of the above-cited resolution I proceeded to Fort Bridger, where I arrived on the 15th of June, and found the indians already assembled in that vicinity. But the presents had not arrived, and it was found that by reason of bad roads and high waters, they could not reach there under two weeks. The indians preferred to wait until their arrival, before "talking." The goods eventually arrived, and I held a council with the assembled tribes on the 3rd day of July. All of Wash-a-kees' band or the "North-eastern band of Shoshones" and which really constitutes the principal part of the Shoshone nation, and the larger part of the Bannacks under the head chief of the nation "Taggie" were present, and participated in the council. Washakee claims in general terms as being the country of his people, all the country lying between the parallell of the highest point of the Winter [corrected to Uinta] Mountains, and that of the Wind river valley, and between the meridian of Salt Lake City and the line of the North Platte rivers

290 Office of Indian Affairs, Irregularly Sized Papers, Drawer 6, No. 5.

to the mouth of the Sweetwater. "Taggie" claims for the Bannacks in terms more general even, all the country about Soda Spring, the Porte Neuf river and the big Kamas prairie to the northwest of it.²⁹¹

I spoke to the Chiefs as follows:—

"Washakee, Taggie, and Chiefs of the Shoshones and Bannacks.

About a year ago, the great council and your great Father in Washington sent out a Commission to have a talk with the Indian tribes in the west,—to make peace with such as were hostile, and to arrange with all of them that hereafter, there should be no more war between the white men and the Indians. This Commission have already made treaties of peace with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches, and most of the Sioux. Part of them are now treating with the remaining Sioux and part have gone to meet the Navajoes in New Mexico. I have been Sent to meet and talk with you. The Shoshones and Bannacks are at peace with the whites, and have been for years. All we have to do therefor, is to so arrange matters, that there may never hereafter be cause of war between them. There are a great many white men in your country now, and as soon as the Railroad is completed there will be many more. They will wish to remain and make homes here, and your great Father desires that they should do so, and he will make the Same arrangements for acquiring such title as you have to this country, as the commission has heretofore made with the other Indian tribes. He wishes however, to set apart a portion of it for your permanent homes, and into which no white men will be permitted to come or Settle. Upon this reservation he wishes you to go with all your people as soon as possible, and to make it your permanent home, but with permission to hunt wherever you can find game. In a few years the game will become Scarce, and you will not find sufficient to support your people. You will then have to live in Some other way than by hunting and fishing. He wishes you therefore to go to this reservation now, and commence to grow wheat and corn, and raise cattle and horses, so that when the game is gone you will be prepared to live independently of it. Your agent will live there with you, and you will be provided with Store-houses, and Saw mills and grist mills to make your flour, and a place to teach your children. Men will be Sent to teach you to cultivate your farm, and a blacksmith and a carpenter will be Sent to assist you, and a physician to cure you when sick so that in a few years your people will be able to live comfortably in their new homes. No people prosper who are continually at war. Your great Father desires therefore, that you should remain at peace, not only with white men, but with all other Indian tribes. Should you be at war now with other tribes, or have cause of complaint

291 The Kamas Prairie here described seems not to have been the one identified in Document 86, note 183, but the valley of Camas Creek, a western tributary of the present Big Wood River, southeast of modern Boise, [Idaho].

against them, he will try to arrange matters between you, without your going to war, or continuing it. It is desirable too, that as ma[n]y indians as possible be gathered together on one reservation. More can be done for them in this way then [*sic*] if they are Scattered over the country in Small reservations. He wishes the Shoshones and Bannacks to be together, where you can have one agent to attend to you, and the benefit of the Same men sent to instruct and care for you. I will have a treaty prepared embracing all that is proposed to be done for you. Its provisions will be carefully explained to you by the interpreter. I wish you to examine it carefully and to understand it before you sign it, for after it is signed and approved by your great Father and the great Council in Washington we will all have to be guided by it, it will be the great bond of peace between us. I have now done, and will hear you speak.”

The following minutes of the reply of Washakee and Taggee were taken down at the time and are Substantially correct:

Washakee chief of the Shoshones was apparently greatly pleased and spoke in effect as follows. I am laughing because I am happy. Because my heart is good. As I said two days ago, I like the country you mentioned, then, for us, the Wind river valley. Now I see my friends are around me, and it is pleasant to meet and shake hands with them. I always find friends along the roads in this country, about Bridger, that is why I come here. It is good to have the Railroad through this country and I have come down to see it.²⁹² When we want to grow Something to eat [eat] and hunt I want the Wind river Country. In other Indian countries, there is danger, but here about Bridger, all is peaceful for whites and indians and safe for all to travel. When the white man came into my country and cut the wood and made the roads my heart was good, and I was Satisfied. You have heard what I want. The Wind river Country is the one for me. We may not for one, two or three years be able to till the ground. The Sioux may trouble us. But when the Sioux are taken care of, we can do well. Will the whites be allowed to build houses on our reservation? I do not object to traders coming among us, and care nothing about the miners and mining country when they are getting out gold. I may bye and bye get Some of that myself. I want for my home the valley of Wind river and lands on its tributaries as far east as the Popo-agie, and want the privilege of going over the mountains to hunt where I please.”

Taggie chief of the Bannacks then speaks.

As far away as Virginia City our tribe has roamed. But I want the Porte-neuf country and Kamas plains.²⁹³

292 At this time, July, 1868, the Union Pacific railhead had reached only the Laramie Plains, but the roadbed was being graded as far west as the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

293 This reiterated desire for the Kamas Prairie was hopeless; the Fort Hall Reservation was limited by the south bank of the Snake River.

Quest. Why cannot the Bannacks and Shoshones get on together on the same reservation?

Taggie replied—we are friends with the Shoshones and like to hunt with them, but we want a home for ourselves.

Questions by the Commission. If you have a separate home can you and the Shoshones get along with one agency and come to the Shoshone reservation for your annuities?

Taggie. We want to receive anything that is for us on our own ground.

Taggie was then told that at present the Commissioner, was not Sufficiently acquainted with the country they wanted to mark out a reservation, but that when the Bannacks were ready to go on a reservation, the President would Send Some one to lay off one, which shall include portions of the country they want and that until the Shoshones go on their reservation in the Wind river valley, the goods for the Bannacks will be delivered at Bridger, separate from those for the Shoshones. Such buildings as the Government thinks they require, will be built on the reservation. If hereafter the Bannacks and Shoshones agree to go on the Same reservation, they will all have the same buildings.

Tomorrow the 4th of July, the Commission wants all the head men of the Shoshones and Bannacks to come here, at twelve 12 o'clock to sign the treaty.

The great Father at Washington and the grand Council have always shown Washakee as a good friend of the white man, and look upon him as chief of the Shoshones and good adviser of all the peaceful tribes about here. He always gives them good advice, and we hope they will always follow it.

The following day, the chiefs again assembled, and the Treaty was interpreted to them, Article by Article. It was perfectly Satisfactory to them and was signed by all the Chiefs present. The treaty is herewith respectfully submitted to the Commission.

In connection herewith, I desire to Submit a copy of a memorandum made for me by Mr. Head, Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Utah.

On the 2^d day of July, 1863, Governor Doty pursuant to instructions from the Indian Bureau concluded a treaty with the Eastern Shoshonees, providing for the payment of an annuity of \$10,000—they ceding rights of way, &c.

On the 30th of same month, he concluded a treaty in all respects similar with N. W. Shoshonees; they receiving an annuity of \$5000, and Octo 1, of same year, a similar treaty with Western bands—providing for same annuity.

After these treaties were concluded he made a similar treaty with the “mixed bands of Bannocks and Shoshonees” at Soda Springs, Idaho, by which it was provided that they should share in the annuities of the Shoshonees.

When this treaty went before the Senate for confirmation, it was amended by the addition of a new article and directed to be re-submitted to the tribe for ratification, which has never been done.

The treaty as made by Gov. Doty requires to be modified in two particulars—
1st. By adding the new article pursuant to the requirement of the Senate.

2^d. By striking out the last ten words of Article 2, of said treaty and inserting in lieu thereof the words “receiving the same annuity as the Northwestern bands of the Shoshonee nation.”

It is impossible to reconcile the provisions of the treaty as made, with good faith on the part of the Government toward the Shoshonees. It simply diverts from them, a portion of their annuity, without their Consent.

The original treaty, with the Senate amendment are enclosed.

(Signed) F. H. Head.

Supt.

Under this defective arrangement the Bannacks have never received a cent from the Government, except a few casual presents the Superintendent was able to give them from funds of an incidental nature.

I am also advised by Superintendent Head and Agent Mann at Fort Bridger that it is a Misnomer to call them “the mixed Bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees.” That no such band exists and never did. The band treated with by Governor Doty as the Shoshonee Goship Band—is not a band of Shoshonees at all, but a band of Utes, known as Gosha Utes after their chief Goshu.²⁹⁴ Still they are drawing their annuities and have been, as a band of Shoshonees known as the Northwestern and Southwestern bands are inconsiderable ones, and that their annuities not being *per capita* are probably out of proportion to those given by present treaties to Shoshonee band.

The presents to the indians at Bridger were issued to them by their Agent and Colonel Morrow, Commanding officer Fort Bridger, and the necessary receipts are here presented. The issue was in the name of General Sanborn, as the purchases were made by him.

I also procurd for them from the post of Fort Bridger, thirty-seven old arms and two thousand cartridges. These are invoiced also to General Sanborn. On my return I visited the Sweetwater mines which are about thirty miles south of the proposed reservation for the Shoshonees. I found the miners there entirely satisfied with the location of the reservation, and in fact rather pleased, as the location of friendly bands there would be a protection to them against the hostile Sioux and Blackfeet.

In connection with the recent departure of Spotted Tail and others [of the Sioux] for their reservation, I have to report that on the 6th of Sept. I sent

294 Head's views to the contrary notwithstanding, the Gosiute, as now called, linguistically have been found by ethnologists to be wholly Shoshoni. See Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 133–34. The chief from whom it is presumed the Gosiutes took their name died so long before as 1850, as recorded in the manuscript journal of Lieut. John W. Gunnison with the Stansbury Survey, 1849–1850, Records of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, National Archives.

for Spotted Tail to come in as I wished to see him about going to reservation. I also requested Colonel [H. B.] Denman, Supt. Indian Affairs [northern Superintendency], to have the other bands sent for to come in at the same time. I went on the 8th to North Platte to meet them.

Spotted Tail with Seventy three Lodges.

Swift Bear “ Thirty-four “

Ogallallas white Eyes

(walk under the ground) Thirty “

Brules, Iron Shell and Bad Hand Twenty four “

Lower Brules, Big Foot Eighteen

In addition, were many families living under bushes and pieces of canvas reported equivalent to twelve lodges. Making altogether Two Hundred and Three lodges—a little exceeding twelve hundred souls. Iron Shell I did not see he being already on Thickwood Creek. Spotted Tail, claimed that by the arrangement at Laramie he and his people were to be permitted to remain on Republican [fork of Kansas River] this winter, and go to reservation next spring. I explained to him that [it] would be impossible for him to remain there without becoming involved in war, and that I advised him to go at once with all his people to his reservation.

After some consultation among themselves he replied that he would go, and all those with him. That he had separated himself from the indians on the Republican and would never have anything more to do with them—that they had acted very badly and that he would never try to do anything more for them. I asked him what reasons those indians assigned for their recent outbreak. He replied None,—they did not pretend to have any excuse or cause of complaint, that the Cheyennes, or most of their young men had never wanted peace, and were tired of it.

Superintendent Denman detailed interpreter Tod Randall to accompany these indians to the reservation. I hired fifteen wagons for their use, to be paid the same that was paid for those that went with first party, and bought provisions and a small quantity of clothing and ammunition The provisions and what ammunition I gave them I placed under the charge of the interpreter. They left North Platte on the 18th September.

I submit copies of two letters just received from Laramie and Fetterman on the subject of Indian Affairs.

I neglected to mention in the proper connection that I found it impossible to induce the Shoshonees and Bannacks to unite in accepting a common reservation. Although friendly and allies, they each prefer to live in their own country. I do not think it improbable however, that the Bannacks may be induced eventually to go to the Shoshonee reservation, and that the latter will consent to this arrangement. . . .

1869

151

JAMES VAN ALLEN CARTER, INTERPRETER, TO F. H. HEAD,
 SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER,
 WYOMING, JANUARY 11, 1868 [i.e., 1869]²⁹⁵

Dear Sir: I enclose a communication addressed to Col. Mann, which came under address of Judge Carter. This is the first time I have heard this complaint, but I am quite fearful that Major B's influence is not in the interests of the indians upon other matters. He is much dissatisfied with the treaty made here in July last & has, I have heard, used his influence to awaken opposition to it upon the part of the settlers in their country.²⁹⁶

As to this matter you have in this letter such evidence as myself.

I hand it to you supposing if anyone may, you can remedy the matter. . . .

152

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO E. S. PARKER,*
 COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
 SALT LAKE CITY, APRIL 29, 1869²⁹⁷

Sir.

On the 22^d day of Feb. ult. in a communication to your predecessor I urged the immediate purchase of certain goods to the amount of \$3500. or thereabouts from the appropriation for fulfilling treaty with Eastern Shoshonees. If such goods have not already been purchased and forwarded, I would respectfully urge that

295 Utah Field Papers, 1868. Both the context and the reference to Wyoming in the heading demonstrate that the letter is misdated 1868. James Van Allen Carter, who was born Feb. 4, 1838, was not a blood relation of W. A. Carter, but married his daughter Annie and lived at Fort Bridger until his death, Jan. 5, 1896.

296 Is the reference perhaps to Jim Bridger? He left the mountains in the late summer of 1868 and spent the rest of his life at Westport, [Missouri] though it is said that in the fall of 1868 he went out to Fort Hays, Kansas, in an unavailing effort to dissuade General P. H. Sheridan from his winter campaign into the Indian Territory. See Alter, *James Bridger*, 474.

* [Henry G. Waltmann, "Ely Samuel Parker, 1869-71," *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 123-33.]

297 H/154-1869.

they be so purchased and shipped at once—The Indians will be at the Agency in about a month to receive their annuities and dissatisfaction can scarcely fail to ensue from the amount of goods now on hand, being so much less than they have usually received, as stated in my former letter. . . .

153

E. S. PARKER, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO J. E.
TOURTELLOTTE, SUPT. INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON, D. C.,
JUNE 25, 1869 (EXTRACT)²⁹⁸

Sir

. . . The Special Agency for the Bannocks and Shoshonees heretofore under the Utah Superintendency, being now within the bounds of Wyoming Territory,²⁹⁹ will hereafter be embraced in the Superintendency for Wyoming Territory, and the Agent to be appointed for it, will report to the Governor of that Territory who, by virtue of his office as Governor, is Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. . . .

154

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO E. S. PARKER,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 1, 1869 (EXTRACT)³⁰⁰

Sir: I have the honor to submit my last annual report of the condition and progress of Indian affairs within the whole superintendency.

298 Utah Field Papers, 1869. Col. J. E. Tourtelotte succeeded F. H. Head as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah in 1869, an appointee of the new Grant administration, which adopted the policy of appointing unassigned army officers to posts within the Indian Bureau. Under the same circumstances, Luther Mann, Jr., was replaced as Agent for the Shoshoni and Bannacks by Capt. J. H. Patterson. This policy was overturned when Congress subsequently provided that officers remaining in the Indian service must resign their commissions in the Army.

299 Wyoming Territory was created July 25, 1868, and organized April 15, 1869.

300 41st Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 3 (Serial 1414), 668–71. The use of “Great Salt Lake City” in the heading was anachronistic, the Utah legislature in 1868 having shortened the name to Salt Lake City.

POPULATION.

In my previous annual reports as full and accurate classification and numbering of the different tribes as it was practicable to obtain have been given. My investigations during the year have satisfied me that the census heretofore transmitted is substantially correct. Since my last report, however, the Territory of Wyoming has been organized, and the Eastern Shoshones and mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshones heretofore in Utah superintendency have been transferred to Wyoming superintendency. This would reduce the number of Indians in Utah superintendency nearly five thousand. In my last report the number was stated to be twenty-five thousand. The natural decrease would be nearly one thousand. This, and the transfer above named, would leave the number of Indians in this superintendency at the date of this report nineteen thousand. . . .

FURS AND SKINS.

Since the transfer of the Eastern Shoshones to Wyoming superintendency, there are no Indians in the Territory who range over other than a desert country nearly destitute of game. The Indians upon the Uintah reservation, and also the Northwestern Shoshones and Weber Utes, take some few deer and beaver skins. These furs and skins are all needed for manufacture among the people in the Territory, and the Indians get much higher prices for them than in any other part of the country; nearly their value in New York. The whole value of the furs and skins so taken is about nine thousand dollars. . . .

With this document we conclude our long presentation of the history of Washakie and the Shoshone as reflected in the records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs in the National Archives at Washington. The later experiences of this great chief and his tribe as reflected in the documentary record are left to later scholars who may be interested to explore the potentialities of the records of the Wyoming Superintendency.



Fort Hall reservation, Idaho, from an anonymous photographer's image taken between 1863 and 1870. *Denver Public Library*, X-33454.

Appendix

Selected Notes

THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS IN UTAH

- 103 Cf. Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 5, 1858 (Y/31-1858). [Morgan's original submission included Young's entire letter in the note "since it affords an unexpected point of view on the Mormon leader," but available space in the journal imposed a page limit. In cutting the paper for publication he settled for a citation rather than a transcription (Morgan to John Caughey, 1948 May 5, Morgan Papers, Bancroft Library). The original letter at National Archives is missing one and perhaps more leaves, which may be a further reason why Morgan chose to drop the transcript from his note; he also did not include the letter among the sheaf of transcripts gleaned from the superintendency records. The letter now appears here with the kind help of Mary Frances Morrow and Ronald W. Watt. The draft of the letter, mostly likely in the handwriting of Daniel H. Wells and found in the Brigham Young papers at the LDS Church Historical Department, fills out the missing text of the official letter. Unlike the clear secretarial hand of the final copy, the draft is hastily written; its choppy, ill-punctuated sentence structure may have been taken down during a verbal discussion. Due to poor penmanship my transcription of that section may not be entirely accurate and is set off by braces.]

Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Great Salt Lake City
April 5th. 1858.

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington City, D.C.

Sir:—

In compliance with what I esteem my duty I again transmit the papers to your office from this Superintendency for the quarter ending 31st March 1858; they are vouchers from No 1 to 24 inclusive, amounting to \$2749 11/100, account current, abstract, return of presents, and statement for work done at the U.S. blacksmith shop; Major Armstrong's report and papers not yet having come to hand. You will observe that the amount is much less than usual, still, owing to the disturbed state of affairs, it is much more than otherwise might have been, for instance, \$489 29/100 are for beef, flour, &c., furnished the fragments of four or five discontented bands of the Shoshones, Cumumbahs [Weber Utes], and Whiteknives, upon the occasion of the election of Ben. Simons, a Delaware, as their Chief; also \$583 35/100 presents sent to the Indians in Tooele County, who had not as yet taken part in the hostilities against the Settlements in that region; the Indians appear very universally excited, and more or less hostile. It has always been my utmost endeavor to conciliate the native tribes, so teach them the arts of civilization, to live together in peace toward each other and toward all the whites, and this forbearance, and earnest endeavor to do them and all men good, is falsely construed into "Tampering with the Indians," and influencing them to enmity against the Government; with how much truth these charges are made, recent events are now fully demonstrating. Such charges are not of very unfrequent occurrence, and usually remain unanswered by me, as not worthy of notice, but when such false accusations emanate from so high a quarter as the President of the United States,

I deem /it\ at least my privilege to state the truth, and leave the result in the hands of Him who discerns the right and judges according to the deeds done in the flesh. The enclosed affidavit of one of our interpreters [Joshua K. Whitney] is but one of many that might be furnished, if necessary, to prove that our enemies have no scruples in exciting the Indians against us and, especially when taken in connection with actual hostilities and depredations on their part, and the boasted "Allies of Utah Indians" in the camp of United States Troops, as stated in their own correspondence and published in the Eastern papers, leaves but little room to doubt the complicity of the army in these hostilities. This may or may not be "Tampering with the Indians," inasmuch as it proceeds from those who boast a "civilized mode of warfare"; but when men are killed and scalped, and their horses, mules, and cattle are taken to the enemies' camp, and then Indians with their new blankets on their shoulders, guns and ammunition in their hands boast of having received these and other presents from the army, and themselves acting as their friends and our enemies, it proves the charge of the President unfounded, as regards me and the people of this Territory, but saddles the foul slander most conclusively upon the immaculate soldiery who have been sent to "correct the morals" and teach a higher mode of warfare than practiced or known by the so called "deluded fanatics and "ignorant Mormons." It is painful to be compelled to speak in this manner, but more painful to see our citizens shot down when passing through the country upon their own lawful business, and to have so much reason to believe that if it is instigated by those who profess to be acting under the authority of the General Government.

In addition to the hostilities on the western settlements of Tooele and Rush vallies, and those north, wherein three of our people have been killed and five wounded and considerable stock stolen and taken in the direction of and supposed {to the Army[,] it is almost daily disclosed by the Indians in the south and south east that an attack is mediated on our settlements in that region by the Indians, from Uinta Valley who it is said are acting under the [*indecipherable*] influence and direction of the troops[.] said Dr Hurt the remaining Indian agent of the Territory[. "one things is certain he [*meaning Forney*] has taken with him Indians who were supposed to be friendly with the people that often swear to have become enemies and ready to rob plunder and kill[.]" How long this state of things must continue is not for me to say but if the government [*indecipherable*] and is ready to furnish the means for the promotion of such an unhallowed warfare the sooner we are apprised of it the better[,] and its acts will go much further than all they} can say in influencing our conduct or restoring that confidence which it is our most ardent wish to enjoy, and should be the policy of the Government to inspire.

Trusting that there is yet magnanimity sufficient in the Republic to influence those whose sworn duty it is to protect and not destroy, her citizens, and restore quiet and peace by yielding unto us those constitutional rights which we hold in common with all American citizens, I have the honor to remain your

Obt. Serv.^t

Brigham Young

Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs

[Accompanying the letter Young encloses the original affidavit by Joshua K. Whitney. In it Whitney attests to a fourth-hand story about Forney's supposed incitement of the Weber Utes. Forney reportedly told members of the band assembled at Fort Bridger that "the soldiers were coming in with their big guns to kill all the Mormons all through the mountains; that Brigham had put a charm on Naracuts children that made them all die." Some time later Naracuts related the comments to one Mooneye, who was Whitney's

source. The document further states that Forney (through Mooneye from Naracuts) claimed personally to have killed Joseph Smith and was confident he could handle Brigham Young the same way, and that the agent was arming the Weber Utes (who really were busily stealing stock along the overland trail at the time).

Young was given to hyperbole but otherwise was an eminently practical man. The fact that he would forward to his superiors so tenuous a story suggests that he was uncomfortable with the manner in which circumstances were unfolding beyond his control and may have been grasping for any solid justification of his actions. In fact, neither he nor the military command was willing to give the smallest increment to the opposing side in the political standoff of 1857–1858. —Ed.]

WASHAKIE AND THE SHOSHONI

60. A great deal of the history of the Green River area is here passed over very lightly; more should be said about this episode, for it marks a distinct forward step in the Mormon occupation of what became Uinta County, Wyoming. Expansion of Mormon colonization into the Shoshoni country had been foreshadowed in August, 1852, when apparent agreement was reached with the Shoshoni on this subject; see Document 18. Following this up, Brigham Young on August 30, 1852, addressed a letter “To the brethren who are emigrating to the valleys of the mountains,” sent by Dimick B. Huntington, William Elijah Ward, and Brigham H. Young, with advice concerning “our wishes pertaining to making a settlement on Green River.” This letter, the original of which is in the LDS Church Historian’s Office [now the Historical Department] in Salt Lake City, said in part:

It has long been our cherished object to have a good permanent settlement located and established at that point. It is a very desirable location for many reasons which will be felt doubtless by the pecuniary advancement of those who shall make that place their home, but chiefly that a location may be established which will be calculated to strengthen this people and extend a favorable influence among the native tribes in the midst of whom we are located.

It is extremely desirable to have one or two good bridges built across Green River, which should be accomplished while the water is low this fall and ensuing winter. Those can be toll bridges and inure to the benefit of the builders by such arrangements as shall be made with the Legislature the ensuing winter. No better place can be found for exchanging stock and trading with emigrants as all concentrate at that point. It is also believed to be a good stock country and that grain sown early in the spring, say February or March, will mature in the best locations. No settlement has as yet been made upon the Shoshone’s lands. They have always evinced a most friendly spirit and will no doubt, if correctly managed, continue to exhibit the same.

It is also a place where a station is needed to produce mail facilities to keep a change of animals, etc. But the advantages which the place possesses in a pecuniary point of view for a settlement at that point, and the fact of its being calculated to be productive of much good in promoting the advancement of the cause which is dear to every Latter-day Saint. We therefore say unto you that we wish to have a sufficient number stop to organize a county at that place which was last winter named Green River County and attached to G. S. L. County for revenue, election and Indian purposes. [cf. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual and Special Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah . . .* (Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 162–164].

It is not our wish to oppress the brethren, but wish those who remain to do so of their own free will and choice, having and feeling an abiding interest in the cause which we have espoused. An extension of the settlements in that direction will manifestly promote the emigration. . . . You can stop and while your teams are recruiting select out the best place for a location; build up your cabins; and then come into the city so far as it shall be necessary to procure your winter supplies, after which you can return and make your arrangements for the ensuing season of emigration, etc. . . .

The exact nature of the difficulties that developed does not appear in the Mormon sources, but on October 14, 1852, Brigham Young wrote to "Wm. D. Huntington, Brigham H. Young and others at Green River":

I wrote to you on the 4th inst., per Indian Simons, to return from that place and for all of you to come away and bring your effects with you to this city and leave not one behind. Owing to the uncertainty of your getting the letter from that source, I now write to you by Bro. Hutchinson. It is needless to urge the matter of settlement at that place at the present. We do not wish to lay the foundation for any difficulty which by a little foresight may be avoided.

If some of our people would go out with the Indians upon their trip hunting and get acquainted with them and with their chiefs, then a good influence might be exerted among them, which it would not be in the power of anybody else to counteract; but we must wait for the present; therefore, all of you come back and let things take their course a little longer. . . .

Hosea Stout, who came as a colonizing missionary to the Green River area in the spring of 1854, wrote in his journal on May 15, ". . . we arrived at Russell's [after] Baiting with Batise at twelve Here at Russell's is where Huntington & Co. commenced a settlement in 1852 which was wisely abandoned afterwards." And next day, "we moved two miles down the River to the Mormon Crossing of Green River Ferry," which serves to fix the location of the initial Mormon effort at colonization in Wyoming. [Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2: 517. —Ed.]

69. Here again some background must be filled in. After the false start in 1852, a Mormon settlement in the basin of the Green River was begun in the fall of 1853, as one of several missions sent to the Indians of Utah Territory. The official camp journal of the mission is copied into Andrew Jenson's "History of Fort Supply," in his "History of Lyman Stake," a manuscript in the Church Historian's Office [now the Historical Department] at Salt Lake City. The company, consisting of 39 men with 20 wagons, 93 head of cattle, and 8 head of horses and mules, left Great Salt Lake City Nov. 2 and reached Fort Bridger on the 12th. They had intended locating in the valley of Henrys Fork, but chose in preference to this a location on Willow Creek, a tributary of Smiths Fork, a few miles south of Fort Bridger. Here, on November 17, Fort Supply was founded. An extended account of the mission by a member of it is James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown* (Salt Lake City: G. Q. Cannon, 1900), 304–74; brief mention by another member is found in Christopher Merkle, *Biography of Christopher Merkle* (Salt Lake City: J. H. Parry, 1887), 33. A formal history by Andrew Jenson is published in *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* (January 1913); see also Charles E. Dibble, "The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians," *Utah Humanities Review* 1, nos. 1–3 (January, April, July 1947): 53–73, 166–77, 279–93.

Orson Hyde did not leave Great Salt Lake City with the advance party, but paid the new fort a visit on December 9–12. A letter he wrote on the subject of the mission is published in the *Deseret News*, December 1, 1853. The manner in which the Mormons were able to combine public business with church interests is well shown by Bedell's letter, for Hyde was obliged to go to Fort Supply in any event. He wrote the following letter to Washakie before returning home:

Fort Supply, Green River County

Dec. 10, 1853

Greeting:

Respected and esteemed friends:

I have often heard of you but never had the pleasure of seeing you or of making your acquaintance, both of which I desire and hope the time will not be long until I see you and make your acquaintance.

A little more than one year ago our people began to make a settlement (on your lands) on Green River, but learning that you and your people did not like us to form a settlement there, we left and gave up the settlement. Since that time we have heard by Mr. Battize Lauzon [a phonetic rendering of Baptiste Louisant] that you were willing that our people should make a settlement on your lands, on or near Green River, herefore our great Chief in G. S. L. Valley, Brigham Young, has sent me with a number of men to make a settlement on your lands. We have located on Smith's Fork, about ten miles from Sam Callwell's fort [i.e., what until lately had been Fort Bridger?]. I am now with them, but shall leave them in two more sleeps to go to G. S. L. City. I shall remain there until Spring and when the snow melts and the grass grows I shall come back to this settlement and hope to remain with them. I have heard that some whites have told you that we were a bad people, but in answer to this I would say to you come and see. Our young men are learning your language; they want to be united with your people and a number of our men want to marry wives from your people and we want to be friends. We want to be friends with the Utes and not kill them, but they will steal and rob us and we had to kill some of them and they have killed some of us. We are sorry that they live so bad. When you can learn all about what some white men have done on Green River you will not blame the "Mormons" for taking some of their stock, it was done according to the laws of our Great Father at Washington. Believe not all the bad things that some white men say of us but come and see us. We would like some Lamanites of your people to come and live in our little settlement so that we may talk with them and learn your language. I sent you this letter by Bro. Barney Ward who has a Shoshone wife and some of our young men go with him to see you. I send you some tobacco and some shirts also and my best wishes. I hope to see you myself when snow melts and grass grows and then I want you to go with me to Salt Lake Valley and see our great chief Brigham Young and have a talk with him if you can when grass grows, come and see our new settlement and I expect to be here then and I will see you, but all our young men will be glad to see you [this winter] if you can come but I should not be with you then until grass grows and if you cannot come to see me than I will try to find where you are and come and see you and your people. I send you many good wishes and hope the Good Spirit above will be kind and good to the Shoshone nation and to their Great Chief and also to the Mormons and their Great Chief.

Will you send me word by Barney Ward and the young men, what you think and how you feel and they will write the same and send me and to our Great Chief in G. S. L. Valley.

I am, your Friend

Orson Hyde

To Washakeete.

The above letter is copied into the Fort Supply camp journal under date of May 9, 1854. Owing to severe weather, it was not possible to carry the communication to Washakie

during the winter; it was finally taken to him in the spring of 1854, an episode James S. Brown describes at considerable length (*Life of a Pioneer*, 312–32). It may be remarked that the dates in Brown's book for this period check up very well with contemporary sources.

70. Ryan's first name was Elisha, but James S. Brown calls him L. B. Ryan. From Brown's account, it would seem that after Bridger was forced to leave his fort, Sam Callwell became the recognized leader of the Green River mountain men—or as Brown puts it, Callwell was said to be at the head of the gang of desperadoes who plied their vocation from Bridger to Green River, and back on the emigrant route to Laramie; he was a large, trim built man, about six feet six inches tall, and very daring. But after a bowie knife was plunged into his vitals [by Louis Tromley, a Frenchman] he did not survive long, dying in about twenty-four hours. . . . L. B. Ryan [succeeded] Samuel Callwell as chief of the organized band of desperadoes. . . . (Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 310, 312.)

Bill Hickman has a considerable account of his own dealings with Ryan, who, he says (and this is shown to be the fact in at least one instance), accompanied him on three missions pertaining to Indian affairs in 1854–55. Hickman also says (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, 106) that Ryan was subsequently killed by "a Spaniard," this apparently in the spring of 1855.

[Six months after part 3 of "Washakie and the Shoshoni" appeared in print, the Bancroft Library acquired several documents relating to Holeman's service in the Utah Superintendency. One item was a post-agency-service letter to Holeman at home in New Liberty, Kentucky from Hubert Papin, a trader/settler wintering in the Green River area, shedding further light on events Morgan had cited in this note. Morgan mentioned the acquisition in a letter to Lola Homsher, stating that he would have included the letter in the note had it been available at the time (Morgan to Homsher, 1955 Jan. 24, Morgan Papers). On the strength of that comment it is included here.

Green River Utah Ter'y Nov 12th/54

Mast Holeman

Dr Sir

Your letter of August 23^d come to hand in due season. And hope you will not blame me for failing to answer it immediately. You have been with, and seen enough of Mountain life, to know we cannot be as punctual in our correspondence as if we were in the States, where every facility and convenience is at hand

I left my Fort about the fourth of Octo. on account of the Sioux Indians. They were stealing my Horses, taking 39 head—but as luck would have it, Sho Coho Indians [i.e., Shoshoni, see Ch. 3, note 4] were camped at the Bridge and knowing the Horses, took them from their. The Sioux and Chayinns are getting very troublesome, they kill, and steal, every chance they get. Mr. [Martin? Martineau?] (Trader from MO) lost five head of Horses, about the same time, also killed an Indian squaw making quite a display of the skulls as they past the different trading posts—seeming to exult over it (Snake Squaws)

The Snakes and Utes are waring with each other and there has been a considerable number kill^d on both sides

As to the information you desire in regard to the Murder of Gunnison, and his party. I am unable to give you any satisfaction. The Mormons accuse the Utes and the Utes accuse the Mormons, and no one I have herd speak of it seems to know— The Utes are far more friendly disposed towards the Traders than they have ever been, and just the severe &c towards the Mormons, and emigrants. They

a short time since kill four Mormons and of course the Mormons will return the compliment the first opportunity that presents itself You wish to know the matter of the \$80.00 was arranged, and settled between Archambault and Lajeunesse. They refuse to pay me any thing, but say if they owe you any thing, that they will pay you if you present your accounts personally. You will get your pay if you come yourself, but I don't think you will otherwise The horse you let me get from Mr [Gracien? Gracieu?] I did not get— Gracien refusing to let me have it.

You request me to send you some moccasins Indian fixuns &c. If an opportunity presents itself I will do so with pleasure, but I cannot send them by mail, for they would never reach you if they were. By the time you come up I will have them ready for you. And I will expect you to come out in the spring. As to the license, as trader I have never been able to obtain them, not knowing who to apply to or who the Indian agent is.

I was truly gratified to learn that the President approved your acts &c as Indian agent, and regret that you declined returning.

I shall return to my Fort in the spring, and hope to meet you there Mrs Papan & Children wish to be remember^d to you. Archambault sold out to his partner Lajeunesse, and has returned to the States. As to news I have nothing new or interesting to give. I will be pleased to hear from you at any time

You wish to know all about the Mormons & their settlement at Bridger. They made a settlement on Henry's fork, about two miles from Bridger's Fort but from all I can learn they will not be suffered to remain for I learn from Washakie, that they will don't intend to suffer them to remain nor sell them an inch of land until they see the American chief (Pres[iden]t. They are anxious to see you, and express great friendship towards you.

You want information as regards trade and what kind would be best to bring out—Groceries of every description will pay well, whole sale or retail

Saml Caldwell (Trader) got into a difficulty with Lucy Tromley in Caldwell's own house, Tromley wanted to leave the house, and go to Doolittle's tent to sleep, Caldwell told him he should not, but should sleep there, or he^d whip him before he did—Tromley started to leave the House, Caldwell followed, and struck him, Tromley turned on him with a knife giving him two stabs, one in the abdomen and one in the neck, Caldwell survived only 16 hours. Tromley gave himself up to the Mormons, and was cleared. Mutty was also kill^d at or near Bridgers Fort last winter, he was stabled, but no one knows who done it. It is supposed to be done by some one about the fort without any cause unless for a little money he had about him. Henry Piles got kill^d by a Trader, for stealing a horse, the trader pursued and overtook him. Piles burst a cap at him [i.e., shot at him] and was at once shot down by the trader. It happened at Green Willow Springs—Jack Swinery was kill^d on Sweet Water above the crossings, for stealing horses, supposed to have been done by Emigrants. Write soon.

Yours, Verry Respectfully

Hubert Papin

Papin's "Fort" mentioned here was probably the trading stockade he operated, most likely with partner Charles Perot, near Independence Rock. Additional details about trouble during this time may be found in the notes of an interview with one of Papin's former clerks (cf. Alexis Magliore Mousseau interview, Eli S. Ricker Manuscript Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln). Note that Morgan follows Hyde's spelling of "Callwell" while Papin specifies "Caldwell." The other figures mentioned in the letter, Mutty, Piles, Swinery, and Gracien or Gracieu, may have been part of Caldwell's gang of mountaineers but have been otherwise lost to history. The Papin letter is part of the Jacob H. Holeman Correspondence, 1851–1854, Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley. —Ed.]

81. This document is the primary source of information on the ownership of the Mormon ferries or ferry at this particular time. Hawley may have taken over the ferry in the spring of 1854, at which time a reinforcement was sent out to the Fort Supply mission and steps taken to organize Green River County, to give the Mormons better political control over it. Hosea Stout's diary interestingly develops this background. Stout left Great Salt Lake City, in a company which included Orson Hyde and William A. Hickman, on May 1, and arrived at Fort Supply May 7, finding it "the most forbidding and godforsaken place I have ever seen for an attempt to be made for a settlement & judging from the altitude I have no hesitancy in predicting that it will yet prove a total failure but the brethren here have done a great deal of labor." His diary continues:

[May 9.] Judge [W. I.] Appleby organized the County of Green River by appoi[nti]ng Robert Alexander Clerk of Probate Court, W. A. Hickman Sheriff also assessor and Collector as well as prosecuting attorney. He also appointed the other requisite County officers, after which Isaac Bullock, James Brown, Elijah Ward and James Davis were appointed to go to the Shoshonee Indians to assure them of our good wishes and feelings towards them also to allay the prejudice which some unprincipled mountaineers had raised against us after the council was over we celebrated the inaugeration of the newly appointed officers in the usual way. . . .

[May 10] Elder Hyde, John Leonard, Ute Perkins & John Fawcett left about noon for Great Salt Lake City

[May 11] . . . Captain Hawley arrived this evening meeting Hyde & co at sulpher Creek. They were undoubtedly under forced march In fact Elder Hyde seems to [have] an invincible repugnance to Fort Supply.

[May 12] . . . Some six wagons started to Green River ferry to day. . . .

[May 14] Crossed Ham's Fork which we had to ferry in Hawley's Skiff Here we found Mr Shockley's waggon loaded with alcahal and other things This we all knew what to do with so after helping ourselves we took his waggon on with us some 4 or 5 miles and camped soon after which Shockley & Russell came after their wagon, both very glad that we had brought it along for with[out] Hawley's skiff they could not have crossed Ham's fork. Bullock & company also came and put up with us on their way to the Shoshonees so all was well now & plenty of good company.

[May 15] . . . we arrived at Russell's [after] Baiting with Batise at twelve Here at Russell's is where Huntington & Co. commenced a Settlement in 1852 which was wisely abandoned afterwards.

[May 16] . . . moved two miles down the River to the Mormon Crossing of Green River Ferry and ferried our traps & waggon across in Hawley's skiff Here was three log buildings in which we took possession of shielding us only a little from the Storms for they were in a bad condition. . . . Nearly all the mountaineers came to day to pay us our first visit

[May 18] . . . Mr Hawley put his rope across the river and Joseph Busby came from Weber ferry to commence suit against Bridger & Lewis in a matter pertaining to Ham's fort ferry last year wherein all three were partners.

[May 19] Attending legal business Joseph Busby vs James Bridger & Suece Louis. A large company of Bannack indians crossed the river to day. . . .

[May 27] . . . Hickman & Hawley started their teams to Hams Fork with a boat to start a ferry at that point.

[May 28] . . . The Mountaineers as usual throng in here to day drinking swearing & gambling.

[May 29] Law suit before Judge Appleby. John H. Bigler vs F. M. Russell administrator of the estate of saml. M. Callwell deced in Replevin for the

recovery of a mare Hickman was council for plaintiff & myself for Defence Judgement no cause of action & const apportioned equally.

The day was wound up in hard drinking & gambling . . .

[May 30] Squalls & hard wind, cold and uncomfortable while we are all shivering around in these miserable old log huts and suel & Winters are quite sick & I have took up my boarding with Hawley. He has returned from Ham's Fork having started the ferry there

[June 1] Bullock, Brown, Ward & Davis came here this evening on their return from their mission to the Shoshonees.

They report the indians somewhat ill disposed but some were friendly & expect some of them here in a few days. . . .

[June 6] Suit of Busby V. Bridger & Lewis came up to day at ten a. m. I was on the part of the plaintiff & Hickman for Defence

This was an interesting trial which terminated in a judgement against the defendants for 540 dollars & about 75 dollars cost.

An appeal was called for by Plff. Which was however was waived afterwards and Mr Bovee who was an agent for Bridger & Mr Hawley give bonds for the payment of judgement and costs in ten days.

The day was wound up according to custom by fiddling, drinking & gambling in Earl's & McDonald's grocery and finally about 11 o'clock in the night wound up by two of the party's having a knock down The fact is our place is improving fast. Earl & McDonald has a grocery and gambling table both well patronized every law day Hawley another grocery & Blazzard a Brewery, so when Emmegration & law gets in full blow every body can be accommodated

[June 8] . . . Emmegrants are coming and crossing

[June 9] The Judge and officers of court are busily engaged repairing to miserable log house which we occupy for a Court house. Vasques & Strongfellow arrived bringing the report that Mr James Bridger was left by them very sick & not expected to live. He was some where on the Missouri river.

[June 11] . . . Benjamin Hawley returned from Salt Lake bringing Hickman's & McDonald's wives. Hitherto only two women, Hawley's wife & daughter-in-law were the only women who graced our society. This in a company of some twenty Mormons seems to be verging into a state little short of *Modern* Christianity but since we have been blessed with two more female arrivals the aspect of our society seems to brighten

[June 12] . . . one man drowned at Kinney's ferry [which was 9.92 miles above the Pioneer or Mormon ferry; see the *Deseret News*, October 24, 1855]. . . .

[June 15] Mr Elisha Ryan with some seven Shoshonee Indians arrived here, There is several lodges of shoshonee's been encamped here several days. In the after noon we had a regular talk with Ryan, as chif, and his braves He said he was sent by the Head Chief to learn what our intentions were. Whether we intended to take their land & if so whether peaceably or not. What was the feelings of the General Government & also Governor Young and the mormons, towards them. That they did not want their timber cut of have houses built on their land nor have settlements established. That if we did not and were friendly all was well for they desired to live in peace with all men but at the same time they would not allow any infringement on their lands.

That they had given Green River to him the said Ryan and those mountaineers who had married shoshonee wives. They complained bitterly about the general government neglecting them in never making a treaty with them and not sending men to trade for their skins and furs &c Ryan said he had been

robbed of his last bottom dollar (referring to the suit against him last year) That he considered this land his own and no one had a right to keep a ferry here but himself and those who had married Shoshonee wives. He said he [had] nothing against the Mormons as a people but had against those individuals who robbed him last year, and many such things spoke he. . . .

[June 16] . . . Another talk with Ryan and his braves He claims all the ferries on Green River in the most positive terms, denying the right of the Legislature of Utah to grant a legal charter without the consent of the Shoshonees who own the land. He does not quite threaten hostilities but at the same time says he will have it and seems to want us to understand that he he [*sic*] has the power to redress his own grievances, and offers to arbitrate his claim by referring his right & the right of the ferry company to Chief of the Indian Bureau at Washington which Hawley agrees to do on the part of the company.

The conditions of this I will not relate. He agrees to have another meeting and grand talk in about fifteen days. . . .

[June 17] Ryan on the part of those who claim Green River on the one part & Jones, Russells, and Hawley on the part of the company entered into bonds of 50,000 dollars to abide the result of the arbitration and Ryan gives bond to the same amount to keep the Indians peaceable in the mean time. . . .

[June 18] . . . The *plot thickens* and a considerable excitement Mr F. M. Russell came this morning complaining that Ryan had broke his treaty or arbitration and had attempted to take forcible possession for the ferry at Kinney and had made an attempt to cut the rope Judge Appleby issued a writ for him but while this was going on Mr Skockley came express reporting that Ryan being joined by eight other mountaineers had actually taken possession of the ferry and was crossing Emmigrants and taking their money. The writ was however given to Mr Hickman the sheriff who with a *possee* of six men besides Russell & Shockley started after Ryan. The excitement quite well got up now. When the sheriff arrived at Kinney's he found Ryan in a sound drunken sleep. Ryan was drunk when he took the ferry so after occupying until the sober second thought returned he gave up the ferry & money he had taken & fell quietly asleep.

Circumstances being thus & Ryan agreeing to behave in future those on the part of the ferry concluded to drop the matter and the excitement ended without smoke And thus ended the Sabbath day on Green River.

[June 21] Ryan & company executed the affrsaid bonds . . .

[June 23] . . . Sokoper a Shoshonee Chief came. Another big talk. He don't want his timber cut or his land settled but says his heart is good towards us.

[June 26] . . . Judge Appleby & several others went to Kinney's to the sale of the property of the Estate of Caldwell.

[June 30] Wash-a-keek the Head chief of the Shoshonees and another Indian came He was not here long before he became intoxicated when he acted very bad but when sober he professed to be all very good He left mad creating considerable excitement.

[July 1] Hawley moved two waggon loads over the river & *cached* his liquor for fear the Indians might come & get drunk and thereby create a difficulty. Several left for home [I] among the rest. . . .

[July 6] Went to Weber [River] which we found barely fordable But we crossed on the boat. Here I paid Joseph Busby 283 dollars and 55 cents of the [money] collected for him or Bridger & suice. . . . [Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:215-22. —Ed.]

The better-known accounts of this period by James S. Brown and William Hickman

may be read in comparison. The Hosea Stout diary is quoted from a typewritten copy in the WPA Collection of the Utah State Historical Society [The publication of this diary extract is historically significant, as it is the first appearance of any part of Stout's remarkable record of early Utah. Morgan had been instrumental in the Stout diaries' transcription and the eventual gift of the originals to the Utah State Historical Society; that he did not make more use of them in his notes is witness to the haste of his effort compiling the documentary series. The peerless journals were published after this documentary series concluded as *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, ed. Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1964). —Ed.]. See also A. L. Siler's letter of May 19, 1854, in the *Deseret News*, June 22, 1854.

91. The original of Hurt's report is also now lost, but the text is recoverable as in note 77, pp. 517–21, and some parts of it merits quotation here [Morgan failed to cite the published version to which his page numbers refer: 34th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1, Serial 810.]. Referring to his journey to the Humboldt, Hurt says:

The first Indians we saw after leaving this place [Great Salt Lake City] were a band of the Treaber [i.e., Weber] Utes, at Bingham's Fort [near Ogden], numbering about 60 or 70 men, under a chief by the name of Little Soldier, or Showets. We gave them some presents, at which they were much pleased, and soon left for their camps near by. On the evening of the next day we camped at Willow creek, and scarcely had time to unharness, when we discovered, in the distance, a perfect cloud of dust, which we perceived was produced by a large band of Indians coming towards us in a sweeping gallop. In a few minutes they were in camp, when we discovered them to be a band of Shoshonees, or Snakes proper, from the Green River country, numbering something over one hundred, who had come over to the mouth of the Bear river to fish; and hearing that we were in the neighborhood, said they supposed we had come to give them presents, and I soon saw they were not disposed to leave disappointed. So I gave them all some shirts and tobacco and some bits of calico for their squaws.

These are a good looking band of Indians, and left a favorable impression of their friendly disposition towards the whites. . . .

After describing his experiences on the Humboldt and return to Salt Lake City on August 22, Hurt recounts the treaty-making in these terms:

a band of Shoshonees, or Snakes proper, under a chief by the name of Ti-ba-bon-dwart-sa, (white man's friend,) numbering in all about three hundred, who had come to this place, according to previous arrangements with the Utahs, for the purpose of holding a treaty with them [visited him on August 24]. And in compliance with your instructions I selected camping ground, and supplied them with provisions, fuel, and some hay for their horses. In a few days they were joined by the Utahs and Cuniumhahs [Cumumbahs], making in all about five hundred souls; and as my expenditures in presents and provisions to them were larger than may be anticipated, it may be necessary to state the reasons which induced me to make them. It was well understood among the Indians of this Territory, as early as last spring, that large appropriations had been made by Congress for the purpose of making presents to and treaties with them. I am not prepared to say how they came in possession of these facts, but they had been looking for something to be done in this way all summer. I perceived that their expectations were up, and that there was no way to avoid making these presents without serious disappointment. The season was passing away and the Indians were anxious to know why these presents did not come. The Snakes complained that they had permitted the white people to make roads through all their lands and travel upon them in safety, use the grass and drink the water, and had never received anything for it, all though the tribes around them had been getting

presents. Under these circumstances, I saw no way to retain their confidence but to meet these expectations. And as they have succeeded in making peace among themselves, and renewed their pledges of friendship to the whites, we have reason to hope that harmony will prevail for a season. . . .

[While at the Humboldt, Hurt negotiated and signed a treaty with bands along the river on August 7, which was never ratified by the Senate. See "Indian Affairs on the California Trail," p. 103 this volume. —Ed.]

96. Compare Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 364–69. A letter written by Isaac Bullock to George A. Smith from Fort Supply on October 20, 1855, so interestingly illumines Armstrong's letter that it is quoted in full despite its length; the original is in the L. D. S. Church Historian's Office [now the Historical Department]:

Dear Brother Geo. A. Smith.

Since I last wrote (Oct. 5th,) there has been some trouble here with the Indians. One of the chiefs by the name of Tababoindowetsy and band came to our fort Oct. 10th. They demanded a present of potatoes and wheat from Brother [James S.] Brown, telling him that he had promised it to them. He told them he had made no such promise. They told him that he lied and were very bold and impudent. There had been a promise made to them by Brother Zera Pulsipher before they went into the valley that when the leaves fell, the potatoes and wheat were ripe, if they should come we would give them some wheat and potatoes that grew on their land. This promise was made in Brother Brown's absence and he knew nothing of it. Brother Pulsipher, having the charge of affairs, made this promise to get rid of them until the crops were matured, for they were grappling the potatoes before they were as big as hazle nuts and also they wanted flour. They were put off by telling them that the flour we had did not grow on their land and the men had only enough for themselves. It was brought from another land, for them to wait till it grew on their land and for them to go to farming; if they liked potatoes, they must raise them, etc. The chief was in a bad humor. He had two of his children die in the valley and partly laid it to Brigham's talk killing them. The spirit to complain and find fault seemed to be with them, yet at times they manifested the most friendly feelings. I had been away while Pres. Brown and chief had their talk. I returned just as the chief and quite a number of his braves were leaving. I informed Pres. Brown of the promise, for I was present when it was made. He wished me to go and see them and tell them that it was not Brown but Pulsipher that made the promise, to which I did go and partially reconciled them, at least to all appearances. The next day I went to dig some potatoes for the chief, as I had promised him some. He went along with me. Nearly his whole band followed and commenced grappling all around me. I spoke to the chief to see what his people were doing. He very carelessly replied that he had no eyes and could not see them. I told him that I had eyes and could see and I worked very hard to water and rise them and that it did not make my heart feel good to have them do that way when I was just going to give them some. He called to his people and left the field. I saw that his feelings were not first rate. Just about this time three (two young bucks and one little chief) came to where Pres. Brown was standing at the bars and wanted to go through. He said they might if they would keep the path and not run over the grain. They passed through and went galloping over the wheat, saying it was good to run over the "Mormon's" grain. These same three came to me and wanted something to eat. I did not know of their running over the grain. I promised them some and went to the house. Having none cooked, they proposed to take a little flour as it was most sundown and go to their own wickeups and cook and

eat it. I gave them 4 pints of flour and they seemed well pleased and wanted to know if they might come the next day and dance. About this time Pres. Brown came up and knew that they were the ones that run over the grain. One bold, impudent fellow said, Yes, he had run over it and would do it again and it was good to run over the Whites' grain. Pres. Brown told him if it was good for him to run over it and if he did it any more that they would go for him to whip him. He spoke up and said, "Whip me, whip me." And the other little chief said for [us] to whip him. They pressed and insisted that Brown should whip him, daring him to strike him. Coming close to Brother Brown to get him to strike the first blow, Pres. Brown told him to go away and leave the fort. He got so mad at Pres. Brown that he drew his bow and arrow and was about to shoot him, when Pres. Brown cried out to the brethren to get to their arms. They had not any more than got to them till another order to come quick with our arms. This happening close to my room door, I quickly stepped in and got my revolver and handed it out to Pres. Brown. As soon as they saw him with a pistol, they broke out of the fort. Brown followed close after them, telling them not to go through the field, when they instantly asked where they might go. He showed them to go around and they were perfectly cornered, and turned and went around. By this time the excitement had run like wild fire. The Indians came running with their bows and arrows. None seemed to be mad but these three, but still to see all the "Mormon" boys coming out with their arms in a bustle which they never had seen before, waked them up. A strong guard was placed around the fort and kept up all night. Pres. Brown posted a man with an express to Gov. Young. Had it written that night, started at 2 o'clock the next morning; also Brother McCray left at the same time to go to Fort Bridger, under strict orders not to take the road, but go round down Black's Fork, so as not to be discovered by the Indians. Our orders were to have our guns ready, for we might expect an attack. Our horses were sent out next morning with a guard to a place where, if an enemy were to come, they could see the enemy before it could get to them, and if they saw dust or appearance of Indians, that the guard should run the horses into the corral in the fort. About one or two o'clock a large dust rose in the distance. Pretty soon here came the guard full charge, with the horses. The cry was, "The Indians are coming." Orders to arms. Bring everything into the fort. They mustered to arms in a hurry. Every man was at his post, expecting every moment to hear the war whoop. A cry from the guard house, that it was white men. Next cry was, whites and Indians, which gave our hearts another flutter, (for it was presumable that the mountain men and Indians might colleague together). As they neared our fort, it was authentically declared that it was the Indian agent, for here he was in person, followed by the Indians, who were stopped at the gate by Pres. Brown's request. The agent had their arms taken from them before he would let them into the fort. It truly happened very lucky for us that Major Armstrong, U. S. Indian agent, and party, were so near by when this excitement commenced, and before any serious injury was done to lay it. No sooner than the Major got the news, he leaves his wagons at Fort Bridger, mounts a horse and with the guard, he brought with him, goes to the Indian camp, has a talk with them, finds that they were for peace, or in other words, they said they did not want to fight, that there had been some misunderstanding with them and the "Mormons" at Fort Supply. He brought them along with him to Fort Supply that the parties might be together, so he could hear both sides, and then he could tell who was to blame. As I said before, he disarmed them before he would let them come inside of the picketing. He then held a council

with them. The thing was all talked over and they, the Indians, agreed to throw away all of their mad feelings. I must say the course that Major Armstrong took was truly commendable. He manifested a deep feeling of interest to establish peace between the red men and whites in this region. He showed a willingness to render us all the assistance to settle the difficulty that had occurred.

Oct. 13, Tababooindowetsy and band met the agent again at Fort Supply. He had a long talk with them. They appeared to put all confidence in him, as they called him their father or their great Father's Papoose. He told them to look at the Sioux nation and see how they done. They commenced to kill the whites and their Great Father was mad and sent men to fight them; and it would be so with them, if they should commence to fight the whites.

Brother Smith, pray pardon me for being so lengthy, but to make an apology would be to add more, so I will close at present by subscribing myself,

Your Brother in the Gospel of peace,

Isaac Bullock

(P. S.)

Nov. 6, 1855. As I had no chance to send this until today, I will add a little more. Major R[obert] T. Burton with a company of 25 minute men, arrived at our fort Oct. 18th; they came to see how things were getting along, but had not much to do with the Indian difficulty, for they had most all gone. After their talk with the agent, they promised the agent to go away to the buffalo and they promptly fulfilled thus far. Major Burton's stay was short. He left on the 21st Oct. Everything seemed settled, and so it appears up to the present date. Brother Joshua Terry and Brothers Walley and Benjamin Roberts went out to Tababooindowetsy's camp which was beyond Green River the last day of October. Returned and brought word very favorable, that the chief was on his way to meet Washakee (Indian Chief) over toward the Platte in the buffalo country. The chief said he was a very big friend now to the "Mormons" and all white people.

I think that they will keep their covenant made with the agent this winter at least. The brethren here feel very anxious to learn the language of the natives, so they can preach to them. Four men are calculating to start in a few days to Washakee's camp and winter with them. There seems to be peace here now, both with the mountaineers and Indians. We have gathered everything which we raised into our fort and feel that we can protect ourselves this winter by the grace of our God.

I calculated to give you a description of our fort before now, as I promised you, but owing to the press of business and Indian troubles, I have put it off. I think now soon I can attend to it, as we are getting over with our hay.

So no more at present. My love to yourself, Brother Thos. Bullock and clerk,

I remain as ever your brother in the Gospel of Peace.

Isaac Bullock

98. J. Robert Brown, *Journal of a Trip across the Plains of the U. S., from Missouri to California, in the Year 1856* (Columbus, Ohio: The Author, 1860), provides some interesting background on Shoshoni affairs at this time. Brown traveled west with a trader, E. R. Yates, who had wintered on Green River in 1853–54, and reached Green River on July 23, moving on the 24th to a point not far from the Mormon Ferry. His journal continues:

After we had eaten, old Baptiste Louisant (pro Bat-eest Looee-zong) and the French gentleman [H. Duponey] whom I saw with Mr. Measure on the Platte, came to our camp. Uncle Batt, as he is called, lives opposite here, and owns the ferry; he is an old hunter and mountaineer . . . [Some of the party went off] to Jack Robinson's, a very noted character in these parts; he is a brother of Geo.

Robinson of Bridgton, Mo. . . . Uncle Batt came over and spent the evening; we sang several songs for him, which pleased him much.

[July 26] I find these mountaineers generally, to be a very interesting set of men, sociable, generous, free, frank, frolicsome, and fond of fun and whisky. About 10 o'clock, Jack Robinson and Yates came in. Jack Robinson is about fifty or fifty-five years of age, is much broken in countenance, but has a strong, muscular frame. For the last year or two he has hurt himself by drinking. He is never drunk, but goes upon the rule of "little and often," which he has kept up today. He is a kind of arbiter or judge among these rough men, and appears to be respected and loved by them all. He was chief of the Shoshones or Snake tribe for a long time, until, through his advice, the tribe elected Wassahu [Washakie] chief. From all that I can gather from these men, and other that I have seen, I think Wassahu is as great a man as Tecumseh, Blackhawk or Phillip—he is, no doubt, a much better man. I have heard the mountain men tell many pleasing anecdotes of him. I should like very much to see him. We were visited by at least twenty men to-day. Uncle Jack and I soon got into a conversation. . . . he is very interesting. . . . Robinson and Yates left before sun-down, to go up to Robinson's camp, about five or six miles from here.

[Sunday, July 27. Forded the river without any great trouble.] Several more mountain men hearing that Yates had arrived, came to our camp. Yates lived here on this river all winter in 1853 and 1854, and this is the reason he is so well known; he owed Jack Robinson over \$1500 from that time. . . .

[August 2. The company now was camped within a mile and a half of Fort Bridger, and Yates went to the fort to see if he could get some meat.] Yates came, without meat, in company with Barney Ward and another mountaineer. This Barney Ward is an old mountaineer, and the *only* one the Mormons had proselyted. . . . We were soon off on the road again, and came to Fort Bridger. This was built and owned by Col. Bridger. The Mormons bought him out [in 1854], and now keep a store and post here. They persecuted him, and tried to cheat him out of his pay. They bought the fort and section of land for \$3,000 [\$4,000], and owe \$4,000 of it yet [which was paid in 1858]. Col Bridger is now acting as guide for Lord Gore, at \$30 per day and found. This is what a man gets by knowing these mountains. . . .

[August 5, encamped at the head of Echo Canyon, west of Bear River] While preparing breakfast, an Indian came into camp. He could only say Shoshone, and strike his breast in token of friendship. Soon there came another, and from their signs we understood that Wassakee was coming. I was all interest now. We, however, divided our little portion of bread with these sons of the wilderness. While we were eating Yates treated them to whisky, which is against U. S. law; I told him so. He was making some remark, when I interrupted him by saying that I heard horses' feet coming. We all now listened, and these Indians said Wassakee, Wassakee, in a low voice. Very soon 7 or 8 Indians came around the point of the hill and partially help up, and came slowly up to camp. When they came up Yates recognized one of them as being Brazil [Bazil], whom he had seen often two years ago. He shook hands and all dismounted and came to the fire, and Brazil and Wassakee shook hands all round. I soon picked out Wassakee by his appearance. We found out through Brazil which was Wassakee for certain; an Indian will not tell his own name. I was somewhat disappointed in the appearance of this chief; I thought he was an old Indian, very large, and possessing great dignity. On the contrary, Wassakee is a medium sized man, aged about 35 or 40 years, but of a perfect form, straight, muscular and firm, and possesses the most beautiful set of teeth

I ever saw. He was out on a hunt, and was dressed in a kind of coat and pants made of an old white blanket. Yates made the whisky flow freely now, and Wassakee drank much, but he would pour some into a tin cup and then fill it up with water, and then portion out a little to each Indian except Brazil, whom he allowed to take the raw material. I could not see that it affected Wassakee any; but Brazil's eyes began to brighten. After the Indians had drank he would wave his hand, and the Indians would mount and away. About 35 visited us during the morning. Wassakee could speak but a few words of American, but promised us "antelope, heap," after Yates told him about where we would camp. I told Yates I was afraid he would get these Indians drunk. Soon after this we started and traveled down a valley until we nooned. . . .

I forgot to mention that we had not left our camp far this morning, before Wassakee and Brazil, and another Indian, followed us. They had started up the road, but I supposed they had not yet had enough whisky, so Yates rode back and met them. When they came up he stopped the wagons and filled a sardine box with whisky and gave it to W., who then called for a pipe and some tobacco, which was found and given to him, when they took their gifts and sat down beside the road. Wassakee, before he left us, shook hands with me only, and spoke the word "che-bungo," which Yates says means "good." We had not gone more than a mile before here come Brazil in a gallop. Yates now tried to hide himself in the wagons. Brazil came up and asked me, in American, "where's Yates? Mr. Yates." Says I he's gone on. "No," says he. Just then the wind raised the wagon cover and he saw Yates in the wagon. He made him get out and give him just one more "leetle dram, Mr. Yates." Then he gave back the pipe and left us. He was getting very tight, and his tongue was thick; he promised us "antelope *heap, much, me.*"

[August 7] We have seen no more of the Snake Indians since yesterday; we suppose they could find no game for us. Wassakee wanted us to tell Brigham Young and the Mormons that he was *mad* at them. When a chief says that he means no child's play, for it is their declaration of war. (I have since learned that the Mormons had to make him many presents to keep him from fighting.) Yates says Wassakee is rich, and can dress as fine as any chieftain in the mountains. . . .

[August 12, on Mountain Dell Creek, having the previous day crossed Big Mountain] I neglected to mention yesterday of having met "Bill Hickman," in charge of the presents for Wassahu, two wagon loads sent by Brigham, to pacify the chief. This Bill Hickman is a most foul and bloody murderer, but one would not suspect it from his appearance. . . .

206. D/290–1863. Printed rather carelessly in: 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, Serial 1220, 318–20. [See also the new note to Document 101. The map is now located as 38B-C8, RG 46, Senate Indian Treaties, Center for Legislative Archives, NARA, Washington, D. C. For his article Morgan reproduced a print taken of a positive Photostat filed as *Petitioner's Exhibit* 1, Docket 326, Indian Claims Commission, RG 279. Doty's map was recently identified among Senate records of the 38th Congress, where it was probably sent when the Shoshoni treaty was being debated prior to the required Senate ratification vote.

Doty's base map is the top sheet of the second edition "general Warren map," as it is popularly known to Western scholars, and correctly as *Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean*. . . , map n. 5 in Gouverneur K. Warren, *Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 11, sec. 1 (1859) of *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific*

Ocean (Washington, D. C.: George W. Bowerman, 1861)— i.e., “Pacific Railroad Reports,” quarto ed. For the cartobibliographically minded, the Warren map, engraved by Selmar Seibert, is discussed as map 936 in Carl I. Wheat, “From the Pacific Railroad Surveys to the Onset of the Civil War,” *Mapping the Transmississippi West, 1540–1865* (San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957–1963), 4:84–91, and cited as an element of Wagner-Camp-Becker’s *The Plains and the Rockies*, 4th ed. (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1994), no. 266c, map n. 5. Neither Wheat nor WCB notes the existence of the second issue. The corrected and updated second edition was drawn by E. Freyhold, engraved by the firm of J. Bein in New York, and printed in 1858, yet this later, more-correct version seems *not* to have been included in the Pacific Railroad Reports. The image reproduced here is made directly from the original sheet. Indian records reference archivist Mary Frances Morrow, Old Military and Civil Records Division, and Thomas Eisinger of the Center for Legislative Archives did the legwork re-locating this item.

A letter of F. W. Lander to Alfred B. Greenwood, February 18, 1860 (National Archives), citing an earlier report, includes among others this census summary of the Shoshoni population. It provides basic demographic context for the data Doty represented geographically three years later:

Schedule of the number of the various bands referred to in this report or visiting the emigrant roads via the South Pass.

I have estimated seven individuals to the lodge. This is a larger number than is usual in a buffalo country where the skin lodge is less costly than among the Snakes.

SHOSHONEES OR EASTERN SNAKES

Chief Wash-I-kee or Wash-I-keek in english “Gambler’s gourd,” or Pinaqua-na, in english “Smell of sugar.” Lodges – 125 – Subsistence – Buffalo, small game, fish, wild roots and seeds, — Range – Green river country – Horses – a large number.

SALMON RIVER SNAKES; BANNACKS AND SNAKES AND SHEEP-EATERS

Chief Qui-tan-I-wa in english “Foul Hand” with “Old Snag” and the Bannack “Grand Coquin” – Lodges 50 – Subsistence – Salmon and trout, elk, deer and antelope Range – On Salmon river and the mountains north of it – Horses – a small number. A Small band of the Sheep Eaters are very fierce and wild, rarely visiting whites.

WESTERN SNAKES

Chief. Am-a-ro-ko—in english, “Buffalo meat under the shoulder” –Lodges 75 – Subsistence – Buffalo meat and wild vegetables – Range – Kamass prairie – Horses – large number. – Po-ca-ta-ro’s [Pocatello’s] band – Goose Creek mountains, head of Humboldt, Raft Creek and Mormon Settlements. Horses – few.

BANNACKS OR PANNAKES OR PANNACKS

Chief – Mo-pe-ah, in english “Horn of hair on the forehead” – Lodges – 60 – Subsistence – Buffalo meat and wild vegetables – Range – In country of Salt river ad tributaries – Horses – large number.

BANNACKS OF FORT BOISE’

Chief, Po-e-ma-che-ah, in english “Hairy Man” –Lodge 100 – Subsistence – Salmon fish, wild vegetables and roots – Range – In neighborhood of Fort Boise’ – Horse – large number.

SALT LAKE DIGGERS; LOWER OR SOUTHERN SNAKES

Chief, Indian name unknown, in english “Long Beard” Lodge –50 – Subsist – amongst the Mormons and by hunting and plunder – Range –Around Salt Lake – Horses – few.

WARRARICAS (IN ENGLISH, "SUN FLOWERSEED EATERS") OR DIGGERS OR
BANNACKS BELOW FORT BOISE' WEST OF BLUE MOUNTAINS.

Chief, Pash-e-co or Pa-chi-co, in english "Sweet Root" Medicine man and head of all the Bannacks or Pannakees; thought a wonderful prophet by the Snakes - Lodges - 150 - Subsistence - Roots and the Kamass with plunder - Range - Head of John Days river and west of Blue mountains - Horses - very few - They steal the latter from the Cayuses.

All the above indians travel together and intermarry. They hold the entire country. I consider the Eastern Snakes as in some measure isolated from the rest and as being more particularly under the direction of the reliable Chief Wahsikee.

—Ed.]

Index

Indexed terms reflect the usage and perceptions of nineteenth-century writers and may not accurately mirror modern ethnology or geography. Tribal and band affiliations listed here are neither definitive nor always certain. Index terms are standardized according to usage in libraries and historical works and are followed parenthetically by variants that appear in Morgan's articles. Readers should consider such variants when trying to find a name or topic on a specific page. Numbers in *italic* refer to *document numbers* in which an individual is a correspondent.

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