
XIII.—THE HISTORY OF EVENTS RESULTING IN INDIAN CONSOLIDATION WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE PROGRESS OF INDIAN REMOVAL FROM 1812 TO 1820.

The war of 1812 marks a great change in Indian affairs. The agitation of the removal project, previously confined to individuals or at most to communities essentially local, extended itself to States. Jefferson's plan, exaggerated to the prejudice of the Indians, entered politics; and, although it never became what would be strictly called a party issue, joined forces, nevertheless, with the tariff and internal improvements to divide the sections. In point of fact, it figured in its later days as a purely Democratic measure, involving the doctrine of State rights, and on this, its constitutional side, became identified with the history of the Southern States. On its economic side it belonged equally to both South and West. There party lines were forgotten.

In reviewing the history of Monroe's Administration, the student is forcibly impressed with the apparent unanimity of opinion respecting the Indian policy of the Government. Monroe, Calhoun, and Jackson stood at the head of a coterie of men favoring vigorous measures. Jackson was the leading spirit and began to exercise a most weighty influence over the Indian policy of the Government as far back as the time when Monroe held the portfolio of War—an influence which, after Monroe became Secretary of State and presumptive heir to the Presidency, increased in character and amount, proportionate to the development of Jackson's own ideas. From 1817 the influence continued, working at times directly through personal correspondence with Monroe, but most often indirectly through Calhoun. Prominent as the President and his Secretary of War appear in those years to have been as revivalists and propagandists of the removal idea, they were not the soul of the movement, for that was Jackson. They simply fell in with his ideas, adopted them as far as their conservatism would permit, and gave official expression to them. Jackson was essentially a western man with western ideas, anxious for western development, no real friend of the Indians. It is true his influence over them was almost unbounded, owing partly to his military reputation, partly to the great show he made of justice. The enemies of the Indians were invariably to be found among his strongest supporters. As commander of the southern division, then as governor of the Floridas,

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his opinions carried weight with the War Department and, for ten long eventful years, he and his friends managed to secure most of the Indian patronage.

The economic results of the second war with Great Britain were more immediate than the political. They manifested themselves in the unprecedented growth of home industries. European trade being cut off, the nation fell back upon its own, as yet undeveloped, resources and the consequence was that a new impetus was given to all branches of economic life. This created a demand for labor, which, to a great extent, disorganized Europe supplied. Few foreigners ventured beyond the Alleghenies, but settlers from the older States, who had fled westward during the period of commercial depression, caused by the embargo and nonimportation acts, were less diffident. Upon the cessation of hostilities they were joined by other pioneers, young men mostly, hardy and enterprising, who, having shared in the western campaigns, had become filled with enthusiasm to penetrate the solitudes of the upper Mississippi Valley.^b Their eagerness was heightened by the expectation that the lands of the hostile tribes would be confiscated and thrown at nominal rates upon the market.^c The Indians, discouraged by repeated failures, were powerless to make headway against the stream of immigration and it flowed on unobstructed. So fast did the population increase that two of the three Territories, Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana, that had in 1810 contained less than 42,000 inhabitants, were soon admitted to statehood, Indiana in April, 1816, and Illinois two years later. Nevertheless, settlers did not arrive so fast as the Indian country was vacated. Politicians seemed to think that an immense surplus acreage must always be held in reserve, cleared of Indians so as to swell the advertisement of public lands. The extinguishment of Indian titles became in truth almost a mania in the Northwest and that even before Madison's term had expired. Crawford was indignant and restrained as best he could an extinguishment that went too far in advance of settlement.^d

The impulse to spread over new lands and to attract settlers was scarcely less active in the slaveholding communities, and everywhere growth came at the expense of the natives. The capitulation of the Hickory Ground,^e secured by General Jackson from some of the Creek chiefs after the final defeat of the "hostiles" in the battle of the Horseshoe Bend, proved the nucleus of cessions in the South

^a McMaster, IV : 382.

^b Monette, II : 532.

^c Niles's Register, IV : 315.

^d Crawford to Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau, May 7, 27, and September 17, 1816.

^e "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, pp. 340-342, 363, 425.

^f United States Statutes at Large, 120-122.

the inside history of the treaty of Doak's Stand.^a In its absence, we are thrown back upon our own surmises as to the means employed to secure the cooperation of the Choctaw chiefs, especially as John Pitchlynn, the official interpreter, had made of himself an easy cat's-paw for Jackson. Internal evidence, furnished by the treaty, tells the same old story of perjured faith, yet the long array of signatures points to a more than ordinary compliance. We infer that the nation was well represented, and are surprised to learn that four years afterwards—when bitter passions had had ample time to cool—Puckshenubbe was soundly beaten for his subservience to Jackson in 1820.^b

By the first article of the treaty of Doak's Stand^c the Choctaws ceded the coveted tract in western Mississippi, and obtained in exchange, by the second, a new territory between the Red and Arkansas rivers to which it was expected the more nomadic of the tribe would remove. If they went within one year the Government pledged itself to allow them the full value of their improvements,^d Mississippi was delighted, and her legislature, sharing in the gratitude of Governor Poindexter,^e resolved upon a vote of thanks to Jackson.^f Congress appropriated \$65,000 to carry the treaty into effect,^g and a new agent,^h William Ward, was appointed to register the emigrants; but it soon developed that very few, if any, were inclined to remove.ⁱ The time was extended another year, but to no purpose. One reason for their unwillingness to go was the difficulty that arose over their territory in the West. Jackson had been carefully instructed^j to assign them an uninhabited portion of the Quapaw cession;^k but scarcely was the treaty ratified before com-

^a American State Papers, "Indian Affairs," II : 233-245.

^b William Cocke to Jackson, July 10, 1824, "Jackson Papers."

^c 7 United States Statutes at Large, 211.

^d Article IX, *ibid.*, p. 212.

^e " * * * I beg you to accept the grateful acknowledgments of myself individually, and through me, as their executive magistrate, of the citizens at large. You will live in our affections to the latest period of time, and I trust our posterity will not be unmindful of the obligations, conferred on their ancestors * * * " (Extract from letter of George Poindexter to Jackson, October 25, 1820, "Jackson Papers.")

^f Resolution, approved February 9, 1821.

^g 3 United States Statutes at Large, 634.

^h In the appointment of Colonel Ward, we find one of the many proofs of the unwise selection of Indian agents. The character of the man seemed to count for almost nothing, apparently the more unscrupulous the better. Ward was appointed in March, and in October Calhoun had to call him to account for "vending whiskey" to the Choctaws and in for applying to his own use their annuities. ("Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 177.)

ⁱ "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 193.

^j "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, pp. 462-463.

^k Monroe's method of procedure was more straightforward than Jefferson's. He did not tell the would-be emigrants that there were no red men in the West to dispute their entry; but he acknowledged the indigenous occupancy claim and prepared to extinguish as much of it as was necessary to locate the eastern tribes. That accounts for the instructions to William Clark and Auguste Chouteau, "to acquire lands on the west of the

plaints came in to the War Department that citizens of Arkansas had a prior claim to the land.^a Thus ended another futile attempt to dispose of the southern Indians without their free consent.

If a shade of doubt exists as to Jefferson's intention to include the northwestern tribes in the plan of removal, there is none in the case of Monroe. Madison, too, seems to have had no pronounced partiality for his own section. In the instructions issued June 11, 1814, to Harrison and Cass for bringing Tecumseh's warriors to terms, this thought occurs,^b explicitly or inferentially: Offer in exchange, for a cession that would please the people of Ohio, "a tract of equal dimensions lying between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi." Instructions sent later in the same day^c withdrew the authority to exchange, so that a simple treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was all that was negotiated.^d Some seventeen months afterwards the first signer of this treaty—Tarhe, the Crane, principal chief of the Wyandots—died, and his clan expressed a wish to leave Sandusky for western parts.^e Thinking it a good time to connect the white settlements of Ohio and Michigan, but not caring to appear solicitous for removal, the Government temporized and the opportunity was lost.

If, in tracing the history of removal from 1815 to 1825, we draw any comparisons between the working out of the Government policy in the South and Northwest, respectively, we must not fail to make allowances for the widely differing conditions in the two localities, remembering first of all that only a small part of one great tribe in the South took issue against the United States during the war period, while the numerous bands of the Northwest were almost universally hostile. Their natural propensities were more of the roving, hunting, and fighting order. The thirteen treaties of amity negotiated in the

Mississippi in order to exchange with such of the Indians on this side as may choose to emigrate to the West * * * " The result was the Quapaw treaty of August 24, 1818 (7 U. S. Stat. L., 176). A month later, Clark negotiated in a similar manner with the Osages (*ibid.*, p. 183), it having been discovered that they and not the Quapaws obstructed the outlet of the Cherokees. (Calhoun to Reuben Lewis, July 22, 1819, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 298.) Jefferson may have intended by the Osage treaty of 1808 (7 U. S. Stat. at L., p. 107), to prepare, in just the same way, for Indian emigration. This treaty was negotiated by Peter Chouteau under authority from Meriwether Lewis, governor of, and superintendent of Indian affairs in, Louisiana Territory, whose instructions (American State Papers, "Indian Affairs," I : 765,) state that the land was needed for white hunters and intimately friendly Indians. General Clark's communication to Secretary Eustis on the subject of the cession does not, however, indicate any such purpose as colonization.

^a The Choctaws surrendered their claim January 20, 1825 (7 U. S. Stat. at L., 234); but not until they had thoroughly convinced the Government that the uncertainty respecting Indian tenure in the West was the main obstacle to general removal. How could it be otherwise when every group of emigrants thus far had had some such difficulty to contend with?

^b "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, p. 171.

^c "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, p. 172.

^d 7 United States Statutes at Large, 118.

^e General McArthur to John Graham, January 20, 1816, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office; Crawford to McArthur, February 14, 1816, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, p. 302.

summer and early autumn of 1815 were not enough to insure peace. To all appearances, the Kickapoos, the Pottawatomies, and the Sacs and Foxes of Rock River continued unfeignedly hostile.^a Removal, moreover, was not likely to be such a radical measure to the northwest tribes, inasmuch as some of them claimed hunting grounds on both sides of the Mississippi River, and thought nothing of crossing the stream at its narrower part to wage war against Sioux and Osages. Besides, treating with small tribes, whose title to a particular piece of land was always being disputed by other bands, was a very different matter from treating with the politically powerful Cherokees. Less effort is required in persuading the few than the many. It was, however, mainly owing to Governor Cass, of whose methods in dealing with the Indians too much can not be said as a general thing, or at least when we compare him with other Indian superintendents and treaty negotiators, in commendation, that greater success attended removal north of the Ohio River than was ever possible south.

The views of Monroe's Administration respecting exchange with northern tribes were first communicated to Cass in a letter of March 23, 1817,^b by which he was instructed to interview the Indians of Ohio, and propose a negotiation on this basis: "that each head of a family, who wished to remain within the limits ceded, should have a life estate in a reservation of a certain number of acres, which should descend to his children in fee, reserving to the Widow, if any, her thirds; and that those who do not wish to remain on these terms should have a body of land allotted to them on the west of the Mississippi." Gen. Duncan McArthur was associated with Cass on the commission, and in deference to the wishes of Ohio Congressmen,^c who estimated aright the advantages to be derived "from connecting

^a The reports of their warlike intentions came mostly from Ninian Edwards and William Clark, governors of Illinois and Missouri Territories respectively. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory, declared such reports exaggerated. (Cass to Dallas, July 2, 1815, "Jackson Papers.") The chief cause of difficulty seems to have been the location of the 2,000,000 acres of military land designed for the soldiers of the late war. (Edwards to Jackson, August 9, 1815, "Jackson Papers.") The original plan of the Government was to select those lands in Michigan, but the country was falsely declared unproductive ("American Historical Association Papers," III: 72), and the Illinois country preferred. (Crawford to Cass, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, p. 360.) The change involved an encroachment upon the lands of the Sacs and Foxes, and it was not until September 13, 1816, that Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau were able to negotiate a cession. Even that was not sufficient to preserve peace, and in January, 1816, the Illinois militia was irregularly called out to protect the survivors.

^b Graham to Governor Cass, March 23, 1817, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 22; American State Papers, "Indian Affairs," II: 136.

^c (1) Graham to Cass and Gen. Duncan McArthur, May 19, 1817, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 42; same to same, March 23, 1817, American State Papers, "Indian Affairs," II: 136.

(2) The time seemed propitious for extinguishing the Indian title in Ohio, inasmuch as the death of the Wyandot chief, "The Crane," had "occasioned great commotion among the Indians on the Sandusky" and the majority of them were desirous of emigrating to the White River country or even farther west. (McArthur to Graham, January 20, 1816, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office Manuscript Records; Crawford to McArthur, February 14, 1816, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, pp. 302-303.)

the population of the State of Ohio with that of the Territory of Michigan," they were told that they might offer a more liberal compensation than usual for a relinquishment of the land in the vicinity of Lake Erie.^a Both sets of instructions were interpreted liberally, the former so liberally, indeed, that many of the Indian allottees received grants in fee simple. The Senate^b refused to contemplate so radical a change in the red man's tenure, and the commissioners were ordered to reopen the negotiation. In neither instance was any arrangement made for removal,^c and yet a step was taken that would

^a The Connecticut Western Reserve comprehended the greater portion of Ohio land bordering upon Lake Erie, and had long since been disencumbered of the Indian title, the eastern part by the Greenville treaty of 1796 and the western part, including the Sufferers', or Fire Lands, by the Fort Industry treaty of 1805 ("Indian Land Cessions in the United States," pp. 667, 668; "The Firelands Pioneer," January, 1906).

^b American State Papers, "Indian Affairs," II: 149; Calhoun to Cass and McArthur, May 11, 1818, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 180.

^c Removal was, however, as is shown by the following letter, suggested:

ST. MARY'S, Sept. 13, 1818.

SIR. Accompanying this we have the honor to transmit you a treaty yesterday concluded by us with the Wyandot, Shawnee, Seneca and Ottawa tribes of Indians.

The proposition to remove to the west of the Mississippi was made to the three former tribes and enforced as far as we believed it politic to enforce it. It was received by them with such strong symptoms of disapprobation, that we did not think it proper to urge them too far upon the subject. The time has not yet arrived for them voluntarily to abandon the land of their fathers and seek a new residence in a Country with which they are unacquainted and among powerful and hostile Indians. As our settlements gradually surround them, their minds will be better prepared to receive this proposition, and we do not doubt, but that a few years will accomplish, what could not now be accomplished, except at an expense greatly disproportioned to the object.

The treaty now concluded, requires few observation from us. We trust all its stipulations will be found in strict conformity to our instructions.

The Chippewa, Potawatamie and Delaware tribes of Indians are not parties to this treaty. None of the provisions in the treaty to which this is supplementary, which related to them, has now been affected, and their participation was therefore unnecessary, and might have been injurious.

We have promised to the tribes, parties herunto, that they shall receive a quantity of goods equal in value to the twelve thousand dollars. These goods cannot now be distributed, because such distribution would provoke the jealousies of the other tribes, who are waiting the result of the treaty to be negotiated for a cession of land in Indiana. It is thought politic to make a general distribution to all the tribes at the same time, and it is certainly proper that these tribes should receive as much in proportion to their numbers as any others. At the conclusion therefore of that treaty bills will be drawn upon the War Dept. for the amount of goods, which we think it correct to purchase, payable after the ratification of the treaty, and we trust they will be duly honoured.

We transmit an extract from the speech of the Ottawas in relation to the grant made by them to Doctr William Brown by the treaty concluded last year at the foot of the Rapids. We cannot but hope, that the claims will be confirmed. Doctor Brown's professional services to these Indians have been long continued and gratuitous, equally uncommon in their occurrences and honourable to him.

Very respectfully Sir

We have the honour to be

Yr. obt. servts

LEW CASS
DUNCAN MCARTHUR.

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

Secy. of War.

("Treaty Files," 1802-1853, Indian Office Manuscript Records.)

inevitably lead to it. Indian lands in Ohio^a were apportioned in reservations,^b some so comparatively small that community life was imperiled.

The first treaty of exchange^c successfully negotiated in the Northwest was entered into with the Delawares of Indiana, October 3, 1818. Presumably they were the Indians reported two years before^d to be contemplating removal on their own account, something not at all surprising, considering how much and how far they had wandered since the days of William Penn. They had been approached, late in 1817,^e for a cession on the Wabash and White rivers; but not for one whole year did anything result. Finally, Jennings, Cass, and Parke, under strong suspicions of compulsion,^f stipulated for their removal to an unspecified country west of the Mississippi. As soon as possible, Governors Clark of Missouri and Miller of Arkansas were consulted^g as to the best place to locate them. The tract agreed upon was that in southwestern Missouri^h upon which the Cape Girardeau Delawares had encamped.ⁱ The emigrants were invited^j to send out a reconnoitering party to pass judgment upon it; but they neglected^k to and lingered^l themselves so long on the road that the Government became impatient.^m When they did at length reach the spot it fell so short of their expectations that they addressed a lengthy

^a The Miami Indians lived partly in Ohio and did not relinquish their title until October 3, 1818. Monroe personally importuned them, May 5, 1818, and they pitifully told him that they had many times asked for a civilized life, but their speeches had been lost in the woods. ("Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, pp. 156-158.)

^b The supplementary treaty of September 17, 1818 (7 U. S. Stat. at L., 178) changed the tenure of and in some cases enlarged the area of the allotments of the treaty of September 29, 1817 (7 U. S. Stat. at L., 160). It also created additional allotments. There were then twelve territorially distinct tracts, one Delaware, two Seneca, three Shawnee, three Ottawa, and three Wyandot, in Ohio.

^c 7 United States Statutes at Large, 188.

^d Graham to Governor Jonathan Jennings, December 31, 1816, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, p. 451.

^e Graham to Gen. Thos. Posey and Benjamin Parke, October 25, 1817, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 87.

^f "We have had direct information of the Treaty with the Indians, and it is reported, that 'the Delawares were forced to sell, and to sign the Treaty,' and that 'the poor Delawares had not a friend to support their cause!!' * * *." (John Sergeant to Rev. J. Morse, December 15, 1818, Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 116.)

^g Calhoun to Cass, August 24, 1819, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 313.

^h The memory of John Johnston, agent to the Delawares, must have played him false when he wrote, "I removed the whole Delaware tribe, consisting of 2,400 souls, to their new home southwest of Missouri River, near the mouth of the Kansas, in the years 1822 and 1823." (Cist's "Cincinnati Miscellany," December, 1845, II: 241.) The Delawares were not transferred to the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers until the early thirties. (Adams, p. 154.)

ⁱ "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," p. 725.

^j Calhoun to John Johnston, January 6, 1820, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 354.

^k Calhoun to Clark, June 27, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 125.

^l Calhoun to Pierre Menard, August 8, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, pp. 141-142.

^m Calhoun to Clark, August 30, 1822, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 320.

complaint to Monroe,^a their principal grievance being the ridiculously small acreage given in exchange^b for all their valuable^c possessions in Indiana.

It was not to be supposed for one moment that Illinois^d could watch these proceedings in behalf of sister States with equanimity and leave her own Indians in peace. In November, 1817, therefore, Clark and Edwards were commissioned to treat^e for an exchange with the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, but they met with no success.^f Indeed, no further progress was made in removal until the treaty of Edwardsville, July 30, 1819,^g provided for the emigration of the Kickapoos,^h exclusive of those on the Vermillion,ⁱ to that part

^a "Father: We know you have fulfilled your promise to us as furnishing provisions until we get to our land. We have got in a Country where we do not find as was stated to us when we was asked to swap lands with you and we do not get as much as was promised to us at the Treaty of St. Marys neither.

Father: We did not think that big man would tell us things that was not true. We have found a poor hilly stony Country and the worst of all no game to be found on it to live on * * *." (Extract from address of Delaware Chiefs on White River to Monroe, February 29, 1824, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office MS. Records.)

^b Calhoun to Clark, March 3, 1824, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, F, p. 58.

^c The Stockbridge Indians had a joint claim with the Delawares to the land in Indiana, but, as we shall afterwards see, their rights were totally ignored by the treaty of St. Marys.

^d Illinois profited, though only in a very slight degree, by the treaty of St. Marys, 1818. ("Indian Land Cessions," p. 692.) She received an enormous tract, however, from the Peoria-Kaskaskia cession of September 25, 1818 (7 U. S. Stat. at L., 181), but still she was not satisfied, especially as the Kickapoos contested the right to the northern part.

^e "If either of the tribes who have a claim to the land is desirous of exchanging their claim for lands on the West of the Mississippi, you are authorized to make the exchange, and your extensive local knowledge of the country will enable you to designate that part of it, where it would be most desirable to locate the lands to be given as an equivalent * * *." (Extract from letter of Graham to Governors William Clark and Ninian Edwards, November 1, 1817, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 94.)

^f This must have been a great disappointment, for the Government hoped, by accurately fixing the boundaries and by reporting the quality of the land in detail, to facilitate emigration "from New England and the State of New York" to the country "lying between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan." (Graham to Edwards, November 8, 1817, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, pp. 96-97.)

^g 7 United States Statutes at Large, 200.

^h The Vermillion Kickapoos surrendered their land on the Wabash by the treaty of Fort Harrison, 1819. (7 U. S. Stat. at L., 202.) The cession was covered, unauthoritatively, by that of the main body done at Edwardsville the same year. ("Indian Land Cessions," p. 697.)

ⁱ By the letter of their instructions, March 25, 1819 ("Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 272), the commissioners, Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, were ordered to extinguish the conflicting claims to the Peoria-Kaskaskia cession of September 25, 1818, but were not specifically empowered to suggest exchange to the various Illinois tribes. That they did so and immediately is evidenced by their correspondence with the War Department. There were probably other instructions, semi-official in character, since this same correspondence indicates a clear compliance with the Secretary's wishes: "In compliance with your instructions we have held a council at this place [Edwardsville, Illinois] with the Kickapoo Tribe of Indians—upon whose minds, impressions very unfavorable to the propositions we were authorized to make to them, had been produced by the artful and insidious representations of certain Traders who were amongst them last winter—and whose object evidently was, from interested motives, to prevent their removal to the west side of the Mississippi. We, however, have been so fortunate in removing those impressions as to render them not only willing but anxious to make the proposed exchange. And for the purpose of consummating the arrangement they have promised to meet us at this place in eight or ten weeks.

"But we feel it our duty to apprize you, of a difficulty that will probably occur which

of Missouri lying immediately north of what was to constitute the Delaware Reservation. Their departure was much delayed by the

will be much more within yours, than our control—and which may, indeed, require efficient interposition on the part of the Government.

"The Pottawatomies who are neighbours to the Kickapoos, instigated, no doubt, by white men, and unwilling to see our settlements approximate theirs, as they think they will soon do, if the latter cede their land, have by every kind of menace endeavoured to deter the Kickapoos from entering into any agreement with us and they openly declare that the moment the Kickapoos commence their removal to the west side of the Mississippi, they will waylay, attack, plunder, and murder them. And we are not without some apprehensions that they may attempt to carry their threats into execution. We shall endeavor to conciliate them, and earnestly warn them of the danger of opposing the views of our Government in this particular.

"But if all this should prove insufficient, what next is to be done is for you to decide." (Letter from Aug. Chouteau, and Ben. Stephenson to Calhoun, June 7, 1819, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office.)

"I have rec'd your letter of the 7th ult. It is gratifying that you have so far succeeded in accomplishing the object of your Commission, as to obtain the consent of the Kickapoos to remove West of the Mississippi.

"It is to be hoped that the Pottawatomies will not be so indiscreet as to attempt to execute the threats upon the Kickapoos on their removal across the Mississippi. Should they, however, oppose the movement in that way, it will be considered an act highly unfriendly to the United States, and will be noticed accordingly." (Calhoun to Aug. Chouteau and Benj. Stephenson, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 293.)

Sir,

St. Louis, the 20th August, 1819.

We are happy to inform you, that we have at length been fortunate enough, to bring to a successful issue, the negotiations that have been so long depending with the Kickapoo Tribe of Indians, by a treaty, which we have the honor herewith to transmit to you, and which we flatter ourselves will meet with the President's entire approbation.

None could regret, more than we ourselves have done, the delays that have prevented an earlier consummation of so desirable, and important an Object, but it is but Justice to ourselves to state, that they have been unavoidably the result of the artifices, intrigues, and false reports of certain Indian traders, who left no effort untried—with either the Kickapoos themselves, or with the neighbouring Tribes, to dissuade, & deter the former, from treating with us, which added to a repugnance that they very strongly manifested, to leaving the place of their nativity, for a distant land, kept them almost to the last moment, in a constant state of oscillation upon the subject. The chiefs themselves, when made willing to accede to the terms we proposed, hesitated to consummate a treaty till the apprehensions, prejudices, and predilections of their Tribe could be overcome, and several times, when we thought we were upon the point of concluding the negotiations successfully; occurrences presented themselves, that rendered it necessary to suspend the business, and vary our propositions, particularly with regard to the limits of the land proposed to be given them in exchange. And even at the moment of signing the treaty; we were compelled to promise an equivalent in lieu of one of the stipulations, which previous to that time, they had seemed to make a *sine qua non*, which we preferred doing, rather than risk the further delay, that would have been necessary in preparing a new treaty.

The stipulation alluded to, is that which provided, that they should be furnished with two boats well manned, for the transportation of their property, from their present, to their intended residence. The subsequent agreement upon that subject, which is herewith transmitted, is however much to the advantage of the United States, as the amount given as an equivalent for that stipulation, is less than it would have cost, to have furnished the transportation agreed upon. And we have no doubt that the exchange was insisted upon, by the chiefs merely, for the purpose of enabling them by an additional quantity of goods, to give more satisfaction to a portion of their Tribe.

By the Treaty it will be seen that they have relinquished all their lands on the south-east of the Wabash river, where it is known to one of the Undersigned, they many years ago, held undisputed possession, and he believes, from the best information, which his long residence in this country, and his intimate knowledge of the Indians thereof, have enabled him to obtain, that they had an incontrovertible right to a large extent of Country on both sides of the Wabash river, which they heretofore, had neither abandoned, or relinquished.

Claiming the most, if not the whole of the land which

Senate refusal to ratify the treaty until an obnoxious clause which

their right to the same, and have released the United States from all obligations imposed upon them, by virtue of the second article of that treaty.

They have also ceded & relinquished a tract of land specially described in the treaty, which contains between thirteen and fourteen millions of acres, including the whole of their claim to the Sangamo country (a large portion of which they have long claimed and inhabited) and all the land lying between the eastern boundary of the cession made by the Illinois-nation, and the line that divides the States of Illinois & Indiana. And that no pretence of right except what was given them in exchange might remain to them, they have expressly relinquished their right & title to all lands on the east side of the Mississippi river. And thus is settled, some very important, and embarrassing disputes in adverse Indian titles, completing the extinguishment of all Indian claims west of the dividing line between the States of Illinois & Indiana, and south of the Kankakee and Illinois rivers, thereby placing at the disposal of our government, a vast extent of land of unrivalled fertility which seemed to be necessary for the purpose of connecting the different settlements in the State of Illinois, & particularly those now formed, with those which are commencing on the military bounty lands.

They have also relinquished their right to a perpetual annuity of one thousand dollars, & their proportion of 150 bushels of salt per annum which they were entitled to in consideration of their former cessions, and by virtue of former treaties.

And they have agreed to take in lieu of all former stipulations, and for the cessions made by the present treaty, the merchandise which we paid them, an annuity of two thousand dollars, for fifteen years; and the tract of land described in the treaty, which is greatly inferior in quality, and less in quantity than that portion of the lands which they have ceded, to which, their right was exclusive and indisputable.

It was our intentions, to have transmitted to you a map of the lands ceded by the Kickapoos, taken from a map of the State of Illinois, that Mr Daniel D. Smith is now preparing to publish which will be infinitely more correct than any that has yet been given to the public, but after having made out the map for us, he became apprehensive that copies of it might be taken to his injury, and therefore he refused to let us have it, but has sent it on to Washington City as a present to the Cabinet, where you of course will have an opportunity of referring to it.

We believe we hazard nothing in saying that a more important, and advantageous Indian treaty, has never been concluded on the N. West side of the Ohio river. None could have been more ardently desired, or more highly approved by the State of Illinois, whose interest & prosperity will be greatly promoted by it, not only as it affords the means of bringing into market the most desirable portion of the State and of connecting its different settlements, but in removing from its borders and out of the reach of British influence one of the most warlike and enterprising tribes of Indians in North America; whose incursions during the late war (exceeding those of any other tribe) will be long remembered, and deeply deplored.

In fulfilling the duty assigned to us, we assure you, that we have not for one moment, lost sight of your injunction, to observe as much economy as possible, and for an object as important, and at the same time so difficult as we have found it, requiring several formal councils, at different times, we do not expect that less expense has ever been incurred under similar circumstances.

In a few days we shall transmit our account and shall draw upon you for the amount of the expenditures, dividing that amount into different bills, so as to enable us to negotiate them with the greatest facility.

A report of our proceedings would have been made at an earlier day, but for the necessary attendance of Mr Stephenson on the public sales at Edwardsville, which allowed him no time, since the conclusion of the treaty, to devote to this subject.

We flatter ourselves, that the measures we have adopted for that purpose, will prevent any further attempt on the part of the Pottawatomies of Illinois, to oppose the removal of the Kickapoos; and we have now little doubt, but that the Pottawatomies themselves could be easily prevailed upon to remove to the West side of the Mississippi river, whereby the Indian title to the whole of the lands in Illinois could be extinguished, and the Government obtain possession of a Vast extent of Mineral Country pretty accurately described by Mr Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, and of great value.

We have the honor to be very respectfully

Sir

Your Most Obedient

& humble serv'ts

AUG^{ts} CHOUTEAU

BEN STEPHENSON.

it contained,^a providing for a change in Indian tenure, had been removed. Some of them did not want to leave Illinois,^b and many who did were apprehensive of Osage aggressions.^c

Momentarily deterred as the emigrant Indians were by fear of their own fellows, they were not suffered to falter in their original enterprise. So energetically^d was the removal project carried for-

^a Calhoun to Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, June 10, 1820, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 441; same to same, October 4, 1820, *ibid.*, E, p. 14.

^b Calhoun to Clark, May 18, 1820, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 429.

^c Calhoun to Clark, February 10, 1820, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 367.

^d The following letter will indicate that if it had been practicable the General Government would even have removed the Chippewas from Michigan in 1819.

DETROIT, Sept. 30, 1819.

SIR,

Accompanying this I have the honour to transmit to you a treaty, concluded by me on the part of the United States with the Chippewa Indians, for the cession of a considerable portion of their Country within this Territory. I trust the general provisions of the treaty will meet with your approbation.

The boundaries of the tract ceded may be easily traced upon any good Map of the United States. But owing to our ignorance of the topography of the interior of this Territory, it may eventually be found, when the lines are run, that the South eastern corner of the tract ceded is in the possession of the Grand River Indians. If so there will be no difficulty, and very little expense in quieting their claims.

That portion of the Chippewa Indians, which owned this land, have not made the necessary advances in civilization to appreciate the importance of education for their youth. It was therefore hopeless to expect from them any reservations for this object, or to offer it as an inducement for a cession of their Country.

Some consideration more obvious in its effects, and more congenial to their habits was necessary to ensure a successful termination to the negotiation.

In acceding to the propositions, which they made upon this subject, I endeavoured to give such form to the stipulations on the part of the United States for the payment of annuities, as would be permanently useful and at the same time satisfactory to them.

Their own wishes unquestionably were, that the whole sum stipulated to be annually paid to them, should be paid in specie. With the habitual improvidence of Savages they were anxious to receive what they could speedily dissipate in childish and useless purchases, at the expense of stipulations, which would be permanently useful to them. * * *

Although I am firmly persuaded, that it would be better for us and for these Indians, that they should migrate to the Country west of the Mississippi, or at any rate west of Lake Michigan, yet it was impossible to give effect to that part of your instructions which relates to this subject, without hazarding the success of the negotiation. An indisposition to abandon the Country so long occupied by their tribe, a hereditary enmity to many of the Western Indians, and a suspicion of our motives are the prominent causes, which for the present, defeat this plan. When they are surrounded by our settlements, and brought into contact with our people, they will be more disposed to migrate.

In the mean time we may teach them those useful arts, which are connected with agriculture, and which will prepare them by gradual progress for the reception of such institutions, as may be fitted for their character, customs & situation.

Reservations have been made for them to occupy. * * * Reservations have also been made for a few half breeds. It was absolutely necessary to our success, that these should be admitted into the treaty. Being only reservations, and the fee of the land remaining in the United States, I trust it will not be thought improper, that I admitted them. * * * It was my object to insert in the supplementary article every provision, which was demanded by the Indians, respecting the principle of which I felt doubtful, so that the President and Senate might avoid the establishment of a precedent, the effect of which may be dangerous.

A large portion of the Country ceded is of the first character for soil and situation. It will vie with any land I have seen North of the Ohio River. The cession probably contains more than six millions of acres.

I shall be anxious to learn, that you approve the result of this negotiation.

Very respectfully, Sir, I have the honour to be Yr. obt. Servt.

LEW CASS.

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,
Secretary of War,
Washington City.

ward both by national and local endeavor that by 1820 the three large States of the Northwest could almost foretell the time when they would be altogether cleared of the native incumbrance.^a It is true they were not relieved so soon as might have been expected, but that was probably because during the next ten years their personal grievances against the Indians were so slight that they could not well offer them in contrast to those of Georgia. In these earlier years they had one decided advantage over the South in the greater pressure of population. Indiana professed to feel this in 1811, and in the years following she certainly spared no efforts, for one reason or another, to oust the Indians. Ohio succeeded with considerably less solicitation in reducing her incumbrance to a minimum, for the Indians, once forced to be content with tiny reservations, were on a sure road to removal. In Illinois, after the idea of exchange had been fairly introduced, the rapidity of extinguishment, owing to the extraordinary zeal of Ninian Edwards, was even more marked; but here we meet with more instances of small bands wandering westward without troubling about negotiations or going because, being homeless, they felt obliged to, stronger factions having ceded the land they claimed as their own. The influx of Indians into Missouri was very noticeable.^b Statehood was near at hand and already there were faint glimmerings of trouble over Indian possessions.^c In the very nature of things, it would be but a few years before the Federal Government, following a mistaken policy and neglecting to meet an important issue squarely, would have all its work to do over again.

^a The Rev. Jedidiah Morse, speaking of Indiana and Illinois Indians, says: "Not many years since, we could point to the populous villages of these Indians, and knew where to direct our efforts for their benefit. Now we may ask the question, 'Where are they?' and there is no one among us who is able to give an answer. The most of them, however, are already gone, or are going, beyond the Mississippi, to some spot selected, or to be selected, for their future 'permanent' residence * * *." Morse's Report, pp. 29, 30.)

^b (1) " * * * between the Missouri river, north, and Red river, south, and the Mississippi, east, and the Rocky Mountains, west; a number of the tribes lately residing on the east of the Mississippi, having sold all their lands to the U. States, are re-planted, or to be re-planted, on lands selected; or to be selected, and such as shall be approved by the tribes concerned. Some of these tribes are satisfactorily settled: others have had lands assigned them, with which they have been dissatisfied, and have refused to accept them; and others still linger on the lands of their fathers' sepulchres, which they have sold, and the places which are to be their future home are unknown to them. Not a few of the tribes lately rich in valuable lands, have now no spot to which they can point, and say, 'that is my land; there is my home.'" (Morse's Report, Appendix, pp. 202-203.)

(2) Menard to Calhoun, August 27, 1819, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office Manuscript Records.

^c Duff Green to Calhoun, December 9, 1821, *ibid.*

CHAPTER V.

THE NORTH AND INDIAN REMOVAL, 1820-1825.

Calvin Colton, reflecting upon the United States Indian policy at a moment when its worst effects were prominent, when the labors of ten long years were being ruthlessly undone, when the red man was being forced again into the wilderness and back to savagery, and when Georgia was protesting against the work of the missionary because it tended to make the Indian a fixture in the land, bitterly declared that the white people had habitually neglected the moral well-being of the aborigines.^a "No efficient State measures," said he, "have ever yet been instituted for their preservation and improvement."^b The careful wording of this sweeping criticism, its verbal limitations, as one might say, save it from being utterly untrue. Admittedly the State in its political capacity had never up to that time done very much for the Indian, its methods had never been efficient, its policy had been fluctuating; but religious organizations and benevolent individuals, included within that State, had done a great deal. Beginning with John Eliot and coming down to and beyond John Heckewelder and David Zeisberger, these agents of civilization had put forth many a brave effort to reclaim the red men of the forest and even, though to his shame be it said, to counteract the evil example of the frontiersman. They had gone forth to the North and to the South, not only to build churches and schools, but to toil side by side with the natives and, by daily intercourse and actual experience, to discover their needs. As a result, the instruction imparted had been both theoretical and practical, both religious and industrial. Once in a while, too, we find men in public office interesting themselves in the Indian's material and spiritual welfare. Instance the case of Governor Rabun of Georgia who, probably seeing the good effects of Baptist teaching among the Cherokees, begged the foreign board of that denomination to labor similarly with the Creeks.^c Such solicitude was, however, very rarely exhibited in the youthful days of the Republic; for the rapid growth of a particular Territory or State upon which a public man's reputation so often depended seemed frequently to be enhanced, not so much by the elevation as by the suppression of the native-inhabitants. Yea, more, it had been known actually to be injured by a too pronounced humanitarianism.

When Monroe became President and the country was full of enthusiasm concerning its future and interested in everything that offered an outlet for its energies, the Indian was not neglected. He too had his possibilities, and the missionary with recovered zeal

^a "Tour of the Lakes," II: 217.

^b *Ibid.*, p. 219.

^c Rev. Doctor Staughton to Calhoun, August 3, 1819, Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 166.

started out once more to investigate them. Two obscure missionaries, the Reverend Messrs. Mills and Schermerhorn, had traveled^a some years before among the tribes west of the Alleghenies and had come back with glowing reports that so fired the imagination of others in the same walk of life that they desired to go and do likewise. The Rev. Elias Cornelius, corresponding secretary of the American Board,^b was one of these. He made his expedition in 1817, going first on a tour through New England to raise funds for the enterprise and then down through the Southwest, where he fell in with the Cherokees. From this trip came important consequences in the successful establishment of mission stations^c that worked for so great a change in the mode of living of the southern Indians that their eventual expulsion from the scene of their birth and of their development was nothing short of a crime, and thus posterity has come to regard it.

In the following year or thereabouts, the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, another Connecticut divine, but one of an even broader mental horizon than Elias Cornelius, though influenced, perhaps, by the same reports of prospective Indian advancement, began by interviews and a wide correspondence to collect data on the present inclinations and advantages of the eastern tribes. At that time he may not have defined even for himself his own real purpose, but before a very great while he was able to outline it to the Government. The moment was auspicious; for the new interest in the Indian was more general than one would have supposed, and Congress had just passed a law creating a civilization fund in the shape of an annual appropriation of \$10,000 to be distributed among organizations concerned or willing to be concerned with the object for which it was intended. On the 3d of September, 1819, Calhoun sent out a circular letter calling for infor-

^a Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., 2nd Series, II: 1-45.

^b The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational in the main, but in its very early years partly Presbyterian), was organized in 1810 and incorporated two years afterwards. It numbered among its members, corporate, corresponding, or honorary, some of the best educated and most enlightened men of the country; and, after 1820, became more closely identified with Indian interests than any other single religious organization. (This is said with all due regard for the noble work of the Baptists among the Ottawas and Pottowatomies, of the Episcopalians among the Oneidas, and of the Quakers among the Senecas.) Its best work, in fact, almost its entire work, was done among the southern tribes, either in their original home or in that to which they were removed west of the Mississippi. At the latter place the first school established under its auspices was begun in the autumn of 1820, and named "Dwight" in affectionate remembrance of President Timothy Dwight, of Yale College.

^c The Congregational Indian school at Brainerd, established in 1817, and named after the Rev. David Brainerd, was not a pioneer in the furtherance of Indian education. Doctor Moore's Indian school, for the erection of which England and Scotland sent donations, antedated it by more than half a century. There were less progressive, less ambitious, if you please, but yet similar institutions in the South. The Moravian Brethren had had one at Springplace, 3 miles east of the Connesaga River, since 1801, and the Presbyterians one at Marysville, Tennessee, since 1804. The school at Cornwall, Connecticut, on the east bank of the Housatonic River, which was established in the autumn of 1816, with the Rev. Doctor Daggett as its principal, was seemingly more freely patronized by prominent Indians than any other North or South. Elias Boudinot, John Ridge, John Vann, McKee, and Folsom were all educated there.

mation as to the work already accomplished along the line of Indian philanthropy, together with suggestions as to the best method of continuing it under Government supervision." Eager responses came in from all over the land, showing that theretofore poverty of funds and not poverty of zeal had put a constraint upon missionary labors. The result of this official patronage was marvelous. New civilizing agencies were set in motion, and by a sort of reflex action the Indians were animated by new desires for their own improvement.^c

Doctor Morse was an independent enthusiast on this same subject, but he was not slow to seize the opportunity offered for advancing a project of his own. This project was a peculiar and at the same time a very laudable one. It proposed to gather the Indians into a number of small communities, under the care of "Education Families,"^d as Morse called them, and, by evolving an ideal out of a primitive communism, prepare for individualism. It was not removal^e in the

^c Calhoun wrote to the Right Rev. J. H. Hobart, New York; to the Rev. John Gambold, Cherokee Country; to Thomas Eddy, New York; to John Johnston, Indian agent; to the Rev. Samuel Worcester, corresponding secretary of the American Board for Foreign Missions, Cornwall, Connecticut; to the Rev. Philip Milledoler, corresponding secretary of the United Foreign Mission Society, New York, and to the Rev. William Staughton, corresponding secretary of the American Baptist Board, Philadelphia. The circular letter is to be found in the "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 318.

^d The outgoing correspondence of the War Department, to be found in "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, for 1820, shows there was a lively interest all over the country in Indian civilization.

^e "There is evidently a great and important revolution in the state of our Indian population already commenced, and now rapidly going forward, affecting immediately the tribes among us and on our borders and which will ultimately and speedily be felt by those at the remotest distance. The evidence of this revolution exists in the peculiar interest which is felt and manifested for the general improvement and welfare of Indians, and in the peculiar corresponding feelings and movements among the Indians themselves * * *." (Morse's Report, p. 84.)

Isaac McCoy, laboring among the tribes in central Illinois, also remarked upon the "perceptible change" that had taken place in the Indians themselves since 1820. "Considerable and continually increasing numbers," said he to Morse, "are already inclined or becoming so, to quit their Indian habits, and to adopt those of civilized life * * *." (Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 120.)

"I give this name [Education Families] to those bodies which have been commonly denominated *Mission Families*, because it seems better to describe their character, and may less offend the opposers of Missions. By an *Education Family*, I mean, an association of individual families, formed of one or more men regularly qualified to preach the Gospel, to be at the head of such a family; of school-masters and mistresses; of farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinet-makers, mill-wrights, and other mechanics; of women capable of teaching the use of the needle, the spinning wheel, the loom, and all kinds of domestic manufactures, cookery, &c. common in civilized families. This family to consist of men and women in a married state, with their children, all possessing talents for their respective offices, with a missionary spirit, devoted to their work; contented to labor without salary, receiving simply support * * *. These bodies are to be the great instruments in the hands of the government, for educating and civilizing the Indians." (Morse's Report, pp. 78-79.)

^f Morse strongly discountenanced a removal that meant isolation; for he said, "On the subject of the removal of the Indians, who now dwell within our settlements, there are different opinions among wise and good men. The point on which they divide is, whether it be best to let these Indians quietly remain on their present Reservations, and to use our endeavors to civilize them where they are; or for the Government to take their Reservations, and give them an equivalent in lands to be purchased of other tribes beyond our present settlements. The Indians themselves too, are divided in opinion on this subject; a part are for removing, and a part for remaining, as in the case of the Cherokees, Delawares, Senecas, Onondagas, Shawanees, and indeed, most of the other tribes."

technical sense; for it was intended to take the place of that and to avoid its disadvantages. It planned no gigantic colony of more or less unwilling emigrants in some remote part of the country, but rather the gathering together of scattered bands in a fertile spot, or, if that were not possible, then a series of little settlements in the most favorable localities that could be found. Of course segregation of any kind was sure to necessitate removal for some of the Indians. Economy was to be a prime consideration. Consequently, to avoid unnecessary outlay and a disintegration of resources, the Indians were to be placed in as large groups as could be managed, perhaps in a single group. Some of them would therefore have to be removed from their native haunts. The scheme in broad outline was a sort of reminder of the old Spanish mission system, except that the life lived was to be too energetic to admit of ultimate reduction to helpless childishness. The Indians were to be excluded from too free an intercourse with the questionable characters that are always to be found on the outskirts of civilization, but they were not to be shielded absolutely from temptation as though their preceptors were Dominican friars. On the contrary, they were to be prepared for a nineteenth century world. Each community was to have its own equipment of teachers, its own school, its own church. After a time there was to be a great central college for all.^f Politically, Morse thought

living among us. Difficulties in deciding this question present themselves, on which side soever it be viewed. To remove these Indians, far away from their present homes, from 'the bones of their fathers,' into a wilderness, among strangers, possibly hostile, to live as their new neighbors live, by hunting, a state to which they have not lately been accustomed, and which is incompatible with civilization, can hardly be reconciled with the professed views and objects of the Government in civilizing them. This would not be deemed by the world a wise course, nor one which would very probably lead to the desired end. Should that part of the tribes only, remove, who are willing to go, and the remainder be permitted to stay—this division of already enfeebled remnants of tribes, would still more weaken their strength, diminish their influence, and hasten their destruction. Nor would this partial removal satisfy those who are for removing the whole; nor those either, who are for retaining the whole. The latter wish them to remain for the benevolent purpose of educating them all where they now are, urging, that they are now among us, in view of examples of civilized life; and where necessary instruction can be conveniently, and with little expense, imparted to them. On the other hand there is much to be said in favor of the removal of the smaller tribes, and remnants of tribes—not, however, into the wilderness to return again to the savage life, but to some suitable prepared portion of our country, where, collected in one body, they may be made comfortable, and with advantage be educated together, as has already been mentioned, in the manner in which we educate our own children. Some such course as this, I apprehend, will satisfy a great majority of the reflecting part of those who interest themselves at all in this subject, and is, in my belief, the only practicable course which can be pursued, consistently, with the professed object of the Government." (Report, pp. 82-83.)

^g Morse suggests "the expediency of establishing, in some suitable situation, a College for the education of such Indian youth, as shall have passed through the primary Indian schools with reputation and promise. Here, under competent instructors, let them be prepared to teach their brethren of the wilderness, all, even the higher branches of useful knowledge. Let this College be liberally endowed out of the avails of those public lands, which have been purchased of the Indians * * *. Such an institution * * * was early established, and nobly endowed in India. * * * The school at Cornwall, in Connecticut, could be very easily raised into such an Institution * * *." (Report, pp. 76, 77, 78.) Again he says: "Should the expectations raised in regard to this project, be realized in any good degree, I should think this [Wisconsin] the place for the ultimate es-

that if these various communities were not too widely scattered they might eventually develop into an Indian State. The idea was new to him, but he afterwards^a found that it was not so new to others since it had been loosely spoken of in the treaty of Fort Pitt,^b negotiated with the Delawares in 1778.

To collect information that would bear upon the feasibility of the plan for establishing "Education Families" Doctor Morse^c prepared, in the summer of 1820, to make an extended tour of the Northwest. He left New Haven on the 10th of May, bearing with him a commission^d from the Government with instructions to report upon four main topics; viz, the number of Indian tribes within reach, whether actually visited on the trip or not, their present condition in point of civilization and territorial possessions, Indian trade, and personal reflections or suggestions. On the way, while crossing Lake Erie, he fell in with Charles Stuart, of Malden, Upper Canada, and the two men discussed the practicability of a general plan upon which Great Britain and the United States could amicably unite for civilizing and for safeguarding the interests of the Indian. Other British gentlemen at Detroit and Mackinaw conversed intelligently on the same subject. Had they all forgotten the failure of the early Ghent negotiations? Probably they had or else thought that their own ideas were an improvement upon those advanced by others, less interested, in 1814. At all events Doctor Morse thought the scheme was worth following up and the next summer made a special trip to Canada in its interests. At York he talked with Governor Maitland, who manifested great readiness to cooperate and felt confident of the support of his colleague in the lower Province; but Governor Dalhousie was not at Quebec and, the responsibility being shifted, Morse had to return home with his efforts unrewarded.^e

establishment of the Indian College, which might in time be furnished with Indian officers and instructors, as well as students, and have their own Trustees to manage its concerns. The funds belonging to Moor's Indian School, which is connected at present with Dartmouth College, deposited with the other funds, consecrated to the benefit of American Indians, in the Treasury of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; together with funds in the Treasury of Harvard College, and of the Society for propagating the gospel among the Indians and others in North America, should the colonization plan succeed, might be appropriated, in whole, or in part, to this Institution. And if our brethren in Canada shall be disposed to unite with us in this great and desirable object, and make the Institution common for the benefit of Indians on both sides of the line which separates us * * * large funds * * * exist in England, designed expressly for an object of this kind * * * the annual interest of the funds granted in the reign of George II for civilizing and christianizing the Indians in New England, * * * (Report, Appendix, pp. 315-316.)

^a "The idea of an *Indian State*, though suggested to the President in my Report, as new, [it was so at the time] had been suggested, it seems, many years ago, in a treaty with the Delaware Indians * * * " (Report, Appendix, p. 313, note.)

^b 7 United States Statutes at Large, p. 14.

^c Calhoun to Dr. Jedidah Morse, February 7, 1820, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, pp. 362-364.

^d Report, pp. 11-13.

^e Report, pp. 17, 19, 20.

By that time he must surely have despaired of his whole project, for nothing had as yet resulted from the trip of the preceding year. He had reached Detroit to find Cass, the man who could and would have helped him most, absent on an expedition to the headwaters of Lake Superior.^a Colonel Visger, a Wyandot interpreter,^b gave him some facts that seemed encouraging; so did the Miami chief, Jean Baptiste Richardville,^c but a prosperous old Wyandot farmer-chief from the Huron River district^d rejected his every idea with scorn. From Detroit, Morse went around Lake Mackinaw to Little Traverse Bay and there met Col. George Boyd, who had come to L'Arbre Croche to negotiate with the Ottawas for the purchase of the St. Martins Islands.^e Here was a good opportunity for speaking before an assemblage of Indians, and Morse took advantage of it, but only to advise their settling down and following agricultural pursuits. His whole impression of Michigan and of the country to the immediate westward was that it was just the locality for his Indian settlement.^f But before going into the subject of his suggestions to the Government let us consider the way in which the Morse plan was likely to affect the tribes not included within the visitation of 1820.

The southern tribes may be disposed of in a few words, for they seem not to have been reported upon at all in 1820, with special reference to "Education Families;" but before Morse published his book in 1822 he had heard from Capt. John Bell, Indian agent in Florida, that the Seminoles, though "unwilling to leave their country," "make no objection to quitting their present scattered villages, and dwelling together in some suitable part of Florida." "Here, then," commented Morse, "is a station well prepared and ready for the immediate establishment of an Education Family."^g John Ross,^h

^a The final destination of this expedition was left to the discretion of General Cass, who had among his companions Henry R. Schoolcraft and James D. Doty, the latter as official secretary. ("Doty's Journal," Wis. Hist. Colls. XIII:163-220.) The objects of the expedition as they appeared on paper were not so very dissimilar from those given Morse; but Cass's personal reason for going was the investigation of mineral resources, while Morse's was the ultimate foundation of "Education Families."

^b Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 18.

^c Ibid., p. 96.

^d Ibid., p. 16.

^e Report, p. 14.

^f "The whole of these Territories constitute one great field for moral cultivation; and when Education Families shall have been planted at the different military posts, a plan seriously contemplated, of immense importance; and which it is hoped will shortly be carried into effect, a channel, through them, will be opened to many large tribes W. of the Mississippi, to the Council Bluffs. Here again a military post is established, and a large Education Family are ready to occupy this commanding station. All the tribes within the United States, N. of the Missouri, as far W. as the Council Bluffs, and beyond them, placed between these posts and these families, may be made to feel, in a greater or less degree, their combined, controlling, civilizing, and reforming influence * * * " (Morse's Report, p. 29.)

^g Report, Appendix, p. 310.

^h John Ross to David Brown, July 13, 1822, Morse's Report, Appendix, pp. 399-400.

writing of his own people, the Cherokees, about the same time drew happy conclusions from the unprecedented interest shown on all sides in Indian civilization; but, while deploring the disastrous results of removal to Arkansas, never even hinted at concentration after the Morse pattern. In Connecticut there were only a very few Mohicans and Pequods, degenerate and decreasing, left in 1820, too few, thought Morse, to deserve notice.^a In Rhode Island there were scarcely more than four hundred and twenty-five natives, and they were nearly all of mixed blood. They were not badly off, though, for they owned jointly about 3,000 acres of land. They expressed themselves negatively on removal as follows: "We wish not to be removed into a wild country. We have here farms and homes of our own. Those who will work here, may here get a comfortable living; and those who will not work here, would not probably in a wilderness. We have land enough, and wood enough, and living on the salt water, and having boats of our own, have plenty of fish."^b Of the Maine Indians the Rev. E. Kellogg wrote: "None of these tribes have made other than incipient improvements in anything which pertains to civilized life. It is not probable, such is the religious influence under which they act, combined with their natural attachment to their native places, and to the sepulchres of their fathers, that a proposal to remove, and join a larger community of Indians, should it be made to them, would be accepted."^c The report on the Massachusetts Indians was even more decisive adversely. "As to the plan of removing them, *were they in favor of the measure*, it would scarcely be an object. They are of public utility *here*, as expert whalers and manufacturers of various light articles; have lost their sympathy with their brethren of the forest; are in possession of many privileges, peculiar to a coast indented by the sea; their local attachments are strong; they are tenacious of their lands; of course, the idea of alienating them and removing to a distance, would be very unpopular."^d This was all very true, and Doctor Morse was satisfied that the New England Indians were not fit subjects for colonization. They "are all provided for," said he, "both as to instruction and comfort, by the governments and religious associations, of the several states in which they reside * * * Should the Government of the United States provide an Asylum for the remnants of these depressed and wretched people * * * a portion of them might be persuaded to take shelter * * *. The body of them, however, would doubtless prefer to remain where they are, for this prominent reason, among others, that very few of them are of unmixed blood. The others, having intermarried with the lowest classes of white people and negroes, and feeling no sympathy with Indians

^a Report, Appendix, pp. 74, 75.^b Ibid., p. 66.^c Ibid., p. 70.

of pure blood, would not be comfortable, or happy, or of wholesome influence, if removed and planted among them * * *^a

The suggestions that Doctor Morse had to offer to the Government were born, in part, of his observations during the trip and, in part, of his reflections upon events occurring within a few months after his return home. In the first place, he recommended the formation of a society "for promoting the general welfare of the Indian tribes in the United States"^b and such an one seems to have been soon afterwards organized or projected with John Jay, C. C. Pinckney, Thomas Pinckney, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, James Hillhouse, William Wirt and Col. Thomas L. McKenney were to serve on a committee of ways and means.^c In the second place, Morse submitted, as though himself indorsing, the plans of other men. The following may be cited in illustration: George Sibley, factor at Fort Osage, reporting for the Osages, Kansas, and Ioway Indians, October 1, 1820, advised that the government should distinctly survey and mark the Indian country and "whenever an Indian evinced a serious disposition to settle himself permanently, and to pursue civilized habits, a portion of this land, from 160 to 640 acres, as might be proper, should be allotted to him, patented to him by the Government, and secured to him and (to his) family forever * * *"^d

In the third place, Doctor Morse considered the suitability of various tracts of land for the establishment of "Education Families." Generally speaking, since he was not bent upon forcing emigration, he was inclined to provide for a corps of teachers wherever there was a sufficiently large concourse of Indians to justify it. For instance, he thought one could settle on L'Arbre Croche territory "which is abundantly large enough for the accommodation of several thousands" "and scattered villages of this [Ottawa] nation, and of the Chippawas, who intermarry with the Ottawas, and in various ways are connected with them, might probably be induced to remove" thither;^e another on the eastern shore of the lower Michigan peninsula, say on Flint River near Saginaw, where Jacob Smith, a man appointed by the Government in 1819 to be a sort of guardian for the Chippewas and who had lived among them several years and knew them well, thought that the United States could very easily gather together the numerous bands then dwelling upon detached reservations and so make an exchange that "would be reciprocally advantageous" to the red and white people. It might even be possible to accommodate not only all the Indians from that part of Michigan Territory, but also all the remnants of tribes in Ohio, New York and

^a Ibid., p. 208.^b Ibid., p. 26.^c Report, pp. 23-24.^d Report, pp. 75-76.^e Report, Appendix, p. 284-290.

New England "who might be inclined to remove; a body of from twenty-five to thirty thousand."^a

These suggestions were all very good, but they were none the less all secondary to the grand scheme of making one vast Indian Territory out of the present State of Wisconsin and of the upper Michigan peninsula. We shall have more to say of the origin of this idea later in connection with the removal of the New York Indians. At present let us consider Morse's advocacy. "In the treaty with the Choctaws of October, 1820, it is stipulated," wrote he, "that 'the boundaries' of the territory of this nation shall 'remain without alteration, until the period at which said nation shall become so civilized and enlightened, as to be made citizens of the United States, and Congress shall lay off a limited parcel of land for the benefit of each family, or individual in the nation.' Let similar regulations be made relative to the proposed colony. [in the North] with such variations and additions as shall suit their peculiar circumstances; one particularly, which shall prohibit the introduction of white settlers within the limits of the territory assigned for the proposed colony; i. e. within the limits bounded south by Illinois, east by lake Michigan, north by lake Superior, and west by the Mississippi: Let this territory be reserved, exclusively for Indians, in which to make the proposed experiment of gathering into one body, as many of the scattered and other Indians, as choose to settle here, to be educated, become citizens, and, in due time, to be admitted to all the privileges common to other territories and States, in the Union. Such a course would probably save the Indians * * *. Within its limits, are more than twenty thousand souls, exclusive of the new colony [New York Indian] to be planted on the late purchase [from the Menominees and Winnebagoes]. Half of these are Menominees and Winnebagoes; the rest, Chippawas, Sioux, Sauks and Foxes. If the whole of these tribes last mentioned be reckoned, as belonging to the Territory, (though a great part of them are now west of the Mississippi,) the whole number would exceed sixty thousand; enough, when educated, to form a separate Territory, and to have a representative in Congress * * *."^b

Doctor Morse's reference to the New York Indian purchase from the Menominees and Winnebagoes of Green Bay calls vividly to mind the unique position of the Iroquois bands. Under colonial grant, as extending from sea to sea, Massachusetts claimed a large share of the Empire State.^c To settle the pretension, commissioners on her part and commissioners in behalf of New York met at Hartford toward the close of 1786 and agreed, with the sanction of the Con-

^a Report, Appendix, p. 20.

^b Ibid., pp. 313-315.

^c Report of New York Assembly, 1889, p. 16.

federate Congress,^a that, while New York should continue to exercise governmental jurisdiction over the whole of the land within her prescribed limits, Massachusetts should hold the preemptive right to the western part (except a strip 1 mile wide along the Niagara River), lying beyond a meridian line drawn southward from Lake Ontario through Seneca Lake to the Pennsylvania boundary, and also to a tract, equal to ten townships, between the Oswego and Chango rivers. The preemptive right constituted the privilege of buying the land, as a private person or corporation, from the Indian occupants whenever they might choose to sell. Within a comparatively short time, the Bay State sold this privilege, as applicable to the smaller tract, to Samuel Brown and fifty-nine associates; and, as applicable to the larger, to Oliver Phelps, of Connecticut, and Nathaniel Gorham, of Boston;^b but she retained the authority of superintending all subsequent negotiations with the Indian owners. Before long, Phelps and Gorham, owing to financial embarrassments, were obliged to reconvey to Massachusetts the preemptive right to most of the land; and, in 1791, a new contract was formed, whereby Robert Morris became the beneficiary. He, in turn, sold out to William Willink and eleven associates in Holland. From them it passed to David A. Ogden^c who, in 1821, transferred his rights to a trust composed of his brother, Thomas L. Ogden, Robert Troup, and Benjamin W. Rogers—the germ of the notorious Ogden Land Company. Between any two of these successive changes in ownership, the preemptive privilege had been variously exercised and the lands covered by it had steadily contracted.

Upon the authority of Wilson Lumpkin,^d it is sometimes asserted that, in 1810, the New York Indians held a council and resolved to ask permission of the Federal Government for them to emigrate westward. It is doubtful whether we can fix the date quite so early; but, in June of 1815, Governor Tompkins wrote to Washington advocating removal and received from the Acting Secretary of War a summary of the difficulties that would confront the project.^e A little later the

^a "Journals of Congress," IV: 788.

^b W. H. Sampson in his consideration of the "Claim of the Ogden Land Co." says, "Massachusetts sold this (preemptive) right to Phelps and Gorham; they bought some of the land; then failed, and their right to buy the remainder reverted to Mass., which sold the right to Robt. Morris * * *."

^c The Ogden brothers were at one time law partners of Alexander Hamilton, Report of New York Assembly, 1889, p. 22.

^d "Congressional Globe," Twenty-sixth Congress, 1st sess., Appendix, p. 286.

^e "Sir, I have submitted your letter of the 28th of June last to the consideration of the President of the United States; and I am instructed to inform you, that there is a great desire, on his part, to accommodate your wishes, and the interest of the state of New York, in relation to the proposed removal of the Senecas from the territory which they at present inhabit, to lands on the Western frontier of the United States. There are, however, national views of the subject, which must be combined with such a movement, on motives of state policy. All transactions with the Indians relative to their lands, are more, or less, delicate; and a removal of them from one region of country to another, is critically so, as relates to the effect on the Indians themselves, and on the white neighbors to their new abode. You do not designate any particular part of the Western country, to which it is intended by you, or desired by the Indians, that they

sachems of the Six Nations memorialized Madison to the effect that it was their desire to sell out and join their friends in or west of the State of Ohio. They were told that they might leave New York if they wished to, but might not locate in Ohio or in its immediate neighborhood for the reason,^a already stated to Governor Tompkins,^b that

should be transferred; nor can it be ascertained from the general expression of a transfer to lands within the territories of the United States, on the Western frontier, you mean lands where the Indian titles have been extinguished, as well as lands, which are still in Indian occupancy. If the latter only be meant, the arrangement will essentially be between the Senecas and the state of New York on the one part, and the Indian occupants, on the other; but if it be contemplated to transfer the Senecas to lands, which have been purchased from other Indians, the government seems bound to take into view, the effect of such an arrangement, 1st in shutting the lands against the sales and settlements contemplated by the purchase, or involving the expense of a repurchase from the Senecas. 2^d in giving Indian neighbours to white settlements which might be averse to such an arrangement. When it was proposed to transfer the Indians on the North frontier of Ohio, to a new abode on the Illinois &c, the neighbouring territories of Illinois and Missouri protested against the measure.

"Having briefly suggested these difficulties, I am instructed to request those explanations which will enable the President to decide upon the subject of your letter, with the requisite attention to the national interests under his charge. If, however, a removal of the Indians should take place, I am authorized to add, that it will not affect the annuities, which have been granted to them, provided they conform, in other respects, to the terms of the grant.

"I am very respectfully &c."

(Letter from Alexander J. Dallas, Acting Secretary of War, to Daniel D. Tompkins, governor of New York, August 5, 1815, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, pp. 271-272.)

^a W. H. Crawford to the Six Nations of New York Indians, February 12, 1816, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, C, pp. 299-301.

^b "Sir, Your letter and the memorial of the Sachems of the six nations of Indians, communicating the desire of the latter to sell the reservations of lands upon which they at present reside, in the state of New York, and to remove and settle upon lands in or West of the state of Ohio, have been regularly received, and submitted to the consideration of the President.

"The greatest difficulty in deciding the case, is the uncertainty of the spot, which will be selected for the future residence of these Indians, after they shall have disposed of their present possessions. It is an object of the first importance to the nation, with a view to any future war which may occur with the British Empire, that the settlements of the state of Ohio should be connected with those of the Michigan Territory, with the least possible delay. It is also important that our settlements should be extended to Southern margin of lake Michigan. This may be done, either by extending the settlements from Ohio Westwardly, or by obtaining a cession of the lands lying between the Illinois purchase, and the South Western margin of the Lake. The settlement of the six nations, in the districts which must be ceded in order to accomplish these desirable objects, cannot fail to protract the time of obtaining those cessions. The extent of the country also, which may be set apart for their use, is of some importance in the consideration of this subject. Having approximated more to the habits of civilized man than their Western brethren, and accustomed to attach a higher value to land, cessions will be obtained from them with more difficulty and at a greater expense. At the same time it is believed that the settlement of a friendly tribe of Indians in that part of the country, bound by the ties of interest and friendship to the United States, will have a beneficial influence upon the conduct of their savage friends in the event of another war with England.

"The interest which the state of New York takes in this transaction, and the influence which the cession may have upon its happiness and prosperity, have induced the President to determine that a treaty shall be held, with a view to accomplish the wishes of your excellency, and to gratify the desires of the Indian tribes in question. If your excellency is informed of the particular district in which the settlement is contemplated, and the extent of the grant which is intended to be made, a prompt communication of it may facilitate the conclusion of the business.

"I have the honor to be &c.

(Letter from W. H. Crawford to Daniel D. Tompkins, governor of New York, January "WM. H. CRAWFORD."

the Government was even then contemplating a consolidation of settlements this side of Michigan as a safeguard should another war break out with Great Britain. Barred from Ohio, the Indians lost all desire to emigrate; but land speculators, especially the proprietor of the Massachusetts preemptive right, began, or dare we say continued, to harass them with that object in view.

A little before this time there arrived among the New York Indians an Episcopal missionary in the person of Eleazer Williams—Bishop Hobart, of the New York diocese, having licensed him as a catechist and lay reader^a "at the earnest request of the Oneida chiefs."^b This man, the same who figured later on in fact and fiction as a pretender to the French throne, was himself of Indian extraction, also a lineal descendant of the survivor of the Deerfield massacre. In character he was wild and visionary, full of vagaries that would account in part for his easy seduction by the New York speculators. In 1817 he seems to have been opposed to removal and to have resisted the blandishments of De Witt Clinton, who wanted him to advocate that measure before a general council of the tribes. By the next year his opinions had undergone a radical change,^c but in the interval he had been entertained by and had, perhaps, succumbed to the influence of David A. Ogden.^d New pressure was then being brought to bear upon the Government to have the Iroquois sent westward, but without, as yet, much success. The profits of title extinguishment in that particular part of the East occupied by the Six Nations would accrue, not to the Government, but to the proprietor of the preemptive right; consequently there was no motive for pushing matters, although conversely there were valuable interests at stake for the rich capitalist since the market value of land in western New York depended, as Calvin Colton remarked years afterwards, "entirely upon the nearer or more remote prospects of the removal of the Indians—in other words, of their ejection."^e

The official correspondence of 1818 is very interesting as bearing upon New York Indian emigration; for it shows clearly how Calhoun came to be concerned in the scheme for erecting a part of the Northwest into an Indian Territory, and also to what lengths politicians and speculators were willing to go in order to accomplish their purposes. An effort was made to deceive the Indians into thinking that if they obtained any land in the West it would be in exchange for an equal amount in New York. Calhoun was inclined to be angry at this.^f Furthermore, he was annoyed that people persisted in holding

^a "Wis. Hist. Colls.," II: 419.

^b Schroeder's "Memoirs of Bishop Hobart."

^c "Wis. Hist. Colls.," II: 421.

^d Hanson, "The Lost Prince," p. 282.

^e "Tour of the Lakes," I: 99.

^f Calhoun to Jasper Parish, sub-agent to the Six Nations, May 14, 1818, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, pp. 165-166.

out to the Indians the hope of going west of Ohio and in prejudicing them against Arkansas,^a whether the Government would have wished to have them go,^b the Arkansas Cherokees being very ready to receive them.^c Calhoun knew that the people of Indiana and Illinois would never permit an immigration of Indians into their territory. Meanwhile Cass was becoming interested in the Ogden plans.^d Indeed, he

^a "Sir.

It is certainly much to be regretted, that the Six Nations should, by the arts of officious and designing men, be induced to hesitate in changing their present residence, for one more congenial to their habits, and better calculated, by its remoteness from the settlements of the Whites, permanently to secure their interest and happiness. The country on the Arkansas was designated, as combining every advantage most likely to render the change agreeable to them and to produce these results; while it would, at the same time, promote the views of the government, with which it is a desirable object to induce, as many of the tribes of Indians as may be disposed to change their residence, to emigrate to the West of the Mississippi. The objection to the Arkansas on account of its unhealthiness is an erroneous one. It is believed that no section of the country is more healthy. However, should they adhere to the determination not to remove to that country, Gov. Cass will be requested to consult with the Indians on Fox river and its vicinity, or with the tribes inhabiting the country lying North of the state of Indiana and the Illinois territory, and ascertain whether they are willing to make a cession of land to the six nations and receive them among them; and, in the event of any of them assenting to the proposition, he will be instructed to make the arrangements necessary for their reception and to facilitate their removal: provided the portion of country so selected for their new residence, receives their approbation * * *." (Extract of letter from J. C. Calhoun to David A. Ogden, August 19, 1818, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, pp. 204-205.)

^b "Sir. Mr. Graham transmitted your letter to him of the 8th inst. yesterday. The subject to which it refers had previously attracted my attention. Governor Cass in his letter to you states, that it will be necessary as a preliminary step, that this department should designate the place to be assigned to the six nations. I think there are almost insuperable difficulties in assigning a place between the Lakes, Ohio, and Mississippi. It is certain that, should it be selected in Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois, great discontent and complaints would be justly excited; and beyond the limits of those states, no position presents itself to me to which the Indians in New York could be tempted to emigrate. I am, of opinion, that the Arkansas, in every point of view, presents much the most advantageous site for their new residence. I have already presented my views to you on this subject in conversation and will not now repeat them. Should the Six nations be induced to emigrate thither, every facility will be presented by this department. I will direct Mr. Lewis, the agent at the Arkansas, to bring the subject before the Chiefs of the Cherokees, who live West of the Mississippi, and tho' I do not think it proper to make a formal address, in reply to the letter written by the Missionary Schoolmaster, yet Mr. Parish, the sub-agent, will be made acquainted with the views of this Department, on the points referred to in your letter." (Calhoun to Hon. David A. Ogden, Madrid, N. Y., May 14, 1818, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, pp. 164-165.)

^c Calhoun to Reuben Lewis, agent to the Cherokees on the Arkansas, May 16, 1818, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 168.

^d The best documentary evidence forthcoming in proof of the willingness of Cass to have the New York Indians settle in the West is the following letter:

WASHINGTON, October 22d, 1821.

Sir.

I have the honour to submit to you a copy of the treaty, executed at Green Bay between the Winnebagoes and Menominees forming one party, and the delegation of the Six Nations of the Museses, of the Stockbridge, and of the St. Regis Indians forming the other party. I intended to transmit the original instrument, but some accident has prevented it. I shall do it however immediately on my return.

I submit also a copy of the report of the person, authorized by me, at the expense of the persons holding the reversion of the lands owned by these Indians in New York, to visit Green Bay in company with the delegation and to conduct the negotiation. It is due to him to say, that this duty was zealously and ably performed.

A copy of my instructions to him should have accompanied this report, but I find on examination, that I have it not with me. It shall be transmitted, as speedily as possibly.

seems already to have been in correspondence for some months on the subject, first with Granger, the Indian agent at Buffalo, and later with the proprietor himself. When it became evident that the Indians disliked the thought of Arkansas as a home, Calhoun agreed to let them go to the vicinity of Fox River, or, if that region were not suitable, then to the lower peninsula of Michigan. At the time he had an impression that the Fox River intended flowed entirely outside of Illinois.^a Finding that it did not and probably not knowing of the Fox River in Wisconsin he countermanded the first part of his permission; for "I wish it understood," said he, "that the Indians are not to receive lands in exchange for those they have in New York, within the State of Indiana or Illinois."^b

It was not likely that the Federal Government would cumber one State with Indians in order to please a private individual even though that individual were supported, as it was well known Ogden was, by the strongest of local politics, and it was particularly unlikely that it would cumber Indiana at this time; for it was about to relieve her of the Delawares. Nevertheless, as events turned out, it was an incident occasioned by this very Delaware removal that finally helped to commit the Government to the scheme for placing the New York Indians in Wisconsin.

Among the remnants of the Iroquois was a small group of Stockbridges, exiles from Massachusetts, who, in one way or another, but in a way that President Jefferson approved, had become possessed, by deed of gift from the Delawares, of a joint claim to the land on White River;^c yet it was not until 1817 that any of their families had an inclination to respond to the request of the resident Miamis and Delawares that they should remove thither, although their obstinacy was much deplored by Solomon Hendricks, one of their number and "a strong advocate of the policy of emigration."^d In that year, 1817, two families went West and more prepared to follow, but

My apology for the omission will be found in the little time afforded me for the arrangement of my papers, after the conclusion of the treaty of Chicago.

The result of this negotiation I consider important to the parties and to the United States. If no improper influence be excited, these Indians will gradually withdraw from New York, and establish themselves upon the land thus ceded. They will there form a barrier, which may be highly useful in the event of any difficulties in that remote quarter.

Very Respectfully Sir

I have the honour to be
y^r obt. servt

LEW. CASS.

Hon. J. C. CALHOUN,

Secretary of War.

("Treaty Files," 1802-1853, Indian Office Manuscript Records.)

^a Calhoun to David A. Ogden, August 28, 1818, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 208.

^b Calhoun to Cass, September 2, 1818, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 208.

^c Marsh's Scottish Report for 1833, "Wis. Hist. Colls.," XV: 86.

^d Davidson, "The Coming of the New York Indians," "Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.," 1899, p. 160.

were deterred by a report in a Boston newspaper that the Delawares had sold out to the United States Government. The Stockbridges at once wrote to the Delawares to have the report either confirmed or denied, and were assured by the Indians that it was utterly false, and by the agent that "there would be no attempt at present, to buy out and remove the said Indians."^a Taking courage, therefore, the Stockbridges prepared a second party, which left New York under the leadership of John Metoxen. "They did not get away so soon by a month, as they had intended," wrote Sergeant to Morse, "and on that account they did not arrive at their place of destination *before the country was all sold.*"^b During the winter following, they stayed with the Shawnees in Ohio and applied, though unsuccessfully, to Congress for a redress of their grievance. Morse championed their cause, as they had requested him, for he was their friend, and their disappointment was his also; inasmuch as, trusting to the prophecies of Hendrick and Sergeant, he had hoped to establish an "Education Family" with them as a center on White River.^c Indiana being now out of the question, he made a personal appeal to President Monroe.^d

^a Hendrick to Sergeant, March 30, 1818, Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 112.

^b Sergeant to Morse, December 16, 1818, Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 116.

^c (1) "If nothing takes place unfavourable, I judge the Stockbridge Indians will all remove into that country [on White River] in the course of eight or ten years. They say they must send a few families there this summer, to take possession of the country, and satisfy the Delawares. As soon as this takes place, there will be an agreeable home at once, for a missionary, and a most excellent stand for the establishment you propose. It is altogether probable, that in the course of a few years, the Delawares from Upper Canada, and the Museses from various parts, will remove to White river, probably making upwards of two thousand souls. The Brotherton Indians, so-called, are about to remove to this place * * *"

(Hendrick to Sergeant, March, 1818, Morse's Report, Appendix, pp. 112-114.)

(2) "It is reported that the Indiana Government, this season, intend to purchase the lands on the White river. It is my opinion, that they will not be able to do it, by fair means. If they should be able to do it by a stretch of unlawful power, the proposed plan will be at an end [i. e. of a mission establishment.] Partly on this account, I would recommend that your Society employ some missionary, visiting the Ohio, or Indiana Territory, or some minister in the vicinity, to spend a few weeks among my people, and from the Chief, who is going, the Missionary will be able to report to your Society all necessary information respecting your missionary establishment * * * I am well informed that the Tuscaroras, living near Buffalo, are about to remove to White river; and by a late letter from Buffalo, I understand a number of Museses will go on with my people. All these will be friendly to a religious establishment (John Sergeant to Morse, June 29, 1818, Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 115.)

(3) To this letter of Sergeant's Morse added the following editorial comment: "If these Indians were disposed to settle together in this place, why not, I ask, in some other eligible spot?" (Report, Appendix, p. 116.)

^d "I take the liberty here respectfully to suggest to the President, whether it would not be expedient, and have a conciliatory and good effect on the Stockbridge Indians, and on others also, white people as well as Indians, to consider the *hard case* of these Indians, and to grant them a portion of the lands which they claim on White river, with an understanding, that they shall exchange them for a tract somewhere in the N. W. Territory, which shall be agreeable to them, and which the Government might purchase of the present owners for this specific purpose? Or make them a grant in the first instance, in some part of the N. W. Territory?"

"I have conversed with Mr. Sergeant on this subject, and he has suggested to me, that some course like this would satisfy the Stockbridge Indians. This, I think, might lead ultimately to the gathering together of many of the scattered remnants of tribes, in this Territory, so peculiarly adapted to this purpose." (Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 117.)

urging that a tract in the Northwest Territory be given to the Stockbridges in compensation for the one they had lost; and, as we shall see, in following his advice, the Government was ready to accede to the wishes of David A. Ogden.

During the summer of 1819 the proprietor of the Massachusetts preemptive right made a most desperate effort to induce the Senecas to emigrate westward; but, led by Red Jacket, they stood out like adamant against all proposition having removal as their burden.^a The Senecas were more pliable, owing to a division in their ranks on the score of religion. Dating from a period soon after the coming of Missionary Williams into their midst (for their tribe was his special field), they had been divided into two parties, the Pagan and the Christian. The latter, made up of Williams's supposed proselytes, was inclined to place implicit confidence in his advice on matters material as well as spiritual. This was but natural. More impressive than their fellows of the Pagan party, as evidenced by the effect that the beautiful Anglican Church ritual had had upon them, they were allured by a most Utopian dream of an Indian Empire. Just when Williams began to argue this before them or just when he first indulged in it himself is matter for conjecture. He always claimed it as an original idea, but it looks very much like an exaggeration of Morse's Indian State, which Morse may have projected as he had projected the "Education Families" even before his trip to the Northwest.

Be that as it may, we know for certain that in the winter of 1819 and 1820 Eleazer Williams went to Washington and represented to the Government that the Oneidas and other New York Indians were anxious to move West. The War Department was just beginning to take efficient measures toward a compromise with the Stockbridges^b and, perhaps, with that partly in view was commissioning their advocate, Doctor Morse, to investigate northern Indian conditions; so Calhoun agreed to help bear the expenses of a delegation of ten Iroquois, desirous of exploring "certain parts of the northern western territory and" of making "arrangements with the Indians residing there, for a portion of their country to be" thereafter "inhabited by such of the Six Nations as" might "choose to emigrate."^c The expedition set out under favorable auspices. Calhoun was

^a "At the meeting [of the Council "at Pollard's Village, about five miles from Buffalo"] on the 9th the Chief Red Jacket, on behalf of the Senecas, rejected the proposition to remove or to contract their limits, or dispose of any part of their lands; the rejection was so unqualified and so peremptory, as to forbid all reasonable expectation, that any good purpose could be effected by adjourning the Council: it was therefore finally closed * * * (Extract from Report of Morris S. Miller to Calhoun, July 25, 1819, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office Manuscript Records.)

^b Report of the Commission of 1830.

^c Calhoun to Eleazer Williams, February 9, 1820, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 364. Calhoun to Cass and to Gen. Alex. Macomb, February 9, 1820, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, D, p. 366.

compliant, Bishop Hobart^a benignly encouraging, to say nothing of De Witt Clinton and David A. Ogden. Both were active, the latter securing from Schoolcraft a ready promise to render all the assistance that lay in his power.^b But there were breakers ahead. When the delegates reached Detroit they heard news that caused them to turn back disappointed.^c The land they thought they wanted was reported gone. In the absence of Governor Cass and, as it afterwards proved, with his strong disapprobation,^d Colonel Bowyer, the Indian agent at

^a The Rev. Joseph Hooper, of Durham, Connecticut, who helped to make a most minute examination of the Hobart Papers for Doctor Dix's "History of Trinity Church," reports: "From any documents that I have seen it does not appear that Bishop Hobart had any special influence over the Indians concerning their removal * * *." Hanson, however, furnishes extracts from a letter purporting to have been written by Bishop Hobart at this time to the Oneidas, which indicates a certain measure of sympathy with Williams's undertaking: "My Children—It is expedient that he [Williams] should go on a journey to the west, to see if he can find some territory, where the Stockbridge Indians and others, who are disposed to go, may reside; and particularly to ascertain whether your western brethren are inclined to embrace the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ * * *." ("The Lost Prince," p. 290.)

^b "I shall pass through that country [Green Bay] some time in August. If Mr. Williams, with the delegation from the six nations could be there at that time, I might be able, more effectually than in any other way, to aid him in the accomplishment of his object * * *."

^c "The plan of locating these Indians in the country, to which you refer, is the most practicable, which has yet been proposed. There are none of our citizens interest in that country to oppose the measure. There will be no political prejudices to encounter, and no misrepresentations to correct. I believe the soil, climate, and other advantages of the country will be found to equal any expectations which these Indians may have indulged respecting them * * *." (Henry R. Schoolcraft to Hon. David A. Ogden, May 5, 1820, "Schoolcraft Unbound Correspondence," Smithsonian Institution.)

^d "Rev. E. Williams who has for several years past been officiating as a preacher for the Oneida Indians, in the State of New York, arrived here in the steamboat Walk-in-the-water last Saturday. He is accompanied by some of the men of the tribe, who constitute a delegation to visit the Indians in this Territory, for the purpose of ascertaining the prospect of success in the endeavor to christianize them. We learn that it is a further object with the delegation to find a suitable tract of country within the Territory, to which the Oneida Indians, or a part of them, will remove—for this purpose the country in the vicinity of Green Bay will be visited. No doubt can be entertained of the importance of this project. The influence which the example of Indians who are in a great measure civilized, will have over the habits of their more unfortunate brethren, will, perhaps, have much more effect in weaning them from their savage modes of living than all the theoretical lessons which can be given them by white men." ("Detroit Gazette," Friday, July 28, 1820.)

^e Detroirt, November 11, 1820.

SM. While I was at Green Bay I understood from Col. Bowyer that he had obtained a cession from the Indians of the country extending forty miles up the Fox River and twenty-five or thirty miles on each side of that River. I presume he transmitted to you the instrument of cession, which he obtained.

I do not know the instructions which he received nor what were the views of the Government upon the subject. But I take the liberty of expressing to you my doubt respecting the policy of the measure. A purchase of the land in the immediate vicinity of Green Bay, and including all the settlements upon the Fox River is certainly proper. It is proper with a view to the undisputed operation of the laws, and to relieve the inhabitants from the disagreeable & anomalous situation, in which they are placed. But more than this is not now required, and I presume an immediate increase of the population in that Country by emigration is not anticipated.

The effect therefore of extinguishing the Indian title to this large tract of land, independent of the pecuniary stipulations, which may be made, is, that it is thrown open to every adventurer, who may choose to enter it.

The laws of the United States respecting the intercourse of our Citizens with the Indians will cease to operate, and no restraints however wholesome can be imposed.

Green Bay, surmising that Indian immigration into Wisconsin upon such an extensive scale as was rumored to take place would embarrass if it did not utterly preclude white settlement, negotiated upon his own responsibility^a a treaty of cession with the Menominees for land on Fox River. Morse, who came to Detroit at the same or about the same time as Williams,^b heard of the transaction and subsequently interviewed the Menominees concerning it. He found them feeling sad, for only a part had sanctioned the relinquishment.^c He then talked with them of his own plans and of the prospective coming of the Iroquois, but they were not elated. Their dissatisfaction with the Bowyer treaty, however, enabled Morse and Williams to present a strong case against its ratification. Governor Cass's objections were an added weight with the War Department; so Monroe decided not even to submit it to the Senate.^d

The news of the rejection of the Bowyer treaty emboldened Williams to make a second trip to the Northwest, for which he had of late been gathering pecuniary reinforcements.^e By this time Thomas

A large portion of this land must be inhabited by the Indians for many years, and any measure, should be deprecated, which would prevent the laws of the United States and the regulations of the Government from extending to them.

But there is another consideration of much weight upon this subject. I have reason to believe that the Six Nations from New York would select a part of this Country for their residence, and the policy of permitting them to do it, cannot be doubted. They reached this place last summer on their way to Green Bay, but having heard that a purchase had been made of the land to which their attention had been directed they returned without accomplishing the object of their mission & without my having seen them. It is very desirable to place them in that Country. Their habits & the strong pecuniary ties which bind them to the United States would ensure their fidelity, and they would act as a check upon the Winnebagoes, the worst affected of any Indians upon our borders.

Under these circumstances I would respectfully suggest whether it would not be expedient to delay acting upon the purchase made by Col. Bowyer and to direct his successor to procure a cession better suited to the objects, which the Government have in view.

Respectfully Sir, I have the honour to be, Yr obt Servt

LAWIS CASS.

Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, Secy. of War.

^a Calhoun to Cornelius Bard, Jno. Anth^o Brandt, and Dan'l Tegawateron of the Oneida Nation of Indians, April 14, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, B, p. 91.

^b Davidson in "Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.," 1899, p. 171, Morse's Report, Appendix, pp. 54-55. ^c Morse's Report, Appendix, p. 53, note. ^d Calhoun to Cass, April 4, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, B, p. 81.

^e General Ellis writes: "In the spring of 1821, I accompanied Williams on a visit to New York he was in long consultation with Thos. L. Ogden, Esq., chief man of a New York Land Company. * * * Mr. Ogden conceived that Williams would be a powerful agent in effecting the removal of the Senecas, and from him Mr. Williams received a good sum, several hundred dollars, in money. These largesses were repeated by Mr. Ogden many times after. At Philadelphia the conferences were with the executive committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal church, and from whom Williams solicited aid for the establishment of a mission of that church among the Indians at Green Bay. Those gentlemen, Rev. Mr. Boyd, Rev. J. Kemper, and Dr. Milnor treated us courteously, but with evident caution. No money was obtained at this visit, though small sums were supplied Mr. Williams from that source for two or three years after." ("Recollections of Rev. E. Williams," Wis. Hist. Colls., VIII: 333.)

L. Ogden had become the chief proprietor of the Massachusetts preemptive right and was trying to oust the Indians by surveying their lands prior to a sale.^a This he did^b in spite of an adverse opinion as to its legality from Attorney-General Wirt.^c His vigorous methods may have had something to do with making the second delegation to the Northwest larger and more general in character than the first.^d There were fourteen in the troop, representing the Oneida, St. Regis, Stockbridge,^e Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora Indians. Eleazer Williams was the special representative of the St. Regis, who

^a Calhoun to William Wirt, United States Attorney-General, April 17, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 92.

^b Calhoun to Jasper Parrish, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 336.

^c Calhoun to David A. Ogden, April 28, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 96.

^d "Excepting those of the first Christian party of the Oneidas, and the Stockbridges, all these delegates, to-wit: one from Onondaga, one from Tuscarora, one from the Senecas and one, Williams himself, from St. Regis, went on their own private responsibility, without any authority from their tribes. If any exception should be made in case of Williams, as for the St. Regis, it never appeared, so far as I could discover, in any authentic form. In fact, with the exception of the first Christian party of the Oneidas, and the Stockbridges, the settlement was universal, and most emphatically expressed against removal from their homes in New York." (Ellis, "Recollections of Rev. E. Williams," "Wis. Hist. Colls.," VIII: 335.)

^e The Stockbridges seem to have been a unit in their desire to remove. Note their letter to Bishop Hobart quoted in Doctor Dix's "History of Trinity Church," p. 193.

NEW STOCKBRIDGE

Right Rev. Sir,
June 9th, 1821.

This is particularly to state to you that our tribe have all agreed to send messengers to meet with the Tribes in the Northwest Territory agreeable to an arrangement made with those Tribes last summer by Mr. Williams and his Oneida friends.

We would further inform you that we as a tribe united with our brethren in a speech to those Tribes and received a friendly answer, brought by Mr. Williams.

We would further inform you that we are expected by those heathen Tribes to visit and hold a general Council with them this season in union with our Brothers the Oneidas. Our object is to recommend perpetual peace among themselves and among both Red and White people.

Also to recommend Civilization and the Christian Religion among that heathen people. We well know that those Tribes will expect us with a few of our brethren the Oneidas.

We have good reason to believe that Oneidas will not send unless your missionary Mr. Williams goes as a leader.

We have reason to expect that we may obtain from those tribes a fine place or Country which will be beneficial to our tribes.

We are now nearly ready to send four of our principal young men on this great and important business.

We have reason to hope we shall meet the blessings of Heaven, and by our Council be able to do much good for the glory and honour of our Common Saviour to a numerous population of Red people. Now, Right Rev. Sir, our request is that for the above-mentioned reasons you give your consent and approbation that your Missionary, Mr. Williams, go with us.

Remain Rev. Sir, your friends and children.

We shall expect an answer as soon as is convenient.

HENDRICK AUPAUMENT,
JACOB KONKAPOT,
ABNER W. HENDRICK,
SOLOMON W. HENDRICK.

Right Rev. Bishop.

The Munsees also sent a delegate, who, by the special permission of the Government, was included in the Stockbridge contingent. (Calhoun to Cass, June 21, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 121.)

were his own people, and he carried with him a letter^a of introduction from De Witt Clinton. The delegation arrived at Detroit on the 12th of July, 1821,^b and were met by Governor Cass, who added Charles C. Trowbridge^c to their party, a representative of the General Government. When they reached Green Bay in August, they found no Indian agent in attendance; for Bowyer had died and his successor was temporarily absent. Cass had warned them that they would meet with interference from the French settlers and they certainly did;^d but, after considerable delay, the Menominees and Winnebagoes of-

^a "The Lost Prince," p. 291.

^b "Detroit Gazette," July 13, 1821.

^c Ellis, "Recollections of Rev. Eleazer Williams," in "Wis. Hist. Colls.," VIII: 335-336.

^d The following letter from Trowbridge to Cass is confirmatory of this:

DETROIT, 7th Sept., 1821.

SIR. The deputation from the Six Nations and Stockbridge and Munsee nations of Indians having returned to this place, I have the honor to report to you the proceedings and the result of their mission to Green Bay.

Soon after your departure from this place in July last, I learned that Maj. Biddle, the Indian agent at Green Bay, (whose advice and assistance, I was instructed, would be afforded the deputies) was about to leave that place for the purpose of attending the treaty to be held at Chicago.

I communicated this information to the deputies on their arrival here, and at their request I addressed a letter to your Excellency at Chicago, requesting that such instructions as would be most likely to secure the object in view, might be immediately forwarded to me at Green Bay. On our arrival at the place of our destination, we found the Agent absent, as was anticipated, and learned also, to our very great mortification, that his Interpreter had accompanied him. Upon consultation it was thought advisable to proceed in our business without delay, although we were sensible that we should meet with many difficulties; and with this view we procured a commodious house in the vicinity of Fort Howard, where we were visited on the seventh of August, by a Menomini Chief and a few of his warriors. We informed these men that we should be pleased to hold a council with such Menomini Chiefs as were at the place, and requested them to attend us, accompanied by those chiefs, on the following day.

On the eighth a few of the Menomini Chiefs called at our house, and were soon followed by some Winnebagoes, who took seats with them in the council room, when the deputies addressed a short speech to the former, stating that they had an important communication to make to them, if their principal chiefs could be collected. This speech was, thro' mistake interpreted to them as addressed to both nations, which fact we did not learn until they gave their answer, when it was too late to correct the error, as they all professed themselves gratified with the invitation, and engaged to send immediately for the Chiefs of both nations.

Knowing that an enmity existed between the two parties, and that the Winnebagoes had refused to listen to propositions for the purchase of their lands, we were not a little displeased at this mistake of our Interpreter; but, as will appear to you, it eventuated in the accomplishment of our object.

On the sixteenth, the Chiefs of the two nations assembled, and we immediately commenced business. The Deputies opened the object of their missions in a very handsome manner, taking care to set forth in a proper light, the advantages which would result to their brethren the Menominees and Winnebagoes, from a cession as proposed; and after delivering a belt of wampum according to the Indian custom, the opposite parties replied in very flattering terms, and begged leave to consult each other, promising to give an answer on the following day.

On the 17th the Menominees opened the council with a positive refusal to accept the proposals made to them, alleging as a reason the limited quantity of lands possessed by them, and the difficulty they therefore experienced in gaining a livelihood. The Winnebagoes expressed a great deal of sorrow at this answer, and proposed to give their brethren of the east, the lands on the Fox river, from the Grand Chute to the Winnebago Lake, a distance of four and a half miles. Perceiving that the Menominees were astonished at this reply, it was thought advisable to adjourn the council with a view

ferred to sell them a strip of land on the Fox River.^a The price was to give them time for reflection. On the following day they met the deputies again, and having stated that their minds had changed, proposed to join the Winnebagoes in a cession of the lands from the foot of the Grand Kaccalin to the rapids at the Winnebago Lake. Immediately the articles of the treaty were prepared, but before being finished the Menominees received a message from some person without the house, in consequence of which some of the Chiefs left the room, and a bustle commenced among those who remained. We perceived at once the cause of the confusion, and began seriously to fear the influence of the French inhabitants, some of whom had exerted themselves in opposition to our measures from the time of our arrival.

After some time had elapsed, the Chiefs who had left us, returned, and it was then difficult to procure a decisive answer to our question, "whether they would sign a grant, the terms of which had been proposed by themselves alone"? After a good deal of hesitation between their own inclination and that of their advisers, they told us, that their speaker had not expressed their true sentiments, but that their first determination on our proposition was unchanged and unchangeable. All hopes of effecting a purchase of the Menominees were now at an end; for we felt sensible, as well from experience as from information, that they were guided in everything by the advice and instruction of a few of the principal Frenchmen at the place, who have ever opposed with zeal, the progress of settlement and improvement in their country.

Upon reflection it was thought advisable to make another attempt, and the council was declared adjourned until the morning of the nineteenth, at which time the Winnebagoes were invited to attend and sign the grant which they had first proposed: The Menominees were told, that if they should feel disposed to join in the cession, we should be pleased to see them also.

In the evening the two nations held a consultation at their encampment, and on the following morning they all assembled and signed the treaty, of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy, together with a sketch of a part of Fox river, exhibiting the breadth and course of the tract.

The grant is not so wide as was wished for and expected by the deputies, but when it is considered that we were obliged to encounter serious obstacles, unaided and alone, it cannot be denied that the result has been favorable.

Some of the deputies have visited the lands on and adjacent to the river, and are much pleased with the appearance of the soil, timber and local advantages: Indeed it is pronounced by the inhabitants to be the most valuable tract in that country. The boundaries, as expressed in the articles of the treaty are rather indefinite, but under the existing circumstances it was difficult to make them less so. The grantors claim to the northwest as far as the Chipeway lands; sometimes they say three, at others, four, five and six days march. On the southeast their claims extend to Lake Michigan.

Should it be thought advisable, I have little doubt that a purchase may be effected, of the lands from the Rapids of the Fathers, four and a half miles above Fort Howard, and near the upper extremity of the French settlement, to the Grand Kaccalin, a distance of thirteen and a half miles; which added to the present cession would make a breadth of upwards of thirty miles.

I cannot forbear expressing to your Excellency how highly I have been gratified with the correct moral deportment and statesmanlike conduct of the deputies from the Six Nations, under the direction of Mr. Williams, whose personal exertions in this business have been very great. With respect to the deputation from the Stockbridge nation, I cannot speak so favourably. Some of them, it is true, have genius and energy, but they have been more addicted to intemperance than becomes men on business of this importance; and I fear that some part of their conduct has left an unfavourable impression on the minds of the inhabitants at the Bay.

I am aware that I have been prolix in this report, but a desire to give your Excellency a detailed statement of the facts attending the mission, has been the cause, and I offer no other apology; not doubting, that when you shall take into consideration its imperfections, your goodness will prompt you to excuse them, under the belief that they do not arise from a want of inclination to make it more satisfactory.

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be Your Excellency's very humble and much obliged servant,

CHARLES C. TROWBRIDGE.

HIS Excellency LEWIS CASS,

Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

^a "Treaty Files," 1802-1853, Indian Office MS. Records.)

^b "Beginning at the foot of the rapids, usually called the Grand Kaccalin, on the Fox river, thence running up the said river to the rapids at the Winnebago Lake, and

\$2,000, \$500 to be paid in cash immediately and \$1,500 in goods a year hence. Hendrick advised the acceptance of the offer and Trowbridge drew up a formal agreement to which the white men present subscribed as witnesses.

Williams thereupon returned to New York to receive the congratulations of De Witt Clinton^a and the execrations of the pagan Oneidas,^b who begged the Rev. William B. Lacey, of Albany, to intercede for them with Bishop Hobart to have Williams deprived of his office as missionary teacher. Other New York bands shared this sentiment of disapproval. Even those who had before shown a disposition to emigrate were now opposed, for they felt that the land just bought was quite inadequate. Nevertheless, Monroe unhesitatingly

from the river extending in this width from each side of the same, to the northwest and to the southeast, equidistant to the Lands claimed by the said Menominee & Winnebago nations of Indians." ("Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office MS. Records. See also "Treaty Files," 1802-1853, *ibid.*)

^a Hanson, "The Lost Prince," p. 292.

^b ONEIDA, *Feb'y. 25th, 1822.*

(1) Rev^d. & dear Brother,

We are sorry to intrude ourselves upon you at this time by letter, but we have so often addressed our father the Bishop, upon the subject of our grievances without having any answer to our complaints, petitions, that we are induced to solicit your assistance & advice.

From Mr. Dana our interpreter, you learn'd something respecting our situation with regard to Mr. Williams, as long as he remains with us we shall continue disunited, our affections for him are changed; we cannot reverence or respect him as we once did, he has tried every means in his power to draw us away from *our own lands*, he wishes us to leave the possessions we inherit from our fathers, to our white brethren, but *we cannot sacrifice our houses & our Church & go to the land of strangers*—while he continues faithful to our spiritual interests & remained with us a teacher of good things we loved him & endeavour'd to assist him, but when he became discontented with his situation, neglected us & often left us we became jealous of our rights, & enquir'd into the motives that actuated him. Ambition appears to be the ruling passion in his breast, the humble cottages of the natives ill suits the dignity of his mind, we however forbear personal reflections,—& solicit relief—

Dear brother we are sorry to learn that Mr. W. has insinuated that we have become disaffected with the *Church* & wished a change on that account but this is not the case we are still attached to our service & consider *our Church* as the true Church of Christ, we consider the Bishop our father & look to him for a teacher.

We have long looked for an answer to our letters but he has not written to us & we fear he has forgotten his red children.

Will you not intercede for us, dear brother? We desire a young man of piety & disinterested benevolence, one who is willing to conform to our modes & customs, & capable of learning our language. Our wishes center in Mr. Davis, the young gentleman who acted in the capacity of reader during Mr. W's absence last summer.

Dear brother we wish you to send us an immediate answer as we feel as if we were forgotten by our father the bishop. One circumstance ought not to be omitted in our communication to you. We learn that a petition has been sent to the Bishop (signed by a great number of Indians) requesting him to continue Mr. W. with them in the capacity of a reader. This petition was signed by *some of them* in consequence of a threat that when he *went the Prayer Book* & the Bishop's support would be withdrawn & the petition was signed by several excommunicated members from the episcopal & also the Presbyterian Church.—Dear Brother we think that if we should leave this place & go to the West among the Indians we should lose our Church service, we being few in number should be obliged to conform to them in their mode of worship here we have a Church & here we desire to die & be buried by the side of our fathers.

In January last we sent a letter to our father the Bishop requesting him to send Mr. Davis among us as our reader this was signed by the chiefs & separately by the members

gave his personal sanction to the agreement.^a He did not think it necessary to apply to the Senate, since it was only a contract between two sets of Indians;^b but was soon called upon to consent to a third of the Church. We mention him in particular because he appears devoted to our Church & we are pleased with the mildness of his disposition & his easy familiar manners.

Dear Brother, we remain

Your friends & Brothers of the Oneida Church.

his
Nicolas X Garmigontaya
mark

his
Hendrik X Schuyler

mark
Peter Yaramynear

his
John X Cornelius

mark
Moses X Schuyler

his
mark
Christopher X Schuyler

his
Mark Quiney

his
Abraham X Schuyler

mark
P. S. We intended to have obtained a greater number of subscribers to this but the inclemency of the weather; & a wish to send it immediately prevent our giving this a free circulation.

("Hobart Papers.")

(2) The Right Rev. Bishop Hobart.

Dear Sir,

Early in the winter Cap. Dana, and several chiefs of the Oneida Tribe, called on me, and requested that I would join with them in recommending Mr. Solomon Davis—a member of St. Peter's Church—to you, as a suitable person to succeed Mr. Williams; but not having sufficient information on the subject, I declined complying with their request. This morning I received the enclosed communication, urging me again to write you on the same subject; and not wishing to offend them by totally disregarding their request—I have taken the liberty to address you on a subject, with which you will have good reason to think I have no concern.

Although I have a high opinion of Mr. Williams zeal and fidelity in our cause, I am afraid, that owing to a concurrence of circumstances—a part of which undoubtedly is unfounded suspicion—he has lost his influence over the Oneidas, and that a removal as speedy as is consistent with his reputation, will contribute to the interest of the Church—Prejudice founded in invincible ignorance is often unconquerable, and the best way to avoid its consequences, is generally—in the case of clergymen—to flee from it. Under this impression I am inclined to think, that the sooner Mr. Williams enters on his mission to Green Bay, the better it will be for him and the Church.

As to the person the Oneidas has designated for his successor, I can at present only say, that about two years since he came recommended to me as a worthy communicant in our Church by the Rev. Mr. Butler; that he has resided about eighteen months in this place as a journeyman printer; is generally spoken of by those who know him, as a sober, moral, and pious man; and that he appears to possess much mildness of temper and suavity of manner. He was with the Oneidas last summer, and in the absence of Mr. Williams read sermons for them in the Church, and appears to have gained their esteem.

It is needless on the present occasion to be more particular, but should a communication subsequently be necessary, I will endeavor to answer all the queries you may propose. I am Right Rev. and dear Sir, with very great respect and esteem, your humble obt servt.

WM. B. LACY.

Albany 28th Feb. 1822.

("Hobart Papers.")

^a Calhoun to Cass, November 22, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 194, Treaty Files, 1802-1853, Indian Office MS. Records.

^b Calhoun to Solomon U. Hendricks, November 22, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 195.

^c Same to same, February 13, 1822, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 195.

expedition in quest of satisfaction. Meanwhile the Indians were in a very excited state, for the speculators in New York were trying to convince them that the Government was going to force them to go West. Calhoun^a comforted them as best he could, for compulsory measures were the very farthest from the President's intentions.^b

The third New York expedition to the Northwest^c had no official leader, although Solomon Hendricks and Eleazer Williams^a accompanied it as before, and Cass asked Sergeant to look after the interests of of the United States. On the 16th of September, 1822,^e it

^a Talk of April 15, 1822, to Chiefs of the First Christian Party of the Oneida Indians, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, pp. 234-236.

^b "Your ideas as to the views of the Government in relation to lands claimed by Indians, are very correct, and the assurance you have given to the Oneida and Onondago Nations, that the government will never permit them to be deprived of their lands without their consent, is in perfect accordance with them. It is my impression however that it would be for their advantage to remove beyond the white settlements. * * * It was with this impression that the deputation referred to, was upon application signed by three chiefs of the Oneida nation, encouraged to visit the Indians in the neighborhood of Green Bay, with a view to obtain a portion of their Country for the future residence of such Indians of the Six Nations as might choose to emigrate thither. A deputation of the Stockbridge nation was also, upon application of the chiefs, encouraged to visit that country for the same purpose. But it never was intended to compel any to emigrate, or to deprive them of their lands without their consent. In fact, the government can have no inducement to take any measure to remove the Indians, or even to assent to their removal; but for their own interest as the Country occupied by them does not belong to the U. States but to individuals. * * * " (Extract of letter from Calhoun to Rev. O. B. Brown, September 27, 1821, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 155.)

^c For the information of Mr. Troup I herewith enclose copies and extracts of letters which indicate the views and measures of the gov't in relation to the removal of the Six Nations from the State of New York. By these it will be seen that the Government has endeavored to impress upon the Indians the advantages of changing their present residence for one further West, and it will continue to do so upon every suitable occasion, but no steps for their removal can be taken without their consent. * * * " (Extract of letter from Calhoun to Hon. W. D. Rochester, House of Representatives, April 15, 1822, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 233.)

^d Calhoun to Solomon U. Hendricks, February 16, 1822, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 218.

^e Calhoun to Rev. Eleazer Williams, May 8, 1822, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 253.

^f GREEN BAY, Oct. 16th, 1822.

(1) Dear Sir,

With respect to the commission with which your Excellency was pleased to honor me, I beg leave to submit the following report.

I left Detroit on the 19th of August in company with the New York Indians and arrived at Green Bay on the first day of Sept^r. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the different lodges of Menominee and Winnebago Indians who returned and collected of both Tribes about Eight Hundred people old & young. They assembled on the 16th Sept^r, and received from the New York Indians the amount of goods stipulated in the third Article of the Treaty made last year. The Winnebagoes then returned to their homes. The Menominees were then invited to treat with the N. York Indians for an extension of the purchase made last year. They were particularly informed through their interpreter that the purchase, if made, would be approbated by the Government of the United States and that I, as a commissioner under Government, was directed to make the statement to them. The French and other inhabitants in this place, who were interested in the subject also received the same notice. The Menominees after deliberating on the subject met on the 23rd day of Sept^r and as far as I could learn, without a dissenting voice, agreed to the proposals made by the N. York Indians which were put in the form of a Treaty, which Treaty is herewith transmitted to your Excellency reference being had to the same particulars will more fully appear. I have been credibly informed that some of the French people at this place have taken much pains to create a party among [the] Menominees to frustrate the designs of Government and the N. York Indians in the aforesaid purchase and have been entirely unsuccessful in their attempts.

managed to assemble the Menominees and Winnebagoes in council, and the latter stayed until after the payment for the joint cession had been completed. A serious deliberation then followed, in which the French settlers joined. The upshot of it was, that on the 23d the Menominees^a agreed to an extension of the grant of 1821,^b but soon

and I have the pleasure further to state that the Menominees appear to be much pleased with the bargain and their new neighbors.

The subject of any former purchase having been made by the French, British, or American Government has been particularly inquired into & that no transfer has ever been made to either, except a piece of land immediately in the vicinity of Fort Howard which the Indians acknowledge though it has never been reduced to writing.

All of which is respectfully submitted by, dear Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

JOHN SERGEANT, Junr.

To his Excellency LEWIS CASS, Esqr
Governor of the Territory of Michigan
(True Copy of the 1st Copy.)

("Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office MS. Records.)

(2) We arrived at Green Bay on the 1st day Sept^r where messengers were immediately sent on to different encampments or towns of the Menominees & Winnebagoes to notify them of our arrival.

In a few days after the Indians from the two Nations began to arrive & collect near where we had our quarters, accompanied by their Chiefs & Head Warriors. On the 16th September a council was held with the Chiefs & warriors of the two nations, when a short talk was delivered to them renewing the covenant of our friendship and the agreement we had made with them last year.

I had the gratification to find by their reply that they were all satisfied with the Treaty. 'No one, as they say, is against it.' They were much pleased to see a number [of] families from our Tribe had come, with a view to live near them. The goods were then delivered to them & the amount each Nation paid receipted on the back of the Treaty.

A few days after a council was again held with the Menominees with a view to endeavor to have an extension made to the cession of last year, and I have now the satisfaction to inform you that the Deputies succeeded in obtaining from the Menominees the cession of all the lands owned by them situated from the lower line of the Territory ceded to us last year including all islands in the Bay. The treaty was signed on the 23rd day of Sept. and I was requested by my Chiefs to carry the same to our father the President for his approbation and ratification and which I have the honor to present the Hon^{ble} the Sec^r of War, Together with a letter from John Sergeant Jr. Esq^r. originally directed to his Excellency Lewis Cass who was absent having, as I understood, started for the seat of Government four days before our arrival at Detroit. I. e. Deputies from the Oneida, Tuscarora, St Regis, Munsee, & Stockbridge Tribe of Indians. (N. Y.)

True Extract from the 1st Copy.

Per J. W. _____

(Extract of a communication from S. U. Hendricks to Calhoun, "made at Washington City the 20th of Feb. 1825," "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office MS. Records.)

"In the summer of 1824, J. D. Doty submitted to Cass the depositions ("Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office Manuscript Records) of certain of the French settlers at Green Bay: viz. Paul Grignon, Pierre Grignon, and Lewis Rouse, to the effect that the Menominees present at the treaty council of 1821 were not chiefs or headmen; but really persons of small consideration and of no authority. The deponents had nothing apparently to say against the personnel of the later council of 1822. Are we then to infer that bona fide chiefs agreed to the larger grant?

"Beginning at the foot of the rapids on Fox river, usually called the Grand Kacalin, thence southeast (or on the lower line of the lands last season ceded by the Menominee and Winnebago Nations of Indians, to the six Nations, St. Regis, Stockbridge, and Munsee nations,) to or equidistant with the Manawohkink river emptying into Lake Michigan, thence an easterly course to and down said river to its mouth, thence northerly on the borders of Lake Michigan to and across the mouth of Green Bay, so as to include all the Islands of the Grande Traverse, thence from the mouth of Green Bay across a northwesterly course to a place on the Northwest shore of Lake Michigan, generally known and distinguished by the name of Weyohquatunk by the Indians; and Bay de Noque by the French, thence a westerly course, on the height of land separating the waters running into Lake Superior & running [into] Lake Michigan,

repented of their generosity, the trading interests of the bay being all opposed to the coming of the New Yorkers. The proprietors now redoubled their efforts to induce emigration, and especially to overcome the prejudices of Red Jacket and his Senecas,^a but to no purpose. Gradually Indians from the other bands did emigrate,^b but met with constant interference^c from the French settlers, who did their best to impeach the validity of the Menominee contract. Final sanction^d by the Department was therefore necessarily delayed.^e Meanwhile the white population steadily increased, so that as the years went on the New York proprietors found it more and more difficult to prevail upon the Senecas to emigrate.^f Morse's grand scheme for the establishment of an Indian State had come to nothing. It had vanished before the spectre of James Duane Doty's "Territory of Huron."^g

to the head of the Menominee river, thence continuing nearly the same course until it strikes the northeastern boundary line of the lands ceded as aforesaid by the Menominee and Winnebago Nations to the Six Nations, St. Regis, Stockbridge, and Munsee nations of Indians in 1821, thence southeasterly to the place of beginning." ("Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office Manuscript Records.)

^a(1) Talk of Calhoun to Red Jacket, Major Berry, and Complanter, chiefs and deputies of the Seneca Nation of Indians, March 14, 1823, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, pp. 404-406. (2) Calhoun to T. L. Ogden, March 15, 1823, *ibid.*, p. 406.

^bEleazer Williams to Right Reverend Father Bishop Hobart, May 15, 1823.

^cJ. Sergeant to Rev. J. Morse, February 16, 1824, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office MS. Records; New York Indians to Morse, November 6, 1824, *ibid.*; Solomon U. Hendricks to Calhoun, February 11, 1825, *ibid.*; McKenney to Maj. Henry B. Brevoort, Indian agent at Green Bay, March 8, 1825, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 1, p. 393.

^dThe President did almost immediately sanction the New York Indian Menominee agreement, but only in part; i. e. for as much land as he felt was amply sufficient for the needs of the emigrants. (Calhoun to T. L. Ogden and B. W. Rogers, August 21, 1823, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, E, p. 480.) Later, however, in deference to the wishes of the preemptive right proprietors he modified his decision, but still did not sanction the transfer of the whole of the grant. (Calhoun to T. L. Ogden and B. W. Rogers, October 13, 1823, *ibid.*, p. 496; Calhoun to Rev. Eleazer Williams, October 18, 1823, *ibid.*, p. 499.) This did not imply that the lands not included in the sanction were to revert to the grantors (Calhoun to T. L. Ogden and B. W. Rogers, October 23, 1823, *ibid.*, p. 501); but, simply, that anything beyond a transfer of about 2,000,000 acres to which the governmental sanction was given, though reluctantly, would have to be a matter of arrangement among the Indians alone. The New York tribes were greatly dissatisfied and appealed to the War Department through A. G. Ellis, but to no purpose. (Calhoun to the chiefs and headmen of the Oneida, Seneca, Tuscarora, Oneida, and Stockbridge tribes of New York, October 27, 1823, *ibid.*, pp. 503-504.) The Ogden Land Company then tried to secure an entire change in the grant, but was told that nothing of the kind could be done until the President was "possessed of some unequivocal evidence" that it would be acceptable to the Indians. ("Indian Office Letter Books," Series I, F, p. 3, letter from Calhoun to T. L. Ogden, October 31, 1823.)

^eMcKenney to Cass, April 16, 1825, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 1, p. 449.

^fTheir unwillingness was undoubtedly fortified by the repeated assurances of the Government that force would never be used to compel them to go. (McKenney to the chiefs of the Oneida, Seneca, and Oneida tribes, April 20, 1824, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 1, p. 44.) After the appearance of Monroe's special message on Indian emigration of January 27, 1825, the Six Nations sent a delegation to the southwestern tribes to consult about removal to that region, but the delegation reported unfavorably. (Jasper Parrish to Barbour, September 21, 1825, "Miscellaneous Files," Indian Office MS. Records.)

^g(1) "Doty Papers," "Wis. Hist. Colls.," XIII: 221-226, 227-237. (2) "Wis. Hist. Colls.," XV: 401, note.

them, Jackson thought it prudent to send among them a confidential agent,^a whose mission should be kept absolutely secret, the object being to secure individual acquiescence.^b

Measures directed toward the same end were taken for the Choctaws and Chickasaws. At the beginning of the year the Mississippi legislature had enacted that the Indian country should be subject to legal process,^c and there was every indication that the Indians would, at the ensuing term, be themselves rendered amenable to State law. Eaton, therefore, advised them to go to a land that would be theirs and their children's for all time;^d inasmuch as the General Government had not the constitutional power to prevent the extension of State authority; "but beyond the Mississippi (it) will possess the power and can exercise it. It will be disposed when there settled to molest or disturb them no more, but leave them and their children at peace and in repose forever."^e Colonel Ward,^f who had been retained in the service as Choctaw agent, even though the Indians had in 1828

^a Gen. William Carroll, then a candidate for the governorship of Tennessee, was selected for this delicate mission. His compensation was to be \$8 for every day of service within the nation and \$8 for every 20 miles of travel to and from. An assistant was given him in the person of General Coffee, and together these two political friends of Jackson did good service for removal among the common Indians. Later on a second commissioner was sent out, composed "of Humphrey Posey, and a Mr. Saunders, having in view the purchase" of Cherokee lands in North Carolina. (Royce, p. 260.)

^b The object of the Administration is fully disclosed in Eaton's letter of instructions to Carroll, May 30, 1829, but from which illustrative extracts only have been taken, the connection being supplied, when necessary, by a paraphrase of the omitted parts: "A crisis in our Indian Affairs has arrived. Strong indications are seen of this in the circumstance of the Legislatures of Georgia and Alabama, extending their laws * * * These acts, it is reasonable to presume, will be followed by the other States interested * * * to exercise such jurisdiction * * *." Emigration is the only relief for the Indians

The President is "of opinion" that, if they "can be approached in any way that shall elude their prejudices, and be enlightened as to their true relations to the States," they will consent to remove. He therefore desires that you will undertake to enlighten the Creeks and Cherokees, since he does not think "the form of a Council" will take with them any longer. "The past has demonstrated their utter aversion to this mode which it has been made equally clear that another mode promises greater success * * *."

"Nothing is more certain than that, if the Chiefs and influential men could be brought into the measure, the rest would implicitly follow. It becomes, therefore, a matter of necessity, if the General Government would benefit these people, that it move upon them in the line of their own prejudices; and by the adoption of any proper means, break the power that is warring with their best interests * * *." This cannot be done by "a General Council." It must be done by "an appeal to the Chiefs and influential men."

"Your first business, should you consent to engage in this work of mercy to the Indians, would be to ascertain upon whom, as pivots, the will of the Cherokees and Creeks turns. "It is believed that the more careful you are to secure from even the Chiefs the official character you carry with you, the better—Since no circumstance is too slight to excite their suspicion or awaken their jealousy; Presents in your discretion to the amount of not more than 2000\$ might be made with effect, by attaching to you the poorer Indians as you pass through their Country, given as their friend; and the same to the Children of the Chiefs, and the Chiefs themselves, in clothes, or otherwise * * *." (Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 5, pp. 456-459.)

^c Act of February 4, 1829, "Knoxville Register," March 3, 1830.

^d Eaton to Folsom, July 30, 1829, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 6, p. 56-57.

^e Eaton to Ward, July 31, 1829, *ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

^f Much that was derogatory to the character of Ward came out in the evidence furnished in the case of the Choctaw Nation v. the United States.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REMOVAL BILL AND ITS MORE IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES.

Though J. Q. Adams left it to other men to advocate officially Indian removal, there is no question that he was in sympathy with the measure. Why, then, did the Congresses of his day never quite get to the point of passing a bill that would legitimate exchange on a large scale?^a Was it because the anti-Indian politicians lived in hopes of securing a greater triumph under his successor? There was much of the bully in Andrew Jackson's make-up and his dealings with the Indians had always been coercive. Consequently, the South and West had every reason to expect a change of tactics as soon as he came into power. Strange, however, to relate, the Indians likewise looked for something from him^b; for was not justice his cardinal doctrine?

Within a fortnight after his inauguration Jackson showed his true colors, and the Indian hopes were blighted. On the 23d of March he personally addressed the Creeks, through their agent, pointing out the necessity of removal.^c A little later, April 18, Secretary Eaton talked in the same strain to a Cherokee deputation.^d Both tribes were given distinctly to understand that the United States could not and would not interfere with the legitimate authority of a State within her own limits. There was no remedy for such except removal, and if they wanted a home that they could call their own they must go West, for there the President could guarantee that the soil should be theirs "as long as the trees grow and the waters run."^e The Indians were "incredulous" that such sentiments could proceed from their "Great Father,"^f so, to convince

^a Adams's Administration was open to attack from his enemies because of the practice that had grown up of negotiating treaties of exchange without first seeking the sanction of Congress in the matter of appropriations.

^b A passage in Jackson's first inaugural speech justified their trust, for he said, "It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe toward the Indian tribes within our limits a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which is consistent with the habits of our Government and the feelings of our people * * *." ("Statesman's Manual," I: 696; Richardson, II: 438.)

^c "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 5, pp. 373-375; "Niles' Register," XXXVI: 257.

^d "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 5, pp. 408-412.

^e These talks were published at Natchez in the "Statesman and Gazette," June 27, 1829. Jackson's conversation with Wiley Thompson ("Niles's Register," XXXVI: 281), who went to him for some assurance that Georgia could look to him in confidence for a redress of her Indian grievance, shows that the Administration was not yet very sure of its ground. It had not yet gauged the depth of public opinion.

upon Wirt and the Supreme Court.^a The Chickasaws appeared in due season, and Jackson,^b together with Eaton and Coffee, whom he had commissioned for the purpose, personally addressed them,^c emphasizing the Federal inability to prevent the extension of State laws. This was their last chance. If they refused the Government offer now, their Great Father would leave them to shift for themselves; and if they found it impossible to exist under the municipal laws of Mississippi, they would have to seek a new home in their own way and at their own expense. The Chickasaws had professed some months before a willingness to emigrate, provided they could find a suitable country,^d and, upon that contingency, they consented August 31–September 1, 1830, to a provisional treaty of removal.

Tribal differences and the inattention to duty of Agent Ward prevented the Choctaws from appointing delegates in time to meet Jackson at Franklin.^e Eaton, therefore, in defiance of the criticism that was being hurled at "the strolling Cabinet," repaired to Mississippi, where, "after thirteen days of the most fatiguing duty," he and Coffee managed to bring the Choctaws to terms in the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, September 27, 1830.^f The Choctaws ceded all their eastern lands except such small reservations "as might be selected by individuals who preferred citizenship to emigration, and

^a Eaton to Jackson, August 18, 1830, "Jackson Papers."

^b Jackson was much criticised in Opposition prints for thus negotiating in person, it being pertinently asked whether he were acting as President or as Indian commissioner.

^c "Jackson Papers," August 23, 1830; "MS. Journal of the Commissioners," pp. 3-7; Indian Office MS. Records.

^d "MS. Journal of the Commissioners," "Indian Office MS. Records." For the original unratified document see "Treaty Files," 1802-1863, "Indian Office MS. Records."

^e They were advised the first of June that if they wanted to make a treaty they should send a deputation to Tennessee to meet their "Great Father." (Eaton to Choctaws, June 1, 1830, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 6, pp. 439-441.)

^f "Nashville Republican and State Gazette," October 6, 1830.

^g The missionaries were denied admission to the treaty councils, "MS. Journal of the Commissioners," Indian Office MS. Records.

^h 7 United States Statutes at Large, 333.

ⁱ "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," p. 727.

^j This provision was the substance of the notorious fourteenth article, concerning which Greenwood Leflore, in 1843, made the following deposition before the commissioners, John F. H. Claiborne and Ralph Graves, appointed by the United States to investigate the alleged frauds against the Choctaw Nation:

"To the 5th interrogatory, I answer that I was one of the chiefs who negotiated this treaty on the part of the Choctaws, and am sorry to say that the benefits realized from it by my people were by no means equal to what I had a right to expect, nor to what they were justly entitled by the stipulations of the treaty on the part of government. The treaty was made at the urgent solicitations of the commissioners of government, and upon their abundant assurances that its stipulations would be faithfully carried out. Confiding in these assurances and in the honor of government to comply with the treaty, if it should be ratified at Washington, and conceiving it, under the circumstances, a measure of policy, if not of necessity, so far as the Choctaws were concerned, I urged it upon my people, in the face of a strong opposition, which I finally determined, if possible, to remove by suggesting the insertion of the 14th article. This article was accordingly inserted, and believing it removed the principal objection to the treaty, I signed it myself, and procured for it the support of many who were previously hesitating and undetermined. After the treaty was ratified I was active in urging forward the emigration of the people, and induced most of those in the part of my district where I resided

in return gained not a single acre of western territory over and above that which their tribe already possessed; but they did gain what was of infinitely greater moment just then, though experience ought to have warned them that it was worthless, a promise that no State or Territory should ever circumscribe them again.^a

The appointment of Col. James B. Gardiner as special agent to treat with the tribes of Ohio was the initiatory step in the execution of the Removal Act outside the southern belt.^b The results of his mission came out for the most part in the spring and summer of 1831.

To remove west. I think there were very few in the vicinity of my residence who applied for the benefit of the 14th article, and the most of them, I think, were duly registered and got their lands reserved. This article was inserted to satisfy those in the southern part of my district and other parts of the Choctaw country who were opposed to the treaty and were inimical to me, from an impression which prevailed among them that I wished to sell their country and force them to go west. After the treaty I did not consider myself any longer chief, and as I was engaged in preparing the people for the first emigration, and actually accompanied it, my intercourse with the Indians was confined to those in my part of the country who sustained me in my course & were preparing to remove west, & I never troubled myself about the course pursued by those who had been opposed to my measures—had rejected my advice—and were determined to remain in the ceded country. I do not, of course, know how many of them applied for the benefit of the 14th article. Before closing my answer to this interrogatory I think it proper to state that about three years after the treaty I was present at Columbus during the excitement which arose there at the time of the land sales about the confining locations of the 14th article claimants & hearing a remark made by one of the agents of these claimants in a public speech to a large assembly of people charging the chiefs who had made this treaty with bribery & corruption, I rose after he sat down & retorted the charge of fraud in as severe language as I could command. I was excited, & might have said more than was proper, but I felt, in the absence of any positive knowledge on the subject, that I had a right to impute any motives to one who could make such a serious & unfounded charge affecting my character as one of the chiefs who had been mainly instrumental in making the treaty. I knew that the locating agent who lived in my section of country had been furnished with a list containing but few names of persons registered under the 14th art. of the treaty, but did not at that time know that many had applied to the registering agent for the benefit of this article whose applications had been rejected. I have never since then taken any pains to inform myself particularly about their claims, & do not know how many received the benefit of this article or being entitled to the benefit of it failed to realize it. I would also add that the commissioners on the part of the United States went to the ground, at Dancing Rabbit Creek, much prejudiced against me, & would have no intercourse with me. They believed they could make a treaty with the other chiefs, without my aid, and attempted to do so. After ten or twelve days of fruitless negotiations with them failed entirely to make any treaty. The commissioners then came to me, & made many apologies for their neglect of me, saying they had been deceived and misled in regard to me. I then misrepresented, & then solicited me to enter into negotiations with them. I then told if they would embrace in the treaty such provisions and articles which I suggested, the fourteenth article being one of them, I would undertake to make a treaty in two days. They agreed to the articles I suggested, and in twenty-four hours I had the treaty made." (Case of Choctaw Nation v. the United States, pp. 430-431.)

^a Art. IV. "The Government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to the said Choctaw Nation of Red People the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw Nation of Red People and their descendants; and that no part of the land granted them shall ever be embraced in any Territory or State. * * *

^b It will be remembered that the only Indian lands remaining within Ohio were comprehended within detached reservations, and the desire to have the title to these extinguished seems to have come not so much from the white people as from the Indians themselves. McKenney in 1829 tried to draw a general inference from this that the common Indians everywhere east of the Mississippi were anxious to remove. (McKenney to Rev. Eli Ba'dwin, October 23, 1829, "Indian Office Letter Books," Series II, No. 6, pp. 132-136.)