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Article Title: Quaker Report on Indian Agencies in Nebraska, 1869

Full Citation: "Quaker Report on Indian Agencies in Nebraska, 1869," *Nebraska History* 54 (1973): 150-219.

URL of article: http://www.nebraskahistory.org/publish/publicat/history/full-text/NH1973Quaker_Indian.pdf

Date: 7/6/2011

Article Summary: Report of the Joint Delegation [four Quaker men who visited the Northern Superintendency in 1869] presented to the Committee on the Indian Concern, of Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, June 21, 1869. The report is considered an unusual description of Indian life. Contents: Introduction; Report; Pawnees; Iowas, Sacs and Foxes; Otoes and Missouriias; Santee Sioux; The Winnebago Agency; The General Condition, Habits and Manners of the Indians; Indian Peculiarities and Superstitions; Some Disconnected Incidents Attending the Indians and Our Journey; Views Entertained of the "Quaker Experiment"; A Universal Verdict, from the *Omaha Daily Herald*, August 29, 1869; Excerpt from the *New York Weekly Tribune of 9th Mo 29th, 1869*; Means of Improving the Indians; How To Visit All the Reservations; Appendix [from the *Omaha Herald*] The Indians and The Friends

Cataloging Information:

Names: Henry B Whipple, Ulysses S Grant, Ely S Parker, Benjamin Hallowell, Franklin Haines, John H Dudley, Joseph Powell, Big Peter, General Auger, Asa M Janney, Samuel D Hinman, Edward Pond, Mary Frances Pond, Emily West, Dr Williamson, Lydia Janney, Howard White, Joseph Paxon, Sidney Averill, Bradford L Porter, Elizabeth Y Hancock, Edward Painter, William Hamilton, Joel Warner, Yellow Smoke, Fire Chief, Standing Hawk, Lion Chief, Gi-he-gah, John B Sanborn, Mr McMurtrey, David Butler, Emily Painter Jackson, William Henry Jackson, H H Brown, General Houston, Albert L Green, Samuel M Janney, Jacob M Troth, Ely Samuel Parker, E S Parker

Photographs / Images: Title Page from original 1869 Quaker Report; Kitkehahki (Republican Brothers): Man that Left His Enemy Lying in Water, Night Chief, One Who Strikes the Chiefs First, Sky Chief, Baptiste Beyhyllé [photo by W H Jackson]; Santee Sioux village, about 1880; Pawnee at Loup Fork Village in 1871 [W H Jackson photo]; Omaha Village about 1871; Arkeketah (Stay by It), chief of the Oto; Pawnee Chief Petalesharo, known as Man Chief (1823-1874; Pawnee earth lodge about 1871; Omaha Indian agency, 1869; Omaha Reservation school children [W H Jackson photo]; Emily Painter Jackson, daughter of Indian Agent Dr Edward Painter, 1873, who became wife of photographer William Henry Jackson [W H Jackson photo, 1940, Copyrighted]; the Genoa Indian School taken about 1915, Midwestern Indian tribe children and their dormitories; Major Albert Lamborn Green, wife Sallie Cadwallader Lightfoot Green around 1871, with other unidentified individuals; Eli Samuel Parker (Donehogawa), Seneca chief, lawyer, and civil engineer who became the first commissioner of Indian affairs

REPORT
OF THE
Joint Delegation

APPOINTED BY THE
Committees on the Indian Concern,
OF THE
YEARLY MEETINGS
OF
BALTIMORE, PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK, RESPECTIVELY :

COMPOSED OF
BENJAMIN HALLOWELL, of Baltimore Yearly Meeting,
FRANKLIN HAINES, of New York Yearly Meeting,
JOHN H. DUDLEY, } of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting,
JOSEPH POWELL, }

To Visit the Indians Under the Care of Friends,

IN THE NORTHERN SUPERINTENDENCY,

STATE OF NEBRASKA, "

7TH & 8TH MOS., 1869.

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF J. JONES,
No. 7 S. HOLLIDAY STREET,
1869.

Duplicate of title page from Quaker report.

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Nebraska History is published quarterly by the Nebraska State Historical Society, 1500 R Street, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508. Distributed to members as part of their dues. (Membership: Annual \$2.00; Contributing \$5.00; Supporting \$25.00; Life \$100.00). Single issues, \$1.00. Communications should be addressed to the editor. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements made by contributors. Second-class postage paid at Lincoln, Nebraska. Copyright 1973 by the Nebraska State Historical Society.

QUAKER REPORT ON INDIAN AGENCIES IN NEBRASKA, 1869

(The original, page-long title of this article, which was given it when written in 1869 by the delegation dispatched to Nebraska from the Friends Church, is shown on the facing page exactly as when first printed.)

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the Europeans began to colonize America, there have been confrontations between the government and the natives. Following the Civil War, after the institution of slavery had been erased, some reformist groups turned their energies to restructuring governmental Indian policies which they believed equally faulty.

A veteran lobbyist in the Indian-policy reform movement, Episcopal Bishop Henry B. Whipple, found allies in the Society of Friends (Quakers), who had for over a century been recognized as friendly toward the natives. Other religious sects also fell in step with the movement.

In 1869 President Ulysses S. Grant was petitioned by the reformers for transfer of Indian reservation administration to church-affiliated agents. The President supported the proposal, even making his former Civil War military secretary, Brigadier General Ely S. Parker, a full-blooded Seneca Indian, commissioner of Indian affairs. Congress passed legislation putting the proposal into effect.

Quakers at first enthusiastically supported the program, though with indifferent success in materially changing the lot of the Indians. In 1879 a policy dispute with the government caused the Society to resign its commitment. Grant's so-called

“Quaker Policy” in the public view unfortunately became confused with his “Peace Policy” and sometimes ran at cross purposes with it. The Peace Policy was an entirely separate program designed to persuade warlike Plains Indians to take up reservation life, but to use armed force when it was deemed necessary. By 1876 public opinion pronounced the Peace Policy a failure, and the Quakers were blamed in part.

The Northern Superintendency of Nebraska, where the Hicksite (liberal) Quakers were stationed, embraced the Oto, Missouriia, Winnebago, Pawnee, Sac and Fox, Great Nemaha, Santee Sioux, and Omaha agencies. The Central Superintendency, based in Oklahoma and administered by the Orthodox (conservative) Quakers, served the Arapahoe, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, Osage, and other smaller tribes.¹

After a four-man delegation from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York Yearly Meetings had visited the Quaker agents in the Northern Superintendency in 1869, it published its findings in a 62-page booklet titled *Report of the Joint Delegation*. In 1924 Addison E. Sheldon, then director of the Nebraska State Historical Society, acquired an original copy. Considered an unusual description of Indian life, the book has often been consulted by research scholars. Believing that it will give *Nebraska History* readers an insight into the life of the Nebraska Indian a century ago, the *Report* is herein published.

(A word about Quaker terminology used: “Sixth Day, eighth month, thirteenth” means Friday, August 13. “Yearly meeting,” the Quaker equivalent of “annual conference,” embraces a number of subsidiary quarterly meetings and monthly meetings. In general, each congregation is called a monthly meeting.)

THE REPORT

To the Committee on the Indian Concern, of Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, respectively:

DEAR FRIENDS. — Your delegation, consisting of Benjamin Hallowell, of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, Franklin Haines, of New York Yearly Meeting, John H. Dudley and Joseph Powell, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, met in Omaha by previous arrangement, on the sixteenth of seventh month, to enter upon the important duties which you entrusted to our care, and we are now about to endeavor to report our proceedings, the condition of the Indians at the Reservations under the care of our Friends, the needs of the Indians and their agents, and the incidents of Indian character and life which we witnessed, so as to place the subject before you as nearly as you would have seen it had you been present, as lies in our power.

The distance from Washington city to Omaha is about fifteen hundred miles, and near the same from Philadelphia and New York. After travelling to Western Indiana, the country is all open prairie, many times not a tree to be seen in the whole landscape around, which would include a distance of from six to ten miles—the timber existing only along water courses.

The prairies are very fertile, producing large crops when cultivated, and where unbroken, yielding prairie grass in abundance, and wild flowers in the greatest profusion and variety, and of the most beautiful and delicate colors—frequently reminding us on witnessing these bright, delicate structures expanding their petals to the warm sunshine on a lonely prairie, where not a single human habitation was to be seen, of Gray's beautiful and applicable lines:

“Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”

On arriving safely at Omaha at the time fixed upon before leaving home, and receiving a cordial welcome from Samuel M. Janney, the superintendent, our hearts were tendered in thankfulness to our Heavenly Father, for our preservation during this long and arduous journey, rendered particularly dangerous at this time by the unusual amount of rain which had

recently fallen, causing many accidents and detentions on the railroads in that vicinity.

An exposition of the reasons for the President having selected members of the Society of Friends for Indian Superintendents and Agents which had been published in the *Baltimore American*, it was thought best to have published in the Omaha daily papers, which was done. [See appendix].

A meeting for public worship was held on the afternoon of First Day, the eighteenth, for the citizens of Omaha, which was solemn and impressive, giving evidence of being favored with the presence of the Great Head of the Church.

On the nineteenth we went out to Columbus, Nebraska, on the Union Pacific Railroad ninety-two miles, where Jacob M. Troth, agent of the Pawnees, met us to take us to Pawnee Agency, twenty-three miles further, by private conveyance. We were gratified to find at this agency, a brick building one hundred and twelve feet long, by forty-six wide, for an industrial school, with basement, in which are located the kitchen, dining room, store room, laundry, etc., etc., quite reminding us of West-town. Jacob M. Troth and family, and also Samuel B. Walton and family, were residing at the institution, temporarily, to give attention to the concern while the teachers take their vacation, there being some sixty Indian children in the establishment at present, learning to work.²

The building is considerably out of order, but with the necessary repairs being made, as no doubt they soon will be, it will prove, in our judgment, a most efficient aid in the civilization and enlightenment of these people; and the delegation were united in judgment, which their subsequent experience on the different Reservations fully confirmed, that this is the proper kind of school for the Indians, where, besides being taught the useful branches of school learning, they will be instructed in the different operations of farming, carpenter work, black smithing, attending a saw mill, and grain mill, etc., etc., and the girls, the various duties in household economy—including the use of the sewing machine—all under the care of suitable, judicious instructors, with hearts alive to the interests and elevation of the greatly depressed Red Race—and that a sufficient number of such schools should be established on

every Reservation, to accommodate all the children of sufficient age to attend them.

Many Indians came to see us, and they expressed themselves "much gratified to see so many grandfathers with us." They were all hungry, and made us understand directly that they wanted something to eat. One Indian made us understand that he wanted a shirt and *clean* blanket, which was evidently the case. Poor things! we did pity them with our whole hearts, and felt determined to *try* to remedy this condition of things. They have a most fertile Reservation, thirty miles long and fifteen wide, containing two hundred and eighty-eight thousand acres, to a population of two thousand eight hundred and thirty-one to which they have now dwindled, or over one hundred acres for every man, woman and child, and it can and must be made to afford them plenty to eat and wear, and provide them with comfortable homes. They are a noble looking people, but they cannot continue to exist in their present condition. They are fast dwindling away! In 1830,³ when Oliver Ellsworth made a treaty with the Pawnees, there were twelve thousand; in 1847, six thousand!³ Now, in 1869, there are only two thousand eight hundred and thirty one!! The present location of the Pawnees, includes the land formerly occupied and considerably improved by the Mormons, previous to their going to Salt Lake, whither they went from this place. The Indians would not use the Mormon buildings, but gladly continued the cultivation of the land they had broken up with their strong teams. The squaws have a field of seventeen hundred acres of corn, in contiguous patches, cultivated by them entirely, with hoes, their hands, and a kind of scoop-tool made out of Buffalo horn.⁴ It is of a kind called squaw corn, or Pawnee corn, with a dark, bluish grain. The corn was perfectly clean, scarcely a weed or spear of grass to be seen anywhere, with eight to ten stalks in a hill, which is really what its name implies, being a pile of earth some six to ten inches high around the stalks, and eighteen inches in diameter. The growth of the corn was most vigorous, the ground being very rich. It is said they raise eighty to one hundred bushels to the acre.⁵

From the corn field we went to the top of the north bluff border of the valley, and had a fine and extended view of the prairie, the beautiful valley some ten miles wide below us, with

the winding "Loup," like a silver ribbon, extending east and west as far as the eye could reach, and the South Platte visible, lying in the sunshine in the remotest distance; the shadows of clouds floating over the wide valley, the fields of wheat and corn dotted over the landscape, giving different shades like Mosaic work; hundreds of Indian ponies grazing on the slopes, and after a while, some dozen Indians mounting an equal number of ponies, gave us the finest specimen of a horse race (not so regarded by them, but as only a *ride*) we had ever witnessed. It was as if they said, "best fellow beats," and started off to test it. It was very inspiring, and we were pleased to see them have so much apparent enjoyment. The Indians select the most elevated ranges for their rides, and, as seen moving along the horizon in relief on the evening sky, an Indian at full speed on his little poney, with its head and nose stretched out, the Indian leaning forward till his head is nearly over that of the poney, both seeming to be striving to get on faster by these means, the Indian's blanket streaming in the air far behind, and the poney's tail streaming after it, leaves an impression on the beholder not soon to be erased. But, poor things, hungry and destitute as they are, we did sincerely wish they could be employed in a way which would produce a supply to their needs. After tea we rode over to the two Indian villages, in which all the members of the four bands of the Pawnees reside, except about two hundred warriors, who are now out in the army on duty under the General Government.⁶ The villages are about a mile and a half from the school and agency, and about a mile apart, on a high, dry, piece of land. We never saw, nor could have imagined, such a sight as these villages presented. The Indians all flocked out of their lodges to see us, some dressed in blankets, bright, blue and red, some in Buffalo skins, and the children, which are very numerous, in "nature's broad cloth," all the males under twelve years old having nothing whatever on. As we were going, we met the head chief, "Big Eagle," of the Loup band, who occupy one village, and his "Queen," with his bright tomahawk, fine blanket, and other accoutrements indicative of his dignity, and they got in our wagon and rode back to the village with us. He took us to their "lodge" and introduced us to his four wives, all sisters, his queen being the eldest.

We will endeavor to describe an Indian "mud lodge." A lodge is to contain from five to ten families, or from twenty-five to fifty people, sometimes we were told even a greater number. It is, in general appearance, like a magnified "heap of buried potatoes," and is made by placing poles some twenty-five feet long, with the lower ends in a circle, some fifty feet in diameter, and the tops coming near together, say leaving an opening three or four feet in diameter at the vertex, and all kept in place by *watling* with small branches of trees; this *watling* extending down to near the ground.⁷ Upon these poles are thrown some prairie grass, and then a thick coating of earth. The "door-way" consists of an avenue or hall, some six feet high, and the same width, and the one we measured extended twenty-four feet from the great area within. A fire is kept constantly burning in the centre of the lodge, where a depression of about one foot in depth and four feet in diameter, is made in the earth floor, and the smoke rises through the opening at the top, except what gets flared out into the apartment, which sometimes seemed a goodly proportion. All around the circular inside area, adjacent to the poles, are sleeping places, like the berths in the side of a vessel, wide enough to hold two to four or five persons side by side, and from ten to twenty such berths in a lodge. In front of each berth is a kind of bench, used as a "stow away" place for blankets, skins, and extra clothing of the family occupying the berth, and under this bench, the remainder of the family's goods seemed to be put away. The inside of one of these lodges, was an object of no ordinary interest and curiosity. The long inclined poles, constituting the original frame work, affording places for suspending and securing tomahawks, pipes, bears claws, elks horns, wolfs ears, and ever, imaginable acquisition of Indian value, and we much wished we could bring a photograph of it for our friends at home.

The centre area around the fire is thus left entirely clear. No light or air is admitted into the lodge, except from the distant door-way, and the opening at the top of the lodge through which the smoke passes. Blankets and skins are sometimes laid on the earth floor around the fire, to sit or incline on. One of these lodges, as before remarked, accommodates from twenty-five to fifty people—from five to ten families—often, perhaps generally, those of relatives—as a grand-father, his children and

grand-children. A vessel remains continually suspended over the fire in which are cooked provisions for the family, as beef, pork, potatoes, beans, hominy, etc. The bread is made up in wooden trays manufactured by the Indians, and placed in a thinish cake on a smooth board. A *hot* stone, several of which are continually in and around the fire, is then pulled out a convenient distance, and the board containing the bread, is leaned against it, and the bread thus exposed to the fire to bake.

The Indians regard it unnatural that a *whole family should be hungry at once*; they cannot understand it, and they never set a table, as is customary with the whites, but each one when hungry helps himself or herself from "the pot and board."

All the lodges at the Pawnee Reservation, are constructed on the same general plan, and they are externally in no way different in appearance. They are quite close together—indeed crowded. Then these Indians have about one thousand ponies, which graze on the prairie in the day time when not in use, but at night, for fear the Sioux will steal them, they are all put in corrals, built of upright sticks twelve to fifteen feet high, wattled together, one corral belonging to each lodge and close to it as part of the establishment, and the manure piled up, or thrown out anywhere. This, with the black mud, green water pools, and general filth, without a particle of grass, or *anything* upon which the eye could rest with pleasure, presented such a picture as caused our hearts to ache for our poor red brethren and sisters! The condition of things was rendered worse than usual at the time of our visit, from the almost unprecedented amount of rain which had fallen this season. And they still remain in this condition, after the thousands and thousands of dollars expended by Government for their improvement, and with the two hundred and eighty-eight thousand acres of rich land, of the very best quality which they own!! There can and must be an improvement in their condition. They are capable and desirous of receiving it, the Government is willing to make it, and those will certainly be found who are ready to enter upon the interesting engagement of endeavoring to elevate and improve them.

Besides the lodges above described, are their "skin lodges," used when on a hunt or the war-path, adapted for several

families together; the "Tepee," which is a lodge for a single family, and their "summer tent" of canvas, much like that used by soldiers in camp.

On some of the Reservations, they substitute bark of the elm or cotton wood tree, for the poles and earth roof, but the internal arrangement of the lodge is entirely similar to that of the mud lodges.⁸ We found more neatness and comfort too, on all the other Reservations than on that of the Pawnees, and many of the Indians living in frame or log houses, scattered over their Reservations.

In front, or sometimes inside of their village lodge is a "cache," or an opening dug into the ground, jug shaped, large enough at its mouth for a man to enter, and then a large excavation made below, with a cover of sod prepared to fit nicely, so that no one would be able to see where it is. In this place they stow away any extra food, blankets, buffalo skins, etc., they may have, to be used when needed.

The evening was beautiful, and hundreds of Indians, with their bright red blankets, could be seen wandering or riding over the broad prairie in all directions, giving a life and picturesqueness to the scene, and awakening much thought, which *would* be tinged with sadness! What is to be the result? *How can we get hold of them*, so as to give beneficial direction to their wanderings, and present some attractive and elevated object before them, for them to aspire after themselves?

PAWNEES.

When we visited the lodge of "Big Peter," the principal chief of the four bands of the Pawnees, he walked up to us with great dignity, and shook hands, which we were told was a signal that he desired to speak to us, which he proceeded to do.⁹ The purport of his remarks was, that "his people wanted to go on their hunt. The buffalo are now only about fifty miles from here on the plains. If we go now, the corn, beans and peas will all be ripe when we come back. If we remain here, they will never ripen; all will be eaten up while little, before they ripen. We want to go on the hunt, so as to get some Buffalo meat, and have the corn, etc., ripe when we return."

We explained to him the reason of the order of Gen. Augur prohibiting them from going—it was for the security of their people, there being such an unsettlement among the Indians on the plains at this time, that the United States troops could not know the *friendly* from the *hostile* Indians there, and the order to the troops is, to kill all the Indians they meet with, it being presumed that the *friendly* Indians are all on the Reservations. We told him, also, that the Government had sent out orders to Superintendent Janney, to supply the Indians with cattle for two months. He looked more placid after this assurance.

We held a council by appointment the next morning, with the chiefs and braves. It was a most interesting occasion. Some of the fiercest countenances we ever beheld were there, with guns, tomahawks and pipes. The expression of dissatisfaction with Gen. Augur's order was renewed, and Peter became passionately eloquent upon the subject, so that we feared the peaceful object of our council would be frustrated. We endeavored to pacify them, as before, on the ground that Gen. Augur's order was given for their protection; that cattle would be furnished them by Government instead of buffalo, and the council terminated with the best of feeling. We were impressed, however, with the belief, that Gen. Augur's order was a mistake, and we resolved on our return to Omaha, to endeavor to induce him to rescind it.

The farm at the Pawnee Agency is doing well. There are six or eight fine horses, a good reaper, and supply of farming implements. They have forty acres each, of corn, oats and wheat, which look remarkably well.

Word came about nine o'clock in the evening, that a drove of cattle in crossing a river twenty-three miles north of the Reservation, had thirty-two of their number drowned, and that the Indians could have them. The agent sent immediate word to the Indians, and it being moonlight, they started at once, and such a clattering of ponies' feet as there was by our lodgings, which they had to pass, it was animating to hear. About eight o'clock the next morning, they returned with the meat on their ponies, quite bright and cheerful, though having been at work and traveling all night, and much gratified with their success, it being a great "wind-fall" to them just at this time.



Kitkehahki (Republican Brothers)—Seated, from left: Man That Left His Enemy Lying in Water, Night Chief, One Who Strikes the Chiefs First, and Sky Chief, who was killed by the Sioux in the massacre of the Pawnee, August, 1873. Standing: Baptiste Bayhille, half-breed interpreter and sergeant of Pawnee Scouts, 1867. (W. H. Jackson photo.)



Santee Sioux village, about 1880. Evidence of the influence of the white man's culture is noticeable. Tipi-style tents were made of canvas by this date.



Pawnee at Loup Fork Village in 1871 (W. H. Jackson photo).

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In this Omaha village, photographed about 1871, the easily movable tipis made of skins or cloth contrast with the permanent earth lodges of the tribe. (Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.)

In the afternoon we held a religious meeting, at which were all the Indian school children, near sixty in number—boys and girls—the families of the agent and employees, etc. of the agency, and a number of neighbors. The meeting was very orderly and solemn, and seemed to be satisfactory to all.

In the evening, word came that Gen. Augur had rescinded his order, and that the Indians might now go on their hunt, which was a great relief to us, and joy to the Indians. They were summoned to council the next morning, which they promptly obeyed. The agent asked them how soon they would wish to set out, and what they desired him to furnish to them. After consulting among themselves they said the waters were now so high they would "take four sleeps before they went," and they "wanted two hundred and forty sacks of flour;" a sack containing one hundred pounds. The agent told them the quantity of flour they asked for should be furnished them within the four days—that by direction of Gen. Augur they must take with them an interpreter, and the chief of each band must take a United States flag, and exhibit it whenever they see any soldiers, for their security, and that they must conduct themselves well, and bring no trouble on him or themselves. Big Eagle assured the agent that his people should make no trouble. Three chiefs then addressed us, expressing much gratification at the permission granted them to go hunting, thanking us for our visit, expressing gratitude to the Great Spirit for putting it into our hearts to come so great a distance to see them, and a desire that we might be protected to reach our homes in safety.

This belief and trust in the "Great Spirit," and His protecting care, we found to be a fundamental element in the mental constitution of all the tribes we had intercourse with, which we regard as an interesting fact.

Then, after shaking hands with each one present, some forty in number, to bid farewell, we separated, all in fine good humor, which was a pleasant termination of our visit to the Pawnees, and an occasion of interest to be long remembered.

We gave Jacob Troth such advice upon the different points to which he invited our attention as we thought suitable, and did all in our power to encourage and assist him.¹⁰ The Indians evidently have the greatest confidence in their agent, and we

were all much pleased with the manner in which he conducted the business with *them* and at the agency throughout. He appears to be the right man in the right place, if only his health will be strong enough to bear him up in his very heavy and responsible duties.

After finishing all that seemed required at the Pawnee Agency, we returned to Omaha, and on Seventh day the twenty-fourth, Superintendent Janney accompanying us, we set out for the great Nemaha Agency. It must be remembered that Nebraska is entirely beyond the great system of railroads, which renders it so easy to get from place to place in the eastern section of the country, there being no railroad in the State, except the Union Pacific, on which we went part way to the Pawnees, to aid us in getting to any of the Reservations. We crossed the Missouri river to Council Bluffs, which we had passed in going to Omaha. It was here the great council was held with the Otoes, Missouriias and other Indians, by Louis and Clarke, on the third of eighth month, 1804, who gave it in commemoration of that event, the name of Council Bluff.¹¹ It contains about twelve thousand inhabitants, while its younger sister, Omaha, on the opposite side of the Missouri river, has from eighteen to twenty thousand. From Council Bluffs we went south on the St. Joseph Railroad, one hundred and three miles to Forest City, Missouri, within twenty-nine miles of St. Joseph. At Forest City we procured a conveyance to take us to White Cloud, in Kansas, crossing the Missouri river again in a steam boat, and thence to the Great Nemaha Agency, where we were kindly received by the Agents, Thomas and Mary Lightfoot and their daughter Sarah.

IOWAS, SACS AND FOXES.

This Reservation of thirty-two thousand acres, lies in the angle at the junction of the Missouri and the Great Nemaha rivers, and from the latter name it is called the "Great Nemaha Reservation." There are two hundred and forty Iowas, with sixteen thousand acres, and eighty Sacs and Foxes, with ten thousand. At the mouth of the Nemaha river is a large rock, on

which Lewis and Clarke carved their names when on their "expedition" up the Missouri river in 1804.

On First Day afternoon, we had a religious meeting—some twenty whites, and then the house filled with Indians. All the six chiefs were present; some of them, and also of the other Indians, fearfully painted, and with feathers in their head-dress, and bones, bears claws, and beads around their necks. They are fine looking people, lighter complexioned than the Pawnees; very orderly, but most of them are "blanket Indians." They were spoken to through an interpreter, and seemed to be impressed by what was said. They have no worship of their own, we were told, except a feast on some extra occasion. They all shook hands with us, both before and after meeting, and seemed to regard us with great veneration.

There is quite a good supply of wood on this Reservation for firewood and fencing, and with their annuities, they *might* live nicely. The buildings of the Agency are in good order, and have a neat appearance, and the fences, gates, etc., are kept in repair. But they are almost wholly destitute of teams or tools.

A treaty has been made with the Iowas, and also with the Sacs and Foxes, which has not yet been ratified by the United States Senate, looking to their selling their present Reservation, and either moving to the South, to the Indian Territory, or purchasing with the proceeds of the sale, a part of the Reservation of the Otoes. We inquired of them in council, their wishes in relation to the ratification of the treaty. The Iowas stated emphatically, that they did not wish the treaty ratified. It was made through a misunderstanding. They had been moved, and moved and moved, and all they wished now was to remain where they are, have oxen and tools to work with, and a farmer to instruct them how to do for themselves.

Both tribes are willing a contemplated railroad should be made through their Reservation, which was very gratifying to us. We promised to use our influence in promoting their wishes. The Sacs and Foxes wished the Government to provide means for a delegation of them to visit the Indian Territory, and if they liked it better than this, the tribe would sell here and move there, but if they did not like it better, they wished to remain where they are. We told them we would communicate their

wishes to the Indian Department. The council terminated very pleasantly. The contiguity of these people to the white settlements, has had a demoralizing influence, and they are more idle and addicted to drinking than those of any other of the Reservations we visited. But there is nothing to discourage. They have been drawn from their normal healthy moral condition by their surroundings, and man is so kindly constituted by the Good Providence, that the tendency is always restorative, to induce a return to the normal or healthy condition.

There is a great field of labor and usefulness open among these people, for persons of industry, benevolence and tact, and how we wished it were properly occupied. One individual cannot bring his personal influence to bear upon them all, with sufficient force to make the requisite change. But we clearly saw that *it is a practical thing* to raise the poor, neglected, helpless, depressed ones, to *respectability* and *usefulness* and *citizenship*.

The Iowas, and Sacs and Foxes, speak different languages.¹² In the council and religious meeting we held with them, each tribe had its own interpreter, so that each sentence of what was said, was first interpreted to the Iowas, and afterwards to the Sacs and Foxes, which seemed like a slow, cold, and unsatisfactory mode of communication.

On the morning of the twenty-sixth, we left the Nemaha Agency in company with Albert L. Green,¹³ the Agent of the Otoes and Missourias, who kindly came for us with two teams to take us to the Otoe Agency, seventy-five miles, over rough prairie, requiring two days of travel.

This Agency, like the others we have visited, has been much neglected, the buildings all needing repair. The Reservation consists of a tract of most excellent rolling prairie, twenty-five miles long by ten wide, containing one hundred and sixty-thousand acres, and the number of Indians four hundred and fifty. The Blue river, on which is a superior water power for a mill seat, and some of its tributaries, pass through it, and along all these streams timber abounds. Stone of a superior quality for building, is found in abundance. The grist and saw mill is now run by steam at a heavy expense, the fuel being to haul from a

distance. The mill is much out of order, and has been leased for a year, the tenant to put it in repair, and do the grinding and sawing for the Agency.

The Otoes appeared to us more hopeful than the Indians on the Great Nemaha Agency, which we had just visited, being willing to work, and free from the vice of intemperance. If sufficient stock and farming implements are furnished, and an energetic efficient farmer secured, this Reservation might, in a short time, be made self-sustaining. With all their disadvantages, they have this year one hundred and fifty acres of corn, fifty of wheat, twenty of potatoes and ten of beans. In consideration of the valuable water-power, and the delapidated condition of the present mill building, we think a new mill, adapted to water-power would be an economical investment.

OTOES AND MISSOURIAS.

Upon our arrival at this Agency we found some of the Indians in trouble. One of the Otoes, a young man, had been down on a visit to the Iowas, and while there got on a "spree," and was badly wounded. We heard he was dead, but this happily was not the case. The interpreter who drove one of our teams, brought the sad tidings, and doleful wailings were heard from the father's lodge all the evening and far into the night. He was an only son, and the father said he "loved him dearly." The wounded man had two wives in his father's lodge, who joined in the lamentation.

We had a long council with the chiefs, head men and braves of this Agency; very fine noble looking men, with singularly painted faces, the design seeming to be to make them look more frightful and strong, and not to add to their beauty. They had their tomahawks, blankets and pipes, and the council chamber soon became a dense cloud of smoke. After the Superintendent and the delegation addressed the council, there were some ten or twelve speeches from chiefs in reply—two or three speaking more than once. The burden of all their speeches was, "the neglect of the Government to comply with its promise to send them their annuity of nine thousand dollars, long since due, and it had been promised them to come out early this Spring, but it was not yet here. They are poor; need food and clothes; had no

money to buy anything in which to wrap their dead children before they lay them in the grave. A number, near fifty, have recently died and been buried without anything around them. They want ploughs, oxen and tools. They are willing to work but have nothing to work with, etc., etc.," which sorrowfully is all too true.

They spoke of a treaty made last winter but not ratified by the Senate, selling ninety-six thousand acres of their Reservation, for a dollar and a quarter an acre, leaving sixty-four thousand acres, with which they are not satisfied. The council lasted four hours.

We presented an excuse for the Government for not having sent their annuities, in the fact of the recent change of administration, and the many pressing duties consequent thereon, but that we would do all in our power to have them forwarded—also, to have them properly supplied with necessary teams and tools.

Our feelings deeply sympathized with these, our red brethren, in their destitute and helpless condition, from the failure of the Government to keep its faith with them, in regard to the money they were to have received, and the evident state of want and destitution to which they are sorrowfully reduced, while still owners of such a large and rich tract of land, more than sufficient to support them in abundance. This pressing need of their annuities seemed to engross all their thoughts. They could talk of nothing else. When they heard their "grandfather" (S. M. Janney) was coming to see them, they said they "were sure he was going to bring it, and they were greatly disappointed that he had not done so." They wanted to get better clothes, which they evidently needed, and to provide for their families.¹⁴

These Indians formerly lived "on the Platte," and they were promised if they would "consent to move on to the Blue," where they now are, they "should have all they want, and be happy. But it has not been so—they are poor and unhappy."

We visited their grave-yards. They place some of the boxes containing the dead in a tree, "so that the spirit of the departed can see around the big prairie to the Blue river." We saw a tree with ten or twelve such boxes among its branches, some of

which we were told had been there many years. When an Indian man dies, they kill his poney and put *it*, with its saddle and bridle, near its master's grave, or resting place, with some food for the poney, and bows and arrows, a bottle of water, etc., etc., in the grave or coffin.¹⁵

Some little time ago, a child died, and they buried its grandfather alive with the child in his arms, at the grandfather's request, "in order that he might take care of it in the Spirit Land."

After tea, a religious meeting was held, which was a very interesting occasion—the meeting being favored with a solemnity which seemed to be experienced by all, and brought the whole company, which was large, and composed principally of Indians—the same who had attended the council in the morning with their families, into a feeling of kindness and affection.

After meeting, another council was held, which was quite satisfactory, and terminated very pleasantly, when we bid them all an affectionate farewell.

The Indians had a "dance of joy" after they went home to their village, attended by a "drum beating," which was continued to a pretty late hour in the night.

There are about forty separate lodges in their village, which is close by the Agency buildings, so that the movements of the Indians can readily be seen, and the cry of their "herald" from the top of the head chief's lodge distinctly heard, proclaiming every morning, the duties and engagements of the day.

THE SANTEE SIOUX.

From the Otoe Agency we returned by way of Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska, and Nebraska city, to Omaha city, and there took an ambulance and two horses, and set out for the Santee Sioux Agency, two hundred miles up the Missouri river. We passed through the Omaha and Winnebago Agencies, calling a short time at each, but deferring our official visit till our return. At Dakota city we were joined by our valued Superintendent, who came by railroad to Sioux city, five miles distant.

A stranger kindly pointed out to us a high bluff on the

Missouri river, about a mile or so distant, called "Floyd's Bluff," named by Lewis and Clarke, after Sergeant Charles Floyd, whom they buried there on the twentieth of eighth month, 1804, marking the place of his interment by a cedar post, on which his name and the day of his death were inscribed. His grave became much broken, and the people of Sioux city a few years ago, generously built it up again respectably.

The bluffs among which our road lay after getting some distance beyond Dakota city, presented a most beautiful picturesque scene, like diversified undulating mountain ridges; one appearing behind another in every variety of shape and position, like miniature mountains, as they unquestionably are, geologically. These multiplied ranges of dwarf mountains, with the blue mists that envelop them, and all their interesting features of light and shade, would make most beautiful pictures from a thousand stand-points, for there seemed no end to their variety and beauty. Sometimes our road lay on the "river bottoms," through forests of cotton wood, with some black walnut, elm, ash, etc., and the undergrowth interspersed with wild plums, small grapes and hazel nuts, in such quantities as we never before heard or conceived of,—barrels on barrels of them. The cotton wood tree grows large, and in general appearance is some like the sycamore or button wood, but the stem of the leaf is flat, vertically, like the aspen, and the leaf itself is in appearance between that of the aspen and Lombardy poplar.

A large rattlesnake crossed our road just before the carriage. An earnest effort was made by some of our party to capture *him* and his *rattles*, but it was happily unsuccessful. There was sufficient room on those wide prairies for us all, and there is no doubt he has his use, as well as we, in the economy of nature.

At St. Helena, about forty miles below Santee Agency, on the banks of the Missouri, is the "Chalk Cliff," an object of great interest and curiosity. The Cliff is some sixty feet in a *perpendicular face*, according to our estimate—the base being about forty feet above the level of the river, which is about one hundred feet distant from the base. The Chalk vein appeared to be eight or ten feet in thickness, resting upon a harder limestone, and then a stratum of slate, but we could not get to

them to examine them minutely. We all procured specimens. The chalk is not quite as white as the English chalk, but it appears to be as soft, and marks well. We believe no real chalk has ever before been found in the United States, and the absence of *flint*, in this, as far as we could discover, and other associated minerals of chalk, leads us to hesitate in pronouncing this to be the genuine article, although it is so regarded at the locality. We wished for more time to give it a careful examination.¹⁶

After five days continuous hard travel, making two hundred miles, we arrived at the Agency of the Santee Sioux, all safe and well, including the horses. Asa M. Janney, the Agent, and his family were well, bright and cheerful, well satisfied with their Agency, their Indians, and all their surroundings. These Indians are generally dressed in "citizen's clothing," willing to work beyond the employment the Agent can furnish them with, have comfortable log houses, with windows, etc., and appear to be advancing rapidly towards civilization.¹⁷

We held a council with the Indians on the seventh, which was largely attended, but partially interrupted by a distressing incident. While the head chief was speaking, a wild scream was heard from a woman outside the council house, when there was a general rush from the council chamber, with countenances evidencing the greatest variety of emotions, and it was soon ascertained that an ox belonging to the Episcopal Mission, had badly gored an Indian woman. It was thought however, she would recover. The Indians collected again in council, and all proceeded and terminated satisfactorily.

These poor people have been so greatly deceived for many, many years, by false professions, and unfulfilled promises from the whites and even from the Government, that the time does not seem to have arrived for them to feel confidence in the assurances we make them. We thought we could see this in their countenances in council, while the Superintendent and we were addressing them, and professing feelings of kindness and affection, which was true on our part. Their silent response of incredulity seemed to be like the slave to his master—"you white man—and from all our experience, white man is not to be trusted or believed."

What these Indians need as a preliminary to their confidence, are *reliably friendly acts*, in furnishing them with tools, means of sawing and hauling their timber, of which they have abundance, and building houses, to live in, which they greatly desire to do. We hope and trust better times are in store for them.

These Santee Sioux are the darkest, bravest, most Indian-looking people we have seen. We never saw or could have imagined such a set of countenances as were in council. We wished strongly for a photograph of them. Numbers, as is the case in most councils, sat on the floor. Some of these Indians are said to have been engaged in the horrible massacre in Minnesota in 1862.¹⁸

Asa Janney is much encouraged with his undertaking, and the delegation were highly pleased with the progress he has made. His whole heart is devoted to the good work, and his wife and daughters co-operate with him cordially and earnestly in his engagement.

There are two Missions on this Reservation: a Presbyterian, which has been established with them over thirty years; and an Episcopalian more recently, under the charge of Samuel D. Hinman, whom we have known for several years as an earnest and devoted laborer for the Indians' interests and welfare, and they appear to be doing a great deal of good. Emily West is a faithful and efficient aid in the Mission works of the Episcopalians. Dr. Williamson, the Presbyterian Missionary, has translated the New Testament into their language, which they call the Dakotah, and also published some hymns in the same tongue. Many of the Indians can read these works in their own language, but not in English. Their great object is, to teach them the "Christian Religion," and they entertain the belief that this can only be done in the native tongue or language of the Indians.¹⁹

Edward and Mary Frances Pond are teachers of the Presbyterian Mission. There are three hundred and fifty Indians, they informed us, members of their congregation. Frances thinks "there should be but one kind of religion taught to the Indians, because the Indians cannot, or do not, understand how it is that the whites do not agree about the religion to which they invite

the Indians," in which view we concurred. She said, as was remarked by another missionary woman, that the Indians have no *spiritual* religion, an idea which we endeavored to correct, as on another occasion. She is a bright, intelligent, earnest, working, young woman.

We were much gratified with our visit to the "Sabbath School" of the Presbyterian Mission, taught by Edward and Frances Pond, in a "mud roofed" building, where the scholars sat on the earth floor, and in observing the sprightliness and success of the Indian children, and the confiding and affectionate intercourse between them and their teachers. Thus we see where the *inner life* is pure and active, it gilds with heavenly brightness the most obscure and humble surroundings.

We attended, by invitation, the religious exercises, at the Episcopal "chapel," which is a fine building, with stained glass windows, all of which were conducted by the Indians themselves in their own language, the Dakota.²⁰ The officiating minister was dressed in a large flowing white surplice, with a broad belt obliquely across his breast, and was solemn and dignified throughout. Some two hundred Indians were present, most of whom joined in the singing and responses. A young Indian who is preparing for the ministry, preached the sermon, the officiating minister (Indian) appeared twice in supplication, and they sung hymns three times. At the close, all departed singly, very orderly and quiet, not a loud word being spoken. The whole proceedings were interesting and impressive, and calculated to do them good. From exercises so solemn and harmonious, they could not soon proceed to anything disorderly, immoral, or hurtful.

The Episcopal and Presbyterian Missions are about a mile and a half apart, and the Friends' Agency near midway between them, all working harmoniously and earnestly together for the elevation of the poor Indians from the depth of misery, wretchedness, and degradation to which they are so sorrowfully sunk! Thus do the wretched and afflicted draw true hearts nearer together in labors of love.

Asa M. Janney and family hold a meeting every First Day morning at their house; we all attended, the First Day morning we were there, and the meeting was very interesting and solemn.

Asa spoke quite feelingly, and Samuel appeared in touching supplication, asking the protection and help of the Good Father in their arduous and responsible labors, and that these may be blessed and sanctified to the interesting objects of their care.

In the afternoon we held meeting with the Indians, and there was a large, orderly gathering of men, women, and children, and the meeting was a solemn one. What was said, except Samuel's supplication, was interpreted to the Indians, and they appeared as grave and orderly, as a body of elderly Friends. We supposed there were not less than three hundred Indians present, and some thirty or more white people, including all from both Missions; and all appeared to be satisfied. Wabasha, of whom Bishop Whipple has frequently spoken in his letters, was there. He is their head chief, and most eloquent orator. He was the first to speak in their council. The children, many of the women, and some of the men, sat on the floor, as we have frequently seen in other collections of them, and they seem to sit with an unusual ease and grace. They frequently sit in that way in their wigwams or tents, of which there are about one hundred on this Reservation, to over one thousand people.^{2 1}

These Indians once lived in Minnesota, and were banished to Crow creek, in Dakota Territory, after the massacre in 1862, when three hundred of their head men were imprisoned, eighty were condemned to be hung, and some thirty-eight executed. They have lost so many of their warriors, that there are amongst them a great many widows. They are evidently a powerful and fearless people, but seemed as calm and docile at the meeting, as little children.

We were kindly invited to take tea at the "Mission House," which is a large, fine structure, with cupola and tower, and is well arranged and furnished. It joins the "chapel." This invitation, which we felt to be a mark of kindness, attention, and respect, we cheerfully accepted, but regreted the absence of the principal, Samuel D. Hinman, and his wife. However, the care taken by Emily West and Wm. H. H. Koss, to add to our interest and enjoyment, and make us comfortable, diminished the feeling of privation.

On Third Day morning, eighth month tenth, we bid farewell to our kind and valued friends at the Santee Agency, and set



Arkeketah (Stay By It) had been head chief of the Oto in 1854 when the tribe relinquished claim to lands west of the Missouri River except for its reservation southwest of Old Fort Kearny (present-day Nebraska City).



Pawnee Chief Petalesharo (1823-1874), known as Man Chief, is not to be confused with another Petalesharo (Bravest of the Brave) who prevented the sacrifice of an Indian girl in the Morning Star rite of 1817.

out on our return. The parting was serious and impressive, Lydia Janney and her daughters seeming to feel the loneliness of their condition more acutely, as the pleasant social and religious intercourse and communion, they had enjoyed for a few days, was about to terminate. But, with this feeling, were manifest patience and fortitude, proving that they had a source of true comfort left when we were all gone. Asa felt deeply also, particularly in parting from his beloved brother. But his countenance was calm and resigned, and the whole incident touching and instructive.

Having dwelt so fully upon the particulars attending our visit to this Mission, it will require less to be said about the remaining ones, for there is a great resemblance among all the Indians on the different Reservations, excepting in their languages.

THE WINNEBAGO AGENCY.

We arrived at the Winnebago Agency, of which Howard White is Agent, on Sixth Day morning, eighth month thirteenth. We had an appointed meeting on our way down, at Dakota City, held in the only church in the place. It was quite largely attended, being the first Friends' meeting ever held there, and very orderly, and solemn, and, as far as we were made to understand, entirely satisfactory. Several persons, among whom were the pastor of the church and his wife, expressed themselves much gratified, so we trust no harm was done, at least, and the way opened for the holding of other Friends' meetings there, should a right concern be felt by any Friends to do so.

There are ninety-seven thousand acres of land in the Winnebago Reservation, and thirteen hundred and thirty-nine Indians.²²

In the afternoon, we held a satisfactory council with the Indians, which was a time of much interest. There were about two hundred Indians present. They are very large men, generally, with brave, independent, and noble countenances and carriage. The arrival of their new Colonel, the prospect of their receiving their annuity goods which are to be distributed to-morrow, and the company of the delegation of Friends,

created a considerable stir on the Reservation, which seemed alive with Indians, walking, running, and galloping their ponies, across the prairie, in all directions.

These Indians are mostly willing to work for wages, and when they ask for work, they come, "dressed like white men," knowing the Agent will not employ them when "dressed in blankets."

From all we see and learn, we are fully convinced, that by proper means, all the Indians on the different Reservations, could readily be brought into habits of industry, so as to employ the powerful muscles they possess, in something useful and remunerative, and render the Indians, instead of being a tax to the Government, as at present, self-supporting, and ultimately producers of a surplus, and contributors to the country's support. This will necessarily be the work of some years; but it can and ought to be done, and a commencement in that direction should at once be made. An Indian inquired of us in council, "how can we break up our prairie, without teams? and how can we work our land, or build houses without tools? These have been *promised*, but not *supplied*."

The fact is, it is the want of *means and implements to do with*, accompanied by proper instruction and inducements, more than an unwillingness to labor, which is the great impediment to the Indian's progress.

In every council we have held with them, unfulfilled promises and treaty stipulations, and unsupplied pressing wants, are the great burdens of which they complain. With these oppressing them and withheld by the whites, of whom they regard us as the representatives, but little opportunity is afforded us of influencing deeply their affectionate feelings, or higher nature. When they shall possess *practical evidences* of good faith towards them by supplying their actual necessities, and fulfilling the promises made them, for a sufficient length of time to give them confidence in the Government, its Agents, and the deputations who may visit them, then there will be an opportunity for more successful labor, and the inauguration of a widely different condition of things amongst them. And we are encouraged to believe this desirable end is in the way of being accomplished.

The Agent is ably assisted in his arduous duties by the physician, Dr. Joseph Paxson, who seems deeply interested in the care and welfare of the Indians. The buildings of this Agency are very good. The "Agency house" is a very comfortable two story frame building, with four rooms on a floor; there is a well built substantial saw and grist mill, nearly new, a council house, farm house, miller's house, trader's house, and some other buildings, constituting a pleasant little village. Things, all together, appeared in better condition here, than at any of the other Agencies.^{2 3}

Sidney Averill, from Prophetstown, Illinois, has taken charge of the school, aided by an educated Indian, Bradford L. Porter, who understands both languages, and we have great confidence in their success.

On Seventh Day, the annuity goods were distributed from the mill, and it was a lively scene, and a very interesting and suggestive one. All the tribe appeared to be there, old and young, and fully painted and feathered, sitting about in groups, with their pipes and war accoutrements. Each "band" was called up separately, to receive their goods, and the goods distributed by the Superintendent and Agent, and their assistants, to each family according to its size. There are about four hundred and fifty families in all. The goods were of excellent quality, and the Indians much gratified to receive them, and to get all the "boxes, papers, and strings," in which they came, and with which they were wrapped and tied. This favor was highly valued.

There was a bright, lively, and most picturesque scene in the evening, after the distribution of the goods was completed. The "Agency house" where we were, is right between the mill where the Indians received the goods, and the two villages near the Missouri shore, some six miles distant, as well as their scattered tents, tepees, and lodges, so that the whole tribe—men, women, and children—who had been collected at the mill, with their ponies, and new goods, the goods sometimes on the back of a poney, and sometimes on that of a squaw, passed in procession by us. The squaws seemed to have charge of all the goods, frequently with a papoose in their arms, whether on foot, or riding a poney; frequently two women would be on the same

poney, covering the little thing nearly all over; the men were on foot, on ponies, in wagons, with tomahawks, pipes, occasionally a war club, a sabre, battle axe, and their red and blue blankets, the procession extending for over three miles, and visible over the undulating prairie for about two miles, winding up the sides of the hills in the bright evening sunshine, and moving actively and cheerfully to their homes, in high good humour. It was a scene not soon to be forgotten. Nothing could have been more varied, picturesque, or novel. It reminded us of the pictures of some ancient caravans, or of the Israelites leaving Egypt, only with ponies substituted for camels.

These Indians are most of them very much dissatisfied with their present interpreter, a "half-breed," and we thought and recommended to the Agent, that he should have regard to their wishes in this respect, it appearing to be their only ground of complaint, but a deep seated one.

On First Day morning, we attended, by invitation, the Sabbath School of Elizabeth Y. Hancock. Between 50 and 60 Indian scholars were present, who attend school through the week. A class was called, several of whom, we were told, did not know a letter last Fall. They began to read at the fifth chapter of Matthew, reading alternate verses, right audibly, in intelligible English, but they *did not know the meaning of a single word they pronounced*. They have certainly made rapid progress, in their way. But the question arises, what advantage can such knowledge be *turned* to for them? This is the school which Sidney Averill now has charge of, and we hope for good results from his deep interest in the Indians' welfare.

From the school we went to meeting at ten o'clock, in the council house, about two miles distant. A number of Indians were collected, chiefs, braves, and others, and some thirty white people. It was a solemn, interesting, and apparently, an entirely satisfactory meeting. Dr. Shortlidge and Wm. Willetts of New York, came up the previous evening, from the Omaha Reservation, to attend it.

OMAHA AGENCY.²⁴

First Day, Eighth month, fifteenth. — After taking dinner at the Winnebago Agency House, the day we attended meeting

there in the morning, we all, with Howard White, Dr. Paxson, and several others who were at the Winnebago Reservation, set off for the Omaha Reservation, eleven miles, to attend a meeting at four o'clock. It was held at the house of Dr. Edward Painter, the Agent. Wm. Hamilton, the Missionary in charge of the Mission School on this Reserve, with his teachers, and pupils, attended, and also the employees of the Agency. A large number of Indians, chiefs, braves, and others, were present. The meeting was less satisfactory to some of us, than any we had previously held among the Indians, but Edward expressed himself satisfied with it, and we trust no harm was done, and some good.

There are two hundred and five thousand acres of land in the Omaha Reservation, and nine hundred and sixty-eight Indians; and by a recent census, of the nine hundred and sixty-eight, there are only ten females over eighteen years old, who are not now married, or are widows. Eighteen men, each has two wives; there are three with three wives each; and one with four wives.

The whole heart of the Agent appears to be devoted to the interests of the Indians. He is engaged in making allotments of their lands in severalty on the Reservation, and has already made allotments of one hundred and sixty acres each, to one hundred and thirty heads of families, out of two hundred and seventy-eight. He says he has settled disputed claims, and questions among the Indians in three weeks, which would in all probability, have caused ten years of litigation among the whites. Let that be placed to the Indian's credit.

Much concern was felt, and labor extended, in our councils with the Indians, and even in the religious meetings, to impress upon them the importance of having their marriages legally solemnized, and that no man should have more than one wife. In the allotments of land which are being effected, only one wife is recognized to the head of a family.

They were earnestly and affectionately entreated too, to diminish the out-door labor of their women, by the men performing it themselves; of all of which, in the replies of the chiefs, they acknowledged the propriety.

The Winnebagoes and Omahas have points of dispute which were bequeathed to the present Agents and Superintendent by

the former ones, and brought before the council for settlement, which was effected satisfactorily. We are fearful however, that the close contiguity of these two tribes, the Winnebagoes and Omahas, only eleven miles apart, may occasion some trouble to the Agents; but we trust they may be favored to make an amicable adjustment of all the difficulties that may arise.²⁵

On the morning of the sixteenth we held a council with the Omaha chiefs, and some braves, which was another occasion of great interest. These Indians are very fine, noble looking men, very intelligent, and mild countenanced and mannered. "Fire chief" spoke twice, as did "Yellow Smoke" also. "Standing Hawk," "Lion Chief," and "Gi-he-gah," all spoke with dignity and eloquence. They smoked most of the time, so that sitting in the council chamber, was like being in a cloud. Many of their tomahawks are constructed with hollow poll and handle, to form a pipe, and they use them as such, passing them round among them, as they sit on a bench or the floor indifferently. The bark they smoke, is from a kind of willow, and they call it "Rin-ni-ri-ne," and sometimes, perhaps always when they have any, mix it with tobacco. The bark smoke is quite fragrant, and much less unpleasant and irritating than that of tobacco.

All the business before the council was concluded satisfactorily. Like all the other Indians, these shake hands with those whom they particularly address, both before and after speaking.

In the afternoon we rode about four miles to "Jo. La Flesche's village," and to the Mission School, under the charge of Wm. Hamilton, a Presbyterian Missionary, and Joel Warner, his son-in-law. The Mission building is quite large, on a high bluff, from which the Missouri river is visible for miles. They have about forty children boarding in the Institution. Their exercises, particularly their spelling, writing, and singing, were very creditable, but there was a little want of requisite animation, which was perhaps, due, at least in a measure, to the presence of strangers. We think the school is doing a great deal of good, and wished those in charge of it to be encouraged in their arduous and responsible duties, for the welfare and improvement of these wrongfully neglected people. We made addresses to the children, which manifestly interested them and their teacher.²⁶

At their hospitable request, we stayed there to tea, which was nicely and bountifully prepared, during which we were introduced to three interesting young women from Norway, who appeared to be connected with the "Mission work."

Before separating, we had some very friendly and satisfactory conversation with Wm. Hamilton, who expressed himself gratified and relieved by the views in the article which the Delegation had had published in an Omaha paper, and we mutually wished we might labor as with shoulder to shoulder, like brothers indeed, in the great and good work before us.

Dr. Painter has too much to do. The allotments in which he is engaged, occupy much time and labor; and this being the first Reservation on which allotments in severalty have been effected, the mode he has adopted, will be a model, and thus an aid, for others; and his efficiency in executing the work, and the confidence the Indians have in him, indicate that he is well qualified for his position. The amount of writing which necessarily attaches to his office, and his daily gratuitous medical services to the sick and afflicted Indians—scrofulous affections being distressingly prevalent among them—are, all together, too much for one man to perform. The Department should allow him a clerk, which we will endeavor to induce it to do.

A late census of the Indians in the Northern Superintendency, gives the population of the six Agencies, seven thousand five hundred and twenty.

Five of these Agencies contain seven hundred and ninety-six thousand acres, of good and productive land, to which, if we add the partially undetermined assignment of the Santee Sioux, there are at least one million acres, or one hundred and thirty three acres to each man, woman and child.

THE GENERAL CONDITION, HABITS AND MANNERS OF THE INDIANS.

The general mode of living practiced by the Indians is very demoralizing, five to ten families frequently occupying a lodge, with no separate apartments, and thus destitute of privacy; the lodges are dark, poorly ventilated, and smoky, and oft-times at

least, uncleanly. It is therefore no matter of surprise that they are, and particularly the children, greatly affected with inflamed and sore eyes, and scrofulous affections, manifested in swollen faces, glandular enlargements, and consumption. They have many children, but comparatively few are raised, and, as would appear, this is not from want of maternal affection and attention, but simply from the *want of light, fresh air, and cleanliness*.

A great want is, a hospital at each Reservation, of sufficient size to accommodate all the sick, and well supplied with benevolent nurses and attendants—"Friends Sisters of Charity"—under the charge of a suitable female graduate of medicine, as Matron and Resident Physician. This is a want more pressing even than that of schools.

Then the allotments of lands in severalty, so that each family will have their own home, and the head of it feel the dignity of manhood from possessing personal rights, with the inducement to improve his possessions, and provide for those depending upon him, and thus "in having something to do, something to care for, and something to love," possess the fundamental elements of happiness.

These allotments of from eighty to one hundred and sixty acres to each head of a family, and unmarried persons over 18 and 21, are going on rapidly and satisfactorily, among the Omahas and Winnebagoes, and it is greatly to be hoped, that this wise and just measure will be authorized by the General Government on all the other reservations, at least those in the Northern Superintendency.

The Indian dress of the men, consists of a breech cloth around the lower part of the waist, descending about a foot, and "gathered" into about half its length, and over this a blanket, or in cold weather, a buffalo robe. In full dress they wear leggins, often finely worked and beaded, and moccasins of similar character.

The females wear a slip of calico, chintz or other material, and leggins, and over these a shawl or blanket. They appear very pleasant, amiable and docile. Few of either sex ordinarily wear anything on their head, being favored with a full suit of hair,

which continues with them to old age, and mostly retains its black color, though we saw some gray.

Some of their Chiefs are very eloquent. We held a council with each tribe, and heard all their principal orators. After they would be addressed in council by the Superintendent or one of our delegation, the Chiefs and Braves would consult together for a short time, to decide on what to say in reply, and who should say it; and then the chief designated would rise slowly, with much grace and dignity, with his blanket generally around his person below his arms, held in place by his left hand, and then approach and shake hands with each of those he was about to address, implying good friendship. On the conclusion of this invariable ceremony, he would take his stand some six to eight feet from us in front, adjust his blanket over his left shoulder, and under his right arm, still keeping it in place by his left hand, holding it from the under side, and leaving his right arm bare and free to aid in his gestures, which are generally easy, natural, and in good taste. We could not say this of their painting, among the chiefs and braves, which seemed to be against all taste we could imagine, and designed to make them look as frightful, horrid and demon-like as possible. The face would often be made to appear hacked into scars, with fresh wounds, black rings under the eyes, making them look of double size, and other such devices for ugliness and ferocity. This is the exhibit for war.

The squaws do the work of providing for the family principally. As already stated, we saw a field of seventeen hundred acres of corn, planted and worked entirely by the squaws, with hoes, their hands, and a rude spatula made of buffalo horn, or some similar material, and scarcely a weed or spear of grass was anywhere to be seen. There were six to eight stalks in a "hill," which was really what its name implies, a mound some six to ten inches high, and eighteen in diameter, close around the stalks. Next year they plant in rows between these hills, and use the earth composing them, in part to constitute the required new ones. They raise from eighty to one hundred bushels to the acre.

The squaws cut and haul the wood. We saw several of them bringing in their loads on the ponies in the morning. It was a

singular and interesting sight, and we will endeavor to describe a squaw with her poney loaded with wood, as we beheld them. The squaws are very expert, it must be remembered, in *tying* or *withing* with branches of trees. They cut the wood about three and a half feet long, and make up two large tied bundles, which they join by a long withe across the poney's back, having one bundle lengthwise on each side. A squaw then cuts two long poles, and adjusts them one on each side of the poney like shafts, the fore ends supported by a withe over the poney's back, and the hind ends resting on the ground; and, at a little distance from the hind end, a withe joins them, with a projection above each shaft, to prevent the wood which is piled on across these shafts to some height, from slipping back. She now picks up a large bundle of wood, which she adjusts on her own back, and, thus equipped, *leads* home the little poney, appearing like a moving woodpile, with fuel sufficient to keep up the fire in the wigwam for several days.

In view of these facts of the squaws doing the family work, let us be gentle with our censure, lest we condemn our own ancestors. Only a few centuries ago, among the Romans, Britons, and many other nations of Europe from whom our people have descended, the men were wholly occupied in war, architecture, sculpture, painting, making roads, erecting temples, towers, pyramids, etc., etc., and upon the *woman devolved the entire duty and labor of providing and preparing food, etc., for the family*. We read in Scripture, also, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill."—Matt. 24, 41.

The Indians are only *some distance behind*. In them, we see, and have the interesting opportunity to study, the *people*, the *habits*, the *manners*, and *customs*, of fifteen or more centuries ago! The car of civilization and enlightenment went forward in the Eastern Hemisphere, propelled as it was by Christianity engrafted on Roman and Grecian literature and science, and has left the poor Indians, in the forests and on the great prairies of the Western Continent, some centuries behind. That is all. And let us not be discouraged. With the present facilities for progress, even in civilization and enlightenment, and that assistance which their condition and surroundings imperatively demand, the Indians will gradually diminish the existing distance we are in advance of them, and in a little time, tread

closely upon the heels, if not indeed entirely pass, the *hindmost of the white race*.

General John B. Sanborn, who was appointed by our Government, Special Indian Commissioner, and a member of the Peace Commission, than whom no one has had greater opportunity, or availed himself more industriously of it, to become intimately acquainted with the Indian character, bears this interesting testimony to the same point;*

“Seen in their native state, and before they have been brought into contact with civilized men, the Indians have many of the noblest traits. They have great love for fame and glory, contempt for suffering and death, and not one element in their nature that will lead them to submit to any form or condition of slavery.”

“They have quite correct and philosophical ideas of government and laws; all have a belief in a future state, where the conditions will depend upon conduct during earthly existence; they have good powers of thought and reason; and not a few of each tribe have the rare faculty of oratory.

“Are there not here sufficient elements and traits of character, by proper influence and training, to develop into a noble civilized race? They seem to be in no respect inferior to our European ancestors, at and previous to the invasion by Caesar. They are savage and nomadic; so were the European races. They are warlike and brave; so were the European races. They are revengeful; so were the European races. And there seems to be nothing in their nature or condition to preclude them from civilization, that might not be found in the nature and condition of our ancestors. We therefore conclude, when we compare this race with any of those who, from a state of barbarism, have risen to civilization, that we find them in no respect inferior, and that there is nothing in the natural organization and condition of the Indians, to preclude them from civilization and mental culture, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory and terrible result of a century of effort to that end, on the part of our Government.”

Their perceptive faculties, particularly sight and hearing, are those which have been principally exercised for generation after

*Senate Ex. Doc., M. 13th, 40th Congress, 1st Session, page 68.

generation, and this fact must be kept prominently in any system of education proposed for them. Their sight and hearing are acute, and strong, and they learn rapidly by these. They are very quick at imitation. When it is proposed to teach them any new thing, they seem to open all their faculties intently, to imbibe the new idea; and it is of the highest importance that they be *taught right* the first time; for, *as* they are then taught, they will ever after practice. An error then made, cannot be corrected. They entertain such great regard for truth, that they lose entire confidence in any one who once deceives them, and if in instructing them in any process, a person tells them what is not correct the first time, they will never have sufficient confidence in what he says afterwards to correct the error. This regard for truth appears to be instinctive with them. An Indian chief brought a young Indian we were told, before a white Commissioner, to give evidence, and the Commissioner hesitated a little in receiving part of the testimony, when the chief spoke up with great emphasis, "Oh! you may believe what he says: he tells the truth: *he has never seen a white man before!*"

A Missionary lady at the Winnebago Reservation, gave us an invitation to attend her Sabbath School, which we accepted, and she brought before us a class of some twenty Indian children, who attended school through the week, of both sexes, from twelve to twenty years of age we would judge, who she said did not know a letter a year ago, to read in the New Testament. She asked us where they should read, and we proposed they should begin at the fifth chapter of Matthew, to which they soon opened; and they proceeded to read, each reading a verse. They read with a correctness, deliberation, and distinctness of articulation which surprised us, so that every word could be readily understood, although there was occasionally the Indian peculiarity of pronunciation.

Such progress in one year from the alphabet, astonished us. To satisfy ourselves more fully, we asked the teacher if they understood what they read? "Oh no," says she, "not a word. They do not know the meaning of a single word they have read, but have only learned to connect the *sight* of the letter or word, and the *sound*." This was a discouraging response for progress in education under the present system employed with them, but a most significant and valuable fact in relation to their *capacity* to



This close-up of a Pawnee earthlodge was photographed about 1871. The brushy saplings at left were probably part of a horse corral.

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The Omaha Indian Agency in 1869 was under the direction of Quaker humanitarian Dr. Edward Painter, who gave up a Baltimore medical practice to serve his church in Nebraska. (Courtesy U.S. Department of Interior.)

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Omaha Reservation school children assembled on the agency school building steps. Dr. Edward Painter, agent, is seated at left wearing a broad-brimmed hat. (W. H. Jackson photo, courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons.)

acquire knowledge. If in one year, with such small advantages, they could be taught to connect properly so great a number of the *signs* of things, with the *sounds* by which they are designated, what might not be done, by a proper system of "object teaching," under a benevolent, live teacher! There is much cause of encouragement.

We think it proper to point out a great difference that exists between teaching Freedmen and Indians. With the former, there is an existing medium of communication between mind and mind, by a common language which each understands, thus enabling the teacher to impart knowledge at once; but the best and most learned of English teachers, who does not know a word of the Indian language, among a class of Indian children, however desirous to learn, who do not understand English, will be in a very helpless condition. He will be able to do nothing to enlighten them. His desires may be ever so strong, and his heart warmed with affectionate philanthropy, but all is sealed. There is no channel open by which he can communicate with their heads or their hearts. The interpreter, if you chance to find one, will do this in part. But this is necessarily a slow, dull, and cold mode of communication, as we frequently experienced in councils, and especially in religious meetings. But there is nothing in this to discourage. The teachers *must*, and *will*, in time, learn the languages of the tribes in which they teach, and be teachers and interpreters both, and bring the children to understand the English language, and possess this important qualification for citizenship.

The Indians possess a keen and delicate sense of justice, are very grateful for kindness and favors, and acquire warm affection for those who habitually extend them: and they possess great fortitude, and intrepidity, and enduring patience. And these qualities, with their regard for truth, and their great facility for acquiring knowledge through their perceptive faculties, are certainly strong points upon which to rely in order to secure their elevation to any proposed plan of civilization and enlightenment.

INDIAN PECULIARITIES AND SUPERSTITIONS.

The women carry their papoosas on their backs, sometimes

making a kind of pocket of their blanket, by putting it over their shoulders with the folded edges up, and the child inside, all covered but its head, and bringing the ends of the blanket tightly under the mother's arms; and sometimes fastening them with the back to a smooth board, a little larger than the child, and putting them in the blanket, or carrying them without. When thus tied to a board, the child will play with its hands, as its mother walks along, and when she stops, she will lean the board with the child on it, against the wall, or anything at hand, and the child will be just as quiet and contented, as a kitten which a cat is carrying in its mouth.

They bury their dead on the highest points of land, in order, as we were told, that the spirit of the departed might have a good view of the Prairie, they believing that the spirits of the dead continue to be gratified with whatever interested them while living. On almost every high point of land, near an Indian village, we would see a burial enclosure. In the coffin or grave, they place the pipe and tomahawk of the deceased, and all the articles and relics which he valued and loved while living, and kill his poney, and lay it by his grave, so that his spirit may ride the spirit of the poney. We saw the skulls of numerous ponies at the graveyard we visited.

Some Indians place the coffins or boxes containing the dead, in trees, withing them securely to the body and limbs of the tree. We saw one tree with twelve such boxes resting among its branches, an interesting and suggestive sight, and how we craved ability to understand the force or meaning attached to it. Others put them, in a similar way, on posts or scaffolds. Others again bury the dead in a sitting posture, with the top of the head just below the level of the surface ground, and the legs extended on the bottom of the grave; sprinkle a little earth over the corpse, and cover the grave with boards. We looked into several such graves. There was nothing perceived, in the least degree offensive; whether they possessed some mode of embalming the dead, we were unable to learn. The most probable conjecture we could form of their object in putting the coffins in trees or on scaffolds, was, in order that the flesh might decay, and the bones, for which the Indians have such high veneration, be preserved, for removal, if needed.²⁷

The Indians have no fear of death, nor if they do their duty while living, have they anything unpleasant connected with the after-life; on the contrary, they contemplate the spirit-life with happiness, delight and joy.

Henry B. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, one of the strongest and best friends the poor Red-men have, related a circumstance, of his knowledge, so illustrative of the Indian character, that it is thought not improper to incorporate it in this report. Among the Indians imprisoned in connection with the horrible Minnesota massacre of 1862, was a distinguished Indian who was visited in prison by a gentleman who was a physician. The Indian, being desirous of knowing a little of the probable fate that was before him, asked the physician what he thought the Government would do with him. The physician apprehending his case was a hopeless one, hesitated to answer the inquiry. The Indian repeated his question, when the doctor said to the Indian, calling him by name, I fear they will hang you. The Indian dropped his eyes a moment to the floor, then raised them, looked steadily at the doctor, and calmly remarked: "Well, I don't care; I am not afraid to die: when I go to the spirit world, I will go up to the Great Spirit, and look Him right in the face, and tell Him of the multiplied wrongs and cruelties inflicted on His red children by the white man, and *He won't scold me much.*"

The Indians were very much disturbed by the great eclipse. They were told in the morning, that the sun would go out that day. They shook their heads, and said "no; sun no go out; white man don't know." They were again assured that it *would* go out, when they repeated their contradiction with great emphasis: "*No, sun no go out; white man don't know.*" When it began to grow dark in the afternoon, they looked up, and saw what they thought to be a part bitten out of the sun, and they exclaimed, "Monster eat sun—sun very sick," and set off in full run for their lodges. Very soon they came out with their doctors or "medicine men" as they call them, and their guns or pistols, and commenced shooting up at the "monster" which was eating the sun, which they continued for some time. When the eclipse began to go off, and the sun came out, they exclaimed, "Now sun get well, monster dead; *sun was very sick.*"²⁸

We must not marvel at our red brothers being so superstitiously disconcerted by the eclipse, when we learn that a *white* woman in Ohio, when she beheld the "sun being darkened," regarded it as the prophesied signal of the "end of the world," and was so terrified that she ran some distance, and then fell down dead.

The Indians appear to have more present enjoyments and amusements, than we were prepared to expect. Besides riding their ponies as before referred to, they have a game in which all the young men seem to delight, inviting to athletic foot exercise, and great dexterity and skill, their success in which astonished us. These competitive amusements, and the absorbing hold they took of the Indians' minds, gave us a higher interest by far, than the mere witnessing of them, from their presenting another point in the Indian character, which is susceptible of being so successfully employed in their elevation, civilization and enlightenment.

SOME DISCONNECTED INCIDENTS ATTENDING THE INDIANS AND OUR JOURNEY.

The murder of McMurty, charged upon the Pawnees, and for which a number of this tribe were in prison at Omaha, when we were there, has occasioned Superintendent Janney, as it did our Delegation, much uneasiness and concern. In the council, the chiefs plead earnestly and eloquently for our interposition in favor of the prisoners; but we enjoined them to obey the laws of the United States, and of the State of Nebraska, and then the whole power of the National Government would be exerted for their safety and protection; but, if they violated these laws, we could afford them no assistance; they would have to suffer the penalty which the law prescribes, the same as white people; the justice of which they seemed to recognize.²⁹

The Delegation offered to go security for their appearance at the trial, of those Indians who were imprisoned as witnesses, the weather being so warm, and they unused to close confinement; but Superintendent Janney informs us that he had found it unnecessary "to go their bail on behalf of the Committee, as had been proposed, for the liberty was granted at the request of

the chiefs, who, he thinks, have acted nobly throughout this whole affair."

We went to Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska, to have an interview with Governor David Butler in relation to a threat which had been made at a meeting of some of the citizens of Nebraska, and published in the papers, to have the Otoes and Pawnees "wiped out," and their Reservations sold, and the proceeds of such sale, appropriated to building railroads; and we were gratified to find the Governor was as much opposed to any unjust proceedings towards the Indians, as we could desire him to be. He assured us we might rely upon his co-operation in any efforts we may make to elevate and improve the condition of those Indians in Nebraska.

When this part of our business was concluded, we inquired of the Governor whether, in case one or more of those Indians who are in prison, charged with the murder of McMurty, should be condemned to be hung, he would join with the Friends in an application to the President to have the sentence commuted, it being our belief, that, as the Indians assert that many of their tribe have been killed by white men, and no investigation or punishment followed, this would be much the most favorable course for the pacification of the Indians in the present instance. The Governor cheerfully and emphatically expressed his willingness to do as we desired, adding, that he was from principle, opposed to capital punishments whenever they could be avoided.³⁰

After our first reaching Omaha city, the delegation traveled, in order to visit all the different Agencies, three hundred and thirty miles by railroad, and over seven hundred by private conveyance and stage, making the whole journey over four thousand miles.

We sometimes found rather rough fare, and uncomfortable lodgings, but then, there were compensations, in the evidences we had that there is a great deal of good in the world—more than it gets credit for.

When six persons, as there were of us, would come to a house late in the evening, in a country through which few travelers pass, and ask if they could accommodate us with supper, a night's lodging, and breakfast, we could readily discover in the

hesitating reply, that they had almost too much custom for once; but the ultimate response invariably was, "we will do the best we can for you," and with *that*, we assured them, their guests would be satisfied.

When a new settler comes, we were told, the nearest neighbors, though miles distant, on learning of his arrival, being prompted no doubt by the remembrance of the recent trials they had experienced, immediately go to him to know if they can do anything for them, or lend them something, to be returned when theirs grow, or they have them to spare,—some corn, bacon, flour, a fresh cow, etc., etc. On relating this to a person further East, where full prosperity had dimmed the remembrance of former trials, he remarked, "it *used* to be so here, but it is not so now," reminding us of the suggestive description Hawkesworth gives of a person of this class, "he gradually lost the inclination to do good as he acquired the power: and, as the hand of time scattered snow upon his *head*, the chilling influence extended to his *bosom*."

During our whole journey of some thousand miles in Nebraska, and a sojourn in different parts of the State of more than a month, we are highly gratified to be able to add, that we did not hear one profane word, or see one intoxicated person, and invariably received marked kindness, respect, and attention.

VIEWES ENTERTAINED OF THE "QUAKER EXPERIMENT."

We were much gratified with the success which has attended the labors of the Superintendent and Agents, and the high respect in which they were all held, by the Indians, and by those whose situation and discernment qualified them to give a correct judgment in the letter.

A Missionary woman, who had been many years among the Indians, and was devoted to their interests, told us, that she regarded "the appointment of Quakers for Superintendents and Agents among the Indians, as the wisest act of General Grant's administration," and to illustrate the good effects, she said, that

“last year a circus came along, and obtained permission of the Agent to exhibit to the Indians on the Reservation. The Indians being so fond of horsemanship, music, and show, would give anything they had for admission to the performance,—money, blankets, buffalo skins, etc., etc., and thus the owners of the circus carried away with them a large amount of the Indians’ money, and many things which they would greatly need in winter. On the contrary, this year the same circus came along, and hearing there was a ‘Quaker Agent’ now, the managers never even stopped to inquire whether they might exhibit to the Indians.” She thought this was a *great* improvement.

The well known opposition of the “Quaker Agents” to the introduction of whiskey and other intoxicating drinks on the Indian Reservations, has had a very salutary effect in deterring those who had been engaged in that illicit traffic with the Indians.

The following article from the “*Omaha Daily Herald*,” of the Eighth Month, twenty-ninth, 1869, shows the views entertained upon the subject, by those who are nearest to the Indian settlements in Nebraska, and most immediately interested in preserving peaceful relations with these people:

From the Omaha Daily Herald, August 29th, 1869

A UNIVERSAL VERDICT

Time enough has elapsed since the advent of the Quakers to the Indian Country to create the opinion, in the minds of all candid and unprejudiced men, that the policy and honesty, kindness and fair-dealing with the red men, is having a most satisfactory effect. It is true, scattering bands of lawless Indians, outlaws from the tribal authority in the South, have committed some very serious and shocking depredations, and Gen. Carr has punished them for it. But it is equally true that, wherever the Quaker policy has had a chance to demonstrate its power, its wisdom has been proved by its salutary fruits.

The great bulk of the tribes have gone upon their reservations. Under the Quaker administration of equal and exact justice to, and a faithful performance of all engagements with, the Indians, they will contentedly remain there. We shall have no war. Peace will reign throughout all the frontiers. Our settlements will uninterruptedly progress. No more mass-

acres and murders. Guards will not be required along our great railway. The Indians will gradually acquire the arts of peaceful industry, and perish from among us, decently, and in good order.

So far as is known here, the Quaker policy is succeeding with our home Indians beyond expectation. Supt. Janney, by his promptness in the McMurdy case, has shown that he has courage and ability equal to any emergency, and it is the universal verdict of the people most nearly concerned in his administration of the Northern Superintendency, that it is able, energetic, and honest.

The new Indian policy, so long denied the government and people, enforced among the untamed Indians, will give us certain, lasting, and enduring peace.

We have no more doubt of it than we have of our existence, and never had.

From the New York Weekly Tribune of 9th Mo. 29th, 1869.

“Quakers who do not fight, can conquer where our fighters fail; and where a notorious class of traitors have done worse than fail, they succeed. The proof of this is Wednesday’s report from Gen. Hazen, witnessing that the Indian reservation system, under Quaker influence, is advantageous and works well. The Indians have come to believe that their present agents are honest, which is a marvelous consummation, and so much gain of saving faith. ‘All that was wanted was an honest administration,’ says the General, ‘and that they are having.’ It is wonderful that it never occurred to our administrations before now, that honesty could be appreciated by savages, and might prove, even with Indians the best policy.”

A correspondent of the *Boston Commonwealth*, writing from Dakota City, Nebraska, August 16, of a tour among the Indians, says:

“A few days ago we met and had a pleasant chat with the gentlemen composing the commission sent out by the Yearly Meetings of Friends, and are most glad to renew it. They, with Superintendent Janney, are overseeing the issue of annuity goods, and, as all are busy, let us examine the goods and see what they are. A family is called. ‘One man, two women, a girl and a boy,’ sings out the interpreter ‘Five blankets, four calicoes, eight sheetings, three jeans, three satinets, eight socks, two yards blue cloth, three pots, and a tin pail,’ cries the agent and forthwith they are piled upon the floor, and a squaw carries them away.

“The blanket is valued most of all, and next is the ‘blue cloth,’ rarely broadcloth, cut into two-yard strips, for making ‘strouds,’ or over-skirts, for the women. A large share of the rest, not needed now, will be wasted or sold by the Indian in his improvidence, and when cold weather comes he will want them.

"A few moments serve to satisfy us, and soon, seated on a bale of goods on the far side of the room, we are conversing with the Friends in regard to the Indians. They find much to encourage them, but find the Indian much wilder than they had hoped. He clings too closely to his blanket, that emblem of his savage state. They hope soon to have him dress like his white brother. He knows not yet how to labor; they will try to teach him, and will recommend the establishment of industrial schools. They will also recommend the sale of unnecessary lands to actual settlers of such a class as shall benefit the Indian by their companionship, and the division of the rest among the tribes, and that the proceeds of the lands sold be used in teaching them agriculture, and furnishing them the necessary improvements and implements, thus making them self-supporting farmers.

"There are sufficient grounds to hope for this, for already there are a great many good laborers among the Winnebagos. A friend who employed seven men during harvest, tells me he never had better hands. Some of them work very well at home, and all the farm work at the Agency is done by them. There are four hundred acres of corn in one field that the squaws, assisted by a few men and children, have cultivated, and a like number of acres have been broken for them this summer.

"These are a few of the plans communicated to me for improving and eventually citizenizing—thanks be to Grant for that word—the Indian. If this Quaker policy is not disturbed, it will be a success; but there will be great opposition to it at the next session of Congress. Western members bidding for re-election, and wishing to secure the votes of the Indian ring, and to retain fat places in their gift, will oppose it; that class called in 'The New Gospel of Peace' 'the great army of counteractors' will also oppose it. The Indians will not be removed from their reservations, and those who have stood ready to clutch them will oppose it; and each of these classes will pour out money freely, and use every means to accomplish a return to the old system, or a transfer to the War Department.

"Each of these classes quietly acquiesce now, but besides throwing every obstacle in the way they can when unseen, they are indulging hopes, and some are 'laying on their oars,' so sure are they of a return to the good old days before the Quaker meddled with their affairs. The public sentiment of the East must be aroused, as in the case of the negro, and then there is hope. If ever this 'damned spot' on our civilization will 'out,' it will be when Eastern intelligent public sentiment works hand in hand with honest Western sentiment and with the Quakers. The Indian is a savage, but have we been less the savage or the villain in dealing with him?

"Apropos of this, comes a story from one of the many Indian Agencies in our State, concerning the advent of the new Quaker agent. When the day for issue of beef came, he ordered the usual amount, and was surprised to see only three steers killed for the whole tribe. 'Is this the usual

amount?" he asked. "Yes," responded the contractor. Delaying the issue, he searched the records and then ordered additional steers killed, until, in the place of three, nine were upon the scales. He was also around when the issue of flour was made, and that was on his order *doubled*. This is an explanation of how agents on a salary of fifteen hundred dollars per year can live high, and in four years retire upon a fifty or a hundred thousand dollar fortune, and contractors, besides filling their purses to repletion, can give a good bonus to those whom they hired not to bid against them. But now, lo! a change has come over the spirit of their dream. The Quaker passes in view, and well they may storm, but

" 'Fold their arms. turn to thy rest,—
Let them rave.'

"But while we have thus been talking, the issue of goods is complete, and each chief is now drawing, to distribute among his bands, scythes, axes and hoes. A few remnants and unissued hose, and the clothes that wrapped the bales, are thrown into the wagon by the door, and from thence scattered among the crowd, who, rushing pell-mell, with shouts and laughter, form a fitting finale to the day's work.

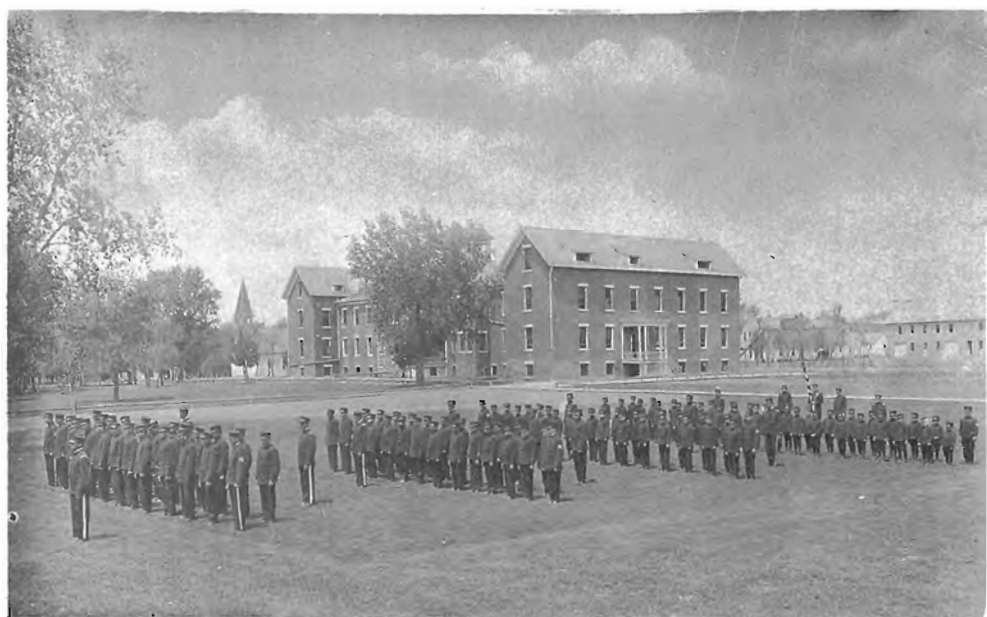
"After tea there was a pleasant gathering at the house of the farmer, and over delicious ice-cre[a]m we chatted away, till the oldest of the party thought that for the reputation of the sect we should retire, when we reluctantly bade them goodnight, for they were the most companionable of men.

"At 10 A.M. on Sunday, a meeting was held at the Council house, when one of the Friends, through an interpreter, addressed the Indians assembled. His remarks were such as must needs come from a heart filled with love to God and all his creatures. 'Dear friends, we have come a long way to see you, and I thank that "Great Spirit" in whom the Indian trusts, and to whom the white man prays that we can meet, for we are all, *all* his children.' He began and continued in a manner entirely free from cant and stereotyped meaningless phrases, giving them advice as to their every-day life, telling them to be honest, truthful, etc., thus fitting themselves to live and be useful, concluding by saying, 'When you are fit to live, you are also fit to die.'

"Through with them, he turned to the white people assembled, and for a few moments spoke of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; and it was a rich treat here, where for three years I had heard only strongest Orthodox sermons, to hear once more such liberality; to hear of 'religion a life and not a creed;' to know that we are all his children, and that love is his greatest attribute; that He is not the cold, relentless tyrant to all those who seek him not through the narrow door of a church, built less to honor Him than the creed they have therein elevated to the



Emily Painter Jackson, daughter of Indian Agent Dr. Edward Painter, in 1873 became the wife of artist-photographer William Henry Jackson, who had come to the Omaha Reservation to record Indian scenes. (Photograph from W. H. Jackson, Time Exposure, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. Copyright, 1940, by W. H. Jackson.)



At the peak of its operation, the Genoa Indian School, which was established in 1883, had over 600 pupils from Midwestern Indian tribes. The school closed in 1933, and students returned to reservation schools. Photographs of students and dormitories were taken about 1915.

supreme place; that salvation comes to us every time we resist temptation, and that every day God redeems us from sin, if we only repent and try to follow the light He has given us. Sweet seemed the words as they fell from those venerable lips, and, coming from the heart, as they did, they found a response in mine, and will never be forgotten. 'Father, I thank thee for these pure souls who have come among us, not only to benefit the Indian, but to liberalize the sects of this great Northwest; for their faces are better than sermons, and their presence than churches, and their words fall upon the troubled waters of sectarian strife like those of the Master on the troubled sea. We, thy children, feel purified by the light they have brought, and would thank thee again and again,' so my soul whispered as I left that house, and it was with a warm grasp that I shook their hands and said 'Farewell.'

"Their influence shall not be confined to the Indian; for mingling with society, they shall find it most ready to take impressions, and they shall not only inspire it with faith in the ultimate civilization of the Indian, but they shall also inspire faith in Him who is 'the Father and Mother of us all,' and sow the seeds that shall grow and flourish, of a better religion than now prevails here.

Yours, in that faith, "H. H. Brown."

MEANS OF IMPROVING THE INDIANS.

First.—The national Government to comply faithfully and liberally with all its treaty stipulations and with the different tribes.

Second.—Let the Indians be no more removed from their present Reservations in Nebraska. Some of the most industrious and enterprising of the Santee Sioux, are emigrating to Dakotah Territory, where they purchase land for a home, regarding the possession of landed property, as their only security against further removal—that great dread and scourge of the Indians.

Without personal rights, the Indians can never fully appreciate and enjoy the dignity of manhood. Their lands should be allotted to them in severalty, as is now being done so rapidly and satisfactorily among the Omaha and Winnebago tribes, *on all the Reservations.*

In Canada, the Indians have never been pushed back on the approach of white settlers, but they were permitted to retain their cherished homes, and the venerated graves of their fathers,

and the tide of emigration passed steadily and peaceably by, and surrounded them, while the strong arm of British law, and the justice of the judicial tribunals, are always ready to afford equal protection to the Indians and the whites. And, *in Canada*, under this wise and just national legislation, we never hear of Indian massacres, and Indian wars, the horror and disgrace of our own country, costing mines of treasure, and rivers of blood!!

The same is true of Alaska our newly acquired territory. Under the Russian rule, the Indians lived peaceably with their white neighbors, the Government extending its protection alike to all. In the short time it has been in possession of the United States, there have been numerous, we might almost say numberless reported instances of "attacks by the Indians," with the statement of the number of Indians *slain*, and, *perhaps*, some of our people *wounded*. But no statement is given of the *provocation* that caused the attack. As Enmagahbowh, an intelligent Indian [from Minnesota] . . . once remarked: "Oh! if the Indians could only publish a newspaper, what a different picture would be drawn of the aggressors in these outrages! they would have white faces, not red!" When a government practices injustice, the people will not be slow in imitating its example; and here is the secret of the withering influences under which the Indians have suffered, and are suffering. The forcible survey of a railroad by order of Government through territory guaranteed to the Indians by solemn treaty, without the consent of the Indians, demonstrated, that in view of the Government, the Indians possess no rights which the *Government* is *bound* to respect. This idea is soon picked up by some unscrupulous adventurer, and interpreted to mean, that Indians possess no right which the *white man* is bound to respect, and they act upon this idea practically, including the *Indian's life* among those rights. We say it with sorrow; orders from some of the bravest, and otherwise most popular Generals of the United States Army have been trampled with the evidence of being dictated by the same feeling.

But these things are past. We are in no disposition to censure. "Let us have peace." We desire, that justice and love, and their fruit, peace, may prevail throughout our entire borders; and if kindness and justice are practiced *towards* the Indians, we have

the fullest confidence to believe, from all our experience and inquiry, that they will be practiced *by* them.

Gen. Houston, of Texas, who was as well versed in the Indian character from long sojourn and intercourse with them, and knew as well the condition of things amongst the different tribes as any other man in our country, declared many years ago in the United States Senate, that it was his settled conviction, there never was an outrage committed by the Indians against the whites, which had not been preceded by greater outrages by the whites against the Indians.

Our Indian policy was no doubt originally well intentioned, but it is erroneous in principle. It has, from the very commencement of our Government, recognized the Indian tribes as independent nations, making treaties with them as such, time after time, and then from necessity or other cause, it has practically treated them as dependent wards, if not as children. This has not been done only by recent administrations of our Government, which have more blame to bear than belongs to them: they have been but continuing a policy which is coeval with the Government, but being an erroneous one, its evil effects have naturally become more and more developed the longer it is pursued.

Third.—Let no more land of any of the Indian Reservations be sold at present; and have some plan devised, by which, when it is sold, a control for a limited period by a judicious commission, may be exercised over the character of purchasers, in order that exemplary, moral, industrious, and peaceable persons, may settle amongst and around them.

Fourth.—The want of light, fresh air, and cleanliness, as well as the crowded condition of some of the lodges, engender scrofulous diseases in the various forms to an alarming extent, such as we have never before witnessed. To treat the patients at their present homes, where the original causes exist, will not meet the case. A hospital, with all its requirements, on each Reservation, of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the sick, with a female graduate of medicine as matron, is a pressing want, which should be supplied at the earliest practicable moment.

Fifth.—Have a sufficient number of industrial schools on each Reservation, to accommodate all the children of both sexes, who are of sufficient age to attend them, in which, besides school education, some will be taught to be farmers, some carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, both grinding and sawing, etc., etc.; and the girls instructed in all kinds of household duties, to sew, use the sewing machine, knit, etc., etc. These operations they learn readily, being naturally imitative, and they are desirous of doing so.

It is through the children, that the desired advance and elevation of the Indians must be principally made. With suitable persons in charge of the young, to instruct them and encourage them on, in all these pursuits and occupations, impress them with kindness and affection, and give them a little experience of the comforts and enjoyments of civilized life, strong bonds of attachment will be naturally formed between the children, and their teachers and caretakers; and at the same time, endeavour to cultivate and strengthen the attachment between the parents and their children, so that the teachers may draw the children, and the children the parents, and thus all be gradually removed further and further from their present degraded, uncomfortable, and unhealthy mode of living, and more and more into the walks and benign influences of civilization and enlightenment.

Sixth.—The Indians should be taught in the schools, the *English* language *prominently*, in order to prepare them for citizenship. The Missionaries whom we found amongst the Indians, are earnest and devoted, and we have no doubt, they are doing a great deal of good, having the true interests and welfare of the Indians sincerely at heart. But, in our judgment, they fall short of accomplishing all the good they might do, for the Indians' real advancement, from an erroneous notion they entertain, that the Indians can be taught religion *in their native language only*; and, as the principal object of the Missionaries is to teach religion, their main effort is, to instruct them in the Indian language, to the great neglect of the English. They have them to read in the Dakota language, and the church services are conducted in that tongue, which the children and young men and women seemed to understand well, while very few of them appeared to be able to understand a sentence of our language.

We were emphatically assured by two Missionary ladies, who had been many years with the Indians, and were earnestly and warmly devoted to their interests, and in every way good and estimable women, that the Indians possessed no idea whatever, of spiritual religion, or spiritual righteousness, and that it was utterly impossible to impart such an idea to them, or that they should acquire it.

This seemed very discouraging to us, if a fact, and produced a feeling of sadness; but it occurred to inquire one of them, whether, if she were to take something from the Indians, as a blanket that was theirs, they would recognize it as right for her to do so. "Oh no," says she, "no persons possess a keener and more instinctive sense of justice than they." "Then," we replied, "they can be made to understand, that what would be unjust or wrong for thee to do to them, it would be unjust or wrong for them to do to thee." "Yes, certainly," she said. "Well, then," we continued, "suppose some acts of kindness and assistance are extended to them, and these continued, will they be sensible of the kindness, and make any acknowledgment of them?" "Certainly," says she, "no people evince deeper gratitude, or stronger affection for kindness and favors, than the Indians." We then told her, if they had this lively sense of justice, gratitude, and love, they possessed an idea of spiritual religion, which was not the result of education, or of tradition, or of any outward instruction or influence, but was that "Grace of God" spoken of by the Apostle, "which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto *all men*," the poor Indians included; and the practical exercise of these virtues, or principles,—justice, gratitude, and love,—is spiritual righteousness; and to cultivate these and their kindred virtues and principles in the Indians, by encouraging their practical exercise in every day life, through example and precept, is the only way of instructing them in true religion or true righteousness, and this is the kind of religion which all should unite in endeavoring to impart to them.

She seemed thoughtful in the contemplation of the view presented, and the conversation closed under pleasant feeling, the desire to arrive at the truth being manifestly entertained on both sides.

Seventh.—The Indians should be supplied, liberally, with

teams and tools, to break up their prairie land, haul timber and lumber to build houses, work their land, and perform all the work which it is necessary to do on their farms, and have competent, judicious persons, for a time, to encourage them therein, and give them the needful instruction.

With these things supplied, all these Indians would in a few years become self-supporting; they would occupy a respectable position in civilization, enlightenment, and citizenship, and be powerful auxiliaries for extending civilization, enlightenment, and peaceful relations with the various tribes of the Western Indians, till all would be brought to experience the benign influences of our National Government, and become its intelligent and law-abiding citizens.

HOW TO VISIT ALL THE RESERVATIONS.

In order to visit all the Reservations and Agencies with the least travel, go by the Southern route to St. Joseph, Missouri, or by the Northern route to Sioux City, in the northwestern part of Iowa. If to St. Joseph, take the St. Joseph and Council Bluffs Railroad, to Forest City, twenty-nine miles; there obtain a conveyance to White Cloud, six miles, in Kansas, across the Missouri river, and thence six miles further to the Great Nemaha Agency, Nebraska, Nohart post-office, Thomas Lightfoot, Agent.

Thence, after concluding the visit, obtain a conveyance to go westward about seventy-five miles, to the Otoe Agency, Albert L. Green, Agent, Otoe Agency post-office, Nebraska. When ready, obtain a conveyance again, to go to Nebraska City, about fifty-five miles, where a "Transfer Company" takes passengers and baggage three miles, across the Missouri river, to East Nebraska City, on the St. Joseph and Council Bluffs Railroad, which take to Council Bluffs, forty-two miles; thence across the Missouri again, by a "Transfer Company," to Omaha City, five miles, the residence of the Superintendent, Samuel M. Janney, being at the corner of Eighteenth street and Capital avenue.

At Omaha, take the Union Pacific Railroad for Columbus, ninety-two miles, and there obtain a conveyance for the Pawnee Agency, twenty-three miles, Jacob M. Troth, Agent, the



Major Albert Lamborn Green and wife Sallie Cadwallader Lightfoot Green (seated) shortly after their marriage in 1871. Standing figures are unidentified.

post-office, Genoa, Nebraska. Return by the same modes of conveyance to Omaha, cross the Missouri river by "Transfer Company" to Council Bluffs, and proceed by railroad to Sioux City, some one hundred miles. Here obtain a conveyance, cross the Missouri to Dakota City, five miles; thence seventeen miles southward to the Winnebago Agency, Nebraska. Thence eleven miles further south, to the Omaha Agency, Dr. Edward Painter, Agent, and the post-office address, Omaha Agency, Nebraska. The Omaha Agency is about seventy miles north of Omaha City, whence it can be reached also by private conveyance.

Now, to reach the "Santee Agency," which is the name of the post-office, Asa M. Janney, Agent, and the Indians called the Santee Sioux, either take private conveyance up the Missouri river, about one hundred and thirty miles, or return through the Winnebago Agency, and Dakota City, to Sioux City, and take the stage some sixty miles to Yankton, capital of Dakota Territory, and then take private conveyance to the Santee Agency, some forty miles further.

We deem it right in this connection, to extend an affectionate caution and hint. The compensation received by the Superin-

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Ely Samuel Parker (Donehogawa), Seneca chief, lawyer, and civil engineer, was the first commissioner of Indian affairs. (Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.)

tendent and Agents, is very limited, domestic help is scarce, and the cost of living high. Their time is closely occupied with their official duties under the United States Government, and the successful accomplishment of their important engagement, is of great moment to the Society of Friends, as well as to the Indians. And, it being a religious concern in which they are engaged, it is greatly desired and hoped, that a judicious care will be exercised, that no persons, older or younger, save the immediate relatives and friends of those residing among the Indians, will be induced to go out to the Agencies, unless it is from a sense of religious duty, and with the approbation of their Monthly Meeting, or concerned Friends.

Our Delegation went by private conveyance, from Omaha City, through the Omaha and Winnebago Agencies, and Dakota City, to the Santee Sioux Reservation, a distance of two hundred miles up the Missouri river, requiring five days travel, and returned by the same means and route to Omaha City. It was a hard, fatiguing journey. The load (we mostly had six passengers) was heavy for one team of two horses, and part of

the road was on the river bottoms, through timber and undergrowths, while other parts were over steep bluffs, and across deep sloughs, with a frequent difficulty in knowing which was the right way, and indeed we were completely lost at one time on the Prairie, which, all together, caused it to be a tedious, wearisome, and almost an anxious journey. But it had its compensations. Our patience never once gave out, nor our trust that a Good Providence was smiling upon our efforts to be serviceable to our Red Brethren. Moreover we were delighted with the acres and acres of wild flowers on the Prairie, emblems of the Good Father's love; the abundance of wild plums, small grapes, and hazel nuts, in the undergrowths along the streams and ravines; and the grass over all the Prairies so nutritious for stock, that the Earth thus seemed to be teeming with beauty and food for man and beast, as a table spread out in the desert by the Great Father of all, and it caused our hearts, as we traveled along, to expand and rejoice in gratitude and love, to the Good Providence that had protected us, and to the whole family of man.

All of which is respectfully submitted:

[Signed,]

Benjamin Hallowell,
of Baltimore Yearly Meeting.
Franklin Haines,
of New York Yearly Meeting.
John H. Dudley, and
Joseph Powell,
of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Washington, D. C., Mo., 7th, 1869.

APPENDIX.

[From the Omaha Herald.]

THE INDIANS AND THE FRIENDS.

A Committee of the religious Society of Friends is now engaged in visiting the several Indian Agencies in the Northern Superintendency. It consists of Benjamin Hallowell, of Maryland, Franklin Haines, of New York, John H. Dudley, of New Jersey, and Joseph Powell, of Pennsylvania.

They have come to see the field of labor which has been assigned to some members of the Society, to encourage them in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the Indians, and to make such suggestions as may appear appropriate. In order that the object of their mission and the spirit actuating it may be understood, the committee, at a meeting held in this city, was unanimous in reproducing before the public the following communication of B. Hallowell to the Baltimore *American*:

S. M. J.

There appears to be some misunderstanding in relation to the connection of the "Friends" with the Indian question, which a regard to truth seems to render proper to endeavor to correct.

Upon the commencement of the present administration, a general belief existed that the Indian Bureau was in an unhealthy condition, and a desire for its improvement prevailed in the mind of every friend of humanity and justice. Hence the announcement of President Grant, in his inaugural address, that he would "favor any course towards them which tends to their civilization, christianization, and ultimate citizenship," was read with universal gratification throughout the country.

It is acknowledged by all those who have had most practical experience with the Indians, that the great difficulty to be overcome is to *gain their confidence*. First, in the individual who approaches them, and then in the Government, which stands behind him, afar off. This is the great point; and the Indians having been so long deceived it will require time and tact to attain it.

It is believed that President Grant, in looking to the Friends for some assistance in the improvement in the Indians, which he so much desired, was not led thereto by any belief in the superiority of *theirs* over *other* religious organizations, or that the right of membership in that Society would impart any qualification for an Indian Agency; but that it was because the entire record of the Society of Friends towards the Indians, from the time of William Penn to the present day, was an unbroken one of kindness, justice and brotherly friendship, *which is traditionally known to the different tribes* of Indians at this time.

Now, President Grant's sagacity led him to see, that *these traditional facts* will give the Society of Friends a *prestige* with the Indians, which, if properly used, might tend to restore that confidence in the National Government which has been so sorrowfully impaired by the maladministration of our Indian affairs.

The request made to the Friends by the President, was regarded by them in this light *solely*. It was entirely for the benefit of the Indians. They took no credit to themselves. The object appeared to them to be to use the *traditional reputation acquired by those who have preceded us* in the Society, as a means of producing a *favorable influence upon the Indians*, by giving them confidence in *us*, and then in the Government, which selects our members for Superintendents and Agents amongst them. Then it is to be hoped that a corresponding kind, just, peaceful and brotherly conduct towards them afterwards, by the Superintendents and Agents who are appointed, will continue and deepen the impression, and convince them that the spirit that actuated William Penn, still lives in those whom their Great Father, the President, sends to reside amongst them and assist them.

The positions to which the Friends were invited in the Indian service, with the hardships and privations necessarily attendant upon a frontier life, were, when first proposed, very uncongenial to our people, and the acceptance of them was regarded as involving a great sacrifice of comfort and convenience, and as assuming heavy and precarious responsibilities. But the promotion of the interests and welfare of the Indians, had been for over a century an object of concern and active labor with the Society, and now when they were invited to a wider field of usefulness, they did not feel at liberty to refuse to enter it. We hailed with gladness the announcement of the President's desire "to inaugurate policy to protect the Indians in their just rights, and enforce integrity in the administration of their affairs." [Letter from General E. S. Parker.] We saw in it evidence, that the benevolent and righteous effort was to be made by the National Government, to raise the small remaining remnant of the once populous tribes of our Red Brethren, who, as one of their number recently expressed to us, "are fast dwindling away! falling like the leaves of the forest, *to rise no*

more!" from the depth of misery, wretchedness and impending extermination to which they have been so sorrowfully sunk.

In this work of humanity and justice, we were willing and desirous to render every aid in our power. We accepted the invitation so kindly extended to us; and it was the concern and aim of the Society that those whom they should recommend for Superintendents and Agents, should not only be possessed of efficient business qualifications, and have the interests of the Indian warm at heart, but be *really representative* men—of fixed principles, sterling integrity, liberal and expanded views, free from sectarian prejudice, and such as recognize the Fatherhood of God and the *brotherhood of all men*, and are deeply impressed with the filial and fraternal obligations which this recognition imposes.

The following portion of the advice recently issued by the Society to the Superintendents and Agents, although written with no prospect whatever of its being published, is appended, as an evidence of the feelings and concern with which the Friends are actuated in their practical proceedings in this very interesting engagement:

"We feel a deep solicitude that there may be no collision, interference or difficulty in regard to the Missions or Mission Schools established on the Reservations to which you are assigned. These Missions, as we are informed, are under the immediate charge of the Indian Department, and report directly to it, and not through the Agent or Superintendent. While there is need, therefore, of great caution, that no feeling of jealousy, or unfavorable criticism, be permitted to arise, there is at the same time a relief from responsibility, from their not being placed under your charge; so that you may conscientiously feel privileged to *let them entirely alone*.

"Although a concern or uneasiness *may* arise from an apprehension that the course pursued at these Missions, or in their schools, may not be the one which you think is best calculated to subserve the interests and promote the welfare of the Indians of your Agency, yet any manifestation of opposition, hostility or controversy among the professors of the religion and civilization for the sake of which the Indians are invited and urged to leave the long cherished traditions and

customs of their fathers, would be far more unfavorable and deleterious, and highly calculated to mar the work from which so much is hoped.

“It is therefore our *earnest desire and concern* that there may be an unslumbering watch maintained upon this important point, that, like Abraham and Lot, there may be ‘no strife between you and them’ for the precious reason that ‘ye be brethren;’ but, on the contrary, that all due and faithful friendship, cordiality, kindness and harmony of effort between them and you, may be maintained on your part throughout, thus indicating that we had been successful in what we have stated should be our aim, in selecting those whom we should recommend as Agents.

“The comparative success of your labors and theirs, must and will be the test which of your plans and systems possesses the greatest merit. And, it can be predicted in advance, that this will be the one which practically rests upon good works—kindness, love, candor, justice, charity, good will and brotherly friendship to *all—to the Indians, and to those whose lots may be cast amongst them.*”

Benj. Hallowell,

*Secretary of the Committee on the Indian Concern of Baltimore
Yearly Meeting of Friends.*

Sandy Spring, Md.. 6th Month 21st, 1869.

NOTES

1. See Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1970. Reprint of 1899 edition, Winston & Co.); Robert Utley, "The Celebrated Peace Policy of General Grant," *North Dakota History*, XX (July, 1953), 121-142.

2. A white settlement was made in Nance County in 1857 by a 100-family colony of Mormons from St. Louis under the leadership of H. J. Hudson. After attempting to settle in Platte, they moved to the present site of Genoa. In 1860 the Pawnee took possession of the land as their reservation. For three years the Mormons remained but clashes between the Sioux and Pawnee caused their dispersal in 1863. *News Journal* (Fullerton, Nebraska), July, 1902. See also Marguerette Burke, "Henry James Hudson and the Genoa Settlement," *Nebraska History*, 41 (September, 1960), 201-235.

The government negotiated a treaty in 1833 with the Pawnee whereby territory south of the Platte River was ceded to the U.S. Driven from their villages on the Loup Fork (where they had gone at the government's solicitation) by Sioux attacks of 1842-1846, the Pawnee attempted to settle south of the Platte in present-day Saunders County. Caught between fear of the Sioux and encroachment by white settlers, in 1857 the Pawnee exchanged the last of their lands for a fifteen by thirty mile tract along the Loup where they were to be afforded governmental protection. George E. Hyde, *Pawnee Indians* (The University of Denver Press), 128-183.

The treaty of 1857 provided for establishment of government schools. When the Pawnee Agency was established in 1860 some buildings constructed by Mormons were purchased by Agent J. L. Gillis. As the only available timber for building schools was cottonwood, Gillis accepted the bid of John Neligh of Cuming County for making 500,000 bricks to be delivered at the Pawnee Reservation at \$9.95 per thousand or \$4,975 for the lot. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs: Pawnee Agency Letter Book, 1860-1870. On microfilm, Nebraska State Historical Society R.G. 508; National Archives Microfilm Publication, Microcopy No. 234. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881. Roll 660: Pawnee Agency, 1863-1869.

3. The treaty with the Pawnee on October 9, 1833, at the Grand Pawnee village on the Platte River (between Henry L. Ellsworth, commissioner in behalf of the United States, and the chiefs and head-men of the four confederated tribes of the Pawnee) provided that relinquished land was to remain a common hunting ground for the Pawnee and other friendly tribes. The treaty with the Pawnee at Fort Childs on August 6, 1848, conveyed an eighty-mile strip along the Platte, including Grand Island, to the United States.

The treaty with the Pawnee on September 24, 1857, at Table Creek, Nebraska Territory, stipulated that the United States protect the Pawnee in their new homes. Protection was soon withdrawn and harassment by the Sioux continued. Massacre of a hunting party near present-day Trenton in 1873 convinced many Pawnee to move to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The Pawnee reservation in Nebraska was formally exchanged for lands in the Indian Territory in 1876. James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1966), 131-132; Hyde, 129, 183; Charles J. Kappler, LL.M., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904) Vol. II, 416-418, 571-572, 764-767.

4. Most native hoes were fashioned from bison shoulder blades rather than from horn.

5. This figure would seem to be an exaggeration in terms of bushels to the acre.

6. Although the first company of Pawnee Scouts was hired to serve with the army in 1864, their reputation began on the Powder River Expedition in 1865. They saw further service in 1867, 1868, 1869, and finally in 1876-1877. Donald F. Danker, "The North Brothers and the Pawnee Scouts," *Nebraska History*, 42 (September, 1961), 161-179.

7. This description is somewhat confusing. Actually the usual construction included a circle of outer posts and a circle of taller inner posts which supported rafters. The inner circle of posts stood about halfway between the outer wall of the lodge and its center. Upon these were placed the poles radiating from the central smoke hole. All poles were securely lashed with strips of hide or fiber and then covered with grass and small willow branches. The interior was plastered with clay or wattle.

8. This may refer to the wigwam-type structure usually oval to rectangular in shape. This type of structure had limited use by the Oto, Omaha, and other eastern Nebraska tribes but was more common east of the Missouri River.

9. Refers to Petalesharo, a Grand Pawnee chief believed to have been born about 1823. He was the last Nebraska head-chief and was among those opposing the movement of the tribe to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma. He suffered a gunshot leg wound as he prepared to leave Nebraska with a portion of the tribe in 1874 and died a few days later.

10. See Hyde, 226-233, for further details on Jacob M. Troth, a Hicksite Friend. Agent Troth served from 1869 to 1872, when he was replaced by William Burgess.

11. The Council Bluffs of Lewis and Clark was not, of course, in Iowa but in present-day Washington County, Nebraska. See Sally Ann Johnson, "Fort Atkinson at Council Bluffs," *Nebraska History*, 38 (September, 1957), 229-236.

12. The Iowa were of Siouan linguistic stock, while the Sac (Sauk) and the Fox were of the Algonquian linguistic stock.

13. During a visit at the Great Nemaha Agency of the Iowa and Fox tribes, Major Green met Sallie Cadwallader Lightfoot, daughter of Thomas Lightfoot, U.S. agent for those tribes, and they were married on January 10, 1871, at Philadelphia. Albert L. Green, "The Otoe Indians," *Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI (1930), 176.

14. The Oto-Missouri village was located on the north bank of the Platte near its mouth (southwest of Bellevue in present-day Sarpy County) from 1835 to 1854, when they moved to the Blue River area.

15. The Oto belief that the spirit might tarry for some time in the vicinity of the grave before its departure for the "Happy Land" was shown by placing food upon the grave. The Oto never doubted immortality, and they believed that a pony or dog that gave faithful service during its lifetime had a soul that might accompany its owner into the spirit world. It was a common practice, therefore, to sacrifice a horse beside its owner's grave, or a dog beside that of a child's. Green, 198.

16. There was an immense amount of chalk rock in this area, and it made excellent building stone except for the foundations. It varied in color from light blue, through the various shade of yellow to almost white. Some houses at the Santee

Agency were built of it. A. T. Andreas, *History of Nebraska*, (Chicago: The Western Historical Company), 528.

17. Samuel M. Janney was appointed superintendent of the Northern Superintendency at Omaha in 1869, and his younger brother, Asa M. Janney, was named Santee agent. The Janneys, natives of Loudoun County, Virginia, were both in their late sixties when they came to Nebraska and were lifelong members of the Society of Friends. Roy W. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln), 163.

18. Following the Sioux uprising of 1862, thirty-eight Indians were hanged at Mankato, Minnesota. Others were imprisoned at Davenport, Iowa. The Santee Sioux, exiled from Minnesota in 1863 to the Crow Creek reservation in Dakota Territory, were brought to present Knox County, Nebraska, in 1866 and reunited with the former prisoners. Roy W. Meyer, "The Establishment of the Santee Reservation, 1866-1869," *Nebraska History*, 45 (March, 1964), 59-97.

19. Presbyterian missionary Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, father of John P. Williamson, had begun his work among the Sioux in Minnesota in 1835. Both John P. Williamson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Episcopalian Samuel D. Hinman followed the Indians from Crow Creek to Nebraska Territory in 1866. Sectarian rivalry developed between the American Board and the Episcopal Church. However, the Santee Normal Training School, which was begun in 1870 by the American Board, continued its educational operation until 1938.

20. A tornado struck the Episcopalian mission in June, 1870, and destroyed nearly everything. Although the mission was rebuilt in the next few years, its progress was considerably interrupted by this disaster. Meyer, *Santee Sioux*, 176.

21. Wabasha had opposed the Sioux uprising of 1862. Consecrated Episcopal bishop of Minnesota in 1859 at the age of 37 with residence at Faribault, Minnesota, Henry B. Whipple became interested in the welfare of Indians almost immediately. During the next twenty-five years he was to interest himself in virtually every phase of the movement and was to become a powerful influence on government policy. Meyer, *Santee Sioux*, 118, 138, 138:13n.

22. The Winnebago, although not involved in the uprising of 1862, were expelled from their reservation in Blue Earth County, Minnesota, and sent to the Crow Creek reservation in Dakota Territory. Finding conditions intolerable there, many wandered to the Omaha reservation in what is now Thurston County, Nebraska. The Treaty with the Omaha, 1865, was made on March 6, 1865, and the Omaha sold part of their reservation to the United States "for the purpose of locating the Winnebago tribe" thereon. Edmund J. Danziger, Jr., "The Crow Creek Experiment; An Aftermath of the Sioux War of 1862," *North Dakota History*, 37 (Spring, 1970), 105-123; Kapler, 872-873.

23. Dr. Joseph Paxson, a Quaker, received his medical degree in 1869 and accepted a post at the Winnebago reservation. After a year spent there, he returned to his native Pennsylvania. James L. Sellers, ed., "Diary of Joseph A. Paxson, Physician to the Winnebago Indians, 1869-1870," *Nebraska History*, 27 (July-September, 1946: Part 1; October-December, 1946: Part 2), 143-204, 244-275.

24. On March 16, 1854, the Omaha ceded all lands west of the Missouri to the United States and were given a reserve along the Ayoway River which proved unsatisfactory. They were then given a tract, eighteen by thirty miles, on the Missouri

River in present-day Thurston County. Olson, *History*, 130.

25. Although the Omaha-Winnebago reservation still remains in Thurston County, Nebraska, most of the land has been allotted to individual members of the tribes. Olson, *History*, 130.

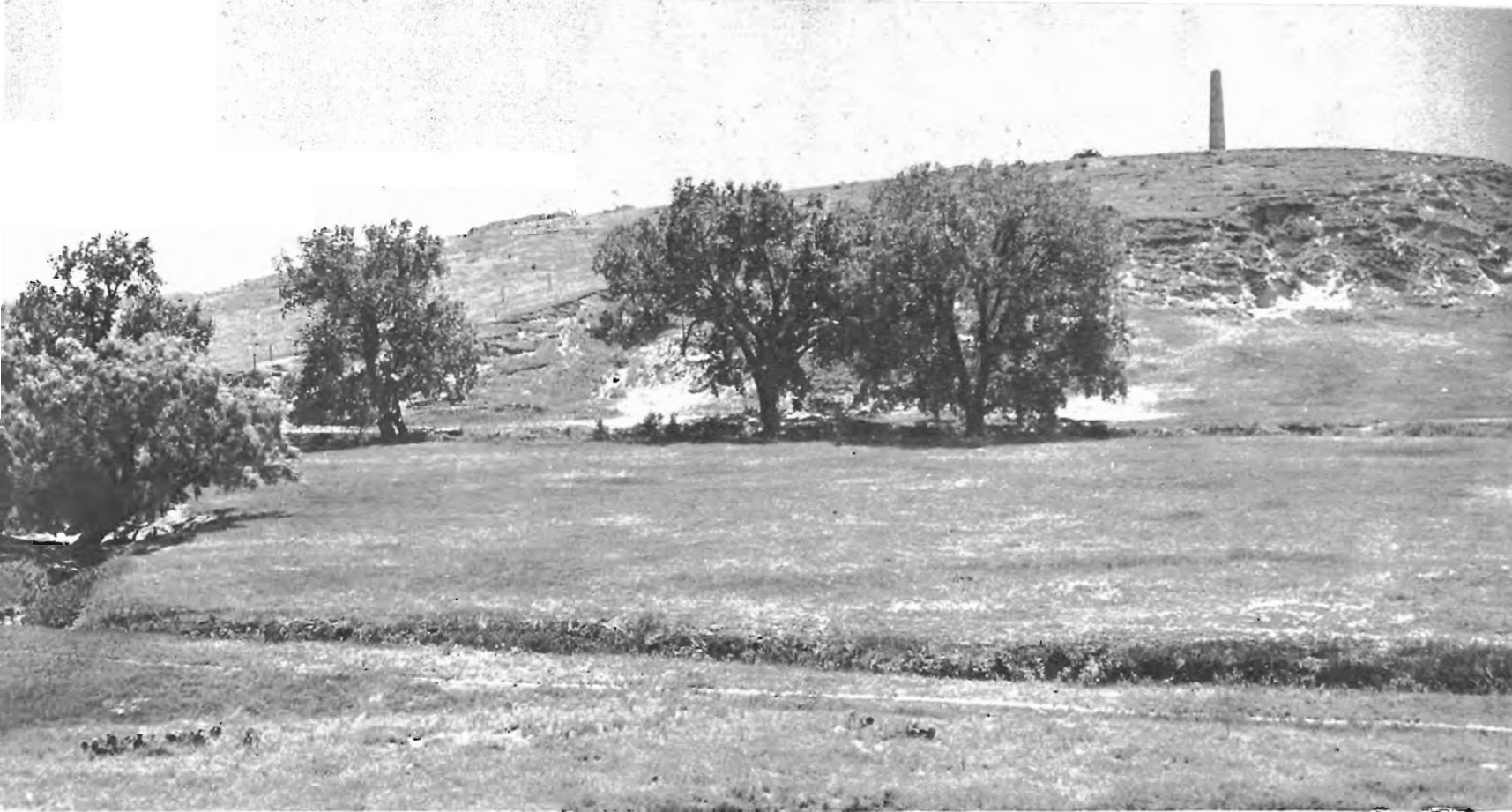
26. See Norma Kidd Green, "The Presbyterian Mission to the Omaha Tribe," *Nebraska History*, 48, (Autumn, 1967), 267-268.

27. In very severe winters when the ground was deeply frozen, it had been customary to wrap the dead in skins, blankets, bark, etc., and tie them securely in the crotches of trees. There were two ancient oaks near the agency that carried in their branches more than a score of wind-dried mummies as reminders of such winters. Green, *The Otoe*, 203.

28. The eclipse occurred in August, 1869.

29. The Pawnee were accused of the murder of Edward McMurdy of Butler County, whose body was found on an island in the Platte River.

30. Four Pawnee, Yellow Sun, Horse Driver, Little Wolf, and Blue Hawk were tried in the United States District Court in Omaha for the murder of Edward McMurdy. All four were convicted. Upon conviction Horse Driver and Yellow Sun attempted suicide and Blue Hawk escaped as he was being led from the courtroom. He made his way back to the reservation. He was located there by North but refused to return to Omaha and was supported by many members of the tribe. It was only after soldiers were sent out from Omaha that Blue Hawk consented to go back to jail. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the decision of the District Court on the grounds that that state of Nebraska should have tried the Indians because the murder was committed off the reservation. (*Omaha Weekly World*, November 17, 24, 1869; May 11, 1870). Donald F. Danker, "The Journal of an Indian Fighter—The 1869 Diary of Major Frank J. North," *Nebraska History*, 39 (June, 1958) 168:164n.



The Massacre Canyon monument has since been relocated from its original site (shown above) overlooking the mouth of the canyon. A prehistoric Woodland village site was being excavated to the left of the monument by the Nebraska State Historical Society at the time this photograph was taken in 1950.