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

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

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

Dodge arrived by sea in New York on November 10 and thus was in the East when the proportions of the stampede to Washoe became evident. To add to this general picture of neglect, Forney turned up in Washington at the same time, having brought east the last two of the children who had survived the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Governor Cumming had agreed to act in Forney’s office during his absence, but in the nature of things Indian affairs in the western Utah much that they left again for the mountains. The same was the case in Thousand Spring Valley. “Our interpreter, Alek Frapp, collected, on the north fork of Humboldt river,” he continued, “all the Indians around and brought them, at the request of Major Lynde, just returned from Gravelly Ford, to his camp. Major Lynde made an appropriate speech, and presented them with flour and meat. They informed him that most of their tribe had left the Humboldt and gone south to avoid the passing soldiers. (Wagner to F. W. Lander, February 29, 1860, ibid., 25–26).” Isaac Lynde’s report is not his better-known account made three years later when the career Army officer was at the center of a well-known Civil War fiasco on the Western Frontier (Official Record, ser. 1, vol. 4, pt. 1 (1882): 2–22). —Ed.

89 [Morgan did not complete this citation. —Ed.]
90 Denver to Greenwood, October 14, 1859 (D/57–1859).
91 Dodge to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Telegram, November 10, 1859 (D/55–1859).
92 For more than a year, Forney had attempted to get permission to come east to attend to some family affairs; he had been refused on two different occasions, but now had an ample justification. Two of the Mountain Meadows children had been retained in Utah when it appeared that criminal indictments might be found against the perpetrators of that affair, but by autumn it was evident that prosecutions would be indefinitely postponed. Thereupon Forney brought the children east.
area during the fall and winter of 1859–60 had no hand at the helm responsible enough to cope with conditions which had their full fruition in the Indian outbreaks the following spring.

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

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

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

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

* [Benjamin Davis's—not Davies—nomination was made by President Buchanan June 14, 1860. *Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, vol.11, 208. —Ed.]
Section of the Map of the United States and Territories: Shewing the Extent of Public Surveys . . . [Serial 1284, inserted] (Washington, D.C.: 1866) illustrating the vast political and economic change along the California trail in the half decade before 1865. Courtesy of USU Special Collections.
broke out in the following spring; he enlisted in the Union forces and was killed in action on [sentence incomplete].**

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

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


94 Dodge to Greenwood, November 25, 1859 (D/63–1859).
Couple on horseback near man and tipi encampment, 1870 (Washakie’s band in the Wind River Mountains). Photo by William Henry Jackson, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.
SCARCELY A BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE in reconstructing the history of the Shoshoni. Grace Raymond Hebard in two biographies, Sacajawea and Washakie, dealt with the two most famous figures of Shoshoni history, and published incidentally a good deal of information about the history of the tribe, but conscientious as was Dr. Hebard’s work, her books are merely suggestive of the riches that await a serious student of the Shoshoni. The same may be said of the few ethnological studies that have so far appeared. No one has yet undertaken a serious investigation of Shoshoni contacts with the Spanish frontier, a major field of study in itself, and if more work has been done on the next

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

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

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

* For a biography of Dale L. Morgan see Annals of Wyoming 21, nos. 2–3 (July–October 1949): 108–9. [This is Morgan’s note, not the editor’s, despite the asterisk. —Ed.]
period, when explorers and fur traders converged upon the Shoshoni country from east, north, west, and south, most of what has been published does not properly reflect the resources of the existing literature and has made seriously uncritical use of that literature.

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

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

The emphasis rests upon what we call the Wyoming Shoshoni because historically they have had the nearest approach to a unified history. Shoshonean peoples are the most widespread linguistic stock in the West. The Comanches, perhaps the closest relatives of the Wyoming Shoshoni, had moved to the southern plains long before our time and do not figure significantly in Shoshoni history proper during the [eighteen] fifties and sixties. Shoshonean bands of the Snake Country, near cousins of the Wyoming Shoshoni, if indeed any true ethnological distinction can be made between them, merit a separate study which
would also deal with the Bannocks; but these figure only peripherally in the documents we are publishing; the same may be said of the western Shoshoni of Utah, Nevada, and Oregon, the northern Paiutes of Nevada and Oregon, and the southern Paiutes of Utah, Nevada, and Arizona. The Utes have a more central role in the documents now printed, in part because they constituted an administrative problem for the Utah Superintendency even more pressing than did the Shoshoni, and the affairs of the two tribes are intermixed.

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

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

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

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

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

It is not my purpose here to go into the frictions within the Utah Superintendency itself, the conflict of Mormon and non- or anti-Mormon which generated a continual heat and made more wasteful and inefficient the actual administration of Indian Affairs. The documents themselves amply reflect
both sides of this situation; and I have elsewhere treated the matter in broad perspective. We are concerned with the records of the Utah Superintendency mainly as a source of information on the Wyoming Shoshoni, including enough collateral documents to illustrate the administrative structure of the Superintendency insofar as Shoshoni affairs were concerned. Some of the records now printed contain a good deal of extraneous matter which is nevertheless important to Western history; it has seemed desirable to print the whole texts of most of the documents, for not only does this make them available in their entirety—it permits Shoshoni affairs to be seen in context.

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

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

Part I: v. 24, no. 2 (July 1953): 141–89, docs. 1–12, 1849–52;
Part II: v. 25, no. 1 (January 1954): 141–90, docs. 13–18, 1852;
Part III: v. 25, no. 2 (July 1954): 141–90, docs. 19–37, 1852–57;
Part VI: v. 27, no. 1 (April 1956): 80–93, docs. 64–74, 1862;
Part VII: v. 27, no. 2 (October 1956): 193–207, docs. 75–90, 1862–63;
John Wilson, Salt Lake Indian Agent, to Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, dated Fort Bridger, on Black’s Fork of Green or Colorado River, August 22, 1849

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

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

The original of this document not being present in the Utah Superintendency files, a printed text is followed (31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 17, [Serial 573], 184–87). The ceremonious salutations and signatures of all these letters I omit in this printing.

This division of the Shoshoni into Sho sho nies and Sho sho coes is not ethnologically accepted; see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 264ff. The term “Sho sho co” may have been as much a coinage of the mountain men as “Digger,” applied to the same Shoshoni.

Washakie’s name is variously spelled—Dr. [Grace Raymond] Hebard’s Washakie: An Account of Indian Resistance of the Covered Wagon and Union Pacific Railroad Invasions of their Territory (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1930), 313, lists no less than 35 variants. The diversity is amply reflected in these documents. Washakie was born, Dr. Hebard thought, about 1798 in the upper Bitterroot valley of western Montana. His father, Paseego, is said to have been of Umatilla, Flathead, and Shoshoni blood, and to have belonged to the Flathead tribe; his mother is said to have been Shoshoni, and it is inferred that she came from the Lemhi band. According to family tradition, when Washakie was 4 or 5 years old, the village in which he lived was attacked by Blackfeet and his father killed. The mother with her 3 sons and 2 daughters found...
Of the Sho-sho-coes, Augutasipa is the most noted. Both bands number, probably, over 1,000 lodges of four persons each. Of the relative portion of each band, no definite account can be given; for so soon as a Sho-sho-nie becomes too poor or does not own a horse, he is at once called a Sho-sho-coe; but as soon as a Sho-sho-coe can or does own a horse he is again a riding Indian, and therefore a Sho-sho-nie.

Their language, with the exception of some Patois differences, is said to be that of the Comanche tribe. Their claim of boundary is to the east from the Red Buttes, on the north fork of the Platte, to its head in the Park, (decayague,) or Buffalo Bull Pen, in the Rocky mountains; to the south, across the mountains over to the Yom-pa-pa [Yampa], till it enters Green or Colorado river, and then across to the Back-Bone, or ridge of mountains called the Bear River mountains, running nearly west towards the Salt Lake, so as to take in most of the Salt Lake; and thence on to the Sinks of Mary’s or Humboldt’s river; thence north to the fisheries on the Snake river in Oregon, and thence south (their northern boundary) to the Red Buttes, including the sources of Green river—a territory probably 300 miles square, most of which has too high an elevation ever to be useful for cultivation of any sort. In most of these mountains and valleys it freezes every night in the year, and is in summer quite warm at noon and to half-past three p. m. Nothing whatever will grow of grain or vegetables, but the most luxurious and nutritious grasses grow with the greatest luxuriance, and the valleys are the richest meadows. The part of the Salt Lake valley included in this boundary, the Cache valley, 50 by 100 miles, and part of the valley near and beyond Fort Hall, down Snake river, can be cultivated, and with good results; but this forms a very small part of this country. How these people are to live or ever exist for any great length of time, I cannot by any means determine. Their support has heretofore been mostly game and certain roots, which, in their native state, are rank poison, (called the tobacco root,) but when put in a hole in the ground and a large fir burnt over them, become wholesome diet. The Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake valley has not only greatly diminished their formerly very great resource of obtaining fish out of the Utah lake and its sources, which to them was an important resource, but their settlement, with the great emigration there and to California, has already nearly driven away all the game, and will, unquestionably,
soon deprive them almost entirely of the only chances they have for food. This will in a few years produce a result not only disastrous to them, but must inevitably engage the sympathies of the nation. How this is to be avoided is a question of much difficulty, but it is nevertheless the most imperative on the government not only to discuss but to put in practice some mode of relief for these unfortunate people, the outside barriers or enclosing mountains of whose whole country are not only covered in their constant sight with perpetual snow, but in whose lodges ever night in the year ice is made, over water left in a basin, of near seven-eighths of an inch in thickness. Except in three small places already named as exceptions, and two others, the Salt Lake valley and Snake river are already taken from them by the whites, and there is but little doubt the Cache valley will soon be so occupied.

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

This is a much more fortunate location, and large portions of it are rich and fertile lands and a good climate. Their language is essentially Comanche; and although not technically, yet it [is] supposed to be substantially the same as that of the Sho sho nies; for although, on first meeting, they do not fully understand each other, yet I am informed four or five days’ association enables them to converse freely together. Some of the people are already engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and large tracts of the country afford ample rewards to those who thus expend the sweat of their brow. Portions of these bands have always been at war with the Mexicans, constantly making inroads into New Mexico and California to steal horses. Portions of them are at present at variance with the Sho-sho-nies; and, indeed, the manners and customs of the Yom pa-pas render an association on the part of the whites with them dangerous, for should one be found amongst them when a sudden death, from either accident or common sickness, takes place amongst them, the relatives of the dead man are at liberty, and are sure to exercise it, of killing any stranger who may happen to be amongst them. Thus, until this custom is abandoned, no safe intercourse can be carried on with them. Their country being more south and out of the range of white settlements or emigrants, the game is not likely to be so scarce for many years to come as it is in the Sho-sho-nie country even now, for already it has nearly all left their boundaries, except a small corner in the northeast corner of their claim; and as they are at war with the Utahs, near whose lines it is, they are afraid to go there to hunt.
Supposing the government will be prepared next summer to take some decided steps towards a regular system of intercourse with them, and with a view of enabling the government as effectually as possible to guard against the unfortunate results in operation for their entire starvation, a few only of which I have mentioned, for want of time, I have concluded to so arrange matters before I leave that both these nations will be able to send large delegations, if not most of the principal bands of their tribes, to a great council to be held here next summer, being by far the most convenient place for such a council, but is also where the principal agency ought to be established; and here also ought to be established the leading military post of these mountains, for which hereafter I shall give my views more at large.

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

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

⁶ Bridger had left his fort two days before to guide Captain Howard Stansbury to the Great Salt Lake Valley over a prospective new immigrant road north of the existing route.
John Wilson, Salt Lake Indian Agent, to Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, dated Great Salt Lake Valley, Salt Lake Indian Agency, September 4, 1849

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

7 Filemark W/399–1850. The letter was printed in 31st Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 17 (Serial 573), 104–12.
they shall be found to produce grain & vegetables (which is exceedingly doubtful) the govt. have already occupied the most favored portion about Fort Hall, & then the Indians will have only the New Park (if indeed it will answer for agricultural pursuits) & this is a very small piece of country for so many people to attempt the cultivation of the soil, if it should be the policy of the government to attempt to draw the attention of the Indians to that pursuit to enable them to sustain the simplest but imperative calls of nature. The Valley along Blacks fork & Hams fork of Green River & their tributaries (in which is Fort Bridger) is perhaps next to this valley (& you will see the Sho sho nies do not claim all this) is the most extensive & most beautiful & as to pasturage is perhaps little behind this but yet it is conceived to be entirely beyond the power of the most approved cultivation to raise either grain or vegetables, so as to pay for the labour of the husbandman for there is frost nearly every night in the year as it is reported by those who have long resided therein. The elevation of Fort Bridger is 6,665 feet above the level of the Sea—That of the south pass 7085 feet—that of Bear river (where we crossed it) 6836 feet while the elevation of this valley is only 4300 feet. & is inclosed in; entirely surrounded by mountains about 1/2 miles high. Even in this valley there are light frosts, many nights during all the summer months, as I am informed & indeed in last month several have fallen while we have been here. It then remains to be stated that the New Park and Browns hole (See Fremont's Map, by Col. J. A. Abert)* if indeed that belongs to the Sho sho nies (or Snakes) in which we can expect to find land within their reach & claim fit for cultivation & it is very questionable whether “the play would be worth the candle” in either. Under the Present Statute policy of the government it will unquestionably become its duty at as early a day as possible to extinguish by Treaty their title to this, & the Cache Valleys & the adjacent country and a portion near Fort Hall; & at least negotiate for a highway through their Country to this valley & Fort Hall. & I think to the Country about Fort Bridger, where in my opinion without delay there ought to be established a Military Post; in a very short time (next year) all the emigration to the oregon & California as all to this valley does now, will pass that place & from thence diverge into separate roads which will lead to their respective destinations. There is a road already opened by partial travel almost in a direct line from Fort Bridger to Fort Larame (see the Map before Quoted)

8 Cantonment Loring, just established near Fort Hall by the Mounted Rifles, and abandoned the following year.

9 These altitudes Wilson derives from William Clayton's *Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* (St. Louis: Missouri Republican Steam Power Press, 1848).

* [Probably “Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains . . . ” (Baltimore, Md.: Weber, 1845), which would have come from either the Senate or House imprints of John C. Frémont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains. . .* (Washington, D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 1845). —Ed.]
which crosses Green river below the mouth of Hams [Blacks] Fork and perhaps above the mouth of Marys [Yampa] river & thence pretty directly across to one of the Forks of Laramie river (perhaps the right hand one) & thence down to Fort Laramie which will cut off more than 150 miles in the distance—& Mr. Vasques one of the firm of Bridger & Vasques (who reside at & own Fort Bridger, & who have both resided in this country about 28 years) says is a much better road & passes the rocky Mountains by a pass considerably lower than the South pass, & affords a far better supply of both water & grass the whole road; & as proof that his statement is made upon a complete knowledge of the country, he is now (Mr Vasquess) upon his journey on that road with 7 or 8 ox teams to Fort Larame for their fall supply of goods which are already at Fort Larame & he intends returning that way with his loaded wagons\(^\text{10}\)—thus avoiding a most barren & indeed to cattle mules &c a disastrous road now traveled from Larame to the South pass called, & properly, the road through the black Hills [Laramie Mountains]; which we found for many long distances without both water & grass.—The country in general through which the present travel goes between Fort Larame & the S. pass is a desert, in every sense of the term. Capt. Stansberry under the guidance of Mr. Bridger has already traced out & reviewed a road direct from Fort Bridger so as to cross Bear river just above where it flows into the Great Salt Lake thus making the road almost straight from Larame to the north end of the Salt Lake which is the direct course towards where the road crosses the Sierra Navada to California; not only bettering the road for water & grass, but shortening it to this Valley 150 miles & to the Sierra Navada more than 300 miles on the one at present traveled by Fort Hall, leaving the latter place more than 100 miles to the north.\(^\text{11}\) If Mr. Vasques is not deceived (& he cannot be as he has often traveled it) in relation to the improvement this cutt off will make in the road between Forts Bridger & Larame all the travel hereafter to Oregon California & this valley which comes up the platte, will unquestionably pass by Fort Bridger; even this year more than half the California emigrants, passed by Bridger & those who did not are said to have nearly perished for water & grass.\(^\text{12}\) Thus; if the above information proves to be correct (& I have taken all the pains in my power to have it so) you will see at once the great importance of the position of Fort Bridger & the

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

11 Stansbury and Bridger reached Great Salt Lake City August 30. The report of their reconnaissance is much too sanguine, and to this day no main-traveled road exists along their line of travel.

12 Those who did not travel via Fort Bridger took the Greenwood cutoff—or as it was this year renamed, the Sublette Cutoff.
inevitable propriety of making it *The great Military Post* of this country. Aside from its peculiar propriety, when the facility of the department over which you preside as regards its intercourse with both the Snake & Utah tribes of Indians is considered it is unquestionably the most convenient of all others, so far as I am informed for the *center* of your operations with all the Indians in California east of the Sierra Navada. To come to this valley is entirely too much to the west to stop short of Bridger would be too far to the East. Was there any direct communication with the middle or old park, (where the grand [Colorado] river takes its rise) it might be more central for a communication with both Snakes & Utahs, & still more central would the South Park be for a direct communication with the Utahs alone. From the best information I can obtain (and I hope you will appreciate what I say, when I state that my opportunities have been very limited) & yet nearly all the sources of information except that of personal examination have been within my reach, that the country affords to gain anything like a personal knowledge of the actual situation of these tribes less than 5 years travel on pack Mules,—would scarcely justify the attempt to answer the many questions with any degree of certainty & accuracy, which are propounded to me, in the instructions which were furnished me for my official guidance. I think it probably certain that the two nations not very far back in their history were one, & that they originally were but a branch of the Camanches. I suppose it is true that the Snake & Utah languages are now somewhat different although not essentially so, & yet agree more nearly than either does with that of the Camanches. & that probably the Utah Language more nearly resembles the original than the Snake does & one evident cause of this, is (if the supposition be true) that they have remained nearer the Parent nation, than the Snakes.

The Green (or Colorado) river which rises in the wind river mountains; the sources of which interlock with those of Lewis’ fork of the Columbia north west of the south pass, is where we cross it on the present road from the latter place to Fort Bridger a fine stream nearly of the size of the Ohio at Pittsburgh at low water & as far as we traveled along it (only 8 or 10 miles) continued to be so with a regular but very rapid current. Its valley however did not present any signs to encourage the husbandman to make that his home nor to intice the herdsman to drive his flock there for pasturage & it is not until we arrive at *Browns hole*, if then, that it becomes very valuable for either, after that it is said to furnish in its own as well as the valleys of its tributaries; (as the Yampah, the White and Grand rivers) fine & extended bottoms in many places that will prove fruitful & will deeply reward the labours of both the agriculturist & herdsman. This including the New, the Middle & South Parks (the two latter & perhaps the first are fine valleys for cultivation) would make *a large and fertile* country amongst & surrounded by mountains, not desirable for settlements for white people & perhaps
better fitted than any other portion of the United States, now to be had, for the settlement & collocation of a large number of the original inhabitants of the wilderness, & indeed if my information be correct, it is the only large & proper space of country within the reach of the government & suitable for such a purpose, beyond & out of the reach of the Millions of anglo Saxons who are pressing towards the setting sun with almost race horse speed & will soon cover every reasonably inhabitable spot within our very extended national bounderies, especially towards the west & south. The country spoken of—including the valley of the Green & parts of the headwaters of the Platte & the Arkansas rivers, is the only fitting & sufficiently secluded spot that seems to be left in which to attempt to extend that national Philanthropy to the Indians of the mountains which has so many years engaged the attention & expended such vast sums of the treasure of the Nation, & which has unquestionably fallen far short of the end expected by those who originated & put it in motion. This system for civilizing the aborigines of the Forest, which has been for many years the business of the Indian Beareau to carry out, & perfect, The Philanthropy which originated the measure was certainly correct, whether the system was founded on the best basis was then a question of division & which perhaps still divides the opinions of some of its best wishers; but I suppose all agree that no very satisfactory results have been attained when I say all agree, I mean all true Philanthropists for the greedy & Land hungry Politician, many of whom went eagerly for the system; have been amply repaid for their support; in the vast territories that have been purchased—perhaps extorted—from these natives of the Forest; & who by this system are supposed to be entirely capable of managing their own affairs; while in practice, they have been either Cajoled or menaced out of the soil that contained the Bones of their fathers for many generations past for which in fact they only have to shew as the price they have recd. in exchange Gew Gauds & other worthless articles at the most enormous & unreasonable prices, which giving [?] consciences of those licensed sharers chose to ask into whose hands these simple & inexperienced people have been suffered to fall; untill their all is spent & they left a thousand times worse off than they were when the system began & the true Philanthropist may well exclaim that scarcely any of the benefits of the Civilization intended by its original framers have been imparted, to these suffering and receding people. The fault is either in the system; or fails of its benefits by the incompetence or corruption of its administrators, or grows out of both, & to them both, I attribute the unquestionable failure to impart any of the substantial benefits of civilization, except in a very few & isolated cases. The system I have always considered radically wrong in supposing the untutored Indian to be capable of dealing with, the anglo Saxon race, especially those who have descended from the first settlers of America, My idea is they ought to be treated entirely as
wards of the government, and that the execution of the law ought to be confided to the true philanthropist & not entrusted to the broiling & often bankrupt Politicians, who seek the office to restore by speculation out of these uninstructed people, what he has spent in aiding in the political intrigues & caucusses in his Township or country & as soon as he is thus fully indemnified which he is almost sure to secure in an incredibly short time, he leaves them—& instead of teaching them the beauties & benefits of civilization leaves amongst them disgusting evidences that he has by his example, encouraged them, to continue in their basist immoralities. The answer, to these charges which cannot be denied by any, is often given by those who uphold the unparelled Scenes of corruption & [s]peculation, that has so generally attended the whole system, with a few honorable exceptions; is by declaring that men cannot be found honest enough to carry out a system founded on the presumption of the intire innability to act for himself & therefore the present system say they is better managed where the Indian is allowed to make his own bargain for him. This declaration is founded upon the presumption that honest men cannot be found to manage such a system; but if Indeed this is true than we ought to be blotted out as a nation, and branded as degenerate sons of worthy ancestors.—This cannot be true,—we have thousands of virtuous & self-sacrificing & Philosoprhic persons who for a fair but moderate Salarify, which the government could easily afford to pay, would devote their whole time & talents for the benefit, not only the poor unfortunate tenants of the forest, but of true Philanthropy which teaches us to wish the civilization of all mankind. If the System was change to the one I suppose, of considering the Indians minors in relation to all their interests, subject to be released under some prescribed rule, when they come of age in their progress towards civilization, the government would only have to turn their attention to that part of the community in making appointments (& we have such a class) who would look with anxious care to the elevation of the morals & character, of the red men of the Forest. Whether the present System is to be changed or not, I feel bound to say to the department that the best plan to manage & conduct the affairs of the nations of Indians over which for the present, I hold by appointment of the government the direction & Management is if possible to unite the Sho sho nies & Utahs into one nation, & which I believe can be done & then, endeavor if possible to turn their attention to some extent at least to the cultivation of the soil; for I do believe no other employment, will civilize a wild man of the Forest. There is no part, of the snake country (except indeed exceedingly small portions intirely inadequate) that they can now occupy for such a purpose; whilst that of the Utah's contains (if I am correctly informed) an ample space & perhaps prolific soil to answer all the demands of both nations in parts too now wholly appropriated to the red men & beasts of the Forest & to which region the
latter are constantly receding from the advance of the Anglo Saxon on the south the east & North east, as well as from the west & North west. The upper end of the valley of the arkansas, the south & Middle Park are said to be splendid valleys of the richest lands & finest pasturage, & that although perpetual snows cap the high rugged mountains by which these valleys, are, for the greater part, hemmed in; still these valleys are of an altitude low enough to produce fine rewards to the husbandman, & these hills & mountains, ample space for the herdsman, & for a long serious of years, the hunter also—while the climate is supposed to be comparatively mild & pleasant. The larger portion of the Snake tribe are called Sho sho coes or walkers—that is they are too poor to have horses—they usually draw most of their subsistance from roots & the black mountain cricket & are usually called Root diggers—(not Gold diggers) which costs them very considerable labour, & it is supposed that this portion of the tribe at least, could be easily trained by the right sort of men, to engage in the labours of husbandry—while some of the utahs are already engaged in raising corn & potatoes. The only way in which any such attempt can be made with Success; it seems to me, is to call a great counsel of both nations & see what can be done & if present policy is to be persued, buy of them such parts of their country as we need, including at all events, this valley now settled by the whites its adjacent country, as also a high way through their country, & such places as will be wanted for Forts & other public agencies, & agree to pay them, in useful implements of husbandry & clothing, at the nett cost of carriage of such articles,—which they should not be allowed to resell to any white man, & then send proper men amongst them, who should out of parts of the annuity coming to them; if any; establish farms,—model farms,—not modles of extravagance in fine buildings & fine inclosures but plain symple & well conducted farms, with inducements held out to the Indians to work upon them, the avails of which to be approprioted to the nations use, & then, with directions to aid all such as should attempt to establish farms of their own. In this way if few honest & self sacrificing men were sent amongst them it seems to me, in a few years a benefical change would be perceptable in the condition of the Indians. It is true in the snake claim of the bounderies, there are many large valleys where I believe cattle could be reared, with even profit & therefore it may be said that it would be good policy to endeavor to turn them into herdsmen, & teach them to raise & herd stock; this if accomplished would perhaps better their condition because thus they might Secure for themselves & families meet enough for food, which now they do not get but I very much question whether their moral condition would in any way be bettered, whilst their physical constitutions would unquestionably be enervated in the lazy habits, of the herdsman, but, while you may easily & fast cause a civilized man to approximate towards the savage life by turning him out
a herdsman, alone to eat the beef he tends for his support, still it will be absolutely impossible, to make a civilized man out of a savage by teaching him the lazy & idle employment of herding cattle in a barren wilderness, amongst the mountains. There is no employment, like that of agriculture which ties them to a local spot of land, to cultivate the feelings of virtue & social intercourse which are essential ingredients of civilization even in a savage. To attempt an accomplishment or rather an initiation of such a policy, I have given notice already that I will; if approved of by the department; next summer hold a grand Counsel of the two nations at Fort Bridger when I will endeavor to carry out these or such other views as the department shall direct me, with these two nations. The counsel is not only essential to settle the difficulties between themselves for they often go to war with each other but it is the only way in which the government can with any probability expect to become acquainted with their wants; for their country is too extensive, their bands too numerous & widely scattered to enable any one or even half a dozen agents & their assistants to even see them, & when he should do so in relation to one band, the next nearest would probably be several hundred miles distant without whole assent, they could not finally act; & by the time you had seen half a dozen bands & got their consent to any proposed measure, it would be needful to go back, for some of them by this time will have rued their bargain.—In fact, it were as well to say at once that nothing but a great counsel of both nations together promises any probable favourable result, in negociation with them. Under all circumstance, of the case, I suppose Fort Bridger to be the most proper place, as it is unquestionably the easiest of access to them & besides it has for a long period been the principal place, where they have traded; & then the vast valleys of the fines grass, on the very many find small streams & brooks in that vicinity which abound in fur makes it the most fit place for such an assemblage & then there are no settlements of white in the vicinity to corrupt them with spirits & other things to annoy, for such traders as may be there will be subject to the law, & can be restrained under proper regulations, & then it will be within a reasonable distance of Fort Hall, or Bear river from which a company or two of troops could easily attend to keep proper regulations, & it will be quite within reach of this place to obtain such supplies of provisions as may be wanted to give a feast & such like affairs to facilitate the intercourse with them. Whether the whole system as at present practiced with the Indians under the present Statue regulations of the nation is to be changed or not so far as these tribes are concerned, it ought to be greatly modified; as this is their first intercourse with us & some wholesome regulations may easily be adopted with them, that perhaps could not so easily be introduced amongst those already accustomed to the old mode—for instance I would exclude from the trade all matters of ornament,—such as beads rings, rattles, paints; & a thousand other GewGaws
Washakie and the Shoshoni

which have been invented expressly for the purpose of cheating these poor people out of whatever little they may have to dispose of, & thus impose upon them articles not only worth less in them selves but calculated expressly to deceive them as to their intrinsic value. Heretofore the Utahs have driven a large trade in horses the larger number of which they have stolen from the Mexicans. Some check should be placed on this traffic which now forms much the larger item of the trade between them & the traders who have heretofore enjoyed a monopoly of this traffic, either to forbid a Sale of a horse altogether, except the consent of some proper man duly appointed for that purpose was first had, or unless it could be shewn satisfactorily that the Indian had raised or purchased fairly the horse he offered for sale, for it will be exceedingly hard to induce them to quit stealing horses as long as traders are at liberty to purchase all they bring them & it cannot be possible that the government can discharge its duty so as to fairly satisfy that Philanthropy which unquestionably gave rise to the Indian system under our government, unless traders are regulated both as to the Kind & prices of the goods they are allowed to vend to them. The plan however which my judgement dictates as the most proper is that the government itself should be their sole factors & allow no private trader to go amongst them. Let the government receive transmit & dispose of all they have to spare & furnish them with all that their produce could pay for, & such other gifts as the govt may see proper to add without charging commission for goods sold for them or levying per cents on those sold to them charging only actual costs & charges this system if adopted & placed under the charge of the proper class of men & I will venture the opinion that in a few years you will see a corresponding improvement of the Indians, & if the previously formed opinions in favor of the old System are too Strong to allow a change of the whole, let it be tried with these unfortunate people within the bounds of Mexican California & I venture the assertion that these wild & degraded Indians will be greatly improved more than half of whom already are reduced to the necessity of living upon roots & the Mountain Black Cricket (some what resembling; only larger than, the grass hopper) & which in this country is far more destructive on vegetation than the latter. That portion of the Sho shonies, called the Sho sho coes, or walkers (being without horses) cannot now even go to where a Buffalo is to be killed and consequently, are not only deprived of the meet so necessary for their support but also of their skins which are equally indispensable to make lodges & clothes to keep them from freezing in these mountains where the perpetual snows are forever within their sight & the consequence is they are obliged to seek such holes & caves in the declivities of these “everlasting Hills” as they can find to keep them & their Children from freezing. There are many warm & hot springs throughout this country & it is said to be no uncommon thing to see the Indians sheltering themselves & their children from
the bleak & terrible storm which prevails in these grand & rugged mountains by lying during a great part of the day & perhaps night too in the water.

It were useless for me to say more at present. The above views appear to me to be correct & although the miserable condition of these poor Indians furnish many other facts & reasons to inforce the necessity of the changes recommended to be made still I have not time or room to place them before you now at some future period I may do So.—I hope to have Your response to these views as early as possible directed to San. Francisco, that I may have ample time if you approve of them to call the tribes together as I propose. . . .

1851

3

BRIGHAM YOUNG’S FIRST PROCLAMATION AS SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
JULY 21, 1851

PROCLAMATION,

To All whom it may concern.

Whereas, the law of Congress entitled “An act to establish a Territorial Government for Utah, approved Sept. 9 1850, devolves the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs within said Territory upon the Governor of said Territory, and

Whereas there have been appointed by the United States Government one Indian Agent, and two Sub-agents for this Territory.

Now therefore by virtue of said authority and to advance the purposes of the Government for the benefit of the Indians, I do hereby order and direct that this Territory be divided into three Agencies as follows. to wit—

The first or Parvan [Pavant] Indian Agency, to include all within the limits of the Territory west of the Shoshone nation; and north of the South line of the Parvan Valley.

The Second or Uinta Agency to include all of the Snakes or Shoshones within said Territory, the Uinta and Yampa & all other tribes South, within said Territory, and east of the Eastern rim of the Great Basin.

13 A certified copy enclosed with Brigham Young’s letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851). The proclamation was printed in the Deseret News, August 8, 1851.
The Third or Parowan Agency, to include all the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin and South of the South line of the Parvan Valley to the Western bounds of the Territory.

Henry R. Day and Stephen B. Rose, the Sub-agents having arrived and being ready to enter upon the discharge of their respective duties are hereby temporarily, and until further directions assigned to their respective agencies as follows: to wit—Henry R Day to the first or Parvan agency; and Stephen B. Rose to the Second or Uinta agency.  

Brigham Young
Governor of Utah Territory, and
Superintendent of Indian Affairs
G S L City July 21 1851

exd. [examined]

TB [Thomas Bullock]

Day and Rose reached Great Salt Lake City from the east July 19. The former was a Missourian, the latter a Mormon from New Jersey. [Indian agents Stephen B. Rose (1851–1897) and Henry R. Day were vice to agent Jacob H. Holeman and among the earliest federal appointees to the newly created Utah Territory, arriving in Utah in the company of Almon W. Babbitt and John M. Bernhisel. Bancroft notes that Day was relieved of his office in 1852 (History of Utah, 478 n.75). In 1852,
Sir,

In accordance with the provision of the law making it my duty to assign to Indian agents their districts or locations I have this day issued my proclamation dividing this Territory into three districts or Agencies, and have assigned unto you the Second or Uinta Agency. This district includes first the Shoshone or Snake Nation so far as the same is included in this Territory North of the Uinta, and east of the Great Salt Lake and Utah Valleys. The Uinta and Yampa Utes are next South inhabiting east of the Utah, Sanpete and Parvan Valleys, to the Eastern boundary of the Territory, and as far South as Tab-a-Wits and Salt Mountain Utes, these last extend as far south as the Southern boundary of this Territory; these are all the Utes that I have any knowledge of at this time, but it is more than probable that you will, by paying more strict attention to these matters ascertain more definitely the location of various tribes, names of Chiefs &c. as well as every other information pertaining to the Indians in the Location assigned to you. All such information it will be necessary for you to collect, and will become useful in making full reports to the Department. Uinta Valley is hereby suggested as a suitable place for the location of your agency, combining it is believed the greatest facilities for exercising a favorable influence for uniting the various tribes and bands in one common interest. . . .

exd
TB

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15 Enclosure “B” in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851)  
16. More exactly, they lived in what is now southeastern Utah, in the vicinity of the La Sal Mountains.
Sir. In obedience to orders from the Commissioner of Indian affairs, the Hon. Luke Lea, I have the Honor of presenting myself to you, as Agent for the Indians in the Territory of Utah and have the pleasure of saying to you, that I am ready to receive any instructions and to cooperate with you in the matters connected with our respective duties.

With the exception of my orders to report to you, as Agent for the Indians in this Territory, I have no instructions in writing. In the various conversations with the Commissioner, and with Col. D. D. Mitchell of St. Louis, they express to me their desire to have the Indians of this Territory, or any portion of them attend the treaty at Laramie, to be held the 1st of September. Under the belief that it would meet the wishes of the Department, and greatly assist us in our future operations with the other tribes, I have taken the responsibility, before reporting to you, of making arrangements with the Shoshonee, or Snake tribe of Indians, to meet me on the Sweet water river beyond the South Pass, on the 20th inst. Therefore, I desire to return immediately, and have made my arrangements to be at Fort Bridger on the 15th inst where I will meet my Interpreter and guide [James Bridger], and proceed to meet the Indians at the appointed time and place, and proceed with them to Fort Laramie, in time to attend the Treaty.

I have, also, suggested to Messrs. Rose and Day, Sub Agents for this Territory, that they attend the treaty, and have employed several competent gentlemen as Interpreters and guides, who are now on a visit to some of the Tribes adjacent to this City, making an effort to get some of their principal chiefs to attend the Treaty also. Should these gentlemen, succeed, they cannot reach this place before my departure for Fort Bridger—if, therefore, it should meet your approbation, you will please give them such orders and instructions, as may be necessary, to

Enclosure “C” in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851). Holeman arrived in Great Salt Lake City the very day of this letter; he was a Kentuckian, and was accompanied west by his son, Alex. [Jacob Harrod Holeman (1793–1857) was born in Virginia, was a veteran of the War of 1812, which accounts for his honorific as “Major,” and in 1819 participated in a particularly notorious duel. Badly wounded in that fracas, he recovered to marry Mary Ann Wake in 1823 and spent years as a central Kentucky newspaper editor before his appointment to Utah in 1851. The son Morgan mentions, Alexander Wake Holeman (1827–1887), was an only child and Civil War veteran of note. Biographical data courtesy of descendant Georgia Kinney Bopp, August 2006. —Ed.]
enable them to convey those Chiefs to the treaty. It will be necessary, perhaps, that they should be conveyed through the Snake and Crow tribes, in carriages, and privately as possible—to effect this it may be necessary to make some arrangements—you will, therefore, be pleased to give Mr. Day such orders as in your pleasure you may deem necessary, as it has been arranged that Mr. Rose will accompany me to Fort Bridger.

Hoping that the arrangements I have made will meet with your approbation. . . .

Thos. Bullock
Clerk
Robt Cambell

6

BRIGHAM YOUNG, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Jacob H. Holeman, Indian Agent, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 11, 1851

Sir—Your Letter of this date pertaining to your appointment instructions and operations as Indian Agent, is just received, and I proceed immediately to answer it.

I should have been most happy received a Letter of instructions from the Department at Washington, informing me in relation to the policy the Government wishes to have carried out in relation to the Indians in this Territory, as also its appointment in regard to councils, &c; but not having received anything of the kind, and left to the exercise of my own judgment with respect to this matter; much unquestionably is, and should be left to the discretion of those connected with the Indian Department, located at such a distance from the Seat of Government, and amongst Tribes, where little or comparatively nothing is known concerning them.

It therefore becomes the duty of those who being entrusted by the Government with the performance of those duties, to call into requisition their best judgment and intelligence which they may possess. and use every exertion compatible with existing circumstances to facilitate communications of the Government, through its Agents with the various Tribes.

This I am happy to learn you have done so far as laid within your power, and permit me here to say, that your proceedings thus far meet with my most cordial approbation.

18 Enclosure “D” in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851).
Previous to your arrival, not having any information in relation to your movements, and the Sub-agents having arrived and reporting themselves ready for instructions; they were assigned their locations with such information as I considered requisite for them, so far as locations, names of tribes, &c were concerned. As I presume it will submit them to no inconvenience, I fully coincide with your suggestion that they accompany you with the Indians to Fort Laramie. I have sent a Letter with the messengers to some of the Utah Chiefs, inducing them to go; Indian Walker⁹ and in fact many others of the chiefs are at war with the Shoshones and other tribes who will probably be en masse, at Laramie. It will therefore be of the utmost importance, if Walker and others of the Tribes should go (which I apprehend will be an exploit not easily accomplished) to take such measures as to ensure their safe return to their various tribes, free from the molestation of other Indians. I do most earnestly recommend that they go as privately as possible, in citizens dress, such as white men wear. They will of course be furnished rations; and I think should go in carriages or covered wagons; and when they shall arrive at Laramie, have a room where they can remain in safety, unless their will of their own accord go out and mix, with other tribes.

It is to be regretted that information of the Council at Laramie, and the desire of the Commissioner to have the Indians of this Territory attend could not have been known at an earlier date, as now it will necessarily involve great haste, and may delay the expedition to a late day. Future treaties, or Councils should be held at some point within this Territory or some point more adjacent thereto. Sow erette²⁰ I particularly recommend to go, and as he is quite aged particularly recommend him to your care, and protection, owing to the shortness of the notice he will probably be the most influential Chief that can at present be secured for the occasion. Walker’s band will most probably not accompany him, and he will need considerable care as the Shoshones and other hostile Indians probably have good cause to remember him, will seek to obtain his scalp in preference to any other.

If as I presume there are sufficient funds at Laramie appropriated to defray the expences of the expedition from this Territory, you are hereby authorized to draw the same and defray the expences thereof, making a full report of all your

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19 The Ute chief whose name was render Wak, Wakara, Wachor, etc., and anglicized to Walker, was sometimes called “Indian Walker” to distinguish him from the celebrated mountain man, Joseph Reddeford Walker. Walker had been known to range peacefully as far into Shoshoni territory as Fort Bridger; Theodore Talbot met him there in the summer of 1843.

20 Sowiette, who has been called the peace chief of the Utes to distinguish him from Walker, the war chief, was still living when Major John Wesley Powell made his exploration of the Green and Colorado Rivers in 1869; Powell met him at the Uinta Agency and described him as very old, his skin lying in wrinkles and deep folds on his limbs and body. See “Major Powell’s Journal, July 2—Aug 28, 1869,” ed. William Culp Darrah, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 125.
doings and acts upon your return to this place, after which, I shall be happy to communicate with you again in relation to your further duties, and in the mean time, if you will take the trouble, I should be glad to hear from you.

Feeling an earnest desire for the welfare of the Indians in all of their transactions with the Government I expect ever to be found ready to cooperate with you, and all those connected with the Indian Department in whatever shall be conducive to their mutual interests.

If the messengers sent south should not return before you leave, I will do whatever may be requisite in connexion with Mr. Day, to further the enterprise, and have them join you as soon as possible relying upon your exertions, and those connected with you for a favorable termination of this Council. . . .

7

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA,*
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
FORT LARAMIE, SEPTEMBER 21, 1851

Dr Sir—In obedience to orders from your department, I proceeded to the Territory of Utah, and reported myself to His Excellency Governor Young, Ex-Officio Superintendent of Ind. Affrs. for that Territory on the 9th day of August.

On my rout to Utah, I passed many trains of Emigrants, some for Oregon, some for California, but mostly for Utah. I found many of them in great distress from depredations and robberies committed by the Indians—some were robbed of all provisions, and even of the clothing on their backs—many had their stock stolen, &c. These degradations, so frequently occurring, compelled them to collect together many teams, in order to have a force sufficient to defend themselves, that they were unable to get grass for their cattle—they could not let them go out of their sight to graze, for fear of having them stolen by the Indians, but kept them in Carrels of nights—the Indians being constantly hovering about them. Consequently, their teams were daily giving out and the


21 The original of this document bears no filemark but is endorsed as having been received November 13, 1851; the manuscript is now much worn and frayed, and the full text has been restored by reference to the printed copy in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 2, pt. 2 (Serial 636), 444–46. The printed version incorrectly gives Holeman’s first name as John.
road was strewn with the dead—waggons, and other property destroyed to the great injury of the Emigrants. The Indians who reside about and below Fort Laramie, were thought to be the principal aggressors; the Crows, occasionally. The emigrants not being able to distinguish one tribe from another were equally fearful when they arrived in the Territory of the Shoshonies or Snakes, whose country embraced portion Oregon Territory, a portion Utah, and a portion of the St. Louis Superintendency they therefore, continued their practice of cor-relling their stock still apprehending danger. The Indians below, having been publicly invited to the treaty at Laramie, and as I understood, would generally attend, I thought is advisable to endeavor to get the Shohonies to attend also, believing that it would promote the interest of the country and the Indians, and greatly benefit the vast number of Emigrants who were daily passing the road. I believed, also, that is would not only meet the approbation of the department, but that it greatly desired to have them there as the main route for emigration passed through their country. I was justified in this opinion from a conversation held with you, on the subject of the Indians in Utah, in May last, at Washington, in which you expressed the wish, that they, or as many of the tribes as could be got, should attend. Believing therefore, that it would be beneficial to the Indians and the country, and believing that it would secure to the Emigrants peace and safety in travelling the country; in short—believing it to be my duty, when I reached the country of the Shoshonies, I immediately hired an interpreter and guide, collected some of their chiefs and braves, and made an arrangement to attend them to the treaty at Laramie. I then hurried to Salt Lake City and reported to Gov. Young the arrangements I had made—it met with his approbation, and he ordered me, to fulfil my engagements with the Indians. I immediately returned, and met the village assembled on Sweet Water, about fifty miles east of the South pass, on the 21st of August. I held a talk with them which resulted in their selecting sixty of their head men fully authorised to act for the whole tribe—we arrived at Laramie on the first day of September. I regret that Col. Mitchell so construes his powers and instructions as to exclude them from being parties to the treaty, believing that they are not properly in his superintendency, but that they belong to the Superintendency of Utah. He has however, expressed much gratification at their being here, and will give them presents with the rest of the Indians; which will be, I hope satisfactory to them. They are a tribe who have been universally friendly to the whites, and seem to have great confidence in, and respect for the whites.

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22 The number of Shoshoni who went to the council at Fort Laramie has been variously given, from 40 to more than 250; see Hebard, Washakie, 70. Holeman himself is inconsistent in his reports, for in Document 9 below he estimates the number as 80.

23 The Central or St. Louis Superintendency.
I have given you above, my reasons for the course I have pursued—I hope they meet your approbation. Co. Mitchell and Maj. [Thomas] Fitzpatrick, will explain to you more fully all matters connected with my operations in this particular. I shall, however, as soon as I return to Salt Lake City, make a report, in full, and forward to your department.

If it can be done, and you should deem it advisable, I would like more particular instructions in relation to my duties and powers—I find much excitement among the Indians in consequence of the whites settling and taking possession of their country, driving off and killing their game; and in some instances driving off the Indians themselves—the greatest complaint, on this score, is against the Mormons; they seem not to be satisfied with taking possession of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, but are marking arrangements to settle, other, and principally, the rich valleys and best lands in the Territory. This creates much dissatisfaction among the Indians and excites them to acts of revenge—they attack emigrants, plunder and commit murder whenever they find a party weak enough to enable them to do so—thereby, making the innocent suffer for injuries done by others.

I find also, another class of individuals, a mixture of all nations, and although less powerful in numbers, are equally injurious to the country and the Indians—these are a set of traders called here, \textquotedblleft free men,\textquotedblright who are settled around and amongst the Indians—some have married among them; all, however, have an influence which is exerted to serve their particular personal interests. This is operating against the interests of the Indians and the country, and tends greatly to prevent the agents from doing that which is required by the department. These scenes are transacted so far from the officers of the law, and by a set of men who are somewhat lawless, that it will require extreme measures and some force to relieve the country of them. With regard to all these matters, I would like to have particular instructions.

I am of the opinion, that is would be greatly beneficial to the interest of the Indians to have an agency established for the Shoshonies tribe, and located on Green River, at or near the ferry or crossing. It is on the main road, and is one of those places where \textquotedblleft the freemen\textquotedblright generally collect in the Spring, to prey upon the misfortunes and necessities of the Emigrants—the Indians are consequently drawn there and I am informed, that they have induced Indians to drive off the stock of emigrants, so as to force them to purchase of \textquotedblleft the Freemen\textquotedblright at exorbitant prices and after the emigrants have left, make a pretended purchase of the Indians for a mere trifle, and are ready to sell again to the next train that may pass, and who may have been served in the same manner. I think that a treaty with the various tribes of Indians in Utah, would be productive of much good, if held immediately—it would have the effect of preventing deprivations on their lands.

24 See Brigham Young’s rejoinder, Document 17.
quieting their excitement against the whites and ultimately save the Government from much trouble and expense. If the department should agree with me on this subject, and Congress will make provisions, I can have them assembled at any point in the Territory during the next Spring and Summer.

It would be of great importance to order a delegation of the principal men, say three from each tribe, to visit the States and Washington City, during the session of Congress. They have no idea of the power of the Government—many think that the emigration they see passing and repassing through their country comprises the principal portion of our population—and, like themselves, having killed all the game in our own country, we are travelling in pursuit of a better—and that very soon, none will be left behind. All these matters, I submit to the department, after a hasty view of the condition and interests of the country—and shall with much pleasure, obey any wish or instruction of the department. . . .

8

STEPHEN B. ROSE, SUB-AGENT, TO BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UINTA AGENCY, GREAT SALT LAKE, OCTOBER 20, 1851

Sir.

In pursuance of your instructions I most respectfully submit to the department, the following brief report of affairs in connection with the Uinta Sub agency during the past Quarter.

The Tribes included in this Agency are the Shoshonee or Snake Indians, inhabiting a section of country west of the Rocky Mountains lying along the Wind River Mountains, Henry’s Fork Snake, and Bear Rivers; And the Uintas Tribe lying on the South Eastern Borders of the Territory. First the Shoshonee or Snake Tribe, with whom I have spent almost my entire time with, since my arrival in the Territory seem to be very friendly disposed towards the Whites, and very anxious to be at peace with the neighbouring Tribes. Their main band numbers about Twelve Hundred. They subsist upon fishing and hunting, and are tolerably well armed, and have a very large number of horses. They seem to be perfectly aware that in a few years that their game will be destroyed and that it will become necessary to seek some other mode of obtaining a living. On the 13th of August last I started in connexion with Mr Holeman to take the Tribe to the Treaty, to be held by the Government with the different tribes at Fort Laramie. They were not

Enclosure “E” in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851).
received into the Treaty as they were not considered by the Commissioners to belong to that portion of Territory to which they were authorised to Treat with. They were however much pleased with their reception by the Commissioners and were successful in making a friendly Treaty with the different Tribes assembled there, with whom they had been at war for a long time. The Uinta [Ute] Tribe it has not been in my power to visit yet, but from the best information that I can get, they are friendly disposed towards the Whites, and are very anxious that the Government will authorise a Treaty to be held for the various tribes inhabiting Utah Territory, that they may come to a friendly understanding with each other; and in case of injuries inflicted by the different Tribes, they may have some one to look to for redress. On the 16th of August last, when on my way to Fort Laramie I was compelled to buy a pair of Horses and draw upon the department at Washington when I arrived at the Fort I turned them over to the Quarter master, to be herded, until my return, with the Government herd by the orders of Col Mitchell, when nearly ready to return, upon making inquiries for my horses, I could obtain no information with regard to them, but it was supposed that they had gone to Fort Leavenworth as all the Government horses had been sent off there. I drew up a description of the horses, with the certificate of two responsible witnesses, of the delivery of them to the Government Herder, and delivered it to Mr. King the Quarter Master’s Clerk at Fort Leavenworth. . . .

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Jacob H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Utah Indian Agency, Great Salt Lake City, November 10, 185126

Sir,

I have the honor, in accordance with instructions, to forward to you, to be transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a report of my operations since my arrival in the Territory.

I received orders from the Department on the 25th of April, and left Washington City on the 8th of May, to report to you, as Governor and Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for this Territory, which duty I performed on the 11th day of August. On my route to this city, as I then informed you, I met,
at Fort Bridger, with some of the principal chiefs and braves of the Shoshonie, or Snake tribe of Indians, who had collected there, expecting an officer of the government, and were waiting to see him. I informed you, also, that I had held a talk with them, which resulted in their expressing a desire to attend the Treaty to be held at Fort Laramie on the 1st of September, ensuing—and that, if I would accompany them, they would be pleased to go down. This arrangement I considered myself authorised to make, as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had expressed a wish, that the Indians of this Territory, or any portion of them, that could be got there, should attend the treaty. You were pleased to approve my course and instructed me to comply with my engagements with these Indians. Having but a few days to prepare for this expedition, and having been on duty and travelling from that time until the 25th of October, I have not had it in my power to make a report, at all satisfactory until the present. Since the 1st of June, I have travelled upwards of three thousand five hundred miles—most of the time, without any other provinder for my horses, than the dry grass of the plains—At the proper time for making my report, it was not in my power to do so, as many of my papers were in this city; and besides, I was not at a point from which a communication could have reached you, sooner than I would have the opportunity of meeting you in person. It is unnecessary, therefore, to make an apology for not making my report, for the quarter ending 30th September—as on that day I was on the North Fork of the Platt, on my return from Fort Laramie. Owing to my Horses failing, I was unable to travel more than from 8 to 15 miles per day—laying by sometimes all day, in Snow storms & rain, and did not arrive in this city until the 28th of October.

In obedience to instructions, I left this city on the 12th of August, and proceeded, with as little delay as possible, to meet the Indians at the place agreed upon east of the South Pass—I arrived at Fort Bridger on the 15th where I had previously employed an interpreter; and after making the necessary arrangements for the transportation of provisions, &c, and a few presents for the Indians, we proceeded on our journey, and arrived at the village of the Snake Indians, on the Sweet water, on the 22nd Augt. We found the village in good health, and much pleased with the idea of their trip, the whole village intending to accompany us to Laramie—but the next morning, as we were on our march, we found two of their tribe, killed and scalped, lying on the side of the road. This threw us into great confusion—The Indians became furious—but there being an emigrant train near by, who had witnessed the transaction, we were informed, that the murders had been committed, the evening previous, by a war party of the Cheyennes. After a hurried pursuit, for several hours, the warriors returned to the village. They were much excited—I had to talk with them on the subject of the murder—to my great surprise, I found that they had not only determined
to stop the trip, but that they were disposed to censure the whites for the murder, and seemed to express a total want of confidence in their friendship—they stated, that they had been advised not to go—that if they did go, they would be killed—that the whites were deceiving them—that they only wished to get them into the country of their enemies to have them all murdered—and as an evidence, that they had been correctly advised, they had scarcely made a move before they had found two of their tribe killed; and finally, they avowed their determination to go no further.

Under all these circumstances, I felt is my duty to use all efforts in my power, to correct such impressions; believing, that if left in this state of mind, it would be difficult to make any arrangements with them in future—I therefore, invited another talk, which was granted, but with much reluctance. I succeeded, to a considerable extend, in relieving their minds in relation to the friendly feelings of the whites, but they still objected to going any farther. Although disposed to be on friendly terms, yet, having had but little intercourse with the whites they were fearful of doing something wrong, by which, they would lay themselves liable to attack the and abuse by the other Indian tribes, through whose country they would have to pass. In order to assure them of their security, and to satisfy them that their great Father was sincere in his professions of friendship; and that his object was to do them good instead of injury, I proposed to send to Laramie for an escort of Soldiers to accompany them—This seemed to inspire them with confidence, and I immediately started an express to Laramie, consisting of two men, my son Alex. W. Holeman, and Mr. Jas. Furguson.* That night the chiefs and braves held a council, and consulted their Medicine, as they term it—the result of which was, that they determined to send with me a deputation of their principal men, leaving the balance to protect their village. After making the necessary preparations for the comfort and protection of their families, we left the village on the 28th accompanied by about 80 of their leading men, authorised to act for the tribe, and reached Fort Laramie on the 1st of September—all in good health and spirits, and well pleased with the treatment they had received.

As it was the first effort which had been made by the government to establish friendly relations with the Indians in this territory, I felt it incumbent on me to pursue such a course as would not only be satisfactory, but which would

inspire them with confidence and respect in the future. And if I may be permitted to judge from their conduct and the manifestation of entire satisfaction on their whole route, and also, on their return to their village, I am compelled to believe that their trip will result in much good both to the government and to the Indians. Although the Snake Indians have not been among those who have committed such depredations on the emigration travelling the plains, yet a state of war has existed between them and other tribes, which agreeable to the usage of the Indians, has justified each tribe in sending their war parties to harrass and plunder the other—These war parties, when on their excursions in the enemy's country, would plunder and rob the emigrants, while their depredations would often be charged to other and innocent tribes—thus, the country of the Snakes is frequently made the rallying ground and as the road to California, Oregon, and the Salt Lake City passes through their lands, these war parties are constantly committing depredations, which in many instances are charged to the Snakes—And although the Snakes are friendly to the whites, and do not participate in these roberies, yet the emigrants do not feel secure while there is an Indian or Indian sign in view—and not being able to distinguish one tribe from another they are constantly in fear of an attack; to prevent which, they assemble together in such numbers, as to render it impossible to get grass for the subsistence of their cattle, or enclose them in correll—in either case, the result is the same—their cattle are starved to death, and their property, scattered over the plains. Seeing the distress which these scenes presented, I considered it my duty to use all the means in my power to prevent it; I therefore determined to use all efforts to get the Snakes attend the treaty—and although attended with more expense and trouble than I had expected, yet I do not hesitate to say that it has been time and money well spent—as they met there, and made peace with several tribes with whom they were at war, among whom were the Cheyennes and Sioux tribes who were the principal disturbers of the peace on this rout. This will insure safety to emigration in future—it will put a stop to the excursions of these war parties, and I feel well assured, that the Snakes will not only treat the emigration, hereafter, with kindness but that they will protect and assist them wherever in their power. I conceive it of great importance of the Indian department in this Territory, that the Indians visited Laramie. The friendly welcome they received from the Indians of other tribes—their intercourse with the whites during the expeditions, and while there, has impressed them with very different feelings from those entertained towards the whites previously. Our friendly intercourse with the Snakes is now, I trust, established upon such a footing as to inspire them with confidence and respect—this feeling will diffuse itself throughout the other tribes, and greatly assist our future operations with the Indians in this Territory.
They were not made parties to the treaty at Laramie; in this, I was somewhat disappointed, as the Commissioner had expressed a desire to have the Indians of Utah at the treaty, or any portion of them which I might be able to be there. Col. Mitchell and Maj. Fitzpatrick, however, expressed much gratification at their being there, and at first determined to make them a party—but on further reflection, as they were the only tribe from the Superintendency of Utah, and as it was desirable to establish friendly relations with all the tribes in this Territory, they thought it best to exclude them, and recommend to the department, the importance of holding a treaty the ensuing year with the various tribes in Utah. This course, if it can be effected, will be productive of much good, as it will bring together the various tribes, some of whom are unfriendly towards each other, and by establishing peace, and friendship between them, by treaty, the Indian affairs in this territory will be easily managed. I therefore earnestly recommend it to the early consideration of the department.27

I would also respectfully recommend to the department, that while the Indians of this territory are generally friendly disposed towards the whites, that some arrangement should be made with them, by which their rights, as well as those of the Government, should be distinctly understood. The Indians desire this,—they have been told, repeatedly, by travellers passing through the country, that their “Great Father” would liberally reward them for the right of way, and the destruction of the game, timber, &c. as well as for any kindness shewn to the whites. The great leading thoroughfares to Oregon, California and to this City, pass through the Indian country, and as they subsist entirely by the chase, having no permanent abode whatever, the destruction of the game is of the utmost importance to them. Therefore, as they have been led to expect it, something should be done at once—delays, and putting off matters of this kind, has a tendency to create in their minds a want of confidence—they are jealous, selfish, and full of deception, yet, there is nothing they abhor more, than to find such characteristics in the white man. And although these promises are made without any authority from the government, but by travellers passing through the country, who care but little about the consequences so they can pass safely themselves, yet the effect with the Indians is the same. A promise made by a white man, and violated, is held as good grounds for suspecting treachery in the whole race. Therefore, if it is the intention of the government to make any treaties with the Indians in this territory, I feel confident that they will never be found in a better condition or more disposed to enter into amicable arrangments than they are at this time. In addition to this, a duty which we owe to the Indians, in protecting their rights from violations by the white man, makes it necessary that something should be done as early as possible—and at the same time, the government

27 Unfortunately, this was done only informally; see Document 18.
should look to the interests of her own citizens, who are emigrating to this territory in vast numbers. And if something is not done to give them the right to settle the lands, quietly, the Indians may resist, and the consequence will be the shedding of much blood. As evidence to sustain this opinion, and to show the necessity of immediate action, witness the destruction of life and property which is almost daily occurring on the Oregon and California routs, where the Indians have become excited, by what they consider as trespasses and encroachments of the whites upon their lands.

In returning from Laramie, I met a deputation of the Utes from the Uwinty valey, at Fort Bridger, sent by their chief, with overtures of friendship, and requesting that I would send them traders, to their village. I gave them a few presents and promised to visit them during the winter, if the weather would permit—they received the presents with kindness and promised to use every effort with their tribe, as well as all other Indians, to promote friendly relations with the Whites. I sent them traders and expect to have a report in a few days of their reception and treatment.

I also met with a few lodges of the Digger Utes;\(^28\) they informed me that they belonged to a band who resided part in this territory and part in Oregon—they seemed very friendly disposed, and gave me a most horrible account of the roberies and murders committed by the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Hall. They informed me that there were several white women now held as prisoners by these Indians—they stated that the emigrant trains had been attacked, the men all killed, the property taken or destroyed, and the women made prisoners. They could not tell me at what point the women were confined at present, but promised to get the information their return home, and advise me whether anything could be done for their relief. It is thought by many that there are white men engaged with these Indians, as, until very recently, they have been considered as the most worthless and cowardly tribe in the whole country. I addressed a letter on this subject, to Mr. John Owens, Ind.Agt. at or near Fort Hall,\(^29\) advising him of this information I had received, and requesting him to make such enquiries as will enable him to ascertain whether this report is to be relied on or not—and if necessary, promising my aid in any effort to recover them from captivity.

\(^28\) The term “Digger” was indiscriminately applied to the various Shoshonean peoples who inhabited the intermontane region, including the western Shoshoni and the Northern and Southern Paiute. Ethnologists classify the Wyoming Snake bands as Northern Shoshoni.

\(^29\) John Owen had come west in 1849 as sutler to the Mounted Rifles and wintered with them at Cantonment Loring. Subsequently he established himself in the Bitterroot Valley to become one of the most eminent of Montana’s pioneers, his wife, Nancy, was a woman of the Snake tribe. See *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen*, ed. Seymour Dunbar, 2 vols. (New York: Edward Eberstadt, 1927).
The tribe to which the Indians who have committed this act of barbarity, belong, claim a boundary of land lying in this, as well as Oregon Territory.

The short time since I entered upon the duties of my office—no documents or papers coming into my possession, by which I could get information, it has placed it out of my power to be as well informed as I could wish, and hope to be in future. Should the weather permit, I hope to be able to visit several tribes during the winter, when I shall have it in my power to give you farther information. Should I receive information relative to the captivity of these white women, there whereabouts, &c I should like to be instructed what course to pursue.

Herewith, you will please find a report of expenses, incurred in travelling to this city from my residence in Kentucky—also, the expenses of my trip with the Snake Indians to the treaty at Fort Laramie, with the amount of presents &c given to the Indians, as well as a statement of property now on hand.

Jacob H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, December 31, 1851

Sir

In my report made to your Excellency on the 20th [10th] of November last, I gave you a statement of my transactions as Indian Agent for this Territory up to that time—since which, I have nothing of impotance to communicate. I left this city on the 1st inst. on a visit to Fort Bridger, where I expected to meet a party of the Utah Indians from the Uwinty Valley; I had previously, at the request of their chief, sent some traders to their village. The weather had been bad for some time previous, and still remained very cold, which no doubt prevented their attendance. I also visited a settlement of “Freemen” as they are called, on Green River, some sixty miles beyond Bridger—I there found several Lodges of the Shoshonie tribe of Indians, several of whom had accompanied me to the Treaty at Laramie. They expressed great delight in seeing me—brought up their friends and introduced them, telling them of the kindness of the Whites throughout the whole expedition, and particularly of their Great Father, who had given them so many presents, that he had made them all rich. Those who visited that treaty, returned so well satisfied, that they are

30 Enclosure in Young to Lea, December 31, 1851 (U/6–1852).
doing much good with the other Indians—they take great pleasure and pride in telling of the Kindness and respect shown to them, and express their feelings of gratitude and friendship in the warmest manner. I regret, very much, that more of the Indians of this Territory could not have been at that treaty. Many of the tribes in this Territory have had but little intercourse with the whites, and that has been with the traders, principally, who have universally cheated and defrauded them, by the enormous prices they have charged them for every article of trade. I have come to the conclusion, that it would be to the interest of the Indians, to license a good number of traders, as competition would enable them to trade on more advantageous terms.

The traders who lately visited the Utah tribes, at Uwinty reported the Indians very friendly, and much gratified that they had come among them. Throughout all their intercourse, the Indians manifested the greatest friendship, and expressed a desire that they would visit them frequently—that they would always meet a Kind reception.

Although I have heretofore expressed the opinion that it would be greatly to the interest of the Indians, to hold a treaty with the various tribes in this territory, I cannot refrain from again bringing the subject before the department. The unfriendly feelings which exist between many of the tribes and bands, has a tendency to keep up a continual excitement. If they could be brought together, peace and friendship would be established between them, which would enable them to visit each other, and by an interchange of the products of each tribe, it would tend greatly to better the condition of all. This treaty could be easily effected, as the Indians with whom I have conversed desire it very much. I have also heard from many others who would be pleased, could it take place.

You will find enclosed, an abstract, and an account current,31 for the Quarter ending on the 31st inst. which, with the report I had the honor of making to your Excellency on the 20th of November, will give a full account of all my transactions for the present year. . . .

31 Financial records of this sort were not kept in the Office of Indian Affairs files but were passed on to the auditors and the General Accounting Office.
Sir.

I have the honour to report that agreeably to instructions from your Department I proceeded to the Territory of Utah and after a tedious trip arrived at the City of the Great Salt Lake on the 19th of July.

On the 21st I Officially reported myself to his Excellency Brigham Young, Governor, and Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for “Instructions, Location &c” as instructed by your Department.

After the elapse of a few days I received a note from the Governor locating me in the 1st or “Parwan District, With Verbal instructions to remain in the City of Great Salt Lake until Spring before I permanently established my Agency.

The Tribes or Bands in my Agency are Composed of the Snake Diggers or Cum-em-bars Which are the Desert Indians, inhabiting Most of the Tooele, Yoab [Juab], and Sevier Vallies.

There is a tribe Known as Goships and Wan-Ships Band, Who inhabit the Northern part of this Districk, North from the Great Salt Lake towards the Weber Country, West of the Tooele’s and East of the Shoshone or Snake Nation.34

South are the Tin-pan-a-gos Who inhabit the Utah Valley, they are More Commonly Called the Tinpany or Lake Utes, and are divided into small Bands each having a Chief—Stick-in-the-head—Peteetneet and others are Known as Chiefs—

The Next are the San-Petes Who are South of the last Named Tribes roving through the Yoab and San-Pete Vallies, and thence South to the Sevier River,

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32 D/1–1852. Day was the sub-agent who left his post in the fall of 1851 to return to the States with others of the territorial officials. The episode is briefly discussed in Morgan, “Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah,” 385 [000 in this volume]. Five weeks after writing this letter Day resigned, asking that his resignation be accepted as of January 16, 1852.

33 Young to Day, July 21, 1851, (Enclosure “A” in Young to Lea, October 20, 1851 (U/87–1851)). The information in the six paragraphs following Day derives from Young’s letter to himself.

34 More precisely, Wanship’s band had Salt Lake Valley as their home, and their range should be described as east of the Tooele Valley and west of the Shoshoni country. These Indians were a mixture of Ute and Shoshoni.
South of them are the Paroans, Which Nation extend to a Tribe Called the Piedes—

The Next and last Known Tribe Composing My District is a roving Band Who roam through the Whole of the Other Nations, and are Confined to No particular part of the Territory. they are Called Cho-Ver-ets, and Known as Walker’s Band—

All the different tribes in this Territory Show Much deference to Walker, Connected With him or his Band are Arra-Pines,—Grose-Pines, Tab-ba and Some others, these Bands frequently rove high up in the Sevier River in search of Game, but are generally found in the Neighborhood of San-Pete and Utah Vallies.

I held several Councils or “talks” With some of the different Chiefs and Braves. and explained to them What their Great Father at Washington desired to do for them and What he expected of them, they expressed Much pleasure and satisfaction.

I Made Them several presents Which delighted them exceedingly, the Indians in this Territory are Mostly Very poor. Game being excessively scarce they are from Necessity, and to prevent Starvation Often impelled to Steal Cattle, Horses, Mules, &c. for food.

Some of the Tribes Inhabiting this district are find looking Men and apparently quite intelligent Indians, others of them, Viz— the Snake Diggers or Cum-em-bars, are Small in Stature, and filthy looking beings, they Subsit Mostly upon Roots, Crickets, Insects, &c. are extremely poor and Wild.

All these Tribes before mentioned acknowledge Walker as their War Chief and Sow-er-ette as their head Civil Chief, but the Majority of the Tribes, obey the Mandate or Council of their Civil Chief, Sow-er-ette, including Walker.

They all expressed a Willingness and desire to Cultivate the Soil, provided the Mormons Would not drive them off from their lands. In the latter part of September I sent out to the Snake or Shoshone Nation, and invited Cut-nose one of the Chiefs of that Nation to Come in and hold a Council or talk With Me, promiseing to protect him. My object was to Make peace between them and the Utah Tribes in my District, he came in with Others, and we held a “talk of several hours, I gave him some small presents, he expressed himself Much pleased to hear from their Great Father, and agreed to Meet Me a[†] Fort Bridger one hundred and thirteen Miles South East of Salt Lake City on the 1st of October.

I also sent Word to Sou-er-ette to Meet me there, With his Warriors, promising to protect him, accordingly I repaired to the Fort and they Met Me there as per Agreement.

35 These were principally Southern Paiute.
These Nations have been at War for Many years and there Seemed to be a deadly hatred between them, after a Council of Several hours during Which time recounted their alleged Causes of quarrel, I told them their Great Father wished them to be at Peace With all the different Nations of Indians. and With the Whites. and that they must Not Steal, Which after Smoking the Calumet of peace again, they all clasped hands and agreed to—The Indians Complained bitterly of the treatment they had received from the Mormon Settlers, from the time they first entered the Territory up to the present, Such as driving them off of their lands. Stealing their Stock &c.

I can perhaps convey their Ideas better by giving you the language of the Old Chief Sou-er-ette, Who raising himself up to his full height said to Me, American—good! Mormon—No good! American—friend—Morman—Kill—Steal—

The Chiefs Said they claimed all the lands upon which were settled the Mormons, and that they were driving them further every Year, Making use of their Soil and what little timber there was, and Expressed a Wish If their Great Father was so powerfull, that he Would Not permit the Mormons to drive them out of the Vallies into the Mountains where they Must Starve—

Some of these Tribe Cultivate the Soil, raise Indian Cor[n] &c.

About the 9th August Major Holeman Indian Agent arrived at Great Salt Lake City, and the Governor, after Some Consultation With him and Myself ordered us to attend the Treaty at Fort Laramie on the 1st of September, With a Delegation of Indians. I sent out Interpreter among those in My District to prevail upon the Chief to attend the Treaty, by the Governors orders purchased a Carriage &c. to Convey them down privately and in disguise, it being his Opinion and Instructions that they should be Conveyed in that Manner to prevent being attacked by Other Tribes—

Four only of the Different Bands Came in Gro-se-Pene, a Chief, Quon-diats son of Sou-er-ette, Tomey, sent by Walker, Sou-ette sent by Wanship— and Gro-se-Pene's Sister.—

The Governor thought they Could Not properly represent the different Tribes, and ordered me Not to Make the trip, but to purchase them a Suit of Cloths each Knvs, Tobacco &c. Which I did.

The reasons given me by Sou-er-ette, Walker and the Other Chiefs Why they did Not Come in and go down, was that they beleived it to [be] a trap set by the Mormans to Kill them, They seem to have but little Confidence in anything the Mormon people say to them, and decidedly stand in Much fear of them and from all the Information I could gather not Without good Cause. I am decidedly of Opinion that a treaty held of all the different Tribes in the Territory Would be of incalculable benefit, and that a Delegation sent to Washington, and through the
State[s] Would add Much to give them an Idea of the Power of the Government, and have a Much greater tendency to Civilize these Indians than any other Course that Could be adopted. they have No Conception of the population and power of the United States,—

Christian Missions, other than Mormans, Would also do Much to advance these Indians towards Civilization. . . .

12

JACOB H. HOYLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, MARCH 29, 185236

Dr Sir— On the 28th of November last, I addressed you a letter, containing, in substance, what you will find in this. Believing it important that the department should be possessed of some of these facts, and understanding that there was a failure in the Mail of the 1st of December, I have concluded to write you again, as I have now a safe conveyance by private hands. In my letter above alluded to, I informed you, that I had made a report to his Excellency, Gov. Young, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in which I had given a statement of my accounts and transactions, generally—but owing to a difficulty which had occurred between the Governor, and Judge Brockus [Perry E. Brocchus] and other officers of Government, during my absence to Laramie, I did not think it prudent to touch on matters connected with the conduct of the Governor, and the Mormons in general, as it had to pass through the hands of the Governor. It was not, however, because I feared that any thing I stated, could or would be contradicted by the Governor—but because I apprehended, that if I said any thing which he did not like, in my report, that it would never reach you—The “Gentiles,” as we are all called, who do not belong to the Mormon Church, have no confidence in the management of the Post Office here,—it is believed by many that there is an examination of all letters, coming and going—in order that they may ascertain what is said of them, and by whom it is said. This opinion is so strong, that all communications touching their character and conduct, are either sent to Bridger or Laramie, there to be mailed. I send this communication, by a friend to St. Joseph, Mo. there to be mailed for the City of Washington

36 H/79–1852. The hostility that recurrently developed in the Utah Superintendency between the Mormon and non-Mormon officers is illuminatingly reflected in this letter. Young’s side emerges in some of the later documents in this series. The problem is discussed in larger perspective in Morgan, “Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah.”
I alluded, in my report, to the necessity of adopting such measures, by the General Government, as will protect the rights of the Indians in this Territory—they are becoming very much excited by the encroachments of the Mormons, who are making settlements, throughout the Territory, on all the most valuable lands—extending these settlements for three hundred miles South, from this City—and north to Marys River, and Carson Valley. In the first settlement of this city, and the adjoining country, by the Mormons, they at first, conciliated the Indians by kind treatment, but when they once got foothold, they began to force their way—the consequence was, a war with the Indians, and in many instances, a most brutal butchery, of the Indians. This, they fear, will again be the result, wherever the Mormons may make a settlement. The Indians having been driven from their lands, and their hunting grounds destroyed without any compensation therefore, they are in many instances reduced to a state of suffering bordering on starvation. In this situation, some of the most daring and desperate approach the settlements, and demand some remuneration or compensation for their lands, &c. when, upon the slightest pretexts, they are shot down or driven to the Mountains. These scenes frequently occur—but the other day, an Indian was found dead in the vicinity of the City, shot through the body.

You will no doubt be informed by Judge Brockus, Secretary [Broughton D.] Harris and others, officers who have returned from this city, to the States, of the conduct and character of Gov. Young, his treatment to them, &c. I was not here at the time—on my arrival in the City, from Laramie, I found the Governor absent on an expedition to the Indians, some 150 Miles distant— He had taken with him, Sub-agent, S. B. Rose, who is a Mormon, with several hundred dollars worth of Indian goods, as presents, for the purpose, no doubt, of conciliating the Indians and getting permission to extend his settlements—thus making use of his office, as Superintendent, and the money of the Government, to promote the interest of his church—therefore, it seems to me, that no Mormon, should, officially, have any thing to do with the Indians.

From what I can learn here, there is no doubt, but every effort will be made by the Mormons, to prevent the Government from peaceably extending her laws over the Territory. Since the departure of the Judges and other officers, they have levied additional taxes on all classes, of ten cents on the dollars worth, of all description and kind of property. This, it is thought, is for the purpose of preparing for resistance. It is said, upon good authority, that there is an effort being made, to form an alliance with the Indians, to resist the Government, should it be determined to force authority in the territory—and from all the circumstances, and information I can gather, something of the kind may be in agitation— It would not surprise me in the least, as many of
the Utah tribe have been Baptised in their church,—and feasted upon all occasions, and treated in the kindest manner. Sub agent Rose, has just returned from another Southern tour, and the Governor will leave again, in a few days—neither have spoken to me on the subject, nor do they let me know any thing of their actings or doings.

I think it would be advisable to hold a treaty with the Indians as soon as possible—they are generally friendly disposed to the whites—a deputation of some of their principal men, to visit the states would have a very good effect—they know nothing of the power of the Government, or the number and manner of living or our people.

I have just been informed, that the Snake and Utah tribes, who have been at war with each other, have assembled for the purpose of settling their differences— they are now in council. I suggested this course to both tribes, and have no doubt but it will result in an adjustment of their difficulties— It will set an example to the other tribes, and will ultimately, I have no doubt, produce a very good effect. This is the band of the Snakes who visited Laramie—they are very friendly to the whites, and have great respect for their Great Father— The Indians are very much scattered over this Territory— The tribes are split up into small bands, ruled by some favorite chief—some of them are very small— The Tribe of Shoshonies, or Snakes is very large, and being divided into many bands they occupy a large portion of the Territory, but are all on friendly terms with each other. They have nothing like a settled residence, but roam the country from the head waters of the Platt, near the South Pass, to St Mary’s river, including a portion of the Territory of Oregon. There are two bands of Utah’s, of considerable size—one residing South of this city, and are very friendly towards the Whites—the other who are called “Diggers,” reside north, and range over a portion of country lying between this and California—they are said to be a tribe formed by the poorer classes of the Utah’s, the Snake’s, the Pa-nacks, the Crows, and the Flat-heads. They have, heretofore, been considered as the most worthless and trifling Indians in the Territory— subsisting on roots, principally, from which they take the name of Diggers. It is said they eat any thing that has life in it, from a cricket to a Buffaloe. It is principally in their country, that the robberies and murders which have occurred during the past season have been committed. Many are of the opinion, that they have been encouraged and assisted by white men. And judging of their past character, and their bold and daring conduct now, it would seem that there is strong grounds for the opinion. There are many bands of the various tribes above named, of a more elevated character, who pursue the chase for a living, and travel the country in search of game, from the Platt

This is fantastic misinformation about the western Shoshoni, who assuredly had no large admixture of Crow or Flathead blood.
river to California, and from this city to Oregon. I visited a village of the Snakes\textsuperscript{38} about 80 miles north of this city, in January last—It was reported here, that they had information of two white women, who were said to be held as prisoners by a band of the “White Knives”—all the information I could gather, seemed to justify the belief that they had been killed by the Indians. The name of \textit{White Knife}, has been given to these Indians who have been committing the robberies on the California and Oregon Routes, in consequence, they say, of white men being connected with them and their being to completely armed with almost every description of weapon. The Indians I visited, professed great friendship for the Whites, and seemed disposed to enter into any arrangement with the government which would have a tendency to secure, permanently, this friendship. I have met with many of the Utah tribe, who reside south and south east of this city—they are also friendly, and are anxious to make such arrangements, by treaty or otherwise, as will establish on a firm footing, their friendly relations with the whites.

I have suggested, in my previous letters, the necessity of doing something to protect the route between this and California and Oregon—the Indians have been very troublesome during the last year—robberies and murders, of the most brutal character, occur with almost every train. The November mail from California has been cut off—all killed by the Indians near Mary’s River; the mail contractor, Mr. Woodward among them, and the mail destroyed.\textsuperscript{39} The February mail, from the same place, arrived here on the 26th inst. after much suffering—all their mules and horses were frozen to death—the men were compelled to lay by 18 days in a snow storm, and travelled 13 days on foot, packing the mail on their backs, with nothing to eat but mule meat, and 4 days without any thing—they accidentally met a band of the Snake Indians, who fed them, and brought them into the settlements. Something should be done by the Government, to aid this mail route. The December and January mails could not pass the mountains, and returned.

It is not, perhaps, any portion of my duty, yet it may not be amiss to give you some account of the persecution and tyranny of the Mormons towards the Gentiles, as all are called, who do not belong to the Mormon Church. They have levied a very exhorbitant tax on all emigrants who have been compelled to

\textsuperscript{38} Various references occur in the reports of the Utah Superintendency to Shoshoni in the near vicinity of the Mormon settlements, and to others who frequented the Snake country near Fort Hall and the headwaters of Goose Creek on the California Trail. As it is clear that these have nothing to do with the Wyoming Shoshoni, and as inclusion of these reports would swell this study to unmanageable proportions, only incidental references to them are here published.

winter in this valley—they collected this tax last fall; and now, when these emigrants are preparing to leave for California and Oregon, they tax them again. The Legislature has passed a law giving licenses to men belonging to their church, to establish ferries, and build bridges over all the streams over which emigration will have to pass, and regulated the toll at $3 for each wagon, and 50 cts for each head of loose cattle—while the citizens of the valley, or members of the church, are exempted from this tax, or toll—one half of which, is to be paid into the tithing office, for the benefit of the church. Some of the emigrants, who from the lateness of the season when they arrived here, were compelled to remain during the winter—being good mechanicks, they were employed by some of the heads of the Church; to labor on their buildings and public works; and wishing to leave this spring, have been turned off without pay, or any satisfaction—they refused even to give their notes—among these men, is Willard Richards, who keeps a harem of some dozen or fifteen women, to all of whom he is wedded. He is acting Secretary of State, and Post Master of the City. Every description of tyranny that they can invent, is made us of, to persecute the emigrants. They issue from the tithing office a kind of Scrip, as evidence of the indebtedness of the church, for labor or services performed by individuals—this scrip forms a kind of circulating medium, and is received from the members, in payment of their taxes and tithing; but when it falls into the hands of a gentile, it will not be received from him for his taxes, and he is forced to pay the cash—All he can do with it, is to receive such articles of trade, as they may choose to give him, at from 1 to 400 per cent above the valley prices, for the same article.

They are in the habit of drilling the Militia weekly—The commanding officer, in impressing upon them the importance of punctually attending these drills, has been heard to say, “that they were in the habit of drilling punctually, while in Navoo, when they had but one state to oppose them, but now they have the whole United States, they should be properly drilled and equipped.” Others say, “they do not fear the United States—they have neither respect for her, or her citizens; and should they want assistance to defend themselves against the Government, they can easily get it from England.” They have their missionaries travelling all over the world, almost, collecting men and contributions, to give greater strength to their church—they calculate upon a large emigration this season, to reinforce their ranks; and are using every effort to prevent their people from leaving the valley—Many have made preparations for emigrating to California, but Brigham has put his veto against it, and in a great measure, has put a stop to it.

40 To this topic we will return in connection with the events of 1854 and later.
41 The report about Willard Richards was newsworthy, in view of the fact that the Church did not formally avow the practice of plural marriage until August, 1852, but as usual the number of wives was grossly exaggerated by rumor.
I could give you thousands of circumstances, tending to show their deadly hostility to the Government, and their determination to resist her authority, in all matters which conflict with their notions, and church regulations—They say, that “God and the Governor Commands,” and they obey no one else.

I mentioned in my previous letters, the difficulty attending the route, from this city to California—the main route from the states to California and Oregon, passes to the north of this, and intercepts the road from here, at or near the Goose Creek Mountains, about 175 miles from this place. It is then about 130 miles to the head of Humboldt river, where the road strikes it—thence down the river, to the Canyon is about 60 miles—Making, from this to the Canyon, about 365 miles. It is the opinion of the best informed, with whom I have conversed, that a post, or agency established, at or near this Canyon, would afford the best protection to this route. The distance from this Canyon to Reese’s Station in Carson Valley, is about 360 miles—this station is in Utah Territory, near the California line and is about 180 miles from Sacramento City. There is a settlement about this Station of about 80 persons, and extends in the direction to this city for near 40 miles. Should I receive no instructions to the contrary, I have concluded to visit this section of the Territory—and should I find it advantageous to the interest of the Government and the Indians, I shall make arrangements to establish an Agency, at some point which will be the best calculated to give the greatest amount of protection, and at the same time be most convenient for operations with the Indians, As the emigration will be leaving this valley about the 30th of April, I have concluded to leave this city with them. I shall write you again before I leave, and shall advise you from time to time, of my operations, and prospects of quieting the Indians, and the state of the country generally.

I fear you will think me extravagant in the expenditure of money, but I assure you, things are quite different here from what they are in the States—every thing is from 2 to five hundred per cent higher than they are there. Consequently, our living, though much more common, is quite dear. All my expenditures have been as economical as possible—particularly my trip to Laramie. It was the first attempt that had been made by Government to establish friendly relations with the Indians in this Territory, and I thought that a few dollars was a matter of no importance, when compared with the effect which would be produced upon their feelings, by showing them that their Great Father as well as the Whites generally, would be good to them if they would treat the White with kindness. They returned to their

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42 The celebrated Mormon Station at present Genoa, Nevada, established by John Reese in 1850 as the first trading post in Carson Valley.

43 Holeman refers to that part of the immigration of 1851 which had wintered in the Mormon settlements, together with such members of the Mormon community as had business in or were moving to California. Normally the overland immigrants did not arrive from the Missouri River before June.
village so much pleased with the trip, and the evidences of friendship they received, that they are using all their influence with the other tribes, not only to make peace between themselves, but to establish peace and friendship with the Whites.

It may be prudent, perhaps, to keep my name secret, in relation to these statements—if it was known here, that I had made such a communication, there is no telling what would be the result. I have heard them boldly assert, that if Brigham was to tell them to cut any man’s throat, they would do it without hesitation. I make these remarks to let you know my situation—I do not fear a contradiction—use your judgment on the subject. . . .

13

Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, March 30, 1852 (extract)

Major Holeman’s report for this quarter, having been received subsequent to the foregoing writing and just previous to the closing of this mail, is the reason of its not being mentioned therein. It is however transmitted herewith (marked B) together with the usual endorsement which is enclosed in this package. I will merely observe than an agency establishment in the Uinta valley would accommodate the Indians of that region known as the Uinta and Yampah Utes, and the Snakes or more properly Shoshone Indians in this Territory and being supported by a settlement will have a tendency to harmonize any ill feeling that may have heretofore existed among them. . . .

14

Stephen B. Rose, Sub-Agent, to Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, March 31, 1852

Sir

I have the honor of Submitting the following to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs through Your Excellency. I received a communication from your Hon on

44 This letter (U/4–1852) is voluminously concerned with Indian affairs in general; only the postscript is here printed. With his own letter Young enclosed the quarterly reports of Rose and Holeman transmitted through his office, these are our Documents 15 and 16.
the 10th of Jan mentioning that a difficulty had been reported to you as having occurred between the Snake Indians and the Citizens of Box Elder\textsuperscript{45} and wishing me to proceed there immediately and investigate the matter which request I complied with and am happy to inform you that all is amicably settled. On my return I learned that the Indian children found in the possession of the Spaniards had been returned to the Indian Department and agreeable to your order I have provided them with good comfortable homes where they are well treated and seem happy. They were in a most deplorable condition and I was compelled to get some clothing and give them to keep them from perishing\textsuperscript{46}.

On the 16th of Feb I found a company of men starting for Uwinta Valley and having received a note from you last fall wishing me to proceed there and ascertain the situation of the Indians in that part of the Territory and not having had an opportunity before in consequence of having been occupied on other duties I thought it a good opportunity to visit the Valley. But upon my arrival there I found the Indians had all gone to the Buffalo country and therefore cannot give you any account of them. I would suggest the propriety of calling the attention of the Department to a number of French Canadian Traders settled upon Green River and in the neighborhood of Fort Bridger who are constantly trading with the Indians although they have been notified to the contrary they have had a number of the different Tribes together this winter and made a number of speeches to them endeavouring to prejudice them against the peaceful inhabitants of this Valley. Accompanying this report you will find a schedule containing an account of the expenditures of the quarter ending this day. . . .

\textbf{15}

\textbf{Jacob H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, March 30, 1852}

Sir,

Since my report, made to your Excellency, on the 31st of December last, there has nothing occurred of importance in my department.

Agreeable to your instructions, in January last, in company with Sub-Agent S. B. Rose, visited the Indians north, as far as Box Elder [east of the north end of

\textsuperscript{45} Present Brigham City.

\textsuperscript{46} The reference is to New Mexican slave traders, to the Utah operations of whom Brigham Young put a stop. [Cf. Bancroft, \textit{History of Utah}, 473–76. —Ed.]

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the Great Salt Lake]. We found them friendly disposed towards the whites, and in the General, on friendly terms—there had been previously, some little disturbance, but all had quieted down. The information we had received of their having a considerable quantity of American Gold, we found to be true—we made every effort to ascertain in what manner they came in possession of it. One, who had several pieces, stated, that he had received it two or three years ago, in a horse trade, from an emigrant—others accounted for having the Gold in various ways, but to my mind, not satisfactory. A great portion of this band, was absent on a hunting expedition—we could not see their chief, nor could be get any information which seemed of a character to be relied on. Whether these Indians have participated in the robberies on the California route, or not, is extremely doubtful—I thought some circumstances looked rather suspicious—Yet they professed friendship towards the Whites, and many of them had given such evidences of their friendship, as to induce the citizens there, to believe they were sincere. We made every effort to ascertain the true situation of the white females, who were said to be held as prisoners, by a band of Indians in that neighborhood. So far as we could learn, from Whites and Indians, no prisoners had been in that neighborhood. We learned, however, from the Indians, that a band of the “white Knives,” as they are called, residing perhaps in Oregon, had sometime previous, two white women as prisoners, but for some cause, which they could not explain, they had killed them both. We, however, could get no information except from the Indians—and not being acquainted with the character and conduct of these Indians, I placed but little reliance in any thing they said. I gave them a few presents, which pleased them very much and they promised a great deal in future.

I met with a deputation of the Utah Tribe, from Uwinty Valley, at Fort Bridger, in December last, as I previously informed you—they had been sent by the chief of the band, with overtures of friendship, and requested that I would send some traders to visit their village. I selected a competent man, who was acquainted with them, and who spoke their language, to accompany the traders, with a few presents to their chief men. He has just returned, and reports very favourably of the kind feelings of these Indians. In accordance with my request, they have determined to meet the Snakes, in a council, for the purpose of establishing a treaty of peace and friendship between the tribes—and are now engaged in that laudable object. From the assurances given me, both by the Utes and Snakes, I hope, and believe, that they will succeed—and that they will make a treaty, which will place their friendly relations upon a much more lasting foundation than they have ever been heretofore. I enclose you my report for the quarter ending 31st inst. . . .
Jacob H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, April 29, 1852

Sir—I have advised you, in my previous communications, of the difficulty and danger to emigrants who travel the Oregon and California route—and of the necessity of doing something for their protection. I also informed you, that if not instructed otherwise, I should visit that section of the Territory, and endeavor to make such arrangements with these Indians as would insure safety to emigration in future. I have had several conversations with the Superintendent upon this subject, without coming to any determination or receiving from him any particular instructions. For the purpose, therefore, of bringing the matter to a close, and that there should be action upon the subject, I address to him the enclosed letter. He left this city on the 23d inst. on a southern tour, to be absent several months, without giving me any instructions, or even acknowledging the receipt of my letter. He has been in an ill humor with me, since the receipt of your annual report, in which is a letter I address you from Fort Laramie, and in which I speak of the excitement of the Indians on account of the whites settling their lands—and more particularly against the Mormons. In order to justify myself for the statements made in that letter, I have thought it advisable to give you my authority, as I have been threatened with denunciation and a contradiction of all matters concerning the Mormons.

Mr. James Bridger, who was the Interpreter of the Snake Indians at the Treaty of Laramie, and who is very favorably noticed in the Communication of Col. D. D. Mitchell, informed me, that the Utah Indians, residing in Uwinty valley, had frequently expressed their dissatisfaction in the strongest terms, against the Mormons making settlements on their lands; that they had understood they intended to do so—and were anxious to know what they should do, or if they had the right to prevent it. This was stated to me, in such a manner, that I could not hesitate to believe it. In addition to this, Mr. Barney Ward, a Mormon, who was the interpreter of Sub-agent S. B. Rose, in conversation, frequently stated

47 H/89–1852. Enclosed with the letter is a copy of Holeman’s letter to Young, dated Great Salt Lake City, April 19, 1852. It is sufficiently summarized for our purposes in Holeman’s letter to Lea.

that the Mormons intended to make a settlement in Uwinty Valley, and that he was going to reside there as an Indian trader. With this information, believing that if the settlement was attempted, that it would cause an outbreak, and another “Indian war,” for which Government would be called upon to defray the expenses, I made the statement in my communication from Laramie—not however, for the purpose of producing unkind feeling towards the Mormons, but to impress upon the department the necessity of adopting such measures, as would place both the whites and the Indians in a position to understand their rights and privileges, and thereby prevent further disturbances among them; as there had been, as I conceived, great injustice done the Indians already. I subsequently met a deputation of the Uwinty Utes, sent by their chief Soweates, who confirmed the information I had before received and expressed their decided disapproval to any settlement being made on their lands by the whites, and more particularly by the Mormons. This same deputation was directed by their chief, to request, that I would send them some traders, towards whom and the government they pledged friendship in the strongest terms. I sent them two different companies of traders, one from Fort Bridger, who they treated with great kindness and respect—the others went from this city—upon learning they were from the Mormon city, the Indians immediately demanded to know if they were Mormons—and although one was a Mormon they were compelled to deny it,—such was the feelings of hostility expressed towards the Mormons, that if they had been known to be so, they would have been driven from the village. The Shoshonies or Snakes, were equally opposed, and expressed their disapprobation to the Mormons settling on their lands, in the strongest terms.

I thought I was in the discharge of my duty, in giving to the department this information, as I conceived it of some importance. The Indians in this Territory, have, in the general, been badly treated—upon some occasions, so much so, as to produce resistance. Then, upon the most trivial occasion, would follow, as the Mormons call it, an “Indian War”—and being better armed and equipped than the Indians, a most brutal butchery would follow. For all these services, in all these “Indian Wars,” I understand, that there is a petition presented or will be presented to Congress, for the Government to pay the Bill. Before they do so, however, I hope they will enquire into particulars—as these people seem more inclined to fleece the Government of her money, than to render her any important service or friendship. I have thought it to be my duty to inform the department of all matters calculated to produce excitement or dissatisfaction among the Indians. With this view, I have made you the several communications, relative to matters and things here—I shall continue to do so as circumstances may occur. And while I confine my statements to facts, I feel confident I shall be sustained by the department.
I shall, in accordance with my previous advices to the department, leave in a few days for the Humbolt, where, if I find it necessary, I shall establish an agency, as it is no doubt, the most important point on the route. If it should be necessary, and any good can be effected, I will extend my trip as far as Carson Valley, near the line between this Territory and California. If I should not succeed in establishing friendly relations with these Indians, I shall, on my return, have it in my power to give the department such information, as will enable them to act more advisedly in future. At present but little is known, except, that they are murdering and plundering every train that passes the road. As the Treaty of Laramie has given security to emigration, from the States to the country occupied by these Indians, an arrangement with them will open a general highway through all the country, from Missouri to California, and give security to the numerous and increasing emigration which is annually passing to California and Oregon, and which at present is attended with so much danger and loss of life and property. The Indians in this section have had but little intercourse with the Whites, and what they have had, has rather tended to excite them against the Whites, than to create friendship or respect. The first were a set of traders and trappers, &c whose practice was to cheat them out of what little they possessed, or take it by force when able to do so—the Second was the Mormons, who forcibly took possession of their country, drove off their game, and killed many of the Indians—the last was the emigration, who often committed deprivations on those who were inclined to be friendly, through the mistaken idea that all Indians were treacherous—and by this means frequently caused the innocent to suffer. Such transactions, has, in a great measure, brought about the present condition of things here. Many of the tribes, however, are becoming friendly, and by a prudent and humane course which has characterised all the acts of the government in regard to this unfortunate race, I hope the balance may be reconciled, and the country and the highways be relieved of the distressing scenes, which so often occur.

I mentioned to you in my last communication, that the November mail from California to this place, had been cut off by the Indians, and the contents destroyed. The remains of Mr. Woodward, the contractor, has since been found, some forty miles beyond the settlements in this valley. We have received information, from the Indians, near Fort Hall, that he and his escort, five in number, were attacked by this marauding band of Indians on the Humbolt, and that four was killed—the fifth, Woodward, made his escape. it is supposed that he must have been wounded, and died from exhaustion, as his watch and many valuable papers were found near the remains of his body, which was almost entirely destroyed by wild beast—it was identified, however, by his clothing, watch, papers, &c.

The Snake Indians, who attended the treaty at Laramie returned well pleased with their reception and treatment—they are very friendly with all who pass
through their country, giving them every assistance in their power, and pledging
a continuance of their friendship; on account, as they say, of the kindness of their
Great Father to them. This feeling is diffusing itself throughout many of the other
tribes and bands, who regret that they had not been there also. In fact, I believe,
that there is but one tribe in the Territory who are disposed to molest the emi-
gration, and that is the tribe, I contemplate visiting. I shall be compelled to incur
some expense, but shall be as economical as possible. I shall have to hire some
ten or fifteen men, an Interpreter &c. to accompany me, and shall make all other
arrangements, as far as possible, subject to your advice and instruction, which I
shall expect on my return

I regret that I have not been able to receive positive instructions in relation
to my duties, and more particularly in regard to expenditures, and the particular
kind of expenditures. I fear that I have already gone too far—all I can say on this
subject, is, that in attending the Snake Indians to the Treaty at Laramie, although
somewhat expensive, it has done much good, and will have a very happy effect
upon our Indian operations in future. One thing, however, is certain—all opera-
tions with the Indians cost money, perhaps more in this Territory, than many other
places. I have therefore, thought it better to incur a little expense, for purposes,
which I deemed of importance to the Indians and to the Government, than to wait
for instructions so distant and difficult to obtain. Besides, I can see no use in my
remaining idle, when there is important work to perform—particularly as it will
have to be done, at some time, and perhaps at a much greater expense.

Will you be so kind, as to say to me, on the receipt of this, what will be the
proper allowance to these men, who accompany me, either as their per diem
or monthly pay. I fear you will consider me somewhat pestiferous—but you
must recollect that I have had no instructions by which I could form a correct
opinion of the extent of my powers and duties, or the particular wishes of the
Government. I was directed to report to the Governor, which duty I performed
without delay—He having no instructions, as he informed me, I was left to act
upon your verbal instructions, to take such steps as in my judgement would best
conduce to the interest of the Indians and the Government. I have endeavored so
to act, and hope my conduct may meet the approbation of the department, and
that I may hear from you by the return mail.

I received a communication by the last mail, informing me, that in conse-
quence of my having failed to render my accounts up to the 30th of September
last, I had been reported to the President. I regret that it was not in my power to
make my report at the time alluded to—I had been in attendance at the treaty of
Laramie, with the Snake Indians, where I was detained much longer than I had
anticipated, when I left this city—not doubting, when I left, but that I should
return before the time specified for making my report, I did not take with me,
many papers, necessary to enable me to do so. In addition to this—my horses failed, on my return, to such an extent, as to prevent my travelling at the usual speed—I had to wait on them or to leave them—I thought it more prudent to sacrifice my personal comfort, than to leave my animals which would have been a total loss to the Government, and did not reach this city until the 26th of October, too late to make a report. I however forwarded my accounts by the November mail, which I have no doubt you have received, ere this, and which I hope may be satisfactory to the department.

P. S. May 1st. Not receiving any communication from you, and being left to act from my own judgment, I shall proceed to equip ten men, with an Interpreter, and two friendly Indians, and proceed immediately to the Humbolt. It is reported here, that these marauding Indians in that section, have been making great preparations for these operations on the emigrants; and as there is nothing else, of an importance, for me to do at present, it seems to me, that my duty prompts me to this course. I shall use every effort in my power, peaceably, to quiet the Indians on this route, and to get all the information possible, concerning them, their habits, disposition &c. and the prospects of doing any thing with them in future. I shall use economy and discretion in all matters, and report the result to the department, on my return. If I find it necessary to go as far as Carson Valley, I may be detained some two or three months. It is unnecessary to take this trip, unless a thorough investigation is made of all matters which may be of interest to the Government or to the Indians, so as to enable the department to act more advisedly in future. It is very necessary that something should be done, and as speedily as possible, as the longer it is delayed, the more difficult, and expensive it will be to the Government. I shall be compelled to draw on the department for funds, to defray expenses. I shall also take with me a few articles, to be used as presents, if I can dispose of them, to advantage an effect. The April mail from the States has just arrived.

Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, May 28, 1852

Sir, Your two letters of January 28th and February 20th were received per last mail, which arrived during my absence on a tour south, being only about two and a half months since the date of the last written; another month before
a reply can be started, and the same time allowed to reach Washington making in all, to write and receive an answer, six months! This shows how we are blest with mail facilities.

I do not know that you ever received my first report dated 13 September 1851, as I have received no acknowledgement of its reception. I observe that the only paper which has found its way into the annual report, from Utah, is Major Holeman's, written at Fort Laramie and dated September 22, 1851. This is also attributable it is presumed to deficient postal arrangements. I wish to correct some erroneous statements made in that report, of the truth of which at that time Major Holeman might either through misconception or misinformation entertain an honest belief. I allude to the following paragraphs. “I find much excitement among the Indians in consequence of the whites settling and taking possession of their country, driving off and killing their game, and in some instances driving off the Indians themselves” “the greatest complaint on this score is against the Mormons; they seem not to be satisfied with taking possession of the valley of the Great Salt Lake, but are making arrangements to settle other, and principally the rich valleys and best lands in the Territory. “This creates much dissatisfaction among the Indians; excites them to acts of revenge; they attack emigrants, plunder and commit murder whenever they find a party weak enough to enable them to do so, thereby making the innocent suffer for injuries done by others. I find also another class of individuals, a mixture of all nations, and although less powerful in numbers equally injurious to the country and the Indians. These are a set of traders called here Freemen,” &c again, “I am informed that they have induced Indians to drive off the Stock of emigrants, so as to force them to purchase of the “Freemen” at exhorbitant prices and after the emigrants have left, make a pretended purchase of the indians for a mere trifle, and are ready to sell again to the next train that may pass, and who may have been served in the same manner.” “These scenes are transacted so far from the officers of the law, and by a set of men who are somewhat lawless that it will require extreme measures and some force to relieve the country of them.”

With the exception of a few, perhaps fifteen or twenty white men at Fort Bridger and vicinity, who make no improvements nor raise grain, no settlement has been made or attempted upon the Shoshonees or Uinta Utes land. Some twenty years ago the Shoshonees claimed a small tract at the mouth of Weber upon which there is now a settlement, but abandoned it as the Buffalo receded, and it has since been held by the Cumembahs or Snake Diggers who united by marriage with a broken off band of Shoshonees which the Shoshone Indians do not claim as at all belonging to their nation.

50 Then called East Weber, now Uintah, at the mouth of Weber Canyon.
At the time Major Holeman made the above statements he had never seen an Indian upon whose land the whites who make improvements and cultivate the earth had settled, and no Indians have ever been driven off these lands that I have ever heard of. The Shoshonees and Uintas, to whom I more particularly allude being the only ones in the Territory with whom the Major had at that time had any knowledge of, or intercourse with, have at various times solicited settlements to be made in their respective lands in order that they might be benefited in the articles of clothing provisions, as the game spoken of affords even in the most retired and secluded places, but a very precarious dependence for subsistence. The only dissatisfaction that I have even been able to learn as existing among them, was in consequence of no such settlements being made as they desired although they have been told that they will be accommodated in this thing as soon as circumstances will permit. Many upon whose lands settlements have been made have gone to work and bid fair to become quite useful in their new avocation. There seems to be a mistaken idea in relation to the Shoshone Indians committing depredations, murders, &c upon emigrants. It has been and is the universal practice of emigrants upon reaching the country of these Indians, to relax their vigilance and usually dispense with their guard. This feeling of safety and sense of security is induced from the known friendly disposition of the Shoshonees in whose country the weary traveler can repose in safety, and the emigrant pass with impunity. As long as my acquaintance with them has existed, this is the first time that I have heard of such charges coming against them. The Uinta Utes and also all others in this Territory live south of all the travel to Oregon, California, or this place, and being at enmity with the Cheyennes and Shoshonees never extend their travels as far north as the line of travel, consequently could not, unless they should take the southern route from this place, which in the emigrating season is seldom done. Of these facts and especially the peaceable disposition of the Shoshonees the traveling public should be advised, that their minds might be disabused of prejudice against them; not so much to relax their vigilance, as to refrain from the wanton and murderous practice of shooting them, whenever they show their heads; a practice too often indulged in, by those travelers, who apparently bereft of every sensibility of feeling, consider and treat all Indians as enemies.

Whether the settlements are or have been detrimental to the “country” the “Indians” or the traveler, let those answer who are acquainted, a few items like the following. Have they received any benefit by finding in the valleys of the mountains, a resting place where they could recruit themselves and animals in peace and safety while on their toilsome march across the plains and mountains?—Is it any benefit to have a civilized society and an abundance of supplies of every kind of provision and grain furnished midway of the journey where its
absence leaves nothing but a dreary waste and arid desert, involving starvation or inevitable destruction to the belated traveler in the interminable snows of the mountains? Would not Captain (Indian) Walker otherwise most likely extend his exploits, in seriously annoying the traveling public? Are not the Indians better fed, better clothes, and more peaceably disposed towards the whites than before their settlement among them? An affirmative reply must be made to all these queries, by any person who is at all acquainted with the circumstances, and disposed to speak the truth.

In relation to the “Freemen” of Green River I will only say that usually emigrants upon arrival at that point very frequently find their stock so much reduced by hardships that they are often very glad of an opportunity of exchanging for fresh animals at almost any rate that may be asked, thus furnishing an opportunity to those who have stock, an abundant source of profit without stealing themselves, or inducing the Indians to steal for them. Having long followed this practice of trading with the emigrants many of them are very well supplied with good stock which readily recruits when turned upon the rich pasturage of that region.51

It is not safe to trust too far the savage Indians notwithstanding all their professions of friendship. Hence the impropriety of extending settlements faster than can be maintained; for our experience proves to us that although the whites, at their most earnest solicitation, may locate upon their lands with every assurance of safety and protection for themselves and property, yet when coming into daily contact with them, and stock begins to fill the range, their indolent and predatory habits lead them to incur the risk of satisfying their wants. They also sometimes become saucy and offensive to females who are left without sufficient protection, but in most cases if their wants for food, and clothing are supplied, but little difficulty occurs. We have had some serious difficulties at various times with them, but it has been caused usually through these sources, as the people have been unable to furnish them with all they wanted; their involuntary contributions become too burdensome and when withheld exasperation ensued. But chastisement when so richly deserved has had a most salutary effect, and in all instances with the exception of some Cumembahs; the hostile belligerents have come to terms and subsequently lived in peace with seemingly a better understanding than before.

These Cumembahs inhabiting principally the central part of this Territory extending north and south and westerly from the settlements and bordering upon the Desert as related in my former report of Sept 13/51 have as yet never

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51 As Brigham Young was later to have trouble enough with the mountain men living in Green River Valley, and for three years had regarded dubiously the influence exerted by Jim Bridger against the Mormons, these remarks are interestingly dispassionate.
come under the influence of a settlement of whites; but in Tooele and other places made such inroads upon the settlements, which altho’ in their vicinity were yet upon other Indian’s lands, as to compel the citizens in order to ensure their own safety to repel them and seek to break up their haunts by force. These are the Indians that so infest Mary’s river. It was supposed that some Panaks and Shoshonees attracted thither by their success in plunder had joined them; but a small representation from those tribes inhabiting in the vicinity of Fort Hall with whom I conversed a few days since, strenuously deny that either of their tribes or any part of them have ever gone there, and they seemed totally ignorant of the fact if any such existed; although they admitted that they had heard rumours of emigrants being robbed and killed upon that river.

Availing myself of the protection afforded in the emigration to California I intended to send out an expedition to treat with the Indians on Mary’s river this season, and had prepared instructions accordingly to Major Holeman. At this time the copy of his report herein alluded to having arrived, I improved an early opportunity of calling upon him, hoping that his longer residence in the Territory and more extended acquaintance had served to correct the views which he had so erroneously entertained and expressed. I sincerely regret to say that he still adhered so strenuously to them as to induce the belief that he was at least indifferent to the interests of the community, by so manifestly endeavoring to prejudice the mind of the Government against them. He however promised to look over the matter and if he saw anything to retract that he would take great pleasure in doing so. But as he has failed to do it, I declined giving him any instructions as was designed. And he during my absence with an escort of twenty five or thirty men employed at the expence of the Government, as I understand, has gone, intending to visit Carson Valley before his return. It is to be hoped that the enterprise will prove beneficial. I shall now await the result of his enterprise before acting in the premises.

It cannot be expected much will be done towards establishing farms and other improvements for the Indians unless some appropriations are made for that purpose.

Having just returned from my tour to the southern portion of the Territory, and not having time previous to the departure of this mail to make all the statements required in your letter, must crave the indulgence of another mail, when the required information will accompany the quarterly report ending 30 of June. If it is usual to furnish superintendencies with blanks they would be very gratefully received. . . .
Sir, Herewith is transmitted my report ending this 3 quarter of the present year, together with Major Holeman and Rose reports. I will briefly remark, that all is peace among the native tribes in this Superintendency, even on Mary’s river. We learn of no depredations of importance; this however is the usual result during the heavy emigration; whether they will again commence when that has passed, and small companies again tempt their rapacity time will develop. It is to be hoped that all parties traveling in that direction will give them no opportunity.

On the 6th day of August Ultimo, there arrived in this city six of the Shoshones as messengers from the tribe to make inquiry in relation to trade, and ascertain if possibly peace might be made with Wa-chor and the Utahs. This being a desirable object to accomplish, I made the messenger some presents, and informed them that I would send for the Utahs to meet them, if they would come and endeavor to accomplish the object which they seemed so ardently to desire. Accordingly on the 3rd day of September after many fruitless efforts on our part to procure the Utahs, who appeared very wary, and inclined to try the patience of the Shoshones to the uttermost, they were brought together, the Shoshones having been in waiting some two or three weeks. There were present on the part of the Utahs, Wachor, Sowiette, Antaro, Anker-howhitch (Arrow pine being sick) 34 lodges. On the part of the Shoshones, Wah-sho kig, To ter mitch, Watche namp, Ter ret e ma, Persh e go and 26 lodges. The lodges were left a short distance from the city, the braves amounting to about fifty in number on each side attending the treaty. Major Holeman having arrived from Carson valley just previous, by my invitation was also present, Interpreters D. B. Huntington, and Elijah Warde. The main difficulty seemed to be accomplished in getting them together upon a friendly footing I led off by asking Wa chor and Wash a kick if they wished to make peace and be friends with each other. They replied they did Will you make good peace that will last? Answered yes. I then said to Wachor tell all of your tribe this, and ask them, if they will do the same, and if so, let every one arise and hold up their right hands It was done unanimously, and the same explanation being made to the Shoshones by their chief, they also responded unanimously in the same manner. I then told them they must never fight each other again, but must live in peace, so that they could travel in each other’s country and trade with

52 U/17–1852. The substance of this communication has been printed by Dr. Hebard though she is mistaken in referring to the document as Brigham Young’s “annual report.”
each other. I then asked the Utes if we had been friends to them and if they loved us. As soon as the question was explained to their understanding, they answered in the affirmative by acclamation, with evident signs of joy and good feeling. The pipe of peace being first offered to the great Spirit, was often replenished, and sent around by the Shoshones’ chiefs until every one had smoked in token of lasting friendship. The Utahs were then asked, if they had any objection to our settling upon their lands, and if they had not, to raise their right hands, which they did unanimously. Sow erette being the Chief of the Uinta Utes and two of his sons being present, was also asked the same question. Replied that it was good for them to have us settle upon their lands, and he wanted a house close beside ours. I then asked the Shoshones how they would like to have us settle upon their land at Green river; they replied that the land at Green river did not belong to them, but that they lived and inhabited in the vicinity of the Wind river chain of mountains, and the Sweetwater (or Sugar Water as they called it) but that if we would make a settlement on Green river, they would be glad to come and trade with us. I expressed unto them my good feelings for their kindness, in always being friendly to the whites, and for the safety in which all of the emigrants had ever been able to pass through their country, and hoped they would always continue the same. If any of the whites should steal anything from them, it should be returned if I could find it and if any of their tribe should steal anything from the whites, they must do the same. The Shoshones were expecting that Wa chor and the Utes would give them some horses according to their usual custom for a certain number of Shoshones which they had killed in their last conflict which occurred something over a year ago. Ten seemed to be about the number which had been killed, and the same number of horses were required. But finally agreed upon nine head. Walker now led off in quite a lengthy speech in which he said that he had done wrong and was sorry for it, His friends had been killed on the Shoshones land, and he had supposed that they had done it, but now he was satisfied that it was not them, that Brigham told him not to go, but he would not hear him, he had been sorry ever since, and so forth; had no horses now, but was going to trade with the Moquis next winter and would bring the horses to Green river when he should return. I will hear now what Brigham says to me, me good, placing his hand on his breast, have been a fool, but will do better in future. To ter mitt Shoshone chief then said a few words; his ears were open wide to hear, it was good, and he felt well, his heart was good. I then directed that the Chiefs should have some clothes and

53 It has always been supposed that the name of the Sweetwater was bestowed by the trappers who frequented its waters from 1824; the French name, Eau Sucree instead of Eau Douce, has given some validation to the story that a mule with a load of sugar once fell in the stream. Under the circumstances it is very curious that the Shoshoni themselves should be represented as using the name, “Sugar Water.”

54 Although it was some time in materializing, this is the genesis of the Fort Supply settlement near Fort Bridger.
ammunition given them, and some beef cattle, and flour having been procured for
the purpose, was distributed among them, when they left in apparently high spirits
and good and friendly feelings towards each other as well as the whites.55

I have been thus explicit in giving the particulars of this interview, as it is the
first that has occurred of a like nature since the settlements were founded; and it is
hoped will result in long continued amity between the tribes. The Indians are uni-
versally fed and partially clothed throughout the Territory where settlements have
been made, according to the ability of the people, and very many children are taken
into families and have all the usual facilities for education afforded other children.

The following estimates are made out from past observation and experience, as
well as a knowledge of the actual wants and necessities of the Superintendency.

Goods for presents, such as blankets, shirts, hats caps
   shoes pants &c             5000—
Ammunition and guns            1500
Provisions and tobacco         5500
Total for presents             12000—
                               12,000

For Major Holeman’s Agency current expenses as per
   bills of last year            5000
Major Rose                     Do     Do     Do     Do     3500
*Two [Stricken out: interpreters pay]
   Total agencies               9500
                               9,500

Superintendent’s    Defraying expenses of farming
   operations                   2700
Messengers on various business 600
Expenses of office, clerk hire, and other general contingencies
   [Stricken out: * including Interpreter $500]
   2500]
   5,800
* (leave out)
   £ 5,800
   D$27,300

It will be observed that the above estimates do not contemplate holding of trea-
ties or establishing schools, blacksmiths, mills &c at agencies, as usual in other
Territories, and would be desirable in this. The estimates for such purposes were
made in my report of estimates to Elisha Whittlesey Esq: December 31st, 1851,
and have probably been received ’ere this. . . .

55 For additional details about the summer’s council with the Indians see the Deseret News,
August 2, 21, 30, 1852.
Jacob H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, November 3, 1852

Sir—During the past Summer, there has been some excitement with the Indians and Whites, in this Territory in consequence of the establishment of a ferry and bridge across Green River, by the Legislature of Utah Territory. It seems, that for several years previous, ferrys have been established by the Mountaineers, for the accommodation of travellers, on the various roads crossing this river. At the last session of the Legislature, a charter was granted to a Mr. Moore, (a Mormon) giving to him the exclusive privilege of ferrying, and thereby excluding all others—a certain portion of the tolls, were set apart, by this act, for the benefit and use of the Mormon Church. A charter was also granted to a company, all Mormons, for the purpose of building a bridge across this river. These charters, and the occupation of the country by the Mormons, have produced much excitement among the Indians, who express their disapprobation, in the strongest terms. I received a few days since the following letter:

56 H/201–1853.
57 The legislature of the State of Deseret, precursor of the Territory of Utah, granted the first ferry rights to Green River on February 12, 1850, to whom is not known; see Dale L. Morgan, “The State of Deseret,” Utah Historical Quarterly 8, nos. 1–3 (1940): 99. The first Utah Territorial Legislature, in an act approved January 16, 1852, granted these ferry rights to one Thomas Moor; he was granted “the right of erecting one or more ferreries on Green river, for one year, at any point within Utah Territory, for the accommodation of travelers: Provided he pay ten per cent of all moneys collected on said ferry, to be paid into the Territorial treasury, for the benefit of the Territory of Utah, on or before the first day of October next ensuing.” A schedule of rates was adopted, ranging from 25 cents for individual animals to $6 for wagons over 4,000 lbs. The act also provided that if any person should erect “any public ferry over said river with Utah Territory, without permission of the Legislature of the Territory of Utah, said person or persons shall pay the sum of one thousand dollars, to be collected for the use of the Territory of Utah.” Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the . . . Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 166–67. (These, the sessions laws, will hereafter be cited simply as Laws of Utah for the date in question.)
58 No charter for a bridge is recorded in Laws of Utah, 1852, but see note 60 [in appendix].
59 See Morgan, “The State of Deseret,” 99 n. 83, in which comment is made on the group psychology involved in these ferry grants. The Mormons, themselves essentially squatters, calmly ignored the squatters’ rights of the mountain men. Unable to cope with the Mormons in the Territorial Legislature, the mountain men improved upon their close relations with the Shoshoni to stir up the Indians against the Saints and build a case they were better able to defend. The issues were complex, and they are argued at length.
“Fort Bridger, Oct. 9, 1852

“Dr. Sir—I beg to call your attention to the disturbed state of the Snake Indians at this moment, in consequence of the occupation of a part of their country by the Mormon Whites. Being an American citizen, and having the welfare and honor of my country in view I believe it is imperative for you, without delay, to allay, by all the means in your authority, the present excitement. I saw the Chiefs here, in council, at this Fort, and heard them assert, that they intended to immediately drive the whites from their lands, and much persuasion was used to pacify them for the present time. And now, dear sir, if you do not use the authority vested in you, speedily, I do believe and fear scenes of destruction and bloodshed will soon ensue.

“Respectfully—Yours
“A. Willson”

The above letter is from a gentleman, passing through the country, on his return to the States from California, and who was remaining at Fort Bridger a few days. I visited, immediately, the section of country alluded to and found that a company of Mormons, under the charter of the Legislature of Utah Territory, had assembled on Green river, and had commenced the construction of a bridge, but finding so much opposition on the part of they [sic] Indians, they determined to abandon it for the present, and all have returned to Salt Lake City.\(^{60}\) This satisfied the Indians, who immediately left, and at present all is quiet. The Mormons, I understand, intend to resume their efforts to build this bridge in the spring—the Indians I also understand, have resolved, that the Mormons shall neither occupy a ferry, nor build a bridge on the river, which is some 160 miles from the settlements in Salt Lake valley. Both parties I understand are determined. Should the Mormons persist in their determination, a war will be the consequence, and great distress and suffering must follow, as it is on the main emigration route from to California and Oregon.

In regard to the occupation of the Indian country, under these charters from the Legislature of the Territory, and their authority to grant them, I should be pleased to have advice and instruction immediately. Maj. [John] Hockaday, who will hand you this, is fully advised of all the circumstances—I refer you to him for further information. In relation to these ferry’s and bridge, the charter provides that 10 cents on every dollar received as toll, shall be paid into the tithing office, for the benefit of the Church.\(^{61}\) This seems to me, to be unconstitutional—advise

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\(^{60}\) See appendix for note text.

\(^{61}\) It will be seen that this does not square with the language of the law as quoted in note 57.
me, in relation to this matter—I am called upon, almost daily, for information and am not able to give it, not knowing the power of the Territorial Legislature. I wish, also, advice in relation to the use of Spirituous Liquors—On the route from the states to Salt Lake City, there are two establishments for the accommodation of travellers and emigration—I have given them Licence, as Indian traders, being in the Indian country—they keep spirits for the use of the travel, but in no case, do they permit the use of it by the Indians—they are what may be termed Tavern Keepers. If it is improper for me to allow them this privilege, please advise me.

The Mormon authorities have levied a tax on these Mountaineers and have collected, in some instances—as the tax is considered extravagant, and partly for the use and benefit of the Mormon church, it is producing much excitement, and I fear will produce bloodshed. These men declare their willingness to pay any tax which the Government may demand, but refuse to pay a Mormon Tax, as they term it. As I am frequently called upon for information on these subjects, I should like to be fully advised, as it may prevent difficulty and trouble in future. . . .

1853

20

JACOB H. HOLEMAN, INDIAN AGENT, TO LUKE LEA, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WEBER STATION, (UTAH TERRITORY), MARCH 5, 1853

Sir—I addressed you a hasty note, in November last, from Fort Bridger in relation to difficulties between the Mormons and the Indians. I remained on Green River, had frequent conversations with the Indians until all matters were quieted for the present. But I fear a disturbance, if the country should be settled and occupied by the Mormons, or if they should attempt to build Bridges and establish ferries under the acts of the Territorial Legislature, alluded to in my note of November last. I am at a loss to know how to act—I have so frequently asked for information and instructions, on various matters, without receiving any, that I fear my communications have not reached you. I hope, however, that they have

62 These “taverns” may have been located on Green River; but one of them was possibly Fort Bridger.
63 H/234–1853.
not miscarried, and that I shall receive them by the first mail. We have not had a mail from the States since October. There has been so much snow, that the Mountains and roads have been impassable, except on foot, with Snow Shoes. I have been unable to reach Salt Lake—I was compelled to remain at Bridger until January, when a warm spell dissolved the Snow, and I made an effort—but could get no farther than this place, where I have been compelled to remain ever since, some three months—living upon wild game that we could kill. There are three Mormon families living here—64—all they have to live on is flour—they have no meat but such as they can kill. From these we have been enabled to get bread, and such other accommodations as they can afford, but at a very high price, and none of the best at that—they have but a scant supply for themselves. I have remained here in this predicament on account of my horses, being satisfied, that if I left them, they would be lost—I have a hired man with me, and by our constant attention we have been enabled to save them through the winter. The snow is disappearing on the South hill sides, the grass is commencing to grow, and I hope to be able, in a few days to reach Salt Lake City, when I will communicate to you more fully—there being no mails from this Territory, to the States, since October has prevented me from writing before. The mail carrier of October, was compelled to leave his horses, and part of his mail here, and take the letter bag to the City on foot. He has just arrived from the city, with the March Mail, after a laborious travel of five days, only forty miles, and will make an effort to reach the states. He reports the Mountains impassable for horses, particularly weak as ours are—but I hope to be able to leave in a few days. You will please receive this as my excuse for not communicating to you at the end of each quarter.

My situation with Gov. Young, as Superintendent, is rather an unpleasant one—While I feel disposed to treat all parties fairly, and protect the Indians so as to prevent difficulties with the Whites, he seems to have no other anxiety but to favor his own church and people. If things are not changed I feel satisfied, I can be of no great service to the Indian department. My course is well known to the department—I have acted from circumstances, and to the best of my judgement, and hope that my conduct has been justified by the department. If matters are not changed, so as to produce a better feeling in the Mormons, toward the Government, of if the authority and laws of the Government are not enforced, if it should be the wishes of the department I would like to be called home, as my duty to the Government compels me to act in such a manner, as to give offence, frequently, to the Mormons, who seem to recognize no law but their own self will. This is a very unpleasant situation and one that can be productive of not much service either to the Government, to the Indians, or to myself. They seem

64 The “Webber” or Weber Station from which this letter was written was probably in the locality of present Henefer.
desirous to hold all the offices themselves—and when a Gentile is appointed he is never treated with respect, but is abused let him do as he will. I have, and do yet, disregard their abuse, but feel that my efficiency as a Government officer is impaired by such conduct.

I have heretofore suggested to the department, various matters—having taken some pains to acquire information, and at the expense of the Government, and having formed a friendly acquaintance with the Indians and made myself acquainted with the country, if my suggestions should meet the views of the department, I will, with pleasure, give them such attention as the department may direct—as I do not feel disposed to relinquish a duty imposed on me, however arduous and disagreeable the service may be—particularly, having recommended them. . . .

P. S. I have written in a great hurry, on a board on my knee; you will therefore excuse the scrawl. . . .

Stephen B. Rose, Sub-agent, to Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, June 30, 1853

Dear Sir

Since my last report there has nothing of importance occurred amongst the Indians under my charge, with the exception of a fight between the Sioux and Utes of Uwinta Valley but I apprehend there will be some considerable fighting between them as all the Tribes of Nebraska are collecting their warriors together for a general war with the Utes. I would respectfully call the attention of the Department to the Sale of ardent spirits by the French Traders or Freemen as they are called upon the rivers and road from the States to this City as they are carrying on the sale of it to a great extent. I wish to have particular instructions as to what course to pursue in this matter as I think it a serious matter. Accompanying this report you will find a Schedule and Vouchers of the expenses of this Agency up to the present time which I hope will meet with the approbation of the Department. . . .
Edward A. Bedell, Indian Agent, to George W. Manypenny,*
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, September 30, 1853

Dear Sir,

I arrived in this city on the 15th day of August ult, and on the same day reported to Governor Young that I was ready for duty, but could not relieve Major Holeman according to the strict letter of your instructions, as he was away on a trip to Carson Valley; and as he did not return until yesterday I have not yet had time to receive and receipt for the Government property in his possession, and include the same in this quarter's return, but will attend to it forthwith.

Under the direction of the Superintendent, I have written the Indian Chief named Little Soldier, and his band, who are at present near the mouth of Weber River Kanyon, about 45 miles north of this city; also the Shoshones, and Yampah and Uinta Utahs, in the neighborhood of Fort Bridger.67 I found them all friendly & professing much friendship, & made them suitable presents, so far as I thought

* [Robert M. Kvasnicka, “George W. Manypenny, 1853–57,” Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 57–67.]

B/295–1853. Bedell had been named to succeed Holeman after the Democratic victory in the election of 1852. He came from Warsaw, Illinois, and had been on cordial terms with the Saints before their expulsion from that state. [Edward A. Bedell (1819–1854) was born in New York and moved westward to Hancock County, Illinois just before the Mormons began arriving in 1839. The year before Joseph and Hyrum Smith were lynched in the county seat, Bedell served as justice of the peace in Warsaw, one of the hotbeds of anti-Mormon activity. He was attached to Gov. Thomas Ford’s party during the weeks of that crisis and had been present in Carthage, Illinois when Joseph and Hyrum Smith’s bodies were taken from the jail following their lynching. He became active around the edges of state politics by serving as sergeant-at-arms for the two sessions of the Illinois Senate between 1850 and his 1854 Indian agency appointment. Virtually nothing more is known of his career, but he does not appear in the 1860 census in Illinois. Eight U.S. Census (1850), Illinois; Report of Edward A. Bedell dated 17 Aug. 1854, LDS Church Historical Department; Blue Book of the State of Illinois (Springfield: Phillips Bros., 1903), 312–13. —Ed.]

67 During the period covered by this report, Jim Bridger had been driven from his fort by a Mormon posse—the date, August 26, 1853, being fixed by the diary of a California immigrant, Dr. Thomas Flint (see Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California 12, pt. 3 (1923): 97.) There had been hard feelings between Bridger and the Mormons for more than 4 years, and according to Bill Hickman, “About this time it was rumored that Jim. Bridger was furnishing the Indians with powder and lead to kill Mormons. Affidavits were made to that effect, and the Sheriff was ordered out with a posse of one hundred and fifty men to arrest him, capture his ammunition, and destroy all his liquors.” Bridger easily evaded the posse, but Hickman says the liquor was destroyed “by doses.” See William A. Hickman, Brigham’s Destroying Angel: Being the
warranted under the strangely small amount appropriated for the expenditure of this Superintendency, but far short, in my estimate, of what they actually need and deserve.

My Account Current, and accompanying papers are in the hands of Govr Young, & will be forwarded by this Mail, and I hope will prove entirely satisfactory.

Please permit me to indulge in a few remarks, which, though perhaps not immediately pertaining to my duties, I deem of importance.

I will not stop to use argument but simply state what I know and most assuredly believe to be facts. This Territory is known as a whole to be exceedingly destitute of game, and to be poor in spontaneous edible roots, & Seeds; and the Lakes and Rivers afford but a limited supply of fish, and the crickets are abundant only for a short season, and in certain localities. The Indians inhabiting this region, like the great majority of their red brethren, delight in leading a life of indolence, and indulge in thieving at every safe opportunity. Very many of the Stock owners enroute for California, and emigrants to Oregon & California stop & winter in these valleys with large numbers of stock. This stock, as it recruits, is very tempting to the Indians, who would take it to the extent of their fancies, were they not prevented by the fear of the settlements. A great proportion, if not a large majority of the white Inhabitants of Utah, are American born citizens, and generally the foreign population naturalize as fast as the laws will allow, and there is not a more loyal set of people, or inhabitants within the United States.

I need not weary your patience with an extended detail of kindred facts, and characteristics relative to the inhabitants, Indians, and temporary sojourners of this Territory, as I have already stated more than may be sufficient to make it evident that the appropriations for the Utah Superintendency are altogether too small, unless the Government design to let these Indians starve, so far as it is concerned, or live by plundering, or be sustained by the voluntary contributions of the different settlements. Neither of these courses is presumable, and I fully and cordially coincide with the judgment of Governor Young that $40,000. is the smallest amount that ought to be appropriated for the years ending June 30th 1854 & 55, and think a larger sum would be much nearer strict justice in the case. . . .

Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, the Danite Chief of Utah (New York: Geo. A. Crofutt, 1872), 91–92. Bridger did not return to his fort until he came with Johnston's army in the fall of 1857.
Edward A. Bedell, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, December 31, 1853

Dear Sir

In compliance with the regulations of the Indian Department I have the Honor to submit my Second report in relation to the affairs of my Agency. Nothing of importance has occurred Since my last quarterly report dated Sept 30th 1853 made to your excellency except the Masacre by the Indians of the lamented Capt [John W.] Gunnison and his party. In the fore part of October according to your suggestion I visited Fort Bridger and Henrys Fork I found but few Indians there Antero a Ute Chief with a Small band I found on Henrys Fork Encamped I held a conference with him had a talk I made his band presents of a few Blankets shirts & Tobacco He seemed much pleased and they all promised to keep up a friendly intercourse with the whites and remain quiet and at peace— Early in November I started for the Severe [Sevier River] where Capt Gunnison fell but on meeting my interpreter Demick Huntington and being informed by him that he had recovered the Government property or all of it that could be got I returned from Utah Valey to this City. The night before my arrival in Provo City the Indians killed several head of cattle Col [Peter] Conover followed them with a small party of men some twenty miles in the mountains but was not able to over take them. I found a small boddy of Utes Encamped on battle creek had a talk with them They promised to be Peacible and friendly. I received your instructions the last of November to visit the vicinity of Green River but was not at the time able to go in consequence of Sickness Deeming it important I procured the Services of the Hon Orsen Hyde and Sent with him Wm Hickman Esqr as Guar[dr]d and Rober Coster they found a few Indians made them presents and warned them against being led a stray by the notorious Rian and I am satisfied that their visit had a good Effect and was well timed. As far as I can ascertain there is decidedly a better feeling towards the whites Generally among the Indians of this Territory You will find my account for this quarter for grain tolerably large My Excuse is to be found in the fact that the Horses I received from Major J H Holman My presedessor were in verry low flesh and I was obliged to feed them grain to keep them a live. . . .

68 Enclosure in Young to Manypenny, December 31, 1853 (U/28–1854).
69 [See appendix for note text.]
70 [See appendix for note text.]
Jacob H. Holeman to George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Washington City, March 7, 1854

Sir—In reply to your verbal request, for information, “whether at the time of the organization of the Territory of Utah, the Indians in that Territory, occupied, possessed or claimed title to the whole of the Territory—whether the possessions of the different tribes, bounded on each other, or if not, about how much was not possessed by the Indians at the time of its organization.”

Having resided in the Territory, of Utah, as Indian agent, since 1851, and having had considerable intercourse with the various tribes and bands of Indians in that Territory, I have no hesitation in stating, that within the boundary of the Territory, as I have understood it, the Indians claim all the land.—There are the Shoshonies—the Uwinte Utes—the Pi-Utes,—the Timpany Utes—the Parvante Utes—the Banacks—the Washaws—Sosokos, &c. Many of these tribes are divided into bands, under some favorite chief, and are scattered over the Territory, claiming large boundaries of land.—They move from place to place, within these boundaries, in search of game, and other necessaries, but generally, confining themselves within the limits of the grounds claimed by the respective tribes to which they belong.—These claims seem to be acknowledged and respected by the different tribes and bands and are defined by Mountains, water courses &c. There is a small tract of country, lying on the North Platt, between the Shoshonies, and the Sioux and Cheyenes, which is considered as neutral ground, and where they sometimes meet to trade with each other, or for war, as either tribe may feel in the humor. This ground is frequently occupied or visited by the various bands in the vicinity, when game is plenty,—each tribe conceded this privilege to the other; no one tribe or band claims the exclusive right to do so.

The land, in the valley of Salt Lake, upon which the Mormons have settled, was claimed and occupied by the Utes and Shoshonies, until settled by the Mormons. Much complaint has been made by the Indians, and frequent difficulties have occurred, in consequence of this occupation of their lands, by the whites, without their assent. If something is not done, by which the Indians, and the whites may know their respective rights and privileges, much difficulty may be expected. . . .

71 H/574–1854.
Edward A. Bedell, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Indian Agency Office, Utah Territory, April 6, 1854

Sir,

In obedience to your instructions, Dated March 24th 1854, informing me that you had received a communication from Maj Higgins commandant at Manti of the whereabouts of the Indian Chief—Walker, and wishing me to proceed with my interpreter to Fillmore City & hold talk with him.

I have the honor to state most respectfully that I proceeded on the 25th of March, in Company with D. B. Huntingon Esq’ Interpreter. On the 27th of March, we held a talk with Panawick a Ute Chief with a Small party of Indians at Payson in Utah Valley. He informed me that he had used his influence to get the Indians belonging to old Squash-Head’s band, who had stolen from the neighborhood of Springville, some Eighty head of Cattle a short time previous to return them to their owners, and we ascertained that he had succeeded in procuring the return of 24 Head, I told him he and his band had done right, and that I would report their good conduct to you, and that you would inform the great father of his good conduct, I then made them some small presents of Shirts, Tobacco &c. they seemed well pleased & promised to go again into the Mountains, and if the Indians had not killed the remainder of the cattle, to bring them in. I told them to tell old Squash-Head & Peteetneet to come in, & bring the Cattle back if they had not killed them, & be honest, and cease stealing. I also found quite a number of Indians at work on lands that had been ploughed for them by the citizens of Payson.

We then proceeded on our way, and arrived at Salt Creek on the 29th March, a fine flourishing Settlement, where I found Ammon, Walker’s Brother, with 10 or 12 lodges of Indians. They seemed very much pleased to see us. Ammon talked very much in favor of establishing a permanent peace, & said he was glad we were going to have a talk with Walker, for he was sure Walker wanted to be friendly. I ascertained that Ammon furnished Captain Fremont with the first provisions he got after entering the Valley in a Starving condition; the citizens also spoke well of the band, they surveyed off & set apart for them 80 acres of land near the Fort, and was assisting such of the Indians as would work to plough and Sow wheat.

I gave Ammon two Blankets, and his men some Shirts, & Tobacco, & explained to them the object of the great father in having the Surveys made by
Col Freemont, and the late lamented Captain Gunnison. They seemed much pleased and said, that the Parvan Indians that murdered Captain G had done very wickedly, and they were sorry, for they believed he was a good man.

We arrived at Fillmore City on the 31st of March, and found the celebrated chief Walker encamped near the Fort with about 75 braves with him. I visited him at his Lodge on the morning of the 31st March, in Company with the officers of the Fort and my Interpreter. He appeared quite reserved, but glad to see us. Said he had a great deal to say, and hoped we would make a stay of several days I told him I could not spend more than a day: he said Kenosh & other chiefs were there, and he wanted the Indians all as also the officers of the Fort to hear what he had to say, for my Interpreter Mr Huntington could understand him.

I procured a large room from the Hon James McGaw, and commenced a talk with Walker in presence of the Officers of the Fort Authorities of the City & about Eighty Indians, which continued all day. I furnished dinner for the Chiefs at the Hotel, & furnished provisions for the other Indians also. Walker said from the first he had been opposed to this difficulty, & that he had done everything in his power to prevent it, but that he could not control some of his men, and when he found they were determined to steal & murder, he went off to New Mexico to get away, for he felt bad. I told him that the Report had gone to the States, that he & his men had murdered Captain Gunnison & part of his Surveying party, and that the people and also the Great father were justly indignant that such a terrible cold blooded murder should be committed upon men in the service of the United States, and sent by the Great father to locate a Road that would enable them to get a much larger amount of presents, by reducing the cost of transportation. He said, he had heard about it, & seen one party South, making a similar survey & had rendered them assistance & was much pleased. He said he was truly sorry the Pauvants had acted so hastily and indiscreetly, in committing the assault & murder on that party, but tried to apologise for them. Said a train of Emigrants a few days before, had killed an Indian without any provocation, and that the friends & relations of the Indians came upon the party while their hearts were bad. I told him Captain G & his men knew nothing of that, & were entirely innocent, & tried to show and explain to them how wrong it was to punish & murder innocent men, for the acts of bad, and wicked men.

The Pauvant Chiefs Kenosh & Parashunt were present, and quite a number of their men. They seemed very uneasy, and much alarmed. Walker wished me to ask you to inform the Great Father, & the people of the States, that it was not him, or his party that done the deed, & also to ask the Great Father, not to send soldiers to punish the Pah-vants, for he was afraid some innocent Indians would be dragged into difficulty. I talked with him in reference to selling his land to the
general government. He said he would prefer not to sell if he could live peaceably
with the white People, which he was anxious to do.

The citizens of Fillmore had set apart Eighty acres of excellent land for the
use of the Indians.

I asked Walker, if he or his men desired to raise wheat & Potatoes &c. He said
he would much prefer to trade & hunt himself, but he would be glad to have the
Indians work & raise wheat & Corn &c (which many are doing).

Walker I found with a large band of horses, which he wanted to trade, or
sell, & other property. Walker said that the Shoshones in November last, stole 150
Horses from the Utas. I promised them to enquire into it & endeavor to get the
Shoshones to return the Horses.

I made Walker, presents of Blankets, Shirts, and Tobacco; and also presents
to his men. They all said, they were anxious to live in peace, & promised to be
friendly to Emigrants & citizens. Said they would not steal any more Cattle, for
when they came into Fillmore hungry, the Citizens gave them a beef ox. & Wheat
bread &c.

I am firmly of the opinion, if the Emigrants treat them with any degree of
kindness & forbearance, as also the citizens of the Territory, they will be peace-
able and quiet, which is greatly to be desired.73

In February last, a Deputation of Seven Bannack Indians visited this City for
the purpose of having a talk with Your Excellency and myself; the weather was
extremely cold & Stormy, & I was compelled to keep them in my Office for sev-
eral days until the storm abated, and also keep their horses. I think the General
Government should build a carroll, and some kind of cheap quarters for the
Indians when they come in; for it is almost impossible to get them Kept, while in
the City on business.

I am much indebted to D. B. Huntington Esq’ for the favor of providing for
them, as also Col [J. C.] Little.

The Bannacks are a friendly race of Indians, & quite intelligent; they say they
have never received any presents from the Great Father, but that the citizens of
the Territory have been usually very kind to them, and that you have been uni-
formly been [sic] good to them. I made them presents of Shirts, Tobacco, provi-
sions, and such things as I had and could procure. They seemed much pleased,
& promised to continue friendly &c. They said it was not good to steal from, or
murder the whites, although, they said on several occasions, the emigrants had

73 The peace talks with Walker, described here and in Document 26, as also in S[olomon] N. Carvalho, Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856 [i.e., 1857; ed. Ava F. Kahn, Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2004]), 187–96, settled the difficulties with the Utes which are remembered in Utah history as the Walker War of 1853–54. Walker took no very prominent part in the war, and died soon after, on January 29, 1855.
treated them badly. I told them, that you & the Great father would do everything
in your power to have their wrongs atoned for, & that if they would inform me,
I would always endeavor to regain any property that the emigrants wrongfully
deprived them of.

The Shoshones, as far as I can ascertain, continue to be friendly, they say they
do not receive as many presents as they are entitled to, the price of goods is so
high here that the appropriation does not seem to go far, for the Indians of this
Territory are so very numerous.

Hoping that we may be able to live in peace with the Native tribes. . . .

26

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W.
MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 30, 185474

Sir,

Since my last quarterly report, our relations with our red neighbors have
remained uniformly friendly towards the whites, so far as I have information.

I have recently heard rumours of hostile feeling between the Shoshones on
Green River, and Country adjacent, and the Utahs of Uinta Valley. As these tribes
as in the agency assigned to the late Agent E. A Bedell, who dies on Green River
[on May 3] on his return to the States, and as no authentic information has yet
reached me, of any serious outbreaks upon each other, I have not deemed it best,
up to the present date, to incur the expense of sending an express party to enquire
into the matter; and, also, as I expect to visit that region personally during the
next month, when I shall be able to learn definit[e]ly the facts in the case.

On the 3rd of May Ult. I left this City on a tour South, with the design of
visiting, and talking with the various Indian tribes which might at the time be
reasonably near the traveled route, and returned on the 30th Ult. having seen,
and conversed with a majority of their principal men, and made such presents of
cattle, clothing, &c as the exigences of the case seemed to require. all the Indians
thus met with, expressed strong desires for “good peace,” and thus far have acted
in accordance with their professions. But they are generally very poor, and have
few and scanty resources for subsistence, and are much given, very naturally, to
contrasting our apparent wealth with their destitution, and from the contrast
make onerous demands upon the white settlers for food, and clothing, which,

74 U/36–1854.
when not complied with from any cause, occasions ill feelings on the part of the Indians, resulting often, even now, in thieving, and on the other hand renders it difficult for me to make our poor citizens understand at all times, that it is cheaper, and far better for us to feed & clothe the Indians, learn them to labor, and to read & write, than it is to fight them, more especially as they deem that to belong to the proper sphere of duty of the General Government, in accordance with her proclaimed policy.

Doubtless Congress in their appropriations, and the Indian Department in auditing my accounts, will duly appreciate the circumstances, and position of our recent & aboriginal population, and adopt a course that will tend to lighten the difficulties under which we are struggling to make the desert blossom as the rose, to extend the area of enlightenment, and civilization, and to ameliorate the condition of the untamed, & untutored savage.

As the only Agency as yet allowed to Utah is made vacant by the death of Major E. A. Bedell, and our only Sub-Agency will soon be vacated by the removal, to the States, of the present incumbent Major S. B. Rose, I beg leave to call you early attention to this subject, and most respectfully suggest, that James Brown 3rd be appointed Indian Agent, & Dimick B. Huntington Indian Sub-Agent for Utah Territory, as persons every way qualified to act efficiently and with correctness and good judgment in official duties, both towards the natives, and the Department.

You are already familiar with the extend of this Territory, & with the number, & scattered situation of her tribes; would it not therefore be just to allow Utah one or two more Sub-Agents? Should your judgment permit you so to decide, it would be gratifying to me, and highly beneficial to all parties concerned if you would appoint John D. Lee, and Isaac Bullock.76

75 James Brown 3rd, as then called, later changed his name to James Stephens Brown, to distinguish himself from other Browns in Utah. In his quarterly report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of December 31, 1853 (U/28–1854), Brigham Young had recommended that sub-agents be appointed for “Carson Valley, Mary’s river, & that region, one for Green River County, one for the tribes who can be easily reached from the confluence of Grand and Green Rivers, and one for Washington, Iron, and Millard Counties”; he names as suitable persons George P. Dykes, Levi Stewart, Dimick B. Huntington, and John D. Lee. That James S. Brown was now recommended for an agency shows that Young appreciated the services he had performed during May and June in making contact with Washakie, a difficult and dangerous mission. Soon after writing these remarks, Brigham Young wrote in his History, “Learning that the principal chief of the Shoshones had invited Elder James Brown to go into his lodge and remain and identify himself with them, I wrote to Brother Brown counseling him by all means to do so, for it was what was needed and the very purpose for which the mission was established. The hand of God was in it. So that we could gain influence with the tribe to make them peaceable and do them good.” (“History of Brigham Young,” 1854, 64, quoted in the Journal History, July 18, 1854.)

76 Bullock subsequently became probate judge of Green River County. He led to Fort Supply the second company sent there, which arrived close on the heels of the first, November 26, 1853. The company consisted of 53 men, and brought 190 head of cattle.
I presume you will extend to Utah all the facilities in your power, to enable her population to be benefitted, at the earliest practicable date, by such treaty regulations with her tribes as the liberality of Congress may provide.

Accompanying this my Report, I forward the vouchers from No. 1. to 10. inclusive, the a/c Current, and the abstract for the 4th Quarter, ending June 30th, 1854, and amounting to $2185 08/100.

Trusting that he official papers now forwarded will be found just, correct, & satisfactory. . . .

2d Lieut. H. B. Fleming, comdg. Fort Laramie, to George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Laramie, August 15, 1854

Sir

A copy of a letter has been sent me requesting me to forward the same to you for you decision thereon. There has been a great deal of trouble between the Mountain Men and the Mormons for some time past, which has resulted in the death of several persons on both sides. The Mountain Men have wives and children among the Snake Indians, and therefore claim the right to the Green River country in virtue of the grant given them by the Indians to whom the country belongs; as no treaty has yet been made to extinguish their title—The Mormons, on the other hand, claim jurisdiction over the country, paramount to all Indian titles, in virtue of it being in Utah Territory.

Now, the question, in issue, appears to me this; since the country lies in the Territory of Utah, have the Mormons or have they not the right to dispose of the country to settlers, to dispose of its resources, revenues, and finally everything in the country or exercise judicial power over revenues before the actual Indian title has been extinguished.

These questions have been and are now agitated among the people of the new Territories—have caused a great deal of trouble and will cause more unless permanently settled by proper authority. Since the large emigration to Oregon and California, the Ferries, Bridges, &c., have been profitable investments.

Your decision in this case I consider of great importance as it is time such

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27 F/117–1854. The questions raised in this and the document following were on September 15, 1854, referred by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior. The Interior files in the National Archives do not indicate that any reply was ever made.
things were settled and unnecessary blood-shed saved by placing the right where it properly belongs. Both parties contend for the right & I might add I think both equally honest in their convictions

Enclosed I forward the letter for your decision. . . .

28

JOHN M. HOCKADAY TO GEORGE W. MANYPENNEY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 17, 1854

Sir,

Whereas the Boundaries of Green River County in the Territory of Utah were defined and attached to Great Salt Lake County for “Election, revenue, and Judicial purposes” by a special act of the legislature of said Territory approved March the 3rd 1852, and was detached from said Great Salt Lake County by another act of said Legislature approved January 13th 1854, and is now organized with its Judiciary and officers and lies in the first Judicial District of the United States Court for said Territory and,

Whereas an act was passed by said Legislature, approved January 17th 1853, Granting a Charter Unto Daniel H. Wells Esqr the right to Erect Ferries for the Conveyance of stock waggons, Passengers &c Over Green River in said County of Green River in said Territory, on the lands claimed, by the tribe of Shoshone Indians, and which said Charter or Right of erecting ferries has been transferred

78 Enclosure in Fleming to Manypenny (F/117–1854), Document 27. The copy transmitted by Hockaday himself is H/628–1854.
79 The citations are Laws of Utah, 1852, 162–64; and Laws of Utah, 1854, 259–60.
80 Complied Laws of Utah, 1855, chap. 50, 237–38. The charter required Wells to pay into the treasury of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company ten percent of all proceeds; the right to the Green River ferries was granted to him for three years, from and after May 15, 1853. Wells was expected to maintain ferries “at two of the most convenient and safe places of crossing,” i.e., on the Sublette Cutoff and on the Salt Lake Road. Subsequently, by an act of the Utah Legislature approved December 27, 1855, Isaac Bullock and Lewis Robison were granted the exclusive right and privilege of ferries across Green river . . . for the space of three years from and after the 15th day of May, A. D. 1856. (Laws of Utah, 1856, 16–17.) Thus they succeeded Daniel H. Wells as the statutory owners of the Green River ferry rights. Robison became more or less the proprietor of Fort Bridger after buying from Louis Vasquez, on August 3, 1855, the claim of Bridger and Vasquez. (The records concerning the purchase of Fort Bridger are in the Salt Lake County Clerk’s Office, Record Book B, 68, 125–28.) Alfred Cumming, who succeeded Brigham Young as Governor of Utah Territory, was averse to the granting of special privileges in the shape of herd grounds, ferries, etc., and in 1859 all such special grants were repealed.
by said Wells to others and at present Capt. W. J. Hawley, James H. Jones & John Kerr (of the firm of Jones & Kerr) Frances M Russell & John M Russell are proprietors of said Ferries (the said Charter Expiring on the 15th day of May A.D. 1856) And:

Whereas the said Shoshone's are displeased with the said granting of such Charter, and being in possession of “white men” not married into their nation or tribe and Claim the right, and Jurisdiction of Granting or giving the land, timber, River and the Right of erecting Ferries, to whom they please, Claiming all as belonging to them on their Lands, in said Green River county and that they have given the said River and the right of erecting Ferries on the same to the white men that have married Squaws of their tribe, and have children among them and which said Ferries or the right therefore said white men claim, contending that there has been no treaty made with the Indians and that the land, Timber Rivers &c legally belongs to them, until purchased of them by treaty with the U States Government. and that the Legislature of the Territory of Utah, have no right or authority to grant such Charter on Indian lands; but are willing to submit the same to the decision of the legal and constituted authority at Washington City,

Now in Order to allay all excitement or ill feeling that may exist in the heart of said Indians or White men at the present time in regard to said Ferries, and to conduce to peace now and hereafter, we sent this letter of Enquiry to you, that we may have your honorable opinion or decision of the same, Whether or not the said Legislature of Utah, have the right to Grant Charters for Ferries on Green River, or any other Rivers or waters in said Territory, [w]hether in organized Counties or not, where said Rivers and lands are claimed by the Indians. If said Legislature have not, we wish to be informed and have the matter In dispute settled at the Proper Department and an answer returned at as as [sic] early a day as possible and to which decision all concerned will cheerfully submit. . . .

John M. Hockaday

N. B. Selected by the parties to address you this letter of Enquiry

N. B. Please direct your answer to the Commanding officer at Fort Laramie—

81 [See appendix for note text.]
Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, September 30, 1854

Sir,

I transmit by the Mail of the 1st proximo, the vouchers numbered 1 to 17 inclusive, the account Current and the abstract for the first quarter ending at date, amounting to $4175 61 1/2 1/100 and report of employees, together with this my quarterly report now due.

Since my Report, the Indian tribes in this Superintendency have observed peaceful relations towards the whites and each other with two exceptions so far as I am informed. A few reckless Indians in Cedar Valley unprovokedly killed two whites who had gone to the Kanyon for wood. Some friendly Indians succeeded (in accordance with agreements previously entered into) in capturing two of the murderers, and delivered them up to the U. S. Marshal.

They had a fair and impartial trial before the U. S. District Court of the District where the deed was committed, Hon Leonidas Shaver presiding Judge, were sentenced to be hung, and were executed accordingly.

In addition to killing those two men, a few of the small bands of Utahs at Provo, and Nephi are at times very ugly in their conduct and conversation, frequently taking garden vegetables, wheat &c. not only without leave, or compensation of any kind, but insolently in the presence of the owners, occasionally shooting cattle, and often threatening.

This course on their part makes it very difficult to restrain the feelings natural to American citizens, and induce them to realize the ignorance and degradation of the red men, and preserve peaceful relations; and how suddenly gross aggravation on the one hand, and a hasty retaliation on the other, may result in bloodshed and rapine is not always foreseen.

It is obvious that means are necessary, and that too in at least a just proportion, to enable me to carry out the Pacific designs of the government towards its red children, and it would seem reasonable that the accounts of this Superintendency be audited and paid promptly, and with all that liberality towards any unknown, or accidental & immaterial informality which can be consistent with Justice, and well established usage.

82 U/39–1854.
83 The hanging of these two Indians for the killing of the Weeks brothers [William F. and Warren D.] in Cedar Valley was the first execution under judicial process performed in the Territory of Utah. [A contemporary first-hand account may be found in Stout, On the Mormon Frontier, 2:526. —Ed.]
Last week a small party of Shoshones fell upon some Utahs near Provo City, killed four and wounded a few, and after some skirmishing and having two of their party wounded, returned to their usual camping grounds. The Shoshones made this attack when searching for some of their Horses which they said the Utahs had stolen. Such outbreaks will sometimes occur, notwithstanding the most vigilant effort to the contrary, unless force be resorted to, which I have invariably deemed it most prudent to avoid, even against the anxious desires of each party for us to side with them.\(^{84}\)

Finding the indians in Iron and Washington Counties naked, peaceful, and disposed to cultivate the arts of peace, I forwarded a small amount of plain clothing, cheap and substantial, to be distributed among them as per accounts now rendered, and which I feel to say, are at the lowest reasonable total for their real necessities at the time.

On the 1st Inst at their earnest solicitation I made a short visit to some chiefs, and quite a company of Shoshones who had assembled just north of Ogden City. They were very friendly and appeared well pleased, and highly gratified with the presents my Judgment dictated as suitable for the circumstances, & their condition and feelings.\(^{85}\)

It affords me pleasure to commend the faithfulness and vigilance of the Employees in this Superintendency, and to congratulate the Department upon the beneficial results to the natives, notwithstanding the limited amount of facilities & means with which to operate.

\textit{It would materially facilitate my operations if the Department would transmit official blanks.}

I have drawn upon the Department in favor of the Hon John M. Bernhisel, Utah Delegate, for the sum of $4176 61 1/2 /100.

Trusting that these papers will be found in due form and receive audit & allowance conformable with the position of business upon reception. . . .

\(^{84}\) It is more probable that these Shoshoni came from the northern part of Utah than that they were Wyoming Shoshoni. Some frictions involving the latter are, however, intimated by the \textit{Deseret News} of July 20, 1854: “Our red neighbors remain friendly towards the whites; but there are rumors of slight disturbances, and one or two small fights between the Green River Snakes and the Uinta Utahs.” For a fuller account of the Provo fight, see Almon W. Babbitt’s letter, September 26, 1854, in the \textit{St. Louis Luminary}, November 22, 1854. [The Shoshonis’ passage through the city to and from the altercation was noted by Hosea Stout. \textit{On the Mormon Frontier}, 2:528. —Ed.]

\(^{85}\) James S. Brown [in] \textit{Life of a Pioneer}, 346, back from the Green River country for the winter, describes this visit to what he calls “Chief Catalos’ camp of Shoshones, four miles north of Ogden.” Another account is found in the \textit{Deseret News}, September 7, 1854. Elsewhere the chief’s name is given as Katat or Ka-tat-o, and he is termed chief of the Shoshoni bands of northern Utah.
Sir,

Herewith I forward my accounts for the Quarter ending the 30th of June/55. The Indians are universally quiet, and many appear inclined to work, and raise Grain, although, the Grasshoppers, and low stage of water, in all the Streams used for irrigation, affords but poor encouragement the present season.

The Shoshones have expressed a desire to commence farming operations next spring, and have solicited me to make a location for them, which I intend to do, this season, probably in the month of August.\(^{86}\)

I have met several of the bands of Utahs, the present season, during my tour to the Southern part of the Territory; they all seem friendly disposed, though considerable fault is found by them, in regard to not paying them for the use of their lands, although they have universally acknowledged that they were essentially benefitted by the settlements being made among them. It is not an unfrequent occurrence, to see an Indian driving team, and performing other common labor in the Southern Settlements, nor Indian children playing with those of the inhabitants; clothed, fed and Schooled the same as their own.

The idea of cultivating the earth, for a subsistence, gains slowly among them, for it is very adverse to there habit of idleness; still their necessities reason strong with them, and furnish forcible reasons why, they, should pursue the peaceful avocations of Agriculture, raising Stock &c, for a subsistence, instead of longer following in the habits of savage barbarity, idleness, and war, to which they have so long been accustomed.

In many places, however, they may be said simply to exist without either hunting or war; wikeup, or Lodge, utensils, or clothing of any kind. This Class

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86 U/48–1855.
87 Somewhat more precisely, George A. Smith wrote on June 20, 1855, in a letter from Great Salt Lake City to the editor of The Mormon, “The Indians are very quiet, and are disposed to learn to raise grain. Wa-she-kik has sent a request to Governor Young to select him a farm on Green River, as he is unacquainted with farming. He is anxious to farm, as game is scarce.” Millennial Star 17, no. 40 (6 Oct. 1855): 636. The contact with Washakie was made by James S. Brown early in June, 1855; Brown found the chief in the upper Green River Valley, apparently on the heads of Horse Creek. Brown, Life of a Pioneer, 350–68.
are a constant prey to other more warlike bands, who steal their children; they possessing no means of defence, seek their safety in flight, & concealment; they live upon roots, insects, and seeds gathered from a kind of Tmisquit grass, which yeilds quite bountifully. Indians of this description remain in their localities, and until hunted up and meet the traveler, have never seen white men, they are mostly to be found bordering upon the Deserts, and are called Diggers.

I am happy in informing you that the Indians on the Humboldt, or Marys River, are more peacefully inclined than heretofore; they have not committed any depredations of importance upon travelers this season so far as has come to my Knowledge. Although, I heard, during my recent trip North, that two or three Indians have been inhumanly Killed by California Emigrants, but I hope that it may not result disastrously to succeeding traveling.

The Pah-vante Indians, who inhabit Millard County, are much inclined to go to work, owing principally to the influence of their young Chief Kenosha, who has long sought to bring about this result. Ken-osha, is quite young, and many of the Old warriors of his tribe do not like the idea of labor, hence, he meets with more, or less difficulty, in his laudable endeavors of introducing such of them, an extreme innovation.

He has some Stock, over which he exercises great care, and begins to realize, the benefit accruing therefrom. Arrow-pin, the Newly elected Chief of the roving band of the Utahs, is also, more or less, engaged in raising Stock, but careless about Agriculture, as his Stock can travel with him in his wanderings; nevertheless, he is extremely gratified, as was also his brother, late Chief Capt. Walker, in having grain Sown, Cultivated, and harvested by the inhabitants for them, which has been done every Season in most of the Settlements, more especially South. There should be an agency established in the Uinta Valley, or thereabouts, as the Indians of that region are frequently brought into collision with different tribes, by seeking trade with the mountain men, inhabiting in the vicinity of Green River. Its impossible to establish such agencies, in a manner to accomplish much good without some means to commence with. In order to have anything successful, there should be means to build a Fort, some carols, furnish farming utensils, teams, some oxen, & cows, & wagons; as also some provision, and Clothing.

If an arrangement of this Kind could be made, it would soon induce more, or less families of whites to settle there also, which would soon prove beneficial in rendering assistance to the Sub Agent who would have charge, and be greatly instrumental in exercising a beneficial influence among the natives.

This location would contain the Uinta Utahs, the Elk Mountain Utahs, Yampa Utahs, and would be convenient to the main tribe of the Shoshones, who inhabit farther north, but sometimes frequent in that region. Not having personally examined as yet for a location, for a farm, for the Shoshones, I cannot
Washakie and the Shoshoni

In conformance with these views, the L. D. S. Journal History, under date of November 30, 1854, records: “During this month I [Brigham Young] wrote to Washakee and Katat, two Shoshone chiefs, advising them to not let their people divide into small parties, as their enemies would have more power to injure them, also advised them to not depend on hunting for a living, but to settle on good localities where they could raise grain, and I would send them men to teach them the arts of husbandry and civilization.” [These may be the letters later collected in Rhett S. James, “Brigham Young-Chief Washakie Indian Farm Negotiations, 1854–1857,” Annals of Wyoming 39, no. 2 (Oct. 1967): 245–56. — Ed.] James S. Brown says that on October 10 he received a letter from Orson Hyde “stating that Governor Young wished me to go on a mission among the Shoshones that winter. I answered the call, but when I got to Salt Lake City, on the way, it had been learned that the Indians had gone out so far into the buffalo country that it was not advisable for me to follow them...” (Life of a Pioneer, 346–47.)

Other events of the winter pertaining to various Snake bands are not reflected in the Superintendency records, especially some trouble with the Shoshoni in the Ogden area. For some account of these, see D. B. Huntington’s letter of December 5, 1854, in the Deseret News, December 21, 1854; Wilford Woodruff’s journal entry for December 3, 1854, printed in the [Deseret] News of December 28; Brown, Life of a Pioneer, 347–50, and Hickman, Brigham’s Destroying Angel, 105.

I received pr last Mail, a request for estimates for the appropriation of Forty five thousand dollars in which letter it was also observed, that a similar request had previously been made, but not Complied with. I have only to state, that the desired estimate was made, and forwarded to the Department via of Independence, and Duplicates via of California in January 1st 1855.

Immediately after the receipt of your last letter, a Triplicate Copy was made out, and forwarded by last Mail, some of which I presume you have received. If you have not, and no movement has yet been made, in regard to that matter, it is rather late to make much out of it this season. If the funds could now be placed, at the disposal of some Agent, or person authorized to hold the treaty with the Indians, and expend the appropriation, it would be none too soon to effectually bring the business to a bearing another year.

The goods wanted, as set forth in the estimate, would have to be brought from S’ Loui, and it is too late now, to make a successful operation of that matter this season. The goods could probably be obtained here but it would be at such

speak with as much certainty, as I shall be able to, after my return from my contemplated visit in August; but I expect to find a suitable place for their farming operations near Green River, in the direction of Fort Supply, at which place grain was raised last year, and a tolerable fair prospect of raising some this.

So far as I can at present determine, the Shoshones, or Snakes, number about 300 Lodges, but they, as well, as the Utahs, Cum-um-bahs, Piedes, Pah Utahs, Pav-Vants and Diggers are so broken up into small bands, that it is impossible to tell with any degree of accuracy their numbers.88

As the settlements extend, and the people make more explorations, as before remarked, Bands are found, who have never before seen White men.

88 In conformance with these views, the L. D. S. Journal History, under date of November 30, 1854, records: “During this month I [Brigham Young] wrote to Washakee and Katat, two Shoshone chiefs, advising them to not let their people divide into small parties, as their enemies would have more power to injure them, also advised them to not depend on hunting for a living, but to settle on good localities where they could raise grain, and I would send them men to teach them the arts of husbandry and civilization.” [These may be the letters later collected in Rhett S. James, “Brigham Young-Chief Washakie Indian Farm Negotiations, 1854–1857,” Annals of Wyoming 39, no. 2 (Oct. 1967): 245–56. — Ed.] James S. Brown says that on October 10 he received a letter from Orson Hyde “stating that Governor Young wished me to go on a mission among the Shoshones that winter. I answered the call, but when I got to Salt Lake City, on the way, it had been learned that the Indians had gone out so far into the buffalo country that it was not advisable for me to follow them...” (Life of a Pioneer, 346–47.)

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an advance, that it would be much better, and far more economical to purchase them in St Louis, and freight them out.

I cannot in justice to my feelings, conclude my Report, without expressing my sentiments in relation to the true policy to be exercised towards the Indians, to keep them friendly, and slowly, but surely lead them to adopt a more peaceful, industrious, useful, and civilized existence. I am also happy to learn, that my views, opinions, & policy upon this subject, so intimately correspond with yours. To feed, and clothe them, is not only much cheaper; more humane, but far the most effectual, and if rigidly adhered to must make its impression, and eventually be successful.

It is with profound regret, that I witness the preparations for waging war upon the Sioux; they have generally, I might almost say, always, manifested the greatest friendship toward the Whites. In all of our intercourse with them, (and it has been considerable within the last nine years,) we have ever felt safe in their country, and had the most convincing proofs of their friendly disposition toward the Whites.

In all their depredations which have come to my knowledge, (with perhaps the single exception of the attack upon the mail, last September,) they have been strongly incited thereto by some mismanagement, or wrong on the part of the whites. And so far as regards that particular instance, I have no doubt, but that those who were actually guilty of the act could be brought to justice which would be much better than to visit wholesale destruction upon all alike, both the innocent, and guilty. Indeed I find, that in all such cases, the guilty are the most apt to escape. I do not entertain a doubt, but all the difficulty with those Indians could be amicably arranged, leaving a much better & more favorable, and lasting impression of friendship without, than with the aid of Military force. You will please excuse me, for thus deviating from my subject, but while seeking a location in 1846 & 7, and at various times then, and since, not only myself, but hundreds, and thousands, of others, not only citizens of this Territory, but emigrants to Oregon, and California, having experienced not only friendship, but hospitality, and protection, which rude though it might be, nevertheless, being genuine and efficient, seemed to require a word in their favor from me; which, although, it may be considered obtrusive, and make nothing in their behalf, will still be an abiding satisfaction to me.

I understand that your influence has been, and is enlisted adversely to hostile operations against the Sioux. I can only say, may you be successful, in restraining the horrors of war, and the shedding of innocent blood, of the native tribes, to cry like Abel’s for vengeance from the native soil.

In carrying out the policy indicated by you, and I beleive by many other influential members of the Government, for the extension of good to the native tribes; also securing their friendship, and peaceful disposition to the frontier
settlements, traveler, and passing emigrant, you may confidently rely upon my most cordial Co-operation.

I have forwarded by this mail to your address George W. Armstrong's bond which I hope you will duly receive. His papers, or quarterly Returns, have not come to hand. Doctor Hurt's the Indian Agent came in too late to be examined at this office, to be forwarded by this mail.

Hoping that my a/cs may be found satisfactory. . . .

31

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W. MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UTAH TERRITORY, GREAT SAL T LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1855

Sir: it gives me great pleasure to inform you of the steadily increasing success of the pacific policy, which you so properly and ably direct and advocate should be invariably pursued towards the red men, most wisely considering their degraded and ignorant condition, and advocating a course not only the least expensive to the general government, but the only one that promises any success in ameliorating the circumstances of a race who have long been a prey and enigma to their brethren, the whites.

As an incontestible proof of the last assertion, and an argument which you can use without fear of successful contradiction, the natives within Utah's borders are universally at peace among themselves, also with their white neighbors and the passing travellers; have begun to bend their unwilling backs to the useful toil of the laborer and husbandman, and realize the benefits thereof; and all this has been accomplished at far less expense than has ever been incurred under anything like similar circumstances. The force of this comparison, and the small amount disbursed for the attainment of such rapid beneficial and flattering results, will be readily appreciated by yourself and by all who are in the least familiar with the great number of numerous, wild, and unusually degraded tribes claiming this Territory for their home, few of whom, until quite recently, had ever seen the abodes of civilization.

True, the cheap rates at which these results have been attained have to be debited with the large amount of expense to our population accruing through

89 The original of this letter not being found in the Superintendency files—a usual circumstance when a letter has been printed—the text is derived from the version in the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1855, 34th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Executive Document 5, pt. 1 (Serial 810), 515–17.
the begging and thefts of the original settlers; yet, with this sum added, I am sanguine in the belief that Utah would compare much to her credit, in expenditures and results, by the side of any other portion of our extensive territories; and I can but trust that your honor, and all candid men, will at once subscribe to the correctness of my briefly expressed though firm belief.

The hitherto small amount of expenditures; the expectation (rightfully, perhaps,) raised in the minds of the Mary’s River Indians by Major Hurt’s predecessor; the general understanding of the various tribes, through some source, that a large appropriation had long ago been made for the purpose of making treaties with them, and the actual extensive occupancy of their lands, will easily account for what might otherwise be deemed the large disbursements for the quarter now ending, more especially those made by Agent Garland Hurt; still, after a careful examination of all the accounts and reports now forwarded, I am not able to state in what particular the total could be lessened in justice, and presume the department will come to the same conclusion, and duly honor the corresponding drafts.

I have at different times divided the Territory, and allotted the agents and sub-agents, the last division being by the Territorial road running north and south nearly through the centre, which was made on account of its definiteness and to accommodate the officers so far as consistent, all of whom hitherto have preferred to live in this city, with the late exception of Agent G. W. Armstrong, whose residence is at Provo. Death, changes, &c., have caused the last named line to remain until now, but as the present agents bid fair for a greater permanency, another division may ere long be deemed necessary.

On the 7th instant I had the gratification of meeting large bands of Shoshonees (Snakes) and Utahs in council in this city, where they made a “good peace,” which I hope will prove lasting.

They came into this city during the latter part of August, had a friendly meeting on the 2d instant, and of course had to be fed and required presents; this I caused to be complied with as economically as my judgment could dictate, as will be seen by a portion of my own and Agent Hurt’s vouchers. That you may become cognizant of the minute particulars of this visit, I take the liberty of forwarding to you Nos. 27 and 28, volume 5, of the Deseret News.90

You will at once perceive that not only myself, but the subordinate officers of this superintendency, find it impossible, as proven by our united best endeavors and judgments, to carry out your admirable policy—which we all most heartily coincide with—except at considerable expense; hence may I not rely upon your

90 The enclosure is now lost, but Young had reference to Dimick B. Huntington’s two accounts of the treaty-making published in the News, and these are consequently made our Document 32.
powerful mediation with the next Congress for appropriations commensurate with the justice of the case and the magnanimity of our nation?

I take pleasure in forwarding the reports and accompanying papers of Agents Major Garland Hurt and Major G. W. Armstrong, for the quarter ending September 30, 1855, trusting that their suggestions will meet with due consideration, their papers prove every way acceptable, and their accounts be satisfactorily adjusted.

So far as careful supervision gives me information, I am happy in being able to commend the diligence, economy, and success of the few employes under our control.

To prevent future misunderstanding, permit me to enquire whether I have a right to request agents and sub-agents to lodge in my office a copy of their quarterly reports and other documents of theirs, which the law requires me to examine and forward in addition to the one forwarded, and that remaining in their offices.

Owing to Mr. James Case (farmer for the Sandpitch Indians) having left for the States, I appointed Mr. Warren Snow in his place on the 2d of July last.

I transmit by the mail of October 1st proximo, this my report, the account current, abstract return property, and vouchers, from 1 to 15, inclusive, for the quarter ending September 29, 1855; also abstract of employes, and have drawn upon you in favor of the Hon. John M. Bernhisel, Utah delegate, for $2,949 50, that being the amount shown in the accompanying account current.

Trusting that this report may be found sufficiently explicit, and not tedious through minute detail, and that the accompanying above named papers may prove to be correct in accordance with prescribed requirement. . . .

32

Meeting of the Snakes and Utahs

By Br. D. B. Huntington we learn that Ti-be-bu-tow-ats (meaning the White man’s son, so named, by being made a chief by the U. S. Agents at Laramie in

91 [See appendix for note text.]
92 The life of James Case would reward investigation. At the time of the Mormon movement west of the Missouri River in 1846, he was a farmer to the Pawnees on the Loup Fork in Nebraska. He joined the Saints, was consequently expelled from his post, and eventually went on to Utah.
93 Deseret News, September 12, 1855. The letter by Huntington which follows, dated September 11, 1855, is from the Deseret News of September 19, 1855.
one of the Chiefs of the Snake Indians, and Ka-tat-o Chief of the northern Snakes, had come into this city for the purpose of making a treaty with the Utahs; they were met on Sunday 2nd Sept. By T-shar-poo-e-ent (White eye), An-ta-ro Chiefs of the Yampa Utes, Tin-tick, the hereditary chief of the Timp-no-quint band; Sow-i-ets son represented his father and band, Tab-be-, a Chief of Ar-ra-pee's band, and Pe-teet-neet, chief of the Spanish Fork band, accompanied by subordinate chiefs and braves on each side.

The Utes met at the Governors office fully armed with bows and arrows, and guns, at 10 a.m.

The Snakes formed a line opposite the Tabernacle unarmed.

A messenger went from the Utes to tell the Snakes to stop where they were; they tarried awhile and then moved east opposite the Deseret Store, led by D. B. Huntington, Utah and Sho-sho-nee Interpreter, where they encountered the Utes, who formed a line painted black as if for battle, and completely armed in violation of the usual Indian custom of making peace.

Huntington went over and told the Utes to put away their guns, when they dismounted, and all placed their guns against the wall, except Squash and To-ma, and Batiste retained his war spear. When the Utes had laid down their guns, many of them commenced concealing their bows and arrows under their blankets, which Kat-tat-osaw, when he lifted up the pipe of peace towards Heaven, as high as he could raise his arm and shouted in a loud voice, “THIS IS

This is the same assertion James S. Brown made, and which was too easily rejected by Grace Raymond Hebard in her Washakie, 82–83. Some further research in the Federal archives seems indicated, to establish under just what circumstances an officer of the government treated with the Shoshoni, or some Shoshoni, at Fort Laramie in 1852. Brown’s remarks, when he sought out Washakie somewhere on the upper North Platte on the mission previously referred to, in the spring of 1854, are to the following effect:

Washakie told us that only a few snows before then he was chief of all the Shoshones, and the Indians acknowledged him as such, but he was called to Fort Laramie, to have a talk with the agents of the big father at Washington, and to receive blankets and many other things. There the agents called a quiet, unobtrusive man, who never had been a chief, nor was in the line of chiefs, and designated him as head of the Shoshones, telling the Indians that they must have him as chief, and respect him as such, and that they, the agents, would recognize him in that position, and through him they would do all government business.

Then the agents passed out a great quantity of blankets and other Indian goods, through their appointed chief. In this act, the Indians saw that the agents had chosen a favorite of their own, so the red men called him “Taventu-wets” (the white man’s child), but never recognized him as chief.

That act of the government agents was the opening wedge to divide the Shoshone tribe into discontented factions, and thereby weaken it. Possibly that was the purpose in view, for before the tribe was very powerful, with a chief at their head unexcelled for bravery, skill and farsightedness. Chief Washakie was a bold, noble, hospitable, and honorable man. As an orator, I think he surpassed any man I ever met. (Brown, Life of a Pioneer, 318–19.)
THE WEAPON I COME TO FIGHT WITH.” At this time Batteiste, the coward, commenced dancing the War dance and singing the War songs in front of his men, and thrusting his spear to the earth. Huntington told the Utes to come and meet the Snakes in peace, when Old Pe-teet-neet started, followed by the other chiefs and braves. On approaching the Snakes, Pet-teet-neet offered Ti-be-bu-tow-ats his hand, who refused to take it. He then raised his own hand towards the Heavens, whereupon Pe-teet-neet did the same, then they solemnly lowered their hands low towards the earth, then raising up looked each other in the eye, eagerly grasped each other by the hand, and then embraced each other in their arms. The several Chiefs then went thro’ the same solemn ceremonies.

The Snakes maintained their position in the line, when the Utes passed along the line, measuring arms and shaking hands, and embracing each other. When this portion of the ceremony was done, it was agreed they should adjourn to the encampment of the Snakes, on Union Square. They went promiscuously, and the Utes encamped in D. B. Huntingtons door yard.

The Snakes and Utes then formed two parallel lines, about two rods apart and sat down on the grass. Ka-tat-o and Ti-be-bu-tow-ats then filled the two large pipes with tam-i-nump and tobacco, commenced on the right of the line of the Utes, presenting the pipe to the first man, not allowing him to touch the pipe with his hands; who having smoked until satisfied, the pipe was presented to the next; and thus passed through the entire company. If any one was unaccustomed to smoking, he was excused, by putting his right hand on the shoulder of the Snake, and drawing it slowly down his arm and along the pipe.

After the Snakes had passed the pipe to all the Utes, Pe-teet-neet and Tin-tick presented the pipe to the Snakes in like manner. They spent the remainder of the day in eating and refreshing.

Great Salt Lake City, Sept. 11, 1855.

Editor of the News—Dear Sir:—

On Friday, Sept. 7, Ar-ra-pine, or Senioroach, the Utah Chief in Walker’s place, came into the city to make a treaty of peace with Ti-be-bu-tow-ats, the Chief of the Snakes. The Utahs were about thirty in number, the Snakes about sixty.

The Utahs called at the Governor’s Office to pay him a visit: the Snakes on hearing of their arrival, came up in line in the usual manner of receiving each other, singing as usual. When Ar-ra-pine heard them singing, he said it was not good that they should sing the war song: I went out and told the Snakes to stop their singing, when Ar-ra-pine requested me to go out with him. We met the Snakes in front of T. S. Williams & Co.’s store. I introduced the two chiefs to each other, and after shaking hands, Ar-ra-pine took the Snake chief in his arms and gave him a tremendous hug, and raised him clear from the ground.
They went through the usual compliment of shaking hands and then repaired to the Temple Block, and were seated under the bowery to smoke until the Governor should come to talk to them. I seated the two tribes in front of each other. Ar-ra-pine took the presidency of the meeting, and having requested the citizens to be seated, he called upon all his men to raise their hands toward Heaven as a token or covenant of peace. They did so twice; all the Utahs then knelt down, and Ar-ra-pine made a lengthy prayer. He prayed like unto the ancients, for his wives and children, flocks and herds, and for all that he could think of.

The pipe of peace was passed around until the Governor arrived, when Ar-ra-pine requested all who wanted to speak to do so, reserving his own until the last. Several spoke on both sides, expressing a desire to be on friendly terms with each other. The Governor gave them some good counsel.

It was agreed that the Utahs should visit the Snakes, encamped on Union Square, and the Snakes agreed to take their lodges and move about four miles south, to where the Utahs were encamped.

The Indian Agent, Dr. Garland Hurt, kindly furnished them provisions, and gave the Utahs some presents; they appeared to be well satisfied. I visited the encampment the next day; they were enjoying themselves well. They say they have not had so good a treaty for twenty years.

Ar-ra-pine has just returned from the Navijos, and reports that they have raised a good crop of corn this season. He has established friendly relations between the Navijos and the Elk Mountain Utahs, and is doing much to reconcile the different tribes and bands to each other, teaching them to cultivate friendship with the whites.

The Utes and Snakes have agreed to meet on White River, and hunt buffalo together this winter.

Yours respectfully,

D. B. Huntington, Interpreter.
Sir,

In compliance with the regulations of the Indian Department, I have the honour to forward this my report for the Second Quarter of the fiscal year beginning December 31st 1855.

Since my last report and in compliance with your recommendation I have visited a portion of the Shoshonee or Snake Indians. As I was informed by good authority that Wash-a-keek the chief of this tribe was camped on Green River or near that point I left this city on the 3rd of October for the purpose of meeting him and his band at Fort Supply, a white settlement about fifteen miles South west of Fort Bridger having previously sent word to him that I would be at that place on or about the 10th of October. On the morning of the 9th about 8 o’clock I was met by an Express from Fort Bridger informing me that Fort Supply was Surrounded by a Hostile band of Indians and that they had threatened to burn the Fort and also threatened the lives of the citizens; desiring me at the Same time to make all possible haste and render what assistance was in my power. I complied with his request and made all possible haste to Fort Bridger which is Situated immediately on the main road to the place of excitement. When I arrived at the Fort I found Considerable alarm at that place in consequence of the various reports that was in circulation concerning the hostility manifested by the Indians against the people of Fort Supply. After making various enquiries I deemed it unsafe to take my wagons containing the property belonging to Government along with me to the place of excitement as I thought my guard was not sufficiently strong to defend it is case of an attack (only nine men) and as there was none at Fort Bridger that could be spared I concluded to place the property inside of this fort leaving two of my men in charge and proceed with the balance on horses to Fort Supply. Before leaving, however, I was informed that the Indians on learning by Some means or other that a Government Agent would be at Fort Supply that day, had left and had camped on a small stream known as Smith’s Fork a tributary of [Blacks Fork of] Green River about eight miles east of the Fort. I afterwards concluded to venture into the Indian camp before going to the Fort having procured at Fort Bridger the very best Sho-sho-nee Interpreter that could be found. When within sight of the Indian camp I was met by a half breed splendidly attired in

95 A/38–1856.
Indian costume who spoke very good English and who gave the camp a sign that something very unusual was at hand by galloping his horse round making a circle three times, then bringing him suddenly to a halt. He spoke in a very courteous manner and informed me that the chief was at his lodge. I was met by the chief Te-boo-in-dowetsey who was informed by the Interpreter that I was an Agent of the Government of the Untied States, he extended his hand in a friendly manner and bid me welcome to his camp. I learned that this was only a small portion of Wash-a-keek’s band numbering one hundred warriors with their squaws and children and who had been located near Fort Supply during the Summer and fall. I made known to him that I had been informed that a misunderstanding existed between his band and the inhabitants of Fort Supply and requested him to accompany me to the fort where we could hold a Council and settle the matter satisfactory to both parties. He expressed his willingness to comply with my request and immediately left his camp being attended by thirty of his warriors armed with bows and arrows as a guard. On arriving at the Fort I found all the men under arms (being only fifteen) Supposing the Indians were about to attack the fort, and presuming that myself and guard were mountain-eers who had joined them for that purpose. Before arriving at the Fort, however, their picket-guard discovered and informed the fort that we were friends and on arriving we were permitted to enter. I had previously disarmed the Indians and taken possession of their bows and arrows, at the same time assuring the chief that I would be responsible for their Safety. The citizens at my request immediately put away their arms. I then informed them that I wished to hold a council to ascertain the nature and extent of the difficulty. We held a council of about three hours duration and I learned that the Indians had made a demand on the fort for a large quantity of provisions, a demand which the citizens did not and would not comply, in fact the demand was unreasonable and had it been complied with would have left the fort destitute. I would here state that the grasshoppers here as in almost every Section of the Territory had been very destructive to the crops and the wheat which was then standing at this late season of the Year was the result of the Second sowing the first having been entirely destroyed. The Indians asserted that promises had been made to them by the fort that when the crops were harvested that they were to have much the largest portion which the citizens denied, but admitted that they had promised a certain amount which promise they were and had been willing to fulfill. To this the Indians took exceptions and threatened that if their demands were not Complied with to possess themselves at all hazzard with as much as they desired. The citizens informed the Indians that they would resist to the extent of their power any and every attempt to dispossess them of their property. The Indians admitted that they had behaved in a rude manner on several occasions by throwing down fences, riding their
horses through the grain, making threats &c against the citizens; they excused themselves, however, by saying, that as the citizens would not do as they had agreed, and as they considered themselves as the rightful owners of the Soil believed themselves justified in doing as they had done. After explanations on both sides had been made I then addressed the Indians at some length showing them the impropriety of their course telling them that the great chief at Washington (the President of the U. S.) should he hear of their conduct would be much displeased and would look upon them as bad Indians. After I had done speaking they expressed through their Chief their determination to renew their friendship with the people of the fort and promised not to disturb the property of the citizens for the future. I then returned their bows and arrows when they all left for their camp well Satisfied with the proceedings of the Council. They expressed a great desire to see the President and hear him talk. I remained at the fort four days to satisfy myself as to the sincerity of the Indians, they returned several times to see me and manifested the most friendly feelings towards me as well as to the people of the fort. The day previous to leaving them I sent for the entire band and gave them presents at the same time assuring them that if they should renew their hostilities that the President would not send them any more presents and that I would be under the necessity of resorting to measures to enforce peace. I have since been informed on good authority that the Indians have faithfully kept their promise and are now in the Buffaloe country on a hunt. I would here state that the chief who acted as spokesman at the council was Tab-aboo-in-doweteey (or white man’s Son) the chief of the band being on a war party with Wash-a-keek in the Crow Country. I would also state that this band had not been visited by an Agent nor received any presents from Government. Their presents were distributed by the Chief in a very satisfactory manner, when they all left the fort. The Sho-sho-nee or Snake Indians have heretofore manifested the most friendly feelings towards the emigrants to California, Utah and Oregon in fact they boast that their tribe have never shed the blood of a white man and this is the first difficulty of any magnitude as far as I am informed that ever has taken place between them and the whites. I would further add that the message which I sent Wask-a-Keek did not reach him as he had previously left on a war party against the Crow Indians, Consequently I was disappointed in Seeing him but learn from good authority that his expedition proved very profitable to him as he has taken about seventy five horses and a large amount of skins and furs from the Crows. Many of the Sho-sho-nee Indians expressed a great desire to be instructed in farming having learned by the example of the white man that it is much better to raise their bread than to depend upon the chase for their Subsistence. I regret that I did not see Wash-a-keek as I have since learned that he expressed a great desire to see me on hearing that I had visited Fort
Supply for the purpose of meeting him and that he wished me to to [sic] communicate his feelings to the great Chief at Washington (meaning the President of the U. S.) As I purpose visiting him in the Spring as soon as the snow on the mountain, will admit of travelling, I will then be able to learn the number of his band, his intentions &c and communicate through Your Excellency to the Department of Indian Affairs. . . .

1856

34

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM A. HICKMAN, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, AUGUST 11, 1856

Sir,

Inasmuch as Agent Garland Hurt is still on a visit to the Indians in the neighborhood of Carson Valley, and as Agent G. W. Armstrong has but recently returned from an official tour among the Indians south, hence is unable to start at once for Green river, and as the Shoshones on and about that stream will soon be obliged to leave on their hunt, you are hereby appointed to take an outfit of two wagons, 8 men, yourself, interpreter and teamster included, and proceed to Fort Bridger in Green river County to meet the Shoshone Indians, who are on a visit to that post with their chief, Wash-i-kik. You will provide yourself with some goods, as per bill shewn me by Levi Stewart, merchant in this place, ammunition and provisions as presents for them and hold a council with Wash-i-kik and his principal men, during which you will endeavor to inculcate friendly feelings, and give such instruction as shall have a tendency to induce the Indians to abandon their wandering and predatory mode of life, and induce them to cultivate the earth, and raise stock for a subsistence. You will also seek to impress upon their minds the benefits of civilized existence, and of their locating themselves so that schools may be established among them. You will seek to conciliate them towards each other and with other tribes as well as towards the whites, with whom however it is believed they have ever been at peace and friendly.

[See appendix for note text.]


[See appendix for note text.]
Upon your return you will make report to this office of your expenses, and of all occurrences of interest transpiring during your visit & interview with the Indians, persons employed in your service &c. You will particularly consider economy and promptness in the performance of these duties, and seek to make as favorable an impression as possible upon them.

In the distribution of the presents you will collect as many of the Indians together at Fort Bridger as you can, and call to your aid Mr Lewis Robison of that place and Mr Isaac Bullock of Fort Supply. I also suggest the name of Mr. Joshua Terry as Interpreter.

Sir,

We address you a few lines to inform you of the intercourse we have had with Wash-i-kik and his tribe. There were present 40 lodges, 300 persons. On the arrival of the Indian goods at Fort Bridger, pr. William A. Hickman, Isaac Bullock of Fort Supply sent Joshua Terry in Search of Washikik and his band, found them high up on Bear River on the eve of Starting to this place. Terry informed them that Wm. A. Hickman was at Bridger with presents for them. On the 16th Wash-i-kik & his band arrived here. We Smoked, had dinner and & gave them a beef, after which we had a treaty or Council with Wash-i-kik and Some 15 of his braves, explained the nature of Hickman’s Coming and by whom Sent. A good Spirit Seemed to prevail and after much conversation adjourned till next day at which time Wash i kik was notified that he Should have another beef, and also his presents as sent by Gov’t. Young per Wm. A. Hickman, and that Isaac Bullock & Lewis Robinson were his assistants in the matter, which Seemed to render good Satisfaction to all the Indians present.

The following morning according to promise the presents were Spread upon the green adjacent to Fort Bridger Wash i kik and his band amounting

William A. Hickman, Isaac Bullock, and Lewis Robinson to Gov. Brigham Young, dated Fort Bridger, Green River County, Utah Territory, Aug. 19, 1856

Enclosure in Young to Manypenny, September 30, 1856 (U/13–1856). Hickman’s book does not refer to this particular mission, though he does tell of an earlier unavailing effort, in company with Elisha Ryan, to “hunt up and invite in Washakie, a Shoshone chief, and his band of Indians,” for a council with Brigham Young. That mission was evidently in the winter of 1854–55; the unsuccessful search for Washakie was pursued in the northern part of the Green River Valley. Hickman, Brigham’s Destroying Angel, 105–6.
to over 300 came. We again explained the nature of the presents, that it was because they had been good they had been Sent, after which Wash i kik gave a long and good address to his band who paid great attention to what he Said. We then with the assistance of Wash i kik and 3 of his men made a distribution, all were well pleased.

We find him friendly to the whites, and willing for them to occupy as much of his land as they want or any other favor his country affords.

While distributing Said presents the best of order was preserved by Washikik and his people they Seemed to observe with great reverence all that he Said to them, not a violation of any order he gave by any of his band. While writing this letter Wash-i-kik came in, Said his heart was good and wanted to talk, and hear us talk. M‘ Bullock expressed to him our mind and feelings concerning all good Indians, which made him rejoice much, also to have peace & good feelings towards all Indians & whites. Washikik replied that he had been to the Sioux and all the tribes near, and had wished much that they all might be friends, that they would promise, but would Soon break it, which made him feel bad that he did not know what to do, had thought he would Stay on his own land and not go about any more of them, but he felt very good over what he had heard today. The Indians were well pleased with their presents, and departed upon their hunt expressing the most friendly feelings towards the whites. . . .

36

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO GEORGE W. MANYPENNY, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, AUG. 30, 1856¹⁰⁰

Sir,

[Encloses two drafts, one for $840 in favor of Joseph F. Mason of Weston, Mo., and one for $3,756.50 in favor of Levi Stewart & Co. of Great Salt Lake City.]

The above amounts have arisen through the necessity of making purchases of certain presents for the Shoshonee Indians, and have the fullest Sanction of my judgment as to the most judicious management of the affairs of this Superintendency as far as that tribe is at present concerned.

I deemed this disbursement, and the requisite steps for the early distribution of the presents purchased therewith, the more imperative from the fact that

¹⁰⁰ U/10–1856.
those numerous Indians, located immediately upon the Emigrant Road have been invariably friendly to the whites: also because they received no presents of consequence while at the treaty held at Laramie in 1851, where and when nine tribes were presented, all of whom except the Shoshonees received presents, and still they nearly if not entirely alone of all those tribes have stood fast by the agreement there made to be at peace; and also because they visited the upper crossing of the North Fork of the Platte by the request of the U. S. Troops, as they allege, and again had no presents given them. These circumstances, together with the invariably peaceful course, and pacific disposition of the Shoshonees, will, I trust, most amply justify in your estimation, the small outlay now made in their behalf, not only as a matter of justice in past but as another step in that conciliatory policy you so correctly and ably endeavor to have carried out. . . .

37

Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to George W. Many penny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, September 30, 1856

Sir.

Accompanying herewith you will find my abstract, account current and vouchers from one to thirty inclusive amounting to $6813 25/100. As advised by last mail a draft was given to Levi Stewart & Co for $3756 50/100 and one in favor of Joseph P. Mason Weston M° for $840 0/100 which amount was entirely expended in Sending out presents to the Shoshones or Snake Indians at Fort Bridger, and distributing the Same to them.

The occasion which demanded this expenditure is Simply this, 1st The Shoshones have never had any presents of consequence, while almost every Surrounding tribe have had more or less given to them. 2nd They have always been friendly to travellers, and have long felt that while other Indians who have been more or less troublesome and unfriendly have received considerable quantities of presents, they have received nothing.

In the Shoshones country which lies in this Territory and through which the trading routes to Oregon and California pass, no traveler or whites have ever

101 U/13–1856. Nothing is said of it in this or other official reports, but some 30 bushels of wheat and some vegetables were raised this year at Fort Supply by Bazil, marking the first effort at agriculture by the Wyoming Shoshoni. Isaac Bullock, in a letter to the Deseret News, of October 1, 1856, said that Bazil and his squaws had harvested the wheat “clean and neat, and appear to feel well satisfied with their prospects for grain this winter.”
been molested. Those acquainted with this feel perfectly safe when they arrive in their country, and can rest in quiet and peace.

For over two years these Indians have been expecting presents from the appropriation of $45,000, which from some cause has been retained as yet—by the department. For these reasons, and believing that it would meet with the views of the department, determined me, when informed that the main body was encamped at Fort Bridger waiting for an agent to visit them and make them some presents to forthwith respond to their wishes. D'r Hurt, being absent on his Carson County expedition, and Major Armstrong, who having just returned from his Southern trip, not being able to go in time to meet them, I appointed M'r William Hickman to take charge of the expedition and to call to his assistance M'r Lewis Robinson [Robison] of Fort Bridger, and Isaac Bullock both residents of Green River County, to aid and assist him in the distribution of the presents to the Indians. A copy of instructions to them, as well as their report to me upon their return is herewith forwarded.

I am happy to be able to say that the Indians throughout the territory are generally friendly, although I have heard of some difficulty being experienced by travelers on Marys River the particulars of which I expect will be found in Agent Hurt's report, which with Major Armstrong's I yet hope will be in time for this mail.

The report of this quarter should show the employees of this Superintendency, and these failures of Agents reports not coming in time, I fear will disenable me for giving it in full. Agent Hurt has visited the Indians in Carson County, and the Indians on the route usually travelled by the emigrants to California.

He has also continued his farming operations, which I consider have been quite successful. Major Armstrong has also been quite active in visiting among the Indians, having visited since his return from South the Ivanpah Indians about 140 miles west, bordering upon the Desert, and among whom Tintick harbored with his hostile band last winter and spring. The operations altogether involve considerable expense but I assure you it is needful and just.

The Indians in the vicinity of the settlements have long depended upon the liberality of the people for a great share of their support. Hence whenever scarcity prevailed, so that provisions could not be supplied to them, it often caused much ill feeling and was calculated to incur hostilities. They moreover frequently become unreasonable in their requisitions and get angry if they are not immediately complied with. These considerations are sufficient in themselves to justify opening up a few farms for their temporal benefit, to say nothing of the salutary influence which it is calculated to exercise over them in leading them back to the arts of civilized existence.
I need hardly Suggest to one So well acquainted with the difficulties with
the natives in other territories, that it is by pursuing this conciliatory course
towards them that in this territory we enjoy that degree of peace and quiet So
happily existing

They are now [page frayed: five or six words lost] Somewhat appreciate the
efforts making for their relief and benefit

For amount of balance for this quarter to wit, $2216 75/100. I have drawn as
usual in favor of our Delegate in Congress, Hon, John M. Bernhisel.

Trusting that my course, and those associated with me, may prove Satisfactory
to the department . . .

P. S. Oct. 1st Agent Hurts report and accompanying accounts, came to hand
last evening and owing to the detention of the mail one day has given us an oppor-
tunity to forward them herewith, though not Sufficient time to So thoroughly
examine them as I should have done. His report is interesting and true and his
expenditures reasonable and just, and should be promptly met, and I take great
pleasure in recommending their favorable consideration to the department[.]

1857

38

Brigham Young, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to James W. Denver,*
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt
Lake City, September 12, 1857102

Sir,

Enclosed please find Abstract account current and vouchers from 1 to 35
inclusive (also abstract of employees) for the current quarter up to this date, as
owing to the stoppage of the mail I have deemed it best to avail myself of the
opportunity of sending by private Conveyance not knowing when I may have
another chance. The expenditure as you will observe by the papers amount to

* [Donald Chaput, “James W. Denver, 1857, 1858–59,” Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 69–
75. —Ed.]
102 U/19–1857. This letter, written as the Utah Expedition was marching toward Utah, reflects
the general insecurity of the Mormon position. Brigham Young later made much of the
fact that the Federal government had failed to notify him of his having been superseded
as governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the letter is an example of scrup-
ulous avoidance of these topics.
$6411.38 for which I have drawn my drafts on the department in favor of Hon. John M. Bernhisel delegate to Congress from this Territory. You will also observe that a portion of these expenditures accrued prior to this quarter, which may need a word of explanation. Santa Clara is in Washington County the extreme Southern County of this Territory and this labor was commenced and partly performed, seeds, grain &c furnished prior to the time that Major Armstrong visited those parts of the Territory, hence failed to find its way into his reports and failed being included in mine because the accounts & vouchers were not sooner brought in and hence not settled until recently; but little has been effected in that part of the Territory at the expense of the Government, although much has been done by the citizens in aiding the Indians with tools, teams and instruction in cultivating the earth. The bands mentioned are part of the Pidie tribe of Indians who are very numerous, but only in part inhabit this Territory. These Indians are more easily induced to labor than any others in the Territory and many of them are now engaged in the common pursuits of civilized life. Their requirements are constant for wagons, ploughs, spades, hoes, teams and harness &c to enable them to work to advantage.

In like manner the Indians in Cache Valley have received but little at the expense of the Government although a sore tax upon the people; West and along the line of the California and Oregon travel, they continue to make their contributions, and I am sorry to add with considerable loss of life to the travellers. This is what I have always sought by all means in my power to avert, but I find it the most difficult of any portion to control. I have for many years succeeded better than this. I learn by report that many of the lives of the emigrants and considerable quantities of property has been taken. This is principally owing to a company of some three or four hundred returning Californians who travelled those roads last spring to the Eastern States shooting at every Indian they could see, a practise utterly abhorrent to all good people; yet I regret to say one which has been indulged in to a great extent by travellers to and from the Eastern States and California, hence the Indians regard all white men alike their enemies and kill and plunder whenever they can do so with impunity and often the innocent suffer for the deeds of the guilty. This has always been one of the greatest difficulties that I have had to contend with in the administration of Indian Affairs in this Territory. It is hard to make an Indian believe that the whites are their friends and the Great Father wishes to do them good, when perhaps the very next party which crosses their path shoots them down like wolves. This trouble with the Indians only exists along the line of travel west, and beyond the influence of our Settlements. The Shoshones are not hostile to travellers so far as they inhabit in this Territory except perhaps a few called “Snake diggers” who inhabit as before stated along the line of travel west of the settlements. There have however been
more or less depredations the present season North and more within the vicin-
ity of the Settlements owing to the causes above mentioned and I find it of the
utmost difficulty to restrain them. The Sound of war was quickens the blood
and nerves of an Indian. The report that troops were wending their way to this
Territory has also had its influence upon them. In one or two instances this was
the reason assigned why they made the attacks which they did upon some herds
of Cattle they seemed to think that if it was to be war they might as well com-
mence and begin to lay in a Supply of food, when they had a chance. If I am to
have the direction of the Indian Affairs of this Territory and am expected to
maintain friendly relations with the Indians, there are a few things that I would
most respectfully suggest to be done. First, that travellers omit their infamous
practise of shooting them down when they happen to see one.

Whenever the citizens of this Territory travels the roads, they are in the habit
of giving the Indians food, tobacco and a few other presents, and the Indians
expect Some such trifling favor, and they are emboldened by this practise to
come up to the road with a view of receiving such presents. When therefore trav-
ellers from the States make their appearance they throw themselves in Sight with
the Same view and when they are Shot at Some of their numbers killed as has
frequently been the Case, we cannot but expect them to wreak their vengeance
upon the next train.

Secondly. That the Government should make more liberal appropriations
to be expended in presents I have proven that it is far cheaper to feed and
clothe the Indians than to fight them. I find moreover that after all when the
fighting is over, it is always followed by extensive presents which if properly
distributed in the first instance might have averted the fight. In this Case then
the expense of presents are the Same and it is true in nine tenths of the Cases
that have happened.

Third. The troops must be kept away for it is a prevalent fact that where ever
there are the most of these we may expect to find the greatest amount of hostile
Indians and the least Security to persons and property

If these three items could be complied with I have no hesitation in Saying
that so far as Utah is concerned that travellers could go to and from pass and
repass and no Indian would disturb or molest them or their property.

In regard to my drafts it appears that the department is indisposed to pay
them, for what reason I am at a loss to conjecture. I am aware that Congress
Separated the office Superintendent of Indian Affairs from that of Governor, that
the Salary of Governor remained the Same for his Gubernatorial duties, and that
the Superintendent was fifteen hundred I do think that inasmuch as I perform
the duties of both offices that I am entitled to the pay appropriated for it, and
trust that you will so consider it.
I have drawn again for the expenditure of this present quarter as above Set forth. of course you will do as you please about paying as you have with the drafts for the two last quarters.

The department has often manifested its approval of the management of the Indian Affairs in this Superintendency, and never its disapproval. Why then should I be subjected to such annoyance in regard to obtaining the funds for defraying its expenses? Why should I be denied my Salary, why should appropriations made for the benefit of the Indians of this Territory be retained in the treasury and individuals left unpaid? These are questions I leave for you to answer at your leisure, and meanwhile Submit to Such course in relation thereto as you shall See fit to direct. . . .

Jacob Forney, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to James W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Camp Scott, Green River County, Utah Territory, November 30, 1857

Sir,

I arrived here several days ago, with Col Cooks command. Circumstances compells the Army, to remain here untill spring. All the civil officers for Utah are here & must of course remain under the protection of the Army. The Gove[r]nor will in a few days organize the Territorial Government.

I expect within two weeks, to have an interview, with the Cheif of the Snake Tribe, which are in winter quarters a short distance from here. I will also within a few months visit in company with Agent Dr. Hurt, several other tribes

Dr Hurt, was driven from his “indian Farm” in “Salt Lake Valley,” by the Mormons, & is & will remain in this camp. the Dr. will report to me as soon as we get fixed. We are at present enguaged building Houses (cabins & fixing up for the winter. I am at present writing in my carraige with gloves on my hands—the thermometer below zero. . . .
Jacob Forney, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to James W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Camp Scott, Green River County, December 14, 1857

Dear Sir

In compliance with a regulation of your department, making it the duty of superintendents to report annually, I submit the following report.

Having been in the Territory of Utah, but a few weeks, I have consequently but little to report. I arrived at this Camp the latter part of last month, & was informed by Col. [Albert Sidney] Johnston, the Commanding Officer, that the Army, would go into Winter quarters at this place. All the civil officers are Stoping here, and I am obliged to do the same. I have been buisily enguaged erecting a cabin in some degree suitable for an office and dwelling, will have it finished in a few days.

“Little Soldier,” Cheif of a Small Tribe of Sho-Sho-Ne Indians visited me last Tuesday and remained in Camp Two days. This Cheif had with him several of his men, and also an Indian named Ben Simons, formerly of the Delaware Tribe, but for the last Twenty years a trader among the Indians of this Territory. Ben Speaks most of the languages of this region, and English sufficiently well to answer for an interpreter.

105 Most of what is known about Ben Simons emerges in the records of 1857–58, and a considerable part of that is developed in the documents now printed. He is said to have been a Cherokee, or a half-breed Cherokee of French parentage, and attained to the status of a sub-chief with Little Soldier’s band of mixed Shoshoni and Utes. Another man of like character, variously referred to as Jim Simons or Jim Cherokee, appears fugitively in the same records. Perhaps the earliest documentary reference to Ben Simons occurs on Oct. 14, 1852, in the letter by Brigham Young quoted in note 60. He frequented, with Little Soldier’s band, the Weber River area in particular, and Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, carrying on the Pacific Railroad survey after Gunnison’s death, in the spring of 1854 referred to his presence in the Morgan Valley, even calling a creek by his name. On Aug. 7, 1858, Richard Ackley referred to Ben’s presence with a detachment of troops as far east as the North Platte (Utah Historical Quarterly 10 (1941): 203). During the winter of 1857–58 he moved back and forth between the lines of the Mormons and Camp Scott, and was a principal source of information for both. He appears to vanish from the record in 1859; the last reference I have to him is a report of a conversation made by Dimick B. Huntington on Feb. 14, 1859 (L. D. S. Journal History for this date). Arrapine and Ben Simons had been visiting Huntington in Great Salt Lake City, and Ben, who apparently was a black-bearded man, is represented as having told Arrapine “that somebody had got to die for shooting at him last winter in the mountains—he did not say who it would be.”
Little Soldier’s Tribe is at present encamped in Weber Valley, on the road leading from this Camp to Salt Lake consequently in close proximity to the Mormons, and in a position to render assential service to the Mormons, should they be so disposed. Little Soldier assures me however, that they have always kept aloof from Mormon delusions and maintained strict integrity towards the U. States and any of her Citizens, who have traded through his country. I have satisfied myself that they have not deceived me. Inasmuch as this Tribe have not acceded to the wishes of the Mormons, & as an inducement for a continuance of friendship I have given them some presents for which they were very thankfull and much pleased.

I herewith transmit to you, the Report of Agent Dr Hurt. I have examined the Report carefully and have talked with men, of unquestionable integrity who have seen the Indian Farms, and so far as I have been able to investigate the matter, justice compells me to bear favourable testimony to the policy of Dr. Hurt, in introducing agriculture among these Tribes.

Dr. Hurt has undouptably given his entire time & energies to improve the condition of the Tribes, in his neighbourhood, & has by his devotion to their interests endeared himself much to them, and also stimulated other Tribes, who have come many miles, to visit these farms, and are asking instructors, Dr H. has accomplished all this without any assistance from those around him, but in many instances had to encounter obsticles thrown in his way. For the reasons, for which Dr. Hurt, abandoned the farms, I refer you to his letter to Col. Johnston.106

Permanently locating the Indian Tribes of this Territory, and the introduction among them, of agriculture and Mechanical persuits, shall be my cheif aim. . . .

1858

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JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT, GREEN RIVER COUNTY, UTAH TERRITORY, JANUARY 1, 1858107

Dear Sir.

There is now, no probability of the Army or civil Department getting into Salt L. City, before May or June or even then.

106 For the general background to Indian Affairs at this time in Utah Territory see Morgan, “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah,” 405–9 [pp. 79–83 in this volume].
107 F/189–1858.
In compliance with the Special request of the Acting Commissioner Mr Mix—I have availed myself of every opportunity to get reliable information of the true condition of the Indians in this Territory. I have obtained Some usefull and interesting information. Since my last communication, Five chiefs and Seventy to Eighty of their principal men, visited me—representing two of the Utah Tribes or Bands. The Utah claim the country—between Salt L. City, Rocky Mountains—New Mexico & Serrie Neveda. Those that were here seemed peacefull, but, evidently poor, they belong to Dr Hurt Agency, & the Dr. informs me that they have rendered him some service on the Indian farms. These Bands are anxious to enguage in Agriculture & asked me to assist them, and also send a white man to instrukt them. they informed me, that game, was very scarce in their country, but plenty of good land. Wash-a-Kee—principal Cheif of a small Tribe called “Snakes,” send me a special Message last week, informing me, that he would visit me before the Army left. This Tribe is at present on Wind River, on lands belonging to the Crous,\textsuperscript{108} they claim Green River County, but game is too scarce here, & hence they go elsewhere for subsistence. The Snakes, & Some of the Utah Bands, have been at variance for some years, but both Seem willing, to make friends, which I will endeaver to consummate in the Spring or sooner if possible.

Several persons who have done business among these diff erent Tribes, inform me that they have never molested any Whites. I give the Utahs that visited me some presents. The Department have directed me to examine the fi nancial accounts of Agents Hurt & Armstrong, which I cannot do, untill we get into (If Ever) Salt Lake City.

I have received a communication Since here, informing that the person appointed to the Agency at Salt L. City, had declined, & I am consequently requested to continue Mr. Armstrong—Mr A. is a Mormon, & untill further instructed, I must decline recognizing him as an Agent. I believe the last Congress passed an Act for an Indian Agency, in Carson Valley. I think it would be advisable to appoint a suitable person to that Agency. Mr John Kerr, is here, in the employ of Mr Livingston, and who I think would make a very good & reliable Agent. Mr Kerr has lived several years in this Territory, and seems familiar with Indian affairs. I also reccomend the appointment of some person in the place of Mr Armstrong, at Salt Lake city. . . .

\textsuperscript{108} This is one of the earliest documents that shows Washakie's Shoshoni frequenting the country that eventually became their reservation.
Jacob Forney, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Charles E. Mix,* Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Camp Scott, Green River County, Utah Territory, February 10, 1858

Dear Sir.

The bearer Lewis M. Stewart Esq—is my Brother-in-Law, who I take pleasure in introducing to your favourable consideration, he is a Scholar & Gentleman, & in every way worthy your confidence. Mr Stewart, come out with me, & has rendered me assential service. Mr. S. visits the States, to attend to some private business for me, & bring out my family;

I requested Mr. S.—to visit Washington, for reasons, that will appear in this letter. The Mails have been very irregular; indeed no Mails, at all, untill within the last three weeks, & then only part of the Oct. Nov & December Mails. These Mail delinquences are insufferable, especially when the roads, have ben in a traveling condition all Winter. There is a strong presumption, that the Mail, has been intercepted, we are forced to this belief, from the fact that no official, Civil or Military officer have received any thing from Washington, & very few letters of any kind. I have received but three letters since I left home.

I have communicated all my official acts, among the Indians, to your Department, which I hope, has met with approval. I came into this country, with a full determination to do my duty, both to the Government & Indians. The duties pertaining to my office, are very different from my former habitudes, and it would not be very strange, if I would commit some errors, in the outstart of my Mission. Rest assured, my Dear Sir, that I have not been idle, to inform myself, of the duties of my office. My principal associate, is Gov. Cumming,110 a man of extraordinary acquirements, & my warm friend. I beg leave to remind, you, of a promise to send me a Book, containing a general & special Hystory, of all the Indian Tribes, in the U. States. I will regard it as a very great favour, to send me said Book, by my friend Mr. Stewart.

I forwarded several weeks ago, my first financial Report, which from the peculiar condition of affairs here, may need some explanation. If so, I feel

* [Harry Kelsey, “Charles E. Mix, 1858,” Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 77–79. —Ed.]


110 Alfred Cumming, a Georgian, governor of Utah from 1857 to 1861, had previously been Superintendent of the Central Superintendency at St. Louis, and had ample background to give Forney wise counsel.
confident, Mr. Stewart can make a satisfactory explanation. I am very anxious to make a right beginning.

I wish to be rightly understood, in reference to my motives, for coming out, into this country, that it was or is not to make money, but rather a hope & prospect, of improving a broken down constitution, & avoiding the development of already incipient consumption. I am happy to inform you that my health is already greatly improved.

I see it stated in the papers, & the impression seems to be general, that some of the Indian Tribes, are in the employ of B. Young, there is no truth in this, & I think I stated so, to the Department, in my communications. I am assured, by reliable persons, that the Indian Tribes, in this Territory, with the exception of those in & about Carson Valley, have been uniformly peaceable, & never molested any of our people & the Government, altho frequently imperturbed by the Mormons, to steal from & murder Emigrants. To improve the condition of the Indians, in Carson Valley, I recommended the appointment of an Agent for that locality—the person whom I recommended, left here, a few weeks ago, for the States, & may be at Washington about the first of March. I also advised the appointment of a new Agent at Salt Lake City, I cannot think, that you, will want to continue a Mormon in office. I believe I recommended no one for this Agency—I do now respectfully recommended Dr. C. B. Gillespy, Bradys Bend P. O., Armstrong Co. Pa. I know the Dr well, and consider him well qualified for any position, & I feel confident he would come out.

I see it stated, that Genl [James W.] Denver has been appointed, Secretary for Kansas, how is this—I was in hopes that the Kansas, troubles were all rightly fixed up long before this. With a view to the prospective good of Kansas, I would respectfully recommend, the Hanging or exporting, some of the scoundrels, who seem so bent on mischief. Did Walker & Stanton, brake down. I hope the President will not suffer by the Kansas difficulties.

It is my full purpose, to visit every full Tribe, in this Territory, within the next ten months. I will have an interview with the “Snake” Tribe, before we leave this point, these are wintering on “Wind River,” this section of the Territory belong to this Tribe.

My opportunities have been too limited, to enable me to say much of the real & true condition, of the Indians, in this Territory. I have talked with the representatives of two Tribes, from these & other sources, I have learned, that all are poor, scarcity of game, is the cause. The Cheifs, & principal Men, with whom I have talked, are anxious to be taught farming. The “Utah” Cheifs, who visited me last Month, told me that they had very little game, but plenty of good Land, and asked me, to send a white to teach the Art of farming. I am anxious to give these people an opportunity to work.
If the Department, have any communication to make, please send it by Mr. Stewart, as the Mail is uncertain. Mr. Stewart will give you any information about the condition of things here, It is very uncertain when the Army will leave, not perhaps until June. Present my compliments to the Secretary of the Interior. . . .

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX, ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT, GREEN RIVER COUNTY, MARCH 11, 1858

Dear Sir.

I received a letter from Col. Johnston, several days ago, requesting my cooperation in furthering the operations of the U. Army, by employing some expert Indians, for the performance of certain kinds of duty, which might prove efficacious to all here encamped.

The intention is not to engage Indians, for actual fighting, but as scouting parties. On reflection, I have concluded, that it is my duty, to render the Army, all the aid in my power. I have sent for the “Snake Tribe,” they being the most intimately acquainted with this portion of the Territory.

I received a letter, yesterday evening, from “Little Soldier” principal Chief, of a small Tribe, at present encamped on Bear River, some fifty miles from this camp. Weaver & part of Salt L. Vally, was the home, of this Tribe, until driven from all their best land, by the Mormons. They were encamped, all winter near “Ogden City,” Weaver Vally—they left there several days ago, crossed the Mountain & Cannons—between this & S. L. City, the road, they inform me, is in a good Condition. I will see the Tribe in a few days.

“Little Soldier”s Tribe—have been suspected, by some, for having formed friendly relations with the Mormons. This Chief, with some of his principal men, visited me last fall, shortly after our arrival here. There own Statements, & the testimony of reliable men, convinced me, that this Tribe, have ever, been faithful, to the Government & our citizens. All subsequent information of this people, strengthens my good opinion of them.

It is uncertain, when I may have another safe opportunity of sending letters—this goes by the Army Express. . . .
D. W. Thorpe to Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Washington, D. C., March 26, 1858\textsuperscript{112}

Sir

In the establishment of an Indian Agency for the “Snake Nation” I would respectfully mention that if the Government should Deem the season to[o] far advanced to make the usual arraisonements for the purchas[e] and transportation of Goods for that Tribe, I will be able to have the goods furnished and fraigtted at the ordinary Government rates, by the direction of the Department.

In this connection I would beg to suggest that a limited amount of goods for that destination would be most advisable untill those Indians have been visited and there chiefs and head men assembled and the numbers and wants more cer-tainly ascertained.

A few thousand dollars properly and carefully distributed amoung them would be an e[a]rnest of the kind feelings of Government in their behalf and would be most salutary in the prevention of any undue influence being used over them by the mormons in connection with the difficulties now pending in that region. . . .

Jacob Forney, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, April 17, 1858\textsuperscript{113}

Dear Sir.

There has nothing peculiarly interesting transpired in my department, since my last Communication.

I visited last week the Sho-Sho-Ne- Tribe at present encamped on Bear River, fifty miles from here, in the direction of Salt L. City. I promised the Cheifs of this Tribe, sometime ago- and when yet encamped in Weber Valley, that whenever they had moved to Bear River, I would endeavor to visit them, consequently

\textsuperscript{112} T/286–1858.
\textsuperscript{113} F/260–1858.
Tuesday evening of last week, two Cheifs, with seventy men, came to my place, all well mounted, to escort me to there Camp. There was no backing out, on the following day we started. This was my first visit to an Indian Camp. I was decidedly pleased with the general appearance & apparently industrious habits of these people. I was informed by one of the Cheifs, Ben Simons, who acted as Interpreter, that they had out almost constantly hunting parties. They have killed this Winter, over a hundred elk, & a large quantity of small game. —They have also commenced traping in Bear River, & have already Caught considerable Otter & Beaver.

A small party, from this Tribe, were the first Indians that visited me, after our arrival here. This is one of the Tribes—B. Young, boasted, would assist him, in the event of a conflict with the U. States. Several days intercourse, on my recent visit, enables me to say most confidently, that this Tribe, is true, to the Government, beyond all peradventure.

I received your communication informing me of the appointment of an Agent at S. L. City.

I will send my financial report, for the quarter Ending March 31, the first of next month. My visit to B. River, last week, & other official matters, prevents me, sending it by to Morrow’s Mail.

Wash-A-Kee.—Principal Cheif of the Snakes, had send me word, that he & his principal men will visit me within two weeks.

White-Eye—Principal Cheif, of a large Tribe, of “Utes,” spend part of a day at my Tent, he is evidently a man, Calculated to rule, he wants me to see all his Cheifs & Principal men, before we leave this. Three of the Sho-Sho-Ne Cheifs, have requested me, to meet them & all there people at “Bear Lake,” in May, & give them a talk - which I can do on my way to Salt Lake City. . . .

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Jacob Forney, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, May 21, 1858

Dear sir.

I succeeded on the 12th inst. of consummating a Treaty of Peace, between the Snake Tribe, under Cheif Wash-A-Kee—his five sub-Cheifs, and the Utah Tribe, under White-Eye— Sow-At- & Sam Pitch—equal Cheifs, These two Tribes have

114 F/252–1858.
been at enmity for years, fighting and killing each other, and endangering the lives & property of Whites.

I seen and talked with both Tribes, before they met here, and at my request met in Council, at my office. All differences are adjusted, and I have good reason to believe, that the peace will be permanent.

The line deviding these Indians, was never deffinitely explained to them, both Tribes, now understand where the dividing line between them is.

The Bannack Tribe, were present at the Council. I will give you, on the first June a full account of the above transaction, and also, all my other official doings, since in the Territory & to the end of the fiscal year. It is my intention, and will make my arrangements accordingly, That from the first of July, to December or January, my time will be principally occupied traveling—visiting the Tribes & Bands, in other portions of the Territory, unless prevented by political entanglements. I have satisfactorily arranged the boundaries, and concluded permanent friendship with four Tribes, of considerable importance.

I will leave this next Monday or Tuesday, for Salt L. Valley, & the Indian farm, near Provo City. My friend Govenor Cumming, visited the Indian farm, during his trip through the Mormon Settlements, and found things on the farm in a very different condition, then represented to me by the Agent. The Govenor seen about 2000 bushels of wheat—Cattle and farming implements. The person on the farm, was requested to remain untill my arrival there, which will, I trust, be next week, & in time, to have some potatoes &c—planted.

I will return here again in a few weeks, I have an appointment to meet the whole Sho-Sho-Nee Tribe, on Bear River Lake, in June. I intend also, if possible, to make a visit to several Valleys, from thirty to fifty miles, south-East of this, and also explore some along Green River, and a Valley east of this River. This exploration is being made, with the view of determining the feasibility of permanently settling the Snake Tribe, for Agricultural purposes. Wash-A—kee, principal Cheif, of this Tribe, is very anxious to settle his people permanently, he assures me, that all he wants is a good White man, to instruct his people, & farming implements, & his young men will do the work.

His official duties so pressed upon him that Forney, as he reported later, did not find the time to prepare this "full account" of the "Treaty of Peace" he brought about between the Shoshoni and the Utes; the same cause prevented his making the visit to Bear Lake which he had contemplated. In view of what Forney says about his having defined a "dividing line" between the two tribes, this dereliction in duty becomes the more lamentable.

Each succeeding wave of Indian officials heard a similar tale from the Indian chiefs of Utah Territory. Alas, the young men did not take kindly to "doing the work," which in their view was properly the sphere of the squaws.
I respectfully invite your attention to my financial report, the amount expended in presents may seem large. I may have exceeded the bounds of discretion in making so many. I will explain my principal motives for doing as I have done. All the Tribes I have had intercourse with, have always been faithfull to the Government, & never molested any of our people. Three of the Tribes, have never received any presents. These Indians were & are in a position, which, if disposed, could have done us more harm than the Mormons. After consulting a few friends last fall, & the destitute condition of the Indians, many really almost naked & starving, I felt it to be my duty, to do as I have done. I have given all the presents, I intent to give, to the Indians, in this portion of the Territory, which at the price even here will not exceed Eight thousand dollars, to the end of the fiscal year.

N B. I have much more to say, but have been & still too sick an express will leave here June 1st, when I will write again.

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH TERRITORY, JUNE 30, 1858

Sir:—

Enclosed please find an abstract account current, property return, and vouchers from one to seventeen inclusive. Showing an expenditure during the quarter ending June 30, 1858, of Seven thousand and Sixty eight $7,6857/100 Dollars, for which I have drawn two drafts No 95 for Three thousand five hundred and thirty four Dollars, and No 96 for Three thousand five hundred and thirty four $3,534 57/100 Dollars, in favor of Hon. J. M. Bernhisel Delegate in Congress.

Of the above amount, One thousand three hundred and sixty eight $1,368 44/100 Dollars, was expended as you will perceive at Fort Bridger in presents to Wash-e-kik, Standing Rock, Tib-en-de-wah and their respective bands, all of the Shoshone tribe of Indians, at their annual visit made at that place in August last. These accounts would have been included in my former reports, but have not been rendered until the 3rd of April of the present quarter, as appears in voucher No. 1.

117 Y/34–1858.
118 “August last” would have been the summer of 1857. Very little information has turned up bearing on the movements of the Shoshoni in 1857.
Since my last report the Indians have generally been rather more quiet and in a few instances returned some of the horses which they had previously stolen. One exception however to this is a portion of the Utahs under White-Eye, Anthro, Peeteeneet, Sandpitch and Tin-tic who with their bands numbering above six hundred, came into the Settlements, about the last of May, from the vicinity of Fort Bridger, very hostile in their feelings and apparently only awaiting the advance of the troops from that point to make a general attack. As it was they committed many depredations, by stealing horses, Killing Cattle Sheep &c., but since they have learned the peaceable advance of the troops, their hostile feelings seem to be somewhat subsiding.

Owing to these causes, it became necessary to not only hold them in check but to feed them in order to conciliate and keep them from actual outbreak until matters could be explained to them understandingly.

I trust that the foregoing explanations will be deemed sufficient and satisfactory and the account paid accordingly.

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

Trusting that Dr. Forney's intercourse with the department may be congenial, as well as satisfactory to the native tribes. . . .

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Jacob Forney, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Charles E. Mix,
Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, September 6, 1858119

Sir: In accordance with the regulations and requirements of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit to you a report of my doings among the Indians of this Territory.

I received my commission on the 9th day of September, A. D. 1857, and with the least possible delay thereafter commenced my journey to my superintendency. It was the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior and yourself that I could reach

119 The original manuscript having disappeared, this report is reprinted from the published version in the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1, pt. 1 (Serial 974), 561–65.
Fort Leavenworth in time to come out under the protection of Colonel [Philip St. George] Cook[e]’s command, but I found on my arrival at the fort that the command had left and were en route twelve days. I did not overtake it until it reached Fort Laramie.

My party reached Camp Scott, near Fort Bridger, on the 17th day of November last, after experiencing extremely cold weather in the mountains; and it was only through the kindness of Colonel Cook (to whom I am much indebted) that we were enable to reach the camp of the Utah army.

On account of the inclement state of the weather, and the troubled condition of affairs in this Territory, I was compelled to remain during the whole of last winter at Camp Scott, and of course was not very favorably situated to attend to the duties of my office. I had a building erected, however, and entered upon my official duties in the best manner possible under the circumstances.

The tribes and fragments of tribes with whom I had business relations during my forced residence at Camp Scott are as follows, to wit: on the second day of December last I was visited by San-Pitch, a principal chief of the Utahs, and a few of his men. I will speak more elaborately of this tribe in the progress of this report. They wished to see Agent Hurt, who was then residing at Camp Scott. I gave them a few presents; this was my first official act with the Indians.

On the 10th of December following, Little Soldier, chief, and Benj. Simons, sub-chief, of a band of Sho-sho-nes, with some of their principal men, called on me; several merchants, however, who had recently and for several years resided in Salt Lake City, and who were well acquainted with this tribe from their proximity to the Mormon settlements, regarded their visit with suspicion. It was believed by many that they were spies. I learned, however, that their reason for visiting camp was to ascertain the object and ultimate destination of so many soldiers in the Territory. All this was explained to them, and after receiving some presents they departed for their homes in Weber valley. Ben Simons understands and speaks English sufficiently well to answer for an interpreter. I visited this tribe in April last. They then encamped on Bear river. The territory claimed by them includes Salt lake, Bear river, Weber river and Cache valley. Almost all the arable land belonging to them is occupied by white settlers, and, if not in actual cultivation, is held by virtue of certain legislative grants as herd grounds. I can learn of no effort having been made to locate any portion of this tribe. This is to

120 The Mormons at Ogden, in November 1854, undertook the expedient of disarming Little Soldier’s band and distributing them among the families in Weber County, “where the people were best able to feed and clothe them for the winter, and set them to work”; the whites succeeded in disarming the Indians, as related with some gusto by James S. Brown, Life of a Pioneer, 347–50. Brown implies that after the initial excitement died down, Indians and citizens got along very well together. But his forced acculturation of Little Soldier’s people had no permanent results.
Washakie and the Shoshoni

me surprising, as they have frequently solicited me to select some suitable place to enable them to raise wheat and corn. It was my intention to visit Weber and Cache valleys with this object in view. Several events, however, which have lately transpired, render this impossible this season. There is no tribe of Indians in the Territory with whom I have any acquaintance that have been so much discommoded by the introduction of a white population as the Sho-sho-nes. For the past few years they have been compelled to live in the mountains, (as the game has all been driven off the lowlands,) where the snow frequently falls to such depths as to be destructive to man and beast. But notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they labor from the introduction of a white populace, I cannot learn that they have ever molested any of our citizens, but, on the contrary, have always been friendly.

About the 22d day of December last, I was visited at Camp Scott, by White-eye and San-pitch, Utah chiefs, with several of their bands. They were destitute of provisions and almost in a starving condition, while it was not in my power to procure provisions for them. I was assured by Agent Hurt that they had always been peaceably disposed towards the whites. After making them some presents I dismissed them, and they returned to their camp on Henry’s fork. These Indians belong to one of the principal tribes of this Territory. There is but one other large tribe, (the Snakes,) as I am informed. Both the principal tribes are, of course, divided into a great number of small bands, but all submit to the authority of one or the other of the chiefs of their respective tribes.

The best land belonging to the Utahs is situated in Utah valley, which is well watered by numerous small streams. All the land that is susceptible of cultivation is occupied, and most of it is now being farmed. There are eight towns in this valley, with populations ranging from three hundred to four thousand souls. It was once the favorite hunting ground of the Utahs, but civilization has driven the game from the valleys; there remains, however, an abundance of fish in all the streams. Much has been done and is doing for this tribe, (the Utahs.) Three years ago Agent Hurt opened up two farms for them on land claimed by them, one on Spanish Fork creek, in Utah county, the other on Salt creek, in Sanpete valley, one hundred and seventy miles south of this city. I visited Spanish Fork farm in June last, and, together with ex-agent Armstrong and Thomas J. Hunt [Hunt?], took a list of the government property on the farm.

There is quite a discrepancy in relation to the extent of this reservation between the agent who commenced it and the authorities of Spanish Fork City. Upon my first visit to the farm Agent Hurt had not returned to it. Not knowing the quantity of land he intended to include in the reservation, I marked some natural boundaries myself. Upon the return of Agent Hurt he assured me that
the points I had designated were the ones he always intended as the boundaries of the reservation.

In regard to the reservation I had a personal interview with the authorities of Spanish Fork City, and it is really extraordinary to me that they have never raised objections to this reserve prior to this time. It is with extreme regret that I am forced into a controversy with them, imperative duty requiring me to take the course I do. Years ago, at the request of the then superintendent, (B. Young,) Agent Hurt commenced the Indian reservation precisely where indicated—has made improvements from time to time at a cost of from $15,000 to $20,000, and now, for the first time, is required to give an account of his “stewardship” to the inhabitants of Spanish Fork City. I am clearly of the opinion that this claim is unfounded, from the letter of Agent Hurt as well as from my own observation. I shall, therefore, proceed to have the reserve enclosed as soon as possible.

Strenuous efforts will be made to induce this tribe (the Utahs) to locate permanently, as no permanent good can ever be done for them so long as they roam about in their wild state.

I visited San-Pete creek farm last month, (August,) which is situated in the west end of San-Pete valley and county. This farm was opened about two years ago, under the directions of Agent Hurt, for a band of the Utahs under Chief Arapeen, a brother of San-Pitch. It is the second farm within the boundaries of this tribe, and is well watered and timbered, and has a sufficiency of good grazing land; for these reasons I consider it a more eligible location for an Indian reserve than that at Spanish Fork.

On this farm there are one hundred and ninety-five acres of land under cultivation, and will produce this year (1858) about twelve hundred bushels of wheat, besides small quantities of corn and potatoes.

From the loose manner in which business has been previously conducted on the farm, I appointed a new overseer, who is acquainted with the Indian language.

The Indians are to perform all the work; with proper care in imparting instruction, not only this but all the other Indian farms may in a short time be worked by Indian labor.

The experiment of agriculture among the Indians of this Territory has not been as successful as might have been anticipated, when we consider the destitute condition of those for whom it has been introduced.

Indians are proverbially lazy, and only the pinchings of hunger will drive them to work so much white labor has heretofore been employed to do work for them, and they have not been sufficiently taught that their subsistence depends upon their own labor. But notwithstanding, the comparative ill success of the agricultural experiment, it is the only available means of ameliorating the
condition of the Indians in this Territory, as game enough could not be found to subsist them for one year. In my opinion, reservations should be made without delay. Every acre of arable land that can be irrigated will be occupied in a very short time. I will give this subject my earliest attention. I have instructed Agent Dodge to attend to this as soon as possible in Carson valley.

A farm has commenced several years ago for a small tribe called the Pah-Vants, on Corn creek, in Millard county, under the direction of Agent Hurt. Ranosh [Kanosh], the chief of this tribe, visited me, and expressed a desire that some good white man might be placed upon the farm to direct them, assuring me that the Indians would do all the work. His request was not as Indians’ generally are, for paint, beads, &c., but for agricultural implements. I employed a Mr. [Peter] Boyce to take charge of this farm, at fifty dollars per month. No other white labor will be employed. Eighty acres of wheat were raised upon this farm this year. I will visit it in January and define a reservation.

I have visited a small tribe called the Go-sha-utes, who live about forty miles west of this city. They are, without exception, the most miserable looking set of human beings I ever beheld. I gave them some clothing and provisions. They have heretofore subsisted principally on snakes, lizards, roots, &c. I made considerable effort to procure a small quantity of land for them, but could not find any with water sufficient to irrigate it. I will give this matter my attention as soon as possible after my return from the Humboldt.

I have heretofore spoken of a large tribe of Indians known as the Snakes. They claim a large tract of country lying in the eastern part of this Territory, but are scarcely ever found upon their own land.

They generally inhabit the Wind river country, in Oregon and Nebraska Territories, and they sometimes range as far east as Fort Laramie, in the latter Territory. Their principal subsistence is the buffalo, and it is for the purpose of hunting them that they range so far east of their own country. This tribe numbers about twelve hundred souls, all under one principal chief, Wash-a-kee. He has perfect command over them, and is one of the finest looking and most intellectual Indians I ever saw.

He prides himself that neither he, nor any of his tribe, have ever molested a white, although the great overland route from the States to California passes immediately through their country.

It seems somewhat strange that this tribe has never received any attention whatever from any of the officials of this Territory.121 This I learned, not only from the Indians, but from other persons who have been among them for

121 It was a consistent ellusion [sic] of various agents of the Indian office that nothing was ever done before they, individually, took a job in hand, and it will be seen that Forney’s remark is not strictly true.
several years, and especially from Major Bridger, one of the earliest pioneers of this country.\footnote{Jim Bridger returned to his fort in the fall of 1857 as a guide for Johnston's army. He remained in the military service until July 2, 1858.}

The only portion of the country of this tribe suited for agricultural purposes is the valley of Henry's Fork, about forty miles south of Fort Bridger and opening out into Green River valley. This Wash-a-kee wished to reserve, and is very anxious I should open a farm for them. For this purpose I sent Agent Craig to Green River county; but I fear the matter will have to be postponed for this winter for want of a suitable person to take charge of the farm.

For several years an enmity has existed between the Utahs and the Snakes. My attention was directed to this soon after entering upon my official duties. I alluded to the feud during my first interview with the Utahs, in December last, but their warchief, White-eye, did not seem disposed to talk about it, and it was not until April last that they signified their willingness to make peace with the Snakes. On the 3d day of May I received information that the Snake tribe of Indians were encamped on Green river. Reports were in circulation that they had come to make war upon the Utahs, who were encamped in the vicinity of Camp Scott. Immediately upon hearing the report, I despatched a messenger to Wash-a-kee to learn his intentions, and if he intimated hostility to the Utahs to persuade him to encamp at some convenient place, until I could have a talk with him. On the 6th day of May my express man returned, and informed me that Wash-a-kee was willing to leave the adjustment of the difficulties between his tribe and the Utahs to me.

Accordingly, on the 13th of May, Wash-a-kee, of the Snakes, White-Eye, Son-a-at, and San-Pitch, of the Utahs, with the sub-chiefs of the different tribes, and also several chiefs of the Banacks, (of whom I will speak further hereafter,) assembled in council at Camp Scott, when, after considerable talk and smoking, peace was made between the two tribes. After I had given the Snakes and Banacks some presents they left camp.

The latter tribe (Banacks) I had frequently heard of, but supposed they were part of a tribe of the same name who live in Oregon Territory, and consequently not within my superintendency; but upon making inquiry I learned that they were a separate and distinct people, claiming a country lying within my superintendency.

In their habits and appearance they are much like the Snakes, with whom they are on terms of the greatest intimacy. They number between four and five hundred, and are all under one principal chief, named Horne.

Immediately after I received your communication in relation to the massacre of the Arkansas emigrants, three hundred miles south of this, on the southern
California road, I procured the services of a reliable person [Jacob Hamblin], well acquainted with the southern Indians and their language, and since the latter part of June have been in constant communication with these Indians. My endeavor to establish peaceful relations with them has proved successful beyond my expectations. This route to California is now free from all danger from Indians.

I have succeeded in recovering ten of the children remaining from the massacre of last September. It is supposed that there are more in the neighborhood; if so, they will be found.123

I am now busily engaged in preparing for a trip to the Humboldt river. Having learned that the Indians in that region were committing depredations upon travellers, and, in one instance, having attacked the mail party and stampeded their stock, I will travel with an escort. In addition to which, one hundred and fifty men, (one hundred mounted and fifty infantry,) upon a requisition from his excellency Gov. A. Cumming, will proceed to the Humboldt, subject to my orders.

It is my present intention to proceed to Gravelly Fort [near present Beowawe, Nevada], which is one hundred miles beyond the first crossing of the Humboldt, and, if circumstances permit, will proceed to Carson valley and establish Agent [Frederick] Dodge, who accompanied me, in his position. . .

49

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX, ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED NOVEMBER 5, 1858124

Sir,

I have already apprised you, in several Communications, of my intention to visit the Humboldt Indians and latterly of my having done so. I returned from this trip last Friday evening. It has been my intention from my first advent into this Valley, so soon as compatible with other official duties, to visit the Indians, on the great Northern Rout to Califa.

It was only since the middle of last June, that my movements have been unincumbered by political entanglements. Since then, as I have frequently advised your Department, my entire time has been devoted to official duties.


124 F/337–1858.
In pursuance of your request, that I would visit, with as little delay as possible, the Indian Tribes, and ascertain their locality and condition. This I have done, so far as time and other duties would permit.

The Tribes & Bands in this Territory, with but one or two exceptions, live almost entirely in, and adjacent to, the Valleys through which the Northern and Southern Roads to California from this City, pass. As also on and near the road to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains.

Previous to my trip to the Humboldt, I had visited or had had business relations, with the following Tribes; the Snakes, under their Chief Wash a keek, the Sho Sho Nees, under Little Soldier, the Utes, the Bannocks, the Pah-vantes & Go Sha Utes. I have given a hasty account of all the above tribes in my last report.

About the last of August or beginning of September last, I was apprised that the Indians of Humboldt Valley had committed depredations on the U. S. Mail, and took immediate steps to ascertain the facts from what seemed, reliable testimony. It was said that several thousand hostile Indians were assembled in that Valley, and that the mail and all connected with it, and all travellers were threatened. I immediately made known the statements to his Excellency Govr Cumming, who at once, made a requisition on Genl Johns[t]on for One hundred and fifty troops, to march to the Humboldt without delay. In pursuance of this request, Captain Haws with 150 men, were sent on said expedition, with orders not to proceed beyond the first Crossing of the Humboldt.

Twenty men of said command were (if necessary) to accompany me to Gravelly Ford. I left this City Sept 12 for the Humboldt, having with me, an ambulance,* one Govt wagon with provisions and presents, One hired wagon & term & driver in all seven men including Interpreter, guide, drivers, cook &c.

Mr. Dodge, Agent for Carson Valley, also accompanied me. Septr 13. At Farmington 16 miles north of this City I met “Little Soldier” a Chief, with about fifty Sho-Sho-Nees. For prudential reasons, it was deemed advisable to give them some provisions. This Band, with others of the Sho-Sho-Nees, have been solicited by the hostile Indians in Oregon to aid them against the Government, but without success. Chief “Little Soldier” expressed great solicitude for my safety, was fearful I would not return safe. By my directions a small quantity of flour and beef was distributed to his Band.

[A lengthy account follows of meetings held with other Indians along the overland trail, especially down the Humboldt, including two bands of Shoshoni—concerning whom Forney observes: “There are now four chiefs present viz Py-poor-oo-yan—San-Pitch—We-ra-yoo—Tse-Mah & Paw-sha-quin Representing . . . probably 4 to 600 Indians. . . . One of these ‘Bands’ have some horses and ponies,

* [“Ambulance” is the term for a wagon enclosed with a hard top and board-paneled sides, often used for the same purpose as modern vehicles with the same name. —Ed.]
Washakie and the Shoshoni

and a few of the men have Buffalo Robes. They are Sho-Sho-Nees and recognize Wash-a-keek as their great chief.” Forney went as far west as Stony Point, treating with a band of White Knife Shoshoni, before turning back to Great Salt Lake City.

On my way home, at Box Elder, seventy miles north of this, a Band of Sho-Sho-Nees, numbering 128 met me. These have recently broken off from Little Soldiers Tribe. I was unable to learn from them the Cause.

They made demands for sundry things. I distributed among them a small quantity of flour, beef and a few presents. The Indians loafing about the Northern Settlements, are a source of considerable annoyance to the inhabitants, much complaint was made to me, while passing through there, recently. . . .

1859

50

Jacob Forney, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to A. B. Greenwood,* Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, September 29, 1859 (extracts)125

Sir: In accordance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following as my annual report for the year 1859.

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The Indians, claiming a home in Utah Territory, are evidently the offspring of two nations who migrated west of the Rocky mountains from the northwest many years ago. It is probable that most of the descendants of those nations are now within the boundary of this Territory. They have greatly decreased in numbers, and proportionately in their mental and physical condition, during the past thirty years. Their degeneracy in the mode of living and comforts has been more manifest during that period.

This I learn from old mountaineers who have lived among them, corroborated by Indian testimony.

The descendants of the two nations above alluded to are now called Sho-shone or Snake, and Utah or Ute.


125 This document, like number 48, has to be recovered from its printed occurrence, in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Executive Document 2 (Serial 1023), 1: 730–41. Owing to its great length, some parts have been omitted—a few paragraphs at the beginning concerning a rape by two Utes and its aftermath, and at the end a considerable discussion of the reservations then existing in Utah, an equally lengthy account of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and some remarks on difficulties with Shoshoni in the Idaho area.
The only exception is a small tribe of Bannacks, numbering about five hundred. “Horn,” the principal chief of these, with his people, visited Fort Bridger in April, 1858, where I had an interview with them. This chief claimed a home for himself and people in this Territory, and informed me that he and those old men around him were children, young men, and now old men, in this country.

Major Bridger, my interpreter at the time, assured me that for the last thirty years he had traded, almost yearly, with this tribe in that section of country, and that, when he first knew them, they numbered twelve hundred lodges.

I granted to this tribe of Bannacks a home in the portion of this Territory claimed and inhabited by Wash-a-kee and his tribe of Sho-sho-nes, and with that chief’s entire consent. These two tribes are extensively intermarried, and live together amicably.

**Sho-sho-nes or Snake.**

This division of the Indians is subdivided into fourteen regularly organized bands.

One of these, by common consent, is designated a tribe, and is under the complete control of Chief Wash-a-kee, assisted by four to six sub-chiefs. These number, at least, twelve hundred.

The remaining thirteen bands have each one principal and several sub-chiefs.

Five of these bands, numbering about one thousand, roam through Salt Lake, Weber, Ogden, Bear River, Cache, and Malad valleys, and the adjacent mountains and canons. One band, of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty, mostly confines themselves to the regions along the northern California road, from Bear and Malad rivers to the Goose Creek mountains.

Seven bands roam through the valleys of the Humboldt, and in the regions over one hundred miles south of the Humboldt, to the Peyute country, and east and west about two hundred miles. These bands frequently subdivide into many small squads, to clean thoroughly the country, through which they roam of everything containing a life-sustaining principle.

Included among the Sho-sho-nes is a band called Go-sha-utes, who speak the same language, and live in and roam over those portions of the territory claimed and inhabited by the latter. This band is a mixture of Snake and Ute, the former preponderating. A few years ago the Go-sha-utes were a considerable tribe. Their principal and only chief died about four years ago, since which they have remained broken and subdivided into small fragments, except about sixty, who have organized into a band, and have a quiet and well disposed chief to control them. This band is now permanently located on the Deep Creek Indian farm. The remainder roam over a region of country from forty to two hundred miles west of this city. A concentration of them all into Deep Creek valley is in
progress. I have had intercourse with every tribe and band of Sho-sho-nes in the Territory, and have endeavored to learn from them their number. And, in my opinion, they number about forty-five hundred. They occupy about one-third of the Territory, the northeast portion.

**Utah or Ute.**

The Utah, Pahvant, and Pey-uet, constitute the second division of the Indians.

Although these are designated by several different names, yet they all emanate from one nation or tribe, and speak the same language.

The Utes are subdivided into several tribes and many bands. Those known as Uinta-utes, claim Uinta valley and the country along Green river. A portion of these have lived, part of last and this summer, at the Spanish Fork Indian reservation.

This tribe is governed by four chiefs, and numbers about one thousand.

There is a band of Utes, with several chiefs, numbering about five hundred, who, in pursuance with my request, mostly located last May on the Spanish Fork reservation, where it is presumed they will continue. Another band of about eighty are living on the San-Pete Indian farm.

**Pah-vant.**

These are Ute Indians, but are a distinct, organized tribe and number about seven hundred. They obey and are controlled by one principal, and several sub-chiefs. About half of them have their home on the “Corn Creek” Indian farm. The other wing of the tribe lives along the “Sevier lake” and surrounding country, in the northeast extremity of Fillmore valley, and about fifty miles from Fillmore city.

There are seemingly two distinct, organized divisions of Pey-Ute Indians. One division inhabit the Humboldt, north, from about fifty miles west of Strong [Stony] Point to the California line, and northwest to the Oregon line. These are estimated to number about six thousand, by Agent Dodge.

For further particulars, I refer you to the accompanying report from Frederick Dodge, Esq., Indian agent in Carson valley.

There is a tribe of Indians who dwell along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake to one of the forks of Walker’s river: these are called Wa-sho, and are supposed to number from five to eight hundred. I am not certain whether or not they belong to the Ute division.126

The ten bands (Ute Indians) inhabiting the southern portion of the Territory are scattered along the California road, generally adjacent to the settlements, from Beaver valley, along the Santa Clara, Virgin, Los Vegas, and Muddy rivers, to the California line and New Mexico. These bands number about two thousand

126 The Washoe are regarded as a separate linguistic stock.
and two hundred. I am credibly informed that there are large numbers of Ute Indians roaming at and in the neighborhood of the Elk mountains, in the southeast part of the Territory. The number of these is variously estimated at from one to three thousand.

The supposed total number of Indians in Utah Territory is as follows:

- Sho-sho-nes, or Snakes .................................................. 4,500
- Ban-nacks ................................................................. 500
- Uinta Utes ................................................................. 1,000
- Spanish Fork and San Pete farms ................................ 1,000
- Pah-vant, (Utes) .......................................................... 700
- Pey-utes, (South) ........................................................ 2,200
- Pey-utes, (West) ....................................................... 6,000
- Elk mountain Utes ..................................................... 2,000
- Wa-sho of Honey lake ............................................... 700

18,500

The Sho-sho-nes claim the northeastern portion of the Territory for about four hundred miles west, and from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five miles south, from the Oregon line. The Utes claim the balance of the Territory.

I have visited within the last twelve months every portion of this Territory where it is supposed Indians are living, except the Carson agency and Elk mountain.

The public interest required me to visit different portions several times during the last year, and my almost constant intercourse with the Indians has afforded me ample opportunities to become familiar with their true condition.

The tribe of Snakes, under chief Washakee, and the small tribe of Ban-nacks, living in the regions northeast, near Fort Bridger, go east yearly to hunt elk and buffalo; this, with still considerable game in their country, keeps them from absolute want.

The balance of the Indians in Utah are extremely poor. The utmost ingenuity is put in requisition to sustain life; they eagerly seek after everything containing a life-sustaining element, such as hares, rabbits, antelope, deer, bear, elk, dogs, lizards, snakes, crickets, grasshoppers, ants, roots, grass-seeds, bark, &c.

Many men, women, and children are entirely naked.

With some of the Indians, stealing cattle, horses, mules, &c., is a matter of necessity—steal or starve.

It is my clear conviction that the immigration of a white population into the Territory has had a deleterious effect upon the Indian. Game cannot exist except in the fertile watered valleys; these, with a few exceptions, are occupied by a thrifty population, and, consequently, the game is exterminated.
It is proper to remark that those Indians who roam adjacent to the settlements, have received, and are receiving, considerable aid from the inhabitants.

All the tribes and bands visited by me have received presents, such as blankets, various kinds of clothing, and ammunition: the last was not dealt out indiscriminately. To some of the bands I have given frequent material aid in flour, beef, &c., especially to those who have been forced to give up to whites the valleys which furnished them with subsistence.

About five bands of the Sh-o-sho-nes are severe sufferers by the influx of whites; those who inhabited Great Salt Lake, Weber, Bear, Cache, and Malad valleys, extending eighty miles north. These valleys, which, in their natural state, furnished the Indians much subsistence, are now entirely occupied by permanent inhabitants.

Game in this country must become extinct when the valleys adapted to farming purposes are occupied by white men, which is already the case, with few exceptions: so much so, that it will be difficult, even now, to procure an advantageous location for a reservation for the Sho-sho-ne bands above alluded to, without paying for more or less improvements.

With the exception of the Uinta and Elk Mountain Utes, the country of the Utahs is fast filling up with settlers. The government has, however, made three eligible Indian farms in the country claimed by the Utes. The Uinta Utes, the band at Spanish Fork, the one at San Pete, and the Pah-Vants, at Corn creek, have received much more assistance heretofore than all the other Indians in the Territory; and, unless I am much deceived, these same Indians have been guilty of more depredations than any others in the Territory. It is gratifying, however, to be justified in saying that these Indians have done better this season than ever heretofore, and they promise fair for the future. I am endeavoring to have them permanently located on the several farms; and, until this is accomplished, no salutary improvement can be expected in their habits and condition.

The bands of Pah-Utes, in the southern portion of the Territory, are extremely destitute; the country they inhabit is almost a continuous desert. This is especially the case with those bands south of Cedar city, and which constitute by far the largest portion of them. Almost every band yearly cultivates small patches of wheat, corn, beans, &c., along the banks of the streams. The small expenditure I made the last year among the southern Pah-Utes has had a salutary tendency.

I saw many of those Indians last spring, and it was my intention to send an agent to remain among them for some time. This, heretofore, has not been possible; but I will instruct Agent Humphreys to start for that quarter in a few weeks, to visit all the bands, if practicable, with instructions to ascertain their true condition, and the geographical character of the country they inhabit.
An intelligent gentleman,* who was guide to the first emigrant company which passed through the southern part of the Territory to California, twelve years ago, informs me that he then saw wheat and cornfields, with at least six acres in each, successfully cultivated by those southern Pah-Utes, and that his company would have fared badly but for the wheat, corn, peas, and beans purchased by them from the Indians.

It is to be regretted that this condition of things has not been continued. These Indians have evidently degenerated very rapidly during the last twelve years, or since white men have got among them.

1860

51

F. W. Lander, Supt., U. S. Overland Wagon Road and Special Agent to Tribes Along the Route, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Washington, D. C., February 11, 1860 (extract)127

Sir.

In pursuance of the letter of instructions of Acting Commissioner Charles E. Mix of March 26th 1859, I have carried out the Specifications therein embraced, visited the tribes enumerated, and have the honor to report;


127 L/318–1860. The whole of Lander’s report is printed in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Executive Document 42 (Serial 1008), 121–39. At the time Lander was preparing to leave Washington, Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, wrote Acting Commissioner Mix on March 25, 1859, to say:

Mr. F. W. Lander Superintendent of the Fort Kearney South Pass & Honey Lake road is about to proceed across the Rocky Mountains to Californian via the South Pass, the Upper basin the Green River and the Valley of Snake River near Fort Hall, through the Shoshone or Snake Indian region and the country of the Pannocks and others small tribes.

The opportunity afforded by this journey of Mr. Lander, to hold intercourse with these Indians and impress upon them the importance of maintaining amicable relations with the whites and to secure a pledge to abstain from molesting the Emigrants who may pass over the new road has induced me to adopt suggestions made by him in regard to distributing presents among them, To enable him to do so, you will place at his disposal a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars from such appropriations as you may deem
The Eastern Snakes.

On the second day of July [1859], the principal payment was made to the Eastern or Washikeek Band of Snake Indians at the Crossing of Big Sandy river, forty miles west from the South Pass in the presence of a large number of emigrants. Subsequent payments were made to small parties of this tribe as the Expedition proceeded.

No instance is on record of the Eastern Snakes having Committed outrages upon the whites. The presents were given as a reward for their good behavior in the past, and as a payment for the destruction of their root and herding grounds by the animals of the emigration. They were requested to aid overland travellers by every means in their power, to restore strayed and lost stock and in case of any outrage being committed upon them by emigrants, to refrain from reprisal, but report it through their chief to proper authorities. These points were explained to them by excellent interpreters, were agreed to and have been implicitly regarded.

The life of an emigrant was saved by an Indian at “Green river crossing” and great assistance rendered at the same dangerous for in passing trains, by the mounted warriors of the tribe. Lost Stock has been driven in, and by a paper bearing over nine thousand signatures, the emigrants state “that they have been most kindly treated by the Indians.”

At the payment, the emigrants were given to understand the object of the disbursement of presents and have treated the Indians with consideration and respect.

The Eastern Snakes range from the waters of Wind river or latitude 43° 30’ on the north and from the South Pass to the head waters of the North Platte on the east, and to Bear river near the mouth of Smith’s Fork on the west. They extend south as far as Brown’s Hole on Green river. Their principal subsistence is the roots and seeds of the wild vegetables of the region they inhabit. the mountain trout, with which all the streams of the Country are abundantly supplied; and wild game. The latter is now very scarce in the vicinity of the new and old emigrant roads.

The immense herds of antelope I remember having seen along the route of the new road [Lander Cutoff] in 1854 and 1857 seem to have disappeared. These Indians visit the border ground between their own country and the Crows and Blackfeet for the purpose of hunting Elk, Antelope and stray herds of Buffalo[.]

applicable and give him such instructions as may be proper to secure the end desired, it being understood that the service is to be performed without compensation. . . .

Lander himself, under date of March 23, 1859, set forth a schedule of articles desired, adding, “The above is the amount for a single half lodge or a very small family and should be multiplied by 300 for the Washihkey band of Snakes with their friends & visitors, the Northern Pannacks & sheep-Eaters—by 200—for the Pannack tribe, and by 300 for the two bands of Western Snakes.” He also wanted “1 Uniform Coat or Suit for the Chief Washikey,” valued at $50. (L/739–1859).
When these trips are made they travel only in large bands for fear of the Blackfeet and Crows. With the Pannachs and parties of Salt Lake Diggers they often make still longer marches into the northwestern buffalo rangers on the head waters of the Missouri and Yellow Stone.

These excursions usually last over winter, the more western Indians who join them passing over a distance of twelve hundred miles on the out and return journey.

They are at peace with the Flatheads, hunting with them on the buffalo grounds. They seem to have no discretion in the killing of game. The antelope “surrounds” in which the whole tribe often engages are made at that season of the year when the antelope is heavy with young or has the fawn by her side. I witnessed one of these “surrounds” on the head waters of Green river in 1858. On this occasion the whole herd of Antelope was slaughtered indiscriminately.

Wash-ikeek, the principal chief of the tribe is half Flathead. He obtained his popularity in the nation by various feats as a warrior and it is urged by some of the Mountaineers by his extreme severity. This has in one or two instances, extended so far as taking life. The word Washikee or Washekeek signifies “Gambler’ Gourd.” He was originally called “Pina-qua-na” or “Smell of Sugar.” “Push-e-can” or “Purchi-can,” another war Chief of the Snakes, bears upon his forehead the scar of a blow of the tomahawk given by Washikee in one of their altercations. Washikee, who is also known by the name of “the white man’s friend,” was many years ago in the employment of the American and Hudson’s Bay Fur Companies. He was the Constant Companion of the white trappers, and his superior knowledge and accomplishments may be attributed to this fact.

He is very light colored, remarkably tall and well formed, even majestic in appearance, and in my own opinion, an undeniable half breed. He is desirious of visiting Washington with the principal warriors of his tribe, never having been further east than Fort Laramie. The policy of making provision for this visit is evident, many of the more warlike tribes in his vicinity and some of the Eastern Snakes having been led to believe that the whites are very few in number.

I have not heard the Chiefs of the more western tribes speak of such a visit, but they would probably join in it. As my instructions did not direct any such arrangement, I could only inform the Chief that I would make his wishes known to the Great Father.

Washikee expresses himself in favor of the Reserve System, and has named a section of Country near the Medicine Bow Butte [Elk Mountain, north of the Medicine Bow range] on the border lands of his tribe as a suitable place for farming purposes I should anticipate some difficulty at the present time, in any endeavor to unite the Eastern Snakes upon a reserve. I made them offers of seeds and utensils which were not well received. They express themselves very
favorably in reference to herding and might be restrained to habits of discipline and self denial in this respect were suitable agents appointed to reside among them. They are a wandering tribe and range at different seasons of the year, as necessity calls, over the entire region I have described.

The Salt Lake Diggers intermarry with the Eastern Snakes and are on good terms with them. Among these indians, are some of the worst in the mountains. Washakee will not permit a horse thief or a vagabond to remain in his band, but many of the Mormon indians go about the Country with minor Chiefs calling themselves Eastern Snakes. Old Snag, a Chief sometimes seen on Green river, who proclaims himself an Eastern Snake, and friend of the Americans, but who is, I am informed, half Pannack, is of this class.—His character is very doubtful; although no actual proof exists of his participation in robberies, he has been known to permit young men to travel in his band who have stolen horses from emigrants.—An instance of this sort has occurred the present season, to which I shall refer in my remarks upon the Pannack tribe.—

Southern indians pass, on their way “to Buffalo” (a technical term) through the lands of the Eastern Snakes and Pannacks, and the latter are often made to bear the blame of their horse-stealing proclivities.—The Southern or Salt Lake Snakes or Diggers are, as a class, more civilized than Washakee’s band; many of them speak English exceedingly well and are very good farm laborers.—They are the most dangerous indians in the country, and if they could be gathered on a reserve during the passage of the emigration, where they can be made to support themselves much more readily than the Northern indians, it would be a matter of great benefit to the overland travel.—

Any steps which could be taken to augment the power of Washakee who is perfectly safe in his attachment to the Americans and Northern Mountaineers, would also prove beneficial.—

A depredation was committed in the Eastern Snake country by Salt Lake Diggers on their way “to Buffalo,” a fine ox being shot down owing to a quarrel which grew out of a horse trade with an emigrant named Amberson Huff.—The man could not have gone on without another ox, which was purchased for him out of the funds of the Wagon Road Expedition and charged to your Bureau.—

The Eastern Snakes speak the same language as the Camanches and often visit that warlike tribe. The Southern Snakes or Diggers have slightly different pronunciation for some words. Their language is called by mountaineers Digger Snake.

The Western Snakes who go about the Country with the Pannacks also use a slightly different pronunciation from the Camanche or pure Snake of the Eastern Mountains.

[There follow discussions of the Bannacks or Pannacks, reported to live in the Snake country and as far south as Cache Valley on occasion, with special
attention to the chiefs Mopeah and Tash-e-pah (who, like Washakie, was reported to be half Flathead, and a friend to the Americans), with some account also of the activities of “Salt Lake Diggers” in the Snake area. Subsequently Lander remarks upon the “Western Snakes” of the Humboldt River area, mentioning that these are called by the mountain men “Sho-sho-kos.”]

Schedule of the number of the various bands referred to in this report or visiting the emigrant roads via the South Pass.

* * *

I have estimated seven individuals to the lodge. This is a larger number than is usual in a buffalo Country where the skin lodge is less costly than among the snakes.

Shoshonees or Eastern Snakes

Chief Wash-i-kee or Wash-i-keek—in English “Gambler’s gourd,” or Pina-qua-na, in English “Smell of sugar.”—Lodges, 125. Subsistence—Buffalo, small game, fish, wild roots and seeds.—Range—Green river Country. Horses, a large number.

Salmon river Snakes; Bannacks and Snakes and Sheep-eaters

Chief. Qai-tan-i-an—in English “Foul Hand” with “Old Snag” and the Bannack “Grand Coquin”—Lodges 50—Subsistence—Salmon and trout, elk, deer and antelope Range—On Salmon river and the mountains north of it—Horses—a small number.

A Small band of the Sheep Eaters are very fierce and wild, rarely visiting whites.

Western Snakes


Bannacks or Pannakees or Pannacks

Chief Mo-pe-ah, in English—“Horn of hair on the forehead”—Lodges 60. Subsistence—Buffalo meat and wild vegetables—Range—In Country of Salt river and tributaries—Horses—Large number.

Bannacks of Fort Boise


Salt Lake Diggers; Lower or Southern Snakes

Warraricas—(in English—“Sun Flower seed eaters”) or Diggers or
Bannacks below Fort Boise, west of Blue Mountains.

Chief Pash-e-co or Pa-chi-co. in English “Sweet Root” Medicine man and
head of all the Bannacks or Pannakees; thought a wonderful prophet by the
Snakes—Lodges. 150. Subsistence—Roots and the Kamass with plunder Range—
Head of John Days river and west of Blue mountains—Horses—very few—They
steal the latter from the Cayuses.

All the above indians travel together and intermarry. They hold the entire
country. I Consider the Eastern Snakes as in some measure isolated from the rest
and as being more particularly under the direction of the reliable chief Washikee.

If the leading men of the disaffected tribes could be induced to visit
Washington it would serve an important purpose. They know nothing of the
number and actual power of the Gentiles, so called, and in my opinion are con-
stantly deceived in regard to them.

I recommend to you any of the following individuals as suitable persons to
carry out your views in reference to the collection of any information required
or the establishment of Agents in the Country.

Timothy Goodale would make a suitable agent for the Eastern Snakes. He
is very reliable and has great influence with the Chief Washikee. From circum-
stances occurring which led me to doubt some of the statements of individuals
having influence with the tribe, and present at the payment, I sent a night express
after Goodale and he was of great service to me at that time. He is now in this city
[Washington, D. C.], if required for service would need a notification as he is a
mountain trader, and will soon leave for the border.

Thomas Adams, a citizen of this District, but who has passed the last seven
years in the Rocky Mountains is well known among those Pannacks and Western
Snakes who range east of Salmon Falls and north of Snake river. He is also famil-
iar with some of the Salt Lake Diggers.

Old Richard Grant who was for many years the Hudson Bay Factor at Fort
Hall understands these western indians perfectly and is now in that Country. His
son John Grant, who is married into the Western Snake tribe and is brother-in-
law of the celebrated Ten-toi, is not so well educated, but can give much informa-
tion about them. He was born and reared in the vicinity of Fort Hall.

Thomas Lavatti, the half breed already referred to in this report is one of
the best men in the mountains; brave, reliable and sensible in all his views in
relation to the Indians. I think his advice as to the best method of approaching
and Controlling the western Snakes and Pannacks to prevent war by the use
of presents or by a little timely severity to the worst members of the tribes in
concert with their Chiefs might be received with Consideration. He is a most
excellent interpreter.
Isaac Frapp or Shoshonee Aleck,—the half breed, who has been two years in the employment of the [Wagon Road] expedition, is a very excellent and faithful man. He is both brave and honest. His services of the present season are referred to in Mr. [William H.] Wagner’s report.

I think it will be necessary to have a road agent at the South Pass the coming season to inform emigrants of the new road—and to prevent the emigration being directed across the desert by interested parties who pick up the abandoned, or buy, at low prices, the tired cattle of overland travellers. This road agent should have the protection of a few companions.

It is my opinion that Indian presents should again be sent into the Country, for the agent can do nothing without them.

52

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO A. B. GREENWOOD, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 27, 1860128

Sir: On the subject of new Indian farms, in addition to what I have already said, in letters and in my last annual report, I respectfully call your attention to the propriety of immediately locating the proposed new farms, as it will be difficult, even now, to obtain a sufficiency of eligible farming land, not already occupied by settlers, for two of the proposed new farms. The third is not so absolutely material, neither in regard to locality, or condition of the Indians; this third new farm is intended for Wash-a-kee’s tribe of Shoshonees; numbering about 1200; and a small tribe of Banacks about 500. (See my last report.)

I recommend a concentration of all “Pah-Utes,” now roaming in small bands through the southern portion of the Territory, on one reservation, if one sufficiently large can be found. These bands extend from Beaver City, & valley, south to California, and are the most destitute Indians of the Territory.

Another farm is intended for the Shoshonees, roaming in Salt Lake, Ogden, Weber, Bear river, Cache, and Malade vallies.

All these could be concentrated on one reservation to be located somewhere in the northern part of the Territory. (I again refer to my last report.)

On these three new farms, and on the five already in progress, all the indians of the Territory (excepting those in the Carson Valley Agency,) could be concentrated.

128 F/103–1860.
The 4th farm is intended for Carson Valley Agency; the locality &c. must be determined by the Agent.

Five thousand dollars, for each proposed new farm, is in my opinion, sufficient to start these farms successfully.

Sir: I have resumed the duties of the Superintendency for reasons that I have stated.

We have already learned from papers and other sources, of Indian depredations in the western portion of this Territory, principally on and adjacent to the California Mail Route. These depredations have been principally, if not altogether confined within the limits of the Carson Valley Agency, and among the Western Pey Ute Indians.

Immediately upon hearing of these Indian outbreaks Gov Cumming promptly communicated with Col [Charles F.] Smith, the present commander of the Department of Utah, who without delay, detailed several companies of U. S. Troops for the California Mail route. This prompt action with the movement of a portion of the U. S. troops under General [N. S.] Clarke in California, and the volunteer organization and action in Carson Valley will, I am confident, speedily bring the Indians to terms.

I also despatched a reliable person, with certain appliances, among the Go Sha Utes and Sho Sho Nees along the Mail Route as far as Ruby Valley and even beyond if deemed necessary. Bad Indians and worse white men, with the aid of causes that at present exist to the great detriment of the public interest, have conspired to excite the Indians all over the Territory.

The Northern Sho Sho Nees and Bannacks have been annoying the northern settlements. I will leave tomorrow to visit the northern Indians. I expect to meet

129 F/176–1860. Various charges having been brought against him, the Indian Office ordered hearings on these charges in Great Salt Lake City in the spring of 1860, during which time Forney was under suspension. Eventually he was dismissed from office. These troubles contributed to the neglect of the Indians in Utah during 1860.

130 Forney refers to Nevada’s “Paiute War” of 1860, which gave a thorough scare to the miners and occasioned a good deal of trouble to the overland mail. [See “Indian Affairs on the California Trail,” note 93, this volume. —Ed.]
a considerable body of them in Cache Valley or some other point north. I sent an express for this purpose, North last Saturday.

I will give Agent [A.] Humphreys instructions about the Utes and Southern Py-Utas. I will also visit the Sho Sho Nees between Fort Bridger and Rocky Mountains

Under existing circumstances it cannot be expected that I can accomplish much. I will however devote my time, energies and private credit for the benefit of the public interest, until I leave for the East.

The great wonder to me is, that the Indians are not much worse, and even as it is, the Indians are accused of many thefts, which are committed by white men, such as discharged soldiers & Teamsters, Camp followers, apostate Mormons &c. . . .

Gov. Alfred Cumming, et al., to A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, November 1, 1860

To the Hon. A. B. Greenwood Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington D. C.

The undersigned actuated by a sense of duty, would respectfully call your attention, and through you the attention of Congress to the pressing necessity of taking immediate steps towards bringing the Indians of the Territory of Utah under treaty obligations.

It is believed that this Territory presents the only instance of the organization of a Territorial Government by Congress,—the country thrown open to settlement, without measures being first adopted to extinguish the Indian title,—The result has been repeated, and almost constant depredations by the Indians upon the settlers, the destruction of whole fields of grain,—stealing and driving away stock, and in many instances the most wanton and cruel murder of peaceful and unoffending citizens. Those more kindly disposed have resorted to petty theft, and begging; all however urging in Justification of their course, that their own country was taken possession of without their consent; their grass and water used, their game driven off, and they left to suffer and starve. The burthens of all this, to the amount of thousands of dollars annually, have been born by the

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131 R/1276–1860. The memorial was transmitted in a letter from Special Agent E. F. Ruth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs A. B. Greenwood, dated Washington, Dec. 8, 1860.
people of this Territory, which has operated very oppressively when taken in connection with other hardships, incidental to the settlement of a new country, so far in the interior: —

Your memorialists need not refer in detail to the murder of Capt. [John W.] Gunnison and party by the Indians, while engaged in a government exploration and survey, or the more recent and atrocious murders in western Utah [i.e., Nevada], by which a number of valuable lives were lost—all of which we doubt not would have been prevented, had the Indians been treated by the government as other Indians in settled Territories, and placed under treaty stipulations. —

Why we might ask, has the government neglected to make treaties with the Utes, the Digis, the Shoshones; and left the settlers of Utah at their mercy; and in the meantime formed treaties with other Tribes, paying them tens of thousands annually in the way of annuities and presents. The argument we believe in justification of the course pursued towards the Indians of Utah, is that as the country was obtained from Mexico, and as that nation, never recognized the Indian title, the United States would adopt the same policy, and if necessary take possession of the country by force.¹³²

We would respectfully submit whether this is not too enlightened, too great, and too humane a government, to borrow and adopt the errors and barbarities of any semi-savage nation. Besides, the country was purchased with the incumbrance of the possessor right of the Indians, and when thrown open to settlement, if Mexico does not remove the incumbrance, it seems but reasonable that the United States should.

The first great duty of the government—is to protect the citizen in the full enjoyment of all his civil and political rights, and by the organization of a Territory, it invites settlement, derives revenue from the sale of public lands, and is presumed to follow the citizen with its protecting arm; Its duties are two fold:—as the guardian of the Indian, it must see that his rights are preserved, and a fair compensation rendered for the possession which the government seeks to appropriate, and as the protector of the citizen, it must guard carefully his life, liberty and property.

All Indian treaties have been based upon the ground of policy;—justice to the savage, not title in him.—Upon the ground that it was more just, more humane, to purchase their possession, and dispossess them peaceably, than to take possession by force,—The Indians of Utah have a possession which to them is as valuable, as sacred as that of any other Tribe with which the government ever treated.—To say to them that the country was derived from a nation that did not recognize their right of occupancy, and therefore the United States would not, would be using logic, which they would neither regard nor understand.

¹³² This was never the policy of the United States government.
It is sufficient for them to know that the Great Spirit gave this country to their fathers, sent the deer and antelope here for their food, and that while all that remains of their fathers are their graves, the hunting ground as their descendants belongs to them.—

Already do they well understand, that Treaties have been made with other Indians, by which their lands have been purchased, and they are becoming impatient and indeed hostile, because the same course is not pursued with them. We are fully satisfied that much longer they cannot be restrained from open and avowed hostility. They fully realize the effect produced by settlement, taking possession of their most valuable hunting ground, driving off their game, consuming their grass; and begging and plunder, seem to them not only Justifiable but their only alternative.—

Therefore, as an act of Justice to the Indian, for the peace of the country, for the protection of settlers and travelers, we would most earnestly recommend that immediate steps be taken, to form Treaties, with the Utes, Pi-Utes—Diggers and Shoshones or Snakes, conscientiously believing, that such Treaties will be less expensive to the general government, than the present Indian policy in Utah, and that such action is indispensable in preventing the sacrifice of human life.

Great Salt Lake City Respectfully Yours
Nove. 1st 1860 A Cumming
                 Gov. U Ty.

J. F. Kinney                   Francis H. Wooton
Ch. Justice                   Secretary of State

Henry R. Crosby              S. C. Stambaugh
Associate Justice           Sur. Genl.

Wm H Rogers Ind Agent
William H. Rogers, Indian Agent, to William H. Russell, dated Great Salt Lake City, April 18, 1861

Dear Sir

Knowing the interest that is felt in the Great Overland central rout, by the public, and your self, I deem it my duty as an Indian Agent to let you know the condition of Indian Affairs in this Territory at present (that is in my agency). I wrote a letter to Mr. Mix about the first of March last, asking him to answer my letter by pony [Pony Express]—I have not received a line from him; since writing that letter, I have had frequent appeals from the “Snake Indians” to make them a visit and give them a few presents; but have had no means to do so; and I now think if something is not done there will be trouble this summer, and I take this opportunity of informing the Department through you that if these Indians, who are the best in the Rocky Mountains and who pride themselves that they have never spilled the blood of a white man are not looked after, the Department must answer for it; they have been deceived by promises from both Forney and Davies, and have received nothing since the winter of ’57, and then only a small quantity of good[s]—they are a large band—Washakee is their Chief, they are the bravest and most intelligent Indians in the Territory:—his tribe have deserted him, or as they say they have thrown him away, he has always ruled them and could hold them.

133 C/1203–1861. This letter reached the Indian Office under cover of one by Frederick Cook, Treasurer, Overland Mail Co., New York, June 3, 1861, which says further:

This, & like intimations from other reliable sources, lead us to believe that the immediate & most earnest attention of the Department is needed to prevent Serious trouble, which will cost the Govt. much money and many lives if it runs into actual war.

Except under the protection of the Govt., which we have supposed would be ample for emigration and for us, it will be impossible to perform our service in transportation of the mails.

William H. Russell, to whom Rogers’ letter was directed, was the well-known member of the firm, Russell, Majors & Waddell, which at this time was operating the Pony Express.

134 Rogers’ post of duty was primarily Ruby Valley in present Nevada. He had served since September, 1859.

135 Benjamin Davies succeeded Forney as Superintendent in the summer of 1860. He served a little over a year, being in turn succeeded by Henry Martin and James Duane Doty.
in complete subjection until now. He told me last Summer that his Indians lost
Confidence in him that he had made them promises of good on the word of the
Superintendent to him; there is no Indian in the Tribe who can manage things so
well as Washakee—he should be restored to his former position as Chief, this can
be done at present with but little trouble, the Snakes say they do not intend to let
the Mail or Emigrants pass through their Country if they do not get some presents
this Spring; it should be attended to without delay; they seem to think that the bad
Indians who kill & steal get presents while they get only promises, and seem to
have come to the conclusion that bad Indians are the only ones who are rewarded,
which is very near the truth as far as this Territory is Concerned—

I have had a long conversation with Mr. James Bromley your Mail Agent this
morning, he informs me that if something is not done soon, there will be trouble
in the Snake Count[ry], which is in his division.—There are not enough U. S.
Troops in Utah to whip this tribe, they are the best fighters and the bravest in
the Territory and are better prepared for fighting.—

Col. Davis the present Superintendent has given out a few goods only to the
Indians who hang arou[n]d the Settlements, they do not deserve them, for they
are a miserable lazy set who would starve before they would go on a hunt.

You can if you think proper show this letter to the Commissioner of Indian
Affairs, and state to him that I think these Indians should have at least [sic]
eight or ten thousand dollars distributed to them in good[s] immediately. — If
the Department will enclose me such an amount in a draft, you can send it by
Pony, and I will assure them that Washakee will be reinstated and the whole tribe
reconciled; as it is of no little importance to both the Government and to the
Contractors of the Central overland Mail line.

The Indians in the vicinity of Ruby Valley and Deep Creek west of this on
the Mail line are becoming daily more and more hostile towards the whites who
keep the Stations, I have had reliable information if something is not done soon
that they intend wiping out the Stations and Stock; they say Col. Davis did not
give them any good[s] last winter on his visit to that Country, they are preparing
for another summers Campain; they are principally Goshutes. . . .

P. S.

I am just from the South pass the Snake Country, and have informed Mr.-
Rogers of the above facts in relation to the Snake Indians. If these Indians make an
outbreak they will be hard to Stop as I am personally acquainted with this Indians
James. E. Bromley
Agent for Cent O S Comp
[Central Overland Stage Company]

136 The Civil War having broken out earlier this year, the forces which garrisoned Utah
since 1858 were in course of being evacuated.
Sir:

... The immense depth of the snow, which in some places was said to be as much as fifty feet, rendered locomotion with wheeled vehicles impracticable, and although I ventured as far as the safety of my animals and men permitted, I was forced to confine my operations principally to the bands and tribes who came from necessity by hundreds to visit me at my quarters. Including those whom I have visited and the multitudes that have congregated around my quarters, I have seen and made liberal distribution of presents among every tribe and band in this Territory, except those in Carson valley and certain remote bands on the head of the Humboldt river and Goose creek. The chiefs and principal men, with their families, have spent some time with me, and I have conversed fully with them, through my excellent interpreter, Mr. Dimmick B. Huntington, who has lived here twenty years, converses freely in each language, is well known by every band and chief throughout the Territory, and wields great influence over them all. In these conversations I discovered that they had a suspicion that it was the policy of the whites to populate their country and drive them into the big waters west of them, and some trouble may be anticipated in attempts to negotiate the purchase of their lands by treaty or otherwise. Most of the soil susceptible of cultivation is now settled and occupied by white persons, and the tide of population, attracted hither by the peculiar religious notions of the settlers of this Territory, will soon leave but little space for the poor Indian. I have again to urge the importance of extending the limits of the reserve at Ruby valley and Deep creek, (or Ibimpah) so as to embrace the whole of said valleys, and that surveys of the same be immediately made and their boundaries regularly designated. I also recommend the establishment of reserves and farms for the Snakes (Wash-akeis band and Bannacks) on Green river, three hundred miles east of this city, and also for the Weber-Utes, Little Soldier’s band, on Weber river. For the various bands of Utes, Pah-Utes, Pah-vants, and others, who congregate at the Spanish Fork farm, I recommend the establishment of a reserve, including


137 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Executive Document 1 (Serial 1117), 741–43. In the earlier part of this report, Davies discussed at considerable length the Indian situation west of Great Salt Lake City.
the whole of Winter [Uinta] valley\textsuperscript{138} in addition to the Spanish fork, Corn creek, and San Pete reserve. As the sum appropriated for the Indian service in this Territory is only about forty thousand dollars per annum, I beg to suggest that the amount expended in cultivating cereals is disproportionate to what should be invested in raising cattle, and supplying clothing.

These are unquestionably the poorest Indians on the continent. There is no game to subsist them, and from the nature of the country there never can be. Animals whose nature it is to inhabit forests will not abide in the beds of saleratus and on the barren rocks and dismal wastes of this insalubrious clime. If the system of cultivating grain be so modified as to substitute in part the raising of cattle for the subsistence of the Indians, it will operate beneficially in various respects. The Indian is by nature a herdsman, and he will readily fall in with the idea of taking care of cattle in preference to performing the more civilized labor of the farm. Besides, it is their nature to need meat. When fed on flour without meat for any length of time, they become diseased, and a change from that to meat will soon restore them to their wonted health. Owing to the difficulty of getting beef, I have tried to substitute the use of bacon. During last winter starvation compelled many of them to eat it, but some had to be supplied with beef. If four or five thousand dollars were invested in yearling heifers, and proper care were taken of them on the different reserves, beneficial results would soon follow. The plan of making up the goods designed to clothe them into garments, such as are worn by white persons, male and female, operates finely, and cannot be too strongly recommended. They are well pleased at being dressed like citizens, and it tends to make them more cleanly and careful of their person and their clothing, and the cost of making is saved by the less quantity necessary to be given. It also has the effect of preventing them from trading off their garments, which is invariably practiced when the raw material is given them. The destitution of these Indians and the excessive severity of the wintry seasons cause much sickness, especially inflammatory and pulmonary diseases, among them.

Great suffering and many deaths transpire, which might be mitigated, and perhaps prevented, by proper medical treatment. Syphilis prevails to a fearful extent among the Pah-vants and Pi-utes, which it is said they contract among the Navajoes, with whom they do much trading. I recommend the appointment of an experienced physician, whose duty it shall be to render medical assistance to all who may need it within this superintendency. Owing to the high price of everything in this remote region, and the laborious, perilous, and self-sacrificing labor of the office attached to the Indian service here, I submit that their compensation is inadequate, and recommend that their salaries be increased.

\textsuperscript{138} President Lincoln set aside the Uinta reservation for the Utes on Oct. 3, 1861, spurred by representations from the then superintendent, Henry Martin.
The pay of the superintendent should be three thousand dollars, and that of each agent, two thousand dollars. From the best information I can obtain from traders, mountaineers, travellers, and other persons, I presume there are some twenty thousand souls embraced within the jurisdiction of this superintendency. I have, therefore, to submit that an appropriation of forty thousand dollars per annum is quite insufficient for their wants. After deducting salaries of officers, their incidental expenses, pay of farm agents, other employes, and incidental expenditures of the reserve, but little is left for clothing, which is more needed among them than anything else. To put the Ruby Valley reserve in successful operation will require—

At least ..........................................................$7,000 00
Deep Creek or Ibimipah ..................................................7,000 00
Corn Creek ....................................................................4,000 00
San Pete ........................................................................4,000 00
To open a farm on Weber for Little Soldier’s Utes..............8,000 00
To open a farm on Green River for Wash-a-kees, Snakes.......10,000 00
Besides what may be necessary to make repairs and carry on the Spanish Fork and Carson Valley farms, which may perhaps require........10,000 00
Making in the aggregate..................................................$60,000 00
Add to this for clothing, blankets, lodges, arms, ammunition, &c.,
two dollars per capita....................................................$40,000 00
And we have an aggregate of.........................................100,000 00
which would not be more than might be judiciously and beneficially expended the ensuing year.

HENRY MARTIN, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 1, 1861 (EXTRACT)139

Sir: In accordance with a regulation of the Indian department, requiring me to make an annual report of the situation of affairs in this superintendency, and to prepare estimates for the guidance of Congress in making annual appropriations for the support of the Indians in this Territory, I have the honor herewith to transmit to you my first annual report.

I regret that my arrival in this Territory being of so recent a date, August 6, 1861, rendered it impossible for me to ascertain, as fully as I could wish, the exact condition of all the different bands of Indians in my superintendency.

I have, however, been as diligent as circumstances would permit in finding out, from personal examination and reliable information from parties in whom I place confidence, the wants and necessities of most of the tribes and bands of Indians placed in my charge, and am sorry to say that I found them in a very poor condition, both as regards a sufficient supply of clothing to protect them from the severity of the weather in this mountainous country, and the necessary amount of food to keep them from actual starvation.

Too little attention, I am fearful, has heretofore been paid to the fact that there is very little game in this Territory, of any description, which the Indians can kill to keep them in food. There is no buffalo whatever that range in this Territory, and very few antelope, elk, deer, mountain sheep, or bear, and these only in certain localities.

Civilization seems to have had the same effect here as has been noticed elsewhere in this country since the first settlement by our forefathers, in driving before it the game natural to a wilderness, and the Indians complain bitterly that since the white man has come among them their game has almost entirely disappeared from their former hunting-grounds, and that are now obliged either to beg food from the white settlers or starve.

The driving away of the buffalo not only deprives them of their principal supply of food, but also of a great source of revenue and comfort in the skins, which they sold and used to keep them comfortable in cold weather.

I have had more applications from Indians for beef and flour since I have been here than anything else. They frequently come to me and fairly beg for some beef, to keep their squaws and papooses from starving.

Owing to the limited amount of money placed in my hands, I have been unable to entirely satisfy their demands, but I am confident that what I have distributed in that way has been a great deal more satisfactory to the Indians than three times the amount expended in any kind of trinkets usually disbursed by the department would have been.

The annual appropriation for this superintendency has, in my opinion, always been too small to allow the superintendent and agents to give that satisfaction to the Indians which their wants demand, and a proper regard for the rights and safety of the white settlers, by preventing depredations, requires.

The establishment of the overland daily mail and telegraph lines, and their recent completion through this Territory—consummations of such vital importance to the people throughout the Union—renders it necessary that steps should be immediately taken by the government to prevent the possibility of their being interrupted by the Indians.
On this subject I have taken much pains to consult with most of the leading men connected with these great enterprises, and also with nearly all of the head chiefs of the Indians that range on their lines in this Territory, and have, after mature deliberation, come to the conclusion that the only manner in which this can be effected to the entire satisfaction and protection of all the parties concerned, is by a treaty between the United States and the tribes of Indians ranging in this superintendency.

In recent consultations or “talks” with Wask-a-kee and Sho-kub,¹⁴⁰ the head chiefs of the Shoshones or Snake Indians, Nava-coots and Pe-tut-neet, chiefs of the Ute nation, and many of the sub-chiefs of both nations, I find that they are unanimously in favor of a treaty with the United States, and agree with me in considering that to be the only effectual way to check the stealing propensities of some of their Indians; and from information gleaned from them on various occasions, I have made the following memorandum in regard to the probable cost and effect of a treaty.

They express their willingness to cede to the United States all the lands they claim in this Territory, with the exception of reservations necessary for their homes; and ask, in return, that the United States shall make them annual presents of blankets, beads, paint, calico, ammunition, &c., with occasional supplies of beef and flour sufficient to make them comfortable, which I estimate can be done with a small addition to the usual appropriation.

They seem fully to understand the nature and effect of a treaty, and the chiefs agree to hold themselves responsible for any depredations committed by any of their bands, if a treaty should be made, by deducting the amount of damage done from the annuity paid them.

I cannot too strongly recommend this course to the department, and sincerely hope that it will meet with that prompt attention that, to my mind, the importance of the subject entitles it.

I had expected on my arrival in this city, and after assuming the duties of this office, to find matters in a shape that I could immediately proceed to the discharge of my duty towards the Indians, but was very much disappointed; and instead of finding an office properly in order, with facilities for doing business, I could find nothing but an old bundle of papers to show that there had ever been a superintendent in the Territory.

This state of affairs necessarily delayed my intercourse with the Indians until I could procure an office and the fixtures necessary to do business with, which, owing to the exorbitant price charged for everything in this country, and the scarcity of material to manufacture office furniture, delayed me much longer than I had anticipated.

¹⁴⁰ A chief of the Shoshoni living in eastern Nevada.
I have, however, succeeded in establishing an office here in a becoming and comfortable style, at an expense much less than has heretofore been allowed for that purpose.

JAMES D. DOTY, SPECIAL AGENT OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, TO GEORGE W. MCELLENN, ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DECEMBER 14, 1861 (EXTRACT)

I cannot think that Government has any cause to fear for the safety of the mail from this source; [the disloyalty of employees of the Overland Mail Company] but it has occasion to apprehend danger from the Indians.

Seeing the large supplies of provisions and feed which the Co. has been compelled to accumulate this fall and to keep at each Station, these people, who are very wild, when hungry or starving, and perhaps at other times, are disposed to take by force what they require if they are not freely given what is demanded. The men of the Co. cannot, of course, comply with their demands—for they present themselves by fifties & hundreds and hence difficulties ensue.

Two days before I passed the Red Butte, an assistant agent of that division was shot and instantly killed, as he was riding alone in his waggon near that place and his mules driven off. There can be no doubt that it was done by Shoshonee Indians who had been to a station near by demanding food which was refused. I have sent for the principal Chief of the Nation, hoping he may be able and willing to identify and deliver up the parties.

Threats and demands for food are made along the entire line to Carson Valley; they insist that the Country is theirs; that they have made no treaty for it with government, and unless troops are placed at two or three points along the line, or I am authorised as Superintendent of Indian affairs to distribute provisions to them occasionally and thus draw them away from the line, serious difficulties may be apprehended and the mail cease to be carried for some period during the winter. The cost of provisions is very great; for they must either be purchased here, in this settlement, or at Atchison; from which place there are no trains for freight during the winter season. The sum of twenty thousand

* The original printing of “Washakie and the Shoshoni” did not include a document numbered 58.

141 This extract of a report by Doty was transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior on Jan. 9, 1862, by George W. McLellan, 2nd Asst. P. M. [Post Master] General (P/463–1862).
dollars I should think would be required from this purpose—and even this may prove insufficient. I am the only Superintendent on the line; and for the purpose, in part, of protecting the route, I have established an Agent at Fort Bridger and another at Ruby Valley near the Humboldt Mountains—but government has placed nothing in my hands to give the Indians at those points. These are the only Agencies with permanent agents in this extensive territory, which is bounded by the Indian country upon every side. The Telegraph line follows the Stage Route; and, allow me to urge, that both of them are now of too great importance to the commercial and other interest of the United States to be interrupted or destroyed; and that adequate protection should immediately be given to these great enterprises.
LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, Supt. of Indian Affairs, DATED FORT BRIDGER, DECEMBER 27, 1861

Sir

On my arrival at this place I found that the Beef Cattle belonging to the Military Department has been Sold to Judge [W. A.] Carter with the Exception of two head which were held by that Department. The Commanding Officer proposed to turn them over to me if I would receipt for them. I accepted his offer and gave him the following Receipt

Copy

Received December 23d 1861 of Capt J C. Clark 4th Inft. Act. C. S. two head of Beef Cattle Commissary Stores for Issue to Indians at Fort Bridger

Signed

Luther Mann Jr Ind. Agt.

The Officer in Command still holds five Mules which they have no use for. The Secretary of War on application might turn them over to the Indian Department. I have obtained one of the Government Buildings for an Office. I shall require some fixtures for the same also Wood & Lights. You will confer a favor by remitting me at your Earliest Convenience. Some funds for that purpose as I hold no funds in my hands belonging to the Ind Department. It will require some two hundred dollars or more for that purpose. There are some Indians in my agency that have not received any presents this fall or Winter. I had about twenty-five visit me on the 25th of the present month. Should you think best to give them presents you can remit to me the funds for that purpose as every thing they want except flour can be obtained of Judge Carter of this place at cheap if not cheaper than at the City. Please answer at your Earliest Convenience and Greatly Oblige.

P S I would like some Powder and lead if you have received it send by stage.

142 Utah Field Papers, 1861. As appears hereafter, Mann, the first agent regularly detailed to the Shoshoni, took up his duties at Fort Bridger on Dec. 19, 1861. [Morgan’s “Field Papers” citation provides a documentary puzzle. He gives no full citation to the collection and no location information. I have found no further data among his papers or correspondence, no record of a collection so identified in any Utah institution, nor at the National Archives. It is possible this could be an old title for the Utah Superintendency records, RG 75.15.13. It could also be one of the two groups of Utah territorial papers in either the State Department (RG 59.4.3) or Indian Division records of the Interior Department (RG 48.5.4). —Ed.]
Sir:

I have the honor herewith to transmit to you my appointment as temporary clerk by James Duane Doty* Superintendent Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah; and beg leave to report myself to you in accordance with the instructions therein contained.

I left Great Salt Lake City, Utah, the headquarters of the Utah Superintendency on Tuesday, December 23\textsuperscript{d}, 1861, and agreeably to my instructions, visited the Indians in the eastern part of the territory, on the mail route, and am happy to report that I found them all quiet and peaceable, and not in the least interfering with the white settlers in that section of country.

After concluding my visits to the Indians I at once proceeded on my way to this city, arriving February 1\textsuperscript{st} 1862\textsuperscript{143}, after a cold & tedious ride across the plains.

\textsuperscript{143} A/465–1862.

* [James Duane Doty, who figures prominently in Morgan’s documentary selection, had served in Michigan and Wisconsin territorial positions between 1820 and 1853, including a term as Wisconsin governor between 1841 and 1844. Following the Whig/Republican-dominated election of 1860 he had been appointed to a post office position in Utah, then as Indian Superintendent for Utah in 1861. He proved a conscientious and effective superintendent and in 1863 was appointed by President Lincoln to Utah’s territorial governorship. In the fractious and heated sectional politics of the time, Doty’s gubernatorial appointment was a straightforward attempt to mollify the hawkish radical Republicans, who were agitating for a wholesale post-Gettysburg displacement of James Buchanan’s Democratic appointees in order to monopolize federal positions, preparatory to the Reconstruction debates. In Doty’s appointment Lincoln was desperately trying to avoid the strident trouble of the two previous spectacularly negative gubernatorial appointments in Utah, John W. Dawson and Stephen S. Harding. Among Utahns, Doty was perceived a capable moderating influence and is still widely credited with repairing relations between the Mormons and the federal government. Despite his public reputation, Doty worked secretly with the radical Republicans to end Mormon influence in Washington politically. Vincent G. Tegeder, “Lincoln and the Territorial Patronage: The Ascendancy of the Radicals in the West,” Mississippi Valley Historical Review 35, no. 1 (Jun. 1948): 86–89 (and more fully, pp. 77–90), cites letters to Interior Department secretary William Seward that cast Doty’s administration in an entirely different light than is typically reflected in contemporary sources. His quiet Jekyll-Hyde role in the devolution of Mormon-federal relations has never been explored. Doty died in office and is buried at Fort Douglas. —Ed.]
I also enclose my account for my salary for two months from Dec. 13th the date of my appointment amounting to two hundred & fifty dollars ($250.) with the request that you will cause it to be paid as soon as practicable.

My traveling expenses were advanced to me by Supt Doty, before leaving Gt Salt Lake City. . . .

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER, FEBRUARY 15, 1862

Sir,

I have this day appointed Jack Robinson145 as Indian Interpreter for the Fort Bridger Agency, at a Salary of five hundred dollars pr year, subject to your confirmation.

Should such appointment meet your approval you will please advise. . . .

To the Commissioner

I respectfully recommend the confirmation of the above nomination of Jack Robinson to be Interpreter at Fort Bridger Utah Territory for the Shoshonee Indians in the North East part of said Territory James Duane Doty

Superintendency Ind Affs

Great Salt Lake City, February 20, 1862

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, APRIL 15, 1862

Sir:—The accounts & vouchers for the 1st quarter 1862, for this Superintendency are herewith transmitted. They would have been forwarded earlier but for my

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144 Utah Field Papers, 1862.
145 John Robertson, “Uncle Jack Robinson,” had been a fixture in the Fort Bridger area since Jim Bridger’s day, and dwelt there until his death in 1882; he is buried in the Fort Bridger cemetery. Some early letters by him are printed in Elizabeth Arnold Stone, Uinta County: Its Place in History (Laramie, Wyo.: Laramie Printing, 1924), 42–43.
146 D/596–1862.
absence from this city from the 25th of March to the 7th of April, to the northern part of Salt Lake and Cache Vallies. I desired to have visited Bear Valley, where Washikee & his Band wish to settle, but found the Mountains covered with deep snow; and was detained four days in Cache Valley by snow storms.

The Indians have been, in great numbers, in a starving and destitute condition. No provision having been made for them, either as to clothing or provisions, by my predecessors, I have been compelled to purchase supplies where they could best be obtained, & transport them to the places where the Indians had assembled, and where they were enduring great suffering. At the time of their greatest need the rains and snows had rendered the road impassable; and the Indians condition was such—with the prospect that they would rob the mail stations to sustain life—that I felt compelled to send Agent [F. C.] Hatch to them and to purchase the wheat of James Worthington & 200 bushels of Livingston Bell & Co., charged in my account, and distribute it gradually among them. I also sent them some flour and clothing. It cost more than I wished, but it was the best under the urgency of the circumstances that could be done. If the present system is to be continued, I propose with your permission, during the autumn, when grain is cheaper and transportation can be obtained at reasonable rates, to provide at proper points the supplies of provisions which will probably be required during the winter—But the Department will have no freedom from their demands—nor from those of the Mail Station Keepers, and inhabitants—until these Indians are removed from the line of the road by force, or by their settlement further south, as suggested in a former communication. If they are placed where they can have stock, and give their attention to raising it, I am confident they will soon cease to be beggars and depredators, and become the best of herdsmen. At present they are not satisfied with all that I have done for them, when they have in addition received largely from the Mail Company and from the inhabitants.

The snow on the Wausatch Mountains has, since my arrival, presented an insuperable barrier to Uinta Valley; and it will be several weeks before they can be crossed. As soon as the passage is practicable, I shall execute your instructions by making a personal examination of the Valley, which I think can be done with a guard of eight or ten me. The Elk Mountain Utas, who inhabit that region of country, are understood to be unfriendly. None have visited the Superintendency since my arrival. It may, perhaps, become necessary to treat with them before occupying that Valley with other Bands.

The remittance for salaries of Agents & Agency expenses, has been received. . . .

James Duane Doty
Superintendent
Jas. D. Doty Esq.
Supt. Ind. Affairs.
Luther Man[n] Jun‘. U. S. Agent
for Indians in Utah
Henry Martin Esqr.
Present
Gentlemen.

Congress at its recent session having appropriated Twenty Thousand dollars for the purpose of making a treaty with the Shoshonees or Snake Indians, you have been designated by the President to carry into effect the object of the said appropriation.—No sufficient reports of explorations are in the custody of this office to enable me to state definitely the boundaries of the Country inhabited and claimed by these Indians, but it is understood that they inhabit the Country in the Northern part of Utah and eastern portion of Washington Territories, through which lies the route of the overland mail, and the emigrant route through Utah and into Washington Territory and it is mainly to secure the safety of the travel along these routes that a treaty is desirable.

It is not expected that the treaty will be negotiated with a view to the extinguishment of the Indian title to the Land, but it is believed that with the assurances you are authorized to make of the amicable relations which the United States desires to establish and perpetuate with them, and by the payment of twenty thousand dollars of annuities in such articles as by the President may be deemed suitable to their wants for which you are authorized to stipulate, you will be enabled to procure from them such articles of agreement as will render the routes indicated secure for travel and free from molestation; also a definite acknowledgment as well of the boundaries of the entire country they claim, as

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148 The Territory of Idaho was not created till March 3, 1863. The Territory of Washington was extended to include this area when Oregon became a State in 1859.
149 As will be seen hereafter, 1862 was a critical year along the Overland Trail. Emigrant travel by the familiar South Pass route became hazardous, and the overland mail route was shifted south to the old Cherokee Trail between Denver and Fort Bridger. The U. S. Government, which so long had taken Shoshoni friendship for granted, all at once awakened to the value and meaning of that friendship and began to “talk treaty.”
of the limits within which they will confine themselves, which limits it is hardly necessary to state should be as remote from said routes as practicable.

It must however be borne in mind that in stipulating for the payment of annuities the sum mentioned above is not to be exceeded, so that if for any reason, you are unable to treat with all the bands of the Shoshonees, the amount of annuities stipulated to be paid must be such a proportion of said sum as the number of the bands treated with bears to the number of the entire nation.

It will also be well so to frame the treaty that while on the one hand it is expressed that the United States being aware of the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away the destruction of the game along the route traveled by whites, are willing to fairly compensate them for the same, the Indians on the other hand shall acknowledge the reception of the annuities stipulated for, as a full equivalent therefore, and shall pledge themselves at all times hereafter to refrain from depredations and maintain peaceable relations with the United States and their Citizens.

Should you find it impracticable to make one treaty which will secure the good will and friendship of all the tribes or bands of Shoshonee Indians, you will then negotiate only with that tribe or band which is most dangerous to emigrants and settlers upon the route of travel over which the mails are carried and also the overland route of travel north of that, and you can only secure protection for one of said routes, you will negotiate a treaty with such tribe or bands as will secure that protection to the route over which the largest amount of travel and emigration passes without reference to the mails.

I have to direct that you arrange the times and places of your Councils with the Indians that so far as practicable the entire nation shall be represented, which it is presumed the amount appropriated will with proper economy enable you to very nearly if not completely accomplish.

Mr. Martin, one of your commissioners having filed the necessary bond, has been entrusted with the funds and will make all such arrangements for the purchase of goods and disment [i.e., disbursement] of money as may be necessary...
Henry Martin, Special Agent, to William P. Dole,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated
Washington, D. C., July 22, 1862

Sir

Fearing that it may be necessary for the safety of Government Trains transporting Indian goods in my charge, en route for the Sho Shone Indians, I desire the authority to call upon any Commanding officer on the Plains for the necessary military escort for that purpose, and for our personal safety during our sojourn in the Indian country on official business. . . .

James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Utah Territory, August 5, 1862.

At Midnight on the 2d inst. Little Soldier, Chief of the Cum-um-bahs, or Utah Digger Indians, who has always been a good friend to the white people, and who has always notified them of any approaching danger, arrived at the residence of D. B. Huntington, Interpreter for the Superintendency, and informed him as follows:

That the Shoshone or snake Indians, and the Bannack Indians, inhabiting the northern part of this Territory and the Southern portion of Eastern Washington Territory, have united their forces for the purpose of making war upon, and committing depredations on the property of, the white people, settlers in this Territory, and the Emigrants to the Pacific coast by the Northern route. That for this purpose the Sho-sho-nee Indians have set aside Wash-i-kee, the great Chief of that Nation, because he is a man of peace and a friend to the whites,
and have chosen in his place, as their leader, Pash-e-go, because he is a man of
blood.\textsuperscript{153} That they are trying very hard to get the Cum-um-bahs, the Gos-Utes,
and Sho-e-gars or Bannock Diggers, to join them. That they have already killed
a number of Emigrants and committed many depredations on the property of
the Settlers and Emigrants, stealing horses, cattle, &c.—That lately they have sto-
len and run off one hundred and fifty horses & mules at and about Ft. Bridger; a
large number in the northern part of the Territory, and three head north of and
within ten miles and seven head within fifty miles of Great Salt Lake City. That
they are now removing their families to the Salmon River country to get them
out of danger—and that when the leaves turn red in the fall is the time they
have agreed upon to assemble and when the leaves turn yellow and begin to fall
the time they are to fall upon and exterminate all the settlers in the Territory.
That all these war movements are instigated and led on by War-a-gi-ka, the great
Bannock prophet, in whom the Bannocks and Sho-sho-nees have unbounded
confidence and faith—who lives in the vicinity of Walla Walla, in Oregon, or
Washington Territory.\textsuperscript{154} Little Soldier, very urgently warns the people of the great
danger hanging over them and advises them to have their guns with them at all
times, in the Kanyons and in their fields. . . .

\textsuperscript{153} Frederick Lander (see Document 51) placed the range of “Pash-e-go” as the head of
John Days River and west of the Blue Mountains—that is, in Oregon and apparently it
is he who is referred to here. But there seems to have been a subchief of similar name
among the Wyoming Shoshoni, called by Lander “Push-e-can” or “Pur-chi-can,” who
as Lander said, bore upon his forehead “the scar of a blow of the tomahawk given by
Washikee in one of their altercations.” The diaries of Mat Field in the Missouri Historical
Society mention this latter chief in connection with the celebrated raid by Cheyennes
and Arapahoes upon the horses of Shoshoni and mountain men at Fort Bridger in the
summer of 1843, and intermittent later mention may be found of him, e.g., Document
18. Some confusion of identity is possible.

\textsuperscript{154} See again Document 51. It seems likely that Doty was again referring to Pash-e-go, and
that the name “War-a-gika” refers rather to the tribe or band, whose name was rendered
by Lander as Warraicas, or sun flower seed-eaters. This was the division of the Bannock
headed by Pash-e-go.
James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 13, 1862

Sir:—On the 6th of March last I deemed it my duty to advise your Department, as also the Secretary of War, of the threatened attacks by the Shoshonees upon the Emigrant Trains passing through the Mountains the then coming season, and to suggest the occupation by a Regiment of Troops, of some point in the vicinity of Fort Hall on Shoshonee river, near the point of intersection of the Northern California road with the roads to Oregon, and from this city to Salmon river Gold Mines.

Subsequently, as additional information was received from friendly Indians that it was the intention to assemble a large force—estimated by them at two thousand—sufficient to overpower any Train, I ventured to again call the attention of the government to the threats and conduct of those Indians, and the prospect that many emigrants would lose their lives, or be robbed of their property, if military protection was not given at that point; and asked of the Secretary of War a portion of the $25,000 appropriation for the defence of Emigrants, to provide for their protection at the place threatened.

The subject was renewed in my letters of April 11th; with the further information that they would certainly commence their depredations upon the Overland Mail Line East of this City. All the officers of the United States then here, and the officers of the Overland Mail and Telegraph Companies united in a Telegram to the Secretary of War, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, conveying to him the same intelligence, which they deemed altogether reliable, and urging that Troops be raised here for temporary service, and until the Troops of the United States could reach this country.

No notice appears to have been taken of these representations—certainly no favorable response was given; and it is supposed, from the published Letter of


156 Congress had appropriated this money in an act approved January 27, 1862. The funds were principally expended by an “emigrant escort to Oregon and Washington Territory” commanded by Captain Medorem Crawford, whose journal is printed as 37th Cong., 3rd sess., Senate Executive Document 17 (Serial 1149). West of South Pass Crawford traveled the Lander Cutoff; he notes that many parties went on ahead, as he stayed behind to look after the rear of the year’s emigration. A Utah contribution to the security of the overland trail this year is noted below.

157 This matter got mixed up with the anti-Mormon politics of the period in Utah.
Brigham Young also herewith enclosed, and from other information, our efforts to protect the lives and property of our citizens and the Overland Mail and Telegraph Lines, have been counteracted by his—or some other invisible influence, and that our exertions have resulted only in increasing his power in this country and not that of the United States—the President having conferred upon him the authority to raise troops and withheld it from the officers of the United States.

The events which have occurred since our communications were made confirm the correctness of our information, and prove that the assertion of Brigham Young was not reliable, that “the statements of the aforesaid Telegram are without foundation in truth,” as he believed.

Before the Emigration appeared on the road the Shoshonees, in connection with Dakotahs and Cheyennes, robbed the Overland Co. of their Stock upon more than three hundred miles of the road west of Fort Laramie, killed several of their drivers & employes, and effectually stopped the mail.

Early in June, Smith, Kinkaid, and others, forming a small party, on their way from California to the States, were attacked by the Eastern Bannacks, who hunt with the Shoshonees between Raft river near Fort Hall, and Bear river, and all but Smith & another were murdered, and the entire party robbed. Smith was shot in the back, with an arrow, but succeeded in reaching the settlement on Bear river, with the arrow yet in him.

territorial history. A report by the Adjutant General of the Army on April 24, 1862, as to measures taken to make secure the Overland mail route to California notes in part:

The suggestion of the acting Governor and other civil functionaries of Utah that a regiment of mounted men by raised in that Territory is not concurred in because it is not supposed so large a force is necessary. The proposition of Senator Latham, deemed by him most expedient and reasonable, is that Brigham Young be authorized to raise, arm, and equip a company of 100 mounted men for not less than three months, to protect the mail and route, and the telegraph line west of Salt Lake near Independence Rock, from Indian depredations and to recover the stock and property of the mail company which has been stolen. From the personal interest Brigham Young is said to have in the telegraphic communication with Salt Lake and from his known influence over his own people, and over the Indian tribes around, this plan is supposed to offer the most expeditious and economical remedy to the obstructions to the mail route. The objection to this plan is that Brigham Young is not a functionary recognized by the United States Government, and a requisition for volunteers from Utah should be made upon the Governor of the Territory. There are two companies of the Third Regular Cavalry, paroled men, now at Detroit. These might be mounted and sent to the point where troops are required, but a considerable time would elapse before they could reach there. (U. S. War Department, Official Records of the War of the Rebellion [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897], ser. 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, 1023–24.)

The sequel appears in the text. The company of Mormon volunteers eventually raised was commanded by Lot Smith. Their experiences are set forth in Utah and the Civil War, ed. Margaret Fisher (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1929).
In that month three Emigrant Trains were waylaid by the Shoshonees, near Soda Springs, and the people robbed & killed.

During the month of July, I am informed of several Trains being attacked & robbed, and many people killed. A man returned from Salmon River informs me, that at the crossing of the Salt Lake and California roads, he saw two wagons standing in the road, and the dead bodies of three white men lying beside them. There is no doubt that there have been many murders committed there of which no account has been given.

The robbery of 200 head of stock last month, owned by Jack Robinson and other settlers, took place near Fort Bridger, and within six miles of the camp of the forces put into service by Brigham Young.

I also transmit herewith a statement of the chief, “Little Soldier”—of the danger of a proposed general rising of the Shoshonees and Utahs made to the interpreter; and yesterday I received information that the Indians in Tuilla & Rush valleys declared their intention to commence robbing on the Western road. They have stolen many horses & cattle of late from the settlements, and they enter the houses of farmers, and in an insolent manner demand food, and that meals shall be cooked for them.

A regiment of California Volunteers, under the command of Col. Connor, are said to be at Fort Churchill, in Nevada, 600 miles west of this, on their way to this City; but unless their march is hastened they will not reach here until winter. A telegraph-order from the Secretary of War to increase their speed, would soon bring them upon that part of the road which is threatened by those Utah Indians—

It is stated that General [James] Craig is five hundred miles east of this City, and that he has no orders to advance his troops into this territory, nor into the Washington territory. . . .

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158 The California-Nevada Volunteers, commanded by Col. Patrick Edward Connor, reached Great Salt Lake City in October, and on the bench above the city founded the post which became Fort Douglas. The garrison was maintained until the close the Civil War. [Cf. Brigham D. Madsen, Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Conner (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1990); James F. Varley, Brigham and the Brigadier: General Patrick Conner and His California Volunteers in Utah and along the Overland Trail (Tucson, Ariz.: Westernlore Press, 1989). —Ed.]
The federal authorities in Utah and Brigham Young have between them a question of veracity to settle, as will be seen by the following correspondence. Brigham does not want any troops sent to Utah. It might interfere with his pretended State government.*

Great Salt Lake City, April 11, 1862.
To Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington

The Indians in Utah are robbing the Overland Mail company of their horses and provisions, and destroying their stations, and declare the paper wagons shall be stopped within two months. They are killing the cattle of the inhabitants, and demanding provisions of them and of the Superintendent in an insolent and threatening manner, and 2,000 Shoshones are now entering the northern settlements, demanding food and clothing. An imperative necessity demands immediate military protection for the mail company and settlers. We ask that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, James Duane Doty, be authorized by the Secretary of War to raise and put in service immediately, under his command, at the expense of the General Government, a regiment of mounted rangers from inhabitants of the territory, with officers appointed by him, each man to furnish his own horse, clothing, arms and equipments, to serve three months or longer, if required, or until troops of the United States can reach the territory; and that he be authorized to procure the necessary subsistence.

(Signed) Frank Fuller,
Acting Gov. of Utah.
J. F. Kinney,
Chief Justice Supreme Court, Terr. of Utah.
Samuel R. Fox,
Surgeon [Surveyor] General, Utah
Frederick Cook
Assistant Treas. Overland Mail Company

This clipping appears as an enclosure of D/635–1862 [Document 69], and is printed with it in the same serial, pp. 356–57.

* [The “pretended State government” invoked here was a proposal for statehood under the name “Deseret,” launched in 1862—the fourth such effort—and a clear attempt to capitalize on the political uncertainties of the Civil War period. The story is outlined in Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History (Ann Arbor: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1970), 166–69. —Ed.]
Great Salt Lake City, April 14, 1862.
Hon. John M. Bernhisel, Washington, D. C.

I am informed that a telegram has been forwarded from here over the signatures of Frank Fuller, J. F. Kinney, and six others, not one of whom is a permanent resident on this Territory, to the Secretary of War, asking him to authorize James D. Doty, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to raise and officer a regiment here for three months, or until United States troops can reach here, under the general allegations that the property of the Overland Mail Company and the settlers are in danger from the Indians. So far as I know, the Indians in Utah are unusually quiet; and instead of 2,000 hostile Shoshones coming into our northern settlements, Washekeek, their chief, has wintered in the city and near it, perfectly friendly, and is about to go to his band. Besides, the militia of Utah are ready and able, as they ever have been, to take care of all the Indians, and are able and willing to protect the mail line if called upon so to do. The statements of the aforesaid telegram are without foundation in truth, so far as we know.

(Signed) BRIGHAM YOUNG

To these I will only add that I deeply regret the collision in these two despatches. I very much respect Fuller and Doty and the chief representatives of the Overland Mail, but am forced to say that the Indians have, I think to them, been greatly misrepresented by interested persons. I have seen times in the mountains when there was anxiety, but that is not the present time. If the traders on the eastern road, who are buying up stock for the Salmon River Mines, were all gibbeted, there would be less, if any at all, loss of mail stock.

UTAH.
Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of Instructions dated July 7th, 1862, transmitting a printed Circular of the Secretary of the Interior dated June 5th, in relation to Contracts for the government; and requiring an estimate for the amount of goods or service required to be made in time for the transmission of the contract for approval.— My Bond as Superintendent, executed according to the “form” received, was transmitted on the 23d. instant.

Also, by the same mail, the Commissioners Letter dated July 19th, was received, advising of the appointment of Luther Mann Jr. in conjunction with Henry Martin a special agent of the Department, to negotiate a Treaty with the Shoshonee nation of Indians; and that Mr. Martin, as disbursing agent, will arrange for all the necessary expenses. I have requested Mr. Mann, as directed, to hold himself in readiness to enter upon his duties; and I await Mr. Martin’s arrival in the Country, from whom nothing has as yet been heard. . . .

Sir: A general war with nearly all the tribes of Indians east [i.e., west] of the Missouri river is close at hand. I am expecting daily an interruption on my line, and nothing but prompt and decisive action on the part of government will prevent it. The lines should be protected by soldiers at intervals of one hundred miles. General Paige’s force is too small. I think it my duty to give [the] government this information through you. Colonel Conner’s forces are four hundred miles west, travelling slowly.

I leave for home in the morning. Hope to see you by September 10. . . .

69

James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 25, 1862

70

Ben Holladay to M. P. Blair, dated Salt Lake, August 26, 1862

160  D/635–1862.
161  37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 358. The writer of this letter was the celebrated Ben Holladay, who figures so largely in the annals of the overland mail. The recipient, Montgomery P. Blair, was at this time the Postmaster-General.
James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 29, 1862

Sir:— I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated July 22nd, enclosing “a copy of instructions issued to myself in connection with Messrs. Henry Martin & Luther Mann Jr. as Commissioners to negotiate a Treaty with the Shoshonee Indians.” Mr. Martin has not yet arrived in this Territory, and I do not know when he can be expected, as I have not heard of his departure from the East.

Those Indians have committed so many outrageous murders and depredations this season, that it is doubtful whether they will venture to meet us in Council. They still continue their attacks upon the Trains, near the junction of the Northern California, Oregon & Salmon river roads.

Military agricultural settlements along those roads, as suggested to the Department, & to the Secretary of War, in my communications last year, can alone be relied upon, in my opinion, to restrain these Indians and to give efficient and adequate protection to emigrants and property on those roads. Permission to form settlements and establish Ferries on the Shoshonee river ought perhaps to be obtained.

The robberies which they have lately [inserted with caret: been] committed in the vicinity of this City, of large bands of Horses, indicate their disposition, I think, to make war upon the white settlers. On Saturday last they took a drove of one hundred & forty horses from a ranch about twenty miles from this.

Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Open Letter, dated Office Indian Affairs, September 19, 1862

TO THE PUBLIC: From information received at this department, deemed sufficiently reliable to warrant me in so doing, I consider it my duty to warn

162 D/640–1862.
163 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 359.
all persons contemplating the crossing of the plains this fall, to Utah or the Pacific coast, that there is good reason to apprehend hostilities on the part of the Bannack and Shoshone or Snake Indians, as well as the Indians upon the plains and along the Platte river.

The Indians referred to have, during the past summer, committed several robberies and murders; they are numerous, powerful, and warlike, and should they generally assume a hostile attitude are capable of rendering the emigrant routes across the plains extremely perilous; hence this warning.

By order of the Secretary of the Interior.

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, September 20, 1862

Sir: I have the honor of submitting the following report relative to the affairs of this agency.

There is but one tribe in care of this agency, (the Shoshones;) there are, however, several small bands of Utes, numbering some thirty or forty lodges ranging upon the lands of the Shoshones by permission, awaiting, no doubt, the action of the government to settle them upon their own lands, the Uintah reservation.

The Shoshones within this agency number, as near as I can ascertain from information derived from the mountaineers, (some of whom have been living in this country for the last thirty years,\textsuperscript{165} four thousand souls. The relative number of males or females of the different ages I am unable, with any degree of certainty, to state; suffice it to say, however, that the females very largely predominate.

I arrived at my agency December 19, 1861, entirely destitute of the means of transportation, or of funds belonging to the department to procure the same. I am unable, therefore, to give you but a limited amount of information in regard to the Indians under my charge. Those, however, who have ranged in the vicinity of this agency are in a very destitute condition, and from the best information that can be obtained, the whole tribe are unquestionably the poorest Indians that range in the mountains. A few ponies constitute their entire wealth.

\textsuperscript{164} 37th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1157), 348–49. This is Mann’s first annual report.

\textsuperscript{165} More properly, 38 years. Ashley’s men penetrated to the Fort Bridger area for the first time in 1824.
There is very little game in this Territory, by which the Indians are enabled to procure the necessary means of subsistence. Large herds of buffalo that used to range in this vicinity have entirely disappeared, depriving them of their usual amount of food, likewise a great source of comfort derived from the manufacturing of the skins into tents and clothing to keep themselves comfortable in cold weather. The small amount of provisions and clothing distributed to them by Superintendent Martin, before my arrival in this Territory, was entirely inadequate to their wants. Owing to the limited amount of means placed in my hands, I have been unable, as fully as I should have desired, to supply their wants, thereby preventing them from supplying themselves by unlawful means.

Large numbers of the Shoshones, in conjunction with the Bannacks, who range along the southern boundary of Washington Territory, have been committing upon the emigrants travelling to California and Washington some of the most brutal murders ever perpetrated upon this continent.

I am glad to say, however, that Washakee, the head chief of the Shoshones, and his band, have abstained from any acts of violence or theft, which have characterized a large portion of the tribe. From conversations or talks recently held with Washakee, I am apprehensive that a general outbreak of hostilities will take place throughout this entire region of country. Large herds of stock have been stolen and driven off by predatory bands of Shoshones, during the present season, none of which have as yet been chastised for their stealing propensities, thereby emboldening them to commit further acts of theft and violence upon the whites living or travelling through this country.

In view, then, of the threatened or anticipated hostility of the Indians against the whites, as well as for the protection of the overland stage and telegraph lines, I would most earnestly recommend that three or four companies of soldiers be stationed at this post, its capacity being ample, without the expenditure of but a very small amount of means, to quarter that number.

In obedience to the request of circulars, I will transmit to the department separately the information desired: first, as to the employes; second, as to schools; also, as to farms and farming.

I cannot too strongly urge upon the department the necessity of placing the Shoshones upon a reservation to be located at one of the three points, viz: The Wind River valley, which is said to be one of the finest valleys in the mountains. It lies in the western portion of Nebraska, east of the Rocky range, and is susceptible of a high degree of cultivation. The only objection that can be urge against its location is its close proximity to other tribes with whom the Shoshones are at war.  

166 Coming four and a half years after Forney's report of Feb. 10, 1858, which showed the Shoshoni frequenting the Wind River area (see Document 42), Mann's proposal seems to have been the first to advance the idea of settling the Shoshoni permanently in that area.
The next location that I would mention is the valley of Smith’s fork. This valley, however, is embraced within the limits of the large military reservation, twenty by twenty-five miles square. Large bodies of land along the fork are susceptible of a high state of cultivation. Judge Wm. A. Carter, the sutler at this post, is successfully farming some three hundred acres in that locality. The last and only location that I would call your attention to is the valley of Henry’s fork, in conjunction with the Green River valley. This location is situated north of the Uintah range of mountains, and south and east of the military reserve. Large numbers of the mountain-eers who are living in this locality have been in the habit of wintering there. The amount of lands susceptible of cultivation is somewhat limited.

Hoping that the department will approve of my recommendations in this report, alike vital to whites and Indians, I have the honor to be, very respectfully . . . .

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Henry Martin, Special Agent to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated San Francisco, October 9, 1862

Sir:

From information derived by me as to the existing feeling & condition of the “Sho-sho-nee” Indians, I deem it expedient and necessary that the balance of the appropriation for making a treaty with those Indians, now remaining in your hands, five thousand dollars ($5000.) should be immediately remitted to me or placed to my credit in this city.

The hostility of these Indians toward the emigrants and white settlers, will, in my opinion, oblige me to make larger purchases of blankets &c. in this city, than I had at first anticipated, and in order for me to be able to do anything with them before the winter sets in I shall require nearly the entire amount of the appropriation, and therefore ask that the balance in your hands may be placed to my credit without delay. . . .

Please address me in care of Wells Fargo & Co to this city, and the letters will be forwarded to me wherever I am.

167 M/647–1862. This letter shows that Martin attempted to reach his assigned field of duty via [the sea route to] California, not overland.
Sir

We understand through Indian Tom that a company of Cavalry form Col. Connor’s Command are in search of a white child, said to be in Bear Hunters band, (Who are freindly indians and never known to be engaged in plundering Emigrants) From Indian Tom’s positive information and other reliable statements their is no white child in that band, but there is a half breed the son of a French Mountaineer—by the sister of the chief WashaKee Principal cheif of the Sho-sho-Nee Nation, Said child is about 15 years old with yellow hair and light complection cannot talk English, on the approach of the Soldiers the Band fled to the Mountains to avoid colission with them, and sent this Indian as a Messenger of peace

David Moore Col. Comdg
5th Regt Weber Co. Mil.
F. A. Hammond Major
George Hill Indian interpreter
pf Danl. Gamble Clk.

James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, November 26, 1862

Sir:—The Shoshonee Tribe have been engaged with the Banucks during the past summer in committing depredations upon Emigrant Trains, and the inhabitants of this Territory. On the termination of their attacks upon the Trains, the Chiefs with a majority of the Tribe proceeded immediately up Shoshonee [Snake] river to the Buffalo hunting grounds on the tributaries of Missouri river and the Eastern slope of the Mountains. There they will remain until spring, from three to six hundred miles distant from this place.

168 Utah Field Papers, 1862.
169 D/723–1862.
Whether they can be induced to meet the Commissioners in Council and enter into a Treaty, after what has transpired, remains doubtful. I think they cannot be assembled until Spring, about the first of May. A point on Shoshonee river should be selected for that purpose, about two hundred miles north of this City, where they may be met on their return from their Buffalo hunt. The point which I would select, is on the Northern California road, near its junction with the Oregon road and the road to the northern Gold Mines, where there is a plenty of fish in the streams and game in the mountains for their support. It is the field of their massacres for years past.

The Shoshonees and Banucks are now mixed; they live and hunt together, ranging through Nevada, Utah & Washington Territories, into the Western parts of Nebraska and Dakotah Territories. The Shoshonees are also much mixed with the Utahs; and it is not probable that a Council can be held with the Shoshonees without many Banucks and Utahs being present.

It will, I think, be hazardous to the lives and property of the white men in Nevada and Utah who are surrounded by the Utahs, and to the peace of the country, for the Commissioners to treat with the Shoshonees, and not in the same season to treat with the Utahs and Banucks. They at once say, that the Shoshonees receive presents for killing the white men; and conclude that they will be rewarded in like manner if they do the same. The Utahs have several times this season threatened to rob the Mail Stations and Trains on the road west of this City, saying, that until they do so they will not receive from the Whites what they demand in provisions and clothing. For this reason I have deemed it imprudent to attempt to treat with the Shoshonees this fall or winter; hoping that Congress will early this winter make an appropriation for a Treaty with the Utahs in this Territory and Nevada, and for another with the Banucks in Oregon, Nevada, Utah & Washington. This appropriation I would earnestly recommend. I understand from the Commissioners Letter of instructions that the appropriation made at the last session of Congress only authorizes a Treaty with the Shoshonees, and therefore it is presumed no other Tribe can receive any portion of it.

If, according to our instructions, cessions of territory so as to include the white settlements—and thus relieve the settlers from the tribute constantly demanded of them by individuals of these Tribes, are not to be made in the Treaty, provision I think ought to be made by which the discoverers of gold, silver and other minerals are permitted to explore and occupy any portion of the country for mining purposes. At this moment valuable discoveries of gold & silver are being made in this Territory, as well as in Nevada and the Eastern part of Washington, in the country claimed by these Tribes, but now in the actual possession of several thousand miners.*

* [The Nevada discovery alluded to was the beginning of the fabulous silver lodes, which
The goods required for presents, to be made to the Shoshonees when treating with them if purchased at San Francisco, cannot be forwarded from San Pedro before the 25th December. They will probably arrive here soon after the first of February. Messengers ought to be despatched then to the principal Shoshonee Chiefs, inviting them to the Council. The Commissioner will perceive the impossibility of assembling them and holding the Treaty earlier than the month of May next. They will not leave their hunting grounds until about the first of April. . . .

Joseph A. Gebow, Indian Interpreter, to James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Ogden, December 18, 1862

To
Ex Governor Doty, Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Dear Sir,—

To your request, if the weather is favourable I shall meet at the time appointed. I have met Mr. [David] Moore in Ogden with two Copies one of Demic and Jebows Dialect, our mind was quite congenial concerning the interpretation of words that pertains to the Indian language hoping that your health will keep

were almost coincident with Idaho’s Salmon River placer gold strikes and the Bannack strike on the Beaver Head River across the continental divide, in what would become Montana. —Ed.

Joseph A. Gebow’s language is somewhat obscure, but apparently he has reference to Dimick B. Huntington’s Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-Sho-Ne or Snake Dialects, first printed at Salt Lake City in 1854, and his own A Vocabulary of the Snake or Shoshone Dialect, first printed at Great Salt Lake City in 1859, reprinted in 1864, and in 1868 reprinted at Green River as one of the earliest Wyoming imprints. A note on the third edition of Gebow’s work is printed in Annals of Wyoming 11, no. 2 (Apr. 1939): 113. [Here Morgan makes an uncharacteristic bibliographic error. Dimick B. Huntington’s 36-page booklet is titled A Few Words in the Utah and Sho-sho-ne Dialects, Alphabetically Arranged (Salt Lake City: W. Richards, 1854), rather than as he transcribes it. His error seems to be a conflation of the two titles, no doubt a result of haste while compiling his notes. This rare work was issued in November the previous year (Deseret News, December 1, 1853) as a stated second edition. No prior edition has ever been located in print, suggesting that any earlier vocabulary may have been circulated in manuscript form (a common practice at the time). The “Dialect” noted here and “Vocabulary” Mann cites in Document 79 is Joseph A. Gebow, A Vocabulary of the Snake or Sho-sho-ne Dialect (Salt Lake City: Printed at the office of the Valley Tan, 1859), a sixteen-page booklet that stands as the earliest imprint issued in Utah from a non-Mormon press. Gebow planned to use his
with maturity & a long life upon this Earth, and you shall live fourfold, and have a happy time in this and next world—Your true & faithful friend . . .

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LUTHER MANN, JR., TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER, DECEMBER 21, 1862

Sir I Send you by Coach to day two Mountain Sheep Skins presented to you by Jack Robertson You will please accept them as a token of Old Jacks regard for you and greatly oblige . . .

1863

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LUTHER MANN, JR., TO JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER, JANUARY 10, 1863

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of drafts for Salaries of Jack Robertson and myself I would like to get Gebo’ Vocabulary of the Snake language if you will procure a copy and forward to this place with Bill I will forward the amount Having but very little to do I have concluded to study the language . . .

compilation as a textbook for a Shoshoni language class to be held in Salt Lake City late that year or early in 1860, but there is presently no known record of lessons actually being held. Gebow expanded his work to nineteen pages for a second edition under the slightly variant title A Vocabulary of the Snake of Sho-sho-any Dialect, 2nd. rev. ed. (Camp Douglas, U.T.: Printed at the Daily Union Vedette Book and Job Office, 1864). An 1868 reprint of this second edition was produced in a railroad-flatcar printing office, sidetracked at Green River City, by tramp printers Legh and Fred Freeman. This impression became Wyoming’s second documented imprint: A Vocabulary of the Snake or Sho-shoany Dialect (Green River City, W.T.g. Ter.: Freeman & Bro., 1868). The third edition was the subject of a second comment, one which appeared after the note cited in this installment, in Annals of Wyoming 28, no. 2 (Oct. 1956): 195–98. —Ed.]
LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO SCHUYLER COLFAX, DATED FORT BRIDGER, JANUARY 19, 1863

Sir

My Interpreter Jack Robertson had stolen from him last July by the ShoShonee or Snake Indians five Mules and One hundred and Sixty Horses; two Emigrants on their way from California to the States while Encamped on Bear River had some forty head of Horses stolen by the Same Indians. Francis Boisvert a Citizen of this country had some Forty Eight head taken by the Same Indians about the first of Jany 1863. What course can they pursue if any to recover the pay from the Government. Robertson was in the Employ of the Go't at the time the two Emigrants wer traveling from California to the States the Other was a private Citizen living in the Country. You will confer a favour by making Enquiry of the Com of Indian Affairs what course if any the Parties can take to be remunerated partially for their losses. Your Early attention is desired. All well . . . .

How did the Boys behave themselves at the Election last fall if any of them Played fals please inform me who they are.

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JANUARY 18, 1863

Sir:

I have received your two Letters dated December 23rd, 1862, with circulars, regarding degrees of relationship among different Nations—

I have given the Circulars to the Interpreters of the Utah & Shoshonee Nations, an requested them to reply to the questions as they are able, or can obtain information.

174 C/57–1863. Schuyler Colfax, then a member of Congress from Indiana, later this year became Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was Vice President during Grant’s first term. The letter sounds as though Mann might have owed his appointment as Indian Agent to Colfax’s influence.

175 D/39–1863.
Allow me to suggest, that if an intelligent clerk was employed for this purpose, one who has resided long enough in this Country to form an acquaintance with these Tribes—the information obtained, I have no doubt, would prove to be more reliable and much more satisfactory. The Interpreters in this Country are not educated men. . . .

82

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, FEBRUARY 16, 1863

Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of January 15th, approving the nomination of Joseph A. Gebow as Shoshonee Interpreter. He is now on a visit to some of that nation, who, I have learned, are disposed to be friendly to the whites; and if this is so, to see that they are separated from those who are hostile who I expect will soon be attacked or pursued by the soldiers. The Indians state that there were 255 men, women and children killed in the late engagement on Bear river. Their camp was well filled with provisions, bacon, sugar, coffee &c. and with various other articles, all of which had obviously been taken from the Trains which they had robbed during the past season. I enclose the Colonels account of the affair. The killed were chiefly of the Bands of Bear Hunter and Sagowits, including those chiefs.

When Mr. Gebow returns, I shall make the arrangement with him as to salary as directed, or discharge him. I had not intended to retain him more than one quarter, having heard of an excellent Interpreter, formerly in the employ of the Hudsons Bay Co., now residing at Deer Lodge, 450 miles north of this City, to whom I have written and offered the Situation. I hope at least to obtain his services when the Treaty is held with the Shoshonees in the Spring. The main body of the Shoshonees and Bannacks are now in his vicinity. . . .

176 D/61–1863.

177 Connor on Jan. 30 [i.e., 29], 1863, attacked the mixed bands of Bannocks and Shoshoni then living in Cache Valley. The “Battle of Bear River” drastically solved the Indian problem in this area, and led to the early colonization by the Mormons of this part of Idaho. [Since Morgan wrote, the “Bear River Massacre” has been well studied. Cf. Scott R. Christensen, Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1884 (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1995); Brigham D. Madsen, The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1985); Newell Hart, The Bear River Massacre: Being a Complete Sourcebook and Storybook of the Genocidal Action Against the Shoshones in 1863 (Preston, Idaho: Cache Valley Newsletter Publishing, 1982). —Ed.]
[Enclosed, as a clipping from an unidentified paper, is a dispatch from Col. P. Edward Connor, Franklin, Utah, Jan. 31, 1863, with a brief account of the battle on Bear River the day before; also a second dispatch dated Salt Lake City, February 1]

James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, March 30, 1863

Sir:—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt today of your Letter dated Febry. 21st. 1863, informing that Special Agent Hy. Martin has been directed to turn over the property & funds in his hands to Supts, Wentworth or Hansen &c.—Mr. Martin sent to me at this City from San Francisco last month, a few articles of Stationary, and $500. in Treasury notes, for which I gave him a receipt by the gentleman who brought them. I had previously requested Mr. M. to send me this sum, to enable me to send Runners to the Shoshonees, inviting them to meet the Commrs. early this spring, according to the arrangement made with him last fall.

But, learning that he had returned to Washington at the time I was about to dispatch the Runners, I have delayed them until I can receive further instructions. The Commissioner will readily perceive that I cannot with propriety make any proposition to these Indians to treat, unless the funds are here, or under my control, and the persons appointed to treat, are also in this country. Mr. Mann and my self are at all times ready; but when a third Commissioner will arrive—or whether he will come at all—cannot be calculated. I have therefore deemed it prudent not to communicate with the Indians on this subject of a Treaty.

When they return from their Buffalo Hunt in April and May would, as I have heretofore suggested, undoubtedly have been the best time to assemble them. The scattering Bands who have not been to the Hunt, and who have lived chiefly upon the plunder taken from Emigrants & travellers last season, are now being pursued by a few of the U. S. Troops stationed here. They have lately attacked the Mail Station in the Goaship country, on the Overland road, about 200 miles west of this, killed a stage driver on his box, wounded a passenger who will probably die, and killed two Station keepers. They burned two station houses &c., and took 12 of the Company’s horses. They also stole 30 horses from a gentleman

178 D/95–1863.
residing at Ibimpah. I hope soon to hear that they have been overtaken by the Troops, and punished. It is a wanton aggression on their part, and was without the slightest provocation. . . .

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William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Office of Indian Affairs, June 1, 1863

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 30th March last in relation to the proposed Treaty with the Shoshonees.

I exceedingly regret that unforeseen circumstances have combined to cause so much delay in the attempt to effect the contemplated negotiation. From the instruction forwarded to late Special Agent Martin in February last I had reason to suppose that fund[s] would be at the disposal of yourself and Agent Mann so that a council with the Indians could be held early in the Spring. In this however I was disappointed as late Agent Martin returned bringing with him the unexpended balance of the funds entrusted to him.

An answer to your letter has been delayed some days with a view to consulting with Gov. [James W.] Nye (who has been expected in this City) in relation to the Treaty. As it is now probable that Gov. Nye will not now visit this place I have to inform you that the balance of the funds returned by late Agent Martin amounting to the sum of $15,783.88. will be deposited to your credit with John I. Cisco Asst. Treas. U. S. at New York when notice shall be received from you as to the time that the negotiation will be attempted, and that the funds are needed for that purpose.

Agent Martin having wholly failed in accomplishing the object of his appointment, the negotiation will henceforth be confided to you and Agent Mann under the instructions heretofore issued, unless it shall be found practicable, and in your judgment expedient to associate with you Gov. Nye of Nevada and Gov [W. H.] Wallace of the New Territory of Idaho in addition to Agent Mann, in which event you will be authorized to do so, but I suggest that no great delay, nor any considerable expense should be incurred for that purpose.

In regard to the suggestions of your letter of 27th Nov. last in relation to the necessity of treaties with the Utahs and Bannacks I have to state that you are

authorized to make a joint treaty with these tribes and the Shoshones if one can be negotiated with the funds appropriated for the purpose of treating with the latter and now at your disposal.

While I do not hesitate in view of the urgent necessities of the case and the weighty reasons therefore suggested by you to divert the specific application of the appropriation to the extent indicated, I do not feel warranted in attempting any negotiation with the Utahs and Bannacks in advance of an appropriation, unless it shall be found practicable to accomplish it as above indicated.

In view of the limited amount of the appropriation it is exceeding vexatious that so much thereof should have been expended by late Agent Martin to so little purpose and that the necessity for the exercise of the strictest economy should thereby be enhanced to so great an extent, I have however full confidence that whatsoever is practicable will be accomplished by yourself and those who may be associated with you.

Trusting that I may receive an early and favorable report from you . . . .

85

LUTHER MANN, JR., TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TELEGRAM DATED
FORT BRIDGER, JUNE, 1863180

Sir.

Five hundred Shossonee or Snake Indians will visit this agency today for the purpose of delivering up the stolen stock in their possession & of pledging themselves to keep quiet in the future they are entirely destitute of food or clothing shall I feed them for a few days Please answer immediately Supt Doty being now north I am compelled to apply for instructions from you direct

L Mann Jr

180 M/65–1863. The telegram was received in Washington June 2.
James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, June 20, 1863

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated May 22d, 1863, in relation to my northern Expedition, and to report:

That I returned to this city from that Expedition on the 19th instant, having been absent six weeks in the Indian Country, and travelled over eight hundred miles. I accompanied Genl Conner to Snake river Ferry, two hundred miles, where we separated; and he proceeded with his Cavalry up the Blackfoot river, and south, across the dividing ridge to Soda Springs, at which place he has established a Military Post [Camp Connor], on the old California & Oregon roads.

The Bannacks and Shoshonees I met in small Bands, and, after counselling with them, I am satisfied they are disposed to be peaceable and friendly. The Exhibition of a Cavalry force among them apparently satisfied them that they could be reached by the power of the government, and that they would certainly be punished if they committed depredations upon the white men. There are undoubtedly, as they say, some bad men among them, who will not be controlled by the Chiefs, but efforts are made by the peaceable Indians to restrain them.

The only Bands that appear determined to continue hostilities were those of Pokatelo, Sagowitz, and Sanpitz—and with these I could obtain no communication. They must be left to Genl Conner's troops.

When at Snake river Ferry two Express-men arrived bringing information about a large body of Shoshonees and Bannacks were assembling at Kamash Prarie,—about one hundred miles farther north and on the road used by Emigrants to Bannack city—with the intention to either fall upon the miners on Beaver Head and with its branches, or upon the Emigrants along the road between South-Pass and Bridger. If this could be prevented by an interview I felt it my duty to make the attempt, and therefore proceeded with my Interpreter to the place.

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182 At the mouth of the Blackfoot River, below present Blackfoot, Idaho.
183 There were several Kamas prairies in Idaho; the one here mentioned lay along the lower course of present Camas Creek, north of Idaho Falls. Bannack City, to which Doty traveled from Kamas Prairie, was one the early boom camps which sprang up in Montana after the major gold strikes of 1862–63, located in the highlands between the Big Hole and Beaverhead rivers.
indicated to meet them. At Kamash prairie I found but few Indians, those remaining stating that those who had been there had gone in different directions to the Mountains to hunt, and that they were all friendly to the whites and disposed to be peaceable. They complained of the white men at Bannack city firing upon them in the streets of that place, when they were there upon a friendly visit, and were molesting no one, and killed their Chief Shnag, and two others. They said they did not intend to revenge this wanton act, because it was committed by men who were drunk, and they thought all the people there were drunk at the time. I advised them not to go there again, and to keep away from drunken white man; to be kind & render good service to the Emigrants along the road, and that they would be generously rewarded. I gave them a few presents of Blankets &c. However, fearing there might be trouble from this gross attack, and that other bands might not feel disposed to overlook it. I determined, as there was no Indian Agent in this section of country, to proceed to Bannack City, about Eighty miles distant, to ascertain the truth of their statement, and to counsel with those who might be along the road thro' the Mountains. On entering the Mountains I encountered a large band of Shoshonees, who manifested a friendly spirit, expressed a desire to be at peace, and thankfully accepted the few presents I was able to make them.

On arriving at Bannack I learned with regret that the statement by the Indians of the murder of their people, was true; that they were fired upon as they were sitting quietly in the street by a dozen white men; and that their sole object in visiting the place was to give up a child (which they did) which had been demanded of them on the supposition that it was a stolen white child. I saw the child, & have no doubt that it is a Half-breed, and was rightfully in their possession. I would have adopted legal measures for the punishment of these offenders but there were no civil officers there, and no laws but such as have been adopted by Miners. The matter must rest until the organization of the government of Idaho.\textsuperscript{184}

Whilst at Bannack, I ascertained that Bands of FlatHeads had passed on the road by which I came, in search of the Bannacks & Shoshonees, for the purpose of stealing their horses and making war upon them. Deeming it unsafe to return alone, I employed Mr. [Robert?] Dempsey, an excellent interpreter, to send a guide and guard of Indians with me. These accompanied me faithfully to the settlements of Box Elder, and will on their way back give useful information to those of their Nation they meet.

All the Indians I met, during my absence, appeard desirous to form a treaty with the U. S., and I told them that when the Commissioners were ready to meet them, I would send a runner to them to inform them of the time & place for them to assemble. . . .

\textsuperscript{184} Montana Territory was created in 1864. At this time western Montana was nominally a part of Idaho Territory, created earlier in the year.
Sir:—Your Letter of instructions in relation to the proposed treaty with Shoshonees, dated June 1st, 1863, I have the honor to acknowledge, and to inform you that I shall proceed the coming week to Fort Bridger for the purpose of meeting the Shoshonees who are assembled there—some of whom I met on my late expedition—and of treating with them according to your Instructions of the 22nd of July, 1862, and of those now given.

Many of these Indians have been hostile, and have committed depredations upon the persons & property of Emigrants & settlers, but now express a strong desire for peace. Agent Mann informs me that he is now feeding them under your authority; I therefore hasten to meet them, that some arrangement may be made by which they can with satisfaction return to their hunting grounds, and upon terms which shall secure peace hereafter, safety to the Emigrants & travellers, and relieve the Department from the expense now being incurred.

These are about one third of the Shoshonees with whom treaties may be held; and I shall endeavor to limit the expenditures to the least amount to obtain the objects desired by government.

You will please make the deposit with M'. Cisco, as indicated in your letter, that my drafts may be provided for on presentation.

The Shoshonee Bands are scattered over so vast an extent of country that it will be necessary for the Commissioners to meet them at several points. The whole Nation can never be assembled, without bringing them hundreds of miles. . . .

Sir:
By the efforts of Genl. Connor & myself, “Little Soldier,” the Chief of the
“Weber Utes,” who had been hostile & committing depredations for some months past, has been induced to come in with his Band and promises to remain at peace with the whites.\footnote{187} He met us, with 14 of his warriors today in council; wished to make a firm and lasting peace, encamped at a place near the City where we can supervise his conduct & agrees to remain there until we tell him to go to his hunting grounds; and has sent messengers to other Ute Bands assuring them of their safety if they join him & of our friendly disposition, and advising them also to come in.

I have now strong hopes that hostilities on the part of the Utes will cease. . . .

\footnote{187} This is curious information about Little Soldier, who had never been particularly unfriendly toward the whites. It may be that he had been alienated by the slaughter in January, at the Battle of Bear River.

\footnote{188} D/157–1863.
Articles of Agreement made at Fort Bridger in Utah Territory this second day of July A. D. One thousand Eight hundred and Sixty three, by and between the United States of America represented by its Commissioners, and the Shoshone nation of Indians represented by its Chiefs and principal Men and Warriors of the Eastern Bands, as follows:

Article I. Friendly and Amicable relations are hereby reestablished between the Bands of the Shoshone nation parties hereto, and the United States. And it is declared that a firm and perpetual Peace Shall be henceforth maintained between the Shoshone nation and the United States.

Article II. The Several routes of travel through the Shoshone Country now or hereafter used by the white men, Shall be and remain forever free and safe for the use of the Government of the United States and of all emigrants and travelers under its authority and protection, without molestation or injury from any of the People of said nation. And if depredations should at any time be committed by bad men of their nation, the offending Shall be immediately seized and delivered up to the proper officers of the United States, to be punished as their offences Shall deserve. And the Safety of all travelers passing peaceably over Said routes is hereby guaranteed by Said nation.—Military-Agricultural Settlements and Military Posts may be Established by the President of the United States along said routes: Ferries may be maintained over the rivers wherever they may be required and Houses Erected and

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D/157–1863. Encl. This was the first copy of the treaty sent on by Doty. As we shall see in Document 92, on July 18 he transmitted “the original copy” of the treaty, at that time asking the Commissioner to add to the duplicate transmitted on July 3 “the name of the Chief Bazil who signed his name to this but did not arrive with his Band until that copy had been mailed.”

A memorandum by the Indian Office filed with I/222–1866 comments, with respect to the treaty of July 2:

This treaty, with three others, made with different bands of Shoshonees and Goships, by Gov. Doty, of Utah, was acted upon favorably by the Senate March 7th 1864, with an amendment—the same amendment, as shown upon paper marked “A”, being made to each treaty. All of the treaties were returned to Gov. Doty May 17th, with instructions to secure the assent of the Indians to the amendments, and all were returned by him before he was superseded as Sup’t by Mr. Irish, Except this one, with Washakee’s band, Gov. Doty reporting that he had not been able to get the chiefs together. The treaties thus returned were ratified and proclaimed by the President Jan’y 17, 1865.
Settlements formed at Such points as may be necessary for the comfort and convenience of travelers.

Article III. The Telegraph and Overland Stage Line having been established and operated through a part of the Sho-Sho-nee Country, it is expressly agreed that the Same may be continued without hindrance, molestation or injury from the people of Said nation; and that their property and the lives of Passengers in the Stages and of the Employees of the respective Companies Shall be protected by them. And further, it being understood that provision has been made by the Government of the United States, for the Construction of a Railway from the Plains West to the Pacific Ocean, it is Stipulated by said nation that Said Railway or its Branches may be located, constructed and operated without molestation from them through any portion of the Country claim by them.

Article IV.—It is understood the boundaries of the Sho-Sho-nee Country, as defined and described by Said nation, is as follows: On the North by the Mountains on the north Side of the Valey of Sho-Sho-nee or Snake River; On the East by the Wind River Mountains, Peenahpah, the north fork of the Platte or Koochina-gah and the north Park or Buffalo House; and on the South by Yampah River and the Uintah Mountains. The Western boundary is left undefined, there being no Sho-Sho-nees from that district of Country present; but

After Mr. Irish had left Utah on leave of absence to come to Washington in the winter of 1866, this treaty was sent to him, having been found among Gov. Doty's papers [he being then deceased].

It is recommended that the paper should be sent to the Supt. of Utah, with instructions to obtain the assent of the Indians to the amendment as soon as possible. The appropriation of $10,000 pr annum is made by Congress without the treaty having been ratified.

[The 1863 Fort Bridger Treaty with the Eastern Shoshoni was one of several treaties enacted with various Shoshoni groups (see Document 101). The treaties “represented part of a process to clear a corridor for safe travel for whites emigrating to the west and for railway and communication routes,” notes a heading to the ratified text available on the Wind River Indian Reservation Web site.

This treaty came on the heels of two important events: first, the Homestead Act of 1862 created a mechanism to encourage white settlement in the western territories of the United States. Second, and more important to the Shoshones, the Bear River Massacre of early 1863 made it quite clear that the United States was prepared to go to great lengths to compel Shoshones west of Wyoming to comply with the demands for passage. The treaty essentially sets the boundaries of the Eastern Shoshones to reflect their traditional base since the early 1800s, namely from the upper Snake River on the north, east to the Wind River Mountains, south into northern Colorado and Utah, and no further west than Salt Lake. It did not include the present-day boundaries of the Wind River Reservation, which lies east of the Wind River Mountains.

The Senate ratified the treaty with an amendment in March, 1864, the Shoshonis agreed to the amendment in 1865, and the treaty was proclaimed to be in force in the first week of June 1869. —Ed.]
the Bands now present Claim that their own Country is Bounded on the West by Salt Lake\textsuperscript{190}.

Article V.—The United States being aware of the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away and destruction of game along the route traveled by Whites and by the formation of agricultural and Mining Settlements are willing to fairly compensate them for the Same; therefore, and in consideration of the preceding stipulations, the United States promises and agree to pay to the Bands of the Sho-Sho-nee nation Parties hereto, annually, for the term of twenty years, the sum of ten thousand dollars in Such articles as the President of the United States may deem Suitable to their wants and condition Either as Hunters or Herdsmen. And the Said Band of the Sho-Sho-nee nation hereby acknowledge the reception of the said stipulated annuities as a full compensation and Equivalent for the loss of game and the rights and privileges hereby conceded.

Article VI.—The Said Bands hereby acknowledge that they have received from said Commissioners provisions and clothing amounting to Six thousand dollars as presents at the conclusion of this Treaty

Done at Fort Bridger the day and year above written in presence of

Jack Robertson                  James Duane Doty                     Luther Mann Jr
Interpreter.                      Commissioners

Samuel Dean

Washakeex  Wanapitzx
Toopsapowitz x  Pantoshigax
Ninabutzx  Narkawkx
Tahvonshe’ax  Weer’angox
Tootsahpx  Weeahyukex

\textsuperscript{190} These comments on the limits of the Shoshoni country should be compared with the reports of John Wilson in 1849, Jacob Forney in 1858, and F. W. Lander in 1860 (see Documents 1, 47, and 51).
James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Telegram dated Salt Lake City, June 6, 1863

Your letter dated June 6th is received on my return from Bridger. Gov. [James W.] Nye is not here nor heard from. Pokatelle sends word that he wishes to treat for peace. Sanritz [Sanpits] & Sagoity [Sagwitch] have fled north of Snake River. The Utahs also wish to treat. I wait your instructions.

James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, July 18, 1863

Sir.

Herewith I transmit the original copy of the Treaty concluded at Fort Bridger on the 2nd. inst. by Agent Mann & myself with the Shoshonees—a duplicate of which was forwarded from that place on the 3d inst.

The Commissioner will please to add to that copy the name of the Chief Bazil who signed his name to this but did not arrive with his Band until that copy had been mailed.

I have just received word from Pokatello that he wishes to meet me in his country north of Bear River to make peace. With Genl. [Patrick Edward] Connor I shall meet him as soon as the place can be designated. . . .

191 D/147–1863.
192 D/174–1863. Endorsed: “Treaty Sent to Sec. of Intr. for transmission to the President to be laid before the Senate for its action thereon. Dec. 30, 1863.”
James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, July 18, 1863

Sir: On the 7th of this month Genl. Connor and myself made a Treaty of Peace with “Little Soldier” and his band of “Weber Utes,” who have assembled at a point in the vicinity of this City indicated by us for their Camp, about twenty miles distant. We found with him individuals of several other Bands, who attended our meeting to ascertain, it is presumed, if we were sincere in accepting Little Soldiers proposals for peace, and if so, to let us know that the disposition of other Bands was favorable to peace. All who were present participated in the presents of provisions and goods which I made to Little Soldier and which were distributed by him; and promised to cease all further depredations and faithfully to maintain peace and friendship with all white men.

The other Bands of Utahs, to whom messengers had been sent, proposed to meet us at Spanish Fork, at an early day to be appointed, for the purpose of making peace. The 14th. instant being the time selected by Genl. Connor, we met there on that day, all of the principal men of those Bands, excepting two who sent word by others that they would abide by whatever terms were agreed upon.

It was agreed that hostilities should cease immediately; that the past should be forgotten; that the Utahs should give up any stolen horses in their possession; that no further depredations should be committed by them; that they would remain peaceable and quiet in future; and if any of their people should hereafter murder white men, or steal their horses, they would make every exertion to arrest the offenders and deliver them up for punishment.

We promised them liberal presents of provisions and clothing, and that these presents would be continued to them by the government as long as they kept their word—but no longer. We assured them that if any act of aggression upon the whites was committed by them, the soldiers would immediately enter their country and pursue the culprits until redress was obtained—to which they assented. We also assured them that if any injury was done to them by white men, the offenders should be punished, if they made complaint and gave the proper information to Genl. Connor, or to the Superintendent.

They appeared to be very anxious for peace, and to have their friendly relations with the government restored; and I feel confident the troubles with the Utah nation (in this Territory) are now terminated. The large presents which

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I have made this Spring, and on this occasion, have undoubtedly contributed to this result; but I think the government is mainly indebted for it to the able Commanding officer of this military Department, Genl. Connor, and the efficiency and bravery of the officers and soldiers under his command.

These Treaties were made orally, and not reduced to writing, being without instructions from the Department; and our only purpose being to obtain peace with these Indians, and to stop further hostilities on their part—for the present at least.

They appeared to be very thankful for the food and clothing which I gave them; and I promised them, when the goods arrived which are now on their way, further presents would be made them—if they remained good. This I consider the best application of the Funds under my control for the general service, which could be made, for the benefit of the Indians, the security of Emigrants and of the Telegraph & Overland mail Lines, and the interests of the government. When they are assembled again to receive presents of provisions & goods, I think a Treaty may be effected with them upon such terms as the Department may desire.

I can but repeat the recommendation which I have heretofore made, that the Utah Bands ought to be collected on the Uintah Reservation, and provision made for them as herdsmen. Genl. Connor informs me that some of the Troops under his command can be employed (peace being now established with the Shoshonees) in settling and protecting them there, and in aiding them in erecting their houses and making other improvements for permanent homes. In this manner government may soon obtain perfect control over this nation, and with a less expenditure of money than is now required to maintain the very unsatisfactory and imperfect relations existing at present. . . .

194 In a parallel letter to Lieut. Col. R. C. Drum, Asst. Adjutant-General, San Francisco, dated Great Salt Lake City, July 18, 1863, General Connor described these same events. The meeting with Little Soldier Connor placed in “the valley of the West Mountain, about twenty-five miles west of this city,” i.e., Tooele Valley. The Utes who conferred with him and Doty at Spanish Fork on July 14 included the chiefs “Antero, Tabby, Canosh, Ute-Pete, Au-ke-wah-kus, and Black Hawk,” San Pitch being the only principal Ute chief not present. (Note that there were two chiefs by this name, one Shoshoni, one Ute, a circumstance which has sometimes baffled historians.) The consequence of the recent Shoshoni treaty-making, Connor added, was:

The several bands have been once more united under the chieftainship of the peaceful Wa-sha-kee, and are living in quiet contentment near Bridger, under the charge and guardianship of the Indian Department. Since the date of the Snake treaty I have received a message from Pocatello, the celebrated Snake chief, begging for peace and asking for a conference. He says he is tired of war, and has been effectually driven from the Territory with a small remnant of his once powerful band. He now sues for peace, and having responded favorably to his request I will meet him at an early day, and will conclude with him what I
Washakie and the Shoshoni

James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 30, 1863

Sir,

Acknowledging your Letter dated July 22d, I have to request that two or more copies of the Map lately prepared at the General Land Office may be procured and sent to me, that I may be enabled to show the boundaries of the Country ceded by the Shoshonees-

The most accurate map which I have of this Country is the Military Map of Utah; but this does not exhibit the northern part of the Shoshonee Country—.

have no doubt will be a lasting peace. Thus at least I have the pleasure to report peace with the Indian on all hands, save only a few hostile Goshutes west and north of Deep Creek. . . . I may therefore confidently report the end of Indian difficulties on the Overland Stage Line and within this district, from the Snake River, on the north, to Arizona, on the south, and from Green River to Carson Valley. . . . (Official Records, ser. 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, 527–31.)

Another echo of these times and events is found in the narrative of William Elkanah Waters, an army surgeon who traveled out to Utah in the spring of 1866. In his anonymously-published Life Among the Mormons, and a March to Their Zion: To Which Is Added a Chapter on the Indians of the Plains and Mountains of the West (New York: Moorhead, Simpson & Bond, 1868), 204–5, Waters writes:

The Shoshone (or Snake) tribe have their favorite hunting-ground in the Wind River Valley, and travel south and west during the summer months. These two tribes [Utes and Shoshoni] are now at peace with the white man, and receive their annual presents from the Government. Only three years ago [i.e., from 1866] the Snakes were at war with the troops stationed in Utah, but after a severe battle on Bear River, in which they were severely punished, and sustained a great loss, they in the dead of winter, and in an almost starving condition, begged for peace, and for subsistence. When they arrayed themselves against the white men in the territory, it was in opposition to the advice of their chief Washiki, who is the finest specimen of an Indian I ever saw. He abandoned the leadership of the tribe, rather than indulge in a war which he knew must prove disastrous to the red man. For their folly they elected another chief, and paid for it in the disaster to which I alluded. During the war, Washiki, with his squaws and a small party, camped in the vicinity of Fort Bridger, and after its termination the tribe were only too glad to reinstate him in his former official position.

These various accounts considerably elaborate Grace Raymond Hebard’s discussion of this critical era in her Washakie, 106–9.

D/203–1863. The requested maps were forwarded from Washington on Sept. 22.
Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, September 21, 1863

Sir please find Enclosed Receipts for goods Sent me for distribution to Indians You will please inform me whether they are to be distributed for Treaty purposes by you as disbursing agent of said commission or whether I shall place them on Property return as received by you and disbursed by myself as Indian Agent I have purchased Beef to feed the Indians agreeable to your Telegraph and have Paid for part of it out of my own money will it be charged to Treaty fund and paid by you as disbursing agent of said commission please inform me fully in the matter and greatly Oblige.

[Endorsement:] Answered “property to go in to his own accts as “agent”

James Duane Doty, Commissioner, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, October 21, 1863

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a treaty with the Shoshonee bands of the Goship tribe, which was concluded at Tuilla [Tooele] valley on the 12th October. I had previously made a verbal treaty of peace (on the 5th October) with the remaining portion of the southern bands who are connected with the Pahvont tribe. They gave their assent to all the provisions contained in this treaty. The largest portion of these bands have been killed by the troops during the past season. Also a treaty of peace and friendship with the mixed bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks of the Shoshonee (or Snake) River valley, concluded at Soda Springs, in Idaho Territory, on the 14th of October. In the month of September I advised Governor [W. H.] Wallace, by letter, of the proposed treaty, and of the time and place of holding it, and, agreeably to your suggestion, invited him to be present, but received no answer. I presume my letter did not reach him.

As many of these Indians, as also others with whom treaties have been made this season, have been engaged in hostilities, I deemed it proper that General

196 Utah Field Papers, 1863.
Conner [i.e., Connor], who commands this military district, and has been personally in the field against them, should unite with me in the councils which have been held with them, and in forming the treaties of peace. He has rendered great service to the government in punishing and subduing them. By the rapid and skilful movement of his troops, and their repeated successful attacks, he has been mainly instrumental in bringing the Indians to acknowledge, for the first time, that the “Americans” are the masters of the country.

I hope these treaties, and the councils which have been held with the tribes with which I was not authorized to make formal treaties, will receive the approbation of the President.

My duties as commissioner being now terminated by the conclusion of treaties with all the bands of the Shoshonee nation, my accounts for treaty expenditures will be prepared and forwarded as soon as possible.

Allow me to congratulate the department upon the successful negotiation of these treaties, and the restoration of peace with all the tribes within this Territory. . . .

James Duane Doty, Commissioner and Brig. Gen. P. Edward Connor to A. J. Center, Treasurer, Overland Mail Company, New York, dated Great Salt Lake City, October 21, 1863

Sir: Treaties having been concluded with all the hostile tribes of Indians in this country, and peace restored, we deem it proper to inform you of the fact, and to express the opinion that all the routes of travel through Utah Territory to Nevada and California, and to the Beaver Head and Boisé river gold mines, may now be used with safety.

No fears of depredations or molestation need be apprehended from the Shoshonee, Utah, Goship, or Bannack nations, judging from the feelings manifested by them, and their strong professions of friendship and desire for peace at the signing of the treaties, the last of which was made with the Bannacks of the Shoshonee River valley, at Soda Springs, on the 14th instant. . . .

198 This particular treaty was never perfected. A copy of it is in Unratified Treaties File, I/463–1863. [See also note *, p. 319 —Ed.]
199 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 317.
James Duane Doty, Acting Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, October 24, 1863

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to present the following annual report for the year 1863. Its earlier transmission was impracticable, having been engaged in the performance of my duties as commissioner to treat with the Shoshonees until this date.

I beg leave to refer to the annual estimate for this superintendency which was submitted last year as proper for the coming year, and also to respectfully recommend that the goods for presents, farming implements, &c., be purchased in New York and shipped as early as practicable in the spring, as it is difficult to obtain them in this city, and only at extravagant prices.

Several of the Utah bands are both willing and desirous to become settled, as herdsmen or husbandmen, on the Uinta reservation. It is now unoccupied, except for hunting during the winter. It would be advantageous to the government to comply with their wishes, and it is again suggested that treaties be made with them for their removal and location there. They would then be withdrawn from the present routes of travel though this Territory, and peace insured hereafter with a people strongly inclined to agricultural pursuits, but who have, from unknown causes, at several times this season, attacked the stages and killed the drivers.

Their friendship cannot be relied upon whilst they are in the immediate vicinity of the white settlements; and for this as well other reasons it is believed that all expenditures upon the farm at Spanish Fork are a waste of public money; that the farm ought to be abandoned, and the agency removed to Uinta valley, where all improvements made would have a permanent value. The inhabitants at Spanish Fork, as also in other quarters, for their own security against depredations, seek to maintain friendly relations with the Indians, as in previous years the government has not been able to give them adequate protection.

During the year 1862 and the winter months of this year many of the Indians in this superintendency manifested decided evidences of hostility toward the

201 Many small reservations for Utes and Paiutes had come into being in the 1850’s. In October 1861, as we have seen, President Lincoln set aside the Uinta Basin as a reservation on which the Utes might be gathered, and the smaller reservations were in course of being liquidated. The Utah Legislature in January, 1864, memorialized Congress to have the Spanish Fork Reservation disposed of, and this was done by legislation passed the same year.
whites. The numerous murders and depredations upon property which they committed, as also their language, indicated a determination to stop all travel upon the overland routes and upon the roads leading to the gold mines in Idaho Territory. It became unsafe even for the Mormon settlers to go into the canyons for wood; and the Bannack prophet said the Indians would combine and drive the white men from the country. This was his advice to the Shoshonee bands.  

The battle with the Shoshonees on the bank of Bear River in January, and the subsequent engagements with the Utahs on Spanish Fork, and with the Goaships in their country, effectually checked them, and severely and justly punished them for the wanton acts of cruelty which they had committed. The fight on Bear river was the severest and most bloody of any which has ever occurred with the Indians west of the Mississippi. One band that of Sanpitz) was almost exterminated. It struck terror into the hearts of the savages hundreds of miles away from the battlefield.

As soon as it was ascertained that any of the bands were inclined to peace they were met by General Connor and myself at places selected in their own country, and treaties of peace and friendship entered into with them—a service which, in some instances, was regarded as both difficult and hazardous. These negotiations have been communicated to the department from time to time as they occurred, as also other treaties formed by Governor Nye, Agent Mann, and myself, with the eastern and western bands of Shoshonees. These treaties could not have been made without the aid of the appropriations made by Congress for this superintendency, which have been wholly applied to the great object of restoring peace; and also to the presence of the military, who have rendered distinguished and lasting service to the government in subduing the Indians throughout this Territory.

It appears now as though peace was again permanently established with all of the tribes in this country, and that no danger from them is to be apprehended by emigrants moving in trains or singly, nor of an interruption in future to the overland stage or telegraph lines. They now acknowledge the Americans are the masters of this country. But peace can only be secured by regular, liberal, but just appropriations, and by the continuance of a strong military force upon the main routes of travel through this city, and especially on the routes north of it.

It was only by the judicious application of the appropriations made by Congress at its last session for the Indians in Utah that this department has been

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202 See Doty’s prior letter of August 5, 1862, Document 66.
so successful in restoring peace, not only throughout this Territory, but in the southern part of Idaho also. It is believed that Congress will not be called upon for like appropriations again if the treaties are ratified and the goods required for the annuities are purchased and forwarded from the Missouri river early in the spring. It must be observed that it will take about three months’ time to transport them to the places where they are to be distributed. If this is done, this country can be prospected for its minerals, and the northern gold mines worked with safety and increased advantages.

99

WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO J. P. USHER, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, DATED OCTOBER 31, 1863 (EXTRACT)204

With the exception of a report from Agent [F. S.] Hatch, who is in charge of the Spanish fork reservation in Utah, and Agent [A. A] Bancroft in Washington Territory, no reports have been received from any of the respective superintendents of Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, and Idaho; consequently I can present but little information in regard to the wants and requirements of the Indian service within the limits of each. . . .

Treaties of amity and peace have been concluded with the Shoshones, of Utah and Nevada, as follows, viz: At Fort Bridger, July 2, 1863, by Governor Doty and Agent Mann, as commissioners on the part of the United States, and the eastern bands of said Indians; at Box Elder, July 30, by Governor Doty and General Connor, on the part of the United States, and the northwestern bands; and at Ruby valley, October 1, by Governors Doty and Nye, on the part of the United States, and the western bands. These Indians have long been a scourge to the citizens of Utah and Nevada, and a terror to the emigrants and travellers over the routes leading through those Territories. From the representations made by Governor Doty, we have reason to believe that those treaties have been entered into by the Indians with a sincere desire for peace, and I have no doubt that the friendly relations thus inaugurated may be maintained by wise and judicious action on our part. The scarcity of game in these Territories, and the occupation of the most fertile portions thereof by our settlements, have reduced these

205 The Utah report came in belatedly and was appended to the Commissioner’s Annual Report; see Document 98.
Indians to a state of extreme destitution, and for several years past they have been almost literally compelled to resort to plunder in order to obtain the necessary of life. It is not to be expected that a wild and warlike people will tamely submit to the occupation of their country by another race, and to starvation as a consequence thereof. It was perhaps unavoidable that, in taking possession of these Territories, hostilities should ensue between our own people and the Indians, as the latter knew but little of the vast disparity between their resources and power and our own, and consequently would not listen to any reasonable propositions on our part. Much credit is due to General Connor and the forces under his command, for their prompt and efficient services in chastising these Indians for their outrages and depredations upon the whites, and in compelling them to sue for peace. Now that this desideratum has been attained, I respectfully recommend that measures be taken for the negotiation of further treaties with the Indians, having for their object the extinguishment of their title to the soil, and the setting apart of a suitable portion of the public domain upon which they may be concentrated, and so provided for that they need not be compelled to resort to plunder in order to sustain life.

100

JAMES DUANE DOTY, COMMISSIONER TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, NOVEMBER 10, 1863

Sir

The Map transmitted to me by the Department is herewith returned, with the exterior boundaries of the Territory claimed by the shoshonees in their recent Treaties, as also the lines of the country occupied by different portions of the Tribe, indicated upon it as correctly as the map will allow. They fixed their Eastern boundary on the crest of the Rocky Mountains; but it is certain that they, as well as the Bannacks, hunt the buffalo below the Three Forks of the Missouri and on the headwaters of the Yellow Stone and Wind rivers.

As none of the Indians of this country have permanent places of abode, in their hunting excursions they wander over an immense region, extending from the Fisheries at and below Salmon Falls on the Shoshonee [Snake] river, near the Oregon line, to the sources of that stream, and to the buffalo country beyond. The Shoshonees and Bannacks are the only nations which, to my knowledge, hunt together over the same ground.

206 [See appendix for note text.]
Replying further to your Letter, dated July 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1863, I beg leave to refer to my Letter to the Commissioner, dated February 7\textsuperscript{th}, 1862, in relation to the Indian Tribes in this Superintendency; and to add, that the Bands represented at the Treaty of Fort Bridger, on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} day of July last, it was estimated numbered between three and four thousand souls, over a thousand of whom were present at, and immediately after, the conclusion of the Treaty.

They are known as Wau'shakee's Band (who is the principal chief of the nation; Won'apitz Band, 
Shau'wuno's " 
Tibá'gan's " 
Pee'asto'a'gah's " 
To'timee's " 
Ash'ingodim'ah's " He was killed at the battle on Bear River. 
Sagowitz " Wounded in the same battle. 
O'retzim'awik " 
Bazil's " 
Sanpitz " The bands of this chief and of Sagowitz were nearly exterminated in the same battle.

The chiefs at this treaty in fact represented nearly the whole nation; and they were distinctly informed—and they agreed—that the annuities provided in this treaty and such others as might be formed, were for the benefit of all the Bands of the Shoshonee nation who might give their assent to their terms. And this has been the understanding at each treaty.

At the Treaty concluded at Box Elder on the 30\textsuperscript{th} of July, the first object was to effect and secure a peace with Pokatello, as the road to Beaver Head Gold Mines, and those on Boisé river, as well as the northern California and southern Oregon roads, pass through his country. There were present

Pokatello's Band 
Toomont'so's " 
Sanpitz " 
To'so " 
Bear Hunter's " All but 7 of this Band were killed at Bear river battle. 
Sagowitz " This chief was shot by a white man a few days before the treaty, and could not come from his Wekeeup to the Treaty ground, but he assented to all of its provisions He, and Sanpitz endeavored to be at Ft. Bridger, to unite in the treaty there, but did not arrive in time.

The chiefs of several smaller bands were also present and signed the treaty, which is considered of more importance than any made this season, in saving the lives and securing from depredations the property of our citizens—Emigrants as
well as others. These bands are generally known as “The Sheep Eaters”; and their number is estimated at one thousand.

At the Treaty concluded at Ruby Valley, on the 1st. of October, the Western Shoshonees were represented by the two principal Bands—the Tosowitch (White Knife) and Unkoah’s. From the best information I could get, I estimated the Western Bands—sometimes called “Shoshonee Diggers”—at twenty five hundred souls. But the Bands on the lower Humboldt and west of Smith’s Creek, are not included in this estimate. Govr. Nye proposed to meet some of them at Reese river, on his return to Carson from Ruby.

At the Treaty at Tuilla Valley, on the 12th of October, with the Goaship or Kumumbar Bands, who are connected with the Shoshonees and are chiefly of that Tribe, there were three hundred and fifty present. Others, from Ibapah, Shell creek, and the desert, would have joined them but for their fear of the soldiers. They number about one hundred more; and there is also a portion of this tribe who are mixed with the Pahvon’tee tribe, and occupy the southern part of the Goaship country, amounting to two hundred more. They are the poorest and most miserable Indians I have met. They have neither horses nor guns. I have seen several of them at work for farmers at Deep Creek and Grantsville, and therefore conclude that they would soon learn to cultivate the ground for themselves and take care of stock, if they were assisted in a proper way. They have expressed a strong desire to become settled as farmers, and I should be glad to see them located as such, at a distance from the Overland Mail route. More than a hundred of them have been killed by the soldiers during the past year, and the survivors beg for peace. It was the intention & understanding that all of the Goaship Tribe shall participate in the benefits of the treaty.

At the Treaty of Soda Springs on the 14th of October, with the mixed Bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks roaming in the Valley of Shoshonee river, there were one hundred and fifty men present with their families. Tindo’ah and the chiefs of several other bands sent word that they assented to the Treaty, and desired to be considered parties to it; but they could not remain, as it was so late in the season they were compelled to leave for their buffalo hunting grounds. I had seen these bands, on Snake river, in the mouth of May last, in council, found them peaceable and friendly, and explained to them the objects for which it was proposed to hold a treaty before the snow fell.

Those now present were—Toso-kwan’beraht, the principal Chief of the Bannack nation, commonly known as “Grand Coquin”: Tah’gee:—Mat’igund, and other principal men. This last chief and his band live at the Shoshonee river Ferry, where he meets all the travellers to and from the mines.\textsuperscript{207} He has always been friendly to them; and all of these Bands can render great service to the

\textsuperscript{207} This ferry was at present Idaho Falls.
Map prepared by Doty, which accompanied treaties to Senate. Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
Emigrants, or do them great injury. They number about one thousand souls, as near as I can ascertain.

The whole number of Shoshonee, Goaships, and Bannacks, who are parties to these Treaties, may be estimated at Eight thousand, six hundred and fifty.

The amount to be paid to them annually in goods, &c., is—to the Shoshonees & Bannacks, twenty thousand dollars; and to the Goaships one thousand dollars, for the term of twenty years. This last sum I think ought to be increased to two thousand dollars, especially if they are to be settled as husbandmen or herdsmen.

The importance of these Treaties to the Government and to its citizens, can only be appreciated by those who know the value of the Continental Telegraph and Overland Stage to the commercial and mercantile world, and the safety and security which peace alone can give to Emigrant Trains, and to the travel to the Gold Discoveries in the North which exceed in richness—at least in the quality of the gold—any discoveries on this Continent. . . .

101

WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO J. P. USHER, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
dated December 30, 1863

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith, for your consideration, and if approved by you, for transmission to the President of the United States, to be by him laid before the Senate for its constitutional action thereon, the following named treaties with certain Indian tribes, viz:

With the eastern bands of Shoshonees, July 2, 1863, at Fort Bridger;
With the northwestern bands of Shoshonees, at Box Elder, July 30, 1863;
With the western bands of Shoshonees, at Ruby valley, October 1, 1863;
With the Goaship bands of Shoshonees, at Tuilla valley, October 12, 1863; and
With the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, at Soda Springs, October 14, 1863.*

* [Texts of these treaties, several of which were never ratified by the Senate, may be found as follows:]

2 Jul. 1863: Document 90
I also enclose a copy of a letter of Governor Doty, relating to the Indians, parties to the foregoing treaties, with a copy of a map furnished by that gentleman, showing the territory ceded.

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1864

J. P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Washington, D.C., March 12, 1864

Sir,

I herewith transmit to you:

1. A treaty with the Mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshones, concluded on the 14th of Oct. 1863, together with a resolution of the Senate of the 7th instant, advising and consenting to the ratification of the same with an amendment.

2. A treaty with the Shoshone Nation of Indians, of the Eastern Bands concluded on the 2nd of July 1863—with a resolution by the Senate of the 7th inst. advising and consenting to the ratification of the same with an amendment.

3. A treaty with the Northwestern Bands of Shoshone Indians, concluded the 30th of July 1863, together with a resolution of the Senate of the 7th inst. advising and consenting to the ratification thereof with an amendment.

4. A treaty with the Shoshone-Goship Bands of Indians, concluded on the 12th of October 1863, together with a resolution of the Senate, of the 7th instant, advising and consenting to the ratification of the same with an amendment.

To the end that these amendments proposed by the Senate, may be presented to the tribes of Indians named, for their acceptance.

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1 Oct. 1863 with Western Shoshoni bands: Kappler, Indian Affairs, 2:851–53
2 Oct. 1863 with Shoshoni-Goship bands: Kappler, Indian Affairs, 2:859–60

209 See Document 100.
210 1/463–1864.
211 The substance of the amendment in each case, was: “Nothing herein contained shall be construed or taken to admit any other or greater title or interest in the lands embraced within the Territories described in Said Treaty in Said Tribes or Bands of Indians than existed in them upon the acquisition of said Territories from Mexico by the laws thereof.”
James Duane Doty, Supt. of Indian Affairs, Charles M. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated New York, April 21, 1864

Dear Sir

Mr. Dole authorize me to ask of you to send to me here, by the Express, two of the Small medals for Chiefs—I wish them for Waushakee and Dindoah [Tendoy?]—Please sent them before Monday, if you can—. . . .

William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James Duane Doty, Governor and Ex-Officio Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated May 17, 1864

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith four treaties negotiated with the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, the eastern band of Shoshonees, the northwestern bands of Shoshonees, and the Shoshonee Goship bands of Indians, respectively, to each of which treaties the Senate has made an amendment.

You will please cause these several treaties, as amended, to be laid before the respective tribes, and endeavor to secure their assent thereto at as early a day as practicable, and return the same to this office.

As there is no fund from which to defray the expenses incidental to calling the Indians together for the express purpose of procuring their assent to the amendments, you can, for this purpose, probably improve the occasion of their assembling for their payments; otherwise the expense will have to be paid out of such funds as are at your disposal for the incidental expenses of your superintendency. . . .

212 D/399–1864.
213 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 323.
Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge your Letter dated May 17th ’64, with its enclosures—being four Treaties with the mixed Bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks, with instructions to procure their assent to the amendments proposed by the Senate.

Having lately returned to the Territory I have not learned where these Bands are now to be found—except Washakee’s Band (the Northern Eastern Shoshonees) who I am informed are on the Wind river Mountains, where they have lately encountered the Crows in several battles, the occasion for which, it is represented, was an attempt made by the Crows to steal the horses of the Shoshonees who were hunting the Buffalo in the vicinity of those Mountains.

As funds will be required for the purposes indicated in your Letter, as also for the current expenses of the Superintendency (without which the duties cannot be performed) I hope to receive soon a notice of a deposit to my credit with the Assistant Treasurer N. Y. of such sum as you may deem adequate for those objects until the arrival of the Superintendent. Whether he has left the Missouri is unknown to me. I infer from your Letter that the Department desires that I should as Governor of the Territory, continue to perform the duties of Superintendent.

The best time to procure the assent of these Bands to the Amendments, will be on the arrival of the goods which are to be received by them under the provisions of the Treaties. It is very desirable that I should be informed when the goods are to be delivered by the Freighters at the places where the Treaties were held, that I may be able to give due notice to the Bands who are to receive them. As they are scattered over a country several hundred miles in extent, it will take several weeks to assemble them.

Having just passed through about eleven hundred miles of the Indian country from the Missouri to this place, I am enabled to state to the Department that there were but few Indians upon the Overland Mail Route, and that they were entirely peaceable and friendly to the whites. . . .

215 The new superintendent was O. H. Irish, Doty having in 1863 been elevated to the governorship. [See notes ́ on p. 273 and 220 on p. 325].
Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to James Duane Doty, Acting Supt. Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger Agency, June 20, 1864

Sir: One of Washakees Indians brought to this place Nineteen, 19, head of Horses Said to have been Stolen from the Miners at Beaver Head [Montana] by a party of Too Coo Rekah or Sheep Eater Indians they make the Excuse that they did not know that a treaty had been made with the Whites After being informed of that fact they delivered to One of Washakees Indians the Horses who brought them here by whom Shall they be received the Military here or by myself The Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians appears to make it the duty of the agent Section Seventeen of the act requires that all applications for redress of recovery of the Stolen property Shall be made to the agent please confer a favour by giving me instructions in the matter and greatly Oblige.

James Duane Doty, Ex-Officio Supt. of Indian Affairs, to Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, dated Great Salt Lake City, June 23, 1864

Sir: Your Letter dated June 20, in relation to 19 Horses Stolen by the Sheep Eaters & delivered by them to Waushakee, is received this morning. It is proper that you as Agent should receive them of the Indian having them in charge, and immediately give notice to the parties from whom they have been taken that they are in your charge, and requesting them to come forward and prove their property and take them away after paying expenses. A proper reward should be given by them to the Indian who has brought them to you, as well as to Waushakee—

If the Claimants are unknown, it seems proper that you Should give notice in the Settlements on Beaver Head in some public manner, that these horses are in your possession.

I shall forward your Letter to the Commissioner, and request of him to give you further Instructions if required.

216 D/461–1864, Enclosure.
217 Ibid.
108

JAMES DUANE DOTY, EX-OFFICIO SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO
WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, JUNE 23, 1864218

Sir:

I enclose herewith a Letter from Agent Mann in relation to Horses stolen in the Beaver Head country (Montana) by the Sheep Eaters, and surrendered by them to Waushakee on being informed by him of the provisions in the Treaties made last season — Also my Letter to Mr. Mann; wishing such further Instructions may be given him by the Commissioner as the case may require.

This is one of the benefits derived from the Treaties of last year, and shows the determination of Waushakee to maintain peace with the whites . . . .

109

JAMES DUANE DOTY, LATE ACTING SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO
WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1864219

Sir.

Mr Irish, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah Territory, arrived in this City on the 26th of August. He desired me to continue to perform the duties of Superintendent—there being then several parties of Shoshonees and Utes here—until the 31st., which I did; and on that day delivered to him all the public property in my hands belonging to the Indian Department, for which his receipts were taken.

My account and Return, up to that date, will be forwarded in a few days. . . .

218 D/461–1864.
219 D/551–1864.
O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, September 26, 1864

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to make the following report of the condition of Indian affairs within this superintendency, so far as I am able to obtain information in the short time I have been here, less than one month.

I took possession of what property there was on the first of September, and relieved Governor Doty from the further performance of duty as acting superintendent of Indian affairs. . . . [A considerable discussion of Ute affairs follows.]

. . . I have to-day received a telegram from the operator at Shell creek, two hundred miles southwest, that the Indians are gathering in, demanding their annuity goods, and out of humor by reason of the delay. Another despatch from Fort Bridger informs me that Shoshonees are in large numbers at Bear lake, one hundred and forty miles north, impatient because they are not paid, so that they can go to their winter hunting grounds on Wind river.

I also subjoin a copy of a letter handed me the 16th instant, from his excellency Governor Doty and Brigadier General Conner, late commissioner for negotiating the treaties with those Indians, urging me to make some provision to pay them now, and not wait the arrival of the annuity goods:

Great Salt Lake City,
Utah Territory, September 15, 1864.

Sir: The undersigned trust that their long connexion with the Indian service of this Territory will excuse them in addressing you, who have but recently assumed the duties of your office here, on matters which we consider of great importance connected with your department.

—Ed.
You are aware that treaties were made in the year 1863 with the Shoshonee Indians and mixed bands of that nation, by which they were to receive a certain sum annually, in such articles of property and presents as the President of the United States should think best for them.

Our Indian relations, so far as maintaining peace along and in the vicinity of the overland route, and generally throughout this rich mining country, is concerned, have been and still are so delicate, and the interests involved in the preservation of peace so important, that, in our opinion, the greatest care should be taken on the part of the government in strictly complying with its obligations with these Indians.

The time has already passed when they had a right to expect their annuity for this year. They will soon leave for their winter hunting grounds, some four or five hundred miles from this place.
Should they not receive their annuity before their departure, dissatisfaction and disturbance may be the result.

It is understood that the presents that the government is forwarding to them cannot arrive here until quite late in the fall, and so late that it will be impossible to deliver them to the Indians this season.

We therefore respectfully but urgently recommend that you make some other provision to fulfil the obligations assumed by us on behalf of the government in these treaties at an early day, and before they depart for their hunting-grounds.

The peculiar circumstances with which we are surrounded in this country, the fact that we are cut off from communication with the department at Washington, and the generally disturbed condition of the Indians throughout the whole country, will, in our opinion, justify you in assuming the responsibility.

Very respectfully, &c.,

James Duane Doty,
Governor and late Commissioner.
P. Edward Conner,
Hon. O. H. Irish,
Superintendent Indian Affairs.

I have accordingly sent a messenger after Washakee, with a present of some tobacco, and a letter inviting him, with four other chiefs, to come in and consult with me as to what had better be done. I cannot determine until I have seen these Indians, and have so informed Governor Doty and General Conner.

The difficulties of our situation cannot be appreciated by any one not here to share them. I have not received a letter from any eastern correspondent dated since the 6th of last July, and I cannot, owing to the condition of the mails, expect therefore to be advised by you as to what to do in the emergency.

The goods were, I am informed, shipped from Nebraska City about the 18th of August, and I have not heard of them since. They cannot reach their destination before the 18th of November, and that is doubtful, as snow fell in the mountains on the 22d instant, while I travelling between here and the Spanish Fork farm. While I am anxious to keep the peace among the Indians in the mountains, I am still determined not to overreach appropriations and embarrass the department by making it necessary to beg from Congress money to make up deficiencies.

I have written you from time to time, since my arrival in this Territory, as to my movements, and it will be seen that I have not had the opportunity as yet to inform myself fully as to the condition of Indian affairs within this section of the country, as is necessary to making a full report.
After my council with Washakee, I will send such further report as circumstances may require. I will endeavor to make up for the deficiency in this in my subsequent communications.

111

O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, October 1, 1864

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I have this day appointed Dimick Huntington U. S. Indian Interpreter for this office in place of Joseph A. Gebow, removed for selling Indians Liquor, of which offence he has recently been convicted. I have also to inform the Department that I have employed temporally, until Agent [L. P.] Kinney takes possession, George [Washington] Bean as U. S. Indian Interpreter at the Spanish fork Agency to commence his services the 1st of October, in place of Mr. Ellsworth who cannot speak the Utah Language fluently enough for the purpose for which an Interpreter is required at that Agency.

112

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger Agency, October 5, 1864

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the affairs of this agency for the past year. I take pleasure in bearing testimony to the uniform good conduct of the eastern bands of the Shoshonee Indians towards the white citizens living in, as well as all emigrants travelling through, this country during the past year. All with whom I have conversed have expressed a very strong desire to fulfil their treaty obligations, and report to me any depredations committed by any of the tribe with great vigilance. About the first of June a part of Loo-coo-rekah or Sheep-Eater

221 I/696–1864.
Indians stole and brought into camp nineteen head of horses belonging to a part of miners at Beaver head, Montana Territory. Washakee, the chief, informed them that a treaty had been made with the whites. They surrendered the horses to him, and he sent them to Fort Bridger and turned them over to the military authority of the post. A large number of the tribe visited this agency and were very anxious to receive their presents before leaving for their hunting-grounds, (the valley of Wind river.) I was unable, however, to give them any information at what time they would arrive. They were induced to leave the agency without them, under the promise that, should the goods arrive, I would retain them and distribute them in the spring, which appeared to satisfy them. In order that such an occurrence may not again arise, I would recommend that in the future all supplies designed for this agency should be forwarded as early as practicable, that they might reach their destination by the first of August each year. It would thus give the agent time to collect the Indians, who from necessity are scattered over a very large extent of country, distribute their presents, and send them to their hunting-grounds early, thereby enabling them to collect their food for the winter. I have been unable, for the want of proper facilities, to take an enumeration of the Indians under my charge during the present year; from all the information that I have been able to obtain, however, I believe there are about fifteen hundred souls.

The hunting-grounds of the Shoshonee Indians being in a section of country where the whites, during the last year, have been in search of gold, their game is becoming exceedingly scarce, much of it having been killed and a great deal of it driven from the country; hence it will be absolutely necessary in the future to feed them during the winter months. In view, then, of the scattered condition of the Indians, and their almost extreme destitution, I would recommend that some suitable measures be taken to locate them upon a reservation where they might be protected by the government until they could be taught to take care of themselves. I would respectfully urge that an appropriation be made by Congress for that purpose. I am happy to be able to state that the introduction of whiskey has been much less during the past year than formerly; enough, however, still finds its way into the nation to cause considerable trouble. The Indians find no difficulty in procuring what they desire. It is generally obtained in the settlements. My attention has been called to a case that occurred lately in the vicinity of Cache valley, where, to obtain a buffalo-robe, one of the citizens of that locality sold to an Indian whiskey, which caused him to become intoxicated, causing some trouble, and finally in the shooting of the Indian, mortally wounding him. He is at this agency in a very critical condition.

223 [This note credited a reproduction of the Doty map found on p. 318 of this edition. Morgan received the print too late to illustrate the letter which described the map, included as Document 100. The photo subsequently appeared here, later in Morgan's series. —Ed.]
I would most respectfully urge upon the department the necessity of erecting
an agency building. I am at present entirely dependent upon the military
authority of this post for shelter. I have been destitute of an office a large portion
of the year. I would also urge upon your department the necessity of furnishing
the agent with an ambulance and mules for the use of his agency. I would ask for
an appropriation of $2,000 for the above purposes. . . .

O. H. IRISH, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT
SALT LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 13, 1864

Sir
I would respectfully call your attention to that portion of my Annual Report
made under date of the 26th of Sept. last, which refers to the matter of paying
the ShoShonies their Annuity Goods; You will observe therein that I had sent for
Washakee the principal Chief to see what arrangements could be made to enable
them to reach their hunting grounds.

I have now the honor to report that Washakee finally came in after a good
deal of difficulty to Fort Bridger, and then in company with one other Indian and
Agent Mann he took the stage and came into the city.

He refuses absolutely to start on the hunt now at all, says he cannot go over
the Mountains with his Women and Children, it is too cold; That they are afraid
of the Souixs, and that they will leave their families in the vicinity of Ft Bridger
for safety, and will hunt in that neighborhood and do the best they can, but that
they depended upon their Great Father helping them to live now that the White
Man have driven off their game and that he must give them some provisions for
the Winter or they will starve.

224 I/707–1864.
225 Mann to Irish, Dec. 3, 1864, Estimate of funds . . . for the quarter ending December 31,
1864, an enclosure in Irish to Dole, Dec. 23, 1864 (I/765–1864), has among the items:
Expence in Sending Messenger to Washakee 22 50
Fare of Washakee to Salt Lake & Back 60 00
Fare on One other Indian “ “ “ “ 60 00
Fare of Myself to Salt Lake & Back 60 00
Expense incurred on round Trip 37 00
The exact date does not appear.
He further says that they do not need all of the presents in Blankets, Calicoes, Shirts, &c. That they want provisions first and Clothing next; He insists upon this. Agent Mann [Acting] Governor [Amos] Reed and all others whom I have had the opportunity of consulting, and who are familiar with the matter say that Washakie is right; That they must have help in Subsistance, that there is not game enough to sustain them in the country.

I have urged as earnestly as possible, that they Should go to their hunting grounds, but it is of no avail, and useless to say more; I told them that the Great Father had sent them goods of such things as he thought best for them, and that when they arrived, I would see that they received them; He again said that they did not want them all, wanted me to keep back part of the goods, and give them something to eat, that they did not want to hear Blankets again but wanted meat—This was his answer to all my propositions, and I promised to lay the matter before you, and ask you for your instructions by Telegraph.

He went away apparently greatly dissatisfied at not having some understandingroy.

I am entirely satisfied that we will be under the necessity of furnishing those Indians provisions; and that the cost of doing so should come out of their Annuity, for if taken out of the funds for “Incidental Expenses of the Indian Service in Utah” it would be drawing directly from the resources upon which we must depend for aiding those Indians who receive no stated Annuities from Government, and who have claims as just and urgent as the Shoshonies.

The [blank] ShoShonies are entitled to $10,000 in presents, this is double the amount in proportion to their numbers, which we will under present approp[ar]iations be able to give the other Indians of this Superintendency.

I would therefore respectfully request that $4,000, from the appropriations for the “Incidental Expenses of the Indian Service in Utah” be set aside for the purpose of furnishing them provisions, and that this amount of goods be taken out of those sent to them and distributed among the Indians who would otherwise have to be provided with goods from the appropriation out of which the $4,000. is taken.

This would be fulfilling the Treaty Stipulations by giving them the $10,000 in presents as follows. Viz. $6,000. in goods $4,000. in provisions; And the withdrawal of this sum from the resources of the Department for aiding the Southern Indians would be made good by permitting me to retain that amount out of the goods originally intended for the ShoShonies, and distributing them to the other Indians not provided for by Treaties as their necessities required it.

This plan if admissable will enable us to comply with the demands of these Indians, quiet all apprehensions of difficulties from that source, and at the same time avoid any danger of increased liabilities. Agent Mann says that he can help them through the Winter with that Sum.
I promised the Indians that I would ask you to Telegraph me whether I might do this or not. It is highly important that I should receive an answer as soon as possible; So earnest were they in the matter that they refused all presents for the people except provisions. Refused even some small presents I offered them individually; I desire however to say in their favor that they gave not the slightest intimation of an unfriendly spirit; They evidently feel that the necessities of their people are such that they should make the request, and persist in it even if they seemed obstinate; They tried to make this apparent in such a manner as to give me no offence.

I have written the foregoing in the absence of any official information, as to the quantity of goods purchased, but upon what Hon J F. Kinney, told me at Nebraska City, you intended doing, Viz. Expending in the purchase of goods, all of the appropriations of $16,000 made for fulfilling the obligations of the Treaties negotiated by Governor Doty, Ten Thousand going to the ShoShonies, $6000 to other Indians.

I presume the same question will occur as to those to whom the $6,000. is to be paid; they will want provisions in part, and the same necessity will exist in their case, as there does in this they have not talked with me directly upon this subject; but enough has been said to satisfy me that they will make the same demands; I have simply informed them that when the wagons come, I would go and see them, and give them their goods; That they should be patient, and make an honest living until then.

If I am misinformed, and you are not sending the whole amount in goods, and there are unexpended balances of the appropriations made for carrying out these Treaties, I would urgently request that said balances be at once placed at my disposal for Winter is upon us, and arrangements must be made now, and I cannot buy on credit in this market.

It is during the approaching winter months we will need the most of the funds for the remainder of the fiscal year for all purposes; save the settlements of the Indians in the Uinta Valley, and the regular and contingent expenses of the Service; from the 15th of October to the 1st of June is the time when provisions, and clothing are more necessary than at any other season of the year; with the appropriations made by Congress, if I can have them to expend from time to time, as circumstances may require, I am confident peace will be maintained within this Superintendency, and the Indians will feel the practical benefits of the humane policy of the Indian Department.

I am greatly embarrassed from the want of Mail facilities, I have received no letter from the Indian office since the 6th of July; No information from Indian Goods. We are informed that the route is open, but I don't see it at present writing; we get no Mails, and I presume some of these will never come to hand.
The press of business is such that we will not be able to depend upon them for some time; Hence I would the more urgently request (that I may act understandingly in all of these matters) information by Telegraph as follows. Viz. How much funds can be placed to my credit with the Assistant Treasurer in New York under the following appropriations, Viz.

1st For paying Annuities under the Treaties negotiated by Governor Doty.
2nd For the “Incidental Expenses of the Indian Service in Utah.”
3rd The appropriation for deficiency under which it was understood arrangements were to be made for transportation of 1000 Sacks of Flour. Having no Mails I am not informed whether arrangements were made for the purpose of purchasing, and transporting it or not, if it has not been done I can use the money to advantage here; will buy some flour, but principally wheat and have the Indians boil it, if the suggestion meets your approval.

By responding by Telegraph to these questions, referring to them as they are numbered, I can with the copy of this letter before me understand your wishes.226

In this connection I beg leave to say that we are called upon to minister in this Superintendency to the wants of Indians residing not only within its limits but numerous bands roaming on the frontiers in the adjoining Territories not understanding jurisdiction; They seem to make this a central point, not being governed at all by the boundary lines of the Territories as designated by the laws of Congress but by the natural divisions of the country marked out by the Rivers, and Mountains which they have for Generations regarded as the boundaries of the lands belonging to their respective Tribes, and though this throws them principally into other Territories, yet because a corner of the land they claim to occupy runs into my jurisdiction they consider themselves under my care, and do not in any instance as I can learn seem to know that they should apply to other Indian Authorities over the Mountains, East or West. . . .

226 The Commissioner wired Irish on November 10 and wrote him on Nov. 14 to say that $4,000 had been placed to his credit in New York, and he could apply that amount in provisions for the Shoshoni in place of the same amount in goods. In effect, he would buy $4,000 in provisions from the fund for Incidental Expenses of his Superintendency, and trade it for the same amount of goods bought with Shoshoni annuity funds, distributing such goods to his non-Shoshoni Indians. Office of Indian Affairs, Record Copies of Letters Sent, vol. 75, 411, 427–28.
Sir: I have the honor to herewith enclose the annual report of Agent Luther Mann, jr., received at this office on the 15th instant.\textsuperscript{228}

I would respectfully recommend to the favorable consideration of the department that portion of his report referring to the locating of the Shoshonees on a reservation. The Indians, in all this mountain country, cannot live any longer by hunting; the game has disappeared, the old hunting-grounds are occupied by our people to their exclusion. We must instruct them, therefore, in some other way of making a living than the chase, or else support them ourselves in idleness, or leave them to prey upon the emigration pouring into the country. For starving Indians will steal, pillage, murder, and plunge the frontier, from time to time, into all the horrors of savage warfare. Thus the country demands from government defence, retribution, and often the extermination of the starving savages, at a cost of millions of dollars to the national treasury, when thousands would have sufficed if placed in the hands of the Indian department to be used in settling them in homes and instructing them in the peaceful arts of industry.

The farmer, with the plough, hoe, and axe, will, if used at the first, be more efficient in keeping peace on our frontier than the soldier with cannon, muskets, and bayonets. With the tribes in these mountains, the first means should be directed to locating them on reservations, and I feel that we cannot too strongly recommend the policy suggested by Agent Mann as to the Shoshonees, but that it should be carried out as to all the tribes in these mining Territories. Herein lies economy, peace and safety. . . .

\textsuperscript{227} 38th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 315.
\textsuperscript{228} See Document 112.
Brig. Gen. P. Edward Connor to O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Head Quarters District of Utah, Camp Dougless, Utah Territory, near Great Salt Lake City November 4, 1864

Sir

I have to inform you that I have this day received a letter from Ben Holladay Esq. Proprietor of the Northern [Overland] Stage Line, on whose complaint the Indian Chief “Pocatello” was arrested by me. Mr. Holladay informs me that on further examination he finds that the alleged offences of “Pocatello” are not of that serious character he at first apprehended and understood them to be, and requests that no further action be taken by me.

Under those circumstances, I deem it proper to transfer the prisoner “Pocatello” to you, for such action in the premises, under the treaty and the laws, as you may regard necessary to maintain friendly relations with the Indian tribes and for the prompt punishment of offenders. . . .

O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, November 9, 1864

Sir

Referring to my communication of the 29th ulto, I have the honor to report that Genl. Connor has sent the Indian Chief, “Pocatello” to the office, with a letter explaining his reasons for so doing, a copy of which I herewith enclose.

The Northern Bands of the Shoshonees upon learning of Genl Connors intention of hanging Pocatello had gone to the Mountains with an intention of preparing for war as soon as he was turned over to me I sent him to Box Elder [Brigham City] from which point he will start in search of his people and will bring them to Box Elder to meet me in Council next week.

I/735–1864, Enclosure, marked “Copy” [with Document 116].

I/735–1864.
If the Military authorities will allow me to manage these Indians without any further interference, I am satisfied that by a judicious use of the appropriations made I can maintain peace.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 15, 1864 (extract)\textsuperscript{231}

UTAH SUPERINTENDENCY.

At the date of my last annual report advices of the negotiation of treaties of peace and friendship with several of the tribes of Indians of Utah, as well as of Idaho, whose range lies along the great overland route, had been received, and the annual report of Governor Doty, in relation to the affairs of his superintendency, and particularly in reference to these treaties, was received in time to be published in the Appendix. In addition to the treaties, verbal or written, referred to in my last report, as having been already made, and from which great good was expected to result in securing a peaceable transit of emigrants throughout the great routes of travel, two other treaties were forwarded by Governor Doty, under date of October 21, 1863, having been effected by him, in conjunction with General Conner, commanding the United States forces in Utah Territory, to whose energy and good judgment, combined with the bravery of his troops in their previous operations against the Indians, great credit is due, as having impressed the latter with a wholesome idea of the power of the white man, and disposed them to seek for peace. The two treaties referred to were made - the one October 12, 1863, at Tuilla valley, with the Shoshonee bands of the Goship tribe, and the other October 14, at Soda Springs, Idaho Territory, with the mixed bands of Shoshonees and Bannacks, of Snake River valley. After negotiating these two treaties, Governor Doty and General Conner had the pleasure of announcing that there remained no hostile tribe along the routes of travel to Nevada and California. In a later letter from Governor Doty, much valuable information is given in relation to the various bands and tribes of Indians whom he had visited, and with whom he had treated, and an approximate estimate of their numbers is given.

The various treaties thus made were transmitted to the Senate in due course. They were all returned from the Senate, confirmed, but with amendments, which amendments were forwarded to Governor Doty with instructions to obtain the assent of the Indians to them. There is not in our files any acknowledgment by

\textsuperscript{231} 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1220), 160–61.
him of their receipt, neither does Superintendent Irish, who succeeded Governor Doty, allude to them in his report. In the letter of instructions sent with the amendments to the treaties, it was suggested that, inasmuch as there existed no appropriation to defray the expenses of getting the Indians together to obtain their consent thereto, the object might be attained at the time of the payment of their annuities.

The subject of abandoning the several small reservations in Utah, and concentrating the Indians upon one large reservation, known as the Uintah valley, has been frequently urged upon the attention of this office, but for want of proper information as to the locality and its resources, and on account of the hostility of and pending military operations against, several of the tribes, nothing has yet been accomplished in that direction. In January, 1864, a memorial was received from the legislature of Utah, asking that the smaller reservations might be surveyed and opened to the whites for settlement, and by the act of Congress approved May 5, 1864, provision was made for their survey, and for the permanent reservation of Uintah valley as a home for the Indians of Utah. An appropriation of $30,000 was also made for the purpose of preparing homes on the reserve for those Indians who should be removed to it, and for aiding them in becoming self-supporting, by means of agriculture. The Uintah valley had been by order of the President, as recommended by his office, set apart for the exclusive occupation of the Indians as long ago as October, 1861, but in the imperfect geographical knowledge of the country, its exact limits could not be defined. The tract set apart by following what are supposed to be dividing ridges, so as to include the whole region traversed and drained by the Uintah river and its upper branches down to its junction with the Green river, is understood to be ample in extent, containing two million acres, abounding in valleys of great fertility, with all the necessary water-power for mills, and having an abundance of timber; indeed, as being admirably adapted for the purposes of a large Indian reservation. Many of the Indians exhibit a desire to be placed upon it, and undertake in earnest the pursuit of agriculture. A difficulty presents itself in the want of accurately surveyed lines, so that, by the exclusion of whites from them, the Indians may be left in undisturbed possession, and I recommend that application be made to Congress for an appropriation for the purpose of making this survey; but meantime the superintendent has been directed to warn all white settlers now on the tract to leave it, (describing it as fully as possible,) and to notify all other white persons, who may be found upon the reservation when its limits shall be definitely established, that they will be required to remove. The superintendent has further been instructed to prepare and submit, as soon as possible, a plan for removing the Indians from the old reservations to the Uintah valley. It is confidently expected that the most gratifying results will follow the
completion of the plans thus set on foot for the concentration of the Indians in their new homes.

Superintendent Irish, who succeeded Governor Doty in charge of Indian affairs in this Territory, did not arrive at Great Salt Lake City until August 25, having waited some time at Nebraska city, in the expectation of taking with him the annuity goods, upon the prompt distribution of which much seemed to depend in regard to preserving peace with the Indians. It is to be regretted that, in consequence of apprehended danger of Indian hostilities upon the plains, the goods were not shipped from Nebraska city until late in August, and were therefore not expected to arrive at their destination in less than three months, if indeed they are not delayed on the way until spring. Some apprehension is therefore felt lest the Indians, who have kept their faith and observed the terms of the treaties made with them, should become dissatisfied and hostile, some symptoms of such feeling having exhibited themselves already; and the superintendent was urged by Governor Doty and General Conner to make, if possible, some temporary arrangements in advance of the arrival of the goods, so as to prevent an outbreak. At the last dates received Mr. Irish had sent presents to the principal chief, and invited him, with four others, to come and see him, when, it was hoped, some satisfactory arrangement would be effected.

James Duane Doty, Commissioner, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, November 25, 1864

Sir:—On the 18th of this month the Northwestern Bands of Shoshones were met by Col. Irish and myself, by invitation, at Box Elder in this Territory; and their Treaty as amended was submitted to them, and their assent was given to the proposed Amendments of the Senate, by adding Article 5 to the Treaty; and their Agreement, duly executed according to your Instructions, is herewith transmitted.

One of the principal men who signed the Treaty, and whose name does not appear to this agreement, died during the past year; and another was absent on a hunt, as was reported.

There was however, between four and five hundred of these Bands present, who gave their assent freely to the Senate’s Amendment, and joyfully participated in the annuity provided by the Treaty. It is believed the only individuals of these

Bands who were absent on this occasion, were those of five lodges—to one of which it is supposed the absent chief belonged—on the Goose Creek Mountains, who refused last year to unite with these in their Treaty. With these Lodges it is hoped the Superintendent may be instructed to open negotiations during the winter, or spring, as they are on the northern California road, and near the newly traveled road to Boisé from this City.

The Treaty with the Shoshonee-Goship Bands, as ratified by the Senate, was submitted to those Bands at Tuilla Valley on the 24th instant; and their assent was given to the Senate Amendment by an Agreement adding Article 8 to the Treaty, which was duly executed by the Chiefs and principal men, according to your Instructions, and is herewith transmitted. Harrynup, who signed the Treaty had died last winter; and Dick Moni, one of their principal and best young men, now signed in his stead as a chief.

Col. Irish as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in this Territory, joined by my invitation in these Councils and negotiations; and the funds for holding intercourse with these Bands being in his hands—none having been received by me for this special service—he has paid all of the expenses incurred.

The North Eastern Bands of Shoshonees who were treated with at Fort Bridger, and the mixed Bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees treated with at Soda Springs, had left for their Buffalo hunt near the Wind river Mountains in the Territory attached to Nebraska, before the arrival of the Superintendent; and it is not probable they can be met until Spring, when the Senates amendments will be submitted to them; and from what I have learned of their feelings have no doubt of their acceptance. They could not be negotiated with at an earlier day, for the reasons stated in my Letter to the Commissioner of the 13th, of June last. . . .

1865

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[Certificates of Issue, 1865][233]

[The Utah Field Papers for 1866 contain three certificates of issue for the first three quarters of 1865. The first, signed by Jack Robertson, Interpreter, and Harry

233 The record does not show whether there was any extensive distribution of provisions to the Shoshoni in the winter of 1864–65. Any major distribution presumably would have been through Superintendent Irish. Issues of wheat and a beef ox by Mann, as attested herewith, were too slight to have much bearing on the problems with had preoccupied Irish in the autumn of 1864.
Dale L. Morgan, Editor

Rickard, Fort Bridger Agency, March 29, 1865, certifies that they were present at the distribution by Agent Luther Mann of certain articles. The issue dates were Jan. 16, 29, Feb. 8, and March 5, 1865, and were for various dry goods except for 2 bushels of wheat on Jan. 16, the same on Jan. 29, 4 bushels on Feb. 8, and on March 5 a beef ox and 6 bushels of wheat. On the verso of this document appears the certificate: “We the undersigned Chiefs Head Men and Delegates of the Eastern Bands of ShoShonee Indians and duly authorized by them to represent Said Bands do hereby Certify that we have received from Luther Mann Jr. U. S. Indian agent the Within named Goods and Provisions being a portion of the amount due our Said Bands for the Year A. D 1864 under the Fifth article of Out Treaty made with the United States at Fort Bridger U. T. dated the Second day of July A D. 1863.” Dated “Fort Bridger Agency U. T. July 16th 1866,” and signed by mark by Washakee, Wanapitz, Toopsapowet, Pantoshiga, Narkawk, Taboonshea, Neeranga, Tortsaph, and Bazil.

[A second such certificate, for the second quarter, 1865, attested by Jack Robertson, Interpreter, and L. B. Chapman, shows issues on April 10, 26, May 7, and June 20, exclusively of dry goods, certified by the same chiefs, July 16, 1866. A certificate for the third quarter, signed by Robertson and P.[?] V. Lauderdale, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. A., attests issues on Sept. 17, 1865, all of dry goods except 54 bushels of wheat and 94 lbs. of tobacco. Again signed by the chiefs, July 16, 1866.]

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O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 4, 1865

Sir

Yesterday (3rd inst) I received the following telegram from Agent Mann Jr at Fort Bridger, Viz “I learned this morning that a large party of the ShoShonees are preparing to leave that Agency for the purpose of fighting the hostile Indians who are Engaged in committing depredations on the Overland Mail Line and Telegraph Lines, Shall I permit them to leave if I can avoid them? Please answer at once and oblige Washa-Kie and his band here.”

I answered immediately as follows “With the concurrence of and by placing themselves under direction of the Military Authorities I am willing they should fight the bad Indians. Let them be good Soldiers that the Great Father may think well of them.”

234 I/1254–1865.
I have entire confidence in the fidelity and efficiency of the ShoShonee Indians and believe they will do good service at this time. . . .

O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to D. N. Cooley,* Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, September 9, 1865 (extract)235

Sir: I have the honor to submit my annual report of the general condition of Indian affairs within the Utah superintendency for the past year.

The tribes included within this superintendency are the eastern and northwestern bands of Shoshonees and the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, the Goships, the Cum-umbahs, the Utahs, Utes, Pah Vants, Pi Edes, and Pah Utes.

The Shoshonees.

The eastern bands of Shoshonees and mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees number upwards of four thousand souls. These bands are under the control of Wash-a-kee, the finest appearing Indian I have ever seen. He is justly regarded as a firm friend of the government and the whites, and steadily refuses to hold communication with bad Indians. He offered his services with his warriors to fight against the hostile Indians on the plains, as I informed you by letter of the 4th ultimo.

The treaty negotiated by Governor Doty, at Fort Bridger, on the 2d day of July, 1863, was with the eastern bands of the Shoshonee Indians.

The treaty negotiated at Soda Springs on the fourteenth day of October, of the same year, was with the mixed bands of the Bannacks and Shoshonees, in which it was agreed that the latter bands should share in the annuity provided for by the Fort Bridger treaty with the eastern bands. These Indians have not, since the making of the treaties referred to, received their presents as promptly as they expected them, owing to the burning of some of the goods on the plains, and the lateness of the season when the balance were received for last year, it being after most of the Indians had gone on their winter hunt. This year, all but the old men and some of the women and children have gone on the hunt without their presents, for fear they would suffer the same disappointment as last year, the goods not having come to hand yet, and there being no prospect of their arrival until


the snow falls in the mountains. These bands range through the northeastern portion of Utah Territory and that portion of southern Idaho lying along and south of Snake river. They generally inhabit the Wind River country and the headwaters of the North Platte and Missouri Rivers. Their principal subsistence is the buffalo, which they hunt during the fall, winter and spring, on which they subsist during that time, and return in the summer to Fort Bridger and Great Salt Lake City to trade their robes, furs, &c., for such articles as they desire and can obtain in the market. The only portion of their country suited for agricultural purposes is Wind River valley, in which they are desirous that government should set aside a reservation for them.

These Indians do not properly belong to this superintendency, their country being north and northeast of Utah, principally in Idaho Territory and Wyoming. The only portion of their country suited for agricultural purposes is Wind River valley, in which they are desirous that government should set aside a reservation for them.

The Northwestern Shoshonees.

There are three bands of Indians known as the northwestern bands of the Shoshonees, commanded by three chiefs, Pocatello, Black Beard, and San Pitch, not under the control of Wash-a-kee; they are very poor, and number about fifteen hundred; they range through the Bear River [and] lake, Cache and Malade valleys, and Goose Creek mountains, Idaho Territory, and should be under charge of the superintendent of Indian affairs for that Territory. They come into Box Elder and the northern settlements, within this Territory, for the purpose of living off the people, but their country is almost entirely outside of our limits.

Governor Doty negotiated a treaty with them at Box Elder, Utah, on the 30th day of July, 1863, by which the government agreed to pay them a yearly annuity of five thousand dollars ($5,000.) They have kept the treaty, as a general thing; but, owing to their country being so much of it occupied by the whites, the game almost entirely destroyed and driven away, they suffer frequently from hunger, and I have been compelled to assist them a great deal during the past winter, or else they might have felt themselves compelled to commit depredations upon the stock of settlers in order to keep themselves and families from starving.

236 One of the earliest allusions to Wyoming by its present name. The previous January a Pennsylvanian, James M. Ashley, had introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to provide “a temporary government for the Territory of Wyoming,” referred by the House to the Committee on Territories. So late in the session, the bill never got out of committee. Abortive proposals in 1866 and 1867 were for a Territory of Lincoln, but the name Wyoming was revived when on the initiative of the Senate a Territory was actually created in 1868.
I made an arrangement early in the winter with the leading citizens of the northern portion of the Territory to employ chief Black Beard and his band to herd their cattle, and pay him in flour and beef. This, with relief I furnished enabled them to get through the winter.

But they should be attached to an agency in Idaho, and instructed in farming. They would like a reservation on the Snake river, in the southwestern corner of Idaho.\textsuperscript{237} Though they are called Shoshonees, they are an entirely separate and distinct people from those under the control of Wash-a-kee, and while they are friendly they are not disposed to associate together…\textsuperscript{238}

\section*{122}

\textbf{Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger Agency, September 28, 1865}\textsuperscript{239}

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to affairs at this agency during the past year:

The Territory over which my surveillance extends is bounded on the north by Snake river, east by the Sweet Water and North Platte rivers, south by Yampa and Bear mountains, and west by the valley of Salt lake.\textsuperscript{240} The Indians occupying this tract are known as the eastern band of the Shoshonee tribe, under the acknowledged leadership of Wash-a-kee, an Indian chieftain who has never been known to have held hostile relations with the whites, and who, when a portion

\textsuperscript{237} Such a reservation was never set aside. President Andrew Johnson, by Executive Order on June 14, 1867, had created a reservation for the Boise and Bruneau bands of Shoshones and Bannocks,

Commencing on the south bank of Snake River at the junction of the Port Neuf River with said Snake River; thence south 25 miles to the summit of the mountains dividing the waters of the Bear River from those of Snake River; thence easterly along the summit of said range of mountains 20 miles to a point where the Sublette road crosses said divide; thence north about 50 miles to Blackfoot River; thence down Snake River to the place of beginning.

This, the Fort Hall Reservation, embracing about 1,800,000 acres as estimated, was situated in southeastern rather than southwestern Idaho, and it was here that the so-called mixed bands of Shoshoni and Bannacks were eventually located.

\textsuperscript{238} Irish's further remarks, on the Goships or Goshua Utes, Cumumbahs or Weber Utes, Utahs, Pi Edes, and Pah Utes are omitted in the present printing.

\textsuperscript{239} 39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1248), 326–28.
of his tribe deserted him to join a band of insurrectionists, remained firm in his allegiance, though bound to keep the peace by no treaty stipulations.

In my report of last year I estimated the number of these Indians at fifteen hundred souls. No enumeration could be made this year, but from the best data I am able to obtain I should set the population at eighteen hundred—men, women, and children. In addition to the natural increase by births, there have been additions from neighboring tribes by old deserters coming back, and those individuals who, attracted by Wash-a-kee's rising home [i.e., fame?] have cast their lot with him.

This tribe is entirely nomadic; and there being no reservation on land which they can call their own, they spend about eight months of the year among the Wind river mountains and in the valleys of the Wind river, Big Horn and Yellowstone. Here they subsist entirely by chase—buffalo, deer, elk, and the mountain sheep affording them their only food. They are tolerably well provided with comfortable lodges, perhaps one hundred and fifty in all. They clothe themselves almost exclusively with the skins of the deer, sheep, and buffalo, made into garments of a style peculiarly their own. The leggings and breech-cloth are not very soon to be replaced by the pantaloons worn by the whites. I observe a marked improvement each year in their means of protection against the inclemency of the weather. This people have never turned their attention to agricultural pursuits, nor can it be expected of them until they are placed upon a reservation where they can have the necessary protection. If they are not provided with such a home, they are destined to remain outside of those influences which are calculated to civilize or christianize them, as has been done in many parts of our country to tribes not one whit more susceptible of being rendered useful members of society. Wild Indians, like wild horses, must be corralled upon reservations. There they can be brought to work, and soon will become a self-supporting people, earning their own living by their industry, instead of trying to pick up a bare subsistence by the chase, or stealing from neighboring tribes with whom they hold hostile relations. 

As I have said, this tribe live entirely by hunting wild animals, because their only source of revenue is derived from the sale of skins. The result of the past year's hunt might be stated approximately at eight hundred buffalo robes, five

240 As Mann describes his jurisdiction, it extends far beyond the boundaries of Utah Territory on the north and east, the jurisdiction being tribal rather than geographical, except that he leaves out of account the Wind River country where the Shoshoni now lived most of the year.

241 The history of a tribe even so peaceably disposed as the Shoshoni, as brought out in these documents, shows that the acculturation of Plains Indians was far more difficult than such idealism as Mann’s could well comprehend.
hundred beaver skins, and four hundred elk and mountain sheep skins. These products of their only industry are either bartered with other tribes for ponies, or with white traders for small articles of merchandise—paint, beads, and trinkets.

The Shoshonees are friendly with the Bannacks, their neighbors on the north, and with the Utes on the south, but are hostile toward the tribes on their eastern boundary, viz: Sioux, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Crows, between whom there is more or less stealing continually going on. Wash-a-kee feels himself too weak to engage in any aggressive movements against either of these tribes, but says that if he should be attacked he would give them battle. When the tribe arrived at this agency, in June last, some fifty of the braves hearing of General Connor’s expedition against the Sioux, presented themselves armed and equipped, eager to join the troops in a campaign against their old foes. The lack of a suitable military organization moving from this point alone prevented the acceptance of their services.

The sanitary condition of the tribe is good; no epidemics have visited them and vaccination never has been thought necessary. They mingle so seldom with the whites that they are not exposed to their diseases. Pulmonary affections are infrequent, and deaths from any cause whatever are comparatively rare.

On the seventeenth of this month I turned over to Wash-a-kee the annuity goods for last year, which came too late for delivery. These, consisting of blankets, calicoes, butcher knives and tobacco, were distributed to the most needy ones, and seemed to give universal satisfaction. The time had arrived for the tribes to return to their hunting grounds and make preparations for winter, or I should have insisted on their remaining until the goods for the present year came to hand, which would have made their outfit more complete.

It affords me pleasure in stating that the Indians belonging to this district are peaceable and well disposed; that all their acts have been in strict accordance with

Indian troubles, rising in intensity through the sixties, led the War Department in March, 1865, to merge the districts of Utah, Colorado, and Nebraska into a single District of the Plains, with General Connor in command. He garrisoned key posts along the overland trail, and after a number of bitter local engagements, in one of which Lieut. Caspar W. Collins met a celebrated death, sent four columns north into the Sioux country. This “Powder River Expedition,” as it has become known, has a complex history but was on the whole a failure. Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool wrote a detailed account of the campaign in The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest, and the Fights with Red Cloud’s Warriors, 2 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1922), 1: 131–200, 237–61; and another appears in Rogers, Soldiers of the Overland, 146–246. Col. Rogers (pp. 244–45) contributes a military critique of the campaign, and on p. 167 notes from a contemporary Denver newspaper Washakie’s premature judgment, voiced at the outset of the expedition, that the hostile Indians could not escape. Washakie’s interest in a successful campaign is evident from what is said in various of our documents concerning pressure upon his people in this climactic era of Sioux power on the Plains.
the friendly relations which have heretofore existed between themselves and the white resident population of this Territory, as well as those passing through. In many instances they have aided persons seeking to develop the mineral resources of the country by pointing out valuable deposits of silver and coal or oil springs.

No outbreak has come to my knowledge; few, if any, trespasses have been committed, and no incursions have been made by them, and I am proud to say that they remain true to their treaty stipulations.

Some dissatisfaction has been expressed by them that the annuity goods do not reach this agency in time enough for distribution to let them get to their winter hunting grounds before the snow prevents their progress thither. I would therefore urge upon the department the recommendation made in my last annual report, that all goods designed for this place be shipped at the earliest practicable moment, in order that they may reach the agency in time for such distribution.

I would again most respectfully urge upon the department the necessity of erecting an agency building. I am at present entirely dependent upon the military authority of this post for shelter. I would also urge upon your department the necessity of furnishing the agent with a pair of mules for his ambulance. . . .

O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, October 9, 1865

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of 13th ulto granting me leave of absence to visit Nebraska and Washington in which I am requested to advise you of the probable time of my arrival in the latter place.

I am at this time unable to say when I can in justice to the public service leave, but will advise you as soon as I can do so. The delay in the reception of the annuity goods is going to operate more unfavorable than I anticipated. We have had heavy snows in the mountains already, and a large proportion of our goods are now, as near as I can learn at least 400 miles distant. One train is expected here in

243 Troops had been stationed in the Fort Bridger area since the fall of 1857, and a military reservation was created in 1859. Most of the troops were withdrawn in 1861, with the outbreak of the Civil War, but a sergeant’s guard remained, and in December, 1862, the post was re-garrisoned by Connor. Fort Bridger was maintained as an army post till 1890.

244 1/1347–1865.
about five days, whether I will receive by it a sufficient assortment of goods so that I can proceed to distribute, I will not be able to determine until it arrives.

The North Western Sho-Shonees are now in the neighborhood of Box Elder waiting for their annuities and if the goods are not on this train, I do not see any other way for us to do than to get goods to supply deficiencies of the merchants here, to be paid for out of the goods to arrive. If I do not make some such arrangement I must either subsist these Indians, until the goods come which our limited resources will not warrant or send them away without them which they would regard as a violation of the treaty.

The Eastern Bands of ShosShonees have gone to their hunting grounds. I arranged with them satisfactorily. I gave them presents amounting to $2,487. and then they proceeded to Fort Bridger where Agent Mann gave them what goods he had over from last year, and they were satisfied with the assurance that they would receive the balance of their annuities for the year, on their return next spring.

I am informed that the unforeseen delay in the arrival of the goods is occasioned by the difficulties on the plains that the train was attacked by hostile Indians and some of the stock run off, and one man killed.

Under ordinary circumstances the goods cannot be got here as early as the necessities of the service requires them, so long as the present plan of transportation is adhered to. In this connection I beg leave to refer you to my letter of the 30th of January 1865 and other communications referred to therein as well as to my annual report dated the 9th of September last. . . .

O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Washington, D. C., December 15, 1865

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a Treaty made with the Eastern bands of Sho-Sho-ne Indians, in which they give their assent to the amendment proposed by the Senate on the 7th of March AD 1864, to the Treaty made and concluded at Ft Bridger Utah Territory on the 2d day of July AD 1863, by and between the said Indians and the United States, represented by James Duane Doty and Luther Mann Jr. Commissioners. . . .

[Endorsement:] Enclosure sent to Secretary with report May 31, 1869.

245 I/1393–1865.
O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Washington, D. C., March 2, 1866

Sir

I would respectfully suggest that a large Medal [inserted with caret, apparently in another hand: of President Johnson] be given to Washakee the principle Chief of the Shosho-nees. There is no more deserving Chief Among all the Indians—

I have a safe opportunity of transmitting it to him by the hand of W A Carter Esq Special Mail Agent for Utah. . . .

O. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Nebraska City, N. T., April 3, 1866

Sir.

I have the honor to herewith transmit the original Treaty, negotiated with the Eastern Band of the Shoshonee Indians which was recently found among the late Gov. Doty’s papers and forwarded to me here. . . .

[Endorsement:] Treaty and amendments sent J. Duane Doty Mar 18 1864
[Endorsement:] treaty sent to Secretary with report May 31, 1869

246 I/128–1866.
247 I/222–1866.
248 Governor Doty died in office in Great Salt Lake City June 13, 1865. As an exception among Territorial officials, he had been liked by the Mormon people, who would also have been gratified had Irish been appointed his successor. For the Indian Office memorandum filed with the present letter, see Document 90, note 189. (Annals of Wyoming 28, no. 2 (Oct. 1956): 205 [p. 303 in this volume].)
Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, June 9, 1866

Dear Sir

. . . I have word this Morning that Washakee the Head Chief of the Eastern Band of Sho.Shonee Indians will be here this Week I Should be much pleased to receive your Contemplated Visit on his arrival or the arrival of the Goods designed for this agency I have nothing to feed them on their arrival and stay at this place. It would be very desirable that the Goods for this agency should reach here at the Earliest practicable opportunity as it will be impossible for them to subsist for any length of time in this locality. . . .

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, Telegram dated June 14, 1866

By Telegraph from Bridger

WashaKee the Head Chief of Eastern Bands Shoshonee Indians Arrived this morning

249 Utah Field Papers, 1866.
250 Utah Field Papers, 1866.
251 While at Fort Bridger on this visit, Washakie and other Shoshoni chiefs acknowledged certain issues made the tribe in 1865. See Document 119.
129

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, Telegram dated June 18, 1866

By Telegraph from Bridger
Washakee desires to know if the ute Indians are friendly—

130

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, July 26, 1866

Sir

The Within Bill of Provisions was received by Mr James on his departure from this place you will please retain from any Money due him the amount and remit by letter $14.50

The following amount was furnished James and the Indians with him on their arrival here the day you left Bridger Sugar Tea Bread Beef Amounting to $10.50 which was paid for by me if that amount Could be paid for by you it would relieve me please write me on the Subject and greatly Oblige. . . .

131

F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 13, 1866

Sir-

Washakee, the chief of the Eastern Bands of Shoshonees, with some 300 of his men came in a few days since to make me a visit. He wears about his neck

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252 Utah Field Papers, 1866.
253 Utah Field Papers, 1866.
the medal which you sent him by Judge Carter of Ft. Bridger and with which he
is exceedingly pleased—The enclosed photograph [not present] was taken at
the time of his visit, and is a very good likeness. He is by far the noblest look-
ing Indian I have ever seen, and his record is untarnished by a single mean
action- In your last report you recommend that medals be given Washakee
and Kanosh Chief of the PahVents who is equally deserving of such a testimo-
nial, or present.255 I beg you will send me a medal to be presented to Kanosh.
I shall visit his tribe in about six weeks if the new goods arrive when I expect
them and would like to take it with me—It would be safely transmitted by
mail. . . .

132

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to F. H. Head, Supt.
of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger
Agency, September 15, 1866256

Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the
honor to submit the following report relative to the affairs of this agency:

About the 20th of September, 1865, the season being far advanced and game
scarce, the Shoshones immediately set out for their winter hunting grounds
across the mountains, if possible to reach there before the snow fell.

The whole tribe accompanied Chief Washakee thither, with the exception of
five or ten lodges, who passed the winter on Green river, about fifty miles from
here, where they subsisted on the small game there to be found, and making no
demands upon me for assistance. The main portion of the tribe proceeded to
the valleys of the Pawpawgee [Popo Agie] and Wind rivers, where they spent
the winter hunting the buffalo, deer, elk, and mountain sheep. They procured
during the season upwards of one thousand buffalo robes and few dressed skins

255 In his annual report, Oct. 31, 1865, the Commissioner had remarked:
I recommend that medals and presents be given to Washakee, chief of the north-
east Shoshonees, and to Konosh, chief of the Pah-Vants, as a special testimo-
nial of appreciation by the department of their good conduct and good influence
over their people. Washakee recently asked permission to take part in the cam-
paign against the western Sioux, and this was granted, subject to the arrange-
ments to be made with the military commander of the district of the Upper
Platte. . . . (39th Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1248), 187.)
The medal was sent out to Washakie in March; see Document 125. A similar medal was
sent to Kanosh on Sept. 1, 1866.

of other named animals, a much larger collection than during any previous year. They also secured a good supply of dried meat. Although the past was the severest winter on record for the past ten years, the Indians of my agency never fared better nor looked so fat and healthy as they did on their arrival here this summer, proving conclusively that they had fared sumptuously every day. Such well-fed Indians could not be otherwise than healthy, so that the mortality among them has fallen far below the average.

I did not have a favorable opportunity for taking the census of the tribe this year, but estimate the number of Shoshones at nineteen hundred. Aside from the natural increase by births, which has not fallen short of former years, there has been a considerable addition from neighboring tribes. About four hundred Bannocks, under a chief named Tahgay, (a very worthy Indian, and in whom I fully repose confidence,) who have been residing in the vicinity of Soda Springs and along the Snake river, passed over into the Wind River valley and located themselves adjacent to the Shoshones, with whom they are at peace. They also accompanied the Shoshones on their visit to this agency, and, from all that I can learn of them, I think they desire to be on the most friendly terms with the whites. I did not have any presents for them, and was informed that they had not received any from the Great Father in times past. The neglect, if any, must be owing to their being so far removed from any agency. I supplied them, however, with a few articles of food for their immediate wants out of my own pocket, and would recommend that such provision be made for them in future that they too may receive a share of the annuity goods with their neighbors, the Shoshones.

These Bannocks will undoubtedly return to this agency once or twice during the year.

The supply of presents for the Indians of this agency reached me in due time, was ample in quantity, and gave universal satisfaction.

Shortly before the distribution I had the pleasure of meeting, in company with Superintendent Head, Washakee and his chiefs in council, on which occasion the superintendent made them a speech, and the best of good feeling prevailed. Washakee has lately received, under the pledge of friendship from the President, a find large silver medal, bearing the image and superscription of the Great Father.

There were present at the distribution about one hundred and fifty Utes from the Uintah agency, who came for the purpose of trading with their neighbors, the Shoshones.257 Some of my Indians were dilatory in coming in this season, but I did not distribute the goods until all, or nearly all, had arrived. The cause

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257 Although there were intermittent periods of bad relations between Utes and Shoshoni, Utes had frequented the Fort Bridger area for purposes of trade from the time the fort was founded, in the early forties.
of this delay is the scarcity of game and the consequent difficulty in maintain-
ing an independent sustenance at this post, for they have but little money to buy
food with. I would here observe that the location of this agency is a bad one, and
for this reason: the Indians are obliged to come a long way from their hunting
grounds to receive their presents, and by the time they reach me their stock of
provisions is well-nigh exhausted, and for them to maintain themselves in this
vicinity without an abundance of game is an impossibility, and discourages some
from coming at all. I would therefore recommend that a portion of their annui-
ties be given them in money, to enable them to defray the expenses of subsis-
tence during their visit at this agency.

In this connexion I would again recommend the plan of locating this tribe
upon a permanent reservation and establishing thereon an agency, and make
such other arrangements as I have heretofore suggested for improving their
condition.

The valley of the Wind River mountains is the territory which the tribe have
selected for their home, and this is the place where such a reservation should be
set apart and an agency established.

The country abounds in game, has a very mild climate, and possesses
agricultural advantages which make it a great desideratum to the white man.
Numerous oil springs have been discovered and located in the valley of the
Pawpawgee, but this tribe are strongly opposed to any invasion of their ter-
ritory by the whites.

I greatly fear that these mineral and agricultural resources of the country will
turn out to be a bone of contention between the whites and the reds, and would
therefore urge that the tribe have a reservation staked out which may be held
sacred to them, and not be encroached upon by the whites.

Several of our citizens are looking toward the Wind River country with a view
to its development, and I give you a few extracts from a letter written by one who
passed the winter and a part of the spring in the valley. He says: “The air is pure,
the water of the best, the climate mild and regular. The soil is not second in fertili-
ity to that of Illinois or Iowas, farming land enough to support a population of two
hundred thousand persons, the climate well adapted to the growth of small grain
and fruit, especially apples and vegetables. There is plenty of timber for building
and fencing purposes. The scenery is most beautiful and picturesque. There are
two oil springs in the valley, one of which pours forth one hundred barrels per
day. There are good indications of stone-coal and iron, with numerous quarries of
limestone suitable for building purposes. The foot-hills and valleys are covered,

258 These springs had been known since the earliest days of the mountain men, recorded on
maps by Jedediah Smith, Captain Bonneville, and others, and their value has been real-
ized in the Lander oil field.
winter and summer, with a luxuriant growth of nutritious grass, making the fines grazing region west of the Missouri. The mountains give indications of mineral deposits. But little snow fell, and what did fall soon disappeared. Stock can be wintered without any feeding. Buffalo, and other game, abounds,” &c., &c.

As long as our Indian tribes are permitted an existence in the land, I contend that they should have a territory assigned them where they can procure a living, instead of being driven away to the poorest tracts of country, where a white man, with all of his superior knowledge, would fail to make a living. Washakee and his tribe deserve a permanent and exclusive reservation in the valley of the Wind river, and I pray you to let them have it at once. The subject demands serious attention, and I hope it will receive a proper consideration. The Indian must be reclaimed from his wild ways, or he will continue to be an expense to the country so long as he lives; and no plan of rendering him a self-supporting and law-abiding citizen is so effectual as that one which civilizes, educates, and christianizes him, and this work cannot be done save on a reservation.

The Shoshones have not been engaged in any warfare, offensive or defensive, during the past year with neighboring tribes, have been at peace among themselves, and I am proud to say, continue faithful their treaty stipulations. . . .

Sir: I have the honor to submit my annual report of the general condition of Indian affairs within the Utah superintendency for that portion of the year past during which I have been acting as superintendent. The Indian tribes within this superintendency are:

1. The eastern bands of Shoshones and the mixed bands of Bannocks an Shoshones. These bands all recognize Washakee as chief. They number about four thousand five hundred souls.

2. The northwestern bands of Shoshones. These Indians number about eighteen hundred. Pokatello, Black Beard, and San Pitz are the principal chiefs.

3. The western Shoshones. These Indians number about two thousand.

4. The Goships or Gosha-Utes. These Indians number about one thousand.
5. The Weber-Utes or Cum-umbahs. These Indians number about six hundred.
6. The Utahs. These Indians are now principally consolidated into two bands, one under the control of Tabby, who has succeeded to the chieftainship made virtually vacant by the old age and infirmity of Sow-i-et. This band is composed of the Tim-pa-nogs, the Uintas, and the San-pitches, and numbers about four thousand. The other Utahs are known as Pah-Vants, and are controlled by Ranosh [Kanosh], and number about fifteen hundred.
7. The Pah-Edes. These Indians number about six hundred. Their principal chief is Tut-sey-gub-bets.
8. The Pah-Utes. These Indians number about sixteen hundred.

The Eastern Bands of Shoshones.

These Indians are under the special supervision of Agent Luther Mann, whose annual report [Document 132] is herewith transmitted. They are the most wealthy of any Indians in the Territory, owing to their hunting grounds embracing much territory still frequented by the buffalo. The robes taken by them on their hunting excursions form an article of traffic of considerable importance, and enable them by the sale of their surplus skins to purchase ponies, ammunition, &c. During the year these Indians have been entirely friendly. Washakee, their chief, is the noblest Indian, both in act and appearance, that I have ever known. When young he spent much of his time for many years in company with the famous Kit Carson, then an adventurous trapper among the Rocky mountains. Carson and his companions had frequent skirmishes with hostile savages, and the familiarity which Washakee thus acquired with the arts of civilized warfare enabled him to rise to the chieftainship of his tribe.²⁶⁰ It is his boast that he has never shed the blood or stolen the property of a white man. The propriety of soon locating these Indians upon a suitable reservation is discussed at large in the report of Agent Mann, and his views are such as meet my entire approbation. The Wind River valley, which is the favorite hunting ground for these Indians, will be the most suitable locality, unless it shall be found to be rich in mines of gold and silver and springs of petroleum. Should this be the case, it would not perhaps be the policy of the government to prevent the development of its mineral resources by setting it apart as a reservation. Its location,

²⁶⁰ It is difficult to judge the correctness of these comments. Although Head may have been reporting something said to him by Washakie, Carson’s fame had been spread abroad by Fremont as early as 1845, and he had recently been much praised for his campaign against the Navajos in the Canon de Chelly, in January, 1864. Head may thus have been disposed to play up an acquaintance between Carson and Washakie, though Carson did not enter the Shoshoni country until the fall of 1831, and it was some time after this that he attained prominence among the mountain men.
too, is a considerable distance from the usual lines of travel, and would render the transportation of supplies, present, &c., somewhat inconvenient and expensive. The miners are, however, already prospecting this valley, and the results of their researches will soon be known. The rapid development of the surrounding territory will soon render the isolation of the valley less complete, and should it not be valuable for mining an exploration of the same should be made, and the Shoshones permanently located thereon. These Indians receive an annuity of $10,000, according to the provisions of the treaty of July 2, 1863. This amount is usually sent in goods, and is ample to comfortably clothe the Indians in connexion with the proceeds of the sales of their surplus robes and furs.

**Northwestern Shoshones.**

These Indians are very poor, their country affording but little game. They are peaceably disposed, and will probably become merged in the eastern bands within a few years, should Washakee live and retain his popularity and influence. A considerable number of these Indians, including the two chiefs Pokatello and Black Beard, have this season accompanied Washakee to the Wind River valley on his annual buffalo hunt. These Indians receive an annuity of $5,000 in goods by the provisions of the treaty of July 30, 1863. This is sufficient to clothe them comfortably, but it is necessary to furnish them, during the winter season especially, a considerable amount of provisions to keep them from starving. Neither these Indians nor the eastern bands have as yet displayed any inclination to agriculture, or an abandonment of their nomadic life.

**Education and Wealth.**

There are no schools of any kind yet established among the Indians in Utah. The wealth of the Indians consists almost entirely in horses, of which some bands have a considerable number. No accurate report can be made in respect to the number owned by the different bands, but from the best information I can obtain I should place it as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Number of Horses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern bands of Shoshones</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern bands of Shoshones</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weber-Utes</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goships</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utahs</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of horses</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,070</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The horses are all of the breed usually known as Mustangs, being very small, but capable of great endurance. Their average value would be probably about $30, making the wealth of the tribe in the Territory $32,100.
By Telegraph from Bridger

Anteroes band of Utes are at this agency is there an order not to sell them ammunition. please inform me in regard to this matter. . . .

Sir

I have the honor to make the following report relative to the population individual Wealth and Value of the Furs and Skins Sold by the Indians under my immediate controll.

From the best information in my possession I would place the number of Souls in this agency at two thousand. The relative number of Either Sex I am unable with any degree of certainty to give but can Safely Say that the Females very largely predominate

The number of Horses (For in them constitute their Entire wealth) I would place the number at Six hundred and Seventy five and would fix their Value at Thirty dollars pr head Making a total of Twenty thousand and two hundred and fifty dollars.

The value of the Furs and Skins Sold by them during the year would probably reach the Sum of Ten thousand dollars

The above Estimates are made from the most reliable information that could be obtained

261 Utah Field Papers, 1867.
262 Utah Field Papers, 1867.
This reporte may not be in form yet I hope it gives the desired information upon the Subjects named in your letter of May 29th 1867. . . .

136

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger Agency, July 15, 1867

Sir

Your communication of June 3d in regard to the Mixed Bands of Indians who range about the head waters of the Yellow Stone Galliton [i.e., Gallatin] Madison Snake and Green Rivers around Bannack and Boise frequently in the Teritory of Utah was duly received. According to your request I have had conversations with Washakee and other head men of the Eastern Bands of Shoshones also with Tahgee the Chief of the Bannacks and find that there does exist a very large Band of Bannacks numbering more than One Hundred Lodges. I also find a few Lodges of Shoshones with them. There also exists another Band of Tookooreka or Sheap Eaters a branch of the Shoshonees who live almost Entirely in the Mountains very Seldom visit the white Settlements the last named Band Speak the Shoshonee dialect the former have a dialect of their own. All of these Indians are very poor and require the fostering hand of the Government. They are very friendly and desire to cultivate the most friendly relations with all of whom they meet. Large numbers of Bannacks visit this agency every year more than fifty of their lodges wer present at the distribution to the Eastern Bands of Shoshones of their annuities this year I made a request of Washakee for them to Share in the distribution of their goods this year but he peremptorily refused I also held a long conversation with the Chief Tahgee he informed me that his Indians feel very much hurt to think that the Great Father had not made them presents. Knowing as they did that all the Indians with whom they wer Surrounded wer receiving goods every year they claim that They are good Indians and that the Government ought to in view of the fact that their country has been Settled with the whites give them a fair compensation for their loss. The Settlement of Boise Beaver Head Bannack and Viriginia City have driven them to Seek for other Hunting grounds and they are compelled to travel long distances and that too in an enemys Country where they are liable to loose their

263 Transmitted in Head to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 3, 1867, H/325–1867, having inadvertently been omitted from Head’s letter of July 25, Document 137, printed in 40th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1326), pt. 2, 189.
Horses—the only wealth they possess, they informed me that they lost Sixty head last winter I would most earnestly recommend that Some provisions be made for them in the future. . . .

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F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR,* COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JULY 25, 1867264

Sir

On the 17th of October last I received from the Comm’ a communication bearing date Sep. 24—enclosing copy of letter from N. P. Hill, to the acting Governor of Montana, relative to certain bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees, and instructing to direct Agent Mann to procure through Washakee, all accessible information regarding such Indians—

At the time of the reception of such instructions Washakee and all his principal men had started on their annual Buffalo hunt, and could not readily be reached. At once on their return, about two months since, I transmitted to Agent Mann copies of the correspondence above referred to, and have just received his report, which is herewith transmitted [Document 136]. Washakee and several hundred of his principal men visited me a few days since, and I had a conversation with them relative to the same subject, from which I am satisfied that the Indians in question are the same band, usually known as the “mixed” or “broken bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees.” with whom the late Gov. Doty made a Treaty at Soda Springs. Oct. 14 1863. From the best information I can get, I judge their number to be about 2500, of whom about 1500 are Shoshonees, but the balance Bannacks. they live, wander about together and intermarry.

The treaty made as above seems scarcely reconcileable with justice to the Shoshonees—Treaties were made July 2d and July 30th 1863, with the Eastern and North Western bands of Shoshonees, providing for annuities of $10,000 and $5000 respectively. By the Treaty of Oct 14, 1863, at Soda Springs it is provided that the mixed bands shall share in the annuities of the Shoshonees, which in


effect is a reduction of the Shoshonee annuities below the amount agreed to be paid them, without their consent. 265

The mixed bands have faithfully observed their treaty, and I invited last Fall a portion of their number to be present and participate in the annuities of the N. W. Shoshonees—I have also during the past Quarter made them presents of goods and provisions to the value of about $2000. I suggested to Agent Mann to let a portion of the tribe who were with Washakee participate in the E. Shoshonee annuities, but from the report enclosed, Washakee evidently and sensibly objected to such arrangement—

In my estimate for the coming year I shall include an item of $5000, as being justly due the mixed Bands under treaty stipulations, and trust such suggestion may be favorably considered by yourself and by Congress.

These Indians, to the number of nearly 2500, have been for the past 3 or 4 months in N. Eastern Utah, scattered along the Bear river and through Cache and Bear Lake valleys—they spent about seven or eight months in each year within this Superintendency, and the balance of their time in Southern Idaho, where game is more abundant during the winter months. . . .

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER AGENCY, UTAH TERRITORY, JULY 29, 1867 266

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the condition of the eastern band of the Shoshones, for the year ending June 30, 1867:

Immediately after the distribution of their annuity goods last year, they left this agency for their hunting grounds in the Popeaugie and Wind river valleys, the only portion of the country claimed by them where they can obtain buffalo.

While there they live well, and are generally healthy.

From the buffalo robes and other skins and furs obtained by them during the past hunting season, I estimate, from the best knowledge I can gain, they

265 This treaty of Oct. 14, 1863, in any event was never ratified. [See new note to Document 101. Annuities were a bone of contention for the public, which generally viewed payments as straightforward handouts. Cf. “The Indian War,” New York Herald, July 7, 1867 p. 3, cols. 5–6, quoting an Atchison, Kansas correspondent of a Chicago journal under date of June 26. —Ed.]

have realized some $10,000, and their present comfort has been greatly increased by the addition of a large amount of skins and furs, used for their lodges and clothing.

Early last spring the near approach of hostile Sioux and Cheyennes compelled them to leave before they could prepare their usual supply of dried meat for summer use, and upon their arrival at the agency they were almost destitute of provisions.

I at once commenced issuing to them the flour and beef procured from you by the exchange of goods, and they were so well pleased with the exchange thus made, I would recommend that $2,000 of their annuity be, in the future, paid in money, to be used in the purchase of beef, cattle, and flour, to feed them during their stay at the agency.

These Indians have faithfully observed the stipulations of the treaty made with them in 1863, and since my last annual report there has been no departure from a uniform line of good conduct.

On the 8th of June, I assembled all of the tribe within reach, and made the annual distribution of goods, which was perfectly satisfactory to them, and they have since gone to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, as is usual with them, preparatory to their return to their hunting grounds in the autumn.

I would call you attention to the fact that the goods distributed this summer were those which arrived last year after the departure of the Indians from the agency, and the goods intended for the distribution of 1867 it is probable will not reach here until too late to be given out before the summer of 1868.

Their sanitary condition remains good, and there has been but little change in their numbers, either from mortality or accessions from other bands.

From careful inquiry among them, I estimate the present number of Washakies tribe at about 2,000 souls, being an increase of 100 since my last report.

In former reports I have recommended the setting apart of a reservation for the Shoshones in the valley of Wind river. For various reasons I would still urge the propriety of doing so.

The abundance of nutritious grasses, in connection with the mild winters, would enable them to subsist their stock during the entire year, and situated in the best game region of the mountains, they could furnish themselves with an ample supply of meat.

Their occupancy of the valley, with suitable protection from the government, would prevent the raiding war parties of Sioux from interfering with the development of the mines just discovered and being opened in the vicinity of South Pass, where, within a few days, a large party of miners were driven away by a small band of hostile Indians, after three or more of their number had been inhumanly murdered.
The entire range of country west from the South Pass to the Mormon settlements on Weber river is almost destitute of game, and while these friendly Indians are obliged, during the summer months, to subsist on the small game of this vast area of sage brush, the powerful and hostile Sioux are roaming unmolested over the beautiful valleys east and north of the Wind river chain of mountains, with grass and game at their disposal, which enables them to murder and rob with impunity the soldiers near their garrison, the almost defenceless emigrant crossing the plains in search of a new home, and the hardy miners who are toiling to develop the mineral resources which constitute the base of our national wealth.

I would again call your attention to the mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshones that range in the northern part of Utah and the southern portion of Montana, to whom I have heretofore referred.

Although holding themselves entirely aloof from the eastern bands of Shoshones in regard to their tribal arrangements, they do, for the purpose of protection, accompany each other to their hunting grounds east of the Rocky range, and the most friendly feeling still exists between them.

It affords me pleasure to say that these Indians have abstained from any act of hostility towards the whites since my last report. They accompanied Washakee on his recent visit to the agency, and were present at the distribution of goods to him.

In view of their friendly relations and their great destitution, I would recommend that an appropriation of $8,000 in goods and $2,000 in money be made annually to supply their wants while they continue friendly.

Should the appropriation be made, and the department deem it advisable, they could be placed under the protection of this agency.

I strongly recommend that some provision be made for the erection of an agency building at this agency, as soon as practicable, and trust that its importance will be sufficient excuse for urging it upon the attention of the department.

For agency purposes I am now using one of the buildings erected by the military department. It is in a very bad condition and utterly unfit for the protection of the annuity goods, which I am compelled to retain for more than six months after their arrival. . . .
Sir: I observed among the telegrams published in our papers here, an exceedingly meagre synopsis of your report, made during the recent special session of Congress, relative to the causes of the present Indian war. Washakee and the other principal chiefs of the Eastern Shoshones visited me a few days since, and I had a conversation with them relative to the same subject. I write you regarding this, thinking the views of Washakee, who is undoubtedly the most sagacious, honorable, and intelligent Indian among the uncivilized tribe, might be of interest to you, especially as they would seem to corroborate your own, in every particular. Washakee said that the country east from the Wind river mountains, to

268 The report mentioned is Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Communicating, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of March 29, 1867, Information in Relation to the Indian Tribes of the United States, 40th Cong., special sess., Senate Executive Document 4 (Serial 1308), 50 pp. The Commissioner's report therein, dated April 12, 1867, was not particularly concerned with “The causes of the present Indian war,” but on p. 12 did comment, in respect of the nine bands of Sioux in Dakota Territory who were parties to a treaty of 1865, that unsatisfactory relations had existed since the Minnesota outbreak of 1862, one of the causes being “the rush of emigrant travel across their country, driving away the game.” The Commissioner seems more particularly to have had in mind conditions in what is now North and South Dakota.

Some remarks in this particular report may be noted here from the discussion of the Utah Superintendency:

Fort Bridger agency. — The Indians under the general charge of this agency are the eastern bands of Shoshones and Bonnacks, of which Washakee is chief. These bands, with others of the same people, having their range of country along the great emigrant and stage routes to California, Idaho, and Oregon, it was deemed advisable that some arrangements should be made to prevent obstructions to travel, and accordingly Governor Doty, of Utah, in 1863, met their chiefs at various points and concluded separate treaties of friendships with them, under which the government undertook to pay them annuities of from $1,000 to $10,000 for each band, as some compensation for the inevitable destruction of game by whites, they undertaking to keep the peace. The Senate amended all of these treaties by inserting a certain proviso in each, which made it necessary to submit them again to the Indians. A part of them reached the Indians, and the amendments being assented to, the treaties were published, but some of them, Governor Doty having meanwhile died, failed to reach them. The appropriations have, however, been made under all. Washakee's band is one of those which has not yet had the amendment submitted to them. He and his people have
the settled portion of eastern Nebraska and Kansas, had always been claimed by four principal Indian tribes—the Sioux, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Crows. That it was a country abounding in game, thus furnishing to the Indians an abundance of food as well as large quantities of surplus robes, skins and furs, by the sale of which they were made comparatively wealthy. That all the tribes inhabiting that region were contented and entertained towards the whites the most friendly feeling until the opening of what is usually known as the Powder river route to Montana, a road leaving the old express route near Fort Laramie and passing by a circuitous course to Virginia City. That all the Indians objected strongly to the opening of this road, knowing by experience that the game would, in consequence, soon disappear, but did not commence hostilities at once, since they were informed by the whites that there was no other way for them to go to the gold mines of Montana. That they soon found this was not true; that but few people passed over the road, but that forts were built, soldiers sent out to protect the road, and trains were often passing, but only to carry supplies to the troops. That the soldiers, too, gave the Indians whiskey, seduced from them numbers of their squaws, and otherwise maltreated them. And after mature deliberation the Indians were satisfied that the road was only made to afford employment to the soldiers and to destroy their game; that they must starve after a few years with the disappearance of their game, and that it was as well to die fighting as by starvation. They had accordingly all taken up arms, resolved to drive out the whites from their country or perish in the endeavor. I asked Washakee if the
differently kept their treaties, and indeed the same may be aid of all the other bands treated with in 1863. The ranges of country claimed by these bands are noted at the end of table C. They are thoroughly wild Indians, living by the hunt, and have, and at present need, no reservations. Luther Mann, jr., appointed July 31, 1861, is the special agent, and has given full satisfaction... Mr. F. H. Head, appointed March 23, 1866, is the superintendent, and is a careful, energetic, and prompt officer. . . . (p. 9)

In Table C (p. 35) the “Range of country” of the Eastern bands of Shoshones and Bannocks is described as “Commencing at Bridger’s Pass; thence north to Independence Rock; thence up the line of the Rocky mountains to about 112° west longitude; thence south-west to Salmon Falls on Snake river; thence up that stream to Fall creek; thence south-east to Utah lake; thence east to headwaters of North Platte, in North Park; thence down that stream to place of beginning.”

269 This road, pioneered by John Bozeman in 1863–1864, is now better known as the Bozeman Trail; it struck out for Montana from the northernmost bend of the North Platte, the site of Fort Fetterman, near Douglas, Wyoming. Keeping east of the Big Horn Mountains, the road did not penetrate Shoshoni country as did the Bridger Trail, over which Jim Bridger guided immigrants to Montana in 1864; it passed through the heart of the Sioux domain, and was at once beset by those Indians.

270 The forts built to garrison the Bozeman Trail were Reno, Phil. Kearney, and C. F. Smith, all constructed in the summer of 1866. After two bloody years, they were abandoned, and the Bozeman Trail was not reopened until after the Custer Massacre of 1876.
white traders had, by their conduct, in any way aided in the present state of affairs. He replied that they had not; that the regular traders, licensed by the government, were nearly always good men, since they were under the control of the Great Father, but that there were great numbers of white men, thieves and murderers, who were outlaws because of their crimes, who had taken up their residences among the Indians, and were always inciting them to outrages; often leading in their stealing raids.

The views of Washakee, although somewhat crude as to the reason for keeping open the road, are in most respects entirely correct, and are the views of all disinterested men familiar with the subject. What is known as the Powder river road is one of the most complete and expensive humbugs of the day.

Attention was first called to this road and its opening, secured by certain speculators, owning or expecting to own certain lucrative toll-bridges, roads and ferries thereon. It was claimed to be many hundreds of miles shorter than the road via Fort Bridger. I have however myself conversed with the numbers of freighters who have passed over the road, and without an exception they have stated that they would never go by that route again; that although on a map it would appear shorter than the route via this city, yet that, by reason of the numerous detours, they believed it actually longer, and that it was a worse road in every respect, especially as it regards wood, water, grass, and streams difficult to cross.

These reasons would of themselves have been sufficient to cause an abandonment of the route, but it was at this time found that the Missouri river, contrary to ancient theories, was navigable for light-draught steamboats. For the last two years all freight for Montana from the States has gone by the Missouri river. Had the Powder river road, therefore, been all that was at first claimed for it, it would have been abandoned by freighters, since freight could be taken by steamboat to Montana, profitably, at six to eight cents per pound, while land

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271 In the Annual Report on Indian Affairs, Nov. 15, 1867, Acting Commissioner Charles E. Mix commented:

> Noted among the Indians of this (Utah) Territory is “Waskakee”, chief of the eastern Shoshones, always friendly, and deserving the praise awarded by all who know his virtues and noble characteristics. I refer to his sensible views as to the probable cause of the hostile views and demonstrations by the Sioux and other Indians on the upper Platte, embodied in a letter from Superintendent Head, which will be found among the documents accompanying this report. His people numbering about 2,000, usually spend the winter in Wind River valley, Dakota, which abounds in game, and affords them mainly their supplies for subsistence. They want that valley for a reservation, and if it be practicable I shall favor granting it to them. . . . (40th Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 2 [Serial 1326], 11.)

It requires to be born in mind that at this period a bitter struggle was going on between the War and Interior departments as to whether the Office of Indian Affairs should remain under civilian control or be handed over to the military.
transportation would cost about three times such rates. In view of above facts it has at all times seemed to me most singular that the government should persist in keeping troops along a road abandoned by all freighters and emigrants, when the result of such a course, unless the Indians were induced to cede the right of way, could not fail to be an Indian war. I think it would be within bounds to say that every pound of freight taken over the Powder river road for the past two years has cost the government already at least $1,000, and the expense would seem to be but commenced.

Many of the Indians within the superintendency, in the hunting expeditions, meet and converse with the hostile Indians. From their statements I feel entirely certain that if the troops were withdrawn from the Indian country, and a treaty made with the hostile Indians guaranteeing them the occupation of the territory cut by the Powder river road, for a certain term of years, peace could be at once restored and kept. It has been the correct theory of our government that since the Indians do not make the highest use of the soil, we may take it from them after reasonable compensation, as fast as the same is needed for settlement. There is not, however, in all the vast region cut by the Powder river road, and now occupied by troops, a single settler or white person, other than the hangers-on of the army. No person, save the pure-minded, patriotic army contractors, would be injured by such abandonment. The many expenses for a single week would be sufficient to perpetually tranquilize the hostile tribes. At the expiration of 10 of 15 years, were it deemed advisable to open the country for settlement, arrangements could be made with the Indians accordingly, either by setting apart certain portions as reservations, or by removing them to some suitable portion of our territory between Montana and Alaska. . . .

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER, UTAH TERRITORY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1867

Sir

I have the honor to transmit herewith Triplicate Receipts for Seven Hundred ten dollars and Seventy five Cents Absence from Bridger looking after the Indians under my charge is my excuse for the delay in not sending them Earlier.

272 An extraordinary remark; how would Head have defined “our territory” between Montana and Alaska?

273 Utah Field Papers, 1867.
Washakie and the Shoshoni

The Snake and Bannack Indians were on their way to their hunting grounds in the vicinity of the late discovery of the Gold Mines and Knowing the big Scare of the Minors in regard to Indians I thought it advisable to accompany the Indians to and through the Camp in order to avert any collision between them I accomplished the object of my mission and am Satisfied that the Minors were well pleased with the visit by the Indians. . . .

1868

141

F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated February 12, 1868

Sir.

On the 2d day of July, 1863 the late Gov. Doty, pursuant to instructions from the Indian Bureau, concluded a treaty with the Eastern bands of Shoshonees, providing that they should receive an annuity of $10,000. On the 30th of the same month, he concluded a treaty with the North Western Bands of Shoshonees, providing that they should receive an annuity of $5000. and on the 1st. day of October 1863, a treaty with the Western bands, providing for the payment of the same annuity—

Shortly after these treaties were concluded, he made a fourth treaty with a tribe known as the “mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees,” by the terms of which, it was provided simply that they should share in the annuities of the Shoshonees—

It seems impossible to reconcile the provisions of the treaty last referred to, with good faith on the part of the Government toward the Shoshonees- It is simply diverting from them a portion of their annuities, without their consent.

In view of this fact, in my estimate for the coming year, I inserted an item of $5000. to carry out the treaty with the mixed bands, as being fairly due to them under the treaty- Observing that this item is not in the printed book of estimates,

274 The so-called Sweetwater Mines at the south end of the Wind River Mountains, the northern shoulder of South Pass. Intermittent prospecting in this area had been prosecuted all through the sixties; interesting finds were made in 1864, and a mining district came into being in 1865. It was not until the fall of 1867, however, that South Pass City assumed its identity.

275 H/516–1868. This letter, like Document 142, was written on a letterhead of the House of Representatives, Fortieth Congress, U. S., Washington, D. C., which indicates that Head was then in Washington and had political entree.
emanating from the Treasury Department, I beg to again call your attention to this subject—

It would seem to me but just, that an appropriation be recommended for the $5000 above referred to, as well as a reasonable amount, on account of what should justly have been given them during the past four years—

The mixed bands number about 2500, & have observed their treaty stipulations with entire fidelity. . . .

[Endorsement:] The recommendation within is just if practicable. The mixed band ought to stand upon an equal footing with the other bands—and inasmuch as we have no right to divide the money of the Shoshonees with others without their consent—a fair interpretation of the treaty would be that they are due a pro rata sum equal with that paid to the Shoshonees.

This matter ought to be brought especially to the attention of the Secretary & Congress and an appropriation made—

Taylor
Comm’r

142

F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated February 15, 1868276

Sir -

The treaty, made in 1863, with the mixed bands of Bannacks & Shoshonees, & to which reference was made in mine of the 13th [12th] inst. was ratified by the Senate upon condition that a section be added, defining the character of the Indian title to the land, recognized by the Government.

This rendered it necessary to submit the treaty to the tribe for their acquiescence to the added section, which has never been done -

I shall meet this tribe probably early in June next, & can then submit to them the treaty for their signatures.

I would respectfully suggest—that the treaty, before being again submitted to the tribe, be modified by inserting a provision, providing for the payment of an annuity of $5000. instead of the indeterminate amount, named in the present treaty—

Should this suggestion meet with your approval, will you please instruct me accordingly? . . .

276 H/520–1868. See preceding note.
F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to N. G. Taylor, President, Indian Peace Commission, dated Salt Lake City, April 14, 1868

Sir: I am just in receipt of a letter from Mr. [A. S. H.] White, Secretary of the Peace Commission, transmitting your kind invitation to meet you at Ft. Bridger in June next, at the councils to be held with the Bannacks and Shoshonees—Have any steps been taken to assemble the tribes at Ft. Bridger in June? They are, during the summer, scattered over a great extent of country, fishing & hunting, and at least a month’s time would be required to get them together in any considerable numbers.

The Indian Peace Commission was appointed in conformance with the Act of Congress, July 20, 1867, “to establish peace with certain hostile Indian tribes,” the Commissioners being N. G. Taylor, President, J. B. Henderson, Lieut. Gen. W. T. Sherman, [Brevet] Maj. Gen. William S. Harney, John B. Sanborn, Bvt. Maj. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, S. F. Tappan, and Bvt. Maj. Gen. C. C. Augur. The Commission organized at St. Louis on Aug. 6, 1867, and until the close of the year treated with tribes on the Missouri and the Arkansas, and up the Platte as far as Fort Laramie. The Oglalla chief Red Cloud, who had been on the war trail since July, 1866, declined to come in, but sent a message “that his war against the whites was to save the valley of the Powder river, the only hunting ground left to his nation,” and gave assurance “that whenever the military garrisons at Fort Phil. Kearney and Fort C. F. Smith were withdrawn, the war on his part would cease.” Before adjourning, the commissioners sent word to Red Cloud that they wished to council with him the following year. In the Commission’s report of Jan 7, 1868, the final recommendation was as follows:

A new commission should be appointed, or the present one be authorized to meet the Sioux next spring, according to our agreement, and also to arrange with the Navajoes for their removal. It might be well, also in case our suggestions are adopted in regard to selecting Indian territories, to extend the powers of the commission, so as to enable us to conclude treaties or agreements with tribes confessedly at peace, looking to their concentration upon the reservations indicated.

In the course of a short time the Union Pacific railroad will have reached the country claimed by the Snakes, Bannocks, and other tribes, and in order to preserve peace with them the commission should be required to see them and make with them satisfactory arrangements. (40th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1, Serial 1366, 509.)

A further factor, exhibiting the economic facts of life, may have been the land grants to the builders of the Pacific Railroad; technically, the Government had to extinguish the Indian title before it could give the railroad a valid title to the lands being granted. This consideration probably outweighed all of Agent Mann’s recommendations on the basis of simple abstract justice to the Shoshoni.
I would respectfully suggest, that as soon as you are able to designate a certain day for the conference, you should notify me, & I will get the Indians together at the time, and will also, should you desire it, have at Ft. Bridger, some beef and flour, to distribute among them. . . .

[Endorsement:] See telg to Supt Head and Genl Sanborn, April 29, 1868

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER AGENCY, MAY 12, 1868

Sir

Your letter of the 30 April this Moment received by Coach from the East and hasten to reply I will not distribute goods untill after Meeting of Peace Commission I am collecting the Indians as rapidly as possible and hope to have a large portion of them if not all by the time the Commission arive the fourth of June there are at present here 96 Lodges of Shoshonees and forty nine Lodges of Bannacks Washakee is not here I am Expecting him Soon I am feeding the Indians with Beef and flour in Small quantities in order to keep them here I have already given them One hundred Sacks Flour and a thousand pounds Beef which is a very Scarse article here I will try and Keep all of the Indians here that come  the Flour you speak of would be very acceptable I understand that arrangements have been Made by the Indian Bureau with Judge Carter for feeding Indians  what those arangements are I do not know I will send copies of Telegrams from Genl Sanborn

From Genl Sanborn April 20

Do you desire the assistance of Mr [James] Bridger  If so we will Send him at once to you 280  We will meet the Indians at Bridger on the fourth of June

My reply April 21

Will not require the assistance of Mr Bridger  It will be necessary to feed the Indians to Keep them at the agency  what Shall I do

279 Utah Field Papers, 1868.
280 Bridger had spent part of the winter at Westport, but was on hand for the councils with the Sioux which culminated in the treaty at Fort Laramie on April 29, 1868. On May 15 he was placed on the Army payroll as a guide, and during the summer served with Lieut. P. F. Barnard of the Fourth Infantry in removing property from the forts which were being abandoned along the Bozeman Trail. See J. Cecil Alter, James Bridger: Trapper, Frontiersman, Scout, and Guide, rev. ed. (Columbus, Ohio: Long’s College Book Co., 1951; Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 469, 591–92.
From Genl Sanborn April 29th

Arrangements are made by Indian Bureau with Judge Carter for feeding Indians at Bridger & they may be collected at once

I had however commenced feeding them Soon after the 20th of April I have been using the Shoshonee Flour for that purpose Judge Carter expects three hundred Sacks here in a few days and I will replace it I shall be pleased to see you at Bridger with the Commission. . . .

145

ARTICLES OF A TREATY WITH THE SHOSHONEE (EASTERN BAND) AND BANNACK TRIBES OF INDIANS, FORT BRIDGER, UTAH TERRITORY, JULY 3, 1868281

Articles of a Treaty, made and concluded at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, on the third day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty eight by and between the undersigned Commissioners on the part of the United States and the undersigned Chiefs and headmen of and representing the Shoshonee (Eastern Band) and Bannack tribes of Indians they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

Article 1. From this day forward, peace between the parties to this Treaty shall forever continue. The Government of the United States desires peace and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace and they hereby pledge their honor to maintain it.

If bad men among the whites or among other people subject to the authority of the United States shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians the United States will upon proof made to the Agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States and also reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of anyone, white black or Indian subject to the authority of the United States and a peace therewith, the Indians herein named, solemnly agree, that they will on proof made to their Agent, and notice by him deliver up the wrong doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to

281 The manuscript copy of the treaty here printed is one found in the Ratified Treaties File No. 373. This was one of the last treaties negotiated by the United States with an Indian tribe, for after 1868 all reservations were created by Executive Order. The treaty was ratified by Congress Feb. 26, 1869. [Cf. Kappler, Indian Affairs, 2: 1020–24.]
its laws, and in case they wilfully refuse so to do the person injured shall be
reimbursed for his loss, from the annuities or other monies due or to become
due to them under this or other Treaties made with the United States. And the
President on advising with the Commissioner on Indian Affairs shall prescribe
such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this
article as in his judgment may be proper. But no such damages shall be adjusted
and paid, until thoroughly examined and passed upon by the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs and no one sustaining sustaining [sic] loss, while violating, or
because of his violating the provisions of this Treaty, or the laws of the United
States, shall be reimbursed therefor.

Article II. It is agreed that whenever the Bannacks desire a reservation to be
set apart for their use, or whenever the President of the United States shall deem
it advisable for them to be put upon a reservation he shall cause a suitable one
to be selected for them in their present Country which shall embrace reason-
able portions of the “Port Neuf” and Kansas [Kamas] prairie” countries and that
when this reservation is declared the United States will secure to the Bannacks
the same rights and privileges herein and make the same and like expenditures
wherein for their benefit except the Agency House and residences of Agents in
proportion to their numbers as herein provided for the Shoshonee reservation.

The United States further agree that the following district of country, to wit.
Commencing at the mouth of Owl Creek and running due South to the crest
of the divide between the Sweetwater and Popo Agi rivers—the along the
crest of said divide and the summit of Wind River Mountains to the longitude
of North Fork of Wind River—thence due north to mouth of said North Fork
and up its channel to a point twenty miles above it mouth—thence in a straight
line to head waters of Owl Creek and along middle of Channel of Owl Creek to
place of beginning, shall be and the same is set apart for the absolute and undis-
turbed use and occupation of the Shoshonee Indians herein named and for
such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be
willing with the consent of the United States to admit amongst them, and the
United States now solemnly agree that no person except those herein designated
and authorized to do so, and except such officers or Agents and employees of
the Government, as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in dis-
charge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over settle upon
or reside in the Territory described in this article for the use of said Indians and

282 Notwithstanding these fine words, and after the usual manner of the “permanent”
arrangements made by the United States with Indian tribes, the Shoshoni were after-
wards persuaded to concur in the reduction of the size of their reservation; it was cut
down in 1872, 1896, 1904 to approximately one-fifth the size of that defined in 1868.

283 As this worked out in practice, the U. S. government placed upon the Shoshoni reserva-
tion numbers of Northern Arapahoes, their hereditary enemies.
henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all title claims or rights in, and
to, any portion of the Territory of the United States except such as is embraced
within the limits aforesaid.

Article III. The United States agrees at its own proper expense to construct at
a suitable point in the Shoshonee reservation a warehouse or storeroom for the
use of the Agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not exceed-
ing two thousand dollars; an Agency building for the residence of the Agent to
cost not exceeding three thousand; a residence for the Physician to cost not more
than two thousand dollars, and five other buildings for a Carpenter, Farmer
Blacksmith, Miller and Engineer each to cost not exceeding two thousand dol-
ars; also a school house or Mission building, so soon as a sufficient number chil-
dren can be induced by the Agent to attend School, which shall not cost exceed-
ing twenty five hundred dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said Shoshonee
reservation near the other buildings herein authorized a good steam circular Saw
mill with a Grist Mill and Shingle Machine attached the same to cost not more
than eight thousand dollars.

Article IV. The Indians herein named agree when the Agency House and
other buildings shall be constructed on their reservations named they will make
said reservations their permanent homes, and they will make no permanent set-
tlement elsewhere but they shall have the right to hunt on the unoccupied lands
of the United States, so long as game may be found thereon and so long as peace
subsists among the whites and Indians, on the borders of the hunting districts.

Article V. The United States agrees that the Agent for said Indians shall in the
future make his home at the Agency building on the Shoshonee reservation but
shall direct and supervise affairs on the Bannack reservation, and shall keep an
office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent enquiry into such
matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for inves-
tigation under the provisions of their Treaty stipulations as also for the faithful
discharge of other duties enjoined by law. In all cases of depredation on person
or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded
Together with his finding to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs whose decision
shall be binding on the parties to this Treaty.

Article VI. If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians or legally
incorporated with them being the head of a family shall desire to commence
farming he shall have the privilege to select in the presence and with the assis-
tance of the Agent then in charge, a tract of land within the reservation of his

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284 This provision, if not a fossil relic from an earlier draft of an insufficiently revised treaty,
represented a lingering hope that the Bannacks would yet be domiciled with the eastern
Shoshoni.
tribe not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent which tract so
selected certified and recorded in the “Land Book” as herein directed shall cease
to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive
possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may
continue to cultivate it.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family may in
like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her for purposes of culti-
vation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent and thereupon be
entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above described.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate containing a description thereof
and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that
the same has been recorded shall be delivered to the party entitled to it by the
Agent after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his
office, subject to inspection which said book shall be known as the “Shoshonee
(Eastern Band) and Bannack Land Book.” The President may at any time order
a survey of the reservations, and when so surveyed Congress shall provide for
protecting the rights of the Indian settlers in these improvements, and may fix
the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on
the subject of alienation and descent of property as between Indians and on all
subjects connected with the Government of the Indians on said reservations,
and the internal police thereof, as may be thought proper.

Article VII. In order to insure the civilization of the tribes entering into
this Treaty, the necessity of education is admitted especially of such of them
as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservation and they therefore
pledge themselves to compel their children male and female, between the ages
of six and eighteen years to attend school and, it is hereby made the duty of the
Agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with and
the United States agree that for every thirty children between said ages who
can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and
a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English educa-
tion shall be furnished who will reside among said Indians and faithfully dis-
charge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue
for twenty years.

Article VIII. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected land and
received his certificate as above directed and the Agent shall be satisfied that he
intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be
entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year in value,
one hundred dollars and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for
a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements
as aforesaid in value twenty five dollars per annum. And it is further stipulated
that such persons as commence farming shall receive instructions from the Farmers herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons on either reservation shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil a second Blacksmith shall be provided with such iron, steel and other material as may be required.

Article IX. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named under any and all treaties heretofore made with them, the United States agrees to deliver at the Agency House on the reservation herein provided for on the first day of September of each year for thirty years the following articles, to wit;

For each male person over fourteen years of age a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of, hat coat pantaloons, flannel shirt and a pair of woolen socks.

For each female over twelve years of age a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the Agent, each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians on which the estimate from year to year can be based. And in addition to the clothing herein named the sum of ten dollars shall be annually appropriated for each Indian roaming, and twenty dollars for each Indian engaged in agriculture, for a period of ten years, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper.

And if at any time within the ten years it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the tribes herein named, Congress may by law change the appropriation to other purposes but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery.

Article X. The United States hereby agree to furnish annually to the Indians the Physician, Teachers, Carpenter, Miller, Enginer, Farmer and Blacksmith as herein contemplated and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior as will be sufficient to employ such persons.
Article XI. No Treaty of the cession of any portion of the reservation herein
described which may be held in common shall be of any force or validity as
against the said Indians unless executed and signed by at least a majority of all
the adult male Indians occupying or interested in such manner as to deprive
without his consent any individual member, of the tribe of his right to any tract
of land selected by him as provided in article VI of this Treaty.

Article XII. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three
years from the date when they commence to cultivate a farm shall be expended
in presents to the ten persons of said tribe, who in the judgment of the Agent,
may grow the most valuable crops for the respective years.

Article XIII. It is further agreed that until such time as the Agency Buildings
are established on the Shoshonee reservation, their Agent shall reside at Fort
Bridger U. T. and their annuities shall be delivered to them at the same place in
June of each year.

N. G. Tayor (Seal)
W. T. Sherman Lt. Genl. (Seal)
Wm. S. Harney (Seal)
S. F. Tappan (Seal)
C. C. Augur (Seal)
Bvt-Major Genl. U.S.A.

Attest
A. S. H. White
Secretary

Commissioner
Alfred H. Terry (Seal)
Brig. Genl. & Bvt Maj Genl. U.S.A.

Shoshonees.

Wash-a-kie x his mark
Wan-ny-pitz x his mark
Trop-se-po-wot x his mark
Nar-kok x his mark
Taboonsheya x his mark
Bazeel x his mark
Pan-to-she-ga x his mark

Bannocks

Taggee x his mark
Tay-to-ba x his mark
We-rat-ze-mon-a-gen x his mark
Coo-sha-gan x his mark
Pan-sook-a-motse x his mark
A-wite-este x his mark
Witnesses.

Henry A. Morrow
Lt. Col. 36 Infantry & Bvt Col U. S. A.
Comdg Ft. Bridger

Luther Manpa [Mann]
U. S. Indian Agent
W. A. Carter.
J. Vanallen Carter
Interpreter.

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER AGENCY, AUGUST 16, 1868

Sir

I have the honor to transmit herewith an Estimate of funds for the Fort Bridger agency for the quarter Ending Sep' 30th 1868

The Estimate for Wood is made upon the Supposition that I will be able to procure an Office at this agency. I am Entirely destitute of One at present and have been for more than a month and there is but very little prospect if any of my obtaining one unless I build one for myself. In view than of the uncertainty of obtaining one I would Very respectfully suggest that leave of absence on business be granted me say from the first of November untill the first of May thereby precluding the necessity of building an office or of furnishing Wood for the Same you are aware that the Indians of this agency have left for their Winter hunt and will not return before the first or middle of June. the Service therefore would not suffer on account of my absence. I desire that you would give me your opinion and advice upon the matter as I have no desire that the Service shall suffer on my account please let me hear from you Soon and greatly Oblige. . . .

285 Utah Field Papers, 1868.
Sir: In compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the affairs of this agency.

About the first of September, 1867, the Indians under my charge (the eastern bands of Shoshones) left here for their hunting grounds in the Wind River valley. There had then recently occurred a series of depredations by hostile Indians upon prospectors and camps of the newly discovered Sweetwater mining country, and threatenings were bitter against all Indians. As this region was directly in the route of the Shoshones, I deemed it advisable to precede them and allay the ill feeling so far as they were concerned. I did so, assuring the miners that the best feeling existed between these Indians and the whites, and that their presence in the valley would be protection against any more raids by the Sioux, which proved true, all hostilities having ceased against the miners until after the Shoshones had returned to this agency.

As early as May 1, 1868, advance parties reported themselves. About that time I received telegraphic notice from General John B. Sanborn that the peace commission would visit this agency, the 4th of June, and requesting all Indians under my control, also the Bannocks of this vicinity, to be assembled by that time. I immediately sent out couriers to accomplish this object. Through the efforts of Tag-gee, their principal chief, I succeeded in assembling about 800 Bannocks, who had arrived by the 15th May. By telegram I was authorized to purchase subsistence for all Shoshones and Bannocks until the arrival of the commissioners. Owing to the ill condition of roads in their route they were unable to reach here according to appointment, and in consequence nearly half the Bannocks had grown impatient and left for their fishing and summer resort before the arrival of General C. C. Augur, who represented the commission. In the mean while a full assemblage of the Shoshones was accomplished, notwithstanding the annuities were withheld, and the most favorable representations made to them of the benefits to result by remaining to meet the commissioners; even a few restless ones among these, unable to resist their roaming inclinations, and therefore not

286 40th Cong., 3rd sess., House Executive Document 1 (Serial 1366), 616–19. This was Mann’s last annual report submitted from the Utah Superintendency; his final annual report from the Wyoming Superintendency and dated Fort Bridger Agency, July 24, 1869, is published in 41st Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 3 (Serial 1414), 714–15.
present either at the conference of distribution of annuities. Immediately upon
his arrival General Augur had an informal meeting with Washakie and other
leading men of the Shoshones, and Tag-gee of the Bannocks, informing them of
the object sought, and desiring them to communicate with their tribes prepara-
tory to a formal meeting. On the 3d of July all of the headmen and a large num-
ber of their followers were present, and had explained to them fully the terms of
a treaty, which is made known to you in the report of the commissioners. The
result of this meeting was the acceptance of a treaty, under which added ben-
efits are guaranteed, and a reservation in the country of their choice made for
these Indians. It is especially gratifying to me to report this fact, having repeat-
edly urged the thing accomplished for several years. The meeting was most
satisfactory, and I trust that an early ratification and appropriations under the
new treaty may be made in time for the goods to reach the Indians by their next
annual visit. I am especially desirous that such may be accomplished in behalf
of the Bannocks, these Indians having for years been entitled to annuities under
a former treaty, but as yet deriving no benefit from their faithful observance of
treaty stipulations. Following the signing of the treaty a valuable present was
made the, the greatest harmony prevailing.

The relations existing between the Shoshones and Bannocks are of so amica-
ble a nature that it is hoped they may yet consent to join together upon one reser-
vation. Indians are perhaps more jealous than whites of such rights as are claimed
by them, and I would advise that time, and the evident advantages of such an
arrangement as it will develop, may be allowed to accomplish this object.

The Bannocks are greatly in minority, and to urge too speedy occupation of
one ground in common might produce a change in the relations of these tribes,
which for a great many years has been harmonious.

During the past winter, frequent inroads have been made by northern
tribes unfriendly to the Shoshones, and their hunting excursions thereby ren-
dered somewhat less successful than usual. The enmity existing between them
and the Nez Percés, Crows, Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes is of long dura-
tion, and the raids of these tribes upon their hunting parties have by degrees
deprived them of no inconsiderable amount of stock killed and captured. While
en route to the agency this spring a united party of Sioux, Cheyennes, and
Arapahoes, about 300 warriors, led by a son of Red Cloud, attacked Washakie.
A lengthy fight ensued. Their leader and several of the opposing party were
killed. Four Shoshones were killed, and a number wounded, who have mostly
recovered. The attacking party captured about 80 horses. These were a party
of the same combination of refractory warriors who refused to be present at

287 Mann had urged the creation of a reservation for the Shoshoni in the Wind River coun-
try in every annual report, beginning in 1862.
the recent visit of the peace commissioners at Fort Laramie, who, later, killed a
number of prospectors in Wind River valley, and have more recently commit-
ted a series of atrocities along the Union Pacific railroad and on the route from
Benton to South Pass. The hostility of these tribes will be a temporary draw-
back to the peaceful occupation of the reservations allotted to the Indians of
this agency. An effort is being made on the part of the Crows to procure peace,
to which I heard no opposition on the part of Washakie, though he signed his
desire that for that purpose they meet him in the presence of some government
official. I sincerely hope that the late treaties with the Sioux and their confed-
erates will be the means of withdrawing them from the vicinity of the Indians
under my care, who may then speedily secure the advantages of the treaty of
July 3, 1868, and at the same time, to themselves and their property, security
while hunting.

A decrease, consequent upon their losses in fight, and by such diseases as are
prevailing, is manifest. While at the agency the past spring a number of deaths
occurred, with but few exceptions among children. The diseases most fatal have
been whooping cough, with some complication, result of exposed habits, and
diarrhoea among children. Intermittent and continued fevers are frequent and
severe among adults, especially women. Such deaths as have under my notice
occurred among adults have been from old age.

The long detention to await the peace commissioners, already alluded to,
gave rise to impatience, and in consequence, when I hoped to obtain the most
complete estimate of population I found many absent. There were present at one
time, of both tribes, about 1,750. Of these 450 were Bannocks; the remainder
Shoshones, in approximately the following proportions: Of males between the
ages of 15 and 60 years, 400; adult females and girls over 12 years old, 500; the
remainder, children from infancy to 10 years old. The above estimate does not
include quite half of the Bannocks, who under the new treaty are placed under
the control of this agency. The proportions are about the same as herein detailed,
as relating to ages and sexes among the Shoshones.

The general social condition of the Indians in my care is good. A few small
bands have for a year or two past failed to visit the buffalo country, being unwill-
ing to expose their property to the predatory visits of hostile Indians. These have
remained near here, on Green river, where a sufficiency of game is found to sub-
sist them, and whereby they obtain a large quantity of salable skins. This dimi-
nution of his strength is not satisfactory to Washakie; hence I have instructed
all who have the means and are not too aged belonging to these bands to follow
Washakie, impressing them with the fact that he alone is recognized as their
head, and assuring them that if they expect to share the rewards they must par-
ticipate in all dangers incident to the tribe.
For the purchase of medicines and medical attentions, and for other incidental expenditures, I deem a small contingent fund for the use of this agency advisable. Such articles of traffic as the Indians themselves possess are usually exhausted in the purchase of sugar, coffee, tea, and ammunition, articles very scantily and mostly not at all supplied among annuities. Every year numbers of them bring me arms needing repairs, funds for which purpose I am not supplied with; hence I have either to supply them from private means, which I do not think the salary of this office justifies, or I have to refuse them altogether. . . .

148

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER, SEPTEMBER 14, 1868288

Sir

I have the honor to transmit herewith Statistical reports of Education and Farming. There is very little to report on these Subjects. No Schools and no farming. I hope the reports will be satisfactory if not please instruct. . . .

149

F. H. HEAD, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO N. G. TAYLOR, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED SALT LAKE CITY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1868 (EXTRACT)289

Sir: I have the honor to submit my annual report of the general condition of Indian affairs within the Utah superintendency for the past year.

INDIAN POPULATION

The numbers and classification of the Indians within this superintendency as given in my last annual report is, I am satisfied from careful investigation made during the past year, substantially correct. For convenience of reference the tabular statement is repeated, and is as follows:

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288 Utah Field Papers, 1868.
Tribes speaking the Utah language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uintas</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timpanoags</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanpitches</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yampah-Utes</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish-Utes</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goshen-Utes</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pah-Vents</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pah-Edes</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pah-Utes</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahranagats</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She-ba-retches</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elk Mountain Utes</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,300</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tribes speaking the Shoshone language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Shoshones</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern Shoshones</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Shoshones</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,800</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tribes speaking dialects containing both Utah, Shoshone, and Bannock words:

1. Cum-min-tahs, or Weber Utes. This tribe is formed from numbers of different Utah and Shoshone bands, the Utah element largely predominating in their language, and numbers about 650

2. Goship, or Gosha Utes. This tribe is similarly formed to that last named, the Shoshone element, however, largely predominating. There are also numerous Bannock words in their language, and many Goships marry Bannock squaws. They number about 1,100

3. Mixed bands of Bannocks and Shoshones. About three-fourths of this tribe are Shoshones, and one-fourth Bannocks. This tribe, as its name indicates, is formed from the two tribes last mentioned. Its members speak a language mostly of Shoshone words, although some of the more recent additions to the band speak only the Bannock tongue. This tribe numbers—
   Shoshones…………………………………………………………..1,800
   Bannocks …………………………………………………………….600
   **Total**…………………………………………………………..2,400

Recapitulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utah tribes</td>
<td>15,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshones</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed tribes</td>
<td>4,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25,250</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Eastern Shoshones.

This band has been, since 1861, under the immediate care of Agent Luther Mann. Chief Washakee retains the same upright and manly character he has ever sustained from the first settlement of Utah. His control over his Indians is more absolute than that of any other chief within the superintendency, and such influence is uniformly [sic] exercised wisely and for the best interests of the Indian. In the full and well-considered report of Agent Mann, which is herewith transmitted, a detailed account is given of the conference between General Augur, of the Indian peace commission, and the eastern Shoshones and Bannocks, with its successful results. The setting apart of a portion of the Wind River valley as a reservation for the eastern Shoshones is calculated to perpetuate the good feeling now existing between these and the whites, since this has long been an object of their most ardent desire.

Western and Northwestern Shoshones.

No especial effort has yet been made to engage the northwestern Shoshones in agricultural pursuits. They are very anxious to have cattle given to them, from which to raise stock; and during the past summer I presented to some of their most reliable chiefs fifteen cows, which they promised to keep as breeding animals. I visited them again a few days since, and found that they had as yet eaten none of the cows. They promised faithfully that these cows and their increase should be kept until they had a large herd of cattle of their own. The western Shoshones during the past year have shown a most commendable zeal in their farming operations. At Deep creek and at Ruby valley are the two principal bands of the tribe, numbering about 600 each. Shortly after my last annual report, when I visited the tribe, I gave to them some working oxen and ploughs, and in the spring furnished them some seed grain. With very slight aid from a white man at each place, to occasionally instruct them in the manner of their cultivation, they have put in about forty acres of land, the crops upon which are excellent, and will greatly aid in their support during the coming winter. Their success has greatly encouraged them, and they are eager to engage still more extensively in farming the coming year.

Education and Wealth.

No schools or missions or any character have been established among any of the tribes within this superintendency.

Some tribes have a considerable number of ponies, some also a few goats and cattle. The number of each is as follows:
Eastern Shoshone and Bannock ......................... 700
Northwestern Shoshones ................................. 166
Western Shoshones ........................................ 90
Weber Utes .................................................... 70
Goships ......................................................... 50
Pah-Vents ...................................................... 175
Uintah Utes, Yampah Utes, Fish Utes .............. 1,200

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ponies</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Goats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,451</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Price. Average value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Average value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ponies</td>
<td>$30</td>
<td>$735 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>68 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total wealth</td>
<td></td>
<td>805 71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The country occupied by many of the tribes is nearly destitute of game. The eastern Shoshones and Bannocks range during the winter in a country abounding in buffalo, and take annually robes of the value of almost $20,000. They also take considerable numbers of deer and beaver skins. The Indians ranging along the Uintah, White, and Green rivers take beaver and buck skins of the annual value of about $8,000. The value of furs and skins taken by other tribes is about $6,000, making a total value of $34,000 for robes, skins, and furs, taken by all the tribes. There is a demand among the settlers for home use for all the robes, furs, and skins, and the Indians take them principally to the settlements for sale and receive for them probably more nearly their actual value than in any other portion of the United States. With the increase of the population the game of every sort disappears, and this resource of the Indians is becoming less valuable and reliable every year.

* * *

Appropriations.

The appropriations for the Indian service in this superintendency, in proportion to the number of Indians therein, are much smaller than in any other portion of the United States. For the current year the usual appropriations have been largely reduced. This is especially unfortunate, since, owing to the near approach of the Pacific railroad and the increased demand for supplies engendered thereby, the prices of beef and flour have considerably advanced. The fact that the Indians within this superintendency are peaceable and friendly should induce increased liberality on the part of the paternal government rather than a
reduction of the supplies to which they have been accustomed. Starvation leads to stealing, and stealing to war, with its fearful and costly train of evils, retarding the settlement of this country and the development of its agricultural and mineral resources, inperilling the safety and speed of mail and passenger transit across the continent, and deranging the commerce of the entire Pacific coast. ...  

BREVET MAJOR GENERAL C. C. AUGUR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION, DATED HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE PLATTE, OMAHA, NEBRASKA, OCTOBER 4, 1868

Sir.

At the last meeting of this Commission, held at Fort Laramie, A.D. May 9th 1868, it was "Resolved," That General Augur proceed to Fort Bridger, to make arrangements with the Snakes, Bannacks, and other Indians along the line of the Union Pacific R. R. in Utah." The "arrangements" referred to in the resolution, were understood to be the making of a treaty with the tribes referred to, on the same basis as those made with the Sioux and other tribes already treated with by the Commission. The "Snakes and Bannacks" were the only tribes it was Supposed I would meet, and these had been notified through their agent to meet me at Fort Bridger on the 15th of June. Certain presents for them had been already ordered by the Commission, and were then Supposed to be on their way to them.

In pursuance of the above-cited resolution I proceeded to Fort Bridger, where I arrived on the 15th of June, and found the indians already assembled in that vicinity. But the presents had not arrived, and it was found that by reason of bad roads and high waters, they could not reach there under two weeks. The indians preferred to wait until their arrival, before "talking." The goods eventually arrived, and I held a council with the assembled tribes on the 3rd day of July. All of Wash-a-kees' band or the "North-eastern band of Shoshones" and which really constitutes the principal part of the Shoshone nation, and the larger part of the Bannacks under the head chief of the nation "Taggie" were present, and participated in the council. Washakee claims in general terms as being the country of his people, all the country lying between the parrell of the highest point of the Winter [corrected to Uinta] Mountains, and that of the Wind river valley, and between the meridian of Salt Lake City and the line of the North Platte rivers

290 Office of Indian Affairs, Irregularly Sized Papers, Drawer 6, No. 5.
to the mouth of the Sweetwater. “Taggie” claims for the Bannacks in terms more
general even, all the country about Soda Spring, the Porte Neuf river and the big
Kamas prairie to the northwest of it.291

I spoke to the Chiefs as follows:—

“Washakee, Taggie, and Chiefs of the Shoshones and Bannacks.

About a year ago, the great council and your great Father in Washington
sent out a Commission to have a talk with the Indian tribes in the west,—to
make peace with such as were hostile, and to arrange with all of them that here-
after, there should be no more war between the white men and the Indians.
This Commission have already made treaties of peace with the Cheyennes,
Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches, and most of the Sioux. Part of them are
now treating with the remaining Sioux and part have gone to meet the Navajoes
in New Mexico. I have been Sent to meet and talk with you. The Shoshones and
Bannacks are at peace with the whites, and have been for years. All we have to
do therefor, is to so arrange matters, that there may never hereafter be cause of
war between them. There are a great many white men in your country now, and
as soon as the Railroad is completed there will be many more. They will wish to
remain and make homes here, and your great Father desires that they should do
so, and he will make the Same arrangements for acquiring such title as you have
to this country, as the commission has heretofore made with the other Indian
tribes. He wishes however, to set apart a portion of it for your permanent homes,
and into which no white men will be permitted to come or Settle. Upon this
reservation he wishes you to go with all your people as soon as possible, and to
make it your permanent home, but with permission to hunt wherever you can
find game. In a few years the game will become Scarce, and you will not find suf-
ficient to support your people. You will then have to live in Some other way than
by hunting and fishing. He wishes you therefore to go to this reservation now,
and commence to grow wheat and corn, and raise cattle and horses, so that when
the game is gone you will be prepared to live independently of it. Your agent will
live there with you, and you will be provided with Store-houses, and Saw mills
and grist mills to make your flour, and a place to teach your children. Men will
be Sent to teach you to cultivate your farm, and a blacksmith and a carpenter
will be Sent to assist you, and a physician to cure you when sick so that in a few
years your people will be able to live comfortably in their new homes. No peo-
ple prosper who are continually at war. Your great Father desires therefore, that
you should remain at peace, not only with white men, but with all other Indian
tribes. Should you be at war now with other tribes, or have cause of complaint

291 The Kamas Prairie here described seems not to have been the one identified in Document
86, note 183, but the valley of Camas Creek, a western tributary of the present Big Wood
River, southeast of modern Boise, [Idaho].
against them, he will try to arrange matters between you, without your going
to war, or continuing it. It is desirable too, that as many Indians as possible be
gathered together on one reservation. More can be done for them in this way
then [sic] if they are scattered over the country in small reservations. He wishes
the Shoshones and Bannacks to be together, where you can have one agent to
attend to you, and the benefit of the Same men sent to instruct and care for you.
I will have a treaty prepared embracing all that is proposed to be done for you.
Its provisions will be carefully explained to you by the interpreter. I wish you to
examine it carefully and to understand it before you sign it, for after it is signed
and approved by your great Father and the great Council in Washington we will
all have to be guided by it, it will be the great bond of peace between us. I have
now done, and will hear you speak.”

The following minutes of the reply of Washakee and Taggee were taken down
at the time and are Substantially correct:

Washakee, chief of the Shoshones, was apparently greatly pleased and spoke
in effect as follows. I am laughing because I am happy. Because my heart is good.
As I said two days ago, I like the country you mentioned, then, for us, the Wind
river valley. Now I see my friends are around me, and it is pleasant to meet and
shake hands with them. I always find friends along the roads in this country,
about Bridger, that is why I come here. It is good to have the Railroad through
this country and I have come down to see it. When we want to grow Something
to east [east] and hunt I want the Wind river Country. In other Indian countries,
there is danger, but here about Bridger, all is peaceful for whites and Indians
and safe for all to travel. When the white man came into my country and cut
the wood and made the roads my heart was good, and I was Satisfied. You have
heard what I want. The Wind river Country is the one for me. We may not for
one, two or three years be able to till the ground. The Sioux may trouble us. But
when the Sioux are taken care of, we can do well. Will the whites be allowed to
build houses on our reservation? I do not object to traders coming among us,
and care nothing about the miners and mining country when they are getting
out gold. I may bye and bye get Some of that myself. I want for my home the
valley of Wind river and lands on its tributaries as far east as the Popo-agie, and
want the privilege of going over the mountains to hunt where I please.”

Taggie, chief of the Bannacks, then speaks.

As far away as Virginia City our tribe has roamed. But I want the Porte-neuf
country and Kamas plains. This reiterated desire for the Kamas Prairie was hopeless; the Fort Hall Reservation was limited by the south bank of the Snake River.
Quest. Why cannot the Bannacks and Shoshones get on together on the same reservation?

Taggie replied—we are friends with the Shoshones and like to hunt with them, but we want a home for ourselves.

Questions by the Commission. If you have a separate home can you and the Shoshones get along with one agency and come to the Shoshone reservation for your annuities?

Taggie. We want to receive anything that is for us on our own ground.

Taggie was then told that at present the Commissioner, was not sufficiently acquainted with the country they wanted to mark out a reservation, but that when the Bannacks were ready to go on a reservation, the President would send some one to lay off one, which shall include portions of the country they want and that until the Shoshones go on their reservation in the Wind river valley, the goods for the Bannacks will be delivered at Bridger, separate from those for the Shoshones. Such buildings as the Government thinks they require, will be built on the reservation. If hereafter the Bannacks and Shoshones agree to go on the same reservation, they will all have the same buildings.

Tomorrow the 4th of July, the Commission wants all the head men of the Shoshones and Bannacks to come here, at twelve o'clock to sign the treaty.

The great Father at Washington and the grand Council have always shown Washakee as a good friend of the white man, and look upon him as chief of the Shoshones and good adviser of all the peaceful tribes about here. He always gives them good advice, and we hope they will always follow it.

The following day, the chiefs again assembled, and the Treaty was interpreted to them, Article by Article. It was perfectly satisfactory to them and was signed by all the Chiefs present. The treaty is herewith respectfully submitted to the Commission.

In connection herewith, I desire to submit a copy of a memorandum made for me by Mr. Head, Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Utah.

On the 2d day of July, 1863, Governor Doty pursuant to instructions from the Indian Bureau concluded a treaty with the Eastern Shoshonees, providing for the payment of an annuity of $10,000—they ceding rights of way, &c.

On the 30th of same month, he concluded a treaty in all respects similar with N. W. Shoshonees; they receiving an annuity of $5000, and Octo 1, of same year, a similar treaty with Western bands—providing for same annuity.

After these treaties were concluded he made a similar treaty with the “mixed bands of Bannocks and Shoshonees” at Soda Springs, Idaho, by which it was provided that they should share in the annuities of the Shoshonees.

When this treaty went before the Senate for confirmation, it was amended by the addition of a new article and directed to be re-submitted to the tribe for ratification, which has never been done.
The treaty as made by Gov. Doty requires to be modified in two particulars—
1st. By adding the new article pursuant to the requirement of the Senate.
2nd. By striking out the last ten words of Article 2, of said treaty and inserting
in lieu thereof the words “receiving the same annuity as the Northwestern bands
of the Shoshonee nation.”

It is impossible to reconcile the provisions of the treaty as made, with good
faith on the part of the Government toward the Shoshonees. It simply diverts
from them, a portion of their annuity, without their Consent.

The original treaty, with the Senate amendment are enclosed.

(Signed) F. H. Head.

Supt.

Under this defective arrangement the Bannacks have never received a cent
from the Government, except a few casual presents the Superintendent was able
to give them from funds of an incidental nature.

I am also advised by Superintendent Head and Agent Mann at Fort Bridger
that it is a Misnomer to call them “the mixed Bands of Bannacks and Shoshonees.”
That no such band exists and never did. The band treated with by Governor Doty
as the Shoshonee Goship Band—is not a band of Shoshonees at all, but a band of
Utés, known as Gosha Utés after their chief Gosho. Still they are drawing their
annuities and have been, as a band of Shoshonees known as the Northwestern
and Southwestern bands are inconsiderable ones, and that their annuities not
being per capita are probably out of proportion to those given by present treaties
to Shoshonee band.

The presents to the Indians at Bridger were issued to them by their Agent and
Colonel Morrow, Commanding officer Fort Bridger, and the necessary receipts
are here presented. The issue was in the name of General Sanborn, as the pur-
chas were made by him.

I also procured for them from the post of Fort Bridger, thirty-seven old arms
and two thousand cartridges. These are invoiced also to General Sanborn. On
my return I visited the Sweetwater mines which are about thirty miles south of
the proposed reservation for the Shoshonees. I found the miners there entirely
satisfied with the location of the reservation, and in fact rather pleased, as the
location of friendly bands there would be a protection to them against the hos-
tile Sioux and Blackfeet.

In connection with the recent departure of Spotted Tail and others [of
the Sioux] for their reservation, I have to report that on the 6th of Sept. I sent

Head’s views to the contrary notwithstanding, the Gosiute, as now called, linguistically have
been found by ethnologists to be wholly Shoshoni. See Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau*, 133–
34. The chief from whom it is presumed the Gosiutes took their name died so long before as
1850, as recorded in the manuscript journal of Lieut. John W. Gunnison with the Stansbury