for Spotted Tail to come in as I wished to see him about going to reservation. I also requested Colonel [H. B.] Denman, Supt. Indian Affairs [northern Superintendency], to have the other bands sent for to come in at the same time. I went on the 8th to North Platte to meet them.

Spotted Tail with Seventy three Lodges.
Swift Bear " Thirty-four "
Ogallallas white Eyes
(walk under the ground) Thirty "
Brules, Iron Shell and Bad Hand Twenty four "
Lower Brules, Big Foot Eighteen

In addition, were many families living under bushes and pieces of canvas reported equivalent to twelve lodges. Making altogether Two Hundred and Three lodges—a little exceeding twelve hundred souls. Iron Shell I did not see he being already on Thickwood Creek. Spotted Tail, claimed that by the arrangement at Laramie he and his people were to be permitted to remain on Republican [fork of Kansas River] this winter, and go to reservation next spring. I explained to him that [it] would be impossible for him to remain there without becoming involved in war, and that I advised him to go at once with all his people to his reservation.

After some consultation among themselves he replied that he would go, and all those with him. That he had separated himself from the indians on the Republican and would never have anything more to do with them—that they had acted very badly and that he would never try to do anything more for them. I asked him what reasons those indians assigned for their recent outbreak. He replied None,—they did not pretend to have any excuse or cause of complaint, that the Cheyennes, or most of their young men had never wanted peace, and were tired of it.

Superintendent Denman detailed interpreter Tod Randall to accompany these indians to the reservation. I hired fifteen wagons for their use, to be paid the same that was paid for those that went with first party, and bought provisions and a small quantity of clothing and ammunition The provisions and what ammunition I gave them I placed under the charge of the interpreter. They left North Platte on the 18th September.

I submit copies of two letters just received from Laramie and Fetterman on the subject of Indian Affairs.

I neglected to mention in the proper connection that I found it impossible to induce the Shoshonees and Bannacks to unite in accepting a common reservation. Although friendly and allies, they each prefer to live in their own country. I do not think it improbable however, that the Bannacks may be induced eventually to go to the Shoshonee reservation, and that the latter will consent to this arrangement. . . .
James Van Allen Carter, Interpreter, to F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger, Wyoming, January 11, 1868 [i.e., 1869]

Dear Sir: I enclose a communication addressed to Col. Mann, which came under address of Judge Carter. This is the first time I have heard this complaint, but I am quite fearful that Major B’s influence is not in the interests of the Indians upon other matters. He is much dissatisfied with the treaty made here in July last & has, I have heard, used his influence to awaken opposition to it upon the part of the settlers in their country.

As to this matter you have in this letter such evidence as myself.
I hand it to you supposing if anyone may, you can remedy the matter. . . .

F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to E. S. Parker,* Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Salt Lake City, April 29, 1869

Sir.
On the 22d day of Feb. ult. in a communication to your predecessor I urged the immediate purchase of certain goods to the amount of $3500. or thereabouts from the appropriation for fulfilling treaty with Eastern Shoshonees If such goods have not already been purchased and forwarded, I would respectfully urge that

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295 Utah Field Papers, 1868. Both the context and the reference to Wyoming in the heading demonstrate that the letter is misdated 1868. James Van Allen Carter, who was born Feb. 4, 1838, was not a blood relation of W. A. Carter, but married his daughter Annie and lived at Fort Bridger until his death, Jan. 5, 1896.

296 Is the reference perhaps to Jim Bridger? He left the mountains in the late summer of 1868 and spent the rest of his life at Westport, [Missouri] though it is said that in the fall of 1868 he went out to Fort Hays, Kansas, in an unavailing effort to dissuade General P. H. Sheridan from his winter campaign into the Indian Territory. See Alter, James Bridger, 474.

297 [Henry G. Waltmann, “Ely Samuel Parker, 1869–71,” Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 123–33.]

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they be so purchased and shipped at once—The Indians will be at the Agency in about a month to receive their annuities and dissatisfaction can scarcely fail to ensue from the amount of goods now on hand, being so much less than they have usually received, as stated in my former letter. . . .

E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to J. E. Tourtelotte, Supt. Indian Affairs, dated Washington, D. C., June 25, 1869 (extract)²⁹⁸

Sir

. . . The Special Agency for the Bannocks and Shoshonees heretofore under the Utah Superintendency, being now within the bounds of Wyoming Territory,²⁹⁹ will hereafter be embraced in the Superintendency for Wyoming Territory, and the Agent to be appointed for it, will report to the Governor of that Territory who, by virtue of his office as Governor, is Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. . . .

F. H. Head, Supt. of Indian Affairs, to E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Great Salt Lake City, August 1, 1869 (extract)³⁰⁰

Sir: I have the honor to submit my last annual report of the condition and progress of Indian affairs within the whole superintendency.

²⁹⁸ Utah Field Papers, 1869. Col. J. E. Tourtelotte succeeded F. H. Head as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah in 1869, an appointee of the new Grant administration, which adopted the policy of appointing unassigned army officers to posts within the Indian Bureau. Under the same circumstances, Luther Mann, Jr., was replaced as Agent for the Shoshoni and Bannacks by Capt. J. H. Patterson. This policy was overturned when Congress subsequently provided that officers remaining in the Indian service must resign their commissions in the Army.

²⁹⁹ Wyoming Territory was created July 25, 1868, and organized April 15, 1869.

³⁰⁰ 41st Cong., 2nd sess., House Executive Document 1, pt. 3 (Serial 1414), 668–71. The use of “Great Salt Lake City” in the heading was anachronistic, the Utah legislature in 1868 having shortened the name to Salt Lake City.
Population.

In my previous annual reports as full and accurate classification and numbering of the different tribes as it was practicable to obtain have been given. My investigations during the year have satisfied me that the census heretofore transmitted is substantially correct. Since my last report, however, the Territory of Wyoming has been organized, and the Eastern Shoshones and mixed bands of Bannacks and Shoshones heretofore in Utah superintendency have been transferred to Wyoming superintendency. This would reduce the number of Indians in Utah superintendency nearly five thousand. In my last report the number was stated to be twenty-five thousand. The natural decrease would be nearly one thousand. This, and the transfer above named, would leave the number of Indians in this superintendency at the date of this report nineteen thousand.

Furs and Skins.

Since the transfer of the Eastern Shoshones to Wyoming superintendency, there are no Indians in the Territory who range over other than a desert country nearly destitute of game. The Indians upon the Uintah reservation, and also the Northwestern Shoshones and Weber Utes, take some few deer and beaver skins. These furs and skins are all needed for manufacture among the people in the Territory, and the Indians get much higher prices for them than in any other part of the country; nearly their value in New York. The whole value of the furs and skins so taken is about nine thousand dollars.

With this document we conclude our long presentation of the history of Washakie and the Shoshone as reflected in the records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs in the National Archives at Washington. The later experiences of this great chief and his tribe as reflected in the documentary record are left to later scholars who may be interested to explore the potentialities of the records of the Wyoming Superintendency.
Fort Hall reservation, Idaho, from an anonymous photographer’s image taken between 1863 and 1870. Denver Public Library, X-33454.
The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah

Cf. Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 5, 1858 (Y/31–1858). [Morgan’s original submission included Young’s entire letter in the note “since it affords an unexpected point of view on the Mormon leader,” but available space in the journal imposed a page limit. In cutting the paper for publication he settled for a citation rather than a transcription (Morgan to John Caughey, 1948 May 5, Morgan Papers, Bancroft Library). The original letter at National Archives is missing one and perhaps more leaves, which may be a further reason why Morgan chose to drop the transcript from his note; he also did not include the letter among the sheaf of transcripts gleaned from the superintendent records. The letter now appears here with the kind help of Mary Frances Morrow and Ronald W. Watt. The draft of the letter, mostly likely in the handwriting of Daniel H. Wells and found in the Brigham Young papers at the LDS Church Historical Department, fills out the missing text of the official letter. Unlike the clear secretarial hand of the final copy, the draft is hastily written; its choppy, ill-punctuated sentence structure may have been taken down during a verbal discussion. Due to poor penmanship my transcription of that section may not be entirely accurate and is set off by braces.]

Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Great Salt Lake City
April 5th. 1858.

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington City, D.C.

Sir:—

In compliance with what I esteem my duty I again transmit the papers to your office from this Superintendency for the quarter ending 31st March 1858; they are vouchers from No 1 to 24 inclusive, amounting to $2749 11/100, account current, abstract, return of presents, and statement for work done at the U.S. blacksmith shop; Major Armstrong’s report and papers not yet having come to hand. You will observe that the amount is much less than usual, still, owing to the disturbed state of affairs, it is much more than otherwise might have been, for instance, $489 29/100 are for beef, flour, &c., furnished the fragments of four or five discontented bands of the Shoshones, Cumumbahs [Weber Utes], and Whiteknives, upon the occasion of the election of Ben. Simons, a Delaware, as their Chief; also $583 35/100 presents sent to the Indians in Tooele County, who had not as yet taken part in the hostilities against the Settlements in that region; the Indians appear very universally excited, and more or less hostile. It has always been my utmost endeavor to conciliate the native tribes, so teach them the arts of civilization, to live together in peace toward each other and toward all the whites, and this forbearance, and earnest endeavor to do them and all men good, is falsely construed into “Tampering with the Indians,” and influencing them to enmity against the Government; with how much truth these charges are made, recent events are now fully demonstrating. Such charges are not of very unfrequent occurrence, and usually remain unanswered by me, as not worthy of notice, but when such false accusations emanate from so high a quarter as the President of the United States,
I deem it at least my privilege to state the truth, and leave the result in the hands of Him who discerns the right and judges according to the deeds done in the flesh. The enclosed affidavit of one of our interpreters [Joshua K. Whitney] is but one of many that might be furnished, if necessary, to prove that our enemies have no scruples in exciting the Indians against us and, especially when taken in connection with actual hostilities and depredations on their part, and the boasted “Allies of Utah Indians” in the camp of United States Troops, as stated in their own correspondence and published in the Eastern papers, leaves but little room to doubt the complicity of the army in these hostilities. This may or may not be “tampering with the Indians,” inasmuch as it proceeds from those who boast a “civilized mode of warfare”; but when men are killed and scalped, and their horses, mules, and cattle are taken to the enemies’ camp, and then Indians with their new blankets on their shoulders, guns and ammunition in their hands boast of having received these and other presents from the army, and themselves acting as their friends and our enemies, it proves the charge of the President unfounded, as regards me and the people of this Territory, but saddles the foul slander most conclusively upon the immaculate soldiery who have been sent to “correct the morals” and teach a higher mode of warfare than practiced or known by the so called “deluded fanatics and “ignorant Mormons”. It is painful to be compelled to speak in this manner, but more painful to see our citizens shot down when passing through the country upon their own lawful business, and to have so much reason to believe that if it is instigated by those who profess to be acting under the authority of the General Government.

In addition to the hostilities on the western settlements of Tooele and Rush valleys, and those north, wherein three of our people have been killed and five wounded and considerable stock stolen and taken in the direction of and supposed to the Army[,] it is almost daily disclosed by the Indians in the south and south east that an attack is mediated on our settlements in that region by the Indians, from Uinta Valley who it is said are acting under the influence and direction of the troops[.] said Dr Hurt the remaining Indian agent of the Territory[,] “one thing is certain he has taken with him Indians who were supposed to be friendly with the people that often swear to have become enemies and ready to rob plunder and kill[.]” How long this state of things must continue is not for me to say but if the government and is ready to furnish the means for the promotion of such an unhallowed warfare the sooner we are apprised of it the better[,] and its acts will go much further than all they can say in influencing our conduct or restoring that confidence which it is our most ardent wish to enjoy, and should be the policy of the Government to inspire.

Trusting that there is yet magnanimity sufficient in the Republic to influence those whose sworn duty it is to protect and not destroy, her citizens, and restore quiet and peace by yielding unto us those constitutional rights which we hold in common with all American citizens, I have the honor to remain your

Obt. Serv.:

Brigham Young
Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs

[Accompanying the letter Young encloses the original affidavit by Joshua K. Whitney. In it Whitney attests to a fourth-hand story about Forney’s supposed incitement of the Weber Utes. Forney reportedly told members of the band assembled at Fort Bridger that “the soldiers were coming in with their big guns to kill all the Mormons all through the mountains; that Brigham had put a charm on Naracuts children that made them all die.” Some time later Naracuts related the comments to one Mooneye, who was Whitney’s]
source. The document further states that Forney (through Mooneye from Naracuts) claimed personally to have killed Joseph Smith and was confident he could handle Brigham Young the same way, and that the agent was arming the Weber Utes (who really were busily stealing stock along the overland trail at the time).

Young was given to hyperbole but otherwise was an eminently practical man. The fact that he would forward to his superiors so tenuous a story suggests that he was uncomfortable with the manner in which circumstances were unfolding beyond his control and may have been grasping for any solid justification of his actions. In fact, neither he nor the military command was willing to give the smallest increment to the opposing side in the political standoff of 1857–1858. —Ed.]

**WASHAKIE AND THE SHOSHONI**

60. A great deal of the history of the Green River area is here passed over very lightly; more should be said about this episode, for it marks a distinct forward step in the Mormon occupation of what became Uinta County, Wyoming. Expansion of Mormon colonization into the Shoshoni country had been foreshadowed in August, 1852, when apparent agreement was reached with the Shoshoni on this subject; see Document 18. Following this up, Brigham Young on August 30, 1852, addressed a letter “To the brethren who are emigrating to the valleys of the mountains,” sent by Dimick B. Huntington, William Elijah Ward, and Brigham H. Young, with advice concerning “our wishes pertaining to making a settlement on Green River.” This letter, the original of which is in the LDS Church Historian's Office [now the Historical Department] in Salt Lake City, said in part:

It has long been our cherished object to have a good permanent settlement located and established at that point. It is a very desirable location for many reasons which will be felt doubtless by the pecuniary advancement of those who shall make that place their home, but chiefly that a location may be established which will be calculated to strengthen this people and extend a favorable influence among the native tribes in the midst of whom we are located.

It is extremely desirable to have one or two good bridges built across Green River, which should be accomplished while the water is low this fall and ensuing winter. Those can be toll bridges and inure to the benefit of the builders by such arrangements as shall be made with the Legislature the ensuing winter. No better place can be found for exchanging stock and trading with emigrants as all concentrate at that point. It is also believed to be a good stock country and that grain sown early in the spring, say February or March, will mature in the best locations. No settlement has as yet been made upon the Shoshone's lands. They have always evinced a most friendly spirit and will no doubt, if correctly managed, continue to exhibit the same.

It is also a place where a station is needed to produce mail facilities to keep a change of animals, etc. But the advantages which the place possesses in a pecuniary point of view for a settlement at that point, and the fact of its being calculated to be productive of much good in promoting the advancement of the cause which is dear to every Latter-day Saint. We therefore say unto you that we wish to have a sufficient number stop to organize a county at that place which was last winter named Green River County and attached to G. S. L. County for revenue, election and Indian purposes. [cf. Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual and Special Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah . . . (Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 162–164].
It is not our wish to oppress the brethren, but wish those who remain to do so of their own free will and choice, having and feeling an abiding interest in the cause which we have espoused. An extension of the settlements in that direction will manifestly promote the emigration. . . . You can stop and while your teams are recruiting select out the best place for a location; build up your cabins; and then come into the city so far as it shall be necessary to procure your winter supplies, after which you can return and make your arrangements for the ensuing season of emigration, etc. . . .

The exact nature of the difficulties that developed does not appear in the Mormon sources, but on October 14, 1852, Brigham Young wrote to “Wm. D. Huntington, Brigham H. Young and others at Green River”:

I wrote to you on the 4th inst., per Indian Simons, to return from that place and for all of you to come away and bring your effects with you to this city and leave not one behind. Owing to the uncertainty of your getting the letter from that source, I now write to you by Bro. Hutchinson. It is needless to urge the matter of settlement at that place at the present. We do not wish to lay the foundation for any difficulty which by a little foresight may be avoided.

If some of our people would go out with the Indians upon their trip hunting and get acquainted with them and with their chiefs, then a good influence might be exerted among them, which it would not be in the power of anybody else to counteract; but we must wait for the present; therefore, all of you come back and let things take their course a little longer. . . .

Hosea Stout, who came as a colonizing missionary to the Green River area in the spring of 1854, wrote in his journal on May 15, “. . . we arrived at Russell’s [after] Baiting with Batise at twelve Here at Russell’s is where Huntington & Co. commenced a settlement in 1852 which was wisely abandoned afterwards.” And next day, “we moved two miles down the River to the Mormon Crossing of Green River Ferry,” which serves to fix the location of the initial Mormon effort at colonization in Wyoming. [Stout, On the Mormon Frontier, 2: 517. —Ed.]

69. Here again some background must be filled in. After the false start in 1852, a Mormon settlement in the basin of the Green River was begun in the fall of 1853, as one of several missions sent to the Indians of Utah Territory. The official camp journal of the mission is copied into Andrew Jenson’s “History of Fort Supply,” in his “History of Lyman Stake,” a manuscript in the Church Historian’s Office [now the Historical Department] at Salt Lake City. The company, consisting of 39 men with 20 wagons, 93 head of cattle, and 8 head of horses and mules, left Great Salt Lake City Nov. 2 and reached Fort Bridger on the 12th. They had intended locating in the valley of Henrys Fork, but chose in preference to this a location on Willow Creek, a tributary of Smiths Fork, a few miles south of Fort Bridger. Here, on November 17, Fort Supply was founded. An extended account of the mission by a member of it is James S. Brown, Life of a Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown (Salt Lake City: G. Q. Cannon, 1900), 304–74; brief mention by another member is found in Christopher Merkley, Biography of Christopher Merkley (Salt Lake City: J. H. Parry, 1887), 33. A formal history by Andrew Jenson is published in Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine (January 1913); see also Charles E. Dibble, “The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians,” Utah Humanities Review 1, nos. 1–3 (January, April, July 1947): 53–73, 166–77, 279–93.

Orson Hyde did not leave Great Salt Lake City with the advance party, but paid the new fort a visit on December 9–12. A letter he wrote on the subject of the mission is published in the Deseret News, December 1, 1853. The manner in which the Mormons were able to combine public business with church interests is well shown by Bedell’s letter, for Hyde was obliged to go to Fort Supply in any event. He wrote the following letter to Washakie before returning home:
Fort Supply, Green River County  
Dec. 10, 1853

Greeting:
Respected and esteemed friends:

I have often heard of you but never had the pleasure of seeing you or of making your acquaintance, both of which I desire and hope the time will not be long until I see you and make your acquaintance.

A little more than one year ago our people began to make a settlement (on your lands) on Green River, but learning that you and your people did not like us to form a settlement there, we left and gave up the settlement. Since that time we have heard by Mr. Battize Lauzon [a phonetic rendering of Baptiste Louisant] that you were willing that our people should make a settlement on your lands, on or near Green River, therefore our great Chief in G. S. L. Valley, Brigham Young, has sent me with a number of men to make a settlement on your lands. We have located on Smith’s Fork, about ten miles from Sam Callwell’s fort [i.e., what until lately had been Fort Bridger?]. I am now with them, but shall leave them in two more sleeps to go to G. S. L. City. I shall remain there until Spring and when the snow melts and the grass grows I shall come back to this settlement and hope to remain with them. I have heard that some whites have told you that we were a bad people, but in answer to this I would say to you come and see. Our young men are learning your language; they want to be united with your people and a number of our men want to marry wives from your people and we want to be friends. We want to be friends with the Utes and not kill them, but they will steal and rob us and we had to kill some of them and they have killed some of us. We are sorry that they live so bad. When you can learn all about what some white men have done on Green River you will not blame the “Mormons” for taking some of their stock, it was done according to the laws of our Great Father at Washington. Believe not all the bad things that some white men say of us but come and see us. We would like some Lamanites of your people to come and live in our little settlement so that we may talk with them and learn your language. I sent you this letter by Bro. Barney Ward who has a Shoshone wife and some of our young men go with him to see you. I send you some tobacco and some shirts also and my best wishes. I hope to see you myself when snow melts and grass grows and I expect to be here then and I will see you, but all our young men will be glad to see you [this winter] if you can come but I should not be with you then until grass grows and if you cannot come to see me than I will try to find where you are and come and see you and your people. I send you many good wishes and hope the Good Spirit above will be kind and good to the Shoshone nation and to their Great Chief and also to the Mormons and their Great Chief.

Will you send me word by Barney Ward and the young men, what you think and how you feel and they will write the same and send to me and to our Great Chief in G. S. L. Valley.

I am, your Friend

Orson Hyde

To Washakeete.

The above letter is copied into the Fort Supply camp journal under date of May 9, 1854. Owing to severe weather, it was not possible to carry the communication to Washakie
during the winter; it was finally taken to him in the spring of 1854, an episode James S. Brown describes at considerable length (Life of a Pioneer, 312–32). It may be remarked that the dates in Brown's book for this period check up very well with contemporary sources.

70. Ryan's first name was Elisha, but James S. Brown calls him L. B. Ryan. From Brown's account, it would seem that after Bridger was forced to leave his fort, Sam Callwell became the recognized leader of the Green River mountain men—or as Brown puts it, Callwell was said to be at the head of the gang of desperadoes who plied their vocation from Bridger to Green River, and back on the emigrant route to Laramie; he was a large, trim built man, about six feet six inches tall, and very daring. But after a bowie knife was plunged into his vitals [by Louis Tromley, a Frenchman] he did not survive long, dying in about twenty-four hours. . . . L. B. Ryan [succeeded] Samuel Callwell as chief of the organized band of desperadoes. . . . (Brown, Life of a Pioneer, 310, 312.)

Bill Hickman has a considerable account of his own dealings with Ryan, who, he says (and this is shown to be the fact in at least one instance), accompanied him on three missions pertaining to Indian affairs in 1854–55. Hickman also says (Brigham's Destroying Angel, 106) that Ryan was subsequently killed by “a Spaniard,” this apparently in the spring of 1855.

[Six months after part 3 of “Washakie and the Shoshoni” appeared in print, the Bancroft Library acquired several documents relating to Holeman's service in the Utah Superintendency. One item was a post-agency-service letter to Holeman at home in New Liberty, Kentucky from Hubert Papin, a trader/settler wintering in the Green River area, shedding further light on events Morgan had cited in this note. Morgan mentioned the acquisition in a letter to Lola Homsher, stating that he would have included the letter in the note had it been available at the time (Morgan to Homsher, 1955 Jan. 24, Morgan Papers). On the strength of that comment it is included here.

Green River Utah Ter'y Nov 12th/54

Mast Holeman

Dr Sir

Your letter of August 23d come to hand in due season. And hope you will not blame me for failing to answer it immediately. You have been with, and seen enough of Mountain life, to know we cannot be as punctual in our correspond-ence as if we were in the States, where every facility and convenience is at hand

I left my Fort about the fourth of Octo. on account of the Sioux Indians. They were stealing my Horses, taking 39 head—but as luck would have it, Sho Coho Indians [i.e., Shoshoni, see Ch. 3, note 4] were camped at the Bridge and knowing the Horses, took them from their. The Sioux and Chayinns are getting very troublesome, they kill, and steal, every chance they get. Mr. [Martin? Martineau?] (Trader from MO) lost five head of Horses, about the same time, also killed an Indian squaw making quite a display of the skulls as they past the different trading posts—seeming to exult over it (Snake Squaws)

The Snakes and Utes are wareing with each other and there has been a con-siderable number kill'd on both sides

As to the information you desire in regard to the Murder of Gunnison, and his party. I am unable to give you any satisfaction. The Mormons accuse the Utes and the Utes accuse the Mormons, and no one I have herd speak of it seems to know— The Utes are far more friendly disposed towards the Traders than they have ever been, and just the severe &c towards the Mormons, and emigrants. They
a short time since kill four Mormons and of course the Mormons will return the compliment the first opportunity that presents itself. You wish to know the matter of the $80.00 was arranged, and settled between Archambault and Lajeunesse. They refuse to pay me any thing, but say if they owe you any thing, that they will pay you if you present your accounts personally. You will get your pay if you come yourself, but I don't think you will otherwise. The horse you let me get from Mr [Gracien? Gracieu?] I did not get—Gracien refusing to let me have it.

You request me to send you some moccasins Indian fixuns &c. If an opportunity presents itself I will do so with pleasure, but I cannot sent them by mail, for they would never reach you if they were. By the time you come up I will have them ready for you. And I will expect you to come out in the spring. As to the license, as trader I have never been able to obtain them, not knowing who to apply to or who the Indian agent is.

I was truly gratified to learn that the President approved your acts &c as Indian agent, and regret that you declined returning.

I shall return to my Fort in the spring, and hope to meet you there Mrs Papan & Children wish to be remembered to you. Archambault sold out to his partner Lajeunesse, and has returned to the States. As to news I have nothing new or interesting to give. I will be pleased to hear from you at any time.

You wish to know all about the Mormons & their settlement at Bridger. They made a settlement on Henry's fork, about two miles from Bridger's Fort but from all I can learn they will not be suffered to remain for I learn from Washakie, that they will not intend to suffer them to remain nor sell them an inch of land until they see the American chief (President). They are anxious to see you, and express great friendship towards you.

You want information as regards trade and what kind would be best to bring out—Groceries of every description will pay well, whole sale or retail.

Saml Caldwell (Trader) got into a difficulty with Lucy Tromley in Caldwells own house. Tromley wanted to leave the house, and go to Doolittles tent to sleep, Caldwell told him he should not, but should sleep there, or he would whip him before he did—Tromley started to leave the House, Caldwell followed, and struck him, Tromley turned on him with a knife giving him two stabs, one in the abdomen and one in the neck, Caldwell survived only 16 hours. Tromley was also killed at or near Bridgers Fort last winter, he was stabed, but no one knows who done it. It is supposed to be done by some one about the fort without any cause unless for a little money he had about him. Henry Piles got killed by a Trader, for stealing a horse, the trader pursued and overtook him. Piles burst a cap at him [i.e., shot at him] and was at once shot down by the trader. It happened at Green Willow Springs—Jack Swinery was killed on Sweet Water above the crossings, for stealing horses, supposed to have been done by Emigrants. Write soon.

Yours, Very Respectfully

Hubert Papin

Papin's "Fort" mentioned here was probably the trading stockade he operated, most likely with partner Charles Perot, near Independence Rock. Additional details about trouble during this time may be found in the notes of an interview with one of Papin's former clerks (cf. Alexis Magliore Mousseau interview, Eli S. Ricker Manuscript Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln). Note that Morgan follows Hyde's spelling of "Callwell" while Papin specifies "Caldwell." The other figures mentioned in the letter, Mutty, Piles, Swinery, and Gracien or Gracieu, may have been part of Caldwell's gang of mountaineers but have been otherwise lost to history. The Papin letter is part of the Jacob H. Holeman Correspondence, 1851–1854, Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley. —Ed.]
Appendix

81. This document is the primary source of information on the ownership of the Mormon ferries or ferry at this particular time. Hawley may have taken over the ferry in the spring of 1854, at which time a reinforcement was sent out to the Fort Supply mission and steps taken to organize Green River County, to give the Mormons better political control over it. Hosea Stout's diary interestingly develops this background. Stout left Great Salt Lake City, in a company which included Orson Hyde and William A. Hickman, on May 1, and arrived at Fort Supply May 7, finding it "the most forbidding and godforsaken place I have ever seen for an attempt to be made for a settlement & judging from the altitude I have no hesitancy in predicting that it will yet prove a total failure but the brethren here have done a great deal of labor." His diary continues:

[May 9.] Judge [W. I.] Appleby organized the County of Green River by appointing Robert Alexander Clerk of Probate Court, W. A. Hickman Sheriff also assessor and Collector as well as prosecuting attorney. He also appointed the other requisite County officers, after which Isaac Bullock, James Brown, Elijah Ward and James Davis were appointed to go to the Shoshonee Indians to assure them of our good wishes and feelings towards them also to allay the prejudice which some unprincipaled mountaineers had raised against us after the council was over we celebrated the inauguration of the newly appointed officers in the usual way. . . .

[May 10] Elder Hyde, John Leonard, Ute Perkins & John Fawcett left about noon for Great Salt Lake City

[May 11] . . . Captain Hawley arrived this evening meeting Hyde & co at sulphur Creek. They were undoubtedly under forced march In fact Elder Hyde seems to [have] an invincible repugnance to Fort Supply.

[May 12] . . . Some six wagons started to Green River ferry to day. . . .

[May 14] Crossed Ham's Fork which we had to ferry in Hawley's Skiff Here we found Mr Shockley's waggon loaded with alcahal and other things This we all knew what to do with so after helping ourselves we took his waggon on with us some 4 or 5 miles and camped soon after which Shockley & Russell came after their wagon, both very glad that we had brought it along for with[out] Hawley's skiff they could not have crossed Ham's fork. Bullock & company also came and put up with us on their way to the Shoshonees so all was well now & plenty of good company.

[May 15] . . . we arrived at Russell's [after] Baiting with Batise at twelve Here at Russell's is where Huntington & Co. commenced a Settlement in 1852 which was wisely abandoned afterwards.

[May 16] . . . moved two miles down the River to the Mormon Crossing of Green River Ferry and ferried our traps & waggon across in Hawley's skiff Here was three log buildings in which we took possession of shielding us only a little from the Storms for they were in a bad condition. . . . Nearly all the mountaineers came to day to pay us our first visit

[May 18] . . . Mr Hawley put his rope across the river and Joseph Busby came from Weber ferry to commence suit against Bridger & Lewis in a matter pertaining to Ham's fort ferry last year wherein all three were partners.

[May 19] Attending legal business Joseph Busby vs James Bridger & Suece Louis. A large company of Bannack indians crossed the river to day. . . .

[May 27] . . . Hickman & Hawley started their teams to Hams Fork with a boat to start a ferry at that point.

[May 28] . . . The Mountaineers as usual throng in here to day drinking swearing & gambling.

[May 29] Law suit before Judge Appleby. John H. Bigler vs F. M. Russell administrator of the estate of saml. M. Callwell deeded in Replevin for the
recovery of a mare Hickman was council for plaintiff & myself for Defence
Judgement no cause of action & const apportioned equally.

The day was wound up in hard drinking & gambling . . .

[May 30] Squalls & hard wind, cold and uncomfortable while we are all shivering around in these miserable old log huts and suel & Winters are quite sick & I have took up my boarding with Hawley. He has returned from Ham's Fork having started the ferry there

[June 1] Bullock, Brown, Ward & Davis came here this evening on their return from their mission to the Shoshonées.

They report the indians somewhat ill disposed but some were friendly & expect some of them here in a few days. . . .

[June 6] Suit of Busby V. Bridger & Lewis came up to day at ten a. m. I was on the part of the plaintiff & Hickman for Defence

This was an interesting trial which terminated in a judgement against the defendants for 540 dollars & about 75 dollars cost.

An appeal was called for by Plff. Which was however was waived afterwards and Mr Bovee who was an agent for Bridger & Mr Hawley give bonds for the payment of judgement and costs in ten days.

The day was wound up according to custom by fiddling, drinking & gambling in Earl's & McDonald's grocery and finally about 11 o'clock in the night wound up by two of the party's having a knock down The fact is our place is improving fast. Earl & McDonald has a grocery and gambling table both well patronized every law day Hawley another grocery & Blazzard a Brewery, so when Emmigration & law gets in full blow every body can be accommodated

[June 8] . . . Emmigrants are coming and crossing

[June 9] The Judge and officers of court are busily engaged repairing to miserable log house which we occupy for a Court house. Vasques & Strongfellow arrived bringing the report that Mr James Bridger was left by them very sick & not expected to live. He was some where on the Missouri river.

[June 11] . . . Benjamin Hawley returned from Salt Lake bringing Hickman's & McDonald's wives. Hitherto only two women, Hawley's wife & daughter-in-law were the only women who graced our society. This in a company of some twenty Mormons seems to be verging into a state little short of Modern Christianity but since we have been blessed with two more female arrivals the aspect of our society seems to brighten

[June 12] . . . one man drowned at Kinney's ferry [which was 9.92 miles above the Pioneer or Mormon ferry; see the Deseret News, October 24, 1855]. . . .

[June 15] Mr Elisha Ryan with some seven Shoshonee Indians arrived here, There is several lodges of shoshonee's been encamped here several days. In the after noon we had a regular talk with Ryan, as chif, and his braves He said he was sent by the Head Chief to learn what our intenitentions were. Whether we intended to take their land & if so whether peaceably or not. What was the feelings of the General Government & also Governor Young and the mormons, towards them. That they did not want their timber cut of have houses built on their land nor have settlements established. That if we did not and were friendly all was well for they desired to live in peace with all men but at the same time they would not allow any infringement on their lands.

That they had given Green River to him the said Ryan and those mountainers who had married shoshonee wives. They complained butterly about the general government neglecting them in never making a treaty with them and not sending men to trade for their skins and furs &c Ryan said he had been
robbed of his last bottom dollar (referring to the suit against him last year) That he considered this land his own and no one had a right to keep a ferry here but himself and those who had married shoshonee wives. He said he [had] nothing against the mormons as a people but had against those individuals who robbed him last year, and many such things spake he.

[June 16] . . . Another talk with Ryan and his braves He claims all the ferrys on Green River in the most positive terms, denying the right of the Legislature of Utah to grant a legal charter without the consent of the shoshonees who own the land. He does not quite threaten hostilities but at the same time says he will have it and seems to want us to understand that he he [sic] has the power to redress his own grievances, and offers to arbitrate his claim by referring his right & the right of the ferry company to Chief of the Indian Beureau at Washington which Hawley agrees to do on the part of the company.

The conditions of this I will not relate. He agrees to have another meeting and grand talk in about fifteen days.

[June 17] Ryan on the part of those who claim Green River on the one part & Jones, Russells, and Hawley on the part of the company entered into bonds of 50,000 dollars to abide the result of the arbitration and Ryan gives bond to the same amount to keep the Indians peaceable in the mean time.

[June 18] . . . The plot thickens and a considerable excitement Mr F. M. Russell came this morning complaining that Ryan had broke his treaty or arbitration and had attempted to take forcible possession for the ferry at Kinney and had made an attempt to cut the rope Judge Appleby issued a writ for him but while this was going on Mr Skockley came express reporting that Ryan being joined by eight other mountaineers had actually taken possession of the ferry and was crossing Emigrants and taking their money. The writ was however given to Mr Hickman the sheriff who with a possee of six men besides Russell & Shockely started after Ryan. The excitement quite well got up now. When the sheriff arrived at Kinney’s he found Ryan in a sound drunken sleep. Ryan was drunk when he took the ferry so after occupying until the sober second thought returned he gave up the ferry & money he had taken & fell quietly asleep.

Circumstances being thus & Ryan agreeing to behave in future those on the part of the ferry concluded to drop the matter and the excitement ended without smoke And thus ended the Sabbath day on Green River.

[June 21] Ryan & company executed the affrsaid bonds . . .

[June 23] . . . Sokoper a Shoshonee Chief came. Another big talk. He don’t want his timber cut or his land settled but says his heart is good towards us.

[June 26] . . . Judge Appleby & several others went to Kinney’s to the sale of the property of the Estate of Caldwell.

[June 30] Wash-a-keek the Head chief of the Shoshonees and another Indian came He was not here long before he became intoxicated when he acted very bad but when sober he professed to be all very good He left mad creating considerable excitement.

[July 1] Hawley moved two waggon loads over the river & cached his liquor for fear the Indians might come & get drunk and thereby create a difficulty. Several left for home [1] among the rest.


The better-known accounts of this period by James S. Brown and William Hickman
The Hosea Stout diary is quoted from a typewritten copy in the WPA Collection of the Utah State Historical Society. The publication of this diary extract is historically significant, as it is the first appearance of any part of Stout's remarkable record of early Utah. Morgan had been instrumental in the Stout diaries' transcription and the eventual gift of the originals to the Utah State Historical Society; that he did not make more use of them in his notes is witness to the haste of his effort compiling the documentary series. The peerless journals were published after this documentary series concluded as *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, ed. Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1964). —Ed.]. See also A. L. Siler’s letter of May 19, 1854, in the *Deseret News*, June 22, 1854.

The original of Hurt's report is also now lost, but the text is recoverable as in note 77, pp. 517–21, and some parts of it merits quotation here [Morgan failed to cite the published version to which his page numbers refer: 34th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., Senate Executive Document 1, Serial 810.]. Referring to his journey to the Humboldt, Hurt says:

The first Indians we saw after leaving this place [Great Salt Lake City] were a band of the Treaber [i.e., Weber] Utes, at Bingham's Fort [near Ogden], numbering about 60 or 70 men, under a chief by the name of Little Soldier, or Showets. We gave them some presents, at which they were much pleased, and soon left for their camps near by. On the evening of the next day we camped at Willow creek, and scarcely had time to unharness, when we discovered, in the distance, a perfect cloud of dust, which we perceived was produced by a large band of Indians coming towards us in a sweeping gallop. In a few minutes they were in camp, when we discovered them to be a band of Shoshones, or Snakes proper, from the Green River country, numbering something over one hundred, who had come over to the mouth of the Bear river to fish; and hearing that we were in the neighborhood, said they supposed we had come to give them presents, and I soon saw they were not disposed to leave disappointed. So I gave them all some shirts and tobacco and some bits of calico for their squaws.

These are a good looking band of Indians, and left a favorable impression of their friendly disposition towards the whites. . . .

After describing his experiences on the Humboldt and return to Salt Lake City on August 22, Hurt recounts the treaty-making in these terms:

a band of Shoshones, or Snakes proper, under a chief by the name of Ti-ba-bo-en-dwart-sa, (white man's friend,) numbering in all about three hundred, who had come to this place, according to previous arrangements with the Utahs, for the purpose of holding a treaty with them [visited him on August 24]. And in compliance with your instructions I selected camping ground, and supplied them with provisions, fuel, and some hay for their horses. In a few days they were joined by the Utahs and Cuniumhahs [Cumumbahs], making in all about five hundred souls; and as my expenditures in presents and provisions to them were larger than may be anticipated, it may be necessary to state the reasons which induced me to make them. It was well understood among the Indians of this Territory, as early as last spring, that large appropriations had been made by Congress for the purpose of making presents to and treaties with them. I am not prepared to say how they came in possession of these facts, but they had been looking for something to be done in this way all summer. I perceived that their expectations were up, and that there was no way to avoid making these presents without serious disappointment. The season was passing away and the Indians were anxious to know why these presents did not come. The Snakes complained that they had permitted the white people to make roads through all their lands and travel upon them in safety, use the grass and drink the water, and had never received anything for it, all though the tribes around them had been getting

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presents. Under these circumstances, I saw no way to retain their confidence but to meet these expectations. And as they have succeeded in making peace among themselves, and renewed their pledges of friendship to the whites, we have reason to hope that harmony will prevail for a season.

[While at the Humboldt, Hurt negotiated and signed a treaty with bands along the river on August 7, which was never ratified by the Senate. See “Indian Affairs on the California Trail,” p. 103 this volume. —Ed.]

96. Compare Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 364–69. A letter written by Isaac Bullock to George A. Smith from Fort Supply on October 20, 1855, so interestingly illumines Armstrong’s letter that it is quoted in full despite its length; the original is in the L. D. S. Church Historian’s Office [now the Historical Department]:

Dear Brother Geo. A. Smith.

Since I last wrote (Oct. 5th,) there has been some trouble here with the Indians. One of the chiefs by the name of Tababooindowetsy and band came to our fort Oct. 10th. They demanded a present of potatoes and wheat from Brother [James S.] Brown, telling him that he had promised it to them. He told them he had made no such promise. They told him that he lied and were very bold and impudent. There had been a promise made to them by Brother Zera Pulsipher before they went into the valley that when the leaves fell, the potatoes and wheat were ripe, if they should come we would give them some wheat and potatoes that grew on their land. This promise was made in Brother Brown’s absence and he knew nothing of it. Brother Pulsipher, having the charge of affairs, made this promise to get rid of them until the crops were matured, for they were grappling the potatoes before they were as big as hazle nuts and also they wanted flour. They were put off by telling them that the flour we had did not grow on their land and the men had only enough for themselves. It was brought from another land, for them to wait till it grew on their land and for them to go to farming; if they liked potatoes, they must raise them, etc. The chief was in a bad humor. He had two of his children die in the valley and partly laid it to Brigham’s talk killing them. The spirit to complain and find fault seemed to be with them, yet at times they manifested the most friendly feelings. I had been away while Pres. Brown and chief had their talk. I returned just as the chief and quite a number of his braves were leaving. I informed Pres. Brown of the promise, for I was present when it was made. He wished me to go and see them and tell them that it was not Brown but Pulsipher that made the promise, to which I did go and partially reconciled them, at least to all appearances. The next day I went to dig some potatoes for the chief, as I had promised him some. He went along with me. Nearly his whole band followed and commenced grappling all around me. I spoke to the chief to see what his people were doing. He very carelessly replied that he had no eyes and could not see them. I told him that I had eyes and could see and I worked very hard to water and raise them and that it did not make my heart feel good to have them do that way when I was just going to give them some. He called to his people and left the field. I saw that his feelings were not first rate. Just about this time three (two young bucks and one little chief) came to where Pres. Brown was standing at the bars and wanted to go through. He said they might if they would keep the path and not run over the grain. They passed through and went galloping over the wheat, saying it was good to run over the “Mormon’s” grain. These same three came to me and wanted something to eat. I did not know of their running over the grain. I promised them some and went to the house. Having none cooked, they proposed to take a little flour as it was most sundown and go to their own wickeups and cook and
eat it. I gave them 4 pints of flour and they seemed well pleased and wanted to know if they might come the next day and dance. About this time Pres. Brown came up and knew that they were the ones that run over the grain. One bold, impudent fellow said, Yes, he had run over it and would do it again and it was good to run over the Whites’ grain. Pres. Brown told him if it was good for him to run over it and if he did it any more that they would go for him to whip him. He spoke up and said, “Whip me, whip me.” And the other little chief said for [us] to whip him. They pressed and insisted that Brown should whip him, daring him to strike him. Coming close to Brother Brown to get him to strike the first blow, Pres. Brown told him to go away and leave the fort. He got so mad at Pres. Brown that he drew his bow and arrow and was about to shoot him, when Pres. Brown cried out to the brethren to get to their arms. They had not any more than got to them till another order to come quick with our arms. This happening close to my room door, I quickly stepped in and got my revolver and handed it out to Pres. Brown. As soon as they saw him with a pistol, they broke out of the fort. Brown followed close after them, telling them not to go through the field, when they instantly asked where they might go. He showed them to go around and they were perfectly cornered, and turned and went around. By this time the excitement had run like wild fire. The Indians came running with their bows and arrows. None seemed to be mad but these three, but still to see all the “Mormon” boys coming out with their arms in a bustle which they never had seen before, waked them up. A strong guard was placed around the fort and kept up all night. Pres. Brown posted a man with an express to Gov. Young. Had it written that night, started at 2 o’clock the next morning; also Brother McCray left at the same time to go to Fort Bridger, under strict orders not to take the road, but go round down Black’s Fork, so as not to be discovered by the Indians. Our orders were to have our guns ready, for we might expect an attack. Our horses were sent out next morning with a guard to a place where, if an enemy were to come, they could see the enemy before it could get to them, and if they saw dust or appearance of Indians, that the guard should run the horses into the corral in the fort. About one or two o’clock a large dust rose in the distance. Pretty soon here came the guard full charge, with the horses. The cry was, “The Indians are coming.” Orders to arms. Bring everything into the fort. They mustered to arms in a hurry. Every man was at his post, expecting every moment to hear the war whoop. A cry from the guard house, that it was white men. Next cry was, whites and Indians, which gave our hearts another flutter, (for it was presumable that the mountain men and Indians might colleague together). As they neared our fort, it was authentically declared that it was the Indian agent, for here he was in person, followed by the Indians, who were stopped at the gate by Pres. Brown’s request. The agent had their arms taken from them before he would let them into the fort. It truly happened very lucky for us that Major Armstrong, U. S. Indian agent, and party, were so near by when this excitement commenced, and before any serious injury was done to lay it. No sooner than the Major got the news, he leaves his wagons at Fort Bridger, mounts a horse and with the guard, he brought with him, goes to the Indian camp, has a talk with them, finds that they were for peace, or in other words, they said they did not want to fight, that there had been some misunderstanding with them and the “Mormons” at Fort Supply. He brought them along with him to Fort Supply that the parties might be together, so he could hear both sides, and then he could tell who was to blame. As I said before, he disarmed them before he would let them come inside of the picketing. He then held a council