INDIAN AGENTS IN IOWA

[This is the fourth and last paper in a series dealing with the Indian agent, written by Miss Gallaher. An article dealing with the agents among the Sac and Fox Indians in Iowa appeared in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for July, 1916.— EDITOR]

II

AGENTS AT THE WINNEBAGO, ST. PETER'S, COUNCIL BLUFFS, AND TAMA AGENCIES

THE WINNEBAGO AGENCY

While the Sacs and Foxes had been reluctantly abandoning Iowa, the Winnebagoes were living in the northeastern part of the Territory. After the transference of Joseph M. Street from Prairie du Chien to Rock Island in 1834, the duties of agent among the Winnebagoes devolved upon the commander of Fort Crawford, although Street appears to have spent part of his time there until 1838, when he was ordered to establish the new Sac and Fox Agency on the Des Moines River. Under this arrangement Colonel Zachary Taylor, who was in command at Fort Crawford until 1837 was also in charge of Indian affairs. Associated with him in the work was Sub-agent T. A. B. Boyd, whose first appointment was dated June 30, 1834. On March 31, 1837, Boyd was appointed sub-agent at a salary of $750 a year and appears to have been in charge of the agency until March, 1839, when he was removed.[1] Little seems to have been done for the Indians under the administration of Taylor and Boyd, except the continuance of the regular

1 *House Executive Documents*, 3rd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. III, No. 103, p. 4; letter of Mr. E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, May 17, 1915.

routine of the office. A list of some of the employees at this sub-agency in 1839 gives an idea of the number of people employed and the salaries paid:

	SALARY	DATE OF LAST APPOINTMENT
T. A. B. Boyd, sub-agent	$750	
David Lowry, sub-agent	750	July 1, 1839
Simeon L'Ecuyer, interpreter	300	Oct. 1, 1838
Sylvanus Lowry, interpreter at Winnebago school	500	Oct. 1, 1838
Alfred W. Elwes, physician at school	600	Oct. 1, 1838
Alfred W. Elwes, physician at Fort Crawford	200	Aug. 15, 1837
Abner McDowell, teacher and superintendent	500	Sept. 1, 1839
Nancy McDowell, teacher	480	Sept. 1, 1839
Joseph Mills, teacher	480	May 1, 1839
Evelina Mills, teacher	480	May 1, 1839
Minerva Brinson, teacher	480	March 1, 1839
Ann Lemon, cook	180	March 24, 1839
J. Reynerson, blacksmith at farm	480	July 1, 1838
Harmon Schneyder, blacksmith at Prairie du Chien	480	April 1, 1839
John Linton, farmer	240	Nov. 24, 1836
Thomas Linton, farmer	240	Nov. 24, 1836

David Lowry who was appointed sub-agent on July 1, 1839, was a Presbyterian missionary.[2] He came to Prairie du Chien in 1832 as a teacher of the proposed Winnebago school, but it was not until 1834 that a school house and other necessary buildings were erected on the Yellow River in what is now Fairview Township in Allamakee County, Iowa. This school, with a farm near it under Colonel John Thomas, became the educational center for the Winnebagoes and probably exerted as much influence over the Indians as the agency at Prairie du Chien could. This was in con-

[2] *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. IV, No. 126, p. 3.

formity with the plan of Joseph M. Street to attract the Indians westward by placing their institutions in the locality where it was desired that they should settle.[3] In his report for 1838 Mr. Lowry reported that thirty-six children were attending the school, eleven of whom boarded there, while the remainder received clothing and rations but lived at home. Around this school were grouped thirty-eight families, each with two acres of cultivated land. Fifteen miles west of the school was another farm of forty acres.[4]

When David Lowry became the sub-agent he retained his interest in the school and attempted to make the sub-agency an intellectual, industrial, and moral center for the Winnebagoes. In 1839 he reported seventy-nine children in the school under several teachers. Sewing and farming were combined with the usual school work, but even Mr. Lowry considered the Indians rather slow in acquiring the civilization of the white man. Although the treaty of 1837 provided $2800 for the support of the school, this sum was found inadequate because the children had to be fed and clothed as well as instructed.[5]

According to the treaty of November 1, 1837, the Winnebagoes agreed to remove within eight months west of a north and south line drawn twenty miles west of the Mississippi River. They reserved the right to hunt in the region between this line and the Mississippi, but their homes were to be west of it. This agreement, however, was very unpopular with the main body of the Winnebagoes and they refused to move. The officers were unwilling to use force

[3] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XII, p. 405.

John Thomas became superintendent of the Indian school and farm on July 8, 1840. At this time there were fifty-two in the school.— *Senate Documents,* 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 366.

[4] *Senate Documents,* 3rd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 519, 520.

[5] *House Executive Documents,* 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 508, 509.

and for several years the Indians remained in their old haunts in Wisconsin. Again, in the spring of 1840, young Winneshiek promised General Atkinson that they would go, but still they lingered.[6]

David Lowry, the sub-agent, believed in tact and persuasion rather than in force. In his report in September, 1840, he stated that he expected to remove the sub-agency from Prairie du Chien and the school from the Yellow River by October of that year. Already arrangements had been made for the breaking of one thousand acres of land on the Turkey River, and two blacksmiths had been sent there and one to the Red Cedar River. A grist mill was also being erected. Lowry believed that all these things would attract the Indians westward, since they were dependent upon such measures for sustenance. The new location of the agency was on the Turkey River near the site of the present town of Fort Atkinson in Allamakee County. Here the annuities were distributed; and the old buildings at Prairie du Chien were offered for sale.[7]

The Indians were slow to accept the inevitable. They protested against their removal to the Neutral Ground,[8] for to them it was neither neutral nor desirable. The Winnebagoes from the vicinity of Fort Winnebago crossed the Mississippi by June, 1840, but there they halted. Lowry wrote in his report for 1840: "If they can have liberty to linger on the Mississippi, *drinking, fighting, stealing, starving,* they will not hesitate to forego the advantages of raising corn in their own country." Even Lowry's patience

[6] *Senate Documents,* 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 482–486; *Senate Documents,* 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 249, 250, 252.

[7] *Senate Documents,* 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 249, 250, 338.

[8] For an account of the Neutral Ground see Van der Zee's *The Neutral Ground* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 311–348.

was exhausted and he began to consider the use of force.[9] Gradually, however, the Indians yielded and began to settle in the Neutral Ground.

The Winnebagoes at this time numbered about two thousand, according to Sub-agent David Lowry. Their most influential chiefs were Winneshiek, Two Shillings, Little Priest, and Whirling Thunder. By 1842 most of the members of the tribe were settled in the new territory; 873 were living on Sioux lands, 254 on the Upper Iowa River, and 756 near the sub-agency. Their homes were built of bark or flags and a few of them cultivated patches of corn. Temptation, however, had not been left behind. Lowry declared that thirty-nine Indians had perished in drunken brawls the preceding year and many others were injured. "Unless something more effectual than has yet been tried, can be adopted for the preservation of the Winnebagoes", he declared, "it is evident they must soon be numbered with the nations *that have been.*" To obtain whiskey they not only paid the money they received from the government, but they traded food, clothing, horses, and guns for it. Blankets which cost the United States $3.50 were traded for one bottle of whiskey. The sub-agent tried in every way to prevent this — even organizing a temperance society. Several hundred Indians joined, but in a few weeks they were drinking worse than ever. Nor was legal procedure any more effective. As the sub-agent wrote: "Law[s], however, can be of little benefit to the red man, while their entire execution is in the hands of his oppressors; secrecy, evasions, combinations, and even perjury itself, will ever set them at defiance."

"What can you promise these Indians by removal?" asked Lowry. "Will not the same white population follow them, and continue the present work of death? Has it not

9 *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 335.

always been the case?'' One suggestion made by Mr. Lowry was the establishment of a strip of land around the reservation which neither whites nor Indians should be permitted to cross.[10]

At the same time an effort was made to interest the Winnebagoes in agriculture. Between four and five hundred acres were under cultivation, one hundred and seventy-five of which were farmed by the Indians after being prepared by white laborers. Wheat, corn, potatoes, beans, turnips, buckwheat, and oats were the chief crops, and one of the difficulties of the agent was to keep the Indians from eating the seed given them and killing the work oxen.[11]

David Lowry continued as sub-agent until July 5, 1844, when he was removed, although he remained among the Winnebagoes as teacher and missionary. James R. McGregor was appointed sub-agent, but served only until June 2, 1845, when Jonathan E. Fletcher was appointed sub-agent for the Winnebagoes.[12]

Governor John Chambers, in his report as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in September, 1845, wrote as follows of the conditions at the Winnebago Agency:

> Of the Winnebagoes I regret to have to repeat that they are the most drunken, worthless, and degraded tribe of which I have any

[10] *Senate Documents,* 3rd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 416–419.

[11] *Senate Documents,* 3rd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 416–421.

The list of employees at the Turkey River Agency in 1843 consisted of the sub-agent, who received $750 a year; one teacher who was paid $500 a year; three teachers who received $480 each; a physician bearing the soporific name of A. Lull, whose salary was $1000; a miller at $600 salary; a steward at $240; three blacksmiths at $480 each; three strikers at $240; ten white ''agriculturists'' at $148 a year; one Winnebago ''agriculturist'' at $96; and two interpreters, E. M. Lowry who received $500 a year and L. Lequier who received $300.— *House Executive Documents,* 1st Session, 28th Congress, Vol. III, No. 69, p. 5.

[12] Letter of E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, May 17, 1915.

For a brief biography of Jonathan E. Fletcher, see the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. X, pp. 232, 233.

knowledge. They have heretofore wasted their annuity provisions in a very short time after receiving them, and the large sum paid them annually in money passes almost immediately into the hands of the traders — so that there is some portion of almost every year in which they suffer for food. An attempt was made last year, under the authority of the department, to guard against this painful state of things, by applying a part of their annuity to the purchase of provisions, but they obstinately protested against it, and the benevolent intention of the department was defeated by the timidity and ignorance of the late sub-agent; and the effect of it would have been intense suffering, but that the same sub-agent, by transcending his powers and applying money put into his hands by the Government for other purposes, to the purchase of provisions, saved them from the consequences of the obstinacy with which they refused to let their own money be supplied.

The habitual drunkenness of this tribe, and their habit of wandering into the settled parts of Wisconsin, and of this Territory, and their obstinate perseverance in establishing themselves in considerable numbers on the Mississippi river, out of their own country, in direct violation of their treaties with us, has made it very desirable to compel them to keep within their own bounds; and on several occasions they have been brought in by military detachments from Fort Atkinson, but they almost immediately wander off again; and it is now estimated by the sub-agent at Turkey river, that about one half of the tribe is in Wiskonsin and along the Mississippi.[13]

At the same time the new sub-agent made a report, although he had been in office only since July 5th. This report, dated September 20, 1845, gave a brief account of the condition of the Indians whose "moral and intellectual character has been greatly underrated." As usual, whiskey was the chief enemy of the Indians. Captain Edwin V. Sumner of Fort Atkinson kept the whites from bringing it into the Indian country, but could not prevent the Indians from going after it. The report of the distribution of the work on the farm is interesting. Of the two hundred and

13 *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 482, 483.

sixty acres enclosed, ninety-four acres were cultivated by white laborers, eighty-four by squaws, fifty-eight by half-breeds, and twenty-four acres were uncultivated.[14]

A more complete account of conditions at the agency is to be found in Fletcher's report for 1846. According to his estimate, there were about 2400 Winnebagoes located in twenty-two bands throughout the Neutral Ground. About three hundred of them made no attempt to obtain food except by hunting, while the others did a little farming. A carpenter was employed at the agency, chiefly in making coffins for the Indians. Several blacksmiths, five teachers under David Lowry[15] as superintendent, a physician, and a number of farm laborers were among the employees.

Fletcher's opinion of the pioneers was given in the following words:

> It would be a delightful task to lead this people [the Winnebagoes], step by step, in the path of civilization and improvement, if that path were not blockaded at every step by a whiskey keg, and every effort to promote their welfare and happiness thwarted and counteracted by a set of heartless whiskey dealers established along the line of the Indian country, a few feet beyond the jurisdiction of the military officer and sub-agent, for the purpose of plundering these Indians of their money and their goods; to rob them of their food, their clothing, their virtue, and their health: but it is idle to complain; the laws of the Territory are inoperative and impotent to remedy this evil; and the hope, once entertained, that the state of public morals among the hardy settlers of our frontier would become sufficiently elevated and correct to forbid the longer existence of these nuisances, has ceased to exist.

The opportunities for trading with this tribe are evident from the report of Governor James Clarke in 1846, in which

[14] *Senate Documents,* 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 487, 488. Fletcher reported seventy-five half-breeds among the Winnebagoes in 1846.—*House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 247.

[15] David Lowry was made superintendent of the Indian school in May, 1846. — *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 315.

he stated that the Winnebagoes received $48,000 in money and about the same amount in provisions.[16]

In the meantime, constant but unsuccessful attempts had been made to persuade the Indians to cede the Neutral Ground and move to a reservation in Minnesota. The Indians refused, but at last, on May 18, 1848, the department ordered the agency moved to Minnesota, and Jonathan E. Fletcher was reappointed to serve in the new location. The influence of the traders, who were interested in keeping the Winnebagoes in their vicinity, and a fear of the Chippewas and Sioux produced a panic when this order was made known to the Indians. They scattered like frightened sheep — some to Wisconsin, some to western Iowa, while others joined the Otoes southwest of the Missouri River. Only a few remained at the agency, and with these Mr. Fletcher started on June 8, 1848, for the new reservation. By July 30th, they reached the Watab River, three hundred and ten miles away. David Lowry had closed the Turkey River school in the preceding May and assisted the sub-agent in choosing and establishing the new agency site on the reservation which was expected to be "permanent".

This removal completed the history of the Winnebago Agency in Iowa. Gradually, the scattered members of the tribe joined the agent in Minnesota.[17] Mr. Fletcher remained with the Winnebagoes for several years. His wife acted as a teacher and one of his sons as interpreter.

THE ST. PETER'S AGENCY

The Sioux Agency, near Fort Snelling, became connected with the history of Iowa in 1838 when the western part of what is now Minnesota was included in the new Territory

16 *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 243, 247, 248, 249, 250.

17 *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 30th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 459–463.

of Iowa, and the agent became a subordinate of Governor Robert Lucas, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for that Territory. At that time the agent was Lawrence Taliaferro who had served since 1819. His salary was $1500 a year and he was assisted by Scott Campbell as interpreter and Richard D. Welch as farmer.[18] In June, 1838, John Emerson was appointed agency physician.

The Indians of this region had been more or less connected with the Iowa country even before this time, chiefly through wars with the Sacs and Foxes. The report of the Governor of Wisconsin Territory in 1837 had the following to say of them:

> The St. Peter's band of Indians, who reside in the immediate vicinity of Fort Snelling, raise corn and vegetables, not sufficient for the consumption of their families, and depend on the chase, in part, for their subsistence. The distant bands, who reside near the head of St. Peter's river, depend on the chase entirely for support, subsisting on the buffalo principally. They frequently make excursions to the Des Moines and Iowa rivers, where they meet the Sac and Fox Indians, with whom they are at war.[19]

Lawrence Taliaferro resigned in December, 1839, after twenty years of work among the same Indians. The personnel of the agency in the September preceding his resignation had been made up of the agent, an interpreter whose salary was $300, two blacksmiths at $600 a year, their two assistants who were paid $240 each, seven farmers at $600 a year, an armorer who was paid the same wages, and his assistant who received $240 a year. With the exception of the agent most of these employees had been appointed during the preceding two years.[20]

[18] *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. VI, No. 135, p. 4.

[19] *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 575.

[20] *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. IV, No. 126, p. 4.

The new agent, Amos J. Bruce, took charge of the agency early in 1840 and sent in his first report on September 30, 1840. He grouped the Indians under his charge into six divisions; the Medawakanton Sioux, whose number he estimated at 1792; the East Wahpetons, about 325 in number; the West Wahpetons, numbering about 386; the South Sissetons, one hundred and twenty miles north of St. Peter's; the North Sissetons; and the Assiniboins.[21]

Bruce's work differed but little from that of the other agents. His wards were more scattered and the pressure of the white settlers was less direct, but his duties were like those of most agents of the period. The Sioux were always on the verge of starvation, although their land was unusually fertile. The growing season was short and the Indians were always poor farmers, so that crops were inadequate. Furs had become scarce and the buffalo were rapidly being exterminated. Almost every report of Amos J. Bruce contains a request for supplies for the Indians under his charge. He was the dispenser of the government annuities and provisions, but as was the case among the Winnebagoes, the whiskey-sellers usually succeeded in obtaining not only the money, but horses, guns, traps, and supplies in exchange for whiskey. Of the regular traders Bruce spoke very cordially, commending their attempts to prevent the sale of liquor and their willingness to furnish the starving Indians with provisions to the best of their ability.

In addition to the regular work of the agency, Bruce also supervised the work of several schools maintained by the

[21] *Senate Documents,* 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 325, 326. In 1846 Bruce reported 2141 Medawakanton Sioux, who received $10,000 in specie in accordance with the treaty of 1837, $10,000 worth of goods, and $5,500 in provisions. These were paid to the chiefs of the villages and by them distributed to the families. The treaty also provided for farmers and blacksmiths.— *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 245–247.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — at least the missionaries in charge sent to him reports of their work which he included in his report.[22]

At this agency a new difficulty presented itself in the form of a band of half-breeds from across the Canadian line, who were in the habit of coming into the reservation to hunt. In the summer of 1845 Captain Sumner warned them not to hunt in the United States and they promised to obey his command, but at the same time laid claim to the territory as belonging to them. A year later Governor Clarke included in his report a remonstrance against the robbery of the Sioux by these Indians and whites from Canada. In addition to this, the Sioux were usually hostile to their other neighbors, the Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Sacs and Foxes, and Winnebagoes. To keep in touch with these Indians, who ranged from the Canadian line to central Iowa and from the Mississippi River far to the west, was a task which required much ability, patience, and tact.[23]

On a reservation of this extent the agent was not in control of the Indians. He could assist them, give advice, present their condition for consideration at Washington, but coercion except by war was an impossibility. Bruce remained in charge of this agency, reporting to the Governor of Iowa, until 1846, when the present State boundaries were established and the agency at St. Peter's was no longer included in Iowa.

THE COUNCIL BLUFFS AGENCY

The most important agencies of Iowa lay to the east and northeast, for there the Indians were most numerous.

22 *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 245–247.

23 *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 244, 245; *Senate Documents,* 3rd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 430, 431; *Senate Documents,* 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 489, 490.

There were few Indians between the Missouri and Des Moines rivers during the early history of Iowa, and only a small number lived immediately west of the Missouri. The traffic up the Missouri River was nevertheless very important and in February, 1827, John Dougherty had established an agency on the west bank of the Missouri. His work lay almost entirely to the west and northwest, however, so that he can not be included in a list of Iowa agents.[24]

By the treaty of July 15, 1830, made at Prairie du Chien, the Sioux, Sacs and Foxes, Ioways, Omahas, Otoes, and Missouris ceded their title to the territory south of the Rock River (in what is now Sioux County, Iowa), east of the Big Sioux and Missouri rivers, including the northeastern part of the present State of Missouri and extending eastward to the watershed between the Des Moines and Missouri rivers.[25]

Three years later, by the treaty of September 26, 1833, the United States commissioners made a treaty with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies by which this land secured by the former treaty was given to these Indians in return for their old lands. The cession was to contain at least five million acres. As finally arranged it was bounded on the north by a line running through the source of the Little Sioux River, the Missouri River on the west, the Missouri State line on the south, and the Sac and Fox lands on the east.[26]

[24] Benjamin O'Fallon, a nephew of William Clark, had been appointed Indian agent for Missouri Territory in 1815 and had established his headquarters at a place called Council Bluffs, but had no permanent agency. This Council Bluffs was on the west side of the river.— *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XX, p. 24.

[25] Kappler's *Indian Affairs,* Vol. II, pp. 305, 306; Van der Zee's *Episodes in the Early History of the Western Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, p. 337.

[26] Kappler's *Indian Affairs,* Vol. II, p. 402; *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 588, 589.

By the spring of 1835 the Pottawattamies had started westward, but the first who came were disappointed. By November, 1837, however, about two thousand had crossed the Mississippi River, and on April 28, 1837, Dr. Edwin James was appointed sub-agent for these Indians.[27] On July 28th, Rev. Moses Merrill chronicled the arrival of the new agent at Council Bluffs in company with General Atkinson, Colonel Kearny, and one hundred "Putawatamie Indians" who were to locate on the eastern side of the Missouri, opposite the already established agency at Bellevue. The new sub-agent was accompanied by his wife and son and there was some social intercourse between the white families on the west side and the newcomers. Both Reverend Merrill and the sub-agent tried to prevent the Indians from visiting, however, for quarrels were frequently the result.[28]

The new sub-agency, which was subordinate to the agency at Bellevue, was located at what was called Trader's Point, in what is now Mills County, Iowa. David Hardin, the agency farmer, who had been appointed in 1836 at a salary of $600, arrived in 1838, but the organization of the work seems to have been slow.[29] Since this was not an independent agency, its reports were not made to the Governor of the Territory of Iowa, but through the agent at Bellevue to the superintendent at St. Louis.

27 *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. VI, No. 135, p. 4.

28 *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society,* Vol. IV, pp. 158, 184, 185, 186.

Moses Merrill was a Baptist missionary who settled among the Otoes in 1833. At this time he and his family were living about six miles from Bellevue on the west bank of the Missouri. See also Morton's *History of Nebraska,* Vol. I, pp. 67–70.

29 Morton's *History of Nebraska,* Vol. I, p. 42; Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa,* p. 170.

"Colonel" Peter A. Sarpy was the chief trader at Trader's Point.—Morton's *History of Nebraska,* Vol. I, pp. 70–72. The name is also written Pierre A. Sarpy.

Dr. James remained as agent only until August 29, 1838, and for some months the position appears to have been unfilled, for Stephen Cooper, the next sub-agent, was not appointed until April 4, 1839. His salary, like that of all sub-agents, was $750 a year. His assistants, according to his report in the fall of 1839, were John Gantt, issuing agent, who received three dollars per day; Claude La Framboise, interpreter, whose salary was $300 annually; and Elijah Stevens, blacksmith, and John La Framboise, assistant blacksmith, who received $480 and $240 respectively.[30]

In 1841 Stephen Cooper reported that the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies who were under his charge were friendly to the Sacs and Foxes, Pawnees, and Ioways, but feared the Sioux who had recently killed four Pottawattamies in the vicinity of Billy Caldwell's village. Cononel Kearny and a party of dragoons had been in camp at the sub-agency from September 29 to October 8, 1840, to quiet the fears of the Pottawattamies who were much frightened at the hostile demonstration of the Sioux. The Indians of the sub-agency, numbering about two thousand, were settled in villages from two to fifteen miles from Council Bluffs, with the exception of about one-third of the members of the tribe who were located about fifty miles to the east on the Nishnabotna River. Their chief was an Indian known as Bigfoot.

The sub-agency at this time was located on the Iowa side of the Missouri River, one mile east of its confluence with the Platte, "in a small walnut grove, surrounded by a small bottom prairie, dry and very fertile." This was part of the Missouri bottom which made up a strip about five miles wide between the river and the bluffs. Swampy land alternated with dry prairie like that on which the agency buildings stood and the whole was dotted with groves of

30 *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. IV, No. 126, p. 5.

cottonwood, elm, walnut, coffee bean, hackberry, and other trees. Cooper disliked the location because he feared that the swamps would make it unhealthful and because the place was in danger from floods. To the east, the land rose sharply two or three hundred feet, forming the Missouri bluffs, through which creeks cut their way at intervals. Beyond the bluffs stretched the treeless prairie. This lack of timber was a great hardship to the Indians who had been accustomed to the woods.

One blacksmith and his assistant aided the Indians, but no farmer was employed nor was one desired. No government schools were provided, although two Catholic priests had a school and chapel and also gave some medical care to their flock. Goods were supplied by seven licensed traders and whiskey was furnished by many who smuggled it across the Missouri line.[31]

Stephen Cooper served as sub-agent until July 10, 1841. James W. Deadrick was appointed to that office during the following September, but he was dismissed August 9, 1842.[32]

Again the sub-agency was without a man in charge, the agent at Bellevue probably performing the necessary duties, until March 24, 1843, when Richard S. Elliott was appointed. The temporary character of the Indian occupation made the work of this agency, like that of all Iowa agencies, very difficult. Elliott estimated the number of Indians in 1845 at two thousand; the population had neither increased nor decreased during the previous five years. The sub-

[31] *Senate Documents,* 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 321, 322, 377; *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 589.

Billy Caldwell was one of the chiefs. His Indian name was Saw-ga-nash (the Englishman) for his father was an Irish colonel in the British army.—Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa,* p. 166.

[32] Letter of E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, May 17, 1915.

agent regretted the lack of schools and missionaries for he believed that the salvation of the Indians lay in early manual education.

These Pottawattamies were in great fear of the Sioux, but in Elliott's estimation their greatest danger was from whiskey. When an Indian went to one of the grog-shops, he declared, "he does not get away until he has got rid of horse, saddle, blanket, gun, and whatever property he may have with him, if the dealer can possibly make him drunk enough to carry on the plunder effectually. . . . To expect an agent, alone and unaided, without any military force, to put a stop to all this, is preposterous. What can you do by 'moral suasion' even among the whites, where strong passions and base appetites are to be restrained? And how much less among a rude people, such as the unlettered, untaught Indians!"[33]

In 1845 the office of the sub-agent was moved to "Point Aux Poulos, on the northeast bank of the Missouri river, about twenty miles below the mouth of Boyer's river, and opposite Bellevue". Three trading houses, a mill, and a smith's shop completed the agency buildings, although a second smith and an assistant had been appointed.[34] Such establishments, however, could be only temporary, for as early as 1845 the Indians were bargaining with Major Harvey for the sale of their lands and their removal to the Indian Territory. Before this was accomplished, Richard S. Elliott was removed, on October 14, 1845, and his place was filled by the appointment of R. B. Mitchell, whose first report was submitted to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs on September 11, 1846.

[33] *Senate Documents,* 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 546–554.

[34] *Senate Documents,* 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 554.
The mill had been provided for in the treaty of September 26, 1833, the blacksmith by the treaty of July 29, 1827.

The Indians at this time were in great need of a physician, one-tenth of the population having died during the previous year. In 1847 Sub-agent Mitchell reported that conditions were unchanged, except that the consumption of liquor had diminished since the receipt of the circular of March 3, 1847, concerning the regulation of trade. The Indians were expecting to move that fall and little was being attempted in the way of agriculture. Although they disliked their present home, the Pottawattamies were much dissatisfied with the lands offered them, but nothing else was available.[35]

Finally, in June, 1846, the Pottawattamies made a new treaty with the United States by which they agreed to move to the Kansas River. The last report of the Council Bluffs sub-agent was made in the fall of 1847. By the close of that year most of the Pottawattamies had left the eastern bank of the Missouri. A few remained to hunt, but the sub-agency at Council Bluffs was closed.

Accounts of this Pottawattamie sub-agency are more or less incomplete and conflicting. Even the site of the old Council Bluffs is a matter of dispute. As a matter of fact it was out of the main current of everything except trade and whiskey. Indeed, this was the worst possible location for the Indians, since every steamer that ascended the Missouri carried liquor. Father De Smet's journal vividly pictures the conditions following the arrival of whiskey and $90,000 in annuities. The sub-agent "Mr. Cowper" had a restraining influence, but barrels of whiskey were sold in his presence, although the sale was contrary to the regulations. The Indians begged the agent to prevent the introduction of liquor, yet when it was brought, they would offer

[35] *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 300, 301; *Senate Documents,* 1st Session, 30th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 869–871.

to sell their children to secure it. Murders, mutilations, and quarrels were of frequent occurrence.[36]

The same conditions probably prevailed under the other sub-agents. Their reports indicate that whiskey was frequently sold. How far they voluntarily permitted this it is impossible to decide, for the enforcement of any law was difficult where there was no regular civil or military force to compel obedience.

THE TAMA AGENCY

When the Sacs and Foxes left Iowa about 1846, it was believed that they would never return, but in spite of the treaty and the increasing white settlements, little groups of homesick Indians wandered back to their old homes along the Iowa and Des Moines rivers. When the lands in Kansas were allotted in 1859, another group of dissatisfied Indians left the tribe and joined those already in Iowa, although by so doing they forfeited their rights to annuities and provisions.[37]

The destitute condition of these exiles attracted attention and an effort was made to relieve them in 1866. In 1867 Congress passed a law which provided that the Sac and Fox Indians then living in "Tamar" County, Iowa, should be paid pro rata, so long as they were peaceable and had permission from the State to remain. The entire amount due the tribe each year was $51,000.[38]

Before Congress had acted officially a special agent was

[36] Chittenden and Richardson's *Father De Smet's Life and Travels Among the North American Indians,* Vol. I, pp. 173–175.

For an account of the site and conditions of Council Bluffs at this time, see Van der Zee's *Episodes in the Early History of the Western Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 343–363.

[37] Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa,* pp. 436, 437.

[38] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XIV, Ch. 173, p. 507.

This permission had been granted by Iowa in 1856.— *Laws of Iowa,* 1856 (Extra Session), Ch. 30, pp. 77.

appointed to take charge of this band of Indians who were living near Toledo, Iowa. Leander Clark, the man thus appointed, began his work on the first of July, 1866, at a salary of $1500 a year. In his first report, dated August 24, 1867, he gave a brief history of the band of which he was in charge. He reported that they made their home in the summer on an eighty-acre piece of timber land near Toledo, purchased by them in 1857. Although they had been in Iowa for fifteen or twenty years they had received nothing from the government until the payment was made by Clark in the spring of 1867. The census taken at this time showed two hundred and sixty-four Indians in the band, and the amount of money distributed was $5588.46. At their request Mr. Clark retained $2000 of the money for the purchase of some land near the tract already owned by them. Their personal property consisted of three hundred and sixteen ponies worth about forty dollars each, but they were in great need. A second payment of annuities was made in November, 1867, at which time $3588.91 was divided among two hundred and forty-seven Indians.

Leander Clark made his second annual report on September 2, 1868. At this time he reported two hundred and fifty-two Sacs and Foxes. There were in addition sixteen Pottawattamies who were not sharers in the annuities, and ten Foxes who belonged in Kansas. Although the relations between the Indians and whites were usually friendly, the tribe was unalterably opposed to education and Christianity.[39]

When the third report was made in 1869 the number had

[39] From the Leander Clark Manuscripts in the Library of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

This salary of $1500 a year was subject to a revenue tax of $45, or five per cent on the income over $600 a year.

For a brief biography of Leander Clark, see Ward's *History of Western-Leander Clark College, 1856–1911*, pp. 300–302.

increased to two hundred and sixty-two. They had recently purchased eighty acres more land, making a total of four hundred and nineteen acres, worth $8900 according to Clark's estimate. At the time this report was submitted on July 10, 1869, Leander Clark was relieved of the office of special agent by Lieutenant Frank D. Garretty, who was assigned to this position in accordance with the plan recently adopted of employing army officers as Indian agents. Garretty's first report was dated September 25, 1869, and simply completed the report for the year. He reported that the Indians were at work as harvest hands and that he was agitating the subject of a school for the Indians.[40]

Lieutenant Garretty remained only a little more than a year as special agent and on October 11, 1870, Leander Clark again took up the work. The following September he reported that his charges numbered three hundred and three, and their personal property amounted to $13,215.[41]

On September 19, 1872, Rev. A. R. Howbert succeeded Leander Clark as special agent. He conducted religious services on Sundays, but declared that "what religious impressions are being made we must leave to future development to unfold." A small house serving for tool-house, shop, and office had been erected on the Indian lands, but no perceptible improvement had been made. Howbert served until the spring of 1875 when he was followed by Thomas S. Free.[42]

The situation of these Indians was peculiar. Since they had no legal standing in law, they could not own property, so their land was held in trust for them by the Governor of

[40] *Report of the Secretary of the Interior,* 1869–1870, pp. 890–893.

For a discussion of the purchase of the various tracts of land see THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. IV, pp. 179–189.

[41] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1871, pp. 515, 516.

[42] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1873, pp. 182, 183; 1875, pp. 290, 291.

Iowa and the Indian agent. Unlike ordinary reservations this land was not the property of the general government, but was subject to State law, although there was some dispute on this point. In 1873 Agent Howbert wrote:

> Some parties desire to cut a mill race through these lands. . . . The Indians are unwilling to have their lands cut up. The parties can force their way through of course by paying the damages. Allow me to say to you that I am here as U. S. agent to try to elevate these poor Indians. I have made a beginning and hope to succeed in the end but the work is difficult and must necessarily be slow. I commence with the children. Teach them to work and also to read and conduct religious services for their benefit. These Indians have never had any attention paid to them before and hence are very ignorant and degraded.[43]

In the meantime Congress had taken up the matter. In 1873 a provision was added to the appropriation bill to the effect that the agent must live near enough to the Indians to educate them and instruct them in agriculture and mechanic arts. One year later $1200 was appropriated for a school house, but only $500 was appropriated for the agent's salary and even this was to be withheld "unless he lives near enough to the agency to teach and care for the tribe every day". This amount was raised to $600 in 1877 and the next year was increased to $1000.[44]

Agent Thomas S. Free reported in August, 1876, that the school house was completed, and that school had begun the preceding November and closed temporarily on August 1st. The one teacher had also instructed the Indians in agriculture, but the habit of the Indians of leaving their homes during the winter months interfered with school work. Besides, many of the men were much opposed to any educa-

[43] Letter from A. R. Howbert May 6, 1873.— Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

[44] *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVII, Ch. 138, p. 438; Vol. XVIII, Ch. 389, p. 147; Vol. XIX, Ch. 101, p. 271; Vol. XX, Ch. 142, p. 65.

tion. They were decided conservatives. The agent advocated that they be compelled to break up their land and to erect comfortable houses.[45] Probably for this reason he was not very popular with his charges, who wrote to Governor Carpenter complaining of his actions. Governor Carpenter apparently wrote for information to a banker at Tama, for he received a letter from G. H. Warren dated September 8, 1875, which ended as follows:

> In my opinion they have no just grounds for complaints. Mr. Free, the Agent, is [a] gentleman of the strictest good character & integrity & has only displeased the Indians in carrying out explicit instructions from the department at Washington.
>
> I have seen his orders and am convinced that he allows the Indians the most liberal construction which can be put on them.[46]

In 1877 Agent Free reported that the Indians had purchased two hundred and seventy-three additional acres of land, making six hundred and ninety-two acres in all. He advocated the division of this land among the families, and the substitution of agriculture for raising ponies and hunting as a means of earning a living. The following year he reported that the school house was kept open, but no regular attendance was maintained. The head men were still enemies to any education and only desired to purchase more land.[47]

The great question of dispute at this time was the refusal of the Indians to give the names of the members of their families as a basis for distributing the annuities. Formerly only the heads of families were enrolled and the Indians were suspicious of any change. Rather than comply, they sacrificed their annuities.

[45] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1876, pp. 59, 60.

[46] From a letter from G. H. Warren to Governor Carpenter, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

[47] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1877, pp. 113, 114; 1878, pp. 70–72.

In 1878 George L. Davenport[48] was appointed agent, but for a while he had no better success in persuading the Indians to permit the enrollment of the women and children. The Indians wrote to Governor Sherman, who in turn wrote to Mr. Davenport for a report of the situation. Part of the agent's answer of June 14, 1882, is as follows:

My instructions from the Department require me to obtain every name of all the tribe on the pay roll so as to divide their money per capita, and I have obtained all the names except about thirty who refuse to me the names of themselves and children and refuse to permit the chiefs and counselors to furnish me with them. They are obstinate and say they do not want their money.

I have explained very fully to them what my instructions are and that I am obliged to follow them strictly and that I have no discression in the matter.

These few individuals refusing to give their names, prevent the others from geting their money. They also refuse to pay their taxes on their lands. They have been told by white people that Indians do not pay taxes on their reservations and thus do a great deal of harm and interfere with the advice given them by their agent, who knows their true situation. These Indians came here and purchased their lands, the same as any other person and of course, have to pay their share of tax in proportion to the number of acres they own. The title of their lands is in the Governor in trust for the tribe. Their land has been sold for tax and the time of redemption will expire on the 1st of Oct next and I have so reported to the Department.

You will confer a great favor on the Indians and the agent, if you will tell this delegation, that they must pay the tax on their land as it becomes due and to give their names to the agent so that the payment may be made, and then they will have money to redeem their lands from the tax sale.

The head rulers and counsel men who control the tribe, are intensely Indian and are opposed to any advancement in the way of civilization, opposed to schools and to the men working like white men, they prefer for the women to do the farming.

I have been here as their agent for three years. I talk their lan-

[48] Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa,* p. 438.

guage well and am able to explain everything to them, and I have spared no pains to improve their condition while here. I find many of them very good people orderly and well behaved. A few are obstinate and head strong hard to do anything with, and they are the ones that are making the present trouble.

In connection with this letter the following communication is of interest:

Montour, Tama Co. Iowa, April 29, 1882

GOVERNOR SHERMAN,

Dear Sir.

You can write to me anything you want to tell the Indians, and send the letter to me at Montour Tama County Iowa. Please tell me all about the Indian affairs, so I can tell them.

My name is

SHOWON

Interpreter.

Iowa Agency.

A note on the manuscript states that this man was the person accused by Agent Davenport of stirring up the trouble over annuities.

Hiram Price, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote to the agent that the taxes must be paid.[49] Finally, the Indians submitted and on January, 1882, the sum of $20,000 was paid to them, the largest amount that could be sent to the agent under his bond, and in the following August $20,000 additional was paid to them. Out of this amount they paid the back taxes and by September 1, 1882, had only $3000 left, which they planned to use in buying more

[49] Letter of George L. Davenport to Governor Sherman, June 14, 1882, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Commissioner Price, on June 12, 1882, wrote the following letter to Mr. Davenport, the agent:

"I have to advise you that the lands in question being situated outside of a reservation and purchased by the Indians of white people, are held by the same terms as lands owned by white people, and are subject to taxation as are other lands. This Office can do nothing in the matter except to instruct you to again inform the owners of these lands of the facts, and urge them to make payment of the taxes."

land. At the time of the agent's report in 1882 there were three hundred and fifty Indians in the group. The school was a failure, the agent reported, for the Indians told the children that if they attended school they would be taken away from their homes and made soldiers. The school building was occupied by the agent and employees.[50]

In 1883, the "Fox or Musquakie" Indians used $13,000 of their annuity funds to purchase three hundred and sixty-five additional acres of land, making 1340 acres in the midst of a prosperous white settlement. In addition to this the agent reported that individual Indians owned eighty-five acres, making 1425 acres in all, of which two hundred and fifteen acres were under cultivation. The school, which had been suspended, was reopened in May with two young women teachers, sent by the Ladies Home Missionary Society of Iowa, but the attendance was small.[51]

The annual report for 1885 was made by a new agent, O. H. Mills. The Indians were again in arrears with their taxes. Mr. Mills appears to have served only one year, for in the following year William H. Black, of Montour, Iowa, was reported as agent at this place.[52]

The position was not an easy one. The Indians complained to the Commissioner, to the Governor, and to any white sympathizers they could find. Commissioner I. D. C. Atkins wrote to Governor Larrabee on February 15, 1887, that they had sent their complaint to Washington. They would not be instructed by a farmer, nor accept agricultural tools, nor permit their children to attend school, nor allow their funds to be used to pay a physician or an interpreter, yet when the government employed an interpreter they accused him of being unfair.

[50] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1882, pp. xxxii, 90–92.

[51] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1883, pp. 90, 91.
The teachers were Miss Allie B. Busby and Miss Anna Skea.

[52] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1885, pp. 108–110; 1886, p. 462.

William H. Black served about two years and in May, 1888, the agent was Enos Gheen of Tama City. The difficulty at this time was the division of annuities between the 513 Sacs and Foxes living in the Indian Territory and the 317 members of the same tribes who had returned to Iowa contrary to the treaty. The entire amount due these Indians was $51,000, of which $11,500 was for the support of the general tribal government, schools, and a physician. This latter sum had always been paid to that part of the Sacs and Foxes in the Indian Territory for they were recognized as the legal representatives of the tribes, leaving only $15,086.16 for those at Tama. In this same letter, the Commissioner wrote to Governor Larrabee that he intended to appoint a new agent. "They have not had a good agent for some time," he said, "which partially accounts for their restless and dissatisfied condition, and has been the cause of some irregularity in the dates of paying their annuity."[53]

The Indians in Iowa insisted that they had a right to a share in the $11,500 paid to the government of the tribe in the Indian Territory, but it was not until 1907 that a decision was handed down giving the Indians in Iowa a share in the annuities paid to the tribe as a whole. The money awarded them, amounting to $38,803.93, was placed on deposit at Washington at five percent interest. The next year Congress voted $5000 for the purpose of clearing the land belonging to the Indians and set aside $24,000 of the trust funds for the purpose of buying more land. The Indians demanded the principal, but the agent, O. J. Green, objected, declaring that it would do the Indians as much good to throw nine-tenths of it into the Iowa River.[54]

[53] Letter of I. D. C. Atkins to Governor Larrabee, February 24, 1888, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Enos Gheen was appointed between February 24 and May 31, 1888.

[54] Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. III, pp. 304, 327; letters relative to Indian Affairs, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

O. J. Green had been appointed superintendent and agent at the Sac and Fox Agency on October 1, 1907.

In his report for 1889 Mr. Gheen gave a detailed account of the agency. It was located three miles west of Tama City, five miles southwest of Toledo, and fifteen miles east of Marshalltown. The summer houses were made of board frames, covered with bark, the winter quarters of poles bent over to form rafters and covered with matting.[55]

Agents, however, did not remain long at the Tama reservation. On June 5, 1890, W. R. Lesser took charge of the agency. He had had twenty years experience among the Indians and declared that he did not intend to "romance or to make the Department think I am 'doing a great work' among these people". He reported that no school was in operation. A Mr. Batty, a Quaker, had attempted to organize one in 1889, but had given up in January, 1890, not "through any fault of his, but because he was handicapped by the agent, who desired his removal that he might nominate his wife for the position". Mr. Lesser advocated compulsory civilization or at least compulsory education, but he did not advise the establishment of a "court of Indian offenses", for he believed the agent should be the judge. He declared that the former policy had been as inconsistent as it would be to put a herd of wild horses in a corral with saddles, wagon, and harness and expect them to become saddle-horses and driving-horses. He reported the number of Indians as three hundred and ninety-nine.[56]

Wallace R. Lesser served as Indian agent for over four years, his successor taking up the work on October 1, 1894. During his term of office conditions on the reservation changed very little, although as in the case of nearly all agents, his reports were usually optimistic. The Indians purchased an additional 1700 acres of land in 1892, using for this purpose a portion of the $30,000 paid to them as

[55] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1889, pp. 213–216.

[56] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1890, pp. 103–106.

their share in the sale of the Sac and Fox lands in Oklahoma. The agent reported that the government building originally intended as a school house was occupied by the agency farmer, Mr. Cory, and was used as a council house. John McIntosh, the interpreter, had a frame house, as did also Joseph Tesson, a former interpreter, and Peter Soldier, a progressive Indian. In his report for 1893 Lesser declared that there had been no school when he assumed charge, and there "was a 'standing order' among the Indians that none of the children should go to the schoolhouse." He had organized a school but it was located at the Presbyterian mission two and one-half miles from the Indian village instead of in the government school house. Only ten pupils were reported by the teacher, Mr. W. S. Stoops. Two of the pupils that year had committed suicide, and the teacher said that this occurrence "had a bad effect on the school, though educational matters were in no way connected with their rash act." The religious work at the agency was done by Miss Anna Skea, a Presbyterian missionary.[57]

Mr. Lesser's opinion of his work among the Indians is given in his final report, dated August 25, 1894. After describing conditions at the agency and expressing disappointment that a drought had ruined the crops, he added that he had served nearly four years and a half and "might have remained longer had he not been a Republican, and a worthy Democrat desired the place. But that is the political part of the Indian question, and I have no complaint. During these four years I have done the hardest work of my life — much of it being labor that does not show on the surface, a fact which leads many people to suppose that the office is a 'snap;' but such an impression is erroneous. It had been

[57] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1892, pp. 264, 267; 1893, pp. 152–155.

the song here among former agents that 'nothing could be done in a progressive way with these Indians.' . . . . I went among the people, associated with them, found out their wants and grievances, gave heed to requests, advised them, urged them, pushed them along as best I could, protected them from the 'bad' whites, both in a business and moral sense, stopped all liquor selling that I could get at, prevented the whites from going to the reservation to run horses, gamble, and drink whisky, especially on Sunday, and looked after their affairs generally. In fact, I endeavored to do the work for which I was paid instead of attending to private affairs and allowing the Indians to get along as best they could. No, I did not neglect to draw the salary, neither did I forget to give value received for the same.''[58]

The Democratic agent who took Mr. Lesser's place was Horace M. Rebok. He reported that the Indians were greatly in debt, owing more than twice the amount of their annuity. Their land, 2800 acres in all, lay on both sides of the Iowa River. The taxes on this land amounted to $702.19, but their personal property was not assessed. One farm of five hundred and twenty acres had been rented to a white man in 1892 for five years for $740 a year. Another farm of 187 acres had been rented in 1894 for $400 a year.[59]

This leasing of the Indian lands created a great deal of dissension. Horace M. Rebok believed that the rent should have been $1120 or $1250. Besides, in Attorney-General Remley's opinion the agent had no right to lease the lands at all, for most of them were held in trust by the Governor of Iowa and the United States had no control over them. The matter was finally adjusted by a compromise whereby the rent was increased.[60]

[58] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1894, p. 147.

[59] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1895, p. 165.

[60] Letters of Milton Remley, November 25, 1895, and Horace M. Rebok, September 29, 1896, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Another matter which attracted much attention was the question of Indian education. The Sacs and Foxes had again and again refused to permit their children to attend the agency or mission schools. In the appropriation act of 1894 Congress included $5000 for the erection and maintenance of a school at this agency, but when the agent, Mr. Wallace R. Lesser, presented plans and estimates for a school house in May, 1894, the Indian Department at Washington rejected them and asked his successor, Horace M. Rebok, to make new plans requiring less than $3000. The Indians, however, objected so strongly that the Department let the matter drop and permitted the $5000 to be returned to the United States treasury. When it became evident that nothing could be done under existing circumstances, some philanthropic citizens in the spring of 1895 decided to organize an association to arouse interest in these primitive people left stranded in the midst of civilization. Dr. Charles A. Eastman, a prominent Indian, gave the opening address and the Indian Rights Association of Iowa was formed with Dr. S. N. Fellows as president and Judge J. R. Caldwell as secretary. The association at once began a campaign for the establishment of an industrial boarding school for Indian children and, in order to facilitate the carrying out of their plan, they advocated some change in the supervision over the Indians. Indeed, it had long been evident that the situation of these Indians was incompatible with the administration of law. As wards of the United States government the Indians were largely exempt from general State laws, although they were compelled to pay taxes on their property. On the other hand, the general government could not enforce its regulations, since the Indians owned the land and sometimes ordered the agent off the premises.[61]

[61] *History of the Indian Rights Association of Iowa and the Founding of the Indian Training School*, pp. 6, 8, 9, 10, 22, 25, 26.

Partly as a result of this difficulty, a change was made in the method of holding the lands. On February 14, 1896, the Iowa legislature transferred the legal title to the Indians' lands to the United States government, subject to the right of eminent domain, taxation, and judicial jurisdiction.[62] Congress on June 10, 1896, accepted the transfer and authorized the Secretary of the Interior and his successors in office to assume the position of trustee, formerly held by the Indian agent and Governor of Iowa.[63] The transfer, however, was not completed until 1908. On March 25th of that year O. J. Green, the superintendent and agent, formally transferred the land for which he was guardian to the Secretary of the Interior to be held in trust for the Indians, and on July 3rd a similar transfer was made by the Governor. One difficulty at this time was the question of the ownership of the land first bought. The five members of the council had transacted the business in their own names and it was not clear whether the land belonged to them as individuals or to the tribe. It was finally decided in 1898, that the title was vested in the tribe as a whole.[64]

The act of the Iowa legislature of February 14, 1896, it was held, exempted the lands of the Indians from school, pauper, soldiers' relief, insane, and State University taxes, so that the agent reported in 1897 that their taxes had been reduced from $554.29 in 1896 to $286.21 in 1897.[65]

In conformity with the general policy of emphasizing education, a new boarding school was provided for by an act of

[62] *Laws of Iowa,* 1896, Ch. 110, pp. 114, 115.

[63] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXIX, p. 331.

[64] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1908, pp. 84, 85; letter of O. J. Green, in Indian Affairs, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

[65] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1897, p. 147; 1898, p. 168. This contest over the ownership of the land was merely a part of the struggle against any recognition of the right of the government to educate or control the Indians.

Congress, and $35,000 was appropriated for this purpose. Seventy acres of land adjoining Toledo, Iowa, were purchased and by September, 1899, the school was ready to receive pupils. But in spite of the efforts of the agent and superintendent the Indians refused to permit their children to attend, even refusing to receive their annuities because they had been told that this gave the government the right to place their children in school. One of the chiefs was willing for the agent to send his daughter to jail, but was very angry when the agent put her in the school. By much effort fifty pupils were finally enrolled, but the opposition of the Indians to education was apparently unshaken. One old chief declared to the agent: "You may come and kill us, but we will not give you our children."[66]

On January 28, 1899, Mr. Rebok was succeeded by William G. Malin. Almost immediately the new agent met with opposition because of his efforts to compel two Indian girls who had run away from school to return. Superintendent George W. Nellis and James Poweshiek, the captain of the Indian police force, found the girls and returned them to the school, but the combined efforts of the agent, superintendent of the school, G. H. Tibbetts, the Indian farmer, and the Indian police force failed to arrest the Indian who was responsible for the kidnapping of the girls. The sheriff finally arrested the refractory Indian and the Deputy United States Marshal and a posse arrested seven of the rioters. Mr. Malin believed that this opposition had been encouraged by a Mr. E. I. Wilcox of Montour, Iowa, who had recently visited Washington with a party of Indians.[67]

The Indians, at the instigation of some white men, next instituted habeas corpus proceedings for the possession of an Indian girl who had been placed in the school by Agent

[66] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1899, Part I, pp. 201–203.

[67] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1899, Part I, pp. 199, 200.

Malin, who had been appointed her guardian. The Indians claimed that the girl was married, and furthermore, that there was no law by which Indian children could be compelled to attend school, since they did not live on a reservation, and that the State court had exceeded its jurisdiction in appointing Mr. Malin as the girl's guardian. Moreover, a law of 1895 had prohibited the removal of Indian children from a reservation against the consent of their parents. The case was tried by Judge O. P. Shiras at Dubuque and was decided in favor of the Indian claims. This left the agent and school superintendent practically without legal authority, and the average attendance at the school dropped from forty-four and seven-tenths to twenty and four-tenths. An attempt was made to secure the passage of a law in 1908 giving the agent power in this respect, but it failed.[68]

Another difficulty which confronted the new agent was an epidemic of small-pox in 1901–1902. The local authorities established a strict quarantine, and the Indians remained on their own lands, but refused medical attendance and especially disinfection. Again Mr. E. I. Wilcox appeared as the champion of the Indians, charging that the agent and his friends were keeping the Indians shut up, that they might charge exorbitant prices for supplies of flour and potatoes. Agent Malin believed that only a company of militia would be able to compel the Indians to submit to disinfection, but Dr. A. M. Linn of the Board of Health finally accomplished it. The Indians were not the only opposition which Dr. Linn encountered, however, for the members of the local board of health objected to his work, because he had not properly considered them and because he belonged to the homeopathic school.[69]

[68] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1900, Part I, pp. 249, 251; *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 60th Congress, Vol. 147, No. 1302, pp. 1, 2.

[69] Letters relative to Indian Affairs, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

During this period, the State furnished over $8000 for provisions and clothing, the agent assisting in the distribution. The number of Indians reported by the agent in 1902 was three hundred and thirty-eight, a decrease of forty from the preceding year.[70]

In August, 1904, a change was made in the title of the agent. Because of the emphasis placed on education the position of agent and that of the superintendent of the school were combined, and henceforth, the officer in charge was known as the Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent.[71]

On October 1, 1907, Mr. Orvile J. Green succeeded Mr. Malin as agent of the Iowa Sac and Fox Indians. He found the position rather difficult, for the unsettled questions of land transfer, education, and annuities caused dissatisfaction among the Indians. In 1908 he wrote: "I am trying to do my best for these Indians in every way as I am able to see my duty and the good of the Indians, but I do not even hope that my actions will always meet with their approval."[72]

One of the discouraging features of the work at this place appears to have been the educational problem. The expensive boarding school, about three miles from the Indians' lands had a capacity of about eighty children. In 1908 there were eleven employees and only fifty-eight pupils. There were at this time three hundred and sixty-six Indians on the reservation, but they did not approve of the white man's education. The report for the school year ending June 30, 1912, gave eighty-two children eligible for school attend-

[70] *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior,* 1902; *Indian Affairs,* Part I, pp. 212–216; *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior,* 1901, *Indian Affairs,* Part I, p. 241.

[71] *House Executive Documents,* 3rd Session, 58th Congress, Vol. XIX, p. 211.

[72] Indian Affairs, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

ance. Eight of these were in a non-reservation boarding school, fifty-one in an Indian day school and two in the public school.[73] The boarding school as such was discontinued at the close of the school year in June, 1911, and since 1912 has been maintained as a sanatorium for tubercular Indians under twenty-one years of age. In 1914 this institution reported a capacity of seventy-nine patients and an attendance of fifty.[74] Two day schools are maintained on the reservation, each with an enrollment of about thirty children, but a much smaller average attendance. A noon-day lunch is furnished these children at the school.[75]

Dr. Robert L. Russell, who was appointed superintendent in October, 1913, reported in November, 1915, that the Indians under his charge received from the government of the United States about $18,000 as annuities. They were also furnished free medical attendance and the services of an expert farmer. Only about twenty-five percent of the Musquakies are still living in the wickiups — most of them having board houses in which they live during the summer.[76]

This remnant of the primitive race now dwells at peace in the midst of prosperous farms, expensive schools, and all the other institutions of civilization. The United States government, through the superintendent, acts as the guardian of their lands, provides for the education of their children, instructs them along industrial lines, and cares for their sick. They numbered three hundred and sixty-eight in 1914, and owned 3890 acres of land which, unlike

[73] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1908, pp. 170, 171; 1912, p. 184.

In 1908 the sum of $15,160 was appropriated by Congress.— *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXXV, Part 1, pp. 79, 80.

[74] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1911, p. 174; 1912, p. 198; 1913, p. 19; 1914, p. 139.

[75] Letter of Dr. Robert L. Russell to the writer, November 8, 1915.

[76] Letter of Dr. Robert L. Russell to the writer, November 8, 1915.

most Indian reservations, had been purchased according to the white man's laws. This land is partly cultivated and partly grazing. Fifty of the ninety-three able-bodied male adults were engaged in farming and cultivated about a thousand acres, so that there has been a great advancement in this respect.[77]

There have been several suggestions that this land held in common should be allotted. In 1910 Robert G. Valentine, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made this statement concerning them:

> The first step toward settling the affairs of these Indians should unquestionably be the allotment of their lands. But there are serious difficulties in the way. Although the legal title of the lands is in the Secretary of the Interior as trustee, the lands were bought by the Indians with their own funds and belong to them. For that reason I do not believe it would be right to make any change in the present status of the lands without first gaining the consent of the Indians. Their attitude upon the question of allotment has been one of persistent opposition, and at the present time there is no likelihood of obtaining their consent to the breaking up of tribal ownership. Their tract of land is not large, and if prorated among the members of the tribe would give to each man only about 10 acres. Such a small holding would not be adequate for the support of these ignorant and nonprogressive Indians.[78]

The Iowa Sacs and Foxes, therefore, remain an extraneous body in the State. They are tax-payers, but can not become citizens until they give up their tribal relations and this they steadfastly refuse to do. In the long struggle they have waged for their own preservation in their old hunting-grounds, they have secured themselves from interference by their strict adherence to the laws of the State. That the attitude of the Iowa legislature toward them has been lenient is largely due to the care they have used to

[77] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1914, pp. 105, 110.

[78] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1910, p. 52.

secure the approval of those in authority before taking any step. The difficulties of the superintendents in charge, however, have been numerous and much credit is due to the patient efforts they have made to improve the conditions of their wards.

And so the past lives in the midst of the present, reminding the citizens of Iowa that three-quarters of a century ago the aboriginal inhabitants roamed over the prairies or gathered temporarily in their villages by the rivers. The old agency centers have been long deserted or have been occupied by thriving towns where little remains to suggest the tragedy which resulted when one race took the inheritance of another. The work of these men who lived among the Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and Pottawattamies as the representatives of the United States government has been almost forgotten. Their hardships, heroism, and mistakes have been for the most part buried with them. They were but parts of the transition from the old to the new, yet the study of their work is interesting for three reasons. It gives a glimpse of the frontier with its ragged edge out, as it always was, towards the Indians. It gives also a picture of the home and community life of the natives as they were at that time. And finally, it portrays the work of the government among the Indians — its inconsistency, and injustice, as well as its generosity. In spite of disorganization and lack of support most of the agents in Iowa served faithfully and if they failed it was because their task was impossible. They belonged to the pioneers and indeed served as the advance guard of civilization. Their agencies were its outposts and the history of the conquest of the Iowa country may be read in the accounts of the Indian agents.

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