

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA  
800-521-0600

UMI<sup>®</sup>

PREVIEW

## **NOTE TO USERS**

**This reproduction is the best copy available.**

UMI

PREVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA LIBRARIES

MANUSCRIPT THESIS

Permission to use this thesis has been given by the author or department under whose direction it is written.

Approved by author .....

Approved by department .....

It is expected that proper credit will be given for any quotations taken from this work. Extensive copying or publication of the thesis in whole or in part requires the written consent of the author or department.

This thesis has been used by the following person, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

A library which borrows this thesis for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.

NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE
------------------	------

Walter M. Dethen, Mankato, Minn.	July 1, 65
E. J. Wanziger, Jr., Bowling Green, Ohio	March 1968
J. M. Skaggs, Texas Tech U.	2/14/70
Michael L. Tate Univ. of Nebraska at Omaha	Aug. 20, 1978
James M. Almost Univ. of Western Ontario	February 1979
Faye R. Baumert, Huron College, Ohio	October, 1979

PREVIEW

SIoux AND WHITE RELATIONS

by

Philip S. Holmgren

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of  
The Graduate College in the University of Nebraska  
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of History

Under the Supervision of Dr. James L. Sellers

Lincoln, Nebraska

June, 1950

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA  
LIBRARY

UMI Number: DP13797

UMI<sup>®</sup>

---

UMI Microform DP13797

Copyright 2006 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

---

ProQuest Information and Learning Company  
300 North Zeeb Road  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface .....	1
Chapter I The Beginnings of Governmental Negotiations with the Sioux.	
Early white contacts .....	1
Location of Sioux tribes .....	2
Pike makes an agreement with the Sioux.....	4
The treaties of 1815 .....	6
The treaties of 1825 .....	7
Eastern boundary for the Sioux .....	9
Cession of territory in 1830 .....	10
Ceding of lands east of Mississippi .....	13
Treaty with the Yankton 1837 .....	14
Farming not attractive to Mississippi Sioux .....	16
Demoralization by whisky .....	17
Game supply influences cessions .....	20
Buffalo migration .....	22
Missouri river as trading counter .....	23
Chapter II The Mississippi Sioux as Farmers.	
The treaty of 1851 .....	26
Allowed reservation in 1854 .....	29
Murphy's report .....	30
Prescott criticizes selfish men in Indian Bureau ..	32
Spirit Lake Massacre .....	34
Inkpaduta's band punished .....	35
Treaty of 1858 .....	37
Campbell allowance included in treaty .....	39
Blanket and Farmer Indians .....	42
Indian opinion of treaty provisions .....	44
Unsettled conditions of Eastern Sioux .....	47
Incident leading to outbreak of 1862 .....	48
Sioux prisoners at Davenport, Iowa .....	50
Move to Crow Creek reservation .....	51
Treaty with Santee Sioux 1868 .....	53
Unallotted lands returned to public domain .....	54
Mississippi Sioux on homesteads .....	56
Lake Traverse and Devil's Lake reservations .....	58
Cessions by Devil's Lake and Lake Traverse Sioux ..	60
Land in severalty .....	62
Boundary line trouble at Devil's Lake.....	64
Crop failure at Devil's Lake 1897 .....	67
Activity of the grass dance .....	69
Flandreau Sioux .....	72
Influence of liquor .....	76
Increase in drunkenness .....	77

### Chapter III The Struggle of the Yanktons to Adopt the White Man's Ways

Land valuable for game supply.....	81
Treaty of 1858 .....	82
Cede lands of the Yanktonai .....	86
Indian police .....	88
Agreement of 1892 .....	92
Sully scouts are paid .....	94
Agricultural progress .....	96
Matter of Heff .....	99

### Chapter IV Yanktonai and Teton Sioux Struggle over Reservation Status.

Effects of westward migration .....	102
Treaty of Fort Laramie 1851 .....	103
Amended treaty never ratified .....	106
Sioux government .....	107
Stirring Bear appointed head chief .....	109
The Mormon cow incident .....	112
Little Thunder's band attacked .....	115
Harney treaties, Fort Pierre .....	116
Warren survey party .....	120
Discovery of gold in Colorado .....	122
Gold in Montana .....	125
Bear's Rib killed .....	127
Peace commission at old Fort Sully .....	129
Laramie-Bozeman trail .....	135
Powder River Country contested by Sioux .....	138
Treaty of 1868 .....	139
Opposition to the treaty of 1868 .....	148

### Chapter V From Fort Laramie to Black Hills.

Sioux prohibited from going on hunting trips .....	152
Big Horn Mountain exposition proposed .....	154
Red Cloud in Powder River Country .....	155
Red Cloud in Washington .....	157
Red Cloud agency moved .....	159
Troops moved to Forts A. Lincoln and Rice .....	162
Pawnee battle .....	163
Custer expedition into Black Hills .....	164
Red Cloud returns to Washington .....	165
Northern boundary of Nebraska surveyed .....	166
The Hinman expedition .....	169
Hinman report .....	170
Allison commission fails .....	172
Sioux ordered to reservations .....	174
Indian appropriation act of 1876 .....	176

Sioux commission of 1876 .....	177
Agreement of 1876 .....	179
Lone Tree conference .....	183
Sitting Bull in Canada .....	185

## Chapter VI Reservation Life for the Western Sioux.

Sitting Bull Indians returning to U. S. ....	187
Schurz reports on Brule Sioux .....	188
Reforms evident among Sioux .....	192
Little Moon convicted of murder .....	193
Agitation for reduction of reservation .....	195
Agreement of 1889 .....	196
Two groups develop among Sioux .....	204
Reduction of rations .....	208
Ghost dance .....	209
Telegram by Royer .....	212
Death of Sitting Bull .....	212
Wounded Knee massacre .....	213
Appropriations acts of 1891 .....	214
Resources of Pine Ridge reservation .....	216
Population figures .....	218
Indian police wages .....	219

## Chapter VII Conclusion

Early Indian policy .....	222
Removal policy .....	223
Dawes Act .....	224
Reservations of 1876 .....	228
Quaker Policy .....	230
Land allotments .....	232
The Sioux as a nomadic people .....	234
Activities of U. S. citizens .....	235
Gold discoveries .....	236
Sioux government .....	236
Corruption in Indian department .....	237

## Appendix

Map 1 Sioux migrations .....	241
Map 2 Sioux cessions .....	243
Map 3 Reservations in 1893 .....	245
Map 4 .....	247

Bibliography .....	249
--------------------	-----

## PREFACE

This study deals with one phase of the history of the Sioux Indians beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing through the first decade of the twentieth century. The relations between the Sioux and the United States government are considered with respect to the treaties and agreements, including negotiations, provisions and effects upon those involved. This study is an analysis of the history of these relations for the period specified and presents the difficulties which both the government and the Sioux encountered in the process of civilizing the latter. By tracing the federal relations of individual tribal groups the confusion of negotiations with various tribes is avoided and the purpose and progress of governmental policy is more evident. Most of the accounts pertaining to the Sioux have emphasized the wars from 1854 to 1890. Consequently no attempt is made to deal with the military phase of the relations between the whites and the Sioux except where a very limited account was deemed necessary for the sake of clarity and continuity.

The spelling of the Indian names used is for the most part that which has been recommended by the Indian Bureau

and the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the case of direct quotations no attempt has been made to edit the spellings which appear. The English plural is used in the writing of tribal and band names rather than the Indian grammatical form which, with a very few exceptions, is the same for both singular and plural.

The name Dakota is not used in reference to the Indians which are dealt with in this study. The Sioux of the East, or Santee Sioux, referred to themselves as the Dakota. The Sioux of the Center, or Yankton Sioux, called themselves the Nakota. The Sioux of the West, or Teton Sioux, spoke of themselves as the Lakota. Although these Indians referred to themselves as the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota in their various dialects, the author has chosen to use the more common name of Sioux. The name Sioux is a corruption of the French Canadian abbreviation of the diminutive singular, Nadoweisiw, which was used by the traditional enemies of the Sioux, the Chippewas, and literally means an adder. Since white men first heard of the Sioux through the Chippewas, this name has had a much wider usage by the whites than has the name Dakota which they gave themselves.

The E. S. Ricker Historical collection makes up the major portion of the unpublished material that has been consulted for this study. The collection, which was begun with the idea of accumulating material for a history of the plains Indians, grew to include material on Indians in

all parts of the United States as well as scattered information on tribes outside the United States. The collection consists of both official and private correspondence part of which is original and some of which is in transcribed form. It contains newspapers and newspaper clippings as well as pamphlets, government documents, and other official documents. A large number of articles from newspapers and publications as well as government documents are present in manuscript form. Included also in manuscript form are interviews which Judge Ricker had with many people, both Indians and whites especially in 1906 and 1907. Military engagements make up much of the contents of the interviews, with chief Crazy Horse and the battle of Wounded Knee receiving the most complete treatment. Governmental relations and the work of the various commissions sent to negotiate with the Sioux are quite adequately covered as far back as the treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868, with limited material on earlier conferences. The collection also contains material on the conditions which existed at the various Sioux agencies prior to and following the turn of the twentieth century.

The materials on the Sioux and United States governmental relations consulted by this author have portrayed the perplexity of the difficulties involved. This study is not a complete history of the Sioux Indians, but an analysis

of the various phases of the problems of Sioux and white relations with an emphasis on the clarification of the difficulties encountered by both the Sioux and the United States government as well as an analysis of the purpose and process of the governmental relations.

PREVIEW

## CHAPTER I

### THE BEGINNINGS OF GOVERNMENTAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SIOUX

Explorers, traders, travelers, and missionaries through private contacts were the first conferees with the Sioux. Penetration into the Sioux country came fairly early in the white man's conquest of the North American continent. No conclusive evidence seems to exist that white men actually contacted the Sioux until 1654. At that time two Frenchmen spent a number of years living and trading with the Sioux.<sup>1</sup> Le Sueur left some writings and a crude map which indicated definite French contact in 1695 with an eastern band of the Sioux Indians now known as the Santee.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding these early associations with the Sioux and the continuing contacts of white men in the intervening period, little can be said of Sioux and white relations prior to 1800 for the simple reason that they were, for all practical purposes, non-existent.

In the records of the Lewis and Clark expedition there appeared the first information concerning the location of

---

<sup>1</sup>James H. Bradley, History of the Sioux, 30, in Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, (Helena, 1923), II.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 31.



the Sioux tribes which can be considered reliable. With the assistance of these records, later studies have been able to define a geographic location of the various divisions of the Sioux Indians in the period 1800 to 1850. By presenting these locations, at this point, less difficulty will be encountered in an understanding of the issues involved in the treaties dealing with the Sioux. The major portion of this study will concern itself with the Teton Sioux and, therefore, justifies the location of the various subdivisions of the Teton.

In 1804 the Santee Sioux, consisting of the Mdewankton and Wahpekuta bands, were living on the Minnesota river below Redwood river. This location comprised the hinterland around Redwood Falls and Mankato, Minnesota.<sup>3</sup>

The Upper Yanktonai or Cut Head, and the Lower Yanktonai or Hunkpatina, which made up the Yanktonai Sioux, were to be found in the area of the headwaters of the Sioux, James and Red rivers.<sup>4</sup>

The Teton Sioux, consisting of the Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou, Hunkpapa, Sans Arc, Two Kettle and Blackfoot tribes, formed the western Sioux confederacy and were sometimes referred to as the western Sioux. The area, which

---

<sup>3</sup>The Court of Claims, The Sioux Tribes of Indians versus The United States, No. C-531-(7), 24.

<sup>4</sup>F. W. Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, (Washington, 1907), Bulletin 30, pt. 2, 990.

LIBRARY

this major division of the Sioux considered their home and hunting ground, was bounded on the east by the Missouri river from the mouth of the Niobrara to the mouth of the Yellowstone and from there the boundary extended northward into Canada and then westward to a line formed by the Big Horn Mountains and the Mussleshell river. The southeastern boundary started at the mouth of the Niobrara, ran southwest to and across the forks of the Platte river, on to the foothills of the Colorado Mountains and from there northwest to the Platte river at Red Butte, Wyoming.<sup>5</sup>

The Brule Sioux were found by Lewis and Clark on both sides of the Missouri between the White and Teton rivers. By 1850 they were living in the area of the headwaters of the Niobrara and White rivers. This area extended approximately one-half the distance from the river sources to their mouths.<sup>6</sup> The Teton river still formed the northern boundary, and in the summer this tribe made hunting trips into the country of the headwaters of the Platte and Arkansas rivers. They organized hunting expeditions in order to capture wild horses that could be found in fairly large numbers in this area.

The Miniconjou were living on both sides of the Missouri above the Cheyenne river in 1800. In 1850 usually

---

<sup>5</sup>The Court of Claims, No. C-531-(7), 25.

<sup>6</sup>Hodge, op. cit., Bulletin 30, part I, 167.

they were found from Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne to the Grand river.<sup>7</sup>

The Oglala, which formed the principal division of the Teton Sioux, were discovered by Lewis and Clark on both sides of the Missouri below the Cheyenne river. In 1850 this tribe roamed the plains between the north and south forks of the Platte river and the territory west of the Black Hills.<sup>8</sup>

On his trip up the Mississippi river in 1805-1806, Pike stopped at a Sioux village between the Saint Croix and Saint Peter rivers. He realized that the village would be a good location for a military and trading post when the time came for the United States to expand in that direction. With this thought in mind, Pike proposed that the chiefs cede the land for that purpose. The apparent desire of the Sioux to have a trading post established in the area, and the possible desire for rapprochement with the United States, must have made Pike's task a relatively easy one.<sup>9</sup>

Articles of agreement were drawn up September 23, 1805, in which the Sioux ceded to the United States two tracts of land. The one land cession was nine miles square at the mouth of the Saint Croix river. The other extended nine

---

<sup>7</sup>Hodge, op. cit., Part II, 868.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 109. See Map 1 in appendix.

<sup>9</sup>American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Thomas Jefferson to U. S. Senate, March 29, 1808, I, 753.

miles on each side of the Mississippi river from below the mouth of the Saint Peter's, up the Mississippi to Saint Anthony's Falls.<sup>10</sup> Even though there was no immediate plan for establishing a trading post at that place, Jefferson presented to the Senate this treaty for ratification in order to obtain full title for the United States whenever the land was wanted for the purpose specified.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the presents, valued at about \$200 which Pike had given the Indians, Congress added a grant of \$2,000 worth of goods to be delivered to the Sioux. In return the Sioux transferred 155,520 acres of land to the United States.<sup>12</sup>

Article III of the treaty permitted "the Sioux to pass, repass, hunt, or make other uses of the said districts, as they have formerly done, without any other exception...".<sup>13</sup> They could not interfere with the establishment of a military post in that area, however. This transaction, then, constituted the first cession of territory to the United States by any of the Sioux Indians. It was drawn up as an agreement between the Sioux Indians and Pike subject to approval by the Congress of the United States. It, therefore, comprised the first official agreement between

---

<sup>10</sup>American State Papers, I, 754.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 753.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 755.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 754.

the Sioux and the United States government although it was never ratified.<sup>14</sup>

Actual treaty negotiations between the United States government and the Sioux Indians first ensued when the treaties of July of 1815 were signed and ratified on December 26, 1815. These treaties were promulgated at Portage des Sioux under the direction of William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau who acted as the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States. One treaty was drawn up for the Teton Sioux, another for the Sioux of the Lakes, and a third with the Sioux of Saint Peter river. Although there were three separate documents they were one and the same in content. The wording in all three was identical and consisted of three articles: the first was a mutual forgiveness of every injury or act of hostility committed by one or the other of the contracting parties; the second was a renewal of permanent peace and friendship; the third was the acknowledgement by the Indians of the protection of the government of the United States over their tribes. These treaties, following the close of the war between the United States and Great Britain, were nothing more than the manifestation by the United States government of its sovereignty as well as a mutual agreement to keep the peace.

---

<sup>14</sup>Indian Affairs, Senate Document 452, 57th Congress, 1st session, (Washington, 1903), II, 793.

In June of 1816 a treaty which was ratified December 30, 1816, was signed by chiefs and warriors representing eight bands of the Sioux. The tribes included in this agreement were the Sioux of the Leaf, the Sioux of the Broad Leaf, and the Sioux who Shot in the Pine Tops.

Reiterating the three articles included in the treaties of 1815 this treaty added an article in which the Indians promised to "...confirm to the United States all and every cession, or cessions, of land heretofore made by their tribes to the British, French, or Spanish governments, within the limits of the United States or their territories."<sup>15</sup> By this addition to the earlier treaties the United States government attempted to secure for itself, through the medium of treaty negotiations, any concession which the Sioux might have given to governments controlling the area before it became a part of the United States.

No more treaty negotiations ensued between the Sioux and the government of the United States until the summer of 1825. Although the three treaties signed in 1825 were signed at different times and different places and with different tribes of the Sioux, they contained the same provisions. They acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, the extension of the friendship and protection of the United States, and provided for the designation of trade

---

<sup>15</sup>Richard Peters, ed., Public Statutes at Large of the United States, (Boston, 1861), VII, 143.

centers by the President of the United States. The trade was restricted to "...American citizens, duly authorized by the United States."<sup>16</sup> If any foreigner or any other person, not legally authorized by the United States, came into the Indian country to trade it was obligatory to turn him over to some United States agent. A plan was presented which would promote the prevention of injuries to individuals. Rules were established for the chiefs to recover stolen property. The United States government promised to indemnify in full the Indians for property stolen by a citizen of the United States if the property could not be recovered and the Indians could prove that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States. In the last article the Indians promised to prohibit in all ways either by sale, trade, or gifts, any implements of war to any nation or tribe of Indians not in amity with the United States.<sup>17</sup>

Henry Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon were the United States commissioners who drew up these treaties. The first treaty was with the Teton, Yankton, and Yanktonai bands of the Sioux being signed at Fort Lookout on June 22, 1825.<sup>18</sup> The second treaty was with the Sioune and Oglala tribes, signed at the mouth of the Teton river on July 5, 1828.<sup>19</sup> The third and last of the treaties in this group was

---

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 250.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 251.

<sup>18</sup>Idem.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 251-2.

negotiated with the Hunkpapa band of the Sioux tribe at the Auricara village on July 16, 1825.<sup>20</sup> In this latter treaty the subdivision of the Sioux which we know as the Hunkpapa was first mentioned.

It does not require an exhaustive study of these treaties to reach the conclusion that there was a noticeable extension of the authority of the government of the United States over the affairs of the Sioux Indians, as well as an increased interest in the events of this vast area over which the Sioux roamed. The recognition of the immediate sovereignty of the Sioux over their domain was indicated in these treaties. Ultimate sovereignty over the Sioux Indians and over their territories was vested in the United States government. By giving the Sioux, not only the right, but also the duty of delivering all persons who committed crimes in their domain, to government agents of the United States, police power was conferred upon the Sioux tribe.<sup>21</sup>

In August, 1825, the United States commissioners William Clark and Lewis Cass negotiated a treaty that dealt with boundaries for sundry tribes. This pact "with the Sioux and Chippewa, Sacs and Fox, Menominie, Ioway, Sioux, Winnebago, and a portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawattomie, Tribes," as far as the Sioux were concerned did little more than set up an eastern boundary recognizing

---

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 258.

<sup>21</sup>The Court of Claims, No. C-531-(7)52.