

Pittsburg State University

Pittsburg State University Digital Commons

Electronic Theses & Dissertations

Graduate School

4-2005

WAVES OF DESTRUCTION: THE FRENCH, SPANISH, AND AMERICANS STRUGGLE TO DOMINATE THE FUR TRADE IN THE OSAGE INDIANS HOMELAND AND THE IMPACT ON THE TRIBE, 1673-1873

Heather R. Hess
Pittsburg State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Hess, Heather R., "WAVES OF DESTRUCTION: THE FRENCH, SPANISH, AND AMERICANS STRUGGLE TO DOMINATE THE FUR TRADE IN THE OSAGE INDIANS HOMELAND AND THE IMPACT ON THE TRIBE, 1673-1873" (2005). *Electronic Theses & Dissertations*. 526.
<https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd/526>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@pittstate.edu.

**WAVES OF DESTRUCTION: THE FRENCH, SPANISH, AND AMERICANS
STRUGGLE TO DOMINATE THE FUR TRADE IN THE OSAGE INDIANS
HOMELAND AND THE IMPACT ON THE TRIBE, 1673-1873**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts**

Heather R. Hess

PITTSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

Pittsburg, Kansas

April, 2005

WAVES OF DESTRUCTION: THE FRENCH, SPANISH AND AMERICANS
STRUGGLE TO DOMINATE THE FUR TRADE IN THE OSAGE INDIANS
HOMELAND AND THE IMPACT ON THE TRIBE, 1673-1873

Heather R. Hess


APPROVED:

Thesis Advisor



Mrs. Judith G. Shaw, Associate Professor, Department of History

Committee Member



Dr. Thomas R. Walther, Professor, Department of History

Committee Member



Mr. Randy Roberts, Associate Professor, Library

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION.....	1
REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	10
I. THE FRENCH WAVE AND THE HEAVY EYEBROW LEGACY.....	12
II. THE SPANISH WAVE AND THE CREOLE LEGACY.....	28
III. IMPACT OF THE FRENCH AND SPANISH ON THE OSAGE.....	35
IV. THE AMERICAN WAVE AND THE LONG KNIVES LEGACY.....	43
V. IMPACT OF THE AMERICANS ON THE OSAGE.....	69
CONCLUSION.....	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	83

An Abstract of the Thesis by
Heather R. Hess

The Osage Indians are not often thought of when the fur trade is mentioned. However, this powerful tribe lived near the Missouri River from the beginning of the North American fur trade in the 1600s until its end in the 1840s. They were the tribe that the French, Spanish, and Americans were forced to deal with and appease in order to reach their goal of dominating the fur trade. Each country dealt differently with the tribe. The French adopted a friendly policy of assimilating with the tribe and making them partners in the fur trade business. The Spanish kept many of the French policy but they chose not to assimilate with the tribe and tried unsuccessfully to control the tribe. The British were completely unsuccessful with gaining strong fur trading ties with the Osage. They met French and Spanish opposition which kept them away from the tribe. However, the British were successful in their dealing with the other tribes in the fur trade. After the colonist won their Independence from England, America would inherit the problems of dealing with the American Indians. In 1803, the Louisiana Purchase would include the Osage Indians homelands. America acquired the fertile land that was rich in fur bearing animals. The Corps of Discovery resulted in expanding American trading posts on the Missouri River and meeting the American Indian tribes living on the land purchased by the United States. However, their friendly attitude shifted when co-existence between whites and American Indians became difficult. Instead, a policy of forced removal and treaties resulted. The Americans would be responsible for gaining all of their land through treaties and pushing them onto reservations, first in Kansas and finally in Oklahoma.

The once strong and sovereign Osage tribe would live under the rule of three different flags. At times they benefited from their positional advantage and competing imperial rivals in the form of gifts and escaping punishment for their misdeeds. Other times, they would be on the losing side when a stronger nation desired their land. Each decade of contact with foreign nations brought in a new wave of cultural destruction of the tribe. The decrease in tribal population and loss of their traditional lifestyle and culture resulted. From the early rise of the fur trade, Europeans exposed the tribe to trade goods, horses, guns, alcohol, religion, and disease. The European struggle for dominance in the fur trade put the Osages in direct contact with an alien culture that would change their way of life forever.

INTRODUCTION

The Osage Indians are a member of the Siouan people, formerly living in Missouri, in the valleys of the Missouri River and the Osage River. They were a semi-nomadic tribe that traveled down the Ohio River, the Great Lakes, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and eventually Oklahoma. The Osage are considered a Missouri tribe because of their location during European contact. In prehistoric times, oral tradition places them as far east as the North Carolina and Virginia Piedmont area. Archaeologists believe that the Osage, along with other Dhegiha bands¹ occupied the Piedmont Plateau between the James and Savannah Rivers in Virginia and the Carolinas then began to push westward, descending to the Ohio River, crossing the Mississippi, and ultimately crossing the Missouri. However, there are scholars that believe it is more likely the tribe descended down from the north instead. Regardless of which direction the tribe came into the Missouri region, the Osages and other American Indians existed in North America for thousands of years before the Europeans arrived.

Tribal legend explains that they are the product of the People of the Sky and the Isolated Earth People meeting. The People of the Sky or *Tzi-sho*, were noble and clean and the Isolated Earth people or *Hunkah*, were unsophisticated.² In mythical time, the mystery force sent the People of the Sky to earth and they met the Isolate Earth People. When the sky people and earth people combined, they form the Osage tribe. The two divisions were then subdivided into twenty-four clans or fireplaces. A dual-chief system provided leadership for the tribe but the leaders possessed limited authority. The chief of the Sky People was in charge of matters of peace while the chief of the Earth People was responsible for leading

¹ Any member of a Siouan people speaking one of the Dhegiha languages, including, Omaha, Ponca, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes.

² John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 10.

wars. Tribal elders, known as “Little Old Men,” chose who would be the keepers of tribal custom. The Little Old Men were the actual religious, social, and political leaders of the tribe. According to Osage historian John Joseph Mathews (1895-1979), the Little Old Men were those whose “fires of mating and hunting and war had been banked”.³ They no longer had to worry about food or shelter and could spend their time observing, talking, and sitting in the Lodge of Mystery. Mathews goes on to say that they, “felt more now than the urges of food-getting and mating”.⁴ Each permanent village had a Lodge of Mystery that housed these wise men of the tribe. The lodge stood apart from the other dwellings. It was oblong in shape and covered with animal skins. The Osage system of government was set up with a committee at the top, a division of chiefs, and chiefs of individual bands.⁵ Chiefs were designated for life, but held responsible for their actions, and had to answer for misdeeds by the council of Little Old Men.

Prior to 1700, records indicate the Osages lived as one single band with seventeen villages in the Ozark area.⁶ By 1715, the Osage tribe separated into two different groups located on the Little Osage River in Vernon County, Missouri. Victor Tixier (1815-1885), called them “Oussa Tanga,” Grand or Big Osages, and the “Oussa Chinga,” or the Little Osages. The Big Osages were also known as the *Pa-he'tse*, meaning “campers on the mountain or big hill near St. Louis”. The Little Osages were called *U-tseh-ta*, meaning “campers on the lowlands” or “those at the foot of the mountain”.⁷ The Big Osages lived in a village near the mouth of the Marmiton River. The Little Osage lived in a village about six

³ Ibid., 22.

⁴ Ibid., 22.

⁵ “Lecture Focuses on Osage Nation”. *The Morning Sun*. 28 August 2000.

⁶ Elmo Ingenthron, *Indians of the Ozark Plateau*. (Point Lookout, Missouri: School of the Ozark Press, 1970), 59.

⁷ Victor Tixier, *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairie*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 126.

miles west on the west side of the Little Osage River. The two bands shared the same culture and language; however, they were both geographically and politically distinct from each other. The Osage are thought to have remained there until 1759. In their search for food and game, the Osage gradually moved westward. They encountered other tribes while hunting for game and began to turn southward towards the Arkansas or Flint River.

The Osages were the most dominate and powerful tribe on the Plains. They were exceptional warriors and hunters because of their dexterity and strength. Philadelphia artist George Catlin (1796-1872), visited the tribe in the 1830s and described the Osages as a handsome people, tall and well proportioned. A full-grown male was said to average six and a half to seven feet tall. Catlin believed them to be the tallest men, Indian or white, in North America.⁸ Osage men wore a loincloth, either blue or scarlet in color and secured by a beaded woolen sash tied around their waist. They protected their lower body with leggings which had front seams and split over the hard soled-moccasins which were beaded, painted, and had a front seam and no cuff. In the spring and summer, Osage men exposed their bare chest. In the winter, they wore fur turbans and caps made of otter or badger fur. They pierced their ears and wore many ornaments, bracelets, and tattooed their arms and chest. Mirror boards had small glass set in wooded frames, a European trade item, and were attached to their garments. After European contact, it would not be unusual for an Osage man to carry with him a small pouch attached to his belt which held knives, pipes, tobacco, red and black face paint, mirror, and tools to remove hair. The role of the Osage man was to hunt, attend meetings, play games, protect the tribe, and go to war.

⁸ George Catlin, *North American Indians: Being Letters and Notes on their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written during Eight Years Travel amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839*. (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart, 1913), 275.

Osage women wore dresses made of deerskin, moccasins with large cuffs, leggings, bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. They wore a wide belt made from the hair of a buffalo calf. They also tattooed their body but more elaborately than the males. Osage women would have had the role of maintaining and supporting village life. She would be in charge of housing, clothing, farming, gathering, child rearing, and some cooking. Cooks were very important to the tribe, mainly elderly or disabled warriors who could no longer take part in warring activities performed the task. Washington Irving visited the tribe in the 1830s and commented about a cook in the Osage village, "Chief cook of Osage villages, a great dignitary, combining grand chamberlain, minister of state, master of ceremonies and town crier, has undercooks...When strangers arrive he goes about the village and makes proclamation, great white man, great chief arrived, warriors turn out to receive him properly..."⁹

Although women accompanied hunting parties, they took no part in the actual hunt. They had the responsibility of butchering and preparing the meat. Many European visitors described Osage women as being unattractive; this likely was due to the backbreaking work and the searing summer sun, which aged them considerably. Charles Joseph Latrobe (1801-1875), described them saying, "As to their personal appearance, with very few exceptions I can only specify three degrees, horrible, more horrible, most horrible."¹⁰ Osage women took great pride as artisan and are known for their ribbon making which they used to enhance shawls, leggings, and blankets. Productivity and efficiency in crafts established the rank of a woman within her tribe. This is how a woman gained a reputation and status among her peers, much like a warrior would gain esteem for his courage in battle and hunting activities.

⁹ John Francis McDermott, ed., *The Western Journals of Washington Irving*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), 135.

¹⁰ Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America*. (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835), 160.

Frequent designs were the hourglass, handprint, and images of the horse. After European contact, the Osage women would lose much of their artisan identity within the tribe due to the value placed on trade items.

The fur trade was one of the earliest and most important industries in North America. It provoked exploration and led to contact between the Osage Indians and Europeans and later it would lead to imperial rivalry. In Europe, the demand for furs was high, especially beaver pelts for hat making and exotic furs. Beaver fur hats, with names like the Clerical, Wellington, Paris Beau, D'Orsay, and the Regent, were the rage in Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although, pelt for hats was not the only purpose for trapping beaver. Castoreum, a secretion from the glands at the base of the tail, was a cure-all for every ailment. Europeans believed that it could cure everything from epilepsy, deafness, lung infection, stroke, and blindness. They used it various ways. For some remedies, they put powdered beaver teeth in soup and drank the mixture. Other times they mixed it in alcohol or spices. Castoreum was also an ingredient in European perfumes. The much desired beaver pelt and castoreum in Europe caused the beaver populations there to be exhausted. Due to the quantity of beaver and quality of the furs in North America, Europeans began to shift their attention towards the North American Continent.

The beaver pelt became a highly recognized standard of exchange. Fur traders who sought making fortunes, pushed into an untamed continent of North America. Competition arose among European nations to gain control on the potentially lucrative industry. As a result of the trade, the Osages had continuous contact with European traders. The Europeans wanted the furs and skins the Osages could provide and the Osages wanted the guns, powder, bullets, cloth, knives, and utensils the Europeans could provide. The fur trade led to

America's first corporate giants; powerful fur trading companies.¹¹ For the Europeans, the fur trade was another avenue for commerce and wealth. For the Osages it had a drastic and permanent effect on their ancestral way of life. Priorities among the European powers shifted from the fur trade to other activities. The Spanish prospered with mining and raising livestock, the English-Americans were most interested in colonizing and farming, but the French remained most interested in exploiting the fur trade.

Geography played a critical part in the fur trade for numerous reasons. The physical geography of North America, with its lakes and rivers provided transportation for the business. The Mississippi and the Missouri rivers formed a highway for commerce in which steamboats and keelboats transported goods. The *Osage Factor* was the government owned keelboat used to transport goods from Fort Osage.¹² Later, steamboats transported goods up and down the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. In 1817, the first steamboat would arrive in St. Louis, opening up a new era of commerce and travel on the Mississippi River.

The states of Missouri, Arkansas, and Kansas, all had many animals whose furs were worth money. Beaver, buffalo, rabbit, muskrat, raccoon, squirrel, and wolves, were plentiful in these regions. The Osages lived and dominated the Missouri River Valley and thus were the tribe in which fur traders and European powers were forced to interact and deal with. At first, the Osage supplied the furs and then traded for merchandise that the tribe desired. Later, white men began to trap the animals themselves, known as, *Coueurs de bois*, *Voyageurs*, and Mountain Men. They played an important role in the settling of Missouri,

¹¹ Fur companies such as: Hudson's Bay Company, North West Company, and American Fur Company.

¹² Kate Leila Gregg, *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley and others Pertaining to the Surveying and Marking of a Road from the Missouri Frontier to the Settlements of New Mexico, 1825-1827*. (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 60-61.

Arkansas, and Kansas. Trappers and fur traders explored these states, especially the area near the river systems.

The French viewed North America as a network of rivers in which they wanted to dominate. They searched for the Pacific Ocean from the time they found the mouth of the Missouri. They sought peace with the Osages and other American Indian tribes in order to dominate and exploit the fur trade. The French had to cater to the needs of the Osages in order to satisfy them to reach their goal. Even before the powerful Chouteau family arrived in present-day St. Louis, the French were showering the Osages with gifts to appease them. This gave the Osages a lot of power and a reputation for being haughty. They quickly realized that they had influence and positional advantage.

After the Spanish took over, they would continue the giving of gifts. The Spanish were much less successful in their dealing with the Osages. They considered the Osages disloyal and dishonest. This is true in part because the Osage remained loyal to the French even after the Spanish gained control of the area. The Spanish were afraid of the warring Osages and the tribe complained that the Spanish were harsh on them.

England had internal problems and this caused them to be late in exploration and colonization. After they settled religious problems at home, they became involved in the race for dominance. Under Elizabeth I (1533-1603), England challenged Catholic Spain's monopoly in America. In the New World, they began colonization efforts in North America but failed due to the lack of financial support and experience, and because of the distraction due to the war with Spain. After England defeated the Spanish navy during the battle of the Armada, they gained dominance on the seas. This helped the English succeed in colonization on the New England coast. It would be under James I (1566-1625), in which successful English colonization began in North America. They would found Virginia in

1607, the year before the French established Quebec. In 1760, New France was conquered by the British. Now, they possessed the trading rights at the Hudson Bay Company in Canada for several centuries. Furs would be sent to London instead of Paris. The British enjoyed a fur trade monopoly with American Indians farther north than the Osages resided. The British did trade with the American Indians of the Upper Missouri and later traded briefly with the Osages. Despite British attempts to gain a trade monopoly with the Osages, they were unsuccessful because the French and Spanish kept the Osage away from the British.

In 1776, the colonist won their Independence from Britain. It would be the Americans in 1803 that purchased the Osage Indians homelands and would try to dominate the fur trade. The Americans knew that they had to beat the British and corner the lucrative fur trade in that region. The Americans also struggled in their dealings with the Osage. They also thought the Osages were disloyal and dishonest and the Osages were unfriendly towards them because of their decision to stop giving gifts. The Americans were successful in gaining all of their land through treaties and forced removal. It was the last group who would push the Osage onto reservations, first in Kansas and finally in Oklahoma.

Before European contact, the Osages were a sovereign nation who governed themselves. Despite the fact that Europeans claimed American Indians land, they considered the tribes to be similar to foreign nations and allowed them to regulate their own affairs. Attitudes toward tribal nations changed as coexistence between American Indians and settlers became more difficult. Europeans turned to conquering, isolating, and assimilating the American Indians as a solution. Each decade brought new waves of cultural destruction for the Osage tribe.

From the early rise of the fur trade to the decline in the nineteenth century, the Osages were strategically located between the tribes to the west and the advancing European-American frontier, thus, putting them in the middle of warring tribes and the European struggle for dominance and in direct contact with an alien culture that would change their way of life forever. This thesis sets out to examine the Osage Indians role in the fur trade, how it brought the competitive Europeans in contact with the Osages, and the cultural destruction that occurred after they were exposed to European goods, horses, guns, alcohol, diseases, violence, and assimilation.

The Osage Indians, like other North American Indians, depended on oral history to keep a record of their early history. Tradition has been handed down to them from tribal historians with no early written records of their origins. Thus, the written records of Europeans, including their ethnocentrism, help fill in the gaps concerning their early history. Europeans, who visited the tribe and wrote about the experience, include Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers*. John Bradbury (1768-1825), *Travels in the Interior of America, in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811*. Victor Tixier (1815-1885), *Tixier's travels on the Osage Prairies*. Henry Marie Brackenridge (1786-1871), *Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri Performed in Eighteen Hundred and Eleven and Views of Louisiana*. Charles Joseph Latrobe (1801-1875), *The Rambler in North America*. The Chouteau and Sibley Papers, housed in St. Louis, Missouri, and the Clark Papers housed in Topeka, Kansas, were of great importance for my research and development of my thesis.

Scholars who have contributed to the knowledge of the tribe after they were pushed onto reservations and their tribal customs had been greatly modified; include Francis LaFlesche (d. 1932), *A Dictionary of the Osage Language*, and *The Osage and the Invisible World*. American Ethnologist and Anthropologist, James Owen Dorsey (1848-1895). He has written numerous articles, including, "The Dhegiha Language, the Speech of the Omaha and Ponca Tribes of the Siouan Linguistic Family of North America Indians" and "The Social Organization of the Siouan Tribes," *American Folklore Journal*.

Authors that have contributed to the knowledge of the tribe by examining the writings from early explorers and data include; Osage historian John Joseph Mathews

(1895-1979), his family has been associated with the Osages since their activities in the fur trade. His knowledge of the Osages customs and mindset has greatly added to the knowledge of the tribe. His publications include *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* and *Wah'kon-tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road*. The publications of Missouri historian Louis Houck (1840-1925), provide a description of the Osage Indians Missouri homelands and information about events that shaped the tribe. Books relating to the tribe include, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union* and *The Spanish regime in Missouri: A Collection of Papers and Documents Relating to Upper Louisiana Principally within the Present Limits of Missouri during the Dominion of Spain*.

Archaeological research of Carl H. Chapman (1915-1987), also provides valuable data about the history of the Osages. Chapman, a former Professor of Anthropology and Research Professor in American Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia, was considered a leading archeologist in Missouri for nearly fifty years. He authored numerous books including, *The Archaeology of Missouri, Indians and Archaeology of Missouri*, and the *Origin of the Osage Indian Tribe*.

The early accounts by Europeans, despite their ethnocentrism, have helped greatly in the research of this thesis. Without the eye witness accounts of the Osage Indians living and working on the Missouri River and in their homelands by Europeans, early knowledge about the tribe would be unknown.

CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH WAVE AND THE HEAVY EYEBROWS LEGACY

Spain was the first of the European powers to reach and dominate the New World. The Spanish arrivals were primarily Castilian and had the goal of attaining wealth through silver and gold. In the seventeenth century, Spain's monopoly on the New World was challenged by two other European countries. Both England and France planted colonies in North America. The English established their claim to New England in 1497 after John Cabot (1450-1499), discovered the region. In the beginning, England's interest in America was due to in large part to the resources for fishing and the search for a northwest passage through America and to the Orient. England began to establish settlements along the Atlantic coast. England's interest in the New World turned to establishing colonies in North American and adding to their vast and powerful empire.

The French tried to settle in Florida and the Carolinas but met Spanish opposition. Jacques Cartier's (1491-1557), exploration of the St. Lawrence in 1534 gave the French a claim to the northern territory. In 1603, France sent Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635), to the region and he established Quebec in 1608. The years following, France devoted her attention to the St. Lawrence Valley and the fur trade with the natives living in the area. French officials sent missionaries and French fur traders to establish outposts along the Great Lakes.

Spaniards Francisco Vasquez de Coronado (1510-1554), and Hernando De Soto (1500-1541), led an exploration of discovery in North America reaching the land that would become Kansas. Having heard of a vast river, referred to by the Indians as the *Mesippi*, the two were anxious to learn more about this waterway. More than a century later, the French

were the first set foot on Missouri soil and are the first to write about seeing the Osages. The French adopted a friendly policy towards the American Indians and in return learned where to find water and game. Their survival and success in dominating resources is due in large part because of the natives who introduced them to the unknown interior. The first Intendant of New France, Canada, Jean Talon (1626-1694), commissioned Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette (1637-1675), and fur trader Louis Joliet (1645-1700), to explore the Mississippi River. In June of 1673, the pair reached the Mississippi and descended as far as the Arkansas River. Marquette, who possibly heard of the Osages from the Illinois tribe, drew a map showing the tribe living along the Osage River in Missouri.¹³ The tribe remained on the river until 1802 until half of the tribe moved to the Arkansas River and later the other half to the Neosho River in 1822. The French explorers were highly involved in mapmaking. They took the time to learn the geography of North America, both the hazards and the advantages.

The tribal name *Wah-zha-zhe* may have originally been the name for one of the three phratries¹⁴ to designate the Water People but misunderstood during translation and applied to the whole tribe. The Osages formal name was *Ni-u-kon-ska* meaning, "children of the middle waters". The "middle water" referred to their central location in the Mississippi basin. Marquette tried to the best of his ability to write the word *Wah-zha-zhe* in French. The name took on a variety of spellings before it came to the present day word, "Osage". The Bureau of Indian Affairs and American Bureau of Ethnology adopted the French corruption as their tribal name.

The first wave of Europeans to pour into the Osage homelands was the French. The Osage first had contact with two unknown Frenchmen between 1673 and 1683. "One day,

¹³ J. Delangles, *Life and Voyages of Louis Joliet, 1645-1700*. (Chicago, Illinois: Standard Publishing Company, 1948), IV.

¹⁴ The three phratries are the Water People, the Land People, and the Sky People. Each of the phratries were then divided into seven clans.

two pale men came up the river".¹⁵ The Osage had never seen such hairy and dirty men before, commenting that their eyes and mouths almost hidden by hair. They compared the Europeans facial hair to a groundhog looking out of its hole with dangling roots.¹⁶ The Osage associated overgrown hair and beards with filth. It was custom for most adult males removed their body hair, including, facial hair and eyebrows. Osage males shaved their heads leaving only a scalp lock that extended from the forehead to the back of their neck. A "roach" of either deer or horse and hair, and often porcupine quills was worn dyed red in color. They reserved the scalp lock for any enemy bold enough to take it. The pattern of the scalp lock indicated which clan an Osage belonged. The Indian sign language gesture for Osage derives from the custom of shaving their head. The gesture involves "bringing the back of extended hands alongside of head, fingers pointing to rear; move hands downwards as though cutting the hair with lower edges of hands and repeating several times until the meaning is understood".¹⁷ Most Osage women always wore their hair loose down their backs. Only in mourning did the Osage men let their hair grow long.¹⁸

When the Osages came into direct contact with the Frenchmen they complained of their body odor, which they found offensive and made them sick.¹⁹ Osage women prided themselves on daily river baths and perfume, made of horsemint, calamus root, and *Aquilegia Canadensis* seed. They did not view bathing simply as a form of cleanliness but it had a religious significance as well. Bathing constituted part of daily life, all year around,

¹⁵ Patrick Brophy, *Osage Autumn*. (Nevada, Missouri: Vernon County Historical Society, 1985), 17.

¹⁶ Elmo Ingenthron, *Indians of the Ozark Plateau*. (Point Lookout, Missouri: School of the Ozark Press, 1970), 67.

¹⁷ W.P. Clark, *The Indian Sign Language*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 274.

¹⁸ Victor Tixier, *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairie*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), 136-137.

¹⁹ Patrick Brophy, *Osage Autumn*. (Nevada, Missouri: Vernon County Historical Society, 1985), 67.

both winter and summer.²⁰ Osage views on hospitality required them to treat the disheveled newcomers with respect. Their name for the French was *I'n-Shta-Heh* or "Heavy Eyebrows".²¹ Additional Frenchmen poured into the Osage homelands, attracted by furs, gold, silver, and missionary work. Prior to 1700, the French traders worked diligently to cement their alliances with American Indians in the lower Missouri River Valley for trade purposes. After French fur trappers established contact with the Osages in the 1670s, their traditional way of life began to change.

Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (1643-1687), along with twenty-three Frenchmen and thirty-one American Indians, traveled down to the mouth of the Mississippi River exploring and establishing fur-trading routes along the river. In 1682, he claimed the Mississippi Valley for France, which established their trading rights. He gave the name "Louisiana" to the region in honor of King Louis XIV (1638–1715), of France. LaSalle's early biographer, Anastasius Douay, reported in 1687 that the Osages were located on the Osage River in seventeen villages.²² Despite the fact that his explorations strengthened France's claim to the Mississippi Valley, his attempts to create a French Empire in Louisiana had failed. On March 20, 1687, while on an expedition in search of the Mississippi River, La Salle met his end when ambushed a few miles above the confluence of the Brazos and Navasota Rivers.

In the spring of 1719, French-Canadian Charles-Claude Du Tisne (1681-1730), made the first official French visit among the Osage. Du Tisne explored the upper Louisiana territory, visited the Osage Indian villages near the mouth of the Osage River, and crossed

²⁰ John Joseph Mathew, *The Osage: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 178.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 292.

²² John Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. (Albany, New York: Redfield, 1852), 226.

the northeast corner of Kansas to Pawnee on Republican River. He came to make trade treaties with the Osages and their enemies, the Pawnee and Apache. The Osages welcomed Du Tisne in to their village and traded with him. The tribe's friendly mood changed however, when Du Tisne told them that he was going to trade with the Black Pawnee and Apache tribes. The Osages concerned that Du Tisne would trade guns with their enemies forced the French-Canadian to leave his trade goods behind. They reluctantly agreed to provide a horse and interpreters for him. Without Du Tisne's knowledge, the Osages sent word to the Black Pawnee that he was coming to their village to enslave them. Hearing of this the Black Pawnees grew leery of the stranger. Du Tisne using his charm and charisma convinced the Black Pawnee to make a trade agreement with him. Du Tisne returned to the Osage village to retrieve his trade goods instead of going on to visit the Apache. The Osages, disturbed by his business dealings with their enemy, refused to provide any guides for him to return to Kaskaskia, Illinois.

As the French explorers and fur traders came down from Canada via the Mississippi and up the Missouri, they allied themselves with the Kansa and Osage Indians. The unlicensed fur traders actively sought out relations among the tribes of the Lower Missouri. These men of a strange tongue fascinated the Osages. Contact with Frenchmen became common and the Osage began to seek out contact with the French and became partners in the lucrative fur trade. As skilled hunters and suppliers of pelts, the Osages became trading partners and were exposed to European culture. For the first time, the Osages became involved in a global market. The French traders and explorers recognized tribal status of the Osage.²³ The French were willingly to make the Osage partners in the fur trade. Since the French had no interest in colonizing, the Osages felt less threatened by their presences

²³ Patrick Brophy, *Osage Autumn*. (Nevada, Missouri: Vernon County Historical Society, 1985), 18.

compared to the other Europeans who would trickle into their homelands in the decades that followed. Louis XV (1710-1744), sent a representative and a trade alliance between the French and Osage resulted. The Osages wanted a supply of trade goods that was dependable. The Osage traded such items as; deer, muskrat, fox, buffalo, bear, and raccoon hides. In return, they received such items as; guns, ammunition, alcohol, colored clothe, knives, beads, silver ornaments, and the much-desired metal. The French were the most successful of all the Europeans in their relations with the American Indians and the Osage engaged in commercial relations with the French. The French policy was to accommodate the Osages in order to keep the Missouri River open for the French fur trade. The French gave gifts liberally to retain the friendship of the Osages. Later, the Spanish would build upon the French policy when they took over colonial power in Louisiana.

In 1712, a group of Osages journeyed to Fort Detroit to help the Missouri tribe fight the Fox Indians. It was here that the Osages encountered Frenchman Etienne Venyard, Sieur de Bourgmont (ca.1680-ca.1730). Upon the return home, Bourgmont deserted his post at the fort, traveled west, and lived several years among the Missouri tribe. He wrote of the Osages saying they produced the best furs of the Missouri region.²⁴ Under his command, the French built Fort Orleans near the mouth of the Osage River in 1722. The location of the fort was about "five miles below the mouth of Grand River, opposite the old village of the Missouri's and Prentis locates the island near the mouth of the Osage".²⁵ Three years later the Kansa Indians destroyed Fort Orleans. The French abandoned it and began to expand westward

²⁴ Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *La Decouverte du Mississipi et l'histoire du fort d'Orleans*. (Paris, France: Champion, 1925), 46-49.

²⁵ Frank W. Blackmar, ed., *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, Ect., Volume I*. (Chicago, Illinois: Standard Publishing Company, 1912.), 668.

with the construction of Fort Cavagnolle in Spanish America.²⁶ The fort became the main fur-trading center outside of the main towns in Louisiana, St. Louis and New Orleans. The Osage brought furs to small posts then they sent the skins and furs to Fort Cavagnolle. From there, the furs were taken to New Orleans by way of the Mississippi River. From New Orleans, the furs sailed to Europe by ship. In Europe, they manufactured and sold the fur as hats, blankets, and warm garments. The French continued this cycle until they lost Fort Cavagnolle to Spain at the end of the French and Indian War. However, the French traders did not leave the area and continued to trade with the Osages and other tribes.

Competition between the French, who were coming from the east and the Spanish, who advanced from the Southwest, was growing. Both countries wanted the American Indians to side with them and thus have an alliance or monopoly on trade. In 1720, Governor Valverde of New Mexico appointed Captain Pedro de Villasur to lead a Spanish army into Nebraska to gather information on French activities near the Missouri River and sway the Plains Indians away from the French. Instead, Villasur was killed and his group of approximately 40 soldiers, 70 Indian allies, and a dozen Apaches to serve as guides were defeated by the Pawnee, Missouris, or Osages along the Platte River.²⁷ As shocking as the loss may have been, it did not convince the Spanish to give up on their quest to dominate North America and acquire valuable resources.

The most significant of the imperial wars between England and France was the French and Indian War. From 1754 to 1763, Britain and France battled for dominance in naval power and world trade. The French had spread down from Canada and assimilated with the American Indian tribes. The French frequently married Osage women in order to

²⁶ C.E. Hoffhaus, *Chez les Canses*. (Kansas City, Missouri: Lowell Press, 1984), 208.

²⁷ Patrick Brophy, *Osage Autumn*. (Nevada, Missouri: Vernon County Historical Society, 1985), 20.

make alliances for protection and create families. Due to the French assimilation, friendly policy towards them, and that they had known the French for nearly a century, the Osages sided with the French against the English. In 1755, many Osage warriors joined the French to protect Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, against the English. The Osages aided in the ambush of General Edward Braddock (1695-1755), and his British and colonial soldiers as they marched towards the fort. This resulted in the death of General Braddock and wounding of Colonel George Washington (1732-1799). This was the first encounter they had with the English and the first time they had seen their swords or long knives. They gave the name "Long Knives" to them and later applied to the Americans. According to Wet Stone, a Little Osage, the Osage warriors spent seven months returning to their village and endured a harsh winter, forced to eat their horses.²⁸

It would be on the Plains of Abraham outside of Quebec City where the decisive battle for victory occurred. James Wolfe (1727-1759), defeated a French garrison led by Louis-Joseph de Montcalm (1712-1759). The treaty of Paris of 1763, the British got all of the French possessions east of the Mississippi River except for New Orleans which Spain received.

Because of the French and Indian War, the French gave Louisiana to the Spanish Crown in order to compensate them for helping during the war and the loss of Florida. Canada and the territory of eastern Louisiana was given to England. The victory also removed the French as a barrier, moving the Americans into the Mississippi basin. Land speculators had been waiting for the opportunity to advance to lands past the Appalachians. Even before this time, many had trickled into the lands. Fur traders, settlers, land speculators, and farmers would pour into the American Indians homelands. In order to

²⁸ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 3.

protect colonists from the natives the British issued the Royal Proclamation of 1763. This closed off the frontier to colonial expansion and set aside the land west of the Appalachians as an Indian reserve. The provisions of the Proclamation limited white settlement to the region east of the Appalachians. They drew an imaginary line to reserve land west of the mountains for the royal government of England. In order to eliminate the unscrupulous fur traders and prevent friction with the American Indians, traders were required to obtain a license. Colonists, because of the good farmland that lay across the proclamation line, defied this proclamation. After the French and Indian War, problems between Great Britain and the colonies surfaced and that increased tensions, as England tried to increase regulation and raise revenue in the colonies. The disagreements and conflicts between England and the colonies would eventually lead the colonies to fight for Independence. It would be the alliances of the French, and their alliances with the American Indians, that would make it possible for the Americans to win the war against England.

The French and Indian War also caused inflation and shortages in New Orleans. In an attempt to stimulation trade, Jean Jacques Blaise D'Abbadie (1726-1765), the French Governor of Louisiana, granted trading monopolies in 1763.²⁹ For eight years, the tribes on the Missouri River were to trade with Gilbert Antoine Maxent (1724-1794), and his partner Pierre Laclede Liguist (1729-1778). Laclede agreed to establish a trading post in the Upper Louisiana area. In November of 1763, Laclede and his fourteen-year-old stepson René Auguste Chouteau (1749-1829), selected a site for their new fur-trading town, present-day, St. Louis. Centrally located and not subject to flooding, Laclede believed the settlement would become one of the finest cities in America. In February of 1764, young Lieutenant

²⁹ Gilbert C. Din, *The Imperial Osage: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 52.

René Auguste Chouteau left Fort Chartres and arrived at St. Louis with a group of workers to begin construction. Several months later Laclède arrived and named it in honor of the “Crusader King,” Louis IX (1214-1270). He was the patron saint of the reigning king, Louis XV (1710-1774). St. Louis was built in territory claimed by both the Spanish and the French, just south of the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. This location was ideal because of its fur-rich lands and to trade with the American Indians.

In September of 1764, seven months after René Auguste Chouteau arrived; laborers built the fur company's headquarters, cabins, storage shed, and the post house. That same year Laclède's wife, Marie Thérèse Bourgeois Chouteau³⁰ (1733-1814), and children, Renato, Jean Pierre, Pelagie, Marie Louise, and Victoire, traveled from New Orleans to St. Louis to reside. When she became Laclède's widow, she helped carry on the family business and lived comfortably with a beautiful estate and black slaves to serve her. René Auguste continued to be Laclède's chief assistant until Laclède's death in 1778, and then took his place in the fur trading business. He would eventually become a territorial judge and federal commissioner. Rene Auguste's half-brother Jean Pierre (1758–1849), also worked diligently in the family business. In 1796, he established the first permanent white settlement in Salina, Oklahoma. He would serve as a United States agent for the Osage in 1804. Five years later, he founded the St. Louis Missouri Fur Trade Company. His two sons, Auguste Pierre Chouteau (1786–1838), and Pierre Jr. (1789–1865), would continue on the family's fur trade legacy. By 1787, St. Louis had a population of approximately 1,000.³¹ Fur trading became a

³⁰ Marie Thérèse Bourgeois Chouteau had been abandoned by her husband René Chouteau. Due to her religious beliefs she remained married to him legally but lived as husband and wife with Pierre Laclède Liguist. Renato and Auguste were the biological children of Chouteau and Jean Pierre, Pelagie, Marie Louise, and Victoire were the biological children of Laclède.

³¹ Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*. (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812), 220-226.

crucial part of the economy and St. Louis had become the headquarters. The famous *Coureurs de bois* traveled many hundreds of miles over the Missouri and Kansas prairies and up into the Rocky Mountains hunting the valuable pelts during this time. These men roamed freely about and looking and living like the American Indians. They were daring men who were drawn deeper and deeper into the interior of the continent.

As the end of the French and Indian War approached, the French ceded Louisiana to the Spanish to keep the colony out of the hands of the English. The French and Indian War led to the end of France's colonial power in North America. However, Osage loyalty towards the French remained long after the Louisiana Purchase. The Osage and French relations would end up lasting two centuries.

René Auguste Chouteau was the first mentioned by the Spanish government to obtain a license to begin trading with the Osages. Trading between the Osages and the Chouteau family would end up lasted for four generations. The Chouteau family played an important role the fur trade in the Missouri Valley and fur trade was the principal interest of the Chouteaus. The Chouteau family policy was to gain the loyalty of the American Indians. This loyalty later caused a spilt in the Osage tribe. René Auguste's influence over the Osages was mentioned in a letter written to him by Louis De Villemont describing of some destruction and plundering committed on De Villemont's property by some of the Osages.³² By 1794, the Chouteaus had a monopoly on trade with the Osages. That same year, Miami Chief Pacanne accused René Auguste of favoring the Osages. Chief Pacanne said:

"Chouteau is a trader, let us suppose by his talent. He has the sole right of going to the Osages to carry them their needs, and without doubt to sustain them in

³² Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Indian Southwest before 1830*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 18.

their rogueries. We, if any of us steals a horse, or any other thing, are treated as thieves and as bad savages . . . it is quite the contrary for the Osages when they steal, pillage, and kill. They get nothing but caresses and are supplied with everything".³³

René Auguste erected a fort at Halley's Bluff in Missouri and named it Fort Carondelet in 1794. This was to serve as protection for the Spanish from the Osages and in return Chouteau would gain a trade monopoly with the Osages. Jean Pierre was left in charge. The Chouteau's trade monopoly would last eight years until Spain gave the monopoly to Manuel Lisa (1772-1820), in 1802. However, when the United States acquired Louisiana in 1804, the Chouteaus were granted trade rights for another four years.³⁴

Although the Chouteaus were the most important and successful of the licensed traders, they were not the only ones to seek a license to trade with the Osages. Those licensed to trade among the Big and Little Osages were Silvestre Labadia, Alego Rondo, Pedro Marly, and Monsieur Beletre.³⁵ Since the 1720s, the English had been trading with the American Indians of the Upper Missouri and desired to trade with the Osage and other tribes in the region. The English encroached in the territory and tried to persuade the Osages with gifts and medals. In order to guard against the English, the Chouteaus were ready to bring several hundred Indians to Fort Carondelet for the protection of St. Louis.³⁶ In 1802, a trade monopoly was granted to Lisa after a long legal battle. Jean Pierre Chouteau persuaded Chief

³³ Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Exploration and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union. Volume 2.* (Chicago, Illinois: R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1908), 96.

³⁴ Auguste Chouteau to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, April 17, 1799, Missouri Historical Society. Chouteau Collection.

³⁵ Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Vol. I* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909), 139.

³⁶ Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Vol. II.* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909), 226.

Clermont to lead a band of Osages to the "Three Forks"³⁷ in Arkansas Territory where he had a license to trade. The split in the Osage tribe was the direct result of contact with the Europeans and the competition in trade. Chief Clermont felt that his authority had been weakened when the Chouteaus had given medals to other chiefs.³⁸ He refused to continue as leader of the Big Osage. He and his band of about half of the Big Osage and a smaller percent of the Little Osage left and are referred to as the *Santsukhdhi* or Arkansas band. Their village was located near the mouth of the Verdigris Rivers.³⁹

By the early nineteenth century the Osages felt the affects of other tribes trading with Europeans. The Cherokee provided the colonists with deerskins in return they received guns, knives, and tools. The number of game in the Cherokees ancestral homelands of the southern Appalachian region was drastically reduced. In search of game, the Cherokee began to push west and encroach on the Osages hunting territory around the Arkansas River. Cherokee Chief Bowles, sometimes known as, "The Bowl," moved his people in 1795 into the Arkansas region and the Osages hunting grounds. The Cherokees visited a trading post at Natchitoches and reported living in southwest Arkansas. By 1808, the Osages were distressed with the Cherokees hunting on the White River without their permission. This led to numerous raids and retaliations between the Osages and the Cherokees. Pierre Jr. had urged Osage Chiefs to sign the treaty of 1808 with the United States. This treaty sold two hundred acres of land in Missouri and pushed the Osages into Kansas. The land then opened up for settlement by Cherokees and Europeans.

³⁷ Where the Verdigris and Neosho Rivers flow into the Arkansas River.

³⁸ Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri, Volume II.* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909), 196.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 196.

The Missouri Fur Company was organized in St. Louis by William Clark, Reuben Lewis, and Manuel Lisa, the Chouteau brothers, and Andrew Henry.⁴⁰ Pierre Jr., a fur trader, had established many trading posts throughout the Missouri and Mississippi valleys. A trade partnership formed between Bartholomew Berthold and Pierre Jr. The American Fur Company bought out their company and Pierre Jr. serving as manager.⁴¹ In September 1809, Meriwether Lewis died leaving a debt of \$440.00 to Pierre Jr. He sued in the St. Louis Circuit Court seeking payment for the debt from the United States government. However, William Eustis (1753-1825), Secretary of War, rejected the claim saying, "drawer had no authority to draw".⁴²

The fur trade was dangerous work and between hostile Indians and competitors, the Chouteaus risked their lives in the North American wilderness. In 1815, Auguste Pierre and his party were returning east, well loaded with pelts from the mountains, when about two hundred Indians attacked them.⁴³ They were forced to retreat on an island in the Arkansas River near the present-day Ft. Dodge, Kansas. It is known as Chouteau's Island.⁴⁴ Auguste Pierre and his partners decided to take an ill-fated trade expedition to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Upset Spaniards imprisoned them and confiscated their trade goods because they had no authority to trade in the Spanish Territory.⁴⁵ According to a letter written by Julius de

⁴⁰ Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1746-1846. Vol. 5* (Cleveland, Ohio: A.H. Clark, 1904-1907), 262.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁴² Chouteau, Pierre v. Hempstead, Edward, Administrator. March 1812. Case No. 30. Circuit Court Case Files. Office of Circuit Court, City of St. Louis, Missouri.

⁴³ Grant Forman. *Indians and Pinoneers: The Story of the American Indian Southwest before 1830*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 78.

⁴⁴ Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1746-1846. Vol. 19* (Cleveland, Ohio: A.H. Clark, 1904-1907), 185.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 282.

Munn to Governor Clark in November of 1817, the confiscated property was worth over \$30,000.⁴⁶

Under the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, treaties were negotiated and two thousand Cherokees were moved into the Arkansas River region without proper land provisions were negotiated for the tribe. With the approval of the federal government, the tribe moved into the Arkansas band of Osages living and hunting grounds. This led to bitter rivalry and resentment by the Osage. The government had neglected to realize that pushing the Cherokee into the Osages lands would result in violence and warfare. In 1813, William L. Lovely was appointed an agent for the Cherokee tribe. He tried to obtain peace between the two tribes and whites coming into the region. A treaty resulted. On behalf of the United States government, the governor of the Missouri Territory, Clark, made a treaty with the Osages. On September 25, 1818, the Osages ceded to the United States, "Beginning at the Arkansas River, at where the present Osage boundary line strikes the river at Frog Bayou; then up the Arkansas and Verdigris, to the falls of Verdigris River; thence, eastwardly, to the said Osage boundary line, at a point twenty leagues north from the Arkansas River; and, with that line, to the place of beginning".⁴⁷ The land, given to the Cherokee tribe, is known as "Lovely's Purchase". The goal of the treaty, to make a buffer zone between the tribes, resulted in the land being a source of conflict between the Cherokee and whites living in the Arkansas Territory.

In 1822, Auguste Pierre and Pierre Jr. established a large trading post in present-day Salina, Oklahoma, convincing more Osages to move further west. Auguste Pierre would spend the rest of his life on the Saline until his death on

⁴⁶ Harriette Johnson Westbrook, ed., *Chronicles of Oklahoma. Volume 11.* (Oklahoma Historical Society, 1983), 793.

⁴⁷ *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Volume II (Treaties).* Charles J. Kappler, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 167-168.

Christmas Day 1838. Pierre Jr. would outlive his brother by nearly twenty-seven years, dying in 1865. The Chouteau family had spent a century in the fur trade and living among the Osages.

The French dominance in North America had ended with their defeat in the French and Indian War. The Osages by now had seventy-five years of contact with Europeans. Although the French lost their dominance in North America, they remained. They would reap the benefit from having first contact and friendship with the tribe. Benefits repaid in the sum of loyalty that survived even after the Spanish gained control of the Louisiana territory and the American take over after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

CHAPTER II

THE SPANISH WAVE AND THE CREOLE⁴⁸ LEGACY

The Spanish were the second wave of Europeans to pour into the Osage Indian homelands. They called this second group to officially enter their homelands, *I-Spa-Tho*.⁴⁹ The secret Treaty of Paris in 1762 gave the land west of the Mississippi River, which included the Osage villages, to Spain. That same year Britain had acquired all of lands between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, as well as French Canada. Because of the loss of soldiers in the French and Indian War, Spain lacked a sufficient number of troops to enter the Mississippi Valley. It would be several years later when Spain entered the territory. In 1764, Pierre Laclede Ligest and Rene August established St. Louis, which they believed to be an ideal place for directing Osage affairs.⁵⁰ Although Spain owned the title to Louisiana, a French law stated that the Spanish government could exercise no authority. The French continued to rule in St. Louis.⁵¹

In 1766, the Spanish Lieutenant Governor, Antonio de Ulloa (1716-1795), arrived in New Orleans and took command of Upper Louisiana. French Louisiana governor Charles Philippe Aubry (ca.1710-1770), helped to ease the transfer from the French to Spanish hands by cooperating with Ulloa. A French-Creole revolt occurred, beginning first with the people living in the region, and then escalated into the Spanish and French governments struggling to

⁴⁸ According to the *Webster's Dictionary*, Creole is defined as, "One born of European parents in the American colonies of France or Spain or in the States which were once such colonies, esp. a person of French or Spanish descent, who is a native inhabitant of Louisiana". The Spanish that interacted with the Osages were mainly Spanish men who were born in America but their parents were of pure Spanish blood.

⁴⁹ John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 230.

⁵⁰ Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Vol. II*. (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909), 286.

⁵¹ Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*. (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1961), 481.

control the area that France had ceded to Spain. It would take seven years before Spain would gain complete control of the territory.

The Osages were always at war with other tribes, especially, the Cherokee, Quapaw, Caddo, Apache, Cheyenne and Pawnee. Ulloa ordered the Osages to be more peaceful with their neighboring tribesmen. They ignored him and New Orleans merchants turned a blind eye because Osage furs were so profitable. The Spanish found they had difficulties controlling the independent Osages. The Spanish Governor of New Orleans, Hector Baron de Carondelet (1747-1807), prohibited all trade to punish the tribe. This tactic was used frequently with the Spanish, and even the French, in order to try to control the tribe's depredations. The tactic failed because the tribe would cry and promise to behave, then once trade resumed, go back to their old ways. Another reason that it failed was due to traders who broke the rules and traded with them anyways.

The Spanish encouraged settlement of the region despite the hostile Osages living in the area on the Great Plains between southwestern Spanish colonies and Spanish Illinois. The Spanish were afraid of the mighty Osage and feared that the Osage was driving out friendly tribes.⁵² Spanish officials often invited other tribes living outside of their territory to make war with the Osages. The Osages, who were constantly defending their hunting grounds from other tribes and Europeans, gained a reputation for being war-like. Throughout the early 1800s the Osages were able to raise a thousand warriors.⁵³ Warriors had a commanding presence, often standing well over six feet tall. In 1811, John Bradbury (1768-1825), noted in his journal, "The Osage are so tall and robust as almost to warrant the application of the term gigantic; few of

⁵² Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers: The True Story of the American Southwest before 1830*. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1930), 14.

⁵³ Elmo Ingenthron, *Indians of the Ozark Plateau*. (Point Lookout, Missouri: School of the Ozarks Press, 1970) 59.

them appear to be under six feet tall, and many are above it. Their shoulders and visages are broad, which tends to strengthen the idea of them being giants".⁵⁴

The Spanish desired to govern the Osages and use them in defending the land that Spain claimed. In order to attain this goal they monopolized their trade and isolated them from other Europeans.⁵⁵ The Spanish worked diligently to keep the Osages away from the English. The English were successful in gaining tribes to trade with because they had cheaper merchandise. The Spanish borrowed a page from the book of the French when it came to the trade system. For the fact that it was cheaper and more efficient, they used licensed traders whom they inherited from the French in Louisiana.⁵⁶ They also continued the practice of giving gifts in order to gain favor with the Osages. When the Osages displeased the Spanish, they would withhold gifts in order to subdue the tribe and make them more obedient. However, the Spanish did not follow the French in assimilating with the Osages; instead, they were more interested in trying to dominate them. The Spanish agreed with the French in giving gifts to American Indians so that they would remain peaceful with whites and other Indian tribes in the future. Don Eugenie Alvarez, storekeeper for the Spanish government in St. Louis, compiled a list of goods:

“One hundred muskets.
One hundred pounds of powder.
Three hundred pounds of bullets.
Four pieces of limbourg cloth.
Fifty blankets of two and one-half puntos.
Fifty white shirts.
Fifteen pounds of vermilion.
Two hundred pounds of tobacco.
Three hundred flints.
One gross of awls.

⁵⁴ John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America*. (London, England: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1819), 66.

⁵⁵ Gilbert C. Din, *The Imperial Osage: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University Press of Oklahoma, 1983), 385.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 385.

One gross of gun-wad worms.
One gross of flint-steels.
Eight pieces of woolen ribbon.
Two gross of large knives.
Six kettles.
Fifty hatchets.
Six hats.
Four aunes of silk ribbon.
Four dozen mirrors".⁵⁷

When the Spanish placed trade embargos on the Osage, they failed due to the Osages resourcefulness. They would intercept trade goods that were being sent to other tribes. Once that failed, the Spanish encouraged other tribes to bully the Osages, this was also a failure.⁵⁸ San Carlos, a Spanish fort was established at the mouth of the Missouri River. The Spanish believed that by constructed this fort they could cut off English trade up stream. The English were able to go north of the fort and by pass Spanish resistance and trade with the Little Osage.⁵⁹

The Spanish government ordered the organization of a regiment, known as the Regiment of Louisiana. In the summer of 1769, Alejandro O'Reilly (1725-1794), requested that Colonel Luis Unzaga Y Amezaga (1721-1782), accompany him to Louisiana with the goal of organizing the regiment of Louisiana. Unzaga organized and commanded the regiment until a replacement arrived. He replaced Ulloa as governor and served for eight years.

The Osages caused so much disruption in the Arkansas Valley that the Spanish wanted to keep them out of the area and only provide trade goods at St. Louis. Unzaga would now face dealing with the Osages. Spanish authorities appointed Lieutenant Joseph Orieta, to command Arkansas Post in 1770. In honor of the King of Spain, they changed the name to Fort Carlos III.

⁵⁷ Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Vol. II.* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909). 310-311.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁹ A. P. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804.* (St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), 8.

Fed up with the Osages conduct of killing and stealing in the Arkansas Valley, the Spanish recruited the Quapaws, to drive out the Osages. However, the Quapaws were unsuccessful in this task.

The struggle between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies located on the Atlantic seaboard, did not have a great affect the Osages, located in the central plains. A 1777 report placed the Little Osages living "eighty-five leagues from St. Louis" and "one half leagues from the shore of the Missouri River".⁶⁰ This is the last report that placed the Little Osages living on the Missouri River. Two years later, the Spanish and French had joined forces against the English. The Osage were being presented with gifts from the French and English and being bullied into allegiance by the Spanish. For the Osage, this decade was a very unsettling and confusing time for them.⁶¹

As late as 1785, the Spanish knew little about the Upper Louisiana area. By this time, the Little Osage had established a hunting camp on the Arkansas River. The Spanish attempted to ignite tension between the Osage and other Indian tribes in the area. They were successful at arousing the Sac and Fox to attack the Osage, killing five Osage.⁶² The Spanish posed another problem for the Osage in 1793. They cut off all trade on the Missouri River and officially declared war.⁶³ The Delaware and Shawnee tribes along with Creek, Cherokee and Choctaw reinforcement assisted them in the war. They agreed and moved into the area near Cape Girardeau, Missouri. The war to exterminate the Osages was postponed until the following year due to the Osages leaving on their annual fall hunts. The following summer, only a few small

⁶⁰ Ibid., 141.

⁶¹ Ibid., 303.

⁶² Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Volume 2.* (Chicago, Illinois: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909), 44.

⁶³ A.P. Nasatir. *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of Missouri, 1785-1804. Volume 2.* (St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), 530.

raids were all that occurred.⁶⁴ Instead, settlers disturbed when a hundred Osage showed up at Ste. Genevieve and killed a man, pleaded for protection. Because of the settler's outcry, Fort Carondelet was established. Despite the declaration of peace, the Spanish still encouraged other tribes to attack the Osages.⁶⁵

The Chouteaus were given a continuing trade monopoly by Carondelet for a term of four years. Manuel Lisa, along with other Spanish traders protested this action. Two years later in 1802, the monopoly was granted to Lisa but only after a long legal battle. In order to continue trading with the Chouteaus, the Osages would have to move to Arkansas. It was during this time when the Osages split and they moved out of the area covered by the new monopoly held by Manuel Lisa. Chief White Hair opposed the move by the Osages. Minor Chief Big Foot or *Cashesegra*, was swayed by Pierre Jr. insistence to move to the Three Forks. However, Chief Clermont or Claremore, is responsible for relocating about half of the Big Osages. He settled his band of approximately five hundred Osages to a mound in present-day Rogers County, Oklahoma. Through federal treaties, the Cherokee tribe was pushed west and onto the Osage Indians land. Claremore's Mound was included in this title. For years, the Cherokee could not remove the Osages from this land that they held the title and hunting rights, according to the United States government. By the autumn of 1817, hostiles between the western Cherokee and Osages resulted in the Battle of Claremore Mound. While the Osage warriors were away on a hunting expedition, Cherokee warriors attacked the Osage village. Under the command of Captain Dutch or *Tah-chee*, the Osage village was "wiped out" by the Cherokees.⁶⁶ This intertribal violence resulted in the construction of Fort Smith, established as

⁶⁴ Louis Houck. *The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Volume 2.* (Chicago, Illinois: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909), 69.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁶⁶ Historical marker located between Claremore and Oologah on highway 88. Oklahoma Historical Society.

a visible protective presence to curb the violence between the Osage Indians and Cherokee Indians. Construction of the fort occurred where the Arkansas and Poteau Rivers come together. The tribal conflicts also resulted in the patrolling of the Oklahoma and Arkansas border.

By 1800, the Spanish regime in the Louisiana Territory was quickly declining. They shifted their attention away from the New World and instead focused their attention on their role in European affairs. With President Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, Spain's power in the region and over the Osages ended. There was no love lost between the Osages and departing Spaniards.

CHAPTER III

IMPACT OF THE FRENCH AND SPANISH ON THE OSAGES

Over the course of the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, impact on the Indians because of the fur trade came about in various ways. The Osages ancestral way of life was not compatible with the Europeans way of life. Early contact with Europeans profoundly changed their culture and ultimately their way of life forever.

With the coming of Europeans, the Osages were exposed to a different religion than they had known. Religion and ceremony was important to the Osages. Central to the early religion was *Wa'kon-Tah*, the mysterious force that lived in all things. Although, the tribe was pantheistic, believing in many gods and goddesses, celestial and environmental in nature. *Wa'kon-Tah* was responsible for making day follow night and summer follow winter.⁶⁷ They prayed to *Wa'kon-Tah* throughout the day, but mainly in the early morning hours. This is an example of a prayer to *Wa'kon-Tah*:

"Ho, Mysterious Power, you who are the Sun! Here is tobacco! I wish to follow your course. Grant that it may be so! Cause me to meet whatever is good and to give a wide berth to anything that may be to my injury or disadvantage. Throughout this island you regulate everything that moves, including human beings. When you decide for one that his last day on earth has come, it is so. It can not be delayed. Therefore, O Mysterious Power, I ask a favor of you".⁶⁸

The French and the Spanish were devout Catholics and part of their mission in the Americas was to save, in their opinion, the Godless savages. The French sent Jesuit

⁶⁷ A.C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905-1906*, 598.

⁶⁸ William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*. (Chicago, Illinois: American Historical Society, 1928), 192.

missionaries who were kind to the tribal people and often suffered violence and torture and the hands of distrusting American Indians. Despite the fact that they disrupted traditional religious and cultural patterns, they had a mission of mercy. The Spanish however, were not as kind when it came to imposing their religion on American Indians.

The Spanish felt justified in their cruel actions towards them simply because they were not Catholic. The Spanish insisted on the Osage being baptized and taught about their God.⁶⁹ The Spanish were determined to replace the Osage religious beliefs with that of their own, even if it was through violence and brute force. The policy of Spanish rule was that the Osage would either fully abide to Spanish rule or be destroyed by them.⁷⁰ Oddly, their harsh and inhuman treatment of people who previously had not been exposed to Christianity is in violation of the Christian principles.

On Christopher Columbus' second voyage to the Americas, he brought livestock, the horse included. The horse now present in the New World would reach the American Indians living on the Plains years later. The horse revolutionized the way American Indians lived on the Plains. The Osages through intertribal trade with the Kiowa and Kanza tribes had already acquired the horse when the French fur traders reached them. Overall, the horse is a positive result of European contact. However, the Osages traditional cultural patterns were interrupted. The horse lent greater mobility to the tribe and the Osages used the horse for transportation of food and furs, hunting, war, wealth and trade, and social status. Their hunting season for animal pelts lengthened and they moved further into distant territories. The Osages hunting range extended over wider areas because the horse provided a way to get large amounts of game back to their village. No longer did the distance they could travel on foot limit them. It was common

⁶⁹ John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 119.

⁷⁰ Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in the Missouri. Volume 2*. (Chicago, Illinois: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1909), 285.

for the Osages to walk sixty miles in one day.⁷¹ Until the arrival of the horse in the New World, the dog had been the American Indians only beast of burden. The work dog was similar to the size and appearance to a large gray wolf. It could carry approximately seventy-five pounds with a travois.

The Osages traditional patterns of warfare were interrupted as well. The horse made the effects of war more drastic. The Osages could go further from their homelands and surprise the other tribe that resulted in more bloody warfare. With the horse, they easily traveled as far north as Michigan and as far south Texas to fight other tribes. In order to dominate the Plains, horses were imperative to acquire and the Osages became skilled horse thieves. The horse and horse stealing was a turning point for the Osages. They became enemies with most of their neighbors. Their favorite targets were the Pawnee, Padoucas, and Apaches tribes. The desire to have an abundance of horses led to conflicts with settlers and their tribal neighbors. Their ability as skilled horse thieves resulted in the tribe's ability to control the lower Missouri and Osage Rivers. The Osages usually set out on foot and returned well supplied with horses. To steal a horse in a raid not only brought immediate wealth but it also proved manhood.

The horse also had an impact on the fur trade for the Osages. The packhorse provided a new alternative to water travel and travel by foot. Peltry and trade goods were very heavy and thus limited the areas where they could take their goods to market. With the horse the Osages were able to go further distances with their trade goods. A network of horse trails replaced footpaths. A major Osage trail, known as the Osage Trace, ran from Springfield, Missouri, to St. Louis.⁷²

⁷¹ Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory during the Year 1819. With Occasional Observation on the Manners of the Aborigines*. (Philadelphia: T.H. Palmer, 1812), 246.

⁷² The Osage Trace became known as the Kickapoo Trace, the White River Trace, and today U.S Highway 66 follows the same general route.

The horse provided better mobility to the tribe and greater interaction between them and the European culture. Diseases such as small pox traveled further and faster with the transportation. Europeans involved in the fur trade carried smallpox to American Indians of the continental interior.⁷³ The Europeans also brought typhus, measles, common cold, and other various diseases to the Osages, for which they had built up no immunity or natural resistance. Entire communities were decimated from diseases that were considered childhood diseases to Europeans. Even the common cold had devastating effects on a tribe. Diseases also spread from tribe to tribe. Tribes who had no contact with Europeans could still suffer the consequences of those tribes who did have contact. To the Osages, these unseen epidemics caused confusion and fear. It would have been very easy for them to believe it was punishment from *Wah'Kon-Tah*.

Almost overnight, the Osages went from living in the Stone Age to the Iron Age. Before European contact, the Osages made tools from material in their natural environment, such as, wood, stone, and animal bones. However, the Europeans shifted the Osage economy into a market economy, which provided them with weapons, metal tools, alcohol, and textiles. In exchange for their goods, the Osages received European products, both practical, such as iron tools and utensils, and decorative, such as bright-colored cloth and beads.

Archeological sites have produced much more trade items than American Indian items. Before contact with Europeans, the Osages made a variety of pots, wooden containers and tools. Prior to contact, knives, needles, scrapers, awls, and arrow shafts, were made of bone, antler, or flint. After they began to trade with Europeans, items made of iron, copper, and brass replaced many of their traditional items. Prehistoric artifacts in Crawford County, Kansas, left by the Osage tribe include metates and pestles, pottery, double-bitted axes or hoes, knives,

⁷³ R. G. Robertson, *Rotting Face: Smallpox and the American Indian*. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 2001), 311.

spearheads, drills, scrapers, and arrow points.⁷⁴ Carl H. Chapman (1915-1987), devoted many years to the study and excavation of Osage villages. His work is helpful in providing information about the tribe. Many trade items have been found in eighteenth century Osage villages.⁷⁵ There are four Osage sites that have been excavated and examined: Plattner, Hayes or Coal Pit, Brown, and Carrington. The sites date no earlier than 1725 and all yield a large quantity of European trade goods.⁷⁶ According to Chapman, the Plattner site was a Little Osage village on the Missouri River. Plattner site, established around 1727, and abandoned 50 years later. It reported had large mounds and earth embankments created by the Osages.⁷⁷ The site yields a large number of trade items. Among the items found are, hundreds of gun barrels, hoes, axes, iron kettles.⁷⁸ The gun barrels, which were broken and smashed, were early model flintlock. Fine weaved fabric that appeared to be of a loom-woven trade cloth was also unearthed at the Plattner site. The most plentiful artifacts on this site came from European trade goods.

Hayes is identified as a Little Osage site. This one time village was located in Vernon County from 1775 to 1815. Items found include; a silver crucifix, iron arrowheads, a clay trade pipe, and iron awl.⁷⁹ The Carrington site is concerned to be a Big Osages village dating from 1775 to 1825. Trade goods found at this site include one hundred and two sections of gun barrels. Numerous gun parts were unearthed form this site. Chapman estimated the date of Hayes site based on his knowledge of history and results of the artifacts he unearthed at the site.

⁷⁴ William C. Cuthbertson, *The Genesis of Girard*. (Girard, Kansas: Cuthbertson, 1984), 9.

⁷⁵ Carl H. Chapman, *Origins of the Osage Indians*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 32-43, 106.

⁷⁶ W. Raymond Wood, ed., *Archaeology of the Great Plains*. (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 389.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁷⁸ Carl H. Chapman, *Origins of the Osage Indians*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 6-8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

He believed that the Hayes site was the location of the Big Osages in 1806.⁸⁰ He concluded, with such as numerous parts of the Northwest Trade Gun, that they occupied the site after 1775. In addition, with the total absence of native made pottery, also suggests Osage occupation after 1775. By 1815, most of the Osages had moved west.

The Osage became dependant on the European goods and thus eroded their traditional and cultural patterns. The fur trade became a commercialized activity with affected the Osage way of life. It caused many Osage men to take on additional wives to aid in the cleaning of animal hides and skins. Young Osage men challenged traditional political structure and their elders. The spilt Arkansas band of Osages, now under the leadership of Grande Piste, was mainly comprised of young males. They questioned the elder's authority, a highly unusual occurrence among the Osages before the arrival of Europeans. The Little Old Men and elders were highly respected, seen as having wisdom that comes with age and life experiences. Despite efforts, the unruly Arkansas band refused to reunite with the Big Osages. The rebellious young men were responsible for many acts of violence and plundering in the Arkansas Valley during the Spanish regime.

Due to their location, the Osages had the ability to open the water trade ways of the Missouri and thus were among the first to acquire the musket. By the 1800s, the Osage had become one of the most dominant and powerful tribe on the Plains. According to Mathews, they were the first of the tribes in the lower Missouri to acquire the musket because they had the power to open the water trade ways of the Missouri.⁸¹ The Osages found that in order to dominate they must acquire the gun. The Osages had a very descriptive word for the rifle,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 126.

⁸¹ John Joseph Mathews, *The Osage: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University Press of Oklahoma, 1961), 138.

naming it, "It-Causes-Things-to-Call-Out".⁸² Throughout the 1730s and 1740s, the Osage and Kansa attacked fur-traders and others to keep them from bringing guns to the Comanche and Plains tribes. European weapons changed the Osages traditional way of hunting. Osage men made hunting weapons. The bow and arrow was the primary weapon even preferred after they acquired the rifle.⁸³ According to the Lewis Henry Morgan Journals, the Osages preferred to use the bow and arrow during the buffalo chase but the gun for the still hunt. Morgan wrote that the Osages could kill two buffalo with one arrow and with one shot. The arrow penetrated through one buffalo and pierced through another.⁸⁴

The European quest for dominance in the fur trade contributed to intertribal conflicts and colonial wars. Two different reasons brought the Cherokee into the Osages hunting grounds, which caused bitter fighting between the two tribes. One reason, the Cherokee saw a large number of wild game in their ancestral homelands of the southern Appalachian region drastically reduced because of their mass killing to gain furs to trade. This caused the tribe to search for game and push west, encroaching on the Osages hunting territory around the Arkansas River. The second reason, forced relocation through treaties sent the Cherokees into Osage hunting grounds. Violence resulted between the two tribes despite the fact that the reasons for the Cherokees leaving their ancestral homelands were a direct consequence of European invasion. In addition, intertribal violence through European, mainly Spanish encouragement, damaged relations between the Osage and other tribes. For the Europeans, the fur trade was just another business enterprise, for the Osages this contact and role in the fur trade would have costly and lasting effects on their culture and tribal structure.

⁸² Ibid., 134.

⁸³ Carl H. Chapman, *Origins of the Osage Indians*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 45.

⁸⁴ Lewis Henry Morgan, *The Indian Journals, 1859-1863*. Leslie A. White, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 82.

Prior to European contact, the Osages did not kill beaver. Killing beaver was a taboo in Osage society; however, the Osages began to kill animals in mass quantity to provide a mass product for the white man. The Osages, along with most American Indian tribes, only killed animals on an as needed basis. Mass killing was a new concept that Europeans introduced to the tribe. This mass killing of the beaver led to the long-term ecological disruption of the food chain by the depletion of fur-bearing mammals. The mass slaughter of game led to a shortage in which the Osages encroached on other tribes hunting grounds or looked to Europeans for food.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAN WAVE AND THE LONG KNIVES LEGACY

The third wave of Europeans to disrupt the Osages was the Americans. International interest in Louisiana in the late 1700s caused the territory to be turned over to France again. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), bought the territory back from Spain. In 1800, France would regain rights to St. Louis and the West again. The Osages were once again under the French flag. However, Napoleon sold the Louisiana Territory to President Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), without taking possession of the region. The United States by this time had won her independence from England. In 1799, America and France had been involved in a skirmish on the seas. France had taken American soldiers and forced them to fight for the French cause. When Napoleon faced war with England, he sold Louisiana to the United States to avoid going to war with each separate country. The flag changed once again, now the Osages would live under the rule of the Americans and her flag.

Spain had agreed to allow to the United States the use of New Orleans port on the Mississippi by a treaty signed in 1795. In 1802, Spain violated this agreement by closing the Mississippi ceding Louisiana to France. The United States became alarmed and set aside \$2,000,000 to purchase New Orleans. President Jefferson sent James Monroe (1758-1831), and Robert R. Livingston (1747-1813), to Paris to negotiate the purchase of a tract of land. On April 30, 1803, the United States purchased the entire Louisiana Territory from France for \$15,000,000. The purchase doubled America's size and cost roughly four cents per acre for 828,000 square miles.

The Osages ancestral homelands were part of the immense Louisiana Purchase that the United States acquired in 1803. This unexpected ownership of Louisiana by the United States

provoked exploration and for the Osages it resulted in more encroachment on their lands and intertribal violence. Explorers, white settlers, and their enemy's allies; the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and Chickasaw, all pushed into the Osages territory. Chief Claremore, determined to defend their lands raided the camps of their enemies.

The Louisiana Purchase was important to the United States for several reasons, politically, militarily, and strategically because of the Napoleonic Wars. President Jefferson needed this vast unknown area explored. President Jefferson authorized the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804. Jefferson realized the importance of the fur trade and sent twenty-nine year old former secretary to the President, Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809), and the thirty-three year old former soldier William Clark (1770-1838), to establish ties with tribes in the West. Congress allotted money for the expansion of American trading posts on the Missouri River. Over the course of two years, the pair would encounter approximately fifty American Indian tribes. In June and July of 1805, Lewis and Clark made camp at several points on the Kansas side of the Missouri River and they encountered the Osage tribe on the Plains. By this time, St. Louis was the center of the fur trade in the United States. The pair sent boxes back to President Jefferson filled with skins, bones, and horns of animals they had encountered. They also sent live animals, such as prairie dogs and birds. The two also sent along American Indian artifacts, such as clothing.

In 1804, several Osage leaders traveled to Washington, D.C. to see President Jefferson.⁸⁵ One purpose of the escorted journey was to intimidate and impress the Osages, and other American Indian tribes, by exposing them to the large white population and prosperity. Thus, showing them the power that the United States. They hoped the group would then spread

⁸⁵ Pierre Chouteau to Jefferson, St. Louis, October 12, 1804, Missouri Historical Society, Pierre Chouteau Letterbook, 1.

word of the powerful Americans to the rest of the tribe. Taken back by their commanding appearance, Jefferson arranged for Charles Evert de Saint-Memin, to paint their portraits in Philadelphia. The delegation of twelve chiefs and two boys toured New York City, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. Sir Augustus J. Foster wrote of an experience the Osages had in Washington, D.C.:

“Last year one of the Osages, then in Washington for the first time, was taken to see the frigates and gun boats in the Eastern branch - when the Captain of the Port made every shew he could in order to astound him, but all in vain: he was even taken to the gun boat in which the cannon is discharged by pulling a string and without letting him know what was to happen, the string was put in his hand and he was told to pull it, he did so and altho' the sudden sound, one might have supposed, would have startled him, he did not move a muscle”.⁸⁶

Profiteers in the fur trade who sought alliances and furs continually approached the American Indians. In order to prevent the American Indians from exploitation by individual traders, President Jefferson settled on developing government supervised trading posts, known as the Trade Factory System. In January of 1803, President Jefferson had received permission from congress to build trading posts. William Clark first observed the land, which would become Fort Osage, on June 23, 1804, during the Voyage of Discovery. He wrote in his 1808 journal, "Rose early examined the Situation and the points of a Small Isd. which is opposite, found the River could be completely defended and Situation elegant, this Situation I had examined in the year 1804 and was delighted with it and am equally so now, ordered the Boats

⁸⁶ Edmund Carpenter, *Oh, What a Blow That Phantom Gave Me!* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 32.

to be unloaded and tools got ready to work, and fixed on the spot for the fort and other buildings..."⁸⁷ President Jefferson approved the site that Clark chosen for Fort Osage in 1808.

In 1806, Zebulon Pike (1779-1813), visited the Osages during his travel through the interior of Louisiana. Several reasons for his travels involved the Osages. One, to deliver Osage captives to the Big Osage village who had been held by the Pottawatomie, second order to business was to establish a permanent peace between the Osage and the Kansa tribes, and third, to establish peace between the Osage and Comanche tribes. With an escort of Osages, he journey west and crossed the Neosho River near what is today Iola, Kansas.⁸⁸ Pike reported that the Big Osages were living near the mouth of the Marmaton River.

The government had been making treaties and drawing up legislation to deal with the American Indians. In 1806, Congress set up the office of Superintendent of Indian trade. The duty of the new Superintendent was to operate the Factory System. The United States government supplied goods for a profit to tribes that were under their jurisdiction. In 1824, the government created the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in 1849 transferred the bureau from the war department to the Department of the Interior.

As American settlement neared the Osages villages in Missouri and Arkansas, a series of diplomatic negotiations occurred. Chief White Hair signed the Osages first treaty with the United States on November 10, 1808.⁸⁹ This treaty gave up half the state of Missouri and northern Arkansas, which also included their village located on the Little Osage River. The articles of the treaty were established at Fort Osage, between Peter Chouteau, agent for the Osage and governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, Meriwether Lewis. The tribe ceded

⁸⁷ William Clark, *Westward with Dragoons: The Journal*. (Fulton, Missouri: Ovid Bell Press. Inc., 1937), 35.

⁸⁸ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission* (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 5.

⁸⁹ The Great and Little Osage signed many treaties in the 1800s with the United States; 1808, 1810, 1815, 1819, 1823, 1825, 1826, 1839, 1865, 1867, 1868, and 1871.

their land to the United States, "starting at Fort Osage in the Missouri, five miles about Fire Prairie and running thence a due south course to the river Arkansas and down the same to the Mississippi".⁹⁰ The United States failed to explain to the Osages why the land cessions occurred and confusion and hostility resulted towards the United States by the Osages. With the signing of the Treaty of 1808 meant the end of the Osages in Missouri. This treaty gave all the land east of a line due south of Fort Osage to the Arkansas River to the Americans. Since the Osages traditional home at Marais des Cygnes, was located west of the boundary line, they were able to keep it in their possession.

In this treaty, the Osages agreed to take up a reservation existence in southern Kansas. The treaty stated the establishment of a fort, to provide a reliable trading post for the Osages and the right to trade at the factory for goods. Article two of the treaty specifies that the fort provide a store with the purpose of trading and bartering:

"The United States being also anxious that the Great and Little Osage, resident as aforesaid, should be regularly supplied with every species of merchandise, which their comfort may hereafter require, do engage to establish at this place, and permanently to continue at all seasons of the year, a well assorted store of goods, for the purpose of bartering with them on moderate terms for their peltries and furs".⁹¹

The treaty outlined seven points: One, a blacksmith furnished to the tribe by United States. Two, the United States would pay for property stolen by the Osages before the acquisition of Louisiana. Three, merchandise would be delivered and the sum of eight hundred

⁹⁰ *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Volume II. (Treaties)*. Charles J. Kappler, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 95-99.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 95-99.

dollars be paid to the Big Osage and four hundred dollars be paid to the Little Osages. Four, a boundary line was established. Five, injuries were to be forgiven, without retaliation, by the tribe. Six, the Osages and their hunting grounds were under the protection of the United States. Seven, the Osages were not to supply arms to Indians not in amity with the United States. In addition, the treaty provided that the trading post not be discontinued without the consent of the tribe.⁹²

William Clark supervised and participated in the construction of Fort Osage. The fort was located on a bluff that overlooks the Missouri River. Captain Nathan Boone (1780-1856), escorted with an interpreter told the Little Osage he “had arrived and intended to build here”.⁹³ In order to get the fort stocked full of trade goods the government provided money for the sole purpose of trading with the Osages and neighboring tribes. In 1813, U.S Commissioner George Sibley (1782-1863), received \$20,000.00 worth of goods to trade at Fort Osage.⁹⁴

The fort was to provide the Osage and their neighbors with a reliable trading post and by using trade and military alliances, maintain the political stability in the region. That first winter, nearly four thousand Osages lodged near Fort Osage.⁹⁵ Most of the Big Osages were more hesitant to live near the fort. However, it was in their best interest to do so. They would receive protection from the government. Boone urged the Big Osage “to take protection under this fort”.⁹⁶ The Big Osages did take heed and lived near the fort. However, they caused

⁹² *American State Papers*, XIX. *Indian Affairs*, II. Matthew Clarke and Walter Lowrie, eds., (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 763.

⁹³ William Clark, *Westward with Dragoons: The Journal of William Clark on His Expedition to Establish Fort Osage, August 25 to September 22, 1808*. Kate L. Gregg, ed. (St. Charles, Missouri: Ovid Bell Press, 1937), 35.

⁹⁴ George C. Sibley to William Clark. St. Louis. July 9, 1813, Missouri Historical Society. Sibley Papers.

⁹⁵ *Territorial Papers of the United States*. Clarence Edwin Carter, ed. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1949), XIV, 264.

⁹⁶ William Clark, *Westward with Dragoons: The Journal of William Clark to Establish Fort Osage, August 25 to September 22, 1808*. Kate L. Gregg, ed. (St. Charles, Missouri: Ovid Bell Press, 1937), 35.

problems while living there. Governor Clark told the Chouteaus to warn the Big Osages to stop killing citizens of the territory or the village would be deprived of all traders.⁹⁷

Trade was very important to the tribe. They could trade their much desired items with the white man; deer hide, muskrat, fox, buffalo, bear, raccoon, and in return the Osage would receive; guns, ammunition, knives, beads, and colored cloth.⁹⁸ By this time, the Osages and Kansa Indians living near Fort Osage were becoming dependent on European goods. Trade operations lasted from 1808 to 1822, the year that the United States factory system was abolished.

John Jacob Astor (1763-1848), established the American Fur Company in New York State in 1808. The German-born Astor was a New York merchant who created a series of trading posts that follow the same route of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Astor, who was encouraged by President Jefferson, established the American Fur Company in order to compete with the British Hudson Bay Company. By acquiring control over companies in the Rocky Mountain area and Great Lakes, the American Fur Company became the largest business in the America. The company branched out and participated in fishing activities and the lead trade. Astor became one of the leading figures in the fur trade. Astor withdrew from the company in 1834 but when he died, he was one of the wealthiest men in America as a result of his business in the fur trade and real estate.

In 1809, one year after the establishment of the American Fur Company, Manuel Lisa and his partners established the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, later, called the Missouri Fur Company. His system relied on trade with the American Indian fur trappers. Lisa never did enjoy a trade monopoly the way the Chouteaus did. When the United States took over the

⁹⁷ William Clark to George C. Sibley, March 27, 1814, Missouri Historical Society, Sibley Papers.

⁹⁸ William C. Cuthbertson, *The Genesis of Girard*. (Girard, Kansas: Cuthbertson, 1984), 10.

Louisiana Territory, they reject his monopoly given to him by the Spanish government. The United States granted trade licenses to other people, and Lisa faced fierce competition. Competition between fur trading companies arose because of the incredible amount of wealth an ambitious person could obtain.

During the War of 1812, the British tried diligently to win the allegiance of the Osages and other tribes that lived near them. William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reported to John Armstrong, Secretary of War, that they were making great exertions to win the American Indians allegiance.⁹⁹ It was during the War of 1812 that Chief White Hair got his name. During an attempt to scalp a white man he instead was left holding a white wig and decided to start wearing the wig himself. The name White Hair became the title for the hereditary leader of the Big Osages. The first White Hair began to lead the Big Osages in the 1790s until his death in 1809. The second took on the name Pawhuska and thereafter all took that title. He led from 1809 to 1833. The third Pawhuska took charge in 1833 and led the Big Osages to their Oklahoma Reservation.

On December 24, 1814, the United States and England agreed to end the War of 1812 by signing the treaty of Ghent. After the War of 1812, reoccupation of Fort Osage was delayed due the expiration of the law permitting government-trading houses. Despite opposition, the use of forts continued because of a new law passed by Congress.

The Santa Fe was used as a passageway by traders who took manufactured goods to Santa Fe to exchange for furs and other items. Mexican traders also used the trail going to western Missouri. In August of 1825, the government ordered a survey of the Santa Fe Trail. Sibley met with both the Big and Little bands of the Osage Indians in a large grove on the east

⁹⁹ *Territorial Papers of the United States* XIV, Clarence Edwin Carter, ed. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1948), 787-88.

bank of the Neosho River close to where the Santa Fe Trail crossed this stream. Osage leaders signed a treaty granting free and safe passage to Americans on the Santa Fe Trail. This was an important treaty for whites because Council Grove was an important point on the route. This treaty allowed traders and travelers safe passage across the fiercely protected Osage hunting grounds.

In the early nineteenth century, the travels of explorers reported an abundance of wild game in the Missouri Ozark region. The United States government a few years later revealed a scarcity of wild game in that same area. The government concluded that action had to be taken in order to preserve the wild game from American Indians who were hunting and decreasing the wild game populations in that area. This resulted in treaties to push them further west. Settlers made claims to the Osage Indians hunting grounds as statehood neared and banded together in order to protect themselves from the Osages. On August 10, 1821, Missouri was admitted to statehood. Sibley had reported a year before that the Big Osages, living under Chief White Hair and the Little Osages living under Chief Walk-In-the-Rain, number approximately fourteen hundred in total and were living on the Neosho. Sibley goes on to report the Big Osages of the Osage River lived seventy-eight miles due south of Fort Osage with a population of approximately twelve hundred.¹⁰⁰ Missouri entering statehood would usher in a year of change to the Factory System and ended Fort Osage as a trading post. Private traders, with the help of Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, protested to congress the unfair advantage that forts had in trading furs.¹⁰¹ Between the private fur trader's protests and the advancing settlers, Fort Osage and Marais des Cygne factories officially closed.

¹⁰⁰ William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*. (Chicago, Illinois: Lewis Publishers, 1918), 202.

¹⁰¹ Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West: A History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fe. Volume 2*. (New York: Harper and Bros., 1902), 17.

On June 2, 1825, the Great and Little Osages signed a treaty with the United States at St. Louis. The Osages gave up all of their claims to lands south of the Kansas River, lying west of the state of Missouri and the territory of Arkansas.¹⁰² The United States government aimed to change the Osages from a semi-nomadic tribe who followed the buffalo on their seasonal hunts into cattle ranchers and permanent farmers. The United States agreed to pay the Osage seven thousand dollars each year for twenty years. In addition, they would receive six hundred head of cattle, six hundred head of hogs, one thousand domestic fowl, ten yoke of oxen, six carts, one blacksmith, and a house would be built for each of the principal chiefs.¹⁰³ The government's attempt to turn the Osages into permanent farmers met with resistance from Osage leaders who discouraged farming. The Osages who tried farming, including Chief White Hair, were condemned by the tribe. Without the blessing of their peers, they either feasted on the slaughtered livestock or traded it for goods.

This treaty also provided for the establishment of a mission and financial grants for the education of Osage children. The treaty reserved eight million acres of land stretching from the Neosho River westward. This treaty was successful in pushing the Osage out of their Ozark homelands and into Kansas. They first arrived in what is now Walnut, Kansas, looking for a settlement location. An early white resident, George Romp, reported that nearly five hundred Osages lived near Walnut in 1863.¹⁰⁴ The band remained there until 1868. The Osage tribe supplied the name for the Neosho River. The Osage word for water is "Ne" and the Osage word

¹⁰² Berlin B. Chapman, "Removal of the Osage from Kansas". *Kansas Historical Quarterly*. (August 7, 1938), 287.

¹⁰³ *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Volume 2 (Treaties)*. Charles J. Kappler, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 217-221.

¹⁰⁴ "Beat the Indians at Foot Racing and Wrestling in the Early Days at Walnut". *Pittsburg Daily Headlight*. 19 May 1926.

for bowl or basin is “*Osho*”.¹⁰⁵ The Neosho River is defined as a river that rises in eastern Kansas, and flows eastward into Oklahoma to become a tributary of the Arkansas River. For the Osages who made their homes near the Neosho, they would have known both the treacherous and life-giving ways of the waters. In the autumn of 1826, a big flood occurred along the Neosho. The Hopefield Mission, which served the Osages, was completely destroyed and swept away in the flood. Again, in the summer of 1844, the Neosho River would flood. A.B. Canville wrote of the flood saying, “The water reached from mound to mound over the valley where the tall grass exists so abundantly, a large Mississippi steamer could have floated”.¹⁰⁶ The Neosho River would also be affected by severe droughts in the Midwest. In 1860, the Neosho River quit running for several months. The drought had begun in September of 1859 and lasted for a year. The total rainfall for the year did not exceed one inch.¹⁰⁷

A treaty was signed in 1827, which designated a reservation in Kansas. The Osages were given a strip of neutral land that was to form a barrier between Indian and white. This land became known as the “Osage Neutral Lands”.¹⁰⁸ Article two of the treaty stated the line would start at the beginning east of White Hair’s village and twenty-five miles west of the Missouri state line, there was to be left a fifty-mile range in which neither race would occupy.¹⁰⁹ The neutral lands would be sold to the Cherokee Nation and become known as the “Cherokee Neutral Lands”.

During the time when most of the Osage tribe was moving from their homelands in Missouri to Kansas, a group of four Osage men and two Osage women, spent three years in

¹⁰⁵ William E. Connelley. *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*. (Chicago, Illinois: Lewis Publishers, 1918), 202.

¹⁰⁶ William Graves. *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 27.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰⁹ Lula Lemmon Brown, *The Cherokee Neutral Lands Controversy*. (Girard, Kansas: The Girard Press, 1931), 2.

Europe. This was not the first time that a group of Osages had been to Paris. In 1725, Bourgmont and several chiefs arrived in Paris and stayed for several months in France. However, this strange odyssey began when Frenchman David Delaunay encountered the Osages on the Missouri River. He introduced himself as a friend of Manuel Lisa and William Clark, telling them he was going to take them to meet the President of the United States. Instead, he took them to Europe touring as a primitive Wild West Show. The group, including thirty-six year old Little Chief, eighteen year old Sacred Sun, Little Chief's nineteen year old wife *Mohon-go*, Sacred Sun's husband Black Bird, Big Soldier, *Minckchatahooch*, and a mixed French-Osage interpreter, who traveled on the steamboat *Commerce* to New Orleans. The party, which was to have then traveled to Washington, D.C., instead arrived in Le Harve, France, on July 27, 1827.¹¹⁰ The Osage were very popular and danced for the royal court of King Charles X (1757-1836). When their popularity declined; Delaunay heartlessly abandoned the group of Osages in Paris. The group wandered the streets with no shelter or food until an unknown Parisian took them to Marquis de Lafayette (1754-1834), who paid their passage back to the United States. A written account speaks of the group in Europe:

“Some of my readers may remember that, many year ago, the demon of speculation led one of those reckless white men who have abandoned their own homes to live among the Indians, to parade some half dozen Osages through Europe, filling his purse at the expense of the poor natives, who believed all the while that they were enjoying the free hospitality of their fathers beyond the sea. Lafayette's kind heart was disgusted by this knavery, and he had granted them an audience at his own house,

¹¹⁰ James D. Horan, *The McKenney-Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians*. (New York: Crown Publisher, Inc., 1972), 334-336.

in the hope of persuading them to return home while it was yet in their power".¹¹¹

Unfortunately, the group of Osages had been exposed to smallpox during their boat trip back to the United States. Little Chief died aboard the ship and was buried at sea. The surviving Osages landed in Norfolk, Virginia, in January of 1830. They wandered around until they were taken to the boarding house of Rachel Henderson Anderson.¹¹² She complained of their unpaid debt and Thomas McKenney (1785-1859), of the war department, paid their bill. After three long years, *Mo-hon-go* and her child were received by their Great Father and given a medal.

The Inspector General of the western forts, Colonel George Croghan (1791-1849), recommended that a military post be established on the Neosho River in order to keep watch over the Osages. The Osages were living along the Arkansas and Neosho Rivers with Chief Clermont, the son of Claremore, as their principle chief. Troops were ordered to patrol the borders in an attempt to control the illegal liquor traffic from the settlements to the Indians.¹¹³ United States Dragoons established Fort Scott on May 30, 1842. Named for General Winfield Scott (1786-1866), it was located midway between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Gibson on the Military Road. This road extended from the Upper Mississippi River to Louisiana. It served as a frontier post until it was abandoned in October 1865, when the Indian frontier moved west and the troops were withdrawn.

General Ethan Allen Hitchcock's (1798-1870), recommended the location of Fort Scott because of the Osages, which he described as "...out of favor with all of their neighbors. They

¹¹¹ "Personal Recollections of Cooper". From George Washington Greene. *Biographical Studies* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1860). 18 March 2004, <http://external.oneonta.edu/cooper/biographic/memories/greene2.html>

¹¹² John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 547.

¹¹³ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs, 1843), September 1, 1843.

into battle, provided better mobility in hunting, and carried household goods to and from seasonal hunting camps.

In the mid-1800s, two trading posts sprang up in Kansas. A Frenchman named A.B. Canville established a post in 1844. This trading post was located in Neosho County, Kansas. Canville married a French-Osage woman and set up the post among the Osages.¹¹⁶ In 1857, Canville Trading Post was the location for a trial regarding four white men who had stole Osage horses. Chief Little Bear presided at the trial and ruled that, "In compliance to the Osages unwritten law, a jury of twelve men should hear the evidence and pass guilt or innocence of the four accused horse thieves".¹¹⁷ The jury comprised of six half bloods and six full bloods. They announced, "If the four accused would tell all they knew about the organization of horse thieves and give the names of those implicated that their lives would be spared, and they would be liberated after each had half his head shaved and one ear cut off, and they should leave the territory of Kansas in five days".¹¹⁸

The Osages were very capable of governing themselves and rendering justice they felt appropriate for crimes committed against them. Oddly, the tribe did not feel horse theft was criminal when they committed the act. However, when they lost horses to thieves, they found the act offensive and worthy of punishment and expulsion.

Peaceful co-existence between American Indians and whites became increasingly more difficult. Both Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe had proposed a solution to solve the Indian problem by the 1820s. They planned to "civilize" the American Indians and this involved moving them from their ancestral homelands westward. Andrew Jackson (1767-1845), became the seventh president in 1829. A forceful proponent of Indian removal, he was against

¹¹⁶ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 26.

¹¹⁷ T.F. Morrison, "The Osage Treaty of 1865," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XVII (1926), 692-708.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 695.

the idea of American Indians having an absolute title to the land and therefore could not establish an independent political sovereignty within the United States. In his Second Annual Message, delivered December 6, 1830, to Congress, Jackson informed them of his removal plan, stating that it is moving ahead nicely and that everyone involved benefits.¹¹⁹ Only one year after he became president, on May 28, 1830, he signed a new piece of legislation called the "Indian Removal Act". This act gave the president power to negotiate removal treaties with the American Indians who lived east of the Mississippi. Jackson stated that the United States would, "forever secure and guarantee" this land to them and their "heirs or successors," and provided compensation for the improvements upon their Eastern lands, and provide assistance in their emigration to the West. Jackson gave the land west of the Mississippi to American Indians in exchange for their holdings in the East.

In 1834, congress passed the Intercourse Act, "To regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers".¹²⁰ It was to define the policy of the government towards the American Indians and attempted to control the removal and gave a location of the Indian lands, "That part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the states of Missouri, Louisiana, or the Territory of Arkansas".¹²¹

On August 24, 1835, a peace treaty was signed at Camp Holmes between the Comanche, Wichita, and allied tribes, the United States government, the Cherokee, Choctaw, Seneca, Quapaw, and Osage tribes. The purpose of the treaty aimed at establishing peace and friendship between the United States of America and the previously listed tribes. The treaty called for acts of violence to be forgiven and forgotten. "Every

¹¹⁹ James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1908, Volume 2*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896).

¹²⁰ *Laws of the United States of America. Volume IX*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1839), 128.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 128.

injury or act of hostility by one or either of the contracting parties on the other shall be mutually forgiven and forever forgot".¹²² The treaty further stated that the "...tribes have free permission to hunt and trap in the Great Prairie west of the Cross Timber, to the western limits of the United States".¹²³ The United States carried on the policy of giving gifts and presents to the American Indian tribes in return for loyalty and peace. This treaty, similar to every other treaty that was signed by the Osages, ends with the statement, "They shall receive presents immediately after signing, as a donation from the United States; nothing being asked from these nations or tribes in return, except to remain at peace with the parties hereto, which their own good and that of their posterity require".¹²⁴

By 1837, the Osages were living in destitute conditions.¹²⁵ Another peace treaty was signed by the Osages in May of that year. The Osages agreed to live peacefully with the United States government, the Kiowa, and Muskogee tribes. This treaty goes on in Article six to say that they will stop their raids against other Plains tribes, "...agree, that in the event any red people belonging to the nations or tribes of Indians residing south of the Missouri River, and west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, not parties to this treaty, should visit their towns, or be found on their hunting ground, that they will treat them with kindness and friendship, and do no injury to them in any way whatever".¹²⁶

Trading posts continued to spring up in order to profit from trade with the Osages. In 1839, Michael Gireau established a trading post near Marais des Cygne, "...about a mile west

¹²² *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Volume II (Treaties)*. Charles J. Kappler, ed., (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), 436.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 436.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 439.

¹²⁵ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 23.

¹²⁶ *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Volume II (Treaties)*. Charles J. Kappler, ed. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), 491.

of the State line of Missouri, eighty-six miles from Spring River".¹²⁷ Later a Chouteau bought the post from Gireau. It was one of the earliest settlements in Kansas and another Chouteau trading franchise. The French gave the name to this area, meaning, "Mash of Swans". The name is fitting because of the trumpeter swans living in the wetlands and an Osage legend. The legend speaks of two young lovers separated by tribal war. When the young female learns of the death of her lover, she throws herself into the waters below. Her lover, returned from war alive, and learned of her actions. In despair, he throws himself into the waters below. The tribe, running to the waters edge, sees two beautiful swans appear in the water. The two lovers appear in the form of the graceful swans together once again.

Settlers growing increasingly afraid of Osage raids, asked the United States Government for help and protection. President Jackson approved the Enabling Act for better protection of the Western Frontier on July 2, 1836. It provided for the: surveying and opening of a military road from a point on the Upper Mississippi to the Red River in the south; that the road pass west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, with the condition that the assent of the Indian tribes through whose territory the road would pass, must be first obtained; for the construction of military posts along the road; for the use of United States troops to perform the required labor; the sum of \$1000,000, to accomplish the objects of the act.¹²⁸

American Indians throughout the United States were greatly affected by the attitudes and beliefs of Americans in the early to mid-1800s. In the 1840s, politicians spoke of a concept called Manifest Destiny. This concept, coined by John O'Sullivan, created a belief that the United States was a perfect country, and that God wanted the nation to expand for the sake of

¹²⁷ William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*. (Chicago, Illinois: Lewis Publishers, 1918), 209.

¹²⁸ *Laws of the United States of America. Volume IX*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1839), 444.

democracy. It led people to believe that they had the God-given right and responsibility to colonize and settle the North American continent. Thus, the United States had the divine right to become a transcontinental nation. The concept justified their actions towards the American Indians and westward expansion. Land, gold, and the chance to prove themselves, were all a driving force for the frontiersmen and settlers. As the population grew in the West, so did the desire to own the land that they were settling. They bought into the concept that the American Indians had no moral right to stand in the way of European expansion and civilization. The Osage, along with other tribes, felt the affects of Manifest Destiny and the push west into their homelands. The Cherokee tribe was pushed from their homelands when the Jackson administration moved more than 45,000 American Indians westward from their land east of the Mississippi. Removal treaties contained the provision for the United States to protect the relocated tribes from other tribes and Europeans. However, Americans began to ask the United States for protection from the relocated tribes and more than twenty-five of these posts were established. The establishment of forts by the United States on the frontier was a partial solution to protect settlers from the hostile tribes. By the 1840s westward expansion was advancing with white settlers and traders pushing into the Osages territory. By 1848, the gold rush brought thousands of people passing through Indian Territory. Many forts were abandoned however due to the gold rush, the aspiration of a transcontinental railroad, and the establishment of Kansas as a territory.

In 1847, Father John Schoenmakers (1807-1883), reported the Osages had come to Kansas, with a population of five thousand.¹²⁹ On January 17, 1847, Larkin McGee established a trading post near Chetopa, Kansas. McGee wrote that Chief White Hair was the principle chief and lived on the Neosho River, six miles south of Osage Mission.¹³⁰ He claimed that it was the

¹²⁹ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves. 1935), 29.

largest town in the Osage Nation at the time. Father Schoenmakers wrote to the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* and spoke of the Osages living near the mission in 1847, saying: "The White Hair band was kept within a few miles of the Mission school, and during the summer months the young men were always ready to work on the farm and to split rails of firewood in the winter."¹³¹

With the opening of Kansas to white settlements in the spring of 1854, a new wave of Americans flooded in from the north and the south with two different sets of motives. In 1856, the total population of Osages was 3,500.¹³² White settlers began to pour into Kansas, encroaching on Osage hunting grounds. When Kansas was granted statehood in 1861, the Osage were excluded from any jurisdiction of the state and did little to aid the Osages in keeping squatters out of their lands.¹³³ White settlement in Kansas would lead to the Osages being pushed onto their final reservation in Oklahoma.

On July 26, 1855, the United States granted Kansas the right to aid the Union Pacific Railroad by laying tracks from Fort Riley to the Neosho Valley.¹³⁴ However, due to legislation the railroad would not be active in Kansas or affect the tribe until after 1864. The iron horse had negative consequences on the Plains Indians, the Osage included. It opened up the west for white settlers, thus, crowding the Osage out of their hunting grounds. The railroad changed bison grazing patterns and offered an easier and more deadly way for white man to slaughter the buffalo. Many buffalo were slaughtered in order to feed the railroad crews and troops at the Army posts. The development of the railroad continued and by 1868, the Sturgis Treaty on Drum Creek resulted. With this treaty, the Osages agreed to sale their lands to the L.L. and G. Railroad. The treaty would have stipulated that one-sixth of Kansas was to be given to the

¹³⁰ Ibid., 29.

¹³¹ *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 7 June 1876.

¹³² William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 39.

¹³³ John Joseph Mathews, *The Osage: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 651.

¹³⁴ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 38.

railroad corporation for twenty cents an acre.¹³⁵ However, Father Schoenmakers convinced the Osages that this was not in their best interest and thus the treaty was declined. Congress did not ratify the treaty. A year later, the Osages were offered \$1.25 an acre. The government would sell the land to settlers instead of the railroad corporation. Due to the hostile environment of the white settlers that were pushing into Kansas and encroaching on their lands, the Osage agreed to the sale of their reservation in Kansas. This was the last treaty which took away Osage land in Kansas. The Osages prepared for their voluntary move to Indian Territory in Oklahoma.

As the Civil War neared, the Confederacy sent Commissioner Albert Pike (1809-1891), to enter into a treaty with the Osages. He was successful at securing the loyalty of the tribes in Indian Territory for the Confederacy. Many Big Osages, Chief Black Dog (ca. 1780-1848), included, served in the Confederate States Army. Despite the Confederate Treaty, some Little Osages fought with the Second Indian Brigade of the Union Army. Other Osages joined the ninth Kansas Volunteers as Union supporters but were too unruly and were discharged from service. In 1861, Osage warriors aided the Missouri Home Guards in their first major Civil War engagement west of the Mississippi River. They fought with General Sterling Price (1809-1867), at Wilson's Creek, ten miles southwest of Springfield, Missouri. In 1862, Black Dog and some of his tribesmen joined the first Osage Battalion, C.S.A. This unit may have been involved at Prairie Grove and Pea Ridge. The Osages were distressed during the Kansas border fighting during the Civil War, because white soldiers would invade the Osage reservation and steal their property.

¹³⁵ Mary Paul Fitzgerald, *Beacon on the Plains*. (Leavenworth, Kansas: Saint Mary's College, 1939), 118.

Father Schoenmakers noticed a few Osage families had fenced in their fields and had been raising hogs and cattle in the autumn of 1858.¹³⁶ However, according to Schoenmakers, other tribe members discouraged these few Osage families from their farming efforts. By 1860, he reported that the Little Osages began raising crops of corn and beans. White Hair's band fenced large fields, built houses, and raised cattle and hogs. However, he states, when the Civil War followed, it destroyed their fields, houses, cattle, and other stock, and blasted even their hopes.¹³⁷ Only five years earlier, in 1855, the Osages had twenty-five farms but the crops were wiped out by a plague of grasshoppers. Drought and war with the Comanche tribe also left the tribe eating only buffalo meat that year. By the mid-1860s, the Osages were living on the verge of starvation. At Canville Trading Post, the United States entered into a treaty on September 29, 1865, with both the Big and Little Osages. This treaty designated seven million acres of land in southeast Kansas. Article one of the treaty acknowledged by the United States government that the Osages were facing severe hardships and the desire for them to improve their situation. "The tribe of the Great and Little Osage Indians, having now more lands than are necessary for their occupation, and all payments from the government to them under former treaties having ceased, leaving them greatly impoverished, and being desirous of improving their condition by disposing of their surplus lands..."¹³⁸ The treaty goes on in Article ten to state that the Osages acknowledged their dependence on the government of the United States, and invoke its protection and care..."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 41.

¹³⁷ *Arkansas City Dailey Traveler*. 7 June 1876.

¹³⁸ *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Volume II (Treaties)*. Charles J. Kappler, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 879.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 881.

As the Civil War ended and lands were open for settlement, once again attention turned westward. Almost overnight the number of immigrants pouring into Indian lands tripled. The United States, eager to expand and pursue economic growth for the country, began eliminating the “Indian problem” with a harsh American Indian policy. The policy turned to exterminating the bothersome Indian tribes living on fertile land that whites desired. The October 16, 1865, report from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs gave the population of Osages standing in the way of white settlement in the region:

“...The Osages also belong to the Neosho agency. Their total number, as estimated by Major Snow, is less than two thousand eight hundred; but as estimated by Reverend Schoenmakers, whose means of information Major Snow admits to be better than his, makes three thousand two hundred, classified as follows: one hundred braves, eight hundred warriors; three hundred young men, and one thousand married women, two hundred young women, and eight hundred children”.¹⁴⁰

Only a few years before the Osages were pushed into Oklahoma, Colonel James A. Coffey established a trading post in present-day Coffeyville, Kansas. Coffey had come to Kansas in 1854 and joined John Brown at the Engagement of Lecompton. In July 1868, he built a store and home near the Verdigris River. He established the post in order to trade with the Black Dog band of Osages who had settled in the region.¹⁴¹ Chief Black Dog had earned his name while on his way to a Comanche camp but encountered a barking black dog. Afraid the dog would reveal his presence to the enemy, he shot an arrow in the direction of the dog. It hit the dog in the head, killing it, and thus keeping his presence

¹⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs, 1865). October 16, 1865.

¹⁴¹ “Coffeyville Abounds with own Brand of History”. *Coffeyville Journal*. 10 May 2001.

unknown.¹⁴² It is Black Dog who is credited with creating a trail through southeast Kansas, which was used when the Osages went on their seasonal hunts. The trail stretched from Baxter Springs, over to Chetopa, up to Cherryvale and Humboldt, back down to Coffeyville, and out to the Great Plains.¹⁴³ This path did not only help the Osages, but many other tribes used the trail as well. The Osages were unable to use the trail for their seasonal hunt in 1867. The Cheyenne made threats to the tribes because they were angry with the Osages who served as scouts for George Armstrong Custer (1839-1876), during the 1867 Sioux and Cheyenne expedition. It resulted in the Osage suffering a severe food shortage that winter.

The Osages were forced to sell their Kansas lands in 1870 and move across the border into Indian Territory in Osage County, Oklahoma. An Act of Congress on July 15, 1870, provided that the remaining land in their Kansas reservation be sold and the proceeds be spent to purchase a new reservation. Whites in Kansas were ready to see the Osages go to their new reservation in Oklahoma. The *Emporia News* reported that thousands of citizens eagerly awaited a treaty with the Osages in order to push them out of Kansas. The article states:

“Commissioners are now on their way to the headquarters of the Osages Indians to make a new treaty with that tribe. We sincerely hope the treaty may result in the government getting possession of all their valuable lands in the south part of this State, and in sending the Osages south into the Indian country. Their lands are not exceeded in value, as an agricultural region, in Kansas, and the sooner they can be opened to settlement

¹⁴² John Rydjord, *Indian Place-Names: Their Origins, Evolution, and Meanings, collected in Kansas from the Siouan, Algonquian, Shoshonean, Caddoan, Iroquoian, and other Tongues*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 120.

¹⁴³ “Lecture Focuses on Osage Nation “. *The Morning Sun*. 28 August 2000.

the better for Kansas and the country at large. After the treaty is made, if its terms are satisfactory, we hope our congressional delegation will use every exertion in their power in urging its ratification, in order that this valuable body of lands may be speedily opened for settlement. There are thousands of citizens waiting for the consummation of such a treaty, and not long after its being made available for settlers it will become one of the most populous regions in Kansas".¹⁴⁴

The Osages signed a removal treaty, moving them into Indian Territory and to their last reservation located in Oklahoma. The Osages bought the land from the Cherokees using money they had received from the United States government. During the time of removal, Chief Joseph *Paw-ne-no-pashe* led the tribe. *Paw-ne-no-pashe*, a graduate of the mission school, spoke, read, and wrote in English. He was instrumental in making sure the tribe was protected, able to hunt outside of the reservation, and the land on the reservation would be owned by the whole tribe instead of allotments. The land would remain owned by the whole tribe until 1906 when Congress approved the Osage Allotment Act.

The time of removal was a difficult time for the Osages. A reporter from Sedgwick County, Kansas, noted in the *Wichita Vidette*, "The air was filled with the cries of the old people, especially the women, who lamenated over the graves of their children, which they were about to leave forever".¹⁴⁵ Despite their suffering, the Osage looked optimistically towards the future. They realized they were beginning a new

¹⁴⁴ *Emporia News*. 14 January 1870.

¹⁴⁵ Craig Miner, *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1854-2000*. (Leavenworth, Kansas: Kansas Historical Society and the University Press of Kansas, 2000), 95.

CHAPTER V

IMPACT OF THE AMERICANS ON THE OSAGE

The difference between the American Indian culture and Euro-American culture was vast. The Europeans believed the way to deal with the difference was not to embrace and celebrate them but instead to isolate and assimilate the American Indians. George Sibley recalled a conversation he had with Osage Chief Big Soldier, who had twice been to Washington, D.C.:

“I see and admire your manner of living. In short you can do almost whatever you choose. You whites possess the powers of subduing almost every animal to your use’s everything about you is in chains, and you are slaves yourselves. I hear I should exchange my presents for yours. I too should become a slave. Talk to my sons, perhaps they may be persuaded to adapt your fashions, but for myself, I was born free, was raised free, and wish to die free”.¹⁴⁷

In times of peace, the primary task for the Plains tribes was bison hunting. When North American Indians dominated the Great Plains, their lands stretched as a vast sea of grass across the center of the North American continent. The bison was a resident of their grasslands in large populations that often stretched from horizon to horizon. Great herds roamed between the Appalachian Mountains and the Rocky Mountains. Plains Indians had hunted bison for over ten thousand years prior to contact with Europeans. The Osages depended on bison for survival. The buffalo was an all-purpose beast of the Plains. Every part of the animal not used for food was put to some other purpose. Household items were made from bones, hides, horns, and innards. The most versatile part was the hide. Osage women used a technique called

¹⁴⁷ Vine Victor Deloria, Jr., *Spirit and Reason*. (New York: Fulcrum Publishing, 1999), 13.

tanning to make the hide soft and pliable. The hair was removed from the hide except in the winter when it was left on blankets and garments. They used hide for a variety of items, including, robes, moccasins, leggings, shirts, coats, capes, dresses, breechcloths, bedcovers, burden straps, and saddle blankets. Untreated skin is referred to as rawhide and it is stiff and tough in texture. It was used for a variety of items, including, moccasin soles, belts, bridles, travois hitches, shields, and covering for war clubs. The horns were used to make powder flasks, spoons, cups, and ladles. The bones were used for knives, sewing awls, hide scrapers, and arrowheads. Dung served as fuel, hoofs provided glue, brains, fat, and liver, were used as tanning agents, the rough side of the buffalo tongue served as a hairbrush, and sinew was used as thread and bowstrings. Water buckets and cooking vessels were made from the paunch.

By the late 1800s, American hunters slaughtered millions of bison. Bison are hardy creatures; a mature bull can stand six feet tall at the hump and weight up to two thousand pounds. They are able to thrive and withstand extreme temperatures and stress. However, they are no match to the professional bison hunter's long-range rifle and westward expansion. After the professional white hunters arrived, buffalo carcasses littered the prairie. White hunters stripped off the hide and left the meat to rot. When Americans reduced the bison population to almost extinction, it was very symbolic of the declining of the American Indian way of life. Sitting Bull of the Sioux tribe spoke of Americans treatment of bison saying, "We kill buffalo for food and clothing, your young men shoot for pleasure".¹⁴⁸ The mass killing of the bison deprived the Osages, and other American Indian tribes, of their main source of food and natural resources. The Civilization Act of 1820 led to Protestant Osage missions. Throughout the years, numerous missions were established for the prairie tribes in order to convert and

¹⁴⁸ William C. Davis, *Frontier Skills: The Tactics and Weapons that Won the American West*. (Guilford, Connecticut: Lyons Press, 2003), 72.

educate them. Harmony Mission was established for the Osages in Missouri. However, the Treaty of 1825 sent the Osages into Kansas and seventy miles from Harmony Mission.¹⁴⁹ Only one year later the mission was closed. In Kansas, missions established included, Neosho Mission, Boudinot Mission, Hopefield Mission, and Presbyterian Mission. Hopefield Mission was established among the Osages in 1823 by the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions of the Presbyterian Church.¹⁵⁰ The purpose of the mission was to teach agriculture to the Osages. The aim was to convert the Osages into permanent farmers. Hopefield Mission moved in order to be close to White Hair's village, *Kee-I-Tone*, in Labette County, Kansas, near Oswego. William C. Requa, served as farm instructor and Reverend William Montgomery served as missionary. Besides the fact that the Osages were semi-nomadic hunters that only planted crops as a secondary activity, Requa was at a disadvantage because the mission did not have enough farming equipment. The mission did have some success with converting a little more than a dozen Osage families into farmers. Requa reported in June of 1831, the Osages at Hopefield Mission owned many hogs and cattle and were doing well.¹⁵¹ The Osages moved seventy miles north and the mission was discontinued.

Benton Pixley founded a mission and school for the Osage in Neosho County, Kansas, called Neosho Mission. This mission was a Presbyterian based mission whose aim was converting the Osages to Christianity and educating the children of white men's ways and lifestyle. Pixley differed from earlier missionaries because he established a home and brought his family to live among the Osages. This was a dangerous endeavor but one he felt was necessary in order to fully help the tribe. The new branch of Harmony Mission was built with

¹⁴⁹ T.F. Morrison, "Mission Neosho: The First Kansas Mission," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, IV, No. 3, (1935), 227-34.

¹⁵⁰ Frank W. Blackmar, ed., *Kansas: A Cyclopaedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industry, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, ect. Volume II.* (Chicago, Illinois: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), 291.

¹⁵¹ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission.* (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 16.

the help of men from Harmony Mission. Two log houses were constructed. One was used as a school during the week and as a church on Sunday. It took only five years for this mission to fail. The school lacked students to teach and Osage rowdies often interrupted church services. The Osage missions were closed in 1837, and for ten years the Osage tribe had no mission or school.

The Osage were familiar with the Jesuits, who they referred to as Black Robes, from their early contact with Europeans. The Osages, drawn to Catholicism, asked the Federal Government for a Catholic mission. When White Hair made his speech to Thomas Harvey, United States Superintendent of Indian Tribes, he said, "If our father desires that we have missionaries, you will tell him to send us Black Gowns, who will teach us to pray to the Great Spirit in the French manner".¹⁵² The ceremonial aspects of the Catholic religion would have been more familiar to the Osages in regards to their own religion. The French, who were predominately Catholic, had always had a closer relationship than that of other Europeans to the Osage. The Osage word for Christ or the Son of God is *Wah-Kon-Tah E Shinkah*.¹⁵³ Archeologists have unearthed numerous crucifixes at all of the sites where the Big and Little Osages lived from 1775 to 1815. The Osages have even acquired the Hail Mary in their language:

*Havai Marie,
Wagkonda odikupi odis-hailow,
Wagkonda shodigue acchow,
wakoki odisanha odichoupegtsiow,
Jusus tsaitse oulagran ingshe ougoupegtsiow.*

*Walagui Marie, Wagkonda chonh,
wawatapiow dekousi antzapi aitchanski.*

¹⁵² William Graves, *Life and Letters of the Reverend Father John Schoenmakers*. (Parsons, Kansas: The Commercial Publishers, 1928), 19.

¹⁵³ John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 739.

*Aikougtsiow.*¹⁵⁴

The United States government did build a school for the Osages but specified that no member of the clergy could instruct the children. The Osage sent another letter in 1844 requesting Catholic missionaries. This time the government gave in to Osage requests and allowed Catholic missionaries to head the school and instruct the children. In 1847, the Osage Catholic Mission was founded for the Osages living along the Neosho and Verdigris Rivers. Fathers Schoenmakers, Bax, and Ponziglione, arrived and established a manual labor school for the Osage boys. The building constructed for the boys was intended for twenty children. In April of 1848, Osage Sub-Agent John M. Richardson wrote that the school was overcrowded with thirty-three pupils.¹⁵⁵

The Sisters of Loretto established a program for Osage girls. In October, Mother Concordia and Sisters Mary Petronilla, Bridget, and Vincentia, arrived at the mission. Richardson wrote in his October 25, 1849 official report, "This is no doubt the best school in the Indian country, particularly the female department."¹⁵⁶ The aim of the mission was to convert the Osage Indians to Christianity and educate the Osage children with the curriculum of whites. Richardson wrote, "The school has certainly proved itself equal to the task of installing into the minds of the Osage children the rudiments of a good English education".¹⁵⁷

During the following years, the Osages would be exposed to missionaries with a potpourri of European heritages, countries included, Holland, Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Bavaria, Prussia, and Canada. The financial help from people in Europe was important to the mission remaining open. Over the course of nine years, the Osage Mission

¹⁵⁴ Permission has been received from The Mary Page at: www.udayton.edu/mary of the Marian Library/International Marian Research Institute, University of Dayton, USA.

¹⁵⁵ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W Graves, 1935), 33.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

received donations in the sum of eight thousand dollars.¹⁵⁸ The missionaries already living at Osage Mission often returned to Europe to recruit more missionaries to work with the Osage Indians.

Christian marriages were preformed at the mission. In 1830, Reverend Charles VanQuickenborne performed the first Christian marriage ceremony in Kansas. The marriage was between a Frenchman named Francis D. Abeau and an Osage woman.¹⁵⁹ Missionary Henry Harvey described attending an Osage wedding at Osage Mission in 1850: “While residing as agent among the Osage Indians, in 1850, I was invited, with my family, to attend a wedding. The marriage was between two half-breeds, both of whom were educated, one at the Harmony Mission, and the other at the Osage Catholic Mission. The marriage was to be consummated at the Catholic Mission”.¹⁶⁰ Marriages between whites and Osage women resulted in a population of mixed bloods that by 1890 outnumbered the full-bloods. As early as 1750, Jesuits were performing marriages between Osage women and French fur traders. These weddings differed from traditional Osage wedding parties and unions. The traditional wedding party lasted four days and involved giving gifts, feasting, and seven ceremonies. Highly respected Osage women were presented with a burden strap that had been made especially for her. She would hang it at the entrance of her lodge as a visual reminder of her honor.¹⁶¹ A spider tattoo engraved on the back of a bride’s hand was also a mark of distinction for a first class Osage family. A highly paid artist performed the ceremony, which involved using a wing-bone needle and charcoal. After carving the spider design into the bride’s hand

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 43.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 18.

¹⁶⁰ Henry Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians*. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Ephraim, Morgan, and Sons, 1855), 312.

¹⁶¹ John Joseph Mathews, *The Osage: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University Press of Oklahoma, 1961), 324.

with a red-hot iron, charcoal was rubbed over the wound. The design lasted a lifetime and symbolized the mysterious powers of the *Grand Hankah*.

Another change to the traditional wedding party came in the form of the wedding outfit. After Osage chiefs had visited Washington, D.C., they gave their daughters military uniforms and top hats, they had received as gifts from the government. Women began to wear these uniforms in the late 1800s as wedding dresses. Often times with skirts, moccasins, and a peace medal around her neck.

At the time of first European contact, there was close to a thousand American Indian languages spoken in the Americas. Today, there are only a handful of fluent speakers of the Osage language. The Osages never had a written language. The Osage language involved gestures that conveyed the meaning of the words. They used a single word for a phrase or idea. Their complex language made it difficult to record and document. For the most part, their language and gestures have been lost to time and overshadowed by the English language. However, Osage place names have left an enduring mark in Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. In Kansas many counties, rivers and streams, towns and townships have been named for the Osage Indians. Chief Chetopa, has one town in Labette County, three townships in Neosho, Wilson, and Montgomery counties named in his honor.

Throughout the mid-1800s the Osages suffered a number of epidemics. In 1828, a smallpox epidemic plagued them throughout the winter. Only five years later, they were devastated when cholera struck, killing 300 to 400 Osages.¹⁶² In 1837, another smallpox epidemic broke out on the Plains and spread south. It spread to the Osages from the Pawnee and then spread to the Kiowa. Only two years later, they suffered a summer of raging fever. In

¹⁶² William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 21.

the spring of 1852, the Osages were struck by a measles epidemic that killed eight hundred.¹⁶³ The Little Osage band was ravaged by smallpox again in the summer of 1855. Major Andrew J. Dorn, United States Neosho Agent, noted in the August 24, 1855, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 400 Little Osage had died from smallpox.¹⁶⁴ The Osages would go on to see another smallpox outbreak eight years later. In the winter of 1863, Captain D.C. Newman wrote an editorial to the *Chanute Dailey Blade* reporting that more than 1,200 Osages under Chief Little Bear died of smallpox and buried at their settlement.¹⁶⁵ The Osages also suffered from scurvy. Father Schonemakers reported, "Scurvy...appeared with its train of alarming effects, and of the four hundred who lived near the mission, forty died of the disease within one month".¹⁶⁶

The Osages also received firearms and liquor, both of which had an enormous impact on their traditional lifestyle. Whiskey became the medium of exchange when the frontier moved west of the Appalachians and settlers were cut off from the east. They developed their own markets and whiskey was easy to preserve and trade. Alcohol was given to the Osages with destructive consequences. Prior to European contact, the Osages had never tasted or experienced the affects of alcohol. The Plains tribes observed the trappers and traders as they binge drank and often would emulate their behavior. They learned to drink in excess and become intoxicated. Early French Catholic missionaries tried to block the sale of alcohol to the American Indians. French officials refused to ban the sale of French brandy to the natives because they reasoned that they would buy English rum instead. The Osage missionaries discouraged the use of alcohol. According to George Catlin who visited with the Osage in

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁶⁴ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs, 1855). August 23, 1855.

¹⁶⁵ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 46.

¹⁶⁶ *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*. 7 June 1876.

1834, reported: "Even the use of whiskey, which is on all sides tendered to them, is almost uniformly rejected! This is an unusual and unaccountable thing. Perhaps the influence which the missionary and teachers have exercised over them has induced them to abandon the destructive habit of drinking to excess".¹⁶⁷ However, the missionaries could not completely curb the use of whiskey because by the late 1840s alcoholism had become a significant problem among the Osage. Father Schoenmakers later wrote about the year 1847, saying, "Whiskey did much harm among all classes".¹⁶⁸ Missionary Henry Harvey wrote of a guest attending a wedding party at Osage Catholic Mission in 1850: "All seemed to enjoy themselves well, except one man, a half-breed Osage and generally clever fellow, who had got whiskey, was drunk, and very mad; for some time he appeared to be dangerous, but at length, finding that the agent would have him arrested, he became quiet and there was no more trouble with him that day".¹⁶⁹

Missionaries clashed with fur traders, who had very different reasons for being in North America. The missionaries were in North America trying to save the bodies and souls of the natives. The fur traders were trying to make money from furs and using the natives as cheap laborers. The missionaries accused the fur traders of getting the American Indians intoxicated and then stealing his peltries with an unfair trade. For the most part this is true. Traders hoped that by giving the natives alcohol it would make them more generous and easier to trade. Fur companies preferred to pay European and American Indian trappers with alcohol instead of money. This ensured that they would trap again next year because they would drink up all their profits. From the beginning of the fur trade, problems arose from white traders

¹⁶⁷ George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*. (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1975), 275.

¹⁶⁸ William Graves, *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935), 29.

¹⁶⁹ Henry Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians*. (Cincinnati, Ohio, Ephraim Morgan, and Sons, 1855), 316.

taking advantage of the American Indians. A result of monopoly trade was clandestine commerce. This meant trade was done in secret, often in order to conceal an illicit or improper purpose. Usually by trading alcohol with the American Indians although it was illegal. The United States government had passed the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act in 1790 in order to protect against, “Unscrupulous white traders, control liquor traffic in Indian Country and provide a way to remove renegade white desperados from Indian Country”.¹⁷⁰ More trade and Intercourse Acts followed, the last being passed in 1834. The final act passed by Congress on June 30, 1834, defined the Indian Country as: “...all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas...”.¹⁷¹

As white settlers moved westward, the government’s policy of providing a large, permanent, and secure home for the Indian tribes died. Newspapers appealed to white settlers by advertising. The *Altoona Union* published an advertisement that ran from March 30, 1870 to April 11, 1873. The advertisement described Wilson County: “It is located in one of the richest and most populous districts to be found anywhere notwithstanding the fact that Altoona is already established upon a firm basis, with the prospect of two or more railroads and at the present rate of increase, will soon be able to apply for a charter as a city of the second class”.¹⁷² Despite the fact that settlers were pouring into the Osage Indians homelands, there is no record of any violence towards settlers in Wilson County as late as the mid 1870s, except in cases where they encroached on lands in the southern part of Wilson County. Settlers were then ordered to leave and if they refused, the Osages would resort to burning down their

¹⁷⁰ Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years, 1780-1834*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), 103-104.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁷² *Altoona Union*. 30 March 1870.

cabins.¹⁷³ The Osages were very protective of their hunting grounds, whether the threat came from whites or another tribe. They had to guard the resources available to them in their homelands. They lived off the land *Wah-Kon-Tah* had provided for the tribe. They knew the depletion of natural resources would be the end of the tribe.

¹⁷³ *Wilson County Citizen*. 1 December 1876.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the 1830s the number of beaver began to decline. The beaver hat fell out of fashion in Europe because the working class people began to wear wool hats and wealthy people began wearing silk hats. Previously, the popularity of the beaver hat in Europe had created an enormous demand for beaver pelts, which was the staple article of the American fur trade. With fashion changing in Europe and the depletion in the stock of beavers and other fur-bearing animals that had been hunted for centuries, this caused a decline in the fur trade in North America. Fur traders who sought to get wealthy from the lucrative industry, failed to take into consideration the ecological damage to the fur-bearing animals and the damage to the North American Indian culture. By the 1840s beaver trapping came to an end.

As the fur trade declined, Americans interest in present-day Kansas rose, forcing the Osages out of their Kansas reservation. By this time they had already been exposed to close to one hundred and seventy years of continuous contact with Europeans. The Osage Indians traditional lifestyle and culture had been greatly modified. Author Colin F. Taylor expresses the coming of Europeans on the American Indian cultures as, “Thousands of years of cultural development was rudely diverted and truncated by the arrival of Europeans”.¹⁷⁴ The Indigenous tribes of North America lost many traditional ways and much of their identity as individual bands. Each tribe and band developed differently and has its own history, tradition, and legends. The “generic Indian” was invented by Americans and generations have misunderstood the tribal people of North America. According to the *Gales Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes*, from 1750-1850, Americans forced the Osages to move westward an average of one hundred miles every ten years. Before European contact, the Osage numbered approximately 17,000 in the late 1600s. By 1815, they were reduced by disease and other

¹⁷⁴ Colin F. Taylor, *The Native American Peoples*. (London, England: Courage Books, 2002), 324.

factors to 12,000. The tribe would continue to decrease in population because of disease, violence, and intermarriage. In 1871, when the tribe moved to their last reservation, they numbered 3,679 full-bloods and 280 mixed-bloods.¹⁷⁵ However, the Osage Indians history did not end in 1871. Many more chapters in their history would be written. In 1881, they adopted a written Constitution and formed the Osage Nation. One major event would shape their culture and lifestyle even further. In the late 1890s oil was discovered beneath their reservation. The Secretary of the Interior granted a monopoly to one drilling company. This would bring great wealth to the tribe but also great pain. Now, the richest people in the world, the blanket Indians were buying fashionable American clothing and driving Cadillacs. Early Rogers County, Oklahoma, resident Zelda Bear Ashley, reported seeing Osage Indians in town: “Although blanketed squaws were occasionally seen, most of the Indians were fashionably dressed. Many of the young Indian girls were very pretty and bought beautiful clothes from expensive Tulsa boutiques. Of course, the Osage always drove Cadillacs”.¹⁷⁶ Despite their good fortune, they also had unscrupulous American men trying to gain their wealth. In the 1920s, many white men married Osage women then murdered them in order to gain access to the money.¹⁷⁷ This time is known as the Osage Reign of Terror. The United States government and Osage Agents also became very interested in the oil and this led to drilling on their reservation. Officials were eager to call them legally incompetent and appoint guardians, who often took advantage of the Osage. Discovery of oil on their reservation was a bitter-sweet event. It helped the tribe prosper financial, but also had devastating consequences when outsiders interfered. The financial wealth also changed their traditional lifestyle and

¹⁷⁵ Linda Schmittroth, ed., *Gale Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes, Volume 3*. (Detroit, Michigan: Gale 1998), 316-325.

¹⁷⁶ *The History of Rogers County, Oklahoma. Volume I*. (Claremore, Oklahoma: Claremore College Foundation, 1979), 98.

¹⁷⁷ “Osage Oil Land Allotment were Worth Killing for”. *The Billings Gazette*. 29 September 2002.

culture. Like the horse, overall, money from the oil had a positive impact on the tribe. Positive in the sense, they did not suffer as much as the poor American Indians living on the reservations.

The tribe has a rich and fascinating history. From the early times, when the Osages were free to roam the prairies, to their business dealings in the fur trade, to the present-day Osage Nation, they have proven themselves to be an important people throughout history. They have left an everlasting mark in Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Materials, Unpublished

Chouteau Papers

The Chouteau Collection is located at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.

Auguste Chouteau to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, April 14, 1799, Missouri Historical Society. Chouteau Collection.

Pierre Chouteau to Jefferson, St. Louis, October 12, 1804, Missouri Historical Society, Pierre Chouteau Letterbook, 1.

Clark Papers

The Clark Papers are located in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Clark, William, Miscellaneous letters and documents regarding Indian Affairs, No. 2.

Sibley Papers

The Sibley Papers are located in the Jefferson Memorial Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

George C. Sibley to William Clark, St. Louis, July 9, 1813, Missouri Historical Society, Sibley Papers.

William Clark to George C. Sibley, March 17, 1814, Missouri Historical Society, Sibley Papers.

Primary Materials, Published

Government and Court Documents

American State Papers, XIX, Indian Affairs, II. Matthew Clarke and Walter Lowrie, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832).

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs, 1843). September 1, 1843.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs, 1855). August 23, 1855.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs, 1865). October 16, 1865.

Chouteau, Pierre v. Hempstead, Edward, Administrator. Mar 1812. Case No. 30. Circuit Court Case Files. Office of the Circuit Court. City of St. Louis, Missouri.

Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II (Treaties). Charles J. Kappler, ed. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904).

Laws of the United States of America Vol. IX (Washington, 1839).

Territorial Papers of the United States XIV. Clarence Edwin Carter, ed. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1948).

Books and Journals

Bradbury, John. *Travels in the Interior of America.* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1819).

Catlin, George. *North American Indians: Being Letters and Notes on their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written during Eight Years Travel amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839.* (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart, 1913).

Clark, William. *Westward with Dragoons: The Journal of William Clark on His Expedition to Establish Fort Osage, August 25 to September 22, 1808.* Kate L. Gregg, ed. (St. Charles, Mo.: Ovid Bell Press, 1937).

Latrobe, Charles Joseph. *The Rambler in North America.* (London, England: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835).

McDermott, John Francis, ed., *The Western Journals of Washington Irving.* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944).

Mereness, Newton D. ed., *Travels in the American Colonies.* Reprint. Originally published: New York: Macmillan, 1916. (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1961).

Morgan, Lewis Henry. *The Indian Journals, 1859-1863.* Lesile A. White, ed. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1959).

Nuttall, Thomas. *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory, during the Year 1819. With Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aboringines.* (Philadelphia: T. H. Palmer, 1821).

Shea, John. *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. (Albany, New York: Redfield, 1852).

Stoddard, Amos. *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*. (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812).

Tixier, Victor. *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*. Reprint. Originally published at Clermont-Ferrand, 1844. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1940).

Newspapers

Altoona Union. March 30, 1870.

Arkansas City Daily Traveler, June 7, 1876.

"Beat the Indians at Foot Racing and Wrestling in the Early Days at Walnut." *Pittsburg Daily Headlight*. 19 May 1926.

"Coffeyville Abounds with own Brand of History." *Coffeyville Journal*. May 10, 2001.

Emporia News, January 14, 1870.

"Lecture Focuses on Osage Nation". *The Morning Sun*. August 28, 2000.

"Osage Oil Land Allotment Were Worth Killing for". *The Billings Gazette*. September 29, 2002.

Wilson County Citizen. December 1, 1876.

Secondary Material

Articles and Periodicals

Chapman, Berlin B. "Removal of the Osage from Kansas." *Kansas Historical Quarterly*. August 7, 1938.

Fletcher, A.C. and Francis La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905-1906*.

Morrison, T.F. "The Osage Treaty of 1865," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XVII (1926).

Morrison, T.F. "Mission Neosho: The First Kansas Mission." *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, IV, No. 3 (1935).

Books

- Blackmar, Frank W. ed., *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, Etc. Volume I.* (Chicago, Illinois: Standard Pub. Company, 1912).
- Brophy, Patrick. *Osage Autumn.* (Nevada, Missouri: Vernon County Historical Society, 1985).
- Brown, Lula Lemmon. *The Cherokee Neutral Lands Controversy.* (Girard Kansas: The Girard Press, 1931).
- Carpenter, Edmund. *Oh, What a Blow That Phantom Gave Me!* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976).
- Chittenden, Hiram M. *The American Fur Trade of the Far West: A History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fe.* 2 vols (New York: Harper and Bros., 1902).
- Clark W.P. *The Indian Sign Language.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).
- Connelley, William E. *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans.* (Chicago, Illinois: American Historical Society, 1928).
- Cuthbertson, William C. *The Genesis of Girard: Stories of Early Girard, and the Surrounding Prairie.* (Girard, Kansas: Cuthbertson, 1984).
- Davis, William C. *Frontier Skills: The Tactics and Weapons that Won the American West.* (Guilford, Connecticut: Lyons Press, 2003).
- Delangles, J. *Life and Voyage of Louis Joliet, 1645-1700.* (Chicago, Illinois: Standard Pub. Company, 1948).
- Deloria, Vine Victor Jr. *Spirit and Reason.* (New York: Fulcrum Publishing, 1999).
- Din, Gilbert C. *The Imperial Osage: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley.* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983).

- Fitzgerald, Mary Paul. *Beacon on the Plains*. (Leavenworth, Kansas: Saint Mary College, 1939).
- Foreman, Grant. *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Indian Southwest before 1830*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).
- Graves, William. *Annals of Osage Mission*. (St. Paul, Kansas: W.W. Graves, 1935).
- Graves, William. *Life and Letters of the Reverend Father John Schoenmakers*. (Parsons, Kansas: The Commercial Publishers, 1928).
- Gregg, Kate Leila. *The Road to Santa Fe: The Journal and Diaries of George Champlin Sibley and others Pertaining to the Surveying and Marking of a Road from the Missouri Frontier to the Settlements of New Mexico, 1825-1827*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952).
- Harvey, Henry. *History of the Shawnee Indians*. (Cincinnati: Ephraim Morgan & Sons, 1855).
- The History of Rogers County, Oklahoma, Vol. 1*. (Claremore, Oklahoma: Claremore College Foundation, 1979).
- Hoffhaus, C.E. *Chez les Canses*. (Kansas City, Missouri: Lowell Press, 1984).
- Horan, James D. *The McKenney-Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians*. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1972).
- Houck, Louis. *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union. Vol. 2*. (Chicago, Illinois: R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1908).
- Ingenthron, Elmo. *Indians of the Ozark Plateau*. (Point Lookout, Missouri: School of the Ozarks Press, 1970).
- Mathews, John Joseph. *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).
- Miner, Craig. *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1854-2000*. (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society and the University Press of Kansas, 2000).
- Nasatir, A.P. *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri 1785-1804*. (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952).
- Oliva, Leo. *Fort Scott on the Indian Frontier*. (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society, 1984).

- Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years, 1780-1834*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- Richardson, James D. ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1908*, Volume II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896).
- Robertson, R.G. *Rotting Face: Smallpox and the American Indian*. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 2001).
- Rydjord, John. *Indian Place-Names: Their Origin, Evolution, and Meanings, Collected in Kansas from the Siouan, Algonquian, Shoshonean, Caddoan, Iroquoian, and other tongues*. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).
- Schmittroth, Linda, ed. *Gale Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes .Volume 3* (Detroit, Michigan: Gale, 1998).
- Taylor, Colin F. *The Native American Peoples*. (London, England: Courage Books, 2002).
- Thwaites, Reuben G. *Early Western Travels, 1746-1846*. (Cleveland, Ohio: A.H. Clark, 1904-1907).
- Villiers du Terrage, Marc de. *La Decouverte du Mississippi et l'histoire du fort d'Orleans*. (Paris: Champion, 1925).
- Westbrook, Harriette Johnson, ed., *Chronicles of Oklahoma. Voume. 11* (Oklahoma Historical Society, 1983).
- Wood, W. Raymond . ed., *Archaeology of the Great Plains*. (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1998).

Internet Resources

- “The Mary Page”. The Marian Library/International Marian Research Institute, University of Dayton, and Dayton, USA. www.udayton.edu/mary
- “Personal Recollections of Cooper”. From George Washington Greene, *Biographical Studies* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1860). 18 March 2004.
<http://external.oneonta.edu/cooper/biographic/memories/greene2.html>