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THE UNITED STATES INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN TEXAS 1854-1859.

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Virginia Pink Noël, B.A.
Brownwood, Texas
June 1924
PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to furnish for those interested in the history of the Indians of Texas an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the details connected with the establishment by the United States Government of the reservations in this state, their maintenance from 1855 to 1859, and the causes which brought about their abandonment and the removal of the Indians beyond the borders of Texas.

In gathering the facts here presented, the writer has had the good fortune of using a mass of unpublished manuscript material. Photostat copies of the records of the Indian Bureau in Washington, covering the correspondence connected with the Texas Indians from 1846 to 1860, have served as the principal source. Transcripts of manuscripts owned by the family of R. S. Neighbors, the manuscript diary of John S. Ford, and the Eyath papers have thrown much light upon the subject. All of these are to be found in the Library of the University of Texas. The State Library has contributed some manuscript material, principally from the correspondence of the governor and the packages marked "Indian Affairs".
It is with gratitude that I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Charles W. Ramsdell, without whose interest, advice and guidance this dissertation would not have been possible. For the abundance of his time and his knowledge, cheerfully and untiringly given, no adequate expression of my appreciation is possible. I am also indebted to Mrs. Lota M. Spell and Mrs. Mattie A. Hatcher for their valuable assistance and encouragement all along the way.

Virginia Pink Noël
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I.

THE TEXAS INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

The problems presented by the Indians within the boundaries of Texas in the middle of the nineteenth century were not problems peculiar to this state; the Texas problem was merely a fragment of a struggle which had extended in varying degrees and at different periods to all parts of the American continent. Only in minor details did the Texas problem differ from the larger movement. To some extent, it may be said that the Texas troubles were almost entirely the result of troubles with the Indians in other regions. From the time of the first English settlements there had been a continual persistent pushing out, to the south and to the west, of the Indians whose claim to the soil was never fully respected by the descendants of that nation.\(^1\) With the opening of the nineteenth cen-


tury the acquisition of Louisiana and then Florida gave new grounds for pushing the Indians still further west than had ever been contemplated in the earlier ages.
With the transference of the tribes across the Mississippi, the inevitable struggle was brought still nearer to the future republic. As settlers began to occupy the lands to the west of the Mississippi, the only refuge of the Indian who subsisted entirely by hunting and fishing, was to be found in the unoccupied area still further west or south. Even this was not to remain in his undisturbed possession long, for the Mexican war, followed by the discovery of gold in California only served to make his last retreat desirable in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxon who was soon intent on wrestling from him the wilds in which he lived.

Pursued thus from spot to spot in the United States, all that remained for the Indian was to seek for new hunting grounds in unsettled areas. Texas - at least the greater part of Texas being still in this condition, - offered to the Indian tribes who were being driven from their former homes opportunity to secure food and to wander unmolested.

But not alone from the north and east had the various Indian tribes been forced into Texas; their presence was equally undesirable in the regions to the south. From the middle of the seventeenth
century the efforts of the governing powers in Mexico had been directed to various schemes for preventing the systematic incursions of the Indians from the north. It was the hope of the settlers in northern Mexico to banish entirely the savage tribes who had shown that they could not be subjected to the restraining influences of civilization. It has been said that Texas would have been abandoned by the Spaniard had it not seemed as a bulwark of defense for northern Mexico. It was the hope of the Mexicans to free themselves from the Indians of the north which caused them to insert a clause in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This thrust upon the United States the responsibility of confining such tribes as the Apaches and Lipans, whose native haunts were originally within the confines of the territory then ceded to the United States, to the north of the Rio Grande. The attempts on the part of the federal government - meagre though they were - tended to increase the problem within the state of Texas. Hounded from north and south alike, Texas offered to the hunted Man a stretch of territory wherein he might secure the buffalo and other food from which he lived.
As the natural result of the "pushing-out" movement from both north and south, numerous tribes of many types were to be found within the limits of the state of Texas in the early fifties. These may roughly be divided into the "woods" Indians, who had

\[\text{2Wissler, Clark. The American Indian, pp. 218-224, 234-239, (2 nd edition.)}\]

as far as history records, made their homes here; and the more numerous and much more troublesome "prairie" tribes who had been forced to take refuge here. In general it may be said that the native Indian, as seen by the early travelers and settlers was savage to a degree - the Cocos were even cannibalistic; but in the nineteenth century the remnants of the native tribes due either to the activities of the Spanish missionaries\[3\] or the vigorous wars waged

\[\text{33 Cong., 2 Sess.; Senate Document, no.1, p.509.}\]

against them by the American settlers, were more inclined to locate, till the soil, and assimilate some of the habits of civilized man. Not so with the western tribes who roamed the open prairie from New
Mexico across the Rio Grande to Central Mexico as opportunity offered. These Indians persistently refused to depart from their roving ways, and were a constant menace to all settlers who might be in their paths.

While the native Indians of Texas were among the worst problems which the Spanish missionaries faced in North America, it was the hope of civilizing the Indian which caused Texas to be first noticed by Europeans. Wandering, cannibalistic, drunken and lazy, the Indians did not present an encouraging outlook to the ever hopeful and persistent Franciscans. Before 1700 history records merely the names and location of tribes encountered by the various explorers who crossed Texas. But after 1700

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the regular reports made to the convents of Querétaro and Zacatecas by the missionaries afford ample material for determining the trail which such tribes followed, for no tribe remained in a fixed location.

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Each tribe moved along fairly well defined paths at irregular intervals according to the season, and the resultant supplies of food. The tribes whose entire range lay in Texas may be called the native tribes, while those whose range lay chiefly outside of the state and those who were forced into the state later by outside pressure may be classed as the emigrant tribes. Any such divisions are necessarily vague, but they serve to differentiate the original problem within the state and that with which the state had to deal later. The following table will give a rough idea of the various tribes which from time to time made their homes within the boundary of Texas:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Woods Indians&quot;</th>
<th>1687-1721</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caddo</td>
<td>Caddo (Bolton)</td>
<td>Brazos, Red R., Sabine, Neches</td>
<td>200 cabins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natchitoches</td>
<td>Natchitoches</td>
<td>Mississippi, then Gulf of Mexico, Red R.</td>
<td>Large number of women and only 20 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoes</td>
<td>Adoes</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatassi</td>
<td>Yatassi</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasonites</td>
<td>Nasonites</td>
<td>Angelina R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natsoos</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didai</td>
<td>Didai</td>
<td>Sabine, Trinity, Neches.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keechies</td>
<td>Keechies</td>
<td>Foothills of Sierra Nevada, Joquin R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anardarkos</td>
<td>Anardarkos</td>
<td>Brazos, Trinity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichitas</td>
<td>Wichitas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacos</td>
<td>Wacos</td>
<td>Canadian R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawakanos</td>
<td>Tawakanos</td>
<td>Brazos, Trinity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towash</td>
<td>Towash</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td>500 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyeish or Ais</td>
<td>Eyeish</td>
<td>Sabine, Neches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orcoquiza</td>
<td>Orcoquiza</td>
<td>Trinity R.</td>
<td>80 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atacapa</td>
<td>Atacapa</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td>Sabine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751-1843</td>
<td>Rio San Antonio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caddo</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natchitoches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoos</td>
<td>San Antonio, Red R.</td>
<td>50 souls</td>
<td>1805 ceased to exist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatassi</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td>8 men, 20 women.</td>
<td>On account of war reduced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasonites</td>
<td>Angelina R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1795 mentioned in Texas census; lost afterwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natsoos</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidai</td>
<td>Trinity R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1805 only 50 souls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keechies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Only figures 100 warriors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anardarkos</td>
<td>Brazos R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jones, Anardarkos Caddos intermarried and identified as one people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichitas</td>
<td>Brazos R.</td>
<td>3200 souls, 800 men, 160 horses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacos</td>
<td>Brazos R.</td>
<td>100 men</td>
<td>33 grass houses. Made treaty with Republic of Texas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawakanos</td>
<td>Brazos R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towash</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>132 grass houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyeish or Ais</td>
<td>Sabine</td>
<td></td>
<td>1789 only 20 families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocoquisa</td>
<td>Trinity R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1814 only 8 men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacapa</td>
<td>Red R., Sabine</td>
<td></td>
<td>1806 only 80 souls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Woods Indians&quot;</td>
<td>1687-1731</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karankawa</td>
<td>Karankawa</td>
<td>Matagorda Bay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonkawa</td>
<td>Tonkawa</td>
<td>Upper Trinity and San Gabriel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ervipiano</td>
<td>Ervipiano</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yojaune</td>
<td>Yojaune</td>
<td>San Gabriel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayeye</td>
<td>Mayeye</td>
<td>San Gabriel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sana</td>
<td>Sana</td>
<td>Seguin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emot</td>
<td>Emot</td>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taho</td>
<td>Taho</td>
<td>1721 Colorado R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Prairie Indians&quot;</th>
<th>1687-1731</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lipans</td>
<td>Lipans</td>
<td>Rio Grande, New Mexico, Texas to Gulf Coast Red R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natasi</td>
<td>Natasi</td>
<td>Boundary of 10,000 in New Mexico &amp; 5 villages in Rio Grande. on Rio Grande</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumano</td>
<td>Jumano</td>
<td>18th cent. West Texas, New Mex., &amp; Kansas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache</td>
<td>Apache</td>
<td>West Kansas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comanche</td>
<td>Comanche</td>
<td>West Kansas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowa</td>
<td>Kiowa</td>
<td>Arkansas Colorado Alabama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delawares</td>
<td>Delawares</td>
<td>Cormantown, Pa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kichapoos</td>
<td>Kichapoos</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731-1843</td>
<td>Karankawa</td>
<td>Matagorda Bay</td>
<td>200 warriors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonkawa</td>
<td>Trinity Crossing</td>
<td>A former Coahuila tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ervilpane</td>
<td>Trinity R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yojaune</td>
<td>San Gabriel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayeye</td>
<td>Guadalupe R.</td>
<td>200 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sana</td>
<td>Seguin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emot</td>
<td>Guadalupe R.</td>
<td>Related to the Karankawa tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taho</td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipans</td>
<td>San Saba</td>
<td>700 men</td>
<td>Divided into three bands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natasi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>If any survived, in 1882 absorbed with Yatasi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumano</td>
<td>Wichita Mts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oomancho</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Curried on constant warfare with frontier of Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brazos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowa</td>
<td>Red R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1820 came to Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kichapoos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1852 came to Texas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Prairie Indians&quot; 1687-1731</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnee</td>
<td>Pawnee</td>
<td>Platt R., Neb.</td>
<td>1702, 2000 found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creek</td>
<td>Creek</td>
<td>Alabama R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>Appalachian Lots.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choctaw</td>
<td>Choctaw</td>
<td>Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biloxi</td>
<td>Biloxi</td>
<td>Southern Mississippi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>Alabama R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konasate</td>
<td>Konasate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickasaw</td>
<td>Chickasaw</td>
<td>Original home, Georgia, Miss.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pampapa</td>
<td>Pampapa</td>
<td>Nueces R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payaya</td>
<td>Payaya</td>
<td>San Antonio R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocania</td>
<td>Ocania</td>
<td>Near Rio Grande R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paupanae</td>
<td>Paupanae</td>
<td>Nucoos R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patzan</td>
<td>Patzan</td>
<td>Northeast Rio Grande</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1731-1843 | Location | Number | Remarks
---|---|---|---
Pawnee | Texas, 1849. | | |
Creek | East Texas, 1840 | | 60 warriors came to Texas and settled south of Red River.
Cherokee | Red R. | | |
Choctaw | Sabine | | Red River, 1840.
Biloxi | Nueces R. | 20 families | 1834 merged into Coasote.
Alabama | Sabine, Trinity. | | |
Koasate | Trinity R. | | |
Chickasaw | Nacogdoches | | |
Pampapa | Santa Anna Mountains | | |
Payaya | Medina | | 1727
Ocania | San Antonio | | |
Paupanac | Found at San Antonio. | | |
Patzan | San Antonio | | |

---

Texas Indians in 1849

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>No. of souls</th>
<th>No. of warriors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comanches</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowas</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caddoes</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jomes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anadarkas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keechies</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichitas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacos</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahwaccarros</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonkahiras</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delawares</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawnees</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creeks</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokees</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euquatops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache Bands</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscaleros</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total supposed number</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,575</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,915</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Texas Indians of Northern Origin, 1851.

[Jesse Stom]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Tribal strength</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Warriors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Towacarros</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacoes</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keechies</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caddoes</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alouicos</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>476</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowies</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delawares</td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawnees</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>902</strong></td>
<td><strong>317</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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From this it will be seen that only the scattered remnants of the native tribes remained after the opening of the latter half of the nineteenth century. In their place had come those who had been forced from their original ranges either by the white man or by other Indian tribes whose power was too great to be contested. As a result of the southward movement of the Sioux, Texas became more and more the hunting ground of the Northern Comanches\(^7\) - the worst

\[^7\text{Hodge, F.W., Handbook of American Indians, v.1, pp.527-28.}\]

Indians in her history, who in turn forced south the Apache. Both were fearless; both refused to be civilized; and many of the depredations ascribed to the more docile Indians were committed by numbers of these tribes. It may safely be said that had these Indians been kept outside the state line, the Indian problem of Texas would have been almost negligible. The Indian problem which faced Texas after annexation was the result of several peculiar conditions. By the terms of annexation Texas retained all her public lands except such as were actually employed for governmental purposes.\(^8\) While there was no
reference to the Indians in the treaty, it was understood and admitted before annexation actually occurred that the United States was to undertake the military defence needed by Texas. In writing confidentially to General Taylor before annexation treaty was signed by Texas, Secretary Marcy instructed the general to have his troops in readiness to protect the Texas frontier against any Indian incursions, as the United States was now in duty bound to extend to Texas the same protection which was assured to Mexico by previous treaties.\textsuperscript{9} It is evident from this letter that the central government was in perfect accord in regard to the duty devolving upon it of protecting Texas and of dealing with any Indians who might have found their way within her boundaries from the United States. But the difficulty, which soon arose, of handling Indians on lands over which the central government had no control, had

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{9}30 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Document, no.60, p.80.}
\end{footnotesize}
not at that time been appreciated. As proof of the intention of the government to assume its obligations, may be cited the letters in connection with the Mexican war in which Texas was advised to protect her frontier while the U. S. troops were occupied in Mexico, and that all expense incurred would be refunded. 10 At the conclusion of the war,


troops were sent into Texas, and a line of posts established on the frontier.

The people of Texas, feeling that a great load had been removed from their shoulders by disposing of the Indians, had no further interest in them and granted them no right, either as citizens or as landowners. As new settlers came, and wished to advance further into unoccupied territory, the state government saw no reason why they should be restrained. It was clearly to the interest of the state to encourage immigration and settlement of the uncultivated portions of the state; there was nothing to be gained by acceding to Indian claims to the land. However, it should be emphasized that this attitude of mind was not one peculiar to Texans; it was the inheritance of the English from the first settlers on the Atlantic coast to their descendants.
The English never admitted the Indian right to land; and the Indian had been forced to give way in every state which entered the Union before Texas. Such having been the case in the United States, it is not surprising that Texas should not have been willing to grant the natives a right which had not been recognized by any other state. Texas expected the U. S. government either to get the Indians out of the state, or to keep them from interfering with the freest possible development of her lands. In this hope of protection from Indian depredation, from which the frontier settlers in Texas had suffered immeasurably under the Republic, the state was doomed to bitter disappointment. Resentment was the natural result.

This resentment would not have been so keenly felt had it not been that the period following the Mexican war was the time when the influx of immigration was rising to high tide. The opportunities of the new state had been heralded by the agents of Texas both in the United States and abroad. The fight which had developed over annexation had helped to keep Texas in the public eye, and the advantages urged in favor of annexation,
Served to attract many. The travellers from abroad who had visited the state became enthusiastic promoters in Europe, and this was especially true in the case of Germany. From 1841 to 1846 there were 7,161 Germans who came into Texas; in 1848 alone, 8,000 were admitted to the state.\footnote{Benjamin, G.G., The Germans in Texas, p.58.}

And this was just the beginning of the movement which went on uninterruptedly until the Civil War. Energetic and fearless, accustomed to work, and thankful for the opportunities which the lands of Texas offered them, these immigrants pushed insistently to the western frontier, where the organizers of colonization companies had already secured title to large tracts of desirable lands. The arrival of these groups of immigrants brought the question to a focus: could the colonists settle on lands which were the time hallowed hunting grounds of the Indians and by them claimed as their inalienable right?

The state in reply insisted that the Indians had no rights and must give way before the fast encroaching frontier line. To move the Indians
back and to prevent them from retaliating against
dispossession on the new-comers was the task of
the United States government - a task which was
hardly understood by those in authority at Washing-
ton. The Indian agents placed in charge of the
Indians by the Secretary of the Interior insisted
that there should be a line as there had been during
the Republic beyond which settlers should not ad-
vance, below which Indians should not go or they
would not be able to keep the Indians in check.
The refusal of the state to recognize any line as
boundary of territory which should be reserved for
the Indians precipitated open warfare.

During the period of the republic Texas
had worked out a system by which ranging companies
of forty to fifty men each were kept in close touch
with Indian conditions and ready at all times to
take the trail. These men were mounted on fleet
Spanish ponies which were able to overtake the
hastily fleeing natives. Having lived many years in
the outskirts of an Indian country, and knowing the
trails and wilds almost as well as did the Indians
themselves, the rangers were usually able to overtake
thieving bands and inflict prompt punishment for
depredations committed on the white settlements.
As a result the Indians had learned a certain respect
for such frontier companies and retired a respecta-
ble distance from their vicinity, as a rule. By
means of these companies, made up of men who had a
personal interest in protecting their own property,
Lamar had waged an Indian war which almost extermi-
nated several tribes and did reduce the others to
a very submissive and humble attitude.

In contrast to these troops of the United
States who were sent to Texas to protect the fron-
tier were commanded frequently by West Point men
who knew nothing of Indian life or habits and felt
no personal concern in the matter. They were equip-
ped with rifles and cannon, and mounted on heavy
draught horses, who could not travel either with
speed or very far. Being accustomed to a corn ration,
they were unserviceable in any attempt to penetrate
into the Indian country where the only sustenance
was grass of the prairie. Only a few months were
necessary for the astute Indians to perceive the
change in the type of enemy he had to face. The
natural result was an alarming increase in Indian
depredations at all exposed points along the frontier
Open warfare on the part of the Indians was but a signal for the resentment of the state to burst forth against the methods of Indian control adopted by the central government. Texas, during the period of the republic had been forced to study the problem of Indian control and believed that the solution which had been reached as a result of her experiments should be adopted by the United States. The government of the United States, having a system already worked out which had been applied with fairly satisfactory results in other sections of the country, could not see why this state should not be satisfied by an extension of the same system. As is perfectly clear from a close study of the problem, both were wrong, for the problem which had developed in Texas after annexation was not the problem which faced the republic, nor was it the same problem with which the central government had wrestled east of the Mississippi. In the period of the republic, the tribes who had occupied the attention of Houston and Lamar, while a sufficient problem in themselves, could not be compared in numbers with the menace of the Comanche
dent in this district; under the Spanish regime in this district many Indians had intermarried with Spaniards and whites; and besides, this district, had it ever been the beaten path of marauding bands bound for Mexico, had long since ceased to be so. The new frontier, extending from the Red River to the Rio Grande and down that stream to its mouth was the path, grown old by centuries of travel, of the Apaches and Comanches who regularly spent their winters in Mexico where sunnier climes lured them away from the possibilities of the northerns which swept the western plains of the United States. The new frontier embraced territory of which the Comanches had proven themselves the masters during the Spanish regime, for after the destruction of the San Saba mission by the Comanches the missionaries bowed their heads in defeat and retired from the field. 13  Defeat of the Franciscans in their hopes

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of civilizing the natives of that western territory, told a tale of savagery whose details are beyond
description. Before those fathers would admit that a tribe was hopeless, it must have proven its characteristics beyond questions.

Nor had the United States faced quite a similar problem in her previous Indian relations. In general it had been customary to establish agencies within the area allotted to the Indians, to make fairly frequent gifts of attractive presents or money, to hold councils and make treaties whenever it was to the interest of the government to persuade the Indians to some new move from territory which had, for one reason or another, become desirable in the eyes of the white man, and to surround the reservations with troops which could be called in emergencies for protection of either whites or Indians. As a general thing all the lands on which the Indians were placed belonged to the government which had charge of them. Thus it was a simple matter to move them from one spot to another. Such a plan could not be adapted to Texas for there was no government land within the state to which the Indians could retreat; there was only one possible solution to which resort was made finally - the Indians had to get out of the state or be killed off. This is what had happened to tribes who refused
to submit in other states and was to happen in the future. Submission or extermination was the Indian choice.

In taking over the Texas Indians the U.S. government went through the procedure established by custom in the other states: an Indian agent was appointed as soon as possible after annexation. He was authorized to visit the tribes; to keep the central government informed as to their location, number, and general condition; to hold councils, and distribute presents; and to try to adjust any difficulties which might arise as the result of thieving or murdering on the part of the Indians. In addition to this the secretary of war gave orders for the establishment for a line of military posts along the frontier at which a small number of infantry, or

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occasionally cavalry mounted on large heavy-set horses, were stationed to pursue Indians who approached too close to the line of settlements.

In criticising the methods employed by the
central government in handling the Texas Indian
problem, the Texans did not take into consideration
that the Indian problem on the hands of the govern-
ment had been considerably augmented by the condi-
tions resulting from the Mexican war. Of the 11,000
men in the army, 8,000 were on the frontier. 15

15. 30 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate Document,
Dec. 4, 1852.

Not only had the number of the Indians under U. S.
control increased overwhelmingly, but the territory
to be controlled was much vaster than heretofore.
The frontier line, which before the annexation of
Texas had as its greatest length the length of the
Mississippi, had now extended itself from the Pacific
to the mouth of the Rio Grande on the south and to
Oregon on the north. Overnight, almost, it became
necessary to find ways and means of managing this
mass of Indians and new territory. Before any ad-
justments were possible, the discovery of gold in
California complicated matters by increasing the
rush of immigrants to that district. This involved
removal of some of the Indian tribes whose native
hunting grounds had to be cleared of Indians. The
removal of these Indians to more southern plains made the pressure on Texas greater. Little of this situation did the frontiersman of Texas consider when his horses were stolen or members of his family killed. To him little mattered but safety, and that was the one thing that the United States was not ensuring him. He settled on the western line hoping to cultivate his land and wrest a living from the soil; instead, he found himself robbed of crops, cattle, horses, and, sometimes, his whole family murdered. There was only the Indian agent to appeal to, and he had no authority to employ force or to make restitution for losses. He could report such cases and in several months receive an answer. Beyond this he was powerless. He had no authority to command the troops in emergencies; indeed the army officers had been given instructions to avoid at all costs mixing in Indian affairs except to follow them after depredations had been committed.\textsuperscript{16} The sight of troops

\textsuperscript{16}30 Cong., 1 Sess., Ex. Doc., 60, p.114. who were entirely ineffective was but adding coals
on the fire. The Texans, finding that no recourse to the general government was availing, turned to the state for protection. In turn the state officers took up matters with the general government, with no greater success than the injured frontiersman obtained. As such incidents multiplied, the conviction grew in Texas that the U.S. was not performing the stipulated contract, and feeling waxed high.

No less injured did the Indian feel who saw the whites daily coming nearer to his hunting grounds, wresting them from him by putting them in cultivation, and driving the buffalo and game, from which he subsisted, farther and farther away. As the Apache came south and found settlements cutting off his regular wintering grounds, his wrath increased, and the settlers were permitted to realize that their presence in certain territory was highly undesirable to the Indian. If he did as requested by the Indian agent and removed further to the west or north, he was greeted by his mortal enemies, the tribes who were being pushed southward. With his hunting grounds reduced, game scarce, and seasons unfruitful, only one alternative stared him in the
face - starvation, or retaliation for the injuries inflicted on him; retaliation, by stealing the food of which he was otherwise deprived. As the buffalo vanished, horses could be eaten; cattle and grain furnished subsistence for the time being; and at least his feelings were eased by making the white feel something of what he was being forced to suffer.

In the face of such a situation, it is small wonder that the story of Indian depredations fill a chapter in this era of the history of Texas. While comparative peace had been maintained during the Mexican war, its conclusion saw the beginning of Indian depredations unparalleled in the previous annals of the state. For these conditions various

\[\text{17 Brown, J.H. Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas, p.108.}\]
\[\text{Johnson & Darker, A History of Texas and Texans, v.1, p.491-492.}\]

causes have been ascribed. One writer believes that the councils held during the early part of the 1846 had a strong influence with the Indians and prevented their raiding; another reason ascribed is that the large bodies of troops in the west inspired fear in
the Indian and kept him away from the settlements.  

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Johnson and Barker, A History of Texas and Texans, v.1, p.492.

This is probably not the only explanation of the sudden increase in Indian depredations. It was not until the latter part of 1848 that the United States troops actually took up the work of frontier protection for until that time all the troops, including the Texas rangers had been on duty in Mexico. The frontier defence had devolved upon a few Texans who lived near the frontier and were actuated by motives of self-defence in patrolling the line; the small companies raised by the state had had at least some experience in dealing with Indians and were sufficient to remind the Indian that either retreat or death was to be his portion at the hands of Texans. After the war was over, these companies were disbanded, and the regular troops took their places. No more was needed than the presence of these untrained regulars to give the Indians their chance. Another condition was working to their interest as well. The frontier from the Llano to Bexar county
was now being settled, not by the hardy frontiersman from the western part of the United States who had had to fight Indians all his life; and who knew nothing but the necessity of wrestling his lands from the Indians; but by the German who had never known Indians or the methods of Indian warfare. As long as peace lasted, they fared well; but the beginning of depredations took them unawares and found them practically defenceless. Unaccustomed to slaughter, they could not realize that their only means of protection was the death of the other fellow. The difference between the treatment accorded the German and the American may be noticed by comparing the number of Indian attacks upon the Peter's colony settlers, and those which occurred in the vicinity of Fredericsburg and New Braunfels.

It will be found, too, that the depredations increased in number immediately following the entry of surveyors into the Indian country. No further signal was needed for the Indians to fall upon the nearest settlement for revenge, Thus we find that the periods of greatest immigration and hence of frontier extension, are followed by disasters occasioned by incursions of Indians.
The winter of 1849 was one of these; 1853 was another year marked by atrocious conduct on the part of the Comanches and Lipans.

Such conditions could not continue indefinitely; some solution had to be found. The Texans wanted to be rid of the Indian and the United States was finally convinced that the only hope of settling the situation lay in getting the Indians together somewhere that they might be controlled and guarded. As the secretary of war said in his report in 1852:

"If the United States are bound to protect Texas against the Indians, it is manifest that the government of that state should do nothing to thwart, but on the contrary, all in its power to promote the fulfillment of this duty. I suggest the expediency of endeavoring to make some arrangement with that state, whereby a portion of her vast, unoccupied domain may be temporarily allotted to the exclusive occupancy of the Indian tribes within her borders." 19


The solution of the whole problem was to be the settlement of the Indians on reservations.
CHAPTER II.

The Establishment of the Reservations.

The plan which was accepted by the general government, the state, the Indian agents, and the citizens of Texas as the only possible solution of the Texas Indian problem was that of placing the Indians on reservations. This system was not new to Texas, for, although it came under a new guise, it was an adoption of the mission system - practiced by the Spaniards for more than a century in Texas - without the religious element.

A comparison of the methods of the Spaniards and the English in regard to handling the Indian problem gives an insight into the result which had been attained in the past and which might be expected in the future. The Spaniard never questioned the Indians right to the soil; it was his, but it was the duty of the state and the church to teach him how to use it. As it was manifestly impossible to teach an Indian anything who constantly wandered from place to place the first problem of the missionary was to confine the native within certain boundaries and force him, if necessary, as it usually was, to labor to sustain himself. Begun in the
sixteenth century, this system was extended northward until the missions of Texas, New Mexico and California marked the northern line of the Spanish frontier. In general, the system was a failure as far as controlling the Indians was concerned - some of the Indians became at least nominally Christians; some of them learned something of the industrial arts, although it must be admitted that they preferred the free life of the prairies; but the mission served a distinct purpose in the plan of Spanish expansion, and as a protection against the foreign aggressor. The missions of Texas lasted until the entrance of the Americans; in California, they were still in existence when that territory was made a part of the United States.

Under the United States government, reservations were first established in 1786 in return for lands which the Indians were persuaded to retire from. They were established not to keep the Indians on their native soil, but to get them off of it. The religious element was wholly lacking and it must be admitted that the persons employed by the government to supervise the reservations of
the United States had little of the patience and
love which the Spanish missionary manifested per-
sistently for the natives under his charge. Soon
after 1800, the hope of getting the Indian further
away from the whites, led to the plan of establish-
ing reservations west of the Mississippi, to which
the Chactaws, Cherokee, Creeks, Chickasaw and Seminole
might be removed. By 1840, the removal had
taken place; but the desire for a clear road to
California necessitated another removal of those
Indians who had been given reservation in Kansas.

When a Spanish mission was secularized
the land reverted to the Indian as his right; when
a reservation became desirable in the white man's
eyes, the Indian was told to move to another reser-
vation. The mission was of primary benefit to the
native; the American reservation was the white man's
scheme of benefiting himself. The priests in the
mission labored to the end that the Indians might
become worthy citizens of God and the King; the
United States agents on the reservation, while often
the friend of the Indians, were the employees of
the national government and were required to forward
its general purposes, whether it was to the interest
of the Indian or not. Upon the organization of the California reserve under the U. S. Government, the Indians were put upon the reservations which were reported as successes when the Texas experiment was proposed; but the fact that the reservations of California were merely the missions, and that the mission in Texas had now succeeded in controlling the natives under a new name and a new government was commented upon by some of those who spoke in praise of the reservation system.

Under the system employed by the federal government each reservation was in charge of an Indian agent whose duty it was to concern himself with the welfare of the Indians under his charge. Laws were passed which prevented traders and other persons from encroaching upon the reservations, and intercourse between the whites and the Indians was to be prevented. On some of the reservations schools were established; on all, it was the plan that the Indians learn to farm and become ultimately self-sustaining. Interpreters were employed to make intercourse between the agent and native easy; councils were held at which treaties were agreed to; and the Indian heart was cheered from time to time by gifts. In the mean time the government was in
duty bound to furnish food and clothing; with these provided, the only incentive to industry being removed, he declined to exert himself for the benefit of those who tried to deprive him of the only joys he knew - those of the chase.

It was no easy matter to establish reservations in Texas, even after those in power felt that it was the only solution of the problem. Before a reservation could be established it was necessary for Texas to furnish the lands for the project. But Texas was not anxious to give up any of her lands for Indian purposes and it was necessary to create a public opinion in favor of such a move. This movement was on foot as early as 1851. On March 20, of that year, Judge Rollins wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as follows:

"You recommend in your Report just received, that a commissioner or commissioners be appointed to confer with the proper authorities of Texas in relation to a country for the Indians; and you will allow me to urge and impress it upon your attention that this is the most necessary and important recommendation that could possibly have emanated from your office. It is the first thing to be done, without which all other action must be transient in its effects and abortive in its results. I have so often urged that these Indians must have a country over which the laws of the United States could be enforced and be fed, and to some extent,
clothed until they make some advance in the simpler branches of agriculture that I will not now allude to that necessity, but assuming, from your Report, that it is the intention of the Government to provide a country for them as soon as possible. This is unquestionably the starting point and the one toward which all action in relation to these Indians should tend directly and at once. The inquiry becomes important, what country is necessary, and how may it be obtained, soonest most certainly, at the smallest cost and in such position as will answer the end desired and at the same time satisfy all, if possible?

"The country must be obtained from Texas either absolutely or for a term of years. The first would be preferable and is I think possible, the second would be better than the present arrangement. A 'Commission' it seems to me, should be at once appointed charged with the duty of bringing about this result. You know that the people are the only 'proper authorities' here to dispose even for a limited period of any part of the public domain, and any proposition tending to that end should be made before the coming elections so that the Legislature may be informed of the wishes of the people upon the subject, otherwise there will be no action and the subject postponed for two years longer. Besides the true feeling of the people is not known upon this subject even by those who aspire to lead and every thing is to be gained by canvassing the matter as fully as possible. If it were stated in the newspapers that the Government would pay for the property lost since annexation provided a country was assigned to the Indians and that a proposition to that effect would be submitted to the next Legislature and the advantages of such an arrangement judiciously urged it would at once arouse inquiry and I think succeed better than any plan that has suggested itself to me. Of course if this plan is to be tried, the Government should acknowledge no liability for stolen property until a country for the Indians is first obtained for that consideration only, and then only to a specified amount."
"Nothing can be definitely done before the meeting of the Legislature, but every thing should be ready to act then and the commission appointed at once so as to be informed themselves and assist in producing the proper state of feeling. And now for the reasons which I shall state and such others as may suggest themselves to you I ask to be placed on that Commission either with or without additional compensation."


As early as February 16, 1852, the Legislature approved a resolution authorizing the Governor to conduct negotiations with national authorities concerning territory for the use of Texas Indians. However in January 4, 1854

21 Gammel, Laws of Texas, III. 1019.

Neighbors wrote the Indian commissioner:

"There has been so little change in any of our Indian tribes, since my last report that I have no suggestions, that have not already been made to urge in regard to them. I however deem it proper to again call the attention of the Hon. Commissioner, to the great necessity that still exists, for the adoption of some definite and permanent policy for the better government of the Indians of Texas. And to the absolute necessity of making some
suitable provision for their subsistence.

On February 6, 1854 the Legislature passed the following act relating to the Indians of Texas.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas, That jurisdiction over twelve leagues of land of the vacant domain of the State of Texas, or so much of twelve leagues as the government of the United States may select, be, and the same are hereby set apart and appropriated for the use and benefit of the several tribes of Indians residing within the limits of Texas.

Section 2. That the government of the United States is hereby authorized to cause to be selected and surveyed of the vacant domain of the State, or to purchase of private individuals and cause, to be distinctly marked, three separate districts, or less, each district to be in a form as nearly square as may be, the said three districts not to include exceeding twelve leagues of land.

Section 3. That whenever the proper agent of the government of the United States shall notify the district surveyor of any land district within the limits of which the land so selected or purchased, may be situated, it shall be the duty of said district surveyor to cause such land so selected or purchased, to be plainly delineated upon the county map of the county in which the same is situated, and any location or entry upon any vacant land after the same shall have been so designated for Indian purposes, shall be held null and void; provided, no land selected or purchased for Indian purposes under the provisions of
this act, shall be situated more than twenty miles south or east of the most northern line of military posts, established by the government of the United States, and extending from Red River to the Pecos river.

Section 4. That the jurisdiction over said twelve leagues of land or any portion thereof, which may be selected for Indian purposes, within the meaning of this act, be, and the same is hereby ceded to the government of the United States so far as to enable it to extend any act of Congress now existing or hereafter to be passed regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes; provided, this cession of jurisdiction shall not be construed so as to deprive the State of Texas of the right of jurisdiction over any person other than an Indian for any offence committed upon the person or property of any one within the limits of this State; and further provided, that all process issuing from any of the courts of this State may be served in the like manner and have the same force and effect as though executed in any other portion of the State.

Section 5. That the government of the United States, as soon as the above twelve leagues of land, or so much thereof as may be deemed necessary, shall have been selected or purchased and distinctly marked, shall be and it is hereby authorized to establish upon said land whatever agencies and military posts may be deemed necessary, and to settle upon said land such Indian tribes or bands of Indians as belong within the limits of Texas, and shall exercise entire control and jurisdiction over said Indians within said limits, so long as said government shall judge such control and jurisdiction necessary to the well being of said Indians; provided, that whenever the land or any district thereof, selected or purchased as herein provided, shall cease to be used for Indian purposes, the jurisdiction herein ceded shall cease, and such portions of said land as shall be taken from the public domain of this State, shall revert, together with all and singular the improvements made thereon, to the State, to be disposed of in such manner as the Legislature may thereafter see proper; provided, that should the line of the contemplated railroad to the Pacific run through any portion of
said territory selected under the provisions of this act, the right of way to three hundred feet in width be, and the same is hereby reserved.

Section 6. That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, February 6, 1854. 23

By this act of the Legislature the United States was authorized to take over the jurisdiction of twelve leagues of land beyond the line of settlement on which to gather the Indians and civilize them. On the receipt of the information the Commission of Indian Affairs on April 12, requested the Secretary of the Interior to submit an appropriation for $86,420 dollars to Congress "for the purpose of making the necessary surveys, of concentrating and subsisting the Indians there upon, of providing stock cattle, agricultural implements, seeds and of defraying all necessary expenses incident thereto."

24 Many penny to Neighbors. I.O.L.B.

On April 26, 1854 Neighbors was authorized by the
Indian commissioner to proceed, in company of Captain Marcy who was detailed for that purpose by the War Department, to make the necessary surveys and selection of the location for the reservations. He was cautioned to see that the reserves should be timbered lands with good soil, and upon or adjacent to navigable water. The field notes of the survey, plots of the reserves and official report of the selection were to be made in triplicate and copies deposited with the district surveyor and the governor of Texas, and one was forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Money was provided for presents for the Indians who might be found in the district under inspection.

By act of Congress, the appropriation bill, which provided for $15,000 for three agents and four interpreters, and presents for the Indian tribes of Texas, was amended to include the appropriation asked for by the Indian commissioner of $86,430 to meet the expense of removing the Indians, selecting the lands, etc. 25


Early in July Neighbors and Captain Marcy met at Fort Belknap and devoted almost two months to
the selection and survey. The official report of their work follows:

"The undersigned in compliance with instructions from the Department of the Interior, dated 'Office of Indian Affairs, April 26, 1854', and from Department of War, dated, 'Adjutant General's office, Washington, April 27, 1854', have the honor to report, that they met at Fort Belknap, Texas on the 12 day of July 1854, and forth with proceeded to make an examination of such portions of the country as it was thought might be suitable for the settlement of the Texas Indians, in conformity with the Act of the Texas Legislature, approved February 6, 1854, and with the instructions above referred to.

"The results of our observations and labours in the execution of the duties assigned us have been as follows:

"Previous to our departure from Fort Belknap we procured from the General Land Office of Texas a map of that portion of the state to which our attention was directed. Upon this map all the vacant domain was indicated, but a great share of the lands bordering the principal streams was noted as disposed of to companies and individuals, and our observations have disclosed to us the fact that the appropriated tracts embrace a great portion of the most desirable localities in the country.

"In consequence of this we have experienced very great difficulty in finding a sufficient quantity of suitable land in any one body to serve the purpose for which it is required. We believe however that the selections we have made, after a careful examination of the country, are the best that the vacant lands in this section of the state afford, and will be more satisfactory to a majority of the Indians concerned than any other that could have been found.

"On leaving Fort Belknap we proceeded to the Little Wichita River, making an attentive exami-
nation of the lands bordering the different branches of that stream, which we found in many places exceedingly rich and productive, but the valleys are for the most part subject to inundations and the timbered lands, except at a few points which have been disposed of to individuals, are insufficient for farming purposes.

"From the Little Witchita we traveled north towards the waters of the Big Witchita River, and ascended that stream with our wagon trains as high as we found good water sufficient for the escort and animals, when we were obliged to leave the greater portion of the command while with a small mounted escort we pushed rapidly forward to the sources of the river. In the course of our march we visited the locality alluded to in our instructions from the Department of the Interior at the points where the Big Witchita and the Brazos rivers approach nearest to each other. We found upon the south side of the Brazos opposite this point a desirable tract of lands, but it is not vacant.

"There are spots in the valley of the main trunk of the Big Witchita where the soil is good but the adjacent country, upon both sides is very elevated, sterile, and much broken up into deep ravines with precipitous rocky sides, and with the exception of a stunted growth of cedar upon the hills, and a narrow fringe of cotton wood along the banks of the river, it is totally destitute of wood land.

"This river has its origin in a locality of great elevation (the barometer indicating an altitude of two thousand, two hundred feet above the sea) and flows for about a hundred miles through an extensive field of gypsumum which imparts to the water an acrid and nauseating taste throughout its entire course to its confluence with Red River, thereby rendering this location wholly unsuited to agricultural purposes, and indeed almost uninhabitable.

"From the head waters of the Big Witchita our course was South for 20 miles when we struck
the principal or salt fork of the Brazos river which we ascended to a point about 25 miles from the source.

"We found the river composed of three principal branches all having their sources in a very broken and mountainous region, and in their course passing through the gypsum formation before mentioned, and the waters of all having the unpalatable properties peculiar to the presence of that mineral.

"The soil near the head waters of this stream (east of the mountain) is in many places of good quality, but the great scarcity of timber and good water render it unfit for farming purposes.

"This character obtains for about one hundred and twenty miles from the sources of the river, below which several points were observed where good locations might have been made, but all the available lands that we met with in this section, where there is timber and good water, have been disposed of by the state and are not now vacant.

"In order to create a good understanding with the different tribes of Indians who are to occupy these lands, and to avoid giving them any excuse for not availing themselves of the provisions of the Act of the Texas Legislature, and the wishes of the authorities of the General Government, we have deemed it important before making the locations to consult as much as practicable their views and wishes in regard to the matter, believing that otherwise it would be very difficult to confine them within the narrow limits designated by the Act referred to.

"We have accordingly counciled with the chiefs of the Tonies, An-a-dah-kas, Caddos and Wacos, living upon the Brazos below Fort Belknap, who are perfectly willing and indeed anxious to have a permanent location anywhere upon the river below
the Fort, but are opposed to going further out as they would have no protection from the Northern Comanches and Kiaways, who are much more numerous than themselves, and do not even allow them to hunt north of the Brazos river, and who would probably take from them their animals and crops in the event of their being established in the section of country which they (the Northern Indians) claim as their own hunting ground; whereas, if they are settled below the Fort they say they will have the troops between themselves and the dreaded northern Indians.

"In view of these considerations, and as we have found a vacant tract of land suited to their wishes upon the Brazos below Fort Belknap, we have selected four leagues at this point for the use of the Indians mentioned. They have promised, and indeed are already making preparation to go upon the tract and make their winter habitations, and as their wishes have been fully consulted in the matter, (their Chiefs being present when the locations were made) it will be for their interest to do everything in their power to check the deprecatory visits of the Northern Indians upon the frontier in this section of Texas, and they may thus become useful auxiliaries to the United States troops.

"We have also conferred with Sanaco, Ketumse, and other chiefs of the Southern Comanches, and have found many of them apparently united in their willingness to accede to the wishes of their 'Great Father' in establishing a permanent settlement near the old wintering grounds upon the Clear Fork of the Brazos. These Indians have never planted corn or cultivated the soil yet, they say they will attempt it if their 'Great Father' will send them some white farmers to teach them.

"We have found a vacant tract of land upon the Clear Fork which is satisfactory to the Indians and it is situated about 40 miles from Fort Belknap. There is an abundance of good water and wood upon it and the soil in the valley is of the first quality. Corn has already been cultivated upon lands contiguous to the location sufficient to test the fertility."
"These indians are also altogether opposed to going farther north, and say they entertain the same fear of being depredated upon by the northern Indian as the tribes before mentioned, and in our opinion will accept a location in no other place, but upon the Clear Fork of the Brazos.

"As our instructions required that the lands selected should if practicable be in such proximity as to be within the control of one agent we have located a tract of four leagues for the western Indians immediately adjoining that for the Ionies, An-dah-kas, Wocos, etc. upon the Brazos.

"These Indians are at present living west of the Pecos River and consist of the Mescalero Apaches and the Lipans. We have had no opportunity of conferring with them or of obtaining any knowledge of their wishes in regard to the matter, but as many of the Lipans are now hostile it seems doubtful if they will come into the measure at all. Yet we learn from authority that is reliable, that in donating the lands the Legislature of Texas had in view the permanent establishment of these Indians upon a portion of it. We did not however feel authorized from the tenor of our instructions, and from the present uncertainty regarding their disposition to make a selection for them near their present homes, as the locality is west of the Pecos and removed some three hundred miles from the lands which we have chosen for the Comanches, Ionies, etc. We have therefore selected a tract of land for them on the Brazos River which has been surveyed and distinctly marked, but has been placed on file in land office of the District in such a manner that according to the rules of the Office it can be abandoned and another location made on any vacant land within the limits prescribed by the Legislature.

"In carrying out the views of the Legislature it will be necessary either to remove the western Indians to the tract we have selected, or to give them a location in the country which they now occupy, and we beg leave with all deference to state as our opinion from what we have been able to learn of the Mescalerros, that they will now willingly remove from
their old planting grounds between the 'Presidio Del Norte' and the 'Horsehead Crossing' of the Pecos, where they have planted corn for several years, and we cannot resist the strength of our own convictions that the course which will secure the most speedy, peaceable and permanent settlement of these people is, that of giving them the lands which they have already cultivated and which, from the best information we can obtain, are at the present vacant.

"We would state further that in the event of a change being made in the location of the lands for the western Indians, we are of one mind as to the particular point which should be established. It is along a valley in the mountains lying between the 'Horsehead Crossing' of the Pecos and the 'Presidio Del Norte', good water, available soil and an abundance of pine and oak, wood land. One of the undersigned (R.S. Neighbors) having visited the locality and being cognisant of the fact above stated.

"We would beg leave to suggest in conclusion the propriety of speedily communicating with the Mescaleros through their agent, in order to ascertain their disposition and wishes previous to a decision regarding the location for their benefit and should the Department determine to make the change it can in our opinion be accomplished with very little additional expense to the Government.

"Accompanying this report will be found a copy of the field notes and plates of the surveys of the different tracts referred to, copies of which have been distributed as directed in our instructions from the Departments of War and Interior." 26


While the question of land for the Indians
had been occupying the minds of those most concerned with the Indians, the natives themselves would have been almost forgotten if their depredations had not kept them in the limelight. Since the opening of the year of 1854, Major Neighbors and the other Indian agents in Texas had been engaged in persuading the Indians that the only right thing for them to do was to accept the lands which the government was going to provide for them and to prepare to settle down. This many of the friendly tribes were induced to do and were anxiously awaiting their removal to permanent homes. The long delay which ensued following the granting of lands by the Legislature could not be understood by them, and frequent assurances from the agents that lands would surely be provided were necessary to keep them quiet. Naturally the agents believed that the removal would follow immediately upon the selection and approval of the various treaties destined as reservations. But in October

Neighbors was advised by the Indian Commissioner:

"If you have taken any steps respecting the removal you will suspend further action for instructions from this office and prepare and transmit a plan setting forth the course you deem best to pursue in their removal, together with an estimate of the expense of the same, for the information and approval of the Department." 27
Mix to Neighbors. October 3, 1854.
I.O.L.B.

To this request, Neighbors made the following detailed report:

"In view of the fact that the Indians for which provision is proposed to be made, by settling them permanently on the lands granted by the State of Texas, are now scattered across our whole frontier, and the proposition for permanent settlement has not heretofore been submitted to them in a definite shape: I find it impossible at this time to ascertain the number that will at once move on to the reservations; The grant of land by the State, was intended for the settlement of the Indians immediately on our border; they are the Southern Comanches, Lipans, Caddos, Ionies, Wacos, Tah-waccanos, Tonkahoes, Muskeleros and their immediate associates, numbering all told from the best information that can be obtained 3500 souls. These Indians in addition to being scattered from Red River to the Rio Grande are hemmed in on the South, by the white settlements, and on the North by the large bands of Comanches, Kiowas, etc., and have for some time been subject to attacks from both parties and compelled to carry on something like an armed neutrality with both: the scarcity of game in the country in which they reside, has in many instances drawn them to acts of violence; and at best, for several years they have had but a scanty existence. They have consequently been a source of continual annoyance to our frontier settlers, as they are forced to roam from point to point in search of subsistence, and were not permitted to occupy permanently any portion of the public domain.

"The limited means heretofore placed at the disposal of the agents of Texas and the indefinite instructions under which they have been compelled to act has rendered it impossible for them to assemble the tribes in council for several years
past. The consequence is, that there are several faults and misunderstandings existing between the several tribes, which should be settled before they can be brought to harmonize and settled quietly in the same vicinity.

"At the same time that our border tribes are in the most unsatisfactory condition, whenever the proposition for permanent settlement has been submitted to them a large majority have expressed themselves in favor of that policy, and I have no doubt with the inducements now proposed by the Gen.Cov. and guarantees for their protection, that at least the number estimated for 1860 will settle on the reservations at once, and that with proper management and exertion on the part of the Indian agents, the settlement will increase until our whole border tribes come into the measure.

"I should deem it bad policy to attempt to remove any one of these tribes to the Indian reservation until suitable provision be made, for provisions, farming utensils, and stock, & so that when they arrive their necessities may be at once provided for and the settlers feel the Government is determined in her wish that they should settle permanently.

"I would suggest as the best and most economical plan, that all stock cattle, provisions and other supplies, be as far as possible by contract, duly published and let to the lowest responsible bidder, so that by fair competition articles may be furnished at fair prices.

"In view of these facts and the condition of the Indians, I have, instead of estimates for the removal of Indians, prepared an estimate, which I respectfully submit for your approval for the necessary funds for farming purposes, the purchase of stock, wagons, oxen and &; to 31, March, 1865, out of which it is presumed by using the wagons and teams to be purchased: the removal of the Indians can be effected with very little additional expense, the estimates is based upon my former estimate for farming purposes, and as the winter is fast approaching I would respectfully suggest that you give the
subject your earliest attention, so that some of
the more destitute tribes may be furnished with
rations and a home as early as possible.

"The Caddos, Ionies, &c. have removed to
the reserves without assistance or encouragemeat,
and the Tonkahons would do so were they able. They
are almost entirely destitute, and find it difficult
to subsist their women and children.

"I would respectfully suggest the follow-
ing as a basis of a practical plan of operation
which I submit for your consideration.

"1. The acceptance of the reservations as
now made, and the immediate extention of the United
States intercourse laws over them.

"2. That the supervising agent be instructed
at as early a day as practicable to offer proposals,
to be let to the lowest bidder contracts for the
number of rations required for one year, also for
the required number of stock cattle.

"3. That he be authorized to purchase by
contract or otherwise wagons, oxen, and farming
utensils, seeds and so forth, and together with
special agents to employ proper persons as farmers
and proceed at once to establish Indian agencies
permanently on the Reservations:

"4. That the rations consist of fresh beef,
corn, and salt with small quantities of sugar and
coffee, and be issued as far as possible to heads
of families.

"5. As soon as the contracts are made, and
provisions are on hands, the several Indian tribes
be invited to assemble on the reservations, and the
necessary transportation and supplies be furnished
to enable those at a distance to bring their women,
children and baggage.

"6. That the agent be instructed to adjust
upon fair principals all differences between the
several tribes as far as possible.

"7. That the agents be required to reside permanently at their agencies, and provisions be made for that purpose that they superintend the regular delivery of supplies, &c., &c., and keep a register of all the Indians, that shall settle, to see that the laws are enforced, and that they have authority to call on the military for assistance whenever it may be necessary, &c.

"8. That at the time, that the tribes assemble, commissioners be named who shall be authorized to enter into definite treaty stipulations with all tribes who may settle, who shall embrace Rules and Regulations for their Government and establish Peace and amity with the Government and citizens of the United States.

"(a) Also to regulate trade and intercourse;

"(b) To regulate the punishment of crimes and offences;

To stipulate in regard to annuities of arms, ammunition, clothing and cooking utensils.

"This is submitted as suggestions on which I hope the Department will improve as they have data in regard to Indians settlement out of my reach. There are many minorities connected with this subject, that requires attention which I have not deemed necessary to embrace in this schedule, as the success of whole measures to a great degree depends upon the energy of the several agents, and the influence that their long experience with our border tribes enable them to exercise; it is deemed absolutely necessary that they should be clothed with much discretion on almost every point so that he may meet the exigencies of the service without the necessity of referring minor questions of policy to the Department.

"I am now fully sensible of the wisdom of your suggestions in my instructions relative to the selecting the reservations contiguous to each other, it will certainly be good policy to withdraw our
Indians as much as possible, away from the evil influences of Mexicans and from the borders of Mexico, and surround them with a white population that course will leave a large portion of our state free from Indians, and we can at once distinguish between friendly and hostile Indians.

"The only tribe with which I anticipate serious objections to the location, are the Miskolero Apaches, they are now, somewhat hostile, and I much doubt whether they could be induced to settle, at this time: Should they refuse to remove to the reservations and can be made friendly, I would suggest two places, either of which would suit them, one is to acquire from the Legislature an additional grant for them west of Pecos River where they now reside (see Capt. Marcy's report on the subject) which no doubt could be done; the other, and in my opinion the best plan would be to choose a location for them and the band of Apaches residing near Dona Ana within the U.S. territory in New Mexico, and make preparation for a permanent settlement; there is land in every way suitable for the purpose on the Pecos River near the 32 Degree of Latitude, they frequently now resort to that section of the country.

"It will be necessary for some time to protect the Indians' settlement on the reservation with a small military force, which I presume can be drawn from Fort Belknap, and I would respectfully suggest that, that post be retained as a permanent station or else remove it to one of the reservations.

"The Northern Comanches and Kioways who associate freely with the northern bands are much opposed to the plan of settlement and unless the friendly Indians are protected they will in a short time loose all their stock and the settlement much retarded; Those northern bands have this fall assumed threatening attitude not only toward the friendly Indians, but also on our white settlers, and have committed some serious depredations, so soon as the friendly Indians have settled I would advise a campaign against these hostile Indians until they are brought into subjection. I would
respectfully suggest if it be deemed practicable that the Indians when removed to the reservation be furnished with some blankets and articles of clothing, as the settlements will be some what retarded. In all probability the necessary amount for the purchase of these articles could be taken from the amount of the present estimate. I submit the matter for your consideration and advice."28


...as still no official action had been taken in regard to settling the Indians on the reservations, and as their condition was becoming desperate for U.S. troops were liable to attack them at any time, Neighbors, on January 7, 1855 issued instruction to the special agent, Howard, to proceed to Fort Chadbourne and do what he could to protect the Indians from attacks of United States troops until arrangements could be completed for their removal which he hoped to bring about by a personal conference with the department heads in Washington. On his arrival at Washington, he had several interviews with the Indian Commissioner, in which many of the problems connected with the transfer were apparently solved, for under date of February 7, Neighbors received the
following official explanation of the delays and
authority to proceed with the program as outlined
by him:

"The report of Capt. R.B. Marcy and your-
self dated September 30th, 1854, with reference to
the selection of certain reservations of land within
and authorized by the Legislature of the State of
Texas, for Indian uses and purposes there, with the
field notes and maps or plots of the selections made
by you, under instructions of this office of the 26th,
and of the War Department of the 27th of April last,
was received here on the 11th under cover of a note
from Capt. Marcy of the 10th December last, and to-
gether with your report of the 30th October, received
here on the 13th November and 8th January last, re-
ceived here on the 24th were referred to the Secret-
tary of the Interior on the 25th of January for his
consideration and action.

"It will be observed, that the Office
could not have acted definitely in relation to the
suggestion contained in your report, of the 30 October
last until after the receipt of the report, field
notes, and plates furnished by Capt. Marcy, and
which were received on the 11th December, and there
was even after their receipt some embarrassment in my
mind in relation to the subject which was only re-
moved by your communication of the 8th January and the
personal interviews I have had with you, on and since
the 24th January. These facts are stated to relieve
this Office from the remarks in your communications,
which appear to reflect upon it for the apparent delay
in acting on the case.

"In transmitting these various papers to
the Secretary of the Interior I recommended that the
reservations selected be approved, and that prompt
measures be taken to carry out the policy of settling
the Indians upon them.

"On the 27th of January the Secretary in-
formed me that he approved the location of the reserva-
tions made, and directed that the necessary measures
be adopted to carry out the policy suggested by you
of settling the Indians upon the lands selected and
approved by me."
"Concurring in the main, in the plan of colonizing the Indians as indicated by you in your report of October 30th last, I have now to state that the duty is especially devolved on you, as the Supervising Agent of the Department, within the State of Texas, to take charge of and execute this trust. You will call to your aid your colleagues Messrs. Hill and Howard, assigning to them such portions of the duty as in your judgment may be proper.

"I concur in the propositions contained in your report last referred to, from two to seven inclusive, remarking as to the eighth that I will embrace an early opportunity to submit to you instructions on which to base some definite arrangements by agreement or convention with the various bands of Indians who may accept a home on the reserves, for the purpose of establishing a permanent arrangement with them.

"In the absence of such instructions, you will if necessary make such temporary arrangements or rules and regulations with [them] as will ensure order and system among them.

"The extension of the provisions of the intercourse Act over these reserves will require legislation by Congress, and I will bring the subject to the notice of the Secretary of the Interior.

"The necessary accommodations for the Agents on the reserves should be of the most economical character, not to exceed, if possible, in cost, the amount estimated by Agent Hill; and in the erection of them, as well as in all the expenditures of money connection with Indian Affairs in Texas, you will observe yourself and require of your co-Agents, the most rigid economy.

"It may be that rations to the extent suggested by you may not be necessary for a full year: and the number of cattle, oxen, waggons, farming utensils etc. should be purchased with due care and economy, and to such a limited extent only as the absolute necessities of the service require.

"In all the things, however, you will ex-
exercise a sound discretion, having in view, in all your movements the domestication and civilization of the Indians with their being ultimately a self sustaining people.

"You will adopt a strict system of accountability; and the blanks herewith furnished you, will serve as forms for making up your accounts. Regular rolls or census should be taken of all the Indians who go on the reserves to reside, in the first place, with the additions from time to time, and these rolls should be followed up by weekly returns, which should be transmitted to this office monthly.

...... ...... ......

"The sum of $55,230 will at once be remitted to the Sub Treasurer at New York, with direction to place the same, subject to your order. This sum may be expended, for any object within the spirit and limit of the appropriation. You will account for your disbursments under the head of "Expense of settling, concentrating and subsisting the Indians in the State of Texas. &c." Act of July 31, 1854. 29

Manypenny to Neighbors. February 2, 1855. I.O.Z.B.
CHAPTER III.

History of the Reservations.

The opening of the year 1855 found the Indian situation in Texas in an unsatisfactory condition. Although all arrangements had been virtually completed for the removal of the Indians to the reservations, official red-tape had left matters at a standstill. Before orders were issued to Neighbors to begin the settlement of the tribes on the reservations destined for their future homes, other complications had arisen. As a result of depredations on the frontier, orders were issued to the officers commanding the posts near the scene of the troubles to attack hostile Indians wherever found. As the troops executing these orders had no means of distinguishing between the Indians who were peaceful and those who had been hostile, the danger of attack on the Indians who were encamped below the line of posts awaiting removal to the reservations became imminent. Near the future Brazos agency were encamped the Caddoes, Ionies, Wacos, Ta-wac-carroces, and some Comanches under the charge of Geo. Hill, assistant Indian agent.30 On the

30Neighbors to Geo. Howard, January 7, 1854.
Nueces, Geo. Howard, the other Indian agent, had collected and fed during the fall and early winter the Tonkaways and Lipans. Each group was momentarily expecting to move and in the meantime were supposed to be under the protection of the United States government.

The plans of Major Neighbors for a peaceful and speedy transfer of the tribes were subject to many miscarriages. On January 25, 1855, Agent Hill wrote him from Fort Balknap:

"... When I arrived at Fort Balknap, I was advised of the alarm and departure of a large portion of the Southern Comanches, caused by the communication from a German (Mr. Leyendecker) near Fort Chadbourne, representing that the white people were preparing to exterminate them &c. You are doubtless informed by Agent Howard. Sanacoo, with I suppose near eight hundred, proceeded north and has no doubt, met the Northern bands. Catemse remains, with the remainder of these people at the Caddo village. This is unfortunate but could not be avoided as the communications of Mr. Leyendecker were secretly made and recommended precipitate action and Sanacoo, left only sending runners to Catumse, which movements, both took place at the same time, and gave no chance for counteracting influence. Attempts to arrest Leyendecker have as yet failed.

"I found on my arrival some of the Indians preparing to eat their few remaining ponies and remain the friends of the whites. A few have recently died of starvation, while awaiting the action of the government to provide for their settlement.

"In the present crisis of affairs on this frontier I have adopted measures to keep the friendly Indians below the line of posts, to prevent their mingling with bands of doubtful character, or coming
in conflict with soldiers who may be ordered to chastise our enemies and to aid them by supplies to prevent extreme suffering until I can receive further instructions. To effect those objects I have to make purchases of a limited supply of provisions on credit.

"The safety of the frontier settlers - the necessities of the Indians - the expectations of settlement induced by the government and its agents - their desire to settle and cultivate peaceful relations - feelings of humanity - in a word every interest of the service - all conspire to force me to this course - until the further wishes of the government can be known. I believe one dollar expended peacefully, aside from the principles of humanity involved, may be made to effect more good, than one hundred in force with these people. The choice must be speedily made. ... ... ... I have no cause to apprehend an attack at present upon friendly Indians, if they can get a bare subsistence within proper bounds. I have nothing official in reference to movements of troops. 31

31 Hill to Neighbors, Fort Belknap, January 25, 1855. I.O.L.R.

... ... ... ...

"There is now assembled on the Clear Fork of the Brazos near the Indian reservation, three companies of United States dragoons and three companies of volunteers, under the command of Capt. Newton, U. S. Dragoons, for the avowed purpose of carrying on war against some of the Texas Indians.

"I have not been informed as to the plan of operation, or against what tribes the troops are to be directed. Fears are entertained by those residing on the frontier that there is to be an indiscriminate war, which will drive those Indians now friendly, into hostility, and bring them directly in contact with our settlements. It is certainly strange that one department of the government should employ agents to make
peace, select lands for permanent settlements, and induce large bodies of Indians to hold themselves in readiness for settling down, and another should assemble troops in the same neighborhood to make war on the same Indians with out directing any concerted action between the Indian agents and military for the protection of the friendly Indians.

... ... ... ...

"The danger is now imminent that all our Indians will be driven to hostility; and these will have to go through all the horrors of a general war. This is so contrary to the general policy of the general government that I can not possibly understand it.32


Even greater disappointment awaited Major Neighbors in the matter of removing the Indians who had been placed in charge of Agent Howard. On February 20, he issued the following orders to Agent Howard:

"As a preliminary to the final removal of the Indians in your district to the reservations, and in order to enable you to make proper provisions, in provisions and transportation for their removal, you will proceed at once to your district, and assemble all the Indians under your charge that may be willing to remove and keep them together at some suitable point near the vicinity of Fort Inge until final arrangements can be made for their removal. You are authorized to assure all the Indians in your district of the good intentions of the general government and that the promise made heretofore in regard to their permanent settlement will be carried out in good faith.
"In order to enable you to keep those Indians together you are authorized to furnish them with provisions to the amount of ten cents per head for each Indian per day that you may thus assemble; as soon as your contracts are made for furnishing the rations, and your estimates showing the number of Indians for which you may find it necessary to make provisions can be forwarded to me at this place, I will be prepared with funds to meet said contracts, and pay the amount thereof as soon as the proper vouchers are placed in my hands.

"As soon as the Indians under your charge are assembled you will prepare a census roll which shall show the exact number of Indians of each separate tribe that are to be removed, to embrace men, women, and children as per blank form herewith furnished.

"As soon as possible after you assemble these Indians in your district, you will furnish me an estimate of the amount of transportation that is absolutely necessary for their removal to the Indian reservations, the time it will probably require on the road, and the quantity of provisions necessary to furnish them with rations until their arrival at the Indian reservations, so that proper contracts may be made without delay for their final removal.

"As it is necessary to use the strictest economy in the removal of the Indians, you will give me your views fully as to the most practicable and nearest route from your present district to Fort Belknap on the Brazos River, as that point is near the Indian reservations.

"I should also be pleased to have any suggestions, you may be pleased to give me in reference to any subjects connected with the removal and colonization of the tribes of Texas.

"You will as far as possible issue rations to the heads of families, so that each Indian may receive his proper quantity of provisions.

"I deem it proper to state that I will proceed immediately to Fort Belknap to make final ar-
arrangements for the receptions of the Indians on the reservations, but shall return to San Antonio by the 15th of March, by which time I shall be prepared to give final instructions in regard to the removal of the Indians in your district, and I shall expect your estimate to be there with a report of exact conditions of the Indians in your district.²³

²³Neighbors to Howard, February 20, 1855. I.O.L.R.

In reply, Howard advised Neighbors on March 23rd that he had collected about two hundred and fifty Tonkaways in the Nueces Valley. He had received orders from the commander at Fort Inge that he would not be permitted to assemble the Indians within the line of posts, even temporarily. For the best route to the reservations, he suggested that by Bandera Pass, Fredericksburg, and Hamilton Valley, a trip of about four hundred miles which, he estimated would occupy about forty days.²⁴

²⁴Howard to Neighbors, March 2, 1855. I.O.L.R.

In order to forestall difficulties which he clearly saw were likely to arise between the commanders of the border posts as a result of the orders shown
to Agent Howard at Fort Inge, Major Neighbors wrote
to General Persifor Smith, in command of the depart-
ment of Texas, advising him of the orders issued in
regard to the settlement of the Indians on the reser-
vations and making the following plea for co-operation
with his department:

"... There not having been heretofore es-

tablished by the proper Department any definite con-
cert of action between the military authorities and
the Indian agents of this state, I thought it my duty
while at Washington to recommend that there should be
established, at the same time that the Government adopted
the colonizing plan as a fixed policy, that full and
complete concert of action and similarity of orders
that would prevent all misunderstanding between the
officers of the two branches of the public service.
This proposition met with favor from both the Hon.
Secretary of War and Interior.

"In connection with the subject I beg leave
to call your attention to the construction placed on
your orders not to permit Indians to come within 20
miles of certain military posts, by Maj. G.B. Critten-
den, and to respectfully request that that order be
modified so far as the Indian agents are concerned.

"Special Agent Howard's orders were to assem-
ble the Tonkahuaas Indians in the vicinity of Fort
Inge, as the most proper point to furnish the supplies
and make all the necessary arrangements for their im-
mediate removal to the Indian reservations; not having
the privilege of doing so, rendered it necessary
that we should transport these supplies 20 miles, as
we did not wish to bring them into the settlements.
The continuance of that restrictive order at any of the
military posts on the frontier under existing circum-
stances will seriously embarrass the agents in the exe-
cution of their orders, and may render it even dangerous
for them to travel in the neighborhood of the military
posts with Indians.

"I shall be much pleased if you will give
such instructions to the commanding officers of the
"I shall be much pleased if you will give such instructions to the commanding officers of the several posts on our frontier as will give protection to the agents in the execution of their duties, and establish as far as in your judgment may be deemed proper, full concert of action in carrying out the view of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in respect to the Indians of Texas."35

On the same day Major Neighbors issued instructions to Agent Howard to take charge of the train purchased for the removal of the Tonkaways, and to proceed to their camp and remove them by the route which he had suggested. Neighbors stated that he would accompany the special agent to the camp and see that all was in readiness for the journey. That he exercised all reasonable economy in his supervision of such details is definitely shown by the following excerpt:

"... In view of six wagons as estimated by you, I do not feel authorized to furnish more than four, which are large and of the best quality. The Indians must make some exertion, and none but the disabled ones should be permitted to receive transportation except for his baggage."36

35 Neighbors to General P. Smith, March 27, 1855. I.O.L.R.

36 Neighbors to Howard, March 27, 1855. I.O.L.R.
The subsequent acts are best presented by Neighbors himself.

"... Special agent Howard having reported himself unwell, I proceeded alone to Fort Inge intending to superintend in person the removal of the Indians. I arrived on the 6th instant, and the train of wagons arrived on the 7th, but found that the Indians had left that vicinity. It appears that three days previous to my arrival, a man by the name of Saunders, residing near Fort Inge, collected some eighteen men well armed and visited the camp of the Indians with the avowed intention of attacking them, their object being to run off the Indians and take their ponies. The Indians having received notice of this, sent their women and children into the mountains and prepared for defense. They met the white men a short distance from their camp and informed them that they were prepared to defend themselves, if attacked. Finding the Indian so well prepared to resist their murderous intentions, the whites withdrew without firing a gun intending to return with a large force. After the retreat of the whites the Indians became alarmed and fled precipitately to the mountains. I used all the means at my disposal but did not succeed in finding them. I have consequently ordered the wagons back to San Antonio and will in a few days start them to the reservations with supplies.

"This disgraceful proceeding occurred in the immediate vicinity of Fort Inge where a company of U. S. troops are stationed. The officers knew that the Indians had assembled for the purpose of being removed to their future home on the Brazos, and by a mere expression of opinion might have prevented it. This shows the absolute necessity of giving the Indian protection and of establishing concerted action between the officers of the respective services. Had there been an Indian agent on the ground to attend to the wants of these Indians or to protect them this failure could not have happened, and why they were left in an unprotected state Agent Howard alone can explain. The officers at the Fort have invariably furnished the Indian agent with escort when
called for, and an investigation would clearly show great want of efficiency, if nothing worse - in Special Agent Howard in connection with the Indians in his district. Out of all the tribe under his charge, numbering according to his own report about 1400 souls, there is not at the present day a single Indian that can be seen or talked with, and I have no hesitation in stating this state of affairs has been produced by reckless disregard of the duties of his office on the part of Special Agent Howard. He has since my return from Washington failed in the execution of every trust imposed in him by me and has disobeyed my instructions, or evaded their execution in such a manner as to render my plans under your instructions of February 2 entirely unsuccessful. He has thrown every obstacle in my way in the removal of the Indians in his district by causing unnecessary delays and is justly chargeable with the expense attending the failure in the removal of the Tonkaways.

"... There are no more Indians in his district. The Lipans and Mescaleros are in Mexico, and I fear the Tonkaways have followed their example and become hostile - and will commit serious depredations on our western frontier. I would much prefer that the Special Agent would retire on his salary and have nothing more to do with the Indians as I should not be at all times embarrassed." 37

37 Neighbors to Manypenny, April 17, 1855.
I.C.L.R.

From these letters it is evident that the work of Major Neighbors in assembling the Indians during the latter part of 1854 had been in vain. Before preparations for their removal had been completed more than two thousand Indians had fled to points beyond reach of communication. As the situation could
not be remedied, all that could be done was to pro-
ceed with the settlement of the Indians who had
waited trusting that the white man would do as he
had promised.

No time was lost in removing the Caddoes
and other Indians to the Brazos Agency. On April 3,
1855, Special Agent Hill reported to Major Neighbors
as follows:

"In the receipt of the instructions alluded
to, I proceeded at once to assemble the Indians on
the Indian Reservation on the main fork of the Brazos
River, and the selection of suitable locations for
their permanent villages of those to be permanently
located on this Reserve. These selections have been
made as follows - for the Caddoes, at or near the east
or town line of the reserve on the north bank of the
Brazos River. The Ana-dah goes one and one half
miles west of Caddoes on north bank of Brazos River.
The Wacos and Tawac-carroes together about five
miles north west from the latter and about one mile
north of the Brazos River east of Salt Creek. There
is a plentiful supply of good water at all these lo-
cations, such timber as the country affords convenient,
and the very best land for farming purposes in the
country, adjoining two of the locations and about one
mile from the other - all river lands.

"I have made proper efforts to have plowed
and planted suitable quantities of this land during
the present spring and though I have not yet succeeded
in making contracts, my arrangements are such that I
have every confidence in being able yet to plant with
a fair prospect of produce reimbursing for the outlay.

"The short time allowed for the operations
of the present season after the receipt of instructions
of March - my remoteness from the settlements and all
facilities for the accomplishment of the proper objects
and wishes of the government, together with the remarka-
bly cold and dry spring (we have not had rain to wet
the ground since last June) producing no grass for
the support of teams and no grain in the country to 
be procured to feed them — are all inconveniences 
against which I have to contend and which I hope 
by perseverance to overcome.

"Among the several tribes located as 
stated the best feelings prevail, and they express 
anxiety to see corn planted and their willingness to 
render such aid as their means and knowledge will 
enable them. I have fully consulted their feelings 
in all matters and they readily yield to any sugges-
tions, having become fully convinced that my object 
is to promote the happiness of their people. Many 
of them have planted and are preparing to plant 
small patches of corn.

"The Comanches entered on the accompanying 
census roll express their desire and intention to 
settle and make corn, but wish to get upon the lands 
intended for their permanent home, as soon as possi-
ble and hoping to be able to do this before corn 
would mature do not wish to have anything to do with 
raising corn until that time, but say that they will 
look on and learn as much as they can.

"As soon as the frontier was sufficiently 
clear of troops to deem it safe — viz., on the 23rd 
of March I dispatched two runners, confidential men 
of Catimusis Band with suitable talks, &c. to seek 
Sanaco and his people and bring me full information 
of his wishes in reference to peace, settlement, &c. 
all of which was done in concurrence with the officer 
at Fort Belknap. — These runners have not returned. 
Two men and one woman arrived at Catimusis camp yest-

day who left with Sanaco. They report that those 
good people when they left here in January, went north 
and encamped on some Cedar mountains on one of the 
banches of the Red River, (thinking that the first 
runner sent to Catimusis left so soon after that they 
did not know all the facts ) supposed that Catimise 
and his people were killed, until the arrival in 
their camp of the two Mexicans who ran away the last 
of February. They say that these people have suffered 
much from cold and hunger — that they have eaten all
their dogs and many of their horses - are naked, without ammunition, tobacco, &c., that when the Mexicans arrived and told them that Catimise and myself were eating together and his people doing well, the suffering people abused their chiefs, captains, &c. for "possessing hearts of women" - being the cause of their sufferings, &c. - finally they divided into several parties, some went to the No-co-nis town down Red River, Sanacco and a few others towards some people further north saying that the hearts of his people had forsaken him, and when the grass got up he would go to see the Santa Fe Mexicans. These that have come in, with a few others now on Paint Creek came this way. (I have barely time to furnish facts - you may comment. The Osage war prevented these people from eating buffalo) ... I would suggest the propriety of putting Catimise with an agent on the land intended by the governments for these people around whom to assemble those scattered. He can be made efficient and useful." 38

38 Hill to Neighbors, April 3, 1855. I.O.L.R.

On the Brazos reservation everything proceeded satisfactorily. Every few days additional Indians came in and were placed in the various villages according to their tribe. By June 10, Neighbors was able to make the following encouraging report to the Indian Commissioner:

"There is already colonized on the Main Brazos River (Brazos Agency) five hundred fifty seven Indians of the Caddo, Tonie, Waco, and Tawacarroes tribes and 200 more are expected here by the 1st of July. - These Indians are permanently settled - and from the progress they have made in their farming
operations and in building houses, I am fully convinced that so far as they are concerned, their colonization is no longer an experiment.

"They have now in cultivation in corn, beans, pumpkins, etc. about 400 acres of land, 295 acres of which were ploughed and planted by the agent at the expense of the Government and the balance by the Indians themselves.

"They have also made considerable progress in building good shanties. They have not only worked their own patches of corn but have kept their fields planted for them by the Agent well worked and there is every prospect that all the Indians of the Reservation will produce a sufficiency of bread stuff for their own subsistence.

"The progress of the Indians at this Agency far exceeds my most sanguine expectations. Since date of Special Agent Hill's report I have received intelligence for the Waacoes, Tawwaccoos, and Ionies, that are expected to arrive. They are now on Red River near the mouth of the Big Wichita.

"The small pox prevails among them and 24 of their number have died. I have consequently taken precaution to prevent them from coming to the Reservation until they are cured. So soon as they are well they will be secured and permanently located on the Reservation.

"The Tonkawa tribe are also on their way and are expected in a few days. After much difficulty, they were assembled near Fort Clark and placed in charge of a trusty agent and are now on their way to the Reservation for the purpose of forming a permanent settlement." 39

39 Neighbors to Manypenny, June 10, 1855.
I.O.L.R. 

Conditions continued satisfactory on the
Brazos Agency. In order to bring about better methods of control of those on the Reservation and to bring about a better feeling among the several tribes among whom differences had formerly existed, a council was called for the full moon in August, which fell on the 27th. At this meeting the chiefs of all the tribes settled on both reservations were present and bound themselves and their people to observe the terms of the following treaty:

At a general council held at the Brazos Agency Texas by and between Roht. S. Neighbors Special & Supervising Agent and George W. Hill Special Agent Texas Indians, on part of the United States, and the undersigned Chiefs Counsellors and Warriors of the Comanche, Anadahco, Caddo, Naco, Tahwaccaro and Tonkahwa Tribes or bands of Indians for and on behalf of their said tribes, on the 20th day of August 1855, it is stipulated and agreed as follows, to wit:

_______________________________________

Article 1st. The undersigned Counsellors and Warriors for themselves and their said tribes, do hereby sanction and acknowledge in full force, each and every stipulation of the articles of the Treaty, made and concluded at Council Springs in the County of Robinson, Texas near the Brazos River on the 15th day of May 1843 between E.H. Butler and G.H. Lewis Commissioners on part of United States of the one part, and the Chiefs Counsellors and Warriors of the Comanches, Ionie, Anadahco, Caddo, Lipans, Tonkahun, Kwechie, Tahwaccaro, Wichita, and Waco Tribes of the Indians and their associate bands on behalf of their said tribes of the other part as amended by the Resolution of the Senate of the United States on the 15th day of February A.D. 1847, ratified and confirmed by the President of the United States of America on the 8th day of March 1847, a copy of
which said Treaty is here to amended and we further agree to the following supplemental articles for our government as settlers on the Indian Reservations of the Main and Clear Forks of the Brazos River of the State of Texas.

Article 2\textsuperscript{nd}. We agree to abandon forever a roving and hunting life and will settle down permanently on the lands selected for us, as per Act of the Legislature of the State of Texas approved February 6, 1854, and to devote all of our energies to the cultivation of the soil and to raising stock as a means of subsistence for ourselves and families.

Article 3\textsuperscript{rd}. We promise and agree at as early a day as possible, with the assistance and concurrence of the United States Indian Agents to establish laws and police regulations, for our government in our towns and villages for the correction and punishment of crimes and offenses.

Article 4\textsuperscript{th}. It is further stipulated and agreed that no Indian, (party to the agreement) shall leave the Reservation without the consent of the Indian Agent, and should any Indian or band of Indians absent themselves from the Reservations contrary to the wishes of the Agent and in violation of this agreement, he or they shall be liable to forfeit all the rights of settlement conferred by this agreement and is also liable to be declared and treated as an enemy.

Article 5\textsuperscript{th}. All differences and disputes likely to create difficulty between Tribes or bands, parties to this Treaty and agreement, shall be referred to the United States Indian Agents and head Chiefs of said Tribes for adjustment; upon fair and equitable terms, and their decisions shall in all cases be received as a final settlement between the parties.

Article 6\textsuperscript{th}. We agree that no other Tribes or bands shall be introduced or settled on either of the Reservations, unless by the concurrence of the Indian Agents, and of the Tribes or bands, parties to
this treaty and agreement, and absent members of the Tribes now settled, shall not be allowed to visit here, except he first obtains the consent of the Agent under whose jurisdiction he resides, nor shall they be allowed to settle here or attach themselves to the Tribes now settled here, until they agree to observe all the Articles of the Treaty and agreement, and obtain the concurrence of the Agent in charge, and shall agree to acknowledge fully the authority of the Chief acknowledged by the Agents as the head of the Tribe.

Article 7th. We also agree to break off all intercourse with bands of Indians outside of the Reservations, who refuse to settle down, except it be carried on with the knowledge and consent of the Agents, and in all cases, to report as soon as possible the arrival of any Indian or party; and to assist the Agents in arresting all intruders or depredators who may be found inside of the line of the Reservations contrary to Treaty Stipulations.

Article 8th. We further agree to give assistance and protection to all farmers, laborers and other employees of the Government on the Reservations, and to assist them in the preservation of all articles, farming utensils, animals, &c. furnished by the Government, and should any person sell or wantonly destroy any farming utensils, wagon, oxen, stock cattle or any other article furnished by the Government under this agreement, he shall upon conviction be punished according to the laws of the United States, and shall be liable to forfeit all his rights and immunities as a settler on the Reservation, and it shall be the duty of the Chiefs of each Tribe to give the Agents notice of all violations of this agreement.

Article 9th. In consideration of the faithful observance of all the articles of the above Treaty and agreement the United States through the Agents, agree to protect and maintain all the members of the Tribes, parties to the agreement in the peaceable possession of the lands embraced in the limits of the said Reservations, and in their lives and property against injury or molestation from citizens of the United States while on said Reservation, and to afford such protection against and aid in acclamation for injury
from the other Tribes of Indians either friendly or hostile, as may be at the control of such agents, or as is afforded the citizens of the United States and to award them ample justice under the Laws of the United States in accordance with the above Treaty.

Article 10th. That the United States through its Agents agrees to furnish to the said Tribes (parties to this agreement) farmers to assist and instruct them in the preparation and cultivation of their farms, to furnish them with a Blacksmith and with iron and steel, to give them necessary farming utensils, wagons, teams, ploughs, &c. &c. to enable them to commence their farms, and to assist and instruct them generally in the cultivation of the soil, and to give them stock cattle and other domestic animals, all at the discretion of the President of the United States, and to furnish them regularly with such rations as may be deemed necessary to enable them to support their families, until they can subsist themselves by their own exertions; and the General Government is hereby pledged to pursue that course of policy with the settlers on these Reservations deemed best calculated to advance them in the arts of civilized life, and to make them a self-sustaining people.

Article 11th. The Indian Agents under the instructions of the President of the United States shall exercise full discretion, as to time, place, &c. &c. of the delivering of all articles to be furnished said Tribes or bands under the provisions of this Treaty and agreement.

Article 12th. This agreement this day entered into by and between the undersigned parties to be and remain in full force and effect at the discretion of the President of the United States of America, but no change to this agreement shall be made until after due consultation with the Chiefs of the Tribes who are parties hereto.

Given under our hands and Seals on the day and date above written.

Robt. S. Neighbors,
Supervising Agent Texas Indians.

G. W. Hill,
Special Indian Agent.
Conversing with the Comanche

José Miería
Cha-be-a-no
John Linney
Jim Poch'mark
Chi-ya

Comanches

Kah-tum-see
Pec-at-a-quash
To-sha-hua
Fi-na-hout-sa-me
Ju-ra-quc-toph
Ka-ka-r-o-wite
Wi-chi-koo

Waco

A-hah-dot
Aqua-quash
A-sa-qu-a-che
Hen-che-kits

Caddo

Tinah
Chi-on-hu
Co-che
Ni-buc-un-in

Tonka-hua

Placidore
Cha-pa-ton
Jimson
Si-mon
White

Interpreters

John Connor
Interpreter for Comanche Reservation.

Jim Shaw
Interpreter for Brazos Reservation.

P.D. Rickel
Spanish interpreter of Secretary. 40

Coehlass
Noch-uts-i-ocks
Was-ted-ar-duc
Wa-co
Uc-ka-tart
Ned-okock-ish

40

I.O.L.R.
By the close of the year Agent Ross was able to report that everything was moving along satisfactorily at the Brazos Agency. The Indians had completed some fifteen comfortable houses from logs and many others of grass. They had planted 800 peach trees which had been presented to them by their former Agent Hill. During the time when other work was not pressing, they had been busy in constructing fencing. So faithful had they shown themselves that Agent Ross had issued to each tribe one wagon and team in addition to ploughs and other farming implements. He reported that they had taken good care of the cattle entrusted to them and that he believed that there would soon be a surplus on hand. Perfect harmony existed between the various tribes.

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41 Ross to Neighbors, Jan. 1, 1856. I.O.L.R.

The corn raised by the Indians sufficed to feed them until November, after which time corn was purchased by the government for their sustenance.

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42, 43 Ross to Neighbors, October 31, 1855. I.O.L.R.

45 Blacksmith and arrow-makers were employed to teach the Indians the manufacture and care of tools.
Among the various applications of those who sought work on the Reservation, the following is of especial interest as the writers composed a small group of Mormons who had been in Texas some little time.

"Having heard you have got an appropriation to civilize the Indians and learn them to work, if it would suit you we would like to assist in that operation we number about 10 families we have but one man except myself that has seen forty years the most of them are from twenty-five to thirty-five, we have good mechanics and good farmers we can make the irons for plows and stock them much better for a new country than boughter ones we can build mills and lend them, I know of no work that you would want done that we could not do. If you feel like giving us a chance in it, it will be well received with pleasure and duly appreciated by a company that I think you would be pleased with, if it meets your mind please give us your terms we have got two sets of blacksmith tools and have all kinds of tools sufficient for such an expedition we can make wagons through out chairs & It seems to me we could suit in every instance.

Lyman Wight  Keachan Curtis
James Ballantine  Levi Wight
Marvin Andrews  Joseph S. Curtis
Lyman L. Wight  Benj. F. Bond
William Gaylore  Aaron Hawley
Cyrus C. Isham  Jeremiah Curtis
Francis Johnson  Asher Grossman
Samuel Calbert  George Montguie
John H. Grossman  Spencer Smithe
George Bird." 44

44Wight, et al to Neighbors, March 18, 1855.
I.O.L.R.
Apparently they did not suit in "every instance" as there is no evidence that the application was favorably considered.

The Comanches, who were only temporarily settled on the Brazos reservation manifested impatience that they were not located on the land that was to be theirs; therefore, lest dissatisfaction should spread to the peaceful Indians who were engaged in making crops while the Comanches sat idly by smoking, the latter were removed to the tract destined for them the latter part of May. On June 10th Neighbors reported:

"... There is now assembled on the Comanche Reservation 249 souls and small parties are arriving daily and I have little doubt, but what I should in a short time assemble as many Indians on the two reservations as was estimated for. The last party that arrived on the 1st of June report that several cases of small-pox had occurred - two in the party that arrived. In consequence before I would permit them to come on the Reservation, caused them to burn their clothes. I shall soon commence to erect Agency buildings on the Comanche Reservation and to prepare lands for cultivation next year.

"I deem it proper to call your attention to the necessity that exists for some law to protect the children on the reservation from intruders." 45

45 Neighbors to Manypenny, June 10, 1855. I.O.L.R.
Nor was Neighbors the only man who had sanguine expectations for the outcome of the reservation system even for the Comanches. The following letter, in view of later expressions from the writer is worthy of consideration:

"I must do the Indians the justice to say that they have thus far exceeded my expectations in their willingness to work. There has never been a call made on them that they have not turned out cheerfully and laboured faithfully. Their crops look remarkably well and if the seasons are favorable they will make an abundance of corn. They have completed their fences and now have their crop secured from injury by stock.

"From the progress the Comanches have made so far, I am confident that a few years will see them a happy and contented people. I find them far more tractable than I expected and thus far have had no serious trouble in managing them. If they can make a few good crops and realize the benefits arising from agriculture I am convinced that they will give no further trouble."46.

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46 John R. Baylor to Neighbors, June 8, 1855. I.C.E.R.

In September Baylor was still satisfied with the progress of the Comanches and suggested the propriety of adding wheat to the crops to be cultivated as he believed wheat, being suited to the climate, a surer crop. The Indians, besides, were especially fond of flour for food. On January 1, 1856 he reported as fol-
"There are at present four hundred and fifty Comanches on the Reservation and an additional number may soon be expected as Juanco one of the head Chiefs has come in and promised to bring in his band, and become permanent settlers he has given up eleven head of horses stolen by some of his men and has promised that for the future he will observe the treaty and live on terms of peace. I can safely say that the Comanches have, since I took charge, manifested a strong desire to cultivate friendly relations with us, with but few exceptions they are very much pleased with the idea of farming and raising stock, and have taken excellent care of the cows given them, herding them night and day, they seem now to want for nothing, as the traders have a good supply of such articles as they need, and they have protection from the Northern Indians, four companies of Cavalry being stationed on the reservation. I think there is nothing to fear that they will abandon their present home as their condition is better than it has been for many years past. Too much must not be expected from a people like the Comanches, to civilize them must necessarily be the work of time and then allowances must be made for this people the most savage and wild of any in our country. The contract for plowing a field for them has been completed, the government houses for the use of the agent will in a short time be completed and would have been before this but for the great difficulty in securing materials. Preparations are being made for planting a crop for the Indians and if the corn and seasons are favorable I think they will make enough corn for their use next year. As the policy of the Government is to make the Indians a self-sustaining people, no pains will be spared to impress upon them the necessity of at once beginning agricultural pursuits, everything they want for such purposes has been furnished in abundance and all that remains, to be done must be accomplished by judicious management, but in the event that the policy of making the Indians agriculturalists does not mean I trust that the lesson taught us by experience will not be disregarded, and that it is cheaper to feed than to whip them."47

47 Baylor to Neighbors, January 1, 1856.
I.O.L.R.
While matters on the reservations were progressing so satisfactory, other happenings on the frontier did not augur a happy future. During the first half of the year 1855, little trouble had been experienced by the settlers from depredating Indians but before the summer was over depredations were becoming again a serious matter. The proximity of the reservations suggested the settled Indians as the offenders, and some may have been, probably the Comanches. Neighbors, who knew their life and customs well, felt sure that the depredations were committed by wandering bands of Kickapoo or by Northern Comanches. It was extremely difficult to trace the offenders definitely on account of the inefficiency of the military and lack of co-operation given the Indian agents by the frontier commanders.

Neighbors realized the danger of depredations which might be committed at any time by Indians not bound by any treaty with the general government and asked, early in 1855, for an appropriation of $10,000 with which he might come to terms with the Apaches and those Comanches who had not up to that time been party to any treaty with the U.S. He stated that those Indians while expressing themselves in favor of peace had committed serious depredations
on the frontier citizens; he believed, however, that
with the amount asked for, such arrangements could
be made as to cause a cessation of their attacks
upon the whites. 48

48 Neighbors to Manypeny. January 20,
1855. I.O.L.R.

In September, 1855, he gave his view of the
situation to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

"The whole Indian depredations and murders
on our frontier, is committed by a few individuals.
They will not exceed one hundred Indians, and in no
instance within a year has a party larger than 10
Indians been found depredating, and the only reason
why they continue these depredations is the impunity
with which they can steal and the utter inefficiency
of the measures adopted to bring them to proper punish-
ment, or I might with more propriety say, for the want
of the necessary military protection. I again repeat
that, until all the bands of upper Comanches are
brought under the control of the government and the
lawless bands are properly chastized that our fron-
tier can have no quiet." 49

49 Neighbors to Mix, September 20, 1855.
I.O.L.R.

At no time did Neighbors pretend that depre-
dations were not occurring or likely to occur. In
writing to Governor Pease in July, 1855, he showed a
good deal of feeling in the matter, for he stated that he had definite information from Indian runners whom he had kept in the Indian country that the depredations had been committed by parties of Comanches. So far from believing that Reservation Indians were the offenders, he offered their services to bring about the punishment of the guilty.

"All the Indians now settled on the reservations can be relied on as efficient auxiliaries, and if there were an efficient military force, the Indians who are now depredating on our citizens could be arrested and brought to punishment, but for want of such a force for the past two years and the impunity with which the Comanches have been permitted to carry on their thefts and murders, they are becoming more bold every day, and nothing but the most prompt and energetic measures will now restrain them. I shall be in Austin in a few days and shall be pleased to bring this subject to your notice personally. If the state of Texas has to rely on her own citizens for defense I hope your Excellency will at once call out a sufficient force to drive out of the state or exterminate those depredating bands of Indians." 52

52 Neighbors to Pease, Fort Belknap, Sept. 20. 1855. I.O.L.R.

To the Commissioner of Indian affairs he wrote as follows:

"Serious depredations are being committed on our frontier citizens by roving bands of Comanches. I deem it my duty to again ask that the subject be called to the attention of the Honer. Secretary of War. It appears that within the last month there has been
an alarming increase in the number of depredations committed, and in several instances murder has been added to theft. On the 14th a citizen by the name of Skidmore was murdered about 11 miles from Belknap, There being no mounted troops on the frontier, Special Agent Ross with a party of friendly Indians started in pursuit but[the murderers] having 24 hours the start it was impossible to overtake them. Since that time they have stolen about 40 head of horses from the Brazos Agency, and a large number from the neighborhood of San Antonio. There is no difficulty in tracing those depredations to the upper bands of Comanches, or of arresting the depredators if there was a sufficient military force on the frontier for the purpose.

"All the Indians who are actual settlers are ready and willing to lend official aid, but having no protection for their families, they can not act against the depredating bands without the assistance of the military force, since 2 companies of Dragoons marched from this post, Belknap, for Fort Riley, all the posts on this line to the headquarters of the San Saba are occupied by Infantry, thus having not a single soldier on our whole Indian frontier who can act against the Indians with any degree of success, and as far as holding the Indians in check is concerned, the General Government might as well take them away also, as they are utterly useless for operating against Comanches and our whole frontier for 400 miles is left entirely at the mercy of a few depredating bands of outlaw Indians, who steal more property in one month than it would cost to exterminate them, if sufficient measures were adopted for that purpose. The whole of the Indian depredations and murders on our frontier are committed by a few individuals..." 50

50 Neighbors to Mix, Brazos Agency, Sept. 20, 1855. I.O.I.R.
the reservations had become serious before the close of the first year of the existence of the reservations. Before this year depredations had occurred chiefly in the lower Rio Grande valley. The settlers in the vicinity of the reservations, knowing that the district had been free of depredating Indians in the past, were inclined to lay all the crimes committed at the door of the reservation Indians. 51

51 Johnson, Barker, and Winkler, p. 52.

The explanation of the removal of the scene of depredations to the northern frontier must be sought in the previous habits and life of the Indians as well as in the immediate conditions of the territory adjacent to the reservations. For over a century the Comanches had travelled through the region west of the reservations on their way to Mexico. Their trail was well known to all the Indians who lived in Texas. The Comanches were the terror alike of the whites and the natives, and no Indian dared to be found in the district through which the Comanches were accustomed to pass. In the selection of the reservation lands, this objection of the Indians to acc.
land within reach of the Comanches was made evident to marcy and neighbors and was probably the determining factor in establishing the reservations at the points finally selected. Not only did the friendly Indians refuse to settle near the Comanche trail, but they insisted on having the military forces between them and their enemies - the Comanches.

The establishment of a part of the Comanches on a reservation almost upon the path traversed by the Comanches gave an open invitation to the invaders to linger where food was plentiful and protection noticeably lacking. It must almost have been an inspiration to plunder to see mere infantry lounging at the posts utterly unable to pursue had not the inclination also been lacking. Not only did the loitering of the intruders lead to depredations, but the presence of other members of the tribe was a continual invitation to the more spirited members of the group to take French leave and join marauding parties. At no time was the military force sufficient to have attempted to hold the Indians on the reserve.

Another factor in the situation was the fact that the wild Comanches had been driven off their old route to Mexico - down the Nueces and across to the Rio
Grande - by the numerous army posts established in that region after 1848 and by the severe fighting with both soldiers and the Texas rangers in 1850-1852. They were now striking west for the Pecos from the upper Concho and seldom came into contact with the settlements south of San Antonio.

Still another cause for the shifting of the scene lay in the increased opportunities for depredating which a more settled district afforded. Before 1855 the region in the vicinity of the reservations was not settled to any great extent. With the coming of more families and the consequent presence of more cattle and horses, the district offered more fruitful opportunities than at any time in the past. It will be seen that the depredations increased in the northern part of the state after the southern section was comparatively free from Indian troubles.

Not alone were the whites the sufferers from the intruding Indians. From the Brazos Agency horses and cattle were stolen and even Indians were killed in the vicinity. At all times the Indians on the Brazos were in fear of the Comanches, \(^{53}\) and the Comanches on

\(^{53}\) Neighbors to Pease, July 9, 1865. State Library. Indian Affairs, 1845-1860.
their reserve were in deathly fear of the Northern /
band. Scarcely an expedition was raised to follow
the trail after depredations had been committed that
was not partially composed of reserve Indians who
were at all times willing to assist the whites in
locating and punishing their common enemy, the Indian
thief and murderer.

There seems small doubt that the inefficiency
of the military force stationed on this part of the
frontier was largely responsible for many of the dif-
ficulties which arose. Even in September, 1855, 54
Neighbors wrote that it had been difficult to remove

54 Neighbors to Mix, 9-10 1855. Ex. Doc.
Sen. 34 Cong., 498.

the impression made on the Indians mind by the military
movements of the preceding winter when orders had
been issued to treat all Indians alike - with the
result that more than two thousand friendly Indians
had been forced, from fear of attack, to flee. The
Indians on the reserves realized that little protection
could be expected from these troops in case of attacks
by hostile Indians. The Indian agents knew that in an
emergency there was no effective military force to be
called in. The invading and marauding Indians knew the chances of being followed or punished by the military were negligible. In every emergency, the governor of Texas was forced to appeal to volunteer citizens to take up the trail with the assistance of friendly Indians. The state could not afford to maintain companies of these guards continually on the frontier; as a result, they were only called into action after very serious depredations had occurred and by the time they reached the scene of hostilities the perpetrators had usually fled. Had there been active and intelligent co-operation between the head of the military department of Texas and the Indian agents, the story might have been different.

The year 1856 passed quietly as far as the Brazos agency was concerned. When work in the fields was not pressing, most of the time of the Indians was spent in building and making minor improvements about their homes. All built houses before the close of the year except the Tonkawas and they showed an inclination to do so later. 100 acres additional were put in cultivation, but in spite of the efforts expended by both farmers and Indians the dry weather caused the spring and summer crops to prove a failure. In the fall
120 acres of wheat was planted. Little interference from outsiders was experienced, the citizens near the reserve apparently being satisfied both with the government policy and the general behavior of the Indians. The influence of the settlers near by may be detected in the request of the Indians in the fall of 1856 to be permitted to build their houses "American style". While the number of the Indians showed a steady increase, the request of the Wichita to settle on the Reserve was, in the eyes of the Special Agent Ross, an indication that one more menace, the constant temptation to the young warriors to join the Wichitas, was about to be removed. The Indians were given all the liberty they desired; hunting parties leaving the reserve at intervals.  

On the Comanche reserve, all was not so serene. Almost before the year opened, Sanacoo, with some of his band departed from the Reserve. The situation

55 Ross to Neighbors, February 1,1856. I.O.L.R.  
" " " April 1, 1856. "  
" " " June 31,1856 "  
" " " December 27,1856 "  
" " " January 10,1857 "

56 Ross to Neighbors, January 15,1856. I.O.L.R.
in relation to the bands who had not yet come on the
reserve is stated in Baylor's report to Neighbors of
May 1:

"I have to report the arrival of Buffalo
Hump, a Comanche chief, with his party consisting of
28 persons and with them 15 Indians who left during
last winter as they allege for the purpose of bringing
in their friends and relatives. The condition of the
Indians who have just arrived is wretched. They are
destitute of every thing and most of them came in on
foot in a half starved condition. They seem glad to
get something to eat and have a home.

"Besides the chief of the Ten-a-wis band of
Northern Comanches has come in and made a treaty and
will as soon as he can collect his band bring them in
which will probably be in a month. I have given him a
passport stating the facts of his being out for the pur-
pose of collecting his people. I also sent a message
to the headmen of the other bands of N. Indians and
think it very likely that some of them will return. The
Northern Indians have suffered very much during the past
winter and have been forced to eat their horses. They
are more destitute than they have been for many years.

".... The small parties who left last winter
have returned and now there are few absent." 57

57 Baylor to Neighbors, May 1, 1856. I.O.L.R.

Later in the year his tone is not so hopeful.

"I wish that some measure could be taken to
remove the influence that the Northern Indians exercise.
I am satisfied that not a week passes that there is not a
spy among the Indians, whose sole purpose is to get
what information they can and to sell him arms and supplies.
And as they are related to the Noconics and Ten-a-wis
bands, I see no way to prevent the intercourse between
them unless it is by a campaign against them that will
force them to come in or drive them so far north as to
render communication very difficult. In a course of a
few weeks, the sensor for war parties going to Mexico and upon our frontier will arrive, and it is very desirable to have the troops in the field, as they can to a great extent prevent any of the young warriors here who may wish to leave from doing so." 58

58 Baylor to Neighbors, August 10, 1856.
I.O.L.R.

On August 24th Special Agent Baylor reported from the Comanche Reserve:

"I have received a message from the chief of the Noconis to ask if he could come in and see the conditions of the Indians on the Reserve. He had heard many conflicting accounts of the treaty and wanted to know whether he will be received and on what terms. He does not want war with the whites any longer, but is anxious to have a home and the protection of the government.

"I sent him an answer by the Wichita chief to say that if he would come in he could see for himself what the condition of the Indian here is, that if he wished to be at peace and settle under the protection of the government he could do so. I expect to hear from him this fall or to see him." 59

59 Baylor to Neighbors, August 24, 1846.
I.O.L.R.

But on November 1st he wrote:

"I have received an expression from the No-conee and Tenawis Indians. Po-ha-zo-ko and Chase have been here for three days. They bring me a message from Poc-quasha-cut to the effect that they are slowly killing buffalo and dressing hides for the
purpose of trading. They will be here in the course of a week.

"The horses stolen from the Caddoes have been returned by Pos-quashu-cut. They were stolen by one of No-his sons and two other young men who have been outlawed and driven from the Reservation. It was not done as was supposed by the Comanches who were at the Caddo village at the time the horses were stolen.

"I sent word to Pos-quashu-cut to come in as soon as possible as he was running a risk in staying out. There are small bands of Northern Comanches now at the Wichita mountains, and they have been for some time counseling with the Ten-a-wis and Nocoomies, for what I don't know. Several of the principal chiefs of the Northern Comanches sent me word they were coming down on a visit and if they do I shall give them a talk on the subject of committing depredations on the citizens of Texas. They are coming they say to make a treaty with Texas. They have never been friends with us. This shows that they regard their treaty in Kansas as a local matter and not general. This I have long known as many of the secret depredations have been committed by them. I hope the Department will take some steps to hold those Indians responsible for their depredations on our citizens and as long as they rob and steal it will be impossible to control the Indians of Texas who think they have an equal right to depredate."60

60Baylor to Neighbors, November 18, 1856. I.O.L.R.

The problem of communication between the reserve Indians and the other bands of Comanches was made easy by the practice of going hunting. At all times it was found difficult to restrain the Comanches within the limits of the Reservation. Accustomed to
roaming as they were, they could not be contented to remain quietly in their villages, but were continually going either with or without permission on hunts for mustangs or buffalo or anything they could think of. When they got tired of reservation life, they simply left. While at large they committed depredations ad libitum. An instance of this procedure is related by Agent Taylor in regard to Sanaco.

"Sanaco came to the reservation about the 1st of January and remained here a few days; his only object seemed to be to ascertain whether he would be recognized as head chief or not. And in finding that he could not succeed in his attempt to supplant Ketumsie the present chief, he left and carried with him the party who went off under pretence of catching mustangs. He has since that time been ranging in the vicinity of Fort Chadbourne, visiting the post occasionally, representing himself as friendly and purchased such supplies as he needed. In the meantime his men have been committing depredations upon our citizens as is clearly shown by the fact that among those killed was found a gun that belonged to an ex-post man killed by the Indians recently near Fort Chadbourne, and also a portion of the mail. These and other circumstances satisfy me that Sanaco and his party have been professing friendship, but practising rascality towards us. For that reason I am not at all sorry that his party met with the reception they did at Fort Chadbourne. They have been setting a very bad example to the Indians of the reservation, for as long as a party could live off the reservation and be received as friends at different places, they would not, of course, come in and be settlers themselves nor permit others to do so. The sooner all outside influences are removed the easier it will be to control the Indians on the reservation."
In an effort to put a stop to the practice of leaving the reservation whenever they felt inclined, Agent Baylor explained to them that there was no safety for them if found off the reservation without written permission. The shooting of Sanaco's band helped to give emphasis to his statements and from this time those who left without permission were classed as outlaws and not expected to return. The practice of going with passes still continued, but when parties were cut the officers of the nearest troops were generally notified of their probable locality and purpose. 62

During the year of 1856 there seems to have been some degree of understanding and co-operation on the part of the officers stationed in the vicinity of the Indians. In the early part of the year, Col. Hardee was stationed just two miles from the Comanche Agency, 63 in the latter part of the year two companies
Ross to Neighbors, January 15, 1856.

of cavalry and infantry were stationed at Camp Cooper to protect the southern Comanches and give permanency to the reservation. 64

64 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Doc. No. 95, p. 506, September 30, 1856.

One of the causes of trouble between the Indians, soldiers, and citizens was whiskey. Illicit trading in liquor was a constant menace. In January Ross wrote Neighbors that a trader had procured one of the government buildings on the reservation and proposed opening a whiskey shop. In spite of efforts of those in charge, whiskey was made available to the Indians and consequent troubles ensued. 65

65 Ross to Neighbors, January 15, 1856.

Success did not reward the Comanches's efforts to provide their food by raising corn and vegetables. Planting of considerable acreage was
effected, and the crop was carefully hoed during the spring in hopes of an abundant crop. But, as usual, the season proved dry and the corn was practically a failure. With vegetables they did not succeed much better. After planting the seeds sent by the department of agriculture, the grasshoppers took the country and made an end of their hopes in that direction. The melons did well, but seldom could the Indians be persuaded to allow them to remain on the vines until ripe; usually all were consumed before time for harvesting them.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{66}Baylor to Neighbors, March 31, 1856. I.O.L.R.
" " " May 17, 1856
" " " July 4, 1856
" " " June 30, 1856

By the opening of the year 1857, Major Neighbors had convinced himself that there could be no ultimate hope of doing anything with the Comanches until the other bands were also forced onto reservations. With this in mind, he made a trip to Washington in March, and while there took up the matter in person. He made it plain that unless steps were taken to control the other Indians, the reservations of Texas were destined to fail. He had long foreseen this, for
as early as February, 1855, he had asked that another reserve be established "for the permanent settlement of all the prairie bands on our borders in the Chickasaw country, near the Wichita mountains." 67

67Neighbors to Gen. Twiggs, July 17, 1857. I.O.L.R.

Arrangements were made, $50,000 appropriated by Congress for the purpose, and Neighbors was notified while he was in Washington that he was to have oversight of the new Reservation, but after his return the matter was held in abeyance. Neighbors urged the establishment of a strong mounted military force on the reserve which could take action against all Indians who refused to abandon the practice of depredating or refused to settle on the reservation assigned to them. His conclusions are expressed in very definite terms:

"Free intercourse with the Cimarrones for years has fully convinced me that it is absolutely necessary either to whip them or to continually overawe them with a strong military force, in order to hold them in subjection and to make them peaceable. Their chiefs have but little control, and I have never known them to make a treaty that a portion of the tribe do not violate its stipulations before one year rolls around; they are very daring and restless, and it ap-
pears, by my late experience on the reserve, that the young men of the tribe will carry on their forays, let the consequences to themselves and their families be what they may. The impossibility of keeping the young warriors on the reserve and of preventing them with all the inducements I could offer, as well as threats of chastisement, from stealing horses and making forays, was the cause of my request to the commanding officer of this department to issue orders declaring all Indians hostile found off the reserves without a written permit from the agent." 68

68 Neighbors to Gen. Twiggs, July 17, 1857.
I.O.L.R.

In summarizing the progress of the reserves in Texas, he wrote in September, 1857:

"The progress of the Comanches will not compare favorably with those at Brazos agency, which is to a great degree to be attributed to the influence exercised by that portion of the Comanches who still roam at large and continue to depr. ate; and although there has been a strong military post kept on the Comanche reserve, it has been found impossible to resist the influence of the outside band of Comanches, or to prevent the young men from quitting the reserve to join in the continued forays made by them both upon our fron t'ier and that of Mexico, and I can perceive but little difference between the condition of the Comanches now and at the date of my last annual report.

"Our frontier still presents the anomaly of peace with a small portion of a tribe of Indians, and continual hostility with the balance of the same people, and during the past year very serious depredations have been traced to them, and there have been several encounters between them and the troops on our frontier, in which a number of both soldiers and Indians have been killed. The strangest feature of this state of affairs, and one that demands your serious attention, is the fact that, at the same time that those bands of Comanches,
Kioways, &c, are depredating on our citizens, waylaying our roads, destroying the mails to El Paso, &c, an agent of your department is distributing to them a large annuity of goods, arms, and ammunition on the Arkansas river, which is arming them, and giving them the means more effectually to carry on their hostile forays. During the past summer, particularly about the 1st of July, there were several parties of those people with the Kioways, on a visit, to the Camanches at the reserve, who did not hesitate to state that the fear of chastisement for past depredations had caused them to seek this frontier, in order to avoid the troops who were in pursuit of them; but upon the call of the agent charged with the distribution of the annuity on the Arkansas, they repaired thither, received their presents, and are again down upon our frontier, are now boasting of the 'presents paid them by the government', and are prepared to use the arms and ammunition received from the government agent on our troops." 69

69 Neighbors to Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1857. I.O.L.R.

As regards the military department in Texas, much better feeling seems to have existed than formerly. Both in the correspondence between Neighbors and General Twiggs and in the references to military matters in the correspondence between Neighbors and the Commissioner of Indian affairs, the tone is distinctly different to that employed in regard to the officers under the control of General Smith, the preceding commander of the department of Texas. But even with close co-operation it had been proven practically impossible to control
the Comanches. Those who stayed on the reserve behaved well, and struggled manfully to acquire the rudiments of agriculture. In commenting on the Comanches, Special Agent Leeper, who had succeeded Baylor, wrote:

"Since their settlement here they have improved more in the arts of civilization than any other tribe in the same length of time. They are naturally intellectual, and have a high sense of propriety in dress and becoming deportment. Many of them understand the articles of the treaty and observe them with the greatest tenacity, and all are extremely anxious to learn the English language. They are contented and happy, and satisfied to live a quiet and settled life." 70

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70Leeper, to Neighbors, September 1, 1857. I.O.L.R.

Whether Leeper was not yet well acquainted with the Comanches, or whether he was writing for a purpose, or with sincerity, may be questioned in the light of future events. The fact that the enrollment of Comanches in 1857 was one hundred and thirty-three less than in the preceding year does not suggest that the "quiet and settled" life held such appeal for them as the new agent asserted.

With the Comanches remained a problem difficult to cope with, the Indians on the Brazos reserve
more than satisfied the expectations that had
been entertained for them. Their agricultural exper-
iments met with considerable success in 1857 with
the result that the following crops were gathered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Bushels Corn</th>
<th>Bushels Wheat</th>
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<td>Caddoes</td>
<td>130-20</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anadakhos</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacoos</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahwaccaroos</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonkaways</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neighbors to Denver, September 16, 1857

The farmer who worked with the Caddos and Anadakhos
reported:

"The Anadakhos have 40 acres in wheat which
yielded 400 bushels. The wheat was cut by the
labourers, bound, threshed, and sacked by the Indians,
and a portion saved for the fall seed. They have also
a very large crop of peas and beans, an abundance of
pumpkins and squashes, which they are now engaged in
cutting and drying for their winter use. They also
raised a large crop of melons...

"Their stock look very well, and their women
milk cows and make butter for their own use...

"A number of these Indians have purchased
themselves hogs and are endeavoring to follow in the
footsteps of the white men, and are economical with
their crops; and it is believed that they will make
bread stuffs enough for their subsistence for the coming
Building went on with considerable vigor.

The Wacoes and Tahwaccarroes built 16 houses and even the Tonkawas got tired of living in tents and began to cut the logs preparatory to building houses for themselves.

However there was no opportunity for life to become dull for the Special agent even on the Brazos if we may judge from the following letter:

"About the 12th of January news was received at this agency that the buffalo had come down within a short distance. A party consisting of forty Indians from the different villages was made up for the hunt, I myself accompanying the party. We were out 12 days killing 70 buffalo, but few of their skins were brought in and a small quantity of the meat owing to the poor condition of the horses caused by the extreme cold winter. During my absence a Waco man belonging to the reserve murdered his wife..."

"The month of February opened with promise of an early spring. The Indians had commenced preparing their fields for plowing, when about the tenth news was received that Jack Hunter, an Indian belonging to
the Caddo tribe who was employed as guide for the
troops stationed at Camp Cooper, had been killed by
Comanches. On the receipt of this intelligence
the chiefs and heads of the different bands settled
on the Reserve assembled in council for the purpose
of discussing the propriety of making a campaign
against the Northern Comanches. During their coun-
cil I advised them to postpone their campaign until
after their crops were made; which was consented to
and all returned to their villages and resumed their
labors in preparing their fields and enlarging their
gardens...” 75

75 Ross to Neighbors, March 24, 1857.
I.O.L.R.

But the days of peace and quiet for both
Indians and agents were never to return, for depreda-
tions continued to increase at an alarming rate. On
January 17, 1858, Neighbors reported to the Indian
Commissioner that

“... there have been stolen and driven off
from our frontier since the 12th of November about
600 head of horses and seven persons have been
killed or captured by Indians in that time ... The
amount of property destroyed and driven off is esti-
mated by our citizens at least $60,000 without taking
into consideration the lives that have been sacrificed.” 76

76 Neighbors to Mix, January 17, 1858. I.O.L.R.

As usual, no steps to remedy the situation were taken
by the authorities in Washington. Impelled by the ap-
peals of the frontier settlers who insisted that both
their lives and property were at stake, the Governor called out the state troops on January 23, 1858.

Runnels to Ford, January 28, 1858.
I.O.I.R.

The situation as seen by Governor Runnels is summarized in his letter to the Texas delegation in Congress:

"I have given Captain Ford authority to call any amount of men into the service he may deem necessary to meet the emergency, until the result of the Regiment bill shall be made known here, and until the Rangers shall take the field under the authority of the General Government, and if not until such time as adequate protection is afforded our suffering fellow citizens by some other means.

"There is no doubt the Indians had congregated and were making preparations for a general attack on the frontier and friendly Indians at the time they were attacked by our Rangers and friendly Indians; during the absence of the command on this expedition, there were many depredations, murders and thefts committed among these people; the Indians of the upper or Comanche reserve at Camp Cooper are believed to have participated in these outrages from the best evidence we could collect. By all means you should insist on the removal of the agent there, to whose inefficiency much of the trouble is to be attributed from the Indians of the reserve; unless it is done, the authorities of this state cannot be held responsible for the consequences without a cessation of these complaints which seem to be well-grounded. If it is the intention of the President to order out the Texas Regiments, why is it not done? The existing evils are unbearable and besides it is unjust that our state should be harassed with these Indians. At best our Rangers and friendly Indians can give only temporary protection, and our state can not retain this assistance long without remu-"
eration from the Federal Government whose duty it is. The Indians being aggrieved by their recent defeat, there is every reason to believe that a general descent will be made and our entire line of frontier broken up and devastated, unless some immediate action is taken by the authorities at Washington." 77

77 Governor Rumels to Texas Delegation in Congress, May 28, 1858. State Library Indian Affairs, 1845-1860.

As this letter indicates there had been a strong feeling developed among the frontier settlers not only against the Indians but also against those in charge of Indian affairs in Washington as well as the Indian agents on the ground in Texas. How far this feeling was of natural growth it is impossible to determine, but there are some indications which suggest that the inciting of much of the enmity against both Indians and their protectors may be laid to the door of John R. Baylor, the former Indian Agent on the Comanche Reserve. Soon after Baylor's dismissal from the service of the federal government due according to Neighbors to shortage in his accounts a meeting was held at which it was decided to protest against the lack of protection afforded the frontier and especially to urge the removal of the Comanches. That all that
was done at that meeting was not all open and
above-board the following account written much
later to Neighbors confidentially would seem to
indicate:

"Belknap, Texas, June 10, 1858.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 10th March ult. acknowledging
the receipt of certain very precious documents, was
received some time since, and would have been answered
before this, but I could not precisely ascertain where
a letter would find you. Your message by Col. Johnson
was also received, and I would have waited your arrival
in Belknap, notwithstanding a pressing request to come
up to Camp Cooper, had Mr. Ulitt said anything of your
coming.

I was very anxious to see you on the subject
of your letter, for, from its language I apprehended
you must have misunderstood my action in the matter.
Prior to the meeting at which the documents referred
to were hatched (or rather, born) I was but slightly
acquainted with Capt. Baylor, - I, with a good many
others, supposed, that from the position which he had
held, both as an officer of the U.S. and as a citizen
of the State that he was entitled to full evidence,
particularly upon so serious a matter as making the
charges against you which he did, and in making state-
ments of alleged facts in regard to the depredations
of Reserve Indians. I could not believe that he would
tell a deliberate falsehood upon so grave a subject,
and that, too, to a meeting who looked up to him, to
verify or deny rumors in relation to the Indians. I
as well as others, supposed him to be a gentleman
scorning to do a little thing. The gentlemen com-
posing the meeting on the Clear Fork, depended on him
for a true statement of facts, both as to the depre-
dations of Indians, and other matters. And then his
statements were made with so confident an air, that it carried conviction to all - or nearly all. But when he made statements with regard to you, - what you had said and done in various parts of the State I never was more surprised in my life. I did not know what to think - And I here state that the action of the meeting was based almost solely on what Baylor stated to be the truth. Had I known then what I know now, of Baylor's character for veracity, I should have taken the steps which your letter seems to indicate I should have done, and given the lie direct to all his statements, I have since then proven Baylor to have told deliberately a falsehood at the meeting -- when he said he was authorized to sign certain men's names to the papers he lied -- when he told the meeting of having a conversation with Katumseh, in which Katumseh acknowledged that the Indians killed by Preston's party belonged to the Reserve, and that one of his men had come in wounded, and had left the reserve, vowing vengeance against the first white person he met on the Clear Fork, after he got well, (and which by the way was the cause of the threat being made of breaking up the reserve) he told a wilful and deliberate falsehood; as is proved by the well known fact, that for some time previous to Baylor's dismissal, Katumseh would not speak to him.

How I came to be at the meeting was this - I was there surveying some land for old man Holden near by, and Captain Preston asked me to come over and attend a meeting to organize a company of minute men to protect the Clear Fork, - that he wanted me to act as secretary. I went as a matter of course; but it turned out to be a different meeting to what I supposed. The papers were signed, and I was requested to send them to the papers mentioned in the proceedings for publication. In accepting them I did wrong, and acknowledge it; but I think the result has proved to be better than if any one else had taken the papers. Since the people have been enlightened as to the real character of Baylor, they are sorry for what they have done in the premises, I am satisfied of this.

I would be glad if you would send me the papers again; - for the reason that some evil disposed (towards me) persons are beginning to enquire why the documents have not been published. I am truly glad
that you did not dispose of the papers as I at first requested. I asked you to give them to the papers more to clear myself from an apparent breach of trust, than for anything else; and I did not then think they could do you any harm.

If you can arrange it, I would like you to send them by Waco, so that the Waco Post mark will be on the envelope. You can imagine the reason for this request. Forward them as soon as possible. I do not know that I will ever have occasion to show them but it is possible I may.

Of course everything in relation to the matter between us will continue to be secret. Be kind enough to write to me, in a separate envelope from the one in which the documents are cont.-- I had written to you at Washington but shortly after Capt. Ross told me you would be in S. Antonio before a letter could reach you at San Antonio, and I have therefore re-written.

..............

Your friend and obt. servant,

James H. Swendells." 78

78

Baylor's defence of his conduct is outlined in the following letter:

"I have just seen a communication from a correspondent signing himself A. J. B., to the Editor of the Galveston News, in relation to our Indian policy. That individual has thought proper to make statements in relation to myself that I am not desposed to pass over in silence and has made statements that
are not true in relation to my opposition to the feeding policy. I am not opposed to that policy nor have I ever been. I am not in the least opposed to the Indians in the lower Brazos Reserve, nor have ever charged them with being engaged in the depredations on the frontier. So far from being opposed to Capt. Ross as an Indian agent, I think him by far the best in the service...

I am charged by A.J.B. with being down on the Indian policy now, but was while in office 'true to the policy'. I am still in favor of the feeding policy - am perfectly willing that the Indians should be fed, clothed, and well cared for, but I demand that they shall on their part, behave themselves and stick to the treaty they have made. And I demand that the Superintendent shall make them as far as lies in his power, either keep the treaty or drive them off, and not lay all the depredations on the frontier on the whites, and devote his time and genius to defending the Indians, when there are so many proofs of their guilt. In speaking of Indians, Mr. Editor, I allude to the Reserve Comanches. I live near them, know them well, and can prove my statements against them. They have been engaged in depredations, more or less ever since their settlement. Mr. A.J.B. speaks of the Indians in Brazos Agency as if they were the Indians. His statements about those Indians is for the most part true, but can he say the same of the Comanche? Can he say they have laid aside their 'roving predatory habits'? Have they built any houses? Have they changed their dress? No, Sir! There is no change of importance, except that the Comanches are fortifying themselves, and holding themselves ready, in pursuance of orders given them by the Superintendent, to fight whenever they are attacked! Mr. A.J.B. asks if there is 'a solitary act of hostility that can be traced to the Reserve Indians? Has anyone gone to the reserve and found any stolen property?' Yes, Sir, such is the case; and not once, several times, and that very recently -, and myself and the officer alluded to are not the only persons opposed to Mr. Neighbors' management of the Indians. It so happens that nineteen out of twenty of the people in the county entertain the same view..." 79

79 John R. Baylor to Editor of Galveston News May 17, 1858. I.O.L.R.
With the increase in depredations and the consequent growth of the hostility of the settler toward the Indians on the Comanche Reserve, the situation was complicated by the removal of the troops who had been stationed at Camp Cooper to another location more remote from the reserve. In appealing to General Twiggs against this action, Neighbors reiterated that "The relations that exist between the more northern and hostile bands imperatively requires in my opinion the maintenance of a force very near the Indian camps and the Agency". Continuing he states:

"I have already recommended to the Indian Bureau the early abandonment of the Comanche Reserve, and the removal of the Indians now located here, to the reserve now being located east of Red River, as soon as it is possible to accomplish that object. The prejudice now existing in the minds of our citizens growing out of the late Indian depredations on our frontier against the reserve Indians, will induce me to use every influence at my command to accomplish that object at a very early period. I hope, therefore, if you should deem it necessary to remove the present post at once, you will provide a fort suitable for the purposes expressed in Mr. Leeper's letter, as I am freely of the opinion that it would be unsafe for himself and family to remain at the Agency on the reserve if the troops are removed from the immediate vicinity of the Agency and Indians at present." 80

80 Neighbors to Twiggs, March 29, 1853.
I.O.L.R.
Camp Cooper, nevertheless, was evacuated, and the Indians moved into the deserted barracks and thus avoided the labor of building shelter for themselves. Conditions on the Comanche reserve were not prosperous. The story as seen by the agent at that place runs thus:

"... During last winter and spring very many depredations and some murders were committed on this part of the frontier, which naturally produced the highest degree of excitement and the most virulent indignation against Indians generally. Knowing this to be the case, on the 20th of January last I forbade the Indians located here from leaving the reserve, lest they might perchance meet with citizens or soldiers and be mistaken for those who are hostile, and receive treatment accordingly. The Indians, contrary to my expectations, very cheerfully and willingly complied with my injunctions. The depredations, however, were still continued, and many trails of stolen horses were traced in the direction of the reserve; some quite neat, evidently to draw the attention of the community to the fact, and to cast censure upon the reserve Indians. These facts were seized upon by one or two reckless and designing men in the neighborhood, exaggerated ten-fold, and circulated far and near with so much adroitness and plausibility that many honest men were induced to believe the stories; the consequence was, that the Indians on the reserve were daily threatened with extermination by the people under whose laws and government they had taken protection. They were also alike apprehensive of violence and bloodshed from the less civilized bands of their own tribe, the ties of friendship between them having been severed to a great extent on account of the treaty which they have entered into with the general government. The troops, also, who were heretofore stationed at Camp Cooper were ordered to abandon their post for a more distant point just at the time of the highest excitement; and that, too, with anything but encouraging indications of protection to the Indians by the officer in command, which was well
calculated to produce much apprehension and alarm. They were also told by mischievous persons that their only chance for security and safety was by flight, and reunion with the wild tribes. Some did leave..." 81

81 Leeper to Neighbors, Aug. 20, 1858.
I.O.L.R.

In the face of the many conflicting reports of conditions in Texas, the Secretary of Interior following Neighbor's visit to Washington in May, 1858, appointed Thomas J. Hawkins to go to Texas and attempt to ascertain the truth. In order to determine the accuracy of the reports which had been submitted he took testimony of various kinds, procured information of a general and secret nature, and invited all those who had preferred charges against the Indian agents to appear in person and substantiate their statements. There seems every reason to believe that Hawkins was unbiased and fair in his investigation. His report of the Texas situation, dated October 30, 1858, at Camp Cooper presents conditions as he found them:

"The Indian agents have already brought forward a mass of testimony highly favorable to themselves and all of which will be duly submitted. After next week-- the period publicly announced as the limit of my stay at this place -- I will proceed to the Brazos Re-
serve and after a brief detention at that point shall set out on my return to Washington, which will probably be affected by way of Austin for the purpose of conferring fully with the Executive of this state before making my final report or suggesting the adoption of means calculated to enhance the prosperity of all the Texas Indians and ensure the benevolent intentions of the Government in their behalf.

"On Tuesday October 19th Captain Palmer, officer in command of this post and Mr. Pickett, my assistant, proceeded to the Camanche village for the purpose of ascertaining the number of Indians upon this Reserve. The head chief Katumsie summoned all within the sound of his voice to the open space in front of his dwelling and the result of the polling was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women and children of both sexes</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiefs, captains and young men</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick and mourning (remained in their tents)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the Agency, some residing there-- others gone after rations of beef</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Chandler's on Clear Fork returning from hunting expeditions</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Came in after the enumeration, one woman and three children</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 341

"This exhibits a deficiency of thirty souls as compared with the last quarterly reports of Agent Leeper dated July 5th, 1858-- a portion of which is accounted for by death and desertion, several females having left in consequence of chastisement inflicted by the head chief. As this census was taken without full advice a number of young men were absent in the immediate vicinity (on the Reserve) herding their horses and cattle. It is proper to add that the word of Katumsie was accepted as accounting satisfactorily for those absent from the Reserve-- he enumerating them with grains of corn in the palm of his hand. I will endeavor to have a more formal and accurate census taken and feel assured the result, after deducting casualties will verify Agent Leeper's report."
"Observation has satisfied me that the time is not far distant when the removal of these - the Comanche Indians out of the limits of the State of Texas will become a matter of sound policy if not an expedient of necessity, and although I can not as yet speak from personal knowledge of those on the Brazos Reserve have no doubt the same reasons will apply to them, though, perhaps, with less weight. This question may be regarded from several points of view which, as they carry their own argument with them, I will but mention.

"1st. These Indians have but small space, either for their cattle or as arable land, on this Reserve, and as long as they live as socialists with a community of interests in all farming operations individual enterprise among them will be hampered. In short, under this system, the thriftless will fare as well as the industrious.

"2nd. Since the colonization of this Reserve the 'white settlements' have gradually grown up around it and whatever may be the actual public sentiment toward the Indian collisions may be apprehended. In support of this position I beg to refer you to the various threats already made and of attacking and breaking up the Reserve and more especially to enclosed paper (R) being a copy of my official journal of 22nd inst.

"3rd. I consider it highly prejudicial to the Indians that the whites generally should have access to the Reserve. The intercourse laws are maintained as far as lies in the power of the Agent no doubt, but the too frequent visits of irresponsible white persons must unavoidably demoralize the Indians.

"Whether these Indians be removed or not, I consider it essential to their welfare that, in addition to a farmer and a schoolmaster, blacksmiths and carpenters be employed for their instruction and benefit and in selecting all such employees good character and habits -- there being married men bringing their families with them -- should be deemed indispensable qualifications.

"If the removal of these Indians be determined on the sooner it shall be effected the better. I am informed they always have been and are still averse to going fur-
...other North and the longer they remain where they are the more reluctant they will become. The western part of the Choctaw territory which has already been under consideration in this connection, were certainly the most eligible quarter, either in a political or geographic point of view, upon which to colonize all the Texas Indians.

"With regard to the actual moral and physical condition of the Indians upon this Reserve I am satisfied they have made great advancement - at least when we consider that it is but three years since they were a band of marauding savages - though I can not escape the conviction that the improvement is not meant as a reflection upon those who have the administration of the Indian funds. This rather unsatisfactory result may be attributed wholly to circumstances. These Indians have lived in a state of almost constant alarm. They have been from time to time threatened with attack by the whites on one side and on the other by their unrequited brethren who have occasionally made forays upon their cattle & horses. They live in tents - there being but one log cabin - that of Ka-tom-sie, the chief, in that village. It is due to Agent Leeper to state that timber was prepared last Autumn with which to construct huts for their use, but, little progress was made and when the troops evacuated the camp in the Spring the Indians moved into the vacant quarters thinking to occupy the same permanently, but upon the re-occupation of the post by troops, two days before my arrival, one month ago, the Indians were compelled to return to the original site of their village and commence anew preparing for the winter. Meanwhile the timber designed for the construction of their abodes was expended in other uses. Thus these simple people have been singularly unfortunate, and their patience and docility - the more remarkable in so warlike a tribe - with which they have borne their trials should plead strongly in their behalf with a paternal government.

"In my letter of 16th inst. to the Secretary of the Interior I dwelt upon the importance of maintaining a military post on this Reserve. The paper herewith (A) hitherto referred to will fully sustain my views upon the subject. I therefore repeat that, if the Indians
remain here the troops should do so likewise. To ensure perfect harmony of action between the military and civil officers upon the Reserve the officer in command of the troops should receive explicit instructions, clearly defining his duties and obligations from the War Department itself and thus be no longer liable to be awayed and influenced by his own whims and caprices and subject to ill-advised orders dictated by the prejudices of the general commanding the Department of Texas. This is strong language, but copies of official papers furnished me by your office, as well as facts brought to my notice at this place, justify its use. I allude particularly to the improper interference with the affairs of the Reserve by one officer and the entire withdrawal of the troops by another. Whether these acts were performed upon their own responsibility or in obedience to order from the Commanding Officer of the Department of Texas they were equally reprehensible and merit, even this late day a full investigation of the appropriate Executive Department of Government.

"Whether these Indians be removed or not they should have comfortable cabins erected for them, the system of communism should be abandoned as soon as practicable and a spirit of generous emulation excited in the heads of families, a desire for comforts and luxuries stimulated, and, in short, the barbarian transformed into the modern civilized man.

"Respecting farming operations but little advancement should be expected, after teaching them the rudiments of agriculture, where the individual has so little incentive to exertion. I enclose herewith (B) a copy of the report of the farmer made at my request to Agent Leeper. The apportioning the fields among clans, though a judicious step, appears to me to lessen the evils of communism only in degree.

"Although I am assured the health of these Indians has greatly improved since their settlement upon the Reserve I would nevertheless advise that the nearest army surgeon be employed by the department to visit them occasionally. I have observed cases of disease among them wherein they might be spared great suffering by the administration of simple remedies under the advice and care of a humane and scientific physician. There are also a few chronic & surgical cases requiring
relief. As a general [thing] they appear to be in fine health and spirits.

"With respect to the portion of instructions requiring me to 'ascertain and report, whether the purchases made at various periods for the subsistence of the Indians on the two Reserves were required to meet their actual wants at those respective periods, and if so whether the prices paid were the current market prices at the places where and at the times when they were purchased', I can only say that the accounts and vouchers of the Comanche Agency appear submitted to my inspection all correct. If frauds have been committed it would be next to an impossibility to discover them. Much depends in such matters upon the character of the disbursing officer, and I will here take occasion to say that I have every confidence in the integrity and prudence of Agent Leeper. I have taken such testimony as can be had upon the subject - copies of which are now being prepared for transmission to the Indian office.

"I may not close this brief report without testifying to the favorable opinion which I have formed of the character and capacity of these particular Indians. I regard them as superior to any of our full-blooded native tribes -- and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west, and upon my late journey hither. I would recommend that a delegation from this Reserve be invited to Washington and that the same individuals be then sent on an embassy to their wild brethren north and north-west of this quarter. Such a measure would undoubtedly be freighted with good. Not only might the survivors of the renegade band of Buffalo Hump be thus reclaimed, but others of their kindred induced to abandon their predatory habits and accept a permanent home under the protection of the Government. I am informed that no Comanche delegation has visited Washington since 1846 and it is believed that all the individuals composing it are sometime dead.

"I trust, Sir, you will feel satisfied that I have used all due diligence in the performance of this duty. If it may be deemed that I have delayed here too long at this Reserve it must not be forgotten that here has centered all the agitation which I have been ordered to investigate and am expected to allay. I would also
remind you that I am required by my instructions to "give due notice in the promises to those who have brought charges against Mr. Neighbors, inviting them to appear and substantiate them". When I add that the mail facilities in this country are of the limited description that the witnesses are scattered over an extent of many hundred miles, that as already stated - some of them complain of the limited notice given them, I hope it will be readily perceived I have not wilfully tarried at this point. I will conclude by assuring you that all possible despatch will be used in bringing matters to a close - though I can not reasonably hope to reach Washington earlier than the first Monday in December."

82 Hawkins to Charles Mix, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Camp Cooper, October 30, 1858. I.O.I.R.

Although the final report made by Hawkins after his return to Washington is not available, the tone of the foregoing clearly indicates his verdict. The dismissal of the charges against Neighbors and the veiled indictment of Baylor and his associate only infuriated the group who had been foiled in their plans. Before Hawkins's final report was turned in, Baylor wrote to Washington, asking a postponement of a decision on the case, alleging that he had not had sufficient notice of the trial to come forward with his evidence. He urged that the department wait until he could gather and forward his evidence "which will be done as speedily as possible". He did not explain why he had not been
gathering such evidence during the six months of Hawkins’s employment as special investigator.

From other documents it is clear that Neighbors was not considered responsible for the troubles which had developed in connection with the reservations. Governor Runnels wrote him, during the period of investigation, stating that as the efforts of the state officials to get action from Washington had been fruitless, their only hope lay in his influence in Washington.

83

Runnels to Neighbors, August 30, 1858.
I.O.L.R.

Several of the documents submitted with Hawkins’s report suggest that Baylor had a strong confederate in the person of a Texas officer named Nelson. The following affidavit covers this phase of the case:

"The undersigned in accordance with the request of Major R.S. Neighbors and the commissioner appointed to investigate the charges preferred against said Neighbors, makes the following statement.

"In the month of February, 1858, a force was called into the field by the State of Texas, to operate against the Comanche and other Indians, and took post at the mouth of Hubbard’s Creek, on the Clear Fork of the Brazos. At that period many rumors were afloat in regard to the Reserve Indians and particularly against the
Comanches. These prejudices were entertained to a great extent, by all the officers of Captain Ford’s command, and he determined to break up the Comanche Agency in the event the charges preferred could be substantiated. In order to acquire the desired evidence a plan was set on foot to have the Indians watched. A meeting of the officers of the command was held at Camp Rummels in April, about the 15th, where the matter was discussed and each officer was solemnly bound to observe secrecy. It was determined to send out parties of reconnaissance, and to ascertain if the Reserve Comanches were committing depredations. Among other things it was said, ‘If a trail can be traced from the point where a depredation has been committed to the Comanche Reserve, then there can be no longer any doubt as to their complicity’. To this it was replied, as the affiant believes by Lieut. A. Nelson — ‘That thing can be managed — the trail can be made.’ To which Capt. Ford replied: ‘No, Sir, that will not do; I am responsible to the State, and to public opinion, and I will take no step in the matter, unless I am backed by facts and of such a character as to justify me before the public. I am willing to punish the Comanches, if they are found guilty; but I am not disposed to do so unjustly and improperly.’

"Much conversation was held of a similar character and it was decided to send Lieut. Nelson with a detachment of men to make a reconnaissance near the Comanche Reserve. He was absent several days, and reported no facts implicating the Comanche in the commission of improper acts. He stated that the citizens in the vicinity of the agency were opposed to having the reserve broken up, and the matter ended for the time being. After the expedition to the Comanches, Captain Ford called upon Lieut. William G. Preston of the command to notify citizens who were taking charges against Reserve Comanches, that he desired them to place their allegations in writing and be qualified to defend them. Not a single man ever came forward to testify against the people they had charged with robbery, theft, and murder. No testimony was procured and the Reserve Comanches were not molested. The consequence of this was, that several of the officers were induced to change their opinions and were led to believe the Reserve Comanches had been misrepresented."
"In the course of a conversation had some time in April last, Lieut. Nelson expressed the belief that Major Neighbors had acted badly as Supervising Agent - that he had escaped removal from the improper mode of procedure of his accusers. He added: 'The men are after him now who will hurt him - he will be removed'. Affiant thought no more of this until about the 7th or 8th of July last, when he was informed by Lieut. Nelson that a petition had been forwarded by citizens requesting the removal of Maj. Neighbors, and he further remarked: 'They have recommended me to fill his place - I had nothing to do with it. I tried to stop it and could not.' The conclusion in the mind of the affiant was that the men to whom Lieut. Nelson alluded in the first conversation were himself and friends.

"About this time Captain Ford entrusted a report to Lieut. Nelson to be mailed to Gov. Rammels. The report did not reach Austin but it is said to have been received in Washington City, accompanied by a letter assailing Maj. Neighbors, Capt. Ross, and Col. Leeper, and charging them with official misconduct. It is a little peculiar the report reached Washington and a copy failed to be received at Austin, if it had been forwarded to that point.

"As to the manner in which Lieut. Nelson kept the obligation to observe secrecy in regard to the conversations and determination of the officers while in private conversation Lieut. Burleson can state.

"It was enjoined upon every officer of the command by Capt. Ford, not to interfere in any way with the quarrels of Certain parties and Maj. Neighbors. The manner in which Lieut. Nelson obeyed the order can be shown. His charges against the agents, and his conduct throughout are conclusive on this head.

"In conclusion the affiant disavows entertaining any ill feeling against Capt. Nelson. He views him as a man who has and is endeavoring to subserve his own ends, and thought it necessary to play a double part to effect his object. When the affiant met Capt. Nelson at the Lampasas Springs - Aug. 2 the said Nelson never spoke to having preferred charges against the Indians'
agents - but tried to impress it upon his mind that Maj. Neighbors had treated him very badly.

"The affiant had many opportunities to ascertain the manner in which Capt. Ross discharged his duties as an Indian agent. He was at the agency frequently - had access to the Indian villages at all times and he never saw anything wrong. He takes great pleasure in endorsing Capt. Ross as an able efficient, and energetic agent, whose successful manner of conducting the affairs of the Agency can be seen by any one who will examine the houses, the fields, and the Indians. He was at one time at the agency of Col. Leeper and while there he saw enough to remove many impressions he had before entertained of the Agent of the Comanches, and left with a more favorable opinion than he had previously expressed.

"The ordeal through which Major Neighbors has passed endorses him. He needs no commendation from any quarter." 84

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84 John S. Ford to Hawkins. Subscribed to and sworn on Nov. 24, 1858. I.O.L.R.

From various newspaper articles, the part which Baylor played is clear enough. 85 Whether he

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85 See appendix, Nos.

really believed the Comanches were depredating after his removal from office makes little difference, for if the testimony against him may be relied upon; he held his office merely for the returns financially. His reports to the department during that period are
perhaps as untrustworthy as the statements he afterwards made. However, his purpose of arousing enmity between the citizens settled near the reserves and the Indians was accomplished, as the future was soon to reveal.

While the agents and the state officials were insistently calling upon the general government to take steps either to protect the Indians or to remove them from the limits of the state - while the Indians themselves were huddled together around the agency in constant fear of both the other Indians and the whites who resided nearby; while army officers surveyed the situation complacently from their comfortable quarters - a band of Texans, wrought up by malicious reports against the Indians, fell upon a group of the peaceful Indians from the Brazos agency - Indians who had fought against their own brethren for the protection of the white men into whose hands they had entrusted themselves -- and murdered them in cold blood, while the little group slept. No more was needed. A storm of protest arose on all sides. The government at Washington was assailed for the negligence and dilatory methods practiced in connection with the removal of the Indians; state officials were called to answer for the attack on the peaceful group; public resentment against
the manufacturers of some of the lics found voice.
One fact stood out clearly. Those who had determined
that the reservations were to be broken up had triumphed.
There could be no safety for any Indians on any reser-
vation in Texas after such an incident. The Indians
themselves, frightened before, were terrified now, and
refused to obey any orders which took them from the
shelter of the agency. The cattle were free to wander,
as they did to enrich, probably, some of the men who
were anxious to bring about just such a condition.

The first news of the massacre came to
Captain Ross from J.J. Sturm who had been left in con-
trol of the Brazos reserve during the absence of the
agent. After reporting on December 28th the facts of
the murder as they reached him, he wrote two days later
after having visited the scene:

"I am thus far on my way back to the agency,
from the scene of the massacre of the Caddo and Anadahko
Indians. A more horrible sight I never expect to see.
There, on their beds, lay the bodies of seven of the
best and most inoffensive Indians on the reserve, their
bodies pierced by buck shot and rifle balls, their eyes
closed, and their bodies stretched at full length, their
countenances indicating that they passed from calm sleep
to the sleep that knows no waking. One warrior lay
outside the camp; he and his wife were both shot. After
being shot, he seized his gun and shot the murderer of
his wife through the head, and at the same moment another
of the murderers shot him through the head. So murderer
and murdered both fell together."
The names of the parties who did the fell deed are all known...”

Judicial proceedings were at once instituted to ascertain and punish the perpetrators of the deed. Major Neighbors went to Waco, made the necessary affidavits, the district Judge, N.W. Battle, issued writs for all the parties named, and Capt. Ford, then in control of a ranging corps, was dispatched to arrest the offenders. Special counsel was employed by Neighbors to prosecute the murders of the Indians. On January 15,

Governor Runnels issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to desist from organizing parties such as those who attacked the Indians and begging all to co-operate in maintaining peace. He stated that all means would be employed to bring offenders to justice. The Indians who had been injured were sent to Waco under charge of Capt. Ross

to act as witnesses. In investigating the causes which led to the murder Neighbors reported:

"I have used every exertion, since the murder of these Indians, to trace the sources from which it originated. My investigation show, at Naco, Dallas, Weatherford, and the frontier counties through which I passed on my way up, that the same parties, viz: Mr. Allison Nelson, John R. Baylor, Mr. Alexander, with the addition of their tools, Captain Garland and his party -- the same party, in fact, who participated so prominently in the charges against the reserve Indians and agents last summer -- are responsible for the whole transaction, and have concocted and carried out the whole of this diabolical murder." 89


Troops were immediately ordered to the Brazos agency to afford some show of protection to the Indians gathered there. On January 3th, three citizens, James M. Norris, Walker of Bosque, and George B. Erath, who claimed to be acting as commissioners appeared at the Reserve and stated that they had heard the Indians were about to attack the settlements in retaliation, but upon being assured by Captain Palmer that no such ideas were entertained, they retired. 90 Regardless of the willingness which the Indians showed to leave the matter to the

90 Palmer to Lowe, January 10, 1859. 36th Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Doc.
courts, in whose fairness they had implicit faith, nothing was done. What actually happened was that Ford facing his action on technicalities, insisted that he had no authority to make arrests unless ordered to do so by the governor; in other words, he washed his hands of responsibility in the matter of enforcing the law. In forwarding Ford's letter to the Department Neighbors wrote:

"I enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from Captain Ford of the Texas rangers, who is now in service under the State authorities, the perusal of which will show you how far he considers himself under the control of the civil authorities. The course pursued by that officer and the men under his control, so far from sustaining the judiciary in the execution of the civil law of the land, has done much to embarrass them in their action, and to defeat the ends of justice by sympathizing with the murderers of the Indians; yet, Captain Ford and his command expect that the general government will repay to the State of Texas the amount expended by the State in maintaining them in their lawless course, on the plea of frontier defense.

"I most solemnly protest against the maintenance of such a force in the immediate vicinity of the reserves or on the frontier of Texas, as it is an element in its present attitude hostile to the Indian policy of the general government; and, in place of affording any protection to either citizens or Indians, it encourages the lawless mobs, who are organized in the counties below the reservation... to carry on their forays against the friendly Indians on the reserves, under the countenance and promise of protection, which they would not do if they were left to deal with the Indians without being backed by this force; and it is
hoped that the authorities of the general government will, at an early date, take such measures as will induce the state to abandon the idea of maintaining a separate military force hostile to the established institutions of the general government in this state.

"I have heard that Captain Ford has been recommended for an Indian agency in place of K. Leeper, Esq. The contemptible pandering of that individual, in the present instance, to the prejudice of a band of lawless men, against the very Indians who had led him to victory last spring over the hostile Comanches, should, in my estimation, forever preclude him from a situation of the kind, or any other where firmness or honesty of purpose is required." 91

91 Neighbors to Denver, February 14, 1859. 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Doc., p. 605, 1859-1860.

Indeed, so protected by the public sentiment did the perpetrators of the murder feel, that they did not hesitate to avow their act in a public statement. The blame for the situation they laid at the door of the Indian agents for permitting the Indian to leave the reserve as, they claimed, the Indians and agents had been warned what they might expect, if the Indians were found within the line of settlements. 92


The month of February passed without further
action on either side. The Indians were gradually persuaded to return temporarily, at least, to their villages upon being assured of full protection. Calls came from Captain Fort for Indians to accompany him on an expedition against depredating bands, and also Major Van Dorn requested a group to accompany him in a raid against hostile Wichitas, with both of which requests the Indians readily complied with upon being assured that their wives and children would be given ample protection during their absence. But before their return news began to sift into the agency that another group was gathering outside the reserve with the purpose of attacking and exterminating the Indians. Another appeal was issued to the military commanders to provide protection for the Indians, for as Agent Ross said, unless it were provided, there was no choice for the Indian but to take to the woods and protect himself as he had done in former years. The difficulty of the situation lay in the fact that many of the warriors were away and unable to protect their families, and this the men had had planned the attack knew only too well.

Realizing completely the precarious position of the Indians for whose welfare he felt himself morally
responsible, Major Neighbors appealed over and over again to the Commissioner of Indian affairs for prompt orders for the removal of the Indians. On March 30th, Mix wrote him that he was sorry that the Indians could not wait until fall to move as he had planned but he would take steps to hasten matters. The steps were necessarily slow, for there were difficulties involved in the choice of a place for the new settlement, provision for the establishment of a military post, without which the Indians would be more than ever exposed to hostile attack from other Indians if not from whites.

In an attempt to allay public sentiment against the Indians, Neighbors sent to the Governor of Texas and also to the leading papers the statement of the Commissioner that the department intended moving the Indians at the earliest possible date to their new settlement beyond the limits of the state. But this did not help much. On May 1st, Ross wrote to Neighbors:

"The past month has been one of continued excitement among the Indians belonging to this reserve, caused by the frequent forays of Comanches, and the threatened attack upon the reserves by citizens. The citizens of the different surrounding counties are kept
in constant excitement and hostility by the speeches
made by Captain Baylor and others, and by constant
rumors of the outrages and depredations said to be
committed by the reserve Indians.

"I had hoped that, after it was made known
that the government intended to move the Indians from
Texas as soon as practicable, that it would quiet the
minds of the people, and would stop the mouths of
those who have labored so assiduously to break up the
reserves; but it seems that in this I am to be dis-
appointed, for only a few days since they held a meet-
ing in Golconda, where Baylor and others, as I am
credibly informed, made speeches and used very threat-
ening language against the agents and the Indians.
I also hear that he is now prowling around the reserve
with a body of armed men with the avowed object of tak-
ing scalps." 93

93 Ross to Neighbors, May 1, 1859. 36 Cong.,

It required some moral as well as physical
courage for Captain Ross to discuss the subject as
lightly as this for he had received notice from the
same generous group of gentlemen that as long as the
general government had not sense enough to discharge
him, they would perform that office themselves and
they made known to him their disapprobation of his
conduct and demanded his immediate resignation. To
this document, Ross wisely deigned no answer. 94

94 Ross to Neighbors, May 5, 1859. 36 Cong.,
Early in May, E. J. Gurley, who had been retained as special counsel against the murderers of the Indians in December wrote to Neighbors that he had reliable information that the group of hostile men, not content with trying to drive the Indians from the state, intended to murder them while in transit. They planned to enlist the help of the Tonkawes and made them their tools. As soon as this plan became known, the governor was notified. Gurley also informed the supervising agent that no bill had been found against the murderers and that none need be expected from the general tone of the country at that time against Indians in general.

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In fear that the Indians might be removed before an opportunity presented itself of wreaking their vengeance, a group of several hundred men under the command of John R. Baylor gathered in the vicinity of the Brazos reserve and advanced for a general attack. Captain Plummer (of the U.S. Rifles) in charge of the troops stationed at that point notified Baylor
that he would attack them if they persisted.

"Captain Baylor rejoined, that this mes-

sage did not alter his determination of attacking
the Indians on the reserve, and that he would attend
 to leaving it himself; that he regretted the neces-
 sity of coming in collision with the United States
troops, but that he had determined to destroy the
Indians on this and the upper reserve, if it cost the
life of every man in his command.

"The Indians, in the mean time, as well as
the troops, prepared for action, and some of the former,
who were mounted, were hovering near Captain Baylor
and his men watching their movements. By friendly signs,
they induced a very old Indian to approach them, when
they tied a rope around his neck, and then moved off
in a westerly direction; but before going far, killed
and scalped their prisoner. They were followed by
fifty or sixty Indians, constantly exchanging shots
with them; and eight miles from the agency, and about
one and a half miles from the limits of the reserve,
they came to a stand, taking possession of a farmer's
house and out buildings: there the Indians fought them
until dark, when they returned to the reservation. They
killed, they state, five of Captain Baylor's men, and
had one of their own number killed..." 96

96 J. B. Plummer to the Assistant Adj. General
1859-1860.

Again on June 10th, Neighbors wrote to A. B.
Greenwood, commissioner of Indian affairs that the
sentiment in the state was such that the removal of
the Indians must take place and as soon as possible.
He stated that there was no redress from the lawless
gang who had attacked on the 23rd of May, and the Indians
were in constant danger. In emphasizing this point he said:

"It is truly unfortunate for the Indians that the general government, upon my suggestions, after the demonstrations in March last, did not either remove the Indians across the Red river, or make some provision for their defense. As it is, they have in this last foray lost a large portion of the remnant of property, stock, etc., left at that date, have received no redress, made no crops, and are in every way ten times worse off than they would have been if they had taken to the prairies and subsisted themselves. They have, owing to the presence of the force which threatened them for the last five weeks, been compelled to abandon every comfort, shut themselves up in their fortified camp with two companies of troops, with such shelter as could be temporarily provided. ... The reserves may be considered virtually broken up; all work is suspended. The Indians will not even cultivate their small gardens, and the agents can do nothing more than to keep the Indians in something like a state of organization, ready for the removal to a place of safety." 97


At last, on June 11th, the orders were issued to begin the removal of the Indians. The secretary of war had instructed the commanding officer to furnish military escort, and Neighbors was told to collect the Indians into one body; to pack every thing movable and send it forward with the Indians. Agent Leeper was instructed to accompany Neighbors on the
trip while Ross was to remain in charge of the property which could not well be removed to the new settlement. While awaiting instructions, Neighbors, accompanied by the chiefs of the different tribes, went forward to confer with the superintendent into whose hands the Indians were to be committed in regard to the selection of lands for the final settlement. On July 4, Neighbors wrote the department that he had conferred with Superintendent Rector and concurred with him in all points; that he now would return to Texas to begin the removal of the Indians to the designated points. 98


On July 10th, he reported from the Brazos agency that all would be in readiness in about ten days for departure, provided the military escort arrived, "which will probably not be here for a month or six weeks". The governor had sent 100 men to patrol the vicinity of the reserves; as a result the Indians had no chance to gather up their stock. 99
Neighbors to Greenwood, July 10, 1859.  

Not until after the Indians and the frontier protectors had come into open conflict and several had been killed, did the cavalcade actually begin the forward move. With Major Neighbors went Agent Ross from the Brazos agency in charge of the train and animals, while Agent Leeper from the Comanche agency was to join the party at Red River. Each section was under the escort of one or more companies of U. S. troops. On the 14th while encamped on the False Washita, Indian Territory, the several companies were ordered back to their posts, thus leaving the Indians without protection of any kind. On the 1st of September Neighbors turned over the Indians and their property to the deputy of Agent Blain who was instructed to receive them in charge. The Indians were assisted in their selection of lands, which Major Neighbors pronounced of excellent quality. There was still no provision made for the protection of the Indians against attack and he wrote the department that he hoped some would be provided as soon as possible. 100

100 Agent Blain was United States Wichita Agent I.O.L.R.
"Having, as above stated, delivered to
the Indian tribes all their individual property and
turned over to Agent Plain all the property of the
government, I on the 1st of September, discharged all
the employees, and paid them off to that date, and
transferred to him all jurisdiction over the Indians,
and have instructed Agents Leeper and Ross to return
to their respective places of abode, and await further
orders.

"Having thus, to the best of my ability,
discharged all the duties imposed upon me by your
order of the 11th June, and as I hope to your entire
satisfaction, I shall at once proceed, via the reserves
in Texas, to San Antonio, for the purpose of adjusting
my final accounts, at which place I shall await your
further instructions." 101

107 Neighbors to Greenwood, September 3, 1859.

But the final accounts were never adjusted
by the writer of that letter. Before his home was
reached to which he expected to return to spend the
rest of his life, he was killed by a man who is supposed
to have been practically a stranger to him, although
probably better acquainted with Messrs. Baylor and
Nelson. Without a moment's warning, he was shot down
and died in twenty minutes. His last letter to his
wife may well form the conclusion to his labors in
behalf of the Indians of Texas.

"I have this day crossed all the Indians out
of the heathen land of Texas and am now 'out of the land
of the Philistines'. 
"If you want to have a full description of our Exodus out of Texas - Read in "Mills" where the children of Israel crossed the Red Sea. We have had about the same story, only our enemies did not follow us to Red River. If they had - the Indians would have - in all probability sent them back without the interposition of Divine providence..."

R. S. Neighbors. 102

CHAPTER IV.

The Administration of the Texas Reservations.

The general administration of the Indians in Texas was entrusted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to a supervising agent and two special agents. The following table includes the incumbents of these officers from 1849 to 1859, at which time the Indians were removed beyond the borders of the state.

Indian Agents for Texas. 1847-1859.

**Supervising Agents.**

Major Robert S. Neighbors.
March, 1847 - November, 1849.
July, 1853 - September, 1859.
April 23, 1859 appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas.
Murdered, September, 12, 1859.

Judge John H. Rollins.
November, 1849 - September 1851.
Died in office.

Major George T. Howard.
January, 1852 - July, 1853.
Sub-Agents, 1850-1855.

Prairie Indians

John A. Rogers,
November, 1850 - March, 1852.

Horace Capron.
March, 1852 - July, 1853.

George T. Howard
July, 1853 - July, 1855.

Agricultural Tribes

Colonel Jesse Stem.
November, 1850 - June, 1855.
Murdered by Indians.

George W. Hill.
June, 1855 - August, 1855.

Brazos Agency, 1855-1859.

George W. Hill.
June, 1855 - August, 1855.

Shapley F. Ross.
August, 1855 - September, 1859.

Comanche Reserve.

Major George T. Howard.
July, 1855 - July, 1855.

Resigned because of opposition.

John R. Baylor.
July, 1855 - March, 1857
The office of Supervising Agent was filled throughout the period of existence of the Texas reservation by Major Robert S. Neighbors. In outlining his services to the Commissioners selected by the governor to investigate Indians' condition just before their removal from the state, Neighbors gives the following digest of his work in connection with Texas:

"I have been in Texas since 1836; served my country in responsible stations until 1842, and, after two years imprisonment in Mexico, entered the service again as Indian Agent under the old republic, and served to the end of Mr. Polk's administration in that capacity; then as commissioner of the state to New Mexico; two years in the Legislature as representative of Bexar county; as the elector of the western district during Mr. Pierce's canvass; and for the last six years as the Supervising Indian Agent." 104

Throughout the period in which Major Neighbors held the office of Supervising Agent he enjoyed the complete confidence of the authorities in Washington and also of the Texas State officials. With his sub-
ordinates he was not always in harmony. There was much difference of opinion between him and George T. Howard who was one of the special agents at the time of the removal of the Indians to the Reservation, and this disagreement lost Major Neighbors some friends in the neighborhood of San Antonio. More unfortunate in its outcome was his recommendation of the dismissal of John R. Baylor. It was generally supposed by many, and openly stated by Neighbors that the causes of the trouble which developed between the settlers and the Indians was the desire of Baylor, Nelson and others to get control of the money appropriated by the general government for the support of the Indians on the reserves they having frequently said, in their publications, "that they (the agents) have a time of it", and J.R. Baylor was considered... a good judge, because he was dismissed from service by the general government for "having a good time of it during the eighteen months that he was in service. This his own accounts will show whenever any one chooses to investigate." 105

In general the Indian agents were men of standing in their respective communities, and were usually selected on account of special fitness in dealing with Indian problems. Major George T. Howard, after leaving the Indian service, retained a position of high respect in San Antonio where he lived until after the Civil War. George W. Hill, whose place was filled by John R. Baylor, had been the Secretary of State for Texas. He died soon after being relieved from office. John R. Baylor, after serving in the Civil War, returned to San Antonio, where he was regarded as a gentleman.

Of all the Indian agents, the only man who escaped all manner of criticism was Shapley P. Ross. Born in 1811, he removed to Texas at an early date and settled in Milam County. The desire of educating his children drove him to Austin, where his ability soon attracted the attention of General Harney, who placed him in control of troops for the defense of the frontier.

From the opening of the Mexican war until the civil war, Ross was continually in the service of the state or federal authorities. In 1855 he took charge of the Brazos Agency, largely as a result of the Indians' own selection of him as a man whom they admired, and during his years of service there he did not lose their confidence. A close friendship existed between him and the Supervising Agent, as is shown by the bestowal of the name of Ross upon one of the sons of Neighbors.

The Indians who gathered upon the reservations were placed in the hands of the special agents. The first rolls compiled from Brazos Agency show the following tribes and respective numbers then settled.

1855

Census Roll of Indians, who have settled on the Indian Reservations, on lands selected for them by the United States.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An-ah-dah-koes</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>217</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>221</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cad-does</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of births</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of deaths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wacos</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of births</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tah-wac-car-ros</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ton-ka-huas</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of births</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

107 Brazos Agency. S.P. Ross. I.O.L.R.
Tribes first settled on the Indian Reservations on the main Brazos (showing casualities) selected by the United States as per Grant of the Legislature of Texas. Approved Feb. 6, 1854.

June 30th, 1855 by G.W. Hill, Special Indian Agent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>No. of Men</th>
<th>No. of Women</th>
<th>No. of Boys</th>
<th>No. of Girls</th>
<th>No. of Males</th>
<th>No. of Females</th>
<th>Total Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An-abadahkoes</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tah-chuah-lock-in</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kow-in-tah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-it-num</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of births</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of deaths</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Caddoes          | 56         | 52           | 27          | 25           | 83           | 77             | 160              |
| Cah-a-nunity     | 2          | 1            | 1           | 1            | 3            | 2              | 5                |
| Cho-nin-da       | 2          | 1            | 2           | 2            |              | 4              | 3                |
| Chah-tun         | 4          | 6            | 4           | 3            | 8            | 9              | 17               |
| No. of births    | 54         | 60           | 32          | 32           | 96           | 92             | 188              |

| Tawac-carroes     | 28        | .39          | 27          | 21           | 55           | 60             | 115              |
| Nah-had-coes     | 2         | 1            | 2           | 2            | 3            | 5              | 5                |
| Cah-Cos-to       | 1         | 3            | 2           | 1            | 3            | 4              | 7                |
| Sho-hats-chash   | 1         | 2            | 1           | 2            | 1            | 3              | 3                |
| Hah-at-quares    | 3         | 1            | 1           | 3            | 2            |                | 5                |
| No. of births    | 34         | 45           | 32          | 26           | 66           | 76             | 137              |
| No. of deaths    | 1         | 45           | 32          | 26           | 65           | 76             | 136              |
| Total            | 33         | 45           | 32          | 26           | 65           | 76             | 136              |

I.O.L.R.
1855. 109

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Men</th>
<th>No. of Women</th>
<th>No. of Boys</th>
<th>No. of Girls</th>
<th>No. of Females</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waco</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ash-ah-ha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of births</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ton-ka-hua  56  77  27  11  83  88  171

109 G.W. Hill, Special Indian Agent, June 30th, 1855.  
I.O.L.R., no. 107.

The number of Indians settled on Comanche Reserve, 110
September 10, 1855:
Total: 277.

110 34 Cong., 1 Sess., House Doc. no. 1, p. 499.  
34 Cong., 3 Sess., Senate Doc. no. 5, p. 724.

111 1856

The census rolls from 1856 to 1859 follow.  
Census Roll of Comanche Indians actual settlers on the  
Comanche Reservation. Showing the changes since December, 1855.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>No. of Males over 12</th>
<th>No. of females under 12</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Total Grand Total males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comanches</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo Hump</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-hop-seha-nah</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of births

|        | 116 | 225 | 85   | 88   | 201 | 314 | 515 |

No. of deaths

|        | 5   | 3   | 5    | 3   | 8   |

111 January 1856. John R. Baylor, Special Indian Agent, I.O.L.R.

112

1856

Census Roll of Indians actual settlers at Brazos Agency, December 1856.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cad does</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Total Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No births

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ana-dah-koes</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Total Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deaths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ana-dah-koes</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Total Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No deaths

|          | 73    | 77      | 36   | 29    | 111         | 106            | 216              |

Tah-waccarroses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Total Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Births

<p>|        | 48    | 62      | 45   | 36    | 93          | 98             | 191              |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wacooes</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonka-huas</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brazos Agency, Dec. 31, 1856. I.O.L.R.

1857

Actual Indians on Brazos Agency, with S.P. Ross as special agent.

December 1857.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>No. of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caddoes</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anadakoes</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacooes</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahwaccarroes</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonkahuaas</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1010</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S.P. Ross, Special Agent, Texas Indians. I.O.L.R.
December 1858.

Census Roll of Indians on Comanche Reserve,
December 1858 by M. Leeper, Special Indian Agent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Males over 12</th>
<th>Males under 12</th>
<th>Females over 12</th>
<th>Females under 12</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comanches</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We certify that the above census Roll of Comanche Indians located on the reserve is the result of a careful and accurate account made by us on the delivery of blankets to each one on Nov. 21, 1859.

John Shirley,
Horace S. Jones.

Census Roll of Indians on Comanche Reserve Texas.
Under charge of M. Leeper.
July 28, 1859.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males over 12</th>
<th>Females over 12</th>
<th>Males under 12</th>
<th>Females under 12</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comanches</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Census Roll of Indian member of Caddo Tribe, who have settled on the Indian Reservation, on Main Brazos River, and who were removed to Wichita Agency, Indian Territory, August 1, 1859.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men over 12</th>
<th>Boys over 12</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Grand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Muster Roll of Texas Reserve Indians at Wichita Agency in November, 1859.

- Anahdahkoes: 218
- Tonkahuas: 845
- Tahwaccarroes: 200
- Wacos: 144
- Comanches: 380
- Caddo: 244

Total: 1431
From these rolls the following totals are available:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Brazos Agency</th>
<th>Comanche Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>1112</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>1431</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be of interest to know what the experiment of establishing Indian reservations in Texas cost the general government. From the following expense accounts furnished the Indian office by Major Neighbors, the expenses of each year may be seen, but it is to be regretted that the accounts of the Brazos and Comanche Agencies were not maintained separately.

Disbursements for 1855.

Report of R. S. Neighbors, in the quarter ending March 31, 1855, for current expenses on account of expenses of settling, concentrating and subsisting the Indians of Texas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Settling, concentrating, &amp;c.</td>
<td>$11,600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blankets</td>
<td>$400.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagons and teams</td>
<td>$2,040.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries</td>
<td>$96.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provisions</td>
<td>$173.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>$1,250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$15,559.12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quarter ending June 31, 1855.

Expenses for settling, concentrating, & subsisting of Indians $6,728.88
Disbursements as per Abstract B. 7,049.74
\[\text{Total: } 13,778.62\]

Quarter ending Sept. 30, 1855.

Settling, concentrating, & subsisting of Indians 12,542.88
Disbursements as per Abstract B 3,312.77
\[\text{Total: } 15,855.65\]

Quarter ending Dec. 31, 1855.

To amount spent, as per Abstract A $38,538.64
To amount spent, as per Abstract B 4,479.50
\[\text{Total: } 43,018.14\]

Total expenses for 1855, $88,304.48.

I.O.L.R. R.S. Neighbors, no. 8

Quarter ending March 1856.

To amount paid for provision and for subsisting of Indians $12,449.90
To amount as per Abstract B 2,730.99
\[\text{Total: } 15,180.89\]

Quarter ending June 1856.

To amount of special agents, contractor agency, building & subsisting of Indians 23,519.54
To amount as per Abstract B 6,905.72
\[\text{Total: } 30,425.26\]

Quarter ending Sept. 1856.

To amount paid for provisions and for subsisting of Indians 19,637.59
To amount as per Abstract B 7,219.25
\[\text{Total: } 26,856.84\]
Quarter ending Dec. 1856.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To amount paid for subsisting of Indians</td>
<td>$18,947.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as per Abstract A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To amount as per Abstract B.</td>
<td>$4,594.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for 1856</strong>, $95,905.15</td>
<td><strong>$25,442.11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

118 I.O.L.R.

---

Disbursements for 1857.

Quarter ending March 31, 1857.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To amount paid for concentrating &amp; subsisting</td>
<td>$13,221.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Indians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To amount as per Abstract B.</td>
<td>$4,296.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quarter ending June 30, 1857.</strong></td>
<td><strong>$17,518.99</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To amount paid for contracts & subsisting of Indians.  | 33,458.40 |
Current expenses as per Abstract B.                   | 4,436.36   |
**Quarter ending Sept. 30, 1857.**                    | **38,394.76**|

To amount paid for provision and general subsistence of Indians. | 22,425.32 |
Amount paid as per Abstract B.                         | 2,923.90   |
**Quarter ending Dec. 31, 1857.**                      | **25,349.22**|

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To amount paid for subsisting of Indians</td>
<td>$2,869.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To amount as per Abstract B.</td>
<td>$12,635.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for 1857</strong>, $98,867.77</td>
<td><strong>15,405.79</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R.S. Neighbors.
Disbursements for 1858.

Quarter ending March 31, 1858.

To amount paid for subsisting of Indians as per Abstract A. $15,186.06
To amount as per Abstract B. $4,545.71

Total $19,731.77

Quarter ending June 1858.

To amount paid for subsisting of Indians as per Abstract A. $22,444.20
To amount as per Abstract B. $6,487.50

Total $28,931.70

Quarter ending Sept. 1858.

To amount as per Abstract A. $14,704.73
As per Abstract B. $5,598.59

Total $20,303.32

Quarter ending Dec. 1858.

To amount as per Abstract A. $15,585.16
To amount as per Abstract B. $4,539.66

Total, $59,765.51

Robs. S. Neighbors. I.O.L.R.

Disbursements for 1859.

The amount of funds required for the support of the Indians of Texas, now settled on the Indian Reservation, on the Main and Clear Fork of Brazos River, including all expenses for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1859.
Disbursements for 1858.

Quarter ending March 31, 1858.

To amount paid for subsisting of Indians as per Abstract A. 15,186.06
To amount as per Abstract B. 4,546.71

Quarter ending June 1858\textsuperscript{120}

To amount paid for subsisting of Indians as per Abstract A. 22,444.20
To amount as per Abstract B. 6,487.50

Quarter ending Sept. 1858.

To amount as per Abstract A. 14,704.73
As per Abstract B. 5,598.59

Quarter ending Dec. 1858.

To amount as per Abstract A. 15,585.16
To amount as per Abstract B 4,539.66

Total, $39,765.51

\textsuperscript{120}Robt. S. Neighbors. I.O.L.R.

Disbursements for 1859.\textsuperscript{121}

The amount of funds required for the support of the Indians of Texas, now settled on the Indian Reservation, on the Main and Clear Fork of Brazos River, including all expenses for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1859.
To amount required for concentrating, subsisting, and settling the Indians of Texas at Brazos Agency, for Agents, interpreters and laborers... $35,515.90

To amount for concentrating, subsisting, and settling the Comanche Indians of Texas at Comanche Agency, for pay of agents and interpreters, present, &c. 18,370.60

To pay of agents, interpreters and presents to Indians... 5000.00

To amount required to purchase iron, steel, and farming utensils by Special Agent Ross. 1,469.75

For the maintenance of a school at Brazos Agency, pay of teacher, purchase of books. 1,500.00

$ 61,655.35

121 Robt. S. Neighbors. I.O.I.R.

Disbursements for 1859. 122

Amount spent during quarter ending 20 Sept. 1859, by Robt. S. Neighbors, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, for the following purpose. For pay of Superintendent Indian Affairs, 1 interpreter from 30 June to 30 Sept. 1859, inclusive 3 months ..... 627.50

For pay as per Agent S.P. Ross 870.85

For pay as per Agent M. Leeper ( 1 interpreter, 1 farmer, 2 laborers ) 695.83

For pay as per removal Indians from Brazos and Comanches Agencies, Texas to Wichita Agency as per statement 12,065.00

Inclusive for 1500 souls, 31 days at 8 cents per day ... $ 17,993.18
Funds required for removal of the Indians of Texas from Brazos and Comanche to the Wichita Agency at Indian Territory:

For pay of 80 wagons capable of transporting each 2500 lbs., as per contract with James Duff 25 days at $3.12 1/2 each per day... $6,250.00

For pay 20 days rations flour for 1500 souls... 1,112.50

For pay 20 days rations beef 1500 souls, contract for beef to C.E. Barnard... 2,025.00

For pay 20 days ration of salt for 1500 souls... 90.00

For pay of 50 bushels of corn for government animals... 87.00

For pay of contingencies for the purchase of 10 yokes oxen... 500.00

For pay of other expenses... 2,000.00

$12,065.50
From these tables the totals for the years 1855 to 1859 run as follows:

1855       $88,304.48
1856       95,905.15
1857       98,667.77
1858       89,765.51
1859       61,655.35
1859       17,998.18

1859       12,065.50 (Amount required to remove the Indians from Texas to Wichita.)

$454,331.94

In considering this large amount of money which was expended on less than 1500 Indians, the question naturally suggests itself: What did the agents get for the Indians? The first answer would naturally be food, for the poor crops and limited hunting facilities prevented the Indians from providing themselves with even a bare subsistence. The principal item of food provided at government expense was meat. The following statement shows the amount of meat issued to the various tribes during one week in 1857.
Statement of provisions issued to Indians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Beef</th>
<th>no. of lbs.</th>
<th>lbs.</th>
<th>Flour</th>
<th>salt</th>
<th>cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caddoes</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21 lbs. / $135.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anah-ah-koes</td>
<td>3150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;     134.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacoes</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;     89.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahwaccarros</td>
<td>2920</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;     125.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonkaus</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;     86.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11,400 lbs. 500 lbs. 10 $570.91

Issued to 1010 Indians from Dec. 5 to Dec. 12, 1857. Brazos Agency. S.P. Ross, Agent.

Another interesting statement of articles purchased from Charles Barnard for the Indians on the Brazos Agency is appended.

The following articles were purchased by S.P. Ross from Chas. E. Barnard. Received at Brazos Agency March 31, 1858.

Jan. 11. For 100 Prs. men's brogan shoes, per pair 2.00...200.00
" 75 lbs. powder, .50...37.50
" 200 bar lead, 3.00...18.00
" 6 lbs. vermilion 5.00
" 100 " tobacco 40.00
Feb. 12. For 50 lbs. of tobacco 20.00
" 500 " boxes of sugar 110.00
" 2 sacks Rio coffee, 350 lbs. at .22 72.60
March. 15 prs. men's brogan shoes at 2.00 30.00
" 60 lbs. of tobacco .40 24.00
" 3 " calomel, 7.50 2 doz. quinine, 17.50
March. For 2 doz. Radway Relief. $1. 4 doz. boxes of G. Pills $18.00
" " 4 doz. Dia-mixtures. $10. 3 " cough mixtures 17.50
" 16. 80 lbs. of tobacco at .40 32.00
" " 1 sack coffee, 165 lbs. at .22 36.30
" " 10 doz. pint cups at 1.25 12.50
$ 730.90

S. P. Ross, Special Indian Agent.

I.O.L.R.

The next item of importance in the list of Indian expenses is that of clothing. From the list of purchases made to provide the Indians with materials for covering their bodies, one need not worry that the Indians on the Texas reservations were nude or had much opportunity to return to their original state of nakedness. Among the lists of goods which were furnished to Indians for the purpose of making garments and articles for their homes, the following is suggestive:

Robt. S. Neighbors, Supervising Agent, Texas Indians, makes the following report to the United States Government. The following articles were issued to the Comanche Agency Nov. 9, 1909.

150 Pcs. 3 pt. white Mack. blankets c 5.90 885.00
49 " " " scarlet " " c 7.00 343.00
95 " " " gentinella Mack. " " c 6.25 593.75
1599 yards unbleached domestic sheeting .07 111.97
1200 " brown drillings .92 114.09
1731 " calico .09 155.85
1683 " blue drillings .11 185.13
168 " blue sars, list cloth 1.45 243.60
147 yards scarlet sar list cloth c 1.75 $ 257.25
288 Hickory shirts .45 129.60
12 Hs. linen thread .40 4.80
5 " cotton " .30 1.50
5 doz. flag handkerchiefs 1.50 7.50
6 " 8/4 cotton shawls 6.00 36.00
12prs. wrappers 2.50 30.00
5 boxes and strappings 1.56 7.80

$ 3106.85

By M. Leeper, Special Indian Agent, Texas.

Of those which give the various items of readymade clothing purchased for the Indians, the next is typical. With overcoats, satin pants, a choice of plush and fine vests, as well as shoes, the Indians must have been outfitted as befitted chiefs of tribes in all their war deckings.

Neighbors makes the following report of clothing that was received at Brazos Agency:

90 Apt. overcoats at 6.90 $ 621.00
87 Prs. pants " 4.06 353.22
18 Plush vests " 2.00 36.00
6 Fine vests " 3.00 18.00
175 Prs. men's brogan shoes at 1.85 323.75

$1552.97
In addition to providing the Indians the bare necessities of life, the department provided for the employment of such agencies as would most likely bring the natives to a knowledge of the habits of civilized life. Among these employees, the teacher and the farmer played an important part. In addition to these the services of a physician tended to alleviate suffering and to prevent epidemics by fostering healthful and sanitary habits of life.

Schools were organized on both reserves in 1858. As early as September 1857, Agent Ross wrote to the department that the Indians all expressed a desire to have their children educated and were gratified to know that the building then being erected was to be used for that purpose. From the first the schools were

128 Ross to Neighbors, September 11, 1857. I.O.L.R.

a success. The life of the first one was of short duration, the teacher not being considered in all respects a suitable person for the position; notwithstanding this fact the boys learned remarkably well under his
instructions. Most of them learned to spell, and some to read simple sentences. "They evince a great deal of 'sprightliness'. One of them, I am sure would compare favorably in point of ability, with the most talented boys of the surrounding schools."129

129 Neighbors to Mix. 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Doc. p. 529.

On July 28th of the following year, Ross reported that the school had been opened on June 1st. and had been attended by more scholars than the teacher could manage. He suggested the employment of another teacher as there were more than two hundred children on the reserves to be educated.

On the opening day there was a full attendance of all the chiefs and all the heads of families. Col. Leeper said he had counseled among the various tribes of Indians, but he had never before witnessed so much concern and interest as the tribes now showed towards the schools. After Col. Leeper had addressed the chiefs, with regard to the utility of having their children educated and the intention of the government in so doing, the head chief made a very lengthy speech to his people relative to their future prosperity, then the chief
turned to Col. Leeper, and said in behalf of his people that "their hearts were glad, and that they were now satisfied".

Richard Sloan who was appointed by Col. Leeper for the Comanche school, makes the following report:

"There were 25 males and 12 females students present the first day. The Indian students are very attentive and spend from six to eight hours in study each day.

"The following table shows the number of books in our library.

| McGuffey's Elective first reader | 3 |
| The Elementary spelling books    | 6 |
| Total                            | 9 |

The number of books wanted:

The Pictorial Spelling books are preferred, if they can be obtained, of which we want 36.

| McGuffey's Elective first reader | 12 |
| Total                            | 48 |

Richard Sloan, Teacher."

130Richard Sloan to Neighbors, August 18, 1858. I.O.L.R.

The following report of the school will be of interest. Neighbors makes the report to the United States Government concerning books received.
At Brazos Agency, Oct. 5, 1858.

1. Register $2.50
10. Arithmetics 1.00
4. Atlas 6.00
4. Doz. copy books 1.80
1 Holy Bible .25
1. Bell 2.50
1. Doz. bound primers 2.50
2 " unbound " 1.50
100 Quills 1.50
2 lbs. of chalk .50
1 Doz. head pencils .25

$19.30

131 I. O. L. R. Robt. S. Neighbors.

This statement by Z.E. Combs, shows the number in attendance and their progress.

Whole number of scholars 54
Average per day 40
No. studying Rays Arithmetic (first part) 1
No. reading and writing 16
No. spelling 17
No. learning the alphabet 20
"This school has been in session six months, during the entire time most of the scholars have been in constant attendance and now need rest. By agreement there will be a vacation of one month at the end of which time I will open school again."

J.E. Combs to S.P. Ross, December 31, 1858.

Mrs. R.L. Combs presents a bill to Neighbors:

For making 30 pairs of pants for the school children at Brazos Agency 7.50
For making 27 shirts 5.75
" 19 coats 6.33
" 6 girls' dresses 3.50

$ 23.58

Mrs. R.F. Combes to Neighbors, September 30, 1858.

Books received at Comanche Agency, October 11, 1858.

2 Atlases 1 Doz. unbound primers
4 Ray's Arithmetic 100 Quills
4 Doz. copy books 1 Doz. first readers.
1 Record book
1 Holy Bible
2 lbs. of chalk
1 Doz. pencils
2 " Primers bound


November 5, 1858.

Invoice of school books &c. belonging to the Indians' school at Brazos Agency, Texas. At this date, and on removal to the Wichita Agency.

1. Bell  
1. Register  
1. Bible  
13. Slates  
4. School atlases  
13. First readers  
3. Primers  
6. Arithmetics  
46. Lights, window sashes.

Robt. S. Neighbors. I.O.L.R.

The school on the Brazos Agency continued until the Indians were ready for removal. Work was interrupted by the excitement which followed the killing of the seven Indians in December 1858, but the children were soon back at their accustomed places. Major Neighbors took a great interest in the work of the school and wrote the department suggesting the expediency of spending more money on facilities for the education of the young Indians, especially as regarded providing food and lodging for the children whose homes were in villages too distant from the school to permit daily attendance. The reports of the teacher are consistently cheerful and suggest that had quiet prevailed, the school would have been one of the chief agencies for leading the Indians to the habits of civilization.
The work of teaching the old Indians was entrusted to a practical farmer, who with the aid of interpreters and common laborers cleared and plowed the fields and introduced the warriors to the task of tilling the soil. As usual the old braves slipped out of work whenever they could and left the task of hoeing and planting to the squaws. The Comanches showed very little progress, due doubtless to their general backwardness in civilization and the poor seasons which caused those crops planted to fail and thus discourage further effort. On the Brazos Agency the work of the farmer was eminently successful, but many of the tribes settled there had been accustomed for some years to agricultural pursuits.

The statements appended show the number of white men employed and the general type of work of each.

Statement of all persons employed in the Indian Service in the State of Texas other than those accounted for by Special Agent Hill during the quarter ending June 30, 1855.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of service</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Compensation</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Conner</td>
<td>Apr. 1, 1855</td>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>$60 per annum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Lyons</td>
<td>&quot; 20 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew E. Eckler</td>
<td>&quot; 21 &quot;</td>
<td>Waggon master</td>
<td>$50 per mo.</td>
<td>Waggon master and teamsters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. A. M. Davis</td>
<td>Mo. 31</td>
<td>Teamster</td>
<td>$20</td>
<td>employed temporarily will be discharged as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. M. Baker</td>
<td>&quot; 25 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>soon as the farms can be turned over to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuben Sullivan</td>
<td>&quot; 27 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. W. McKeachen</td>
<td>Apr. 25</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ned Hawkins</td>
<td>May 1, 1855</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robert S. Neighbors, Supervising Agent Texas Indians.

Statement of all persons employed within the Brazos Agency. September 1855.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of service</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Compensation</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Sutton</td>
<td>Apr. 1st</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>$800 per an.</td>
<td>These employees are considered temporary to meet the necessity of assembling the Indians and planting corn, and no property has been turned over to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Chandler</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Shaw</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. R. Fielding</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. S. Riggs</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geo. W. Hill, Special Indian Agent.

135

135 I.O.L.R.
List of persons employed in the Indian service at Brazos Agency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Date of employment</th>
<th>Where appointed</th>
<th>Where born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jim Shaw</td>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>Refer to Hill</td>
<td>Brazos</td>
<td>Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Murray</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Jan. 1857</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Church</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 1858</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Doane</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Nov. 1856</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. J. Adams</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>May 1857</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. L. Carter</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>Dec. 1857</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The above table continued below:)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Where employed</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Termination of service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Shaw</td>
<td>Brazos Agcy.</td>
<td>$600 per annum.</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas.M. Taylor</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>800 &quot;</td>
<td>Discharge Aug. 31, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Murray</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>500 &quot;</td>
<td>Indefinite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Church</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>500 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Doane</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>300 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. J. Murray</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. J. Adams</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. L. Carter</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>603.77 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I certify on honor that the above a correct statement of persons employed at Brazos Agency at this date.

S. P. Ross.

List of persons employed at Comanche Agency.

Texas, during the quarter ending 30th June 1858.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Date of employment</th>
<th>Date discharged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Leeper</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>$1500.00</td>
<td>May 15, 1858</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jacobs</td>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>550.00</td>
<td>June 30, &quot;</td>
<td>May 15, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Shirley</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 16, 1858</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.P. Jones</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>500.00</td>
<td>Jan. 1, 1858</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Coghile</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>Oct. 1, 1858</td>
<td>My. 5, 1858.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Bevans</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>Ap. 1, 1858</td>
<td>Ap. 18, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Stinson</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>Jan. 1, 1858</td>
<td>June, 1858.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I certify on honor that this statement is correct, Comanche Agency, Texas.

M. Leeper, Special Indian Agent

List of persons employed in the Indian service at Brazos Agency, June 30, 1859.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Date of employment</th>
<th>Where engaged per annum</th>
<th>Termination of service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. P. Ross</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Refer to Geo. Hill</td>
<td>Brazos</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Shaw</td>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo. Williams</td>
<td>Asst.</td>
<td>1 Jul. 1858</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>30 Sept. 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. H. Cross</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1 Apr. 1858</td>
<td>500.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. S. Church</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1 Oct. 1856</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Lewis</td>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
<td>1 Aug. 1858</td>
<td>480.00</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Doane</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>1 Nov. 1858</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. B. Gibson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1 Ap. 1858</td>
<td>200.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. W. Owens</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1 June 1858</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z. E. Combes</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1 Apr. 1858</td>
<td>800.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas. H. Porter</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>15 Aug. 1858</td>
<td>200.00</td>
<td>30 Sept. 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. J. Dyche</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1 Jan. 1858</td>
<td>600.00</td>
<td>30 June 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. J. Sturm</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1 Oct. 1858</td>
<td>500.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Porter</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>1 Apr. 1858</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Stout</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Jan. 1859</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Wright</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Benger</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>31 May 1859</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neither reserve lacked the necessary equipment for the maintenance of the many types of labor incident to the upkeep of a farm of that day. The more backward state of the Comanche reserve lessened its need as much of the work such as blacksmithing and carpentering was done at the Brazos Agency. On the departure of Captain Baylor, the equipment is noticeably lacking. The following list includes the articles turned over to Agent Leeper.

Received of John R. Baylor, Special Agent Texas Indians, the following articles turned over to me as government property:

1. Blank book
1. Bean scale
1. Ballance spring
1. Mule
1. Waggon
1. Set of harness 140
13,273 lbs. of flour

I.O.L.R. Comanche Agency Texas. May 18, 1867.
M. Leeper Agent.

In strong contrast to this meager list is that of the tools on hand during the same year at the Brazos
Agency.

Statement of blacksmith tools, iron & steel on hand at Brazeo Agency together with the expenditures of the same. December 31, 1857.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anvil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arvil handles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellows smiths</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttress</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brace &amp; bit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullet moulds</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brads paper of</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borax, els of</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisels, no. of</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cones, no. of</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing knives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emery paper</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larrier knife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Files apr. gross</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongs, no. of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grind stone &amp; crank</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammer sledge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; hand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; riveting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; shoeing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatchet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion locks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mule shoes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mule shoe nails</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippers, no. of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large pinchers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flyers, no. of</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screen, plates &amp; dyes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith tongues</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saws, hand</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood screws</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacks, Papers of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vici bench</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrenches, saw</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water buckets</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasps horse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; wood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel apt.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron apt.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisels handles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examined and approved, S.P. Ross, 141 Special Indian Agent.
The physical condition of many of the Indians left much to be desired. From the time that many settled on the reserves, there was constant need of medical attention. This was procured whenever possible. The bill rendered by Dr. Shirley indicates the need for such services and the type of problem with which the agents had to work.

Received at Comanche Agency, Texas, March 29, 1858 at Robt. S. Neighbors, Supervising Agent, Texas Indians. Two hundred and twenty. $220.00.

John Shirley, M.D.

January 5, 1857: For attendance & medicines furnished, viz: For Ka-tem-e-see principal Comanche Chief in cases of typhoid, pneumonia to 1st Feb. $30.00

" 20. For 2 cases of syphilis on Ka-tem-e-see's wife & sister for Jan. 20 to 1st May. 70.00

Mar. 30 For To-sha-hua & his wife (2 Comanchés) from 30 March to 10 May 70.00

" " Ka-tem-e-see, principal chief from 30 March to April 15 for the syphilis 30.00

May 1 For To-sha-hua's nephew for gonorrhea 20.00

$220.00

I certify, on honor, that the above account is correct and just, and I have actually, this 29 day of March, 1858 paid the amount thereof as per instructions.

Robt. S. Neighbors.
That the Indians, especially on the Brazos did take advantage of their opportunity, is clearly shown by the lists of property possessed at that agency when the removal to Indian Territory was ordered. The following lists include (1) the common property; (2) the government property; (3) the property of the separate tribes; and (4) a specimen list of the property of an individual Indian.

Invoice of Indian property to the Waco tribes, on their removal from Brazos Reservation on Main Brazos River to Wichita Agency, I.T.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit Price</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>109 head horses</td>
<td></td>
<td>$30.00</td>
<td>$3,270.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 log cabins</td>
<td></td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>160.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 grass houses [ing]</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>260.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 packages of cloth</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>2,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 sets of cooking vessels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 set of farming tools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 grind stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 sacks of corn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>117.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 axes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 collars &amp; hames</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lot weeding hoes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 hoes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 saddles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 branding iron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 crow bar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 wagon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>160.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yoke oxen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 head of cattle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>240.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$6,703.50
Invoice of property belonging to the several tribes, on the removal from the Brazos Reservation on Main Brazos River, Texas, to the Wichita Agency, Indian Territory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 ploughs complete</td>
<td>$130.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 braces</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 pr. hames</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 axe</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 horse collars</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 iron wedges</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 log chains</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ox yokes</td>
<td></td>
<td>90.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 prairie ploughs</td>
<td></td>
<td>48.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 plough william stocks</td>
<td></td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 single trees</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bull tongue ploughs</td>
<td></td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 scythe blades</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 weeding hoes</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jack screw</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 weeding hoes</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 grind stones &amp; fixtures</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R.S. Neighbors.

I.O.L.R. July 30, 1859.

General statement of the houses belonging to the general government at Brazos Agency, Texas, and their estimated value at the date of removal.
double log house used as agents' dwelling $1,000.00
shingle log house " " " " office 250.00
" " " " Commissary store 300.00
double log " " " laborers' building 300.00
school house 350.00
blacksmith shop 250.00
interpreter's house 150.00
spring house, $30, 1 out house, $50 80.00
laborer's house at each Caddo & Waco village 200.00

Robt. S. Neighbors; July 30, 1859.

145I.O.L.R.

Invoice of Indians' property belonging to the Tonkahua tribe, on their removal from the Brazos Reservation on Main Brazos River, Texas, to Wichita Agency, Indian Territory.

159 head horses $4,770.00
94 pkggs. of clothing 2,350.00
3 trace chains 5.75
52 sets cooking utensils 520.00
2 log chains 8.00
1 steel mill 10.00
1 wagon 160.00
2 yoke oxen 125.00
61 houses & shanties 2,135.00

Robt. S. Neighbors, July 30, 1859.

146I.O.L.R.

Invoice of property belonging to Tahwaccarroes tribe:

116 head horses on hand $3,480.00
48 " mules " " (plete 2,400.00
1 set wagon equipment 80.00
55 pkggs. clothing 1,625.00
16 brass kettles 56.00
7 chains 140.00
22 sets cooking vessels 222.00
23 head cattle $172.50
23 grass houses 380.00

Robt. S. Neighbors.

147 I.O.L.R.

Invoice of property belonging to Ivy Harvey (Delaware) attached to the Caddo tribe, on his removal from the Brazos Reservation, on Main Brazos Reservation, Texas, to the Wichita Agency, Indian Territory.

34 pckges. clothing $680.00
9 boxes sundries 135.00
3 spades 13.75
1 steel mill 10.00
8 brass kettles 28.00
4 barrels 15.50
2 buckets 1.50
2 tin buckets 5.00
1 bundle hoes 1.00
4 axes 9.00
4 sets cooking utensils 20.00
1 coffee mill, #1, 1 jug, 75c, 1 kettle, 2.50 4.25
9 sacks wheat, 27 bu. 40.00
1 steel mill, #9.00, 4 hoes 14.00
2 grubbing hoes, 2.50, blind bridles, 4.00 6.50
1 log chain, #4.00, 1 iron wedge, #2 6.00
1 plough, 1 hand saw 13.00
3 augures, 2.50, 2 chisels, 1.75 4.25
1 clevis 1.00
34 head cattle 243.00

I certify the above to be a true invoice.

Robt. S. Neighbors.

148 I.O.L.R. July 30, 1859.
Invoice of Indian property belonging to Anashdahko tribe on their removal from Brazos Reservation on Main Brazos River to Wichita Agency, Indian Territory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>346 head horses</td>
<td></td>
<td>$10,580.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 houses</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1,520.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 packages clothing</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1,775.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 box bag tools</td>
<td></td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 brass kettles</td>
<td></td>
<td>$56.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 kettles</td>
<td></td>
<td>$27.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 churns</td>
<td></td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 buckets</td>
<td></td>
<td>$15.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 sets cooking vessels</td>
<td></td>
<td>$11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tin bucket</td>
<td></td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 spades</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 box cups &amp; plates</td>
<td></td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 axes</td>
<td></td>
<td>$72.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 hoes</td>
<td></td>
<td>$15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 grubbing hoe</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buffalo robe</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tables, 1 steel mill</td>
<td></td>
<td>$17.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr. hames &amp; collar</td>
<td></td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 wagon</td>
<td></td>
<td>$160.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yoke of oxen</td>
<td></td>
<td>$200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 head cattle</td>
<td></td>
<td>$952.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 box cups &amp; saucers</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robt. S. Neighbors, Supervising Indian Agent.
CONCLUSION

The failure of the reservation system for the Indians of Texas may be ascribed to various causes. Probably the chief blame may be laid at the door of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, who, not realizing the seriousness of the frontier situation, did not stop the inroads of other tribes into Texas. For this, various reasons have been given—the lack of co-operation between the offices of the Secretary of the Interior and that of the Secretary of War; the limited number of troops available for frontier defense; the failure of the U.S. troops to wage war in Indian fashion. The army officers had further reasons to urge in their defense: their horses were not suited to frontier service; the supply of ammunition was frequently lowest at the time of raids; and the men were not accustomed to Indian tactics.

Regardless of where the fault lay, the resentment of the frontier settlers, who were continually forced to risk both their lives and their property, contributed in no small measure to the abandonment of the reserves. The man who has seen his stock driven
off, his wife or children killed, and who has spent anxious days and nights in danger of Indian attack, had no sympathy for any red-skin, whether reputed to be friendly or not. To him all looked alike. He had never lived with them, and if he had, probably his disgust for their manners and customs would have made him hate them more. The frontiersman felt that he was entitled to protection; when he not only failed to get that but saw near him a bunch of Indians whom he was convinced in his heart were idle, trifling, and thriftless, fed, clothed, and furnished guns by the government that should have been looking out for the whiteman, there is small wonder that his wrath was beyond control.

The failure of the state to provide protection when the United States did not do so was one other cause that led the citizens of the counties near the reservations to demand that the Indians be taken beyond the limits of the state. But the state felt that with annexation her duty of defense had been transferred to the shoulders of the Federal Government, and only when the situation became really desperate did the governor feel justified in calling out volunteers. When he did so, it was expected that the Federal Government would refund the amount spent, but to obtain such refund was
a long process and sometimes one that involved much controversy.

In the administration of the reservations, only one cause for the situation which developed can be found - that was the practice of allowing the Indians to leave the reservations on hunting expeditions. This may have been necessary. The agents seem to agree that the territory allotted the Indians was too small for them to engage in their customary occupation of hunting, and that it was necessary to allow them this additional liberty to keep them contented. However this may be, had the Indians been kept within the confines of the reservations, much of the hostility which developed over the question of "friendly" and "hostile" Indians would have been avoided.

It was a combination of circumstances, rather than any one single cause that made necessary the removal of the Indians. For the circumstances no one individual was responsible. Each official probably did his duty according to his light, but sometimes there was need of much more light.

With the removal of the Indians from the reservations, one chapter in the history of Indian troubles in this state was closed, but not the last. The frontier
was still exposed. Removal beyond the border did not mean that the same Indians could not return, nor did it mean that the hostile tribes were prevented from traveling their accustomed paths. For many years after the Brazos and Comanche agencies had passed into history, other tribes continued to pass through the western portions of the state taking advantage of every opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the whites who had robbed them of their former hunting grounds. The Comanches, in particular, were, for many years, to prove themselves the dread of the frontier settler.

With the passing of the reserve Indians over the Red River, Texas ceased to be a state wherein the Indian could legally claim a home.

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150 There are remnants of two tribes left in the state. Both are practically in a destitute condition.

The Indian became the ward of the Federal Government and was placed on federal soil, where he was forced to live and die.
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