

Student Work

12-1-1994

**If even a few are reclaimed, the labor is not lost: William
Hamilton's life among the Iowa and Omaha Indians, 1837-1891**

Michelle Cauleen Gullett
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork>
Please take our feedback survey at: https://unomaha.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8cchtFmpDyGfBLE

Recommended Citation

Gullett, Michelle Cauleen, "If even a few are reclaimed, the labor is not lost: William Hamilton's life among the Iowa and Omaha Indians, 1837-1891" (1994). *Student Work*. 359.
<https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork/359>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UNO. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Work by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UNO. For more information, please contact unodigitalcommons@unomaha.edu.

"IF EVEN A FEW ARE RECLAIMED, THE LABOR IS NOT LOST:"
WILLIAM HAMILTON'S LIFE AMONG THE IOWA AND OMAHA INDIANS,
1837-1891

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by
Michelle C. Gullett
December, 1994

UMI Number: EP72997

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

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

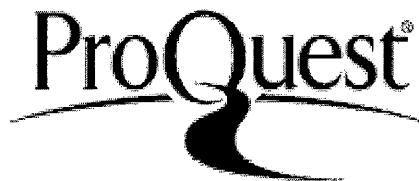


UMI EP72997

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

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



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance for the Faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Committee

Michael L. Tate History
Name Department

Charles L. Hildner Geography

Harold A. Dalstrom
Chairman

November 29, 1994
Date

ABSTRACT

This is a biography of Reverend William Hamilton, Presbyterian missionary to the American Indians for over fifty years. Born in Clinton, Pennsylvania, son of a farmer, Hamilton developed an interest in the ministry at an early age. Following graduation from Washington College in Washington, Pennsylvania, and his ordination by the Presbytery of Northumberland, he offered his services to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. As a result, the Board sent Hamilton and his new wife to live and work among the Ioway Indians in the trans-Missouri West.

Hamilton labored among the Ioway, Sac and Fox Indians with fellow missionary Samuel Irvin for fifteen years. During that time, the two men erected a manual labor boarding school, learned to read and write in the Ioway language, and operated one of the first printing presses in what would become Kansas. Hamilton was transferred to the Otoe and Omaha Mission, near present-day Bellevue, Nebraska in 1853.

When the Omaha Indians ceded the last of their lands to the U.S. government in 1854, Hamilton followed them to their new reservation and oversaw the building of the second Omaha Mission. Upon completion of the mission school in 1857, he resigned his position with the Board of Foreign Missions and spent the next ten years as a private citizen in Bellevue. Hamilton had previously championed Bellevue in its struggle with Omaha for possession of the territorial capital and he now boosted Bellevue in its battle with Omaha for the location of the Union Pacific Railroad bridge. He returned to the service of the Board of Foreign Missions in 1867 and labored tirelessly among the Omaha until his death in 1891.

Existing literature treats only small segments of William Hamilton's extraordinary career and this study examines his entire life. The research materials utilized are the letters Hamilton and his fellow missionaries wrote to the Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York, government documents, and other contemporary writings.

Hamilton's letters vividly portrayed the hardships of pioneer life, the poor treatment of the Indians by the government, the effects of Indian alcoholism, the often arduous relationship between missionaries and Indian agents, and the incessant conflict within the mission family. In addition, his writings treat the white settlement of the Nebraska Territory, the fight for Nebraska's territorial capital, the death of Omaha Chief Logan Fontenelle, and many other events. Although opinions may differ regarding the success or failure of Hamilton's efforts among the Indians, no one will doubt the sincere affection he felt for the Indian peoples among whom he labored for so long.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people who helped me attain my Master of Arts degree from the University of Nebraska at Omaha. I would like to thank my parents, my sister and my friends, Teresa Biga and Ann Walding-Phillips, for all of their moral support during the final months of this project.

I would also like to thank my thesis committee: Dr. Michael Tate, Dr. Charles Gildersleeve, and Dr. Harl Dalstrom for all of their input and suggestions during the long thesis process. I would especially like to thank Dr. Dalstrom. There were many times when I felt "overwhelmed," but he never gave up on me and always had words of encouragement.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Bill, for his patience and understanding.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i.
Thesis Acceptance	ii.
Abstract	iii.
Acknowledgments	v.
Table of Contents	vi.
Maps	vii.
Photo of William Hamilton	viii.
Chapter One: Leaving For Parts Unknown, 1811-1837	1.
Chapter Two: Life Among the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians, 1837-1853	22.
Chapter Three: The Bellevue Years, 1853-1867	66.
Chapter Four: Life on the Reservation, 1867-1891	116.
Conclusion	172.
Appendix One	177.
Appendix Two	180.
Appendix Three	181.
Bibliography	182.

MAPS

Map One

Country of the Ioway Tribe of Indians 11a.

Map Two

Location of the Ioway Mission 22a.

Map Three

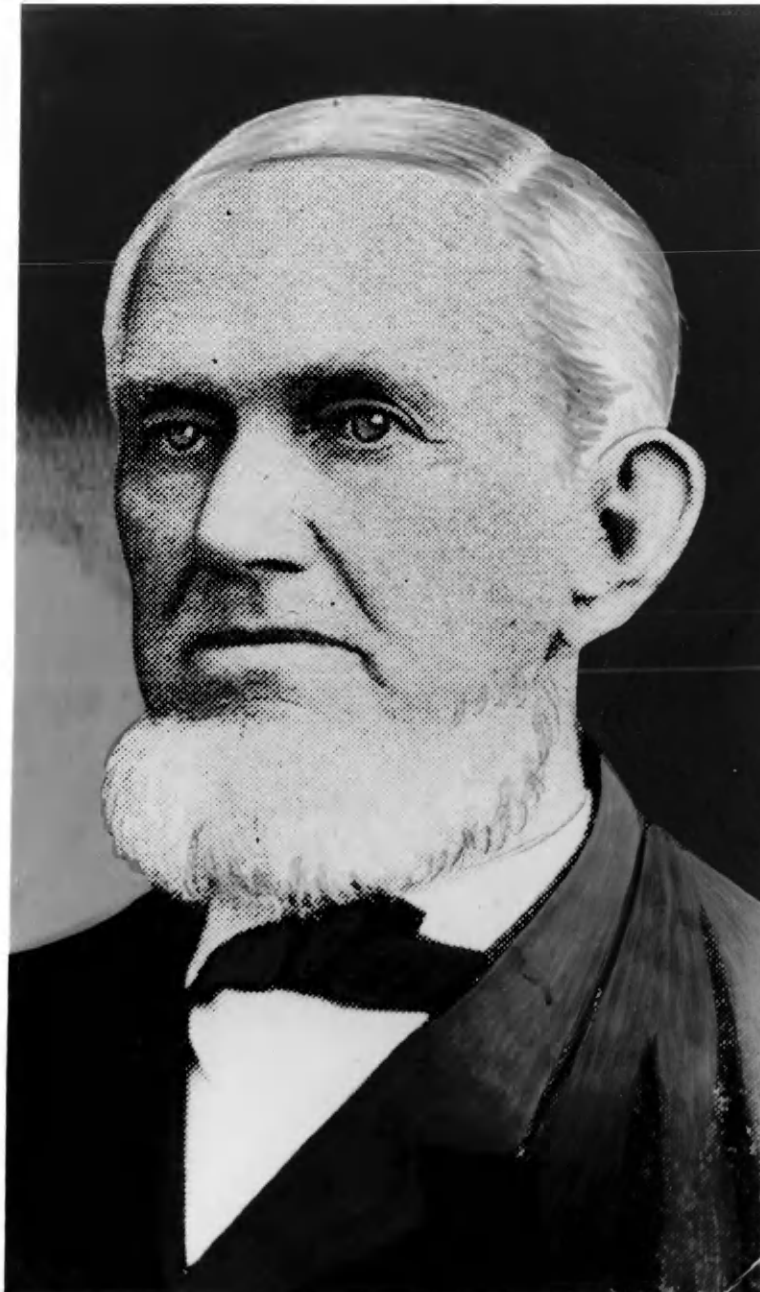
Historic Bellevue, Nebraska 67a.

Map Four

Bellevue and Council Bluffs area 71a.

Map Five

Omaha Indian Reservation 115a.



Father William Hamilton
Photo courtesy of the Omaha World-Herald.

Chapter One: Leaving For Parts Unknown, 1811-1837

Far o'er the trackless prairie,
Where Christian hath not been;
Or in some lonely wild woods,
Near to the Panther's den;
A voice in sorrow rises,
And wafted o'er the plains,
Tells of a home forsaken,
A heart where anguish reigns.

The poor untutor'd Indian
Still driven before our race,
Now seeks some distant shelter,
Some far off resting place,
For Oh! how much he suffer
From those in Christian lands;
And yet no consolation
'Receives he at our hands.

And shall we, who have tasted
The dear Redeemer's love;
To whom he gave his gospel
And hopes of bliss above;
Shall we refuse to hear them?
Shall we refuse to tell
How Jesus died to save them
From sin, from death, and hell.

Behold we find our pleasure,
And heap up shining dust;
Lay we on earth our treasure,
Or place in gold our trust?
Lo! daily they are dying,
In darkness too they go;
What hast thou done O! Christian,
To save their souls from wo?

Were Jesus' love no stronger
Than thine, Oh! Christian say,
Wouldst thou not now be sinking
In death, as blind as they?
Then pray for the poor Indian
Till God in mercy come
And pour on them a blessing
and call the wanderers home.¹

The preceding poem was written by the Reverend William Hamilton, a Presbyterian missionary, during his first years of service among the Iowa Indians in what is today northeastern Kansas. His "Ode" to the American Indian, though not lengthy, paints an eerie but accurate picture of the relationship between the nineteenth century white missionary and his "heathen" counterpart. To better understand the ideals and convictions of the man who authored the untitled poem, the events and institutions that indisputably shaped his development must be examined.

William Hamilton was born on August 1, 1811, the youngest of eleven children of Robert and Anna Hamilton in Lycoming County (now Clinton), Pennsylvania.² Hamilton's father, a farmer, had settled in Pennsylvania before the Revolutionary War. According to Hamilton, his grandfather had been killed by Indians "while peaceably engaged on his farm."³ William Hamilton stated that his father harbored no ill feelings for the elder Hamilton's death and, in fact, the Indians "had no warmer friend" than his father.⁴ Growing up under such a forgiving influence may have contributed to Hamilton's desire to preach among the American Indians rather than abroad so that he could change their previously "savage" behavior.

Hamilton's interest in the Church developed at a relatively early age. He described how suddenly, at the age of fourteen, "he was filled with a deep longing to go to the Lord's table." Hamilton stated that after a discussion with his mother, he became the first child in his family to profess his love of Christ publicly. From that point on, Hamilton took it upon himself to read the Bible from cover to cover at least once each year.⁵

Hamilton worked on his father's farm full-time until age eighteen and part-time until he turned twenty-one. By the time he turned eighteen, Hamilton had already decided on a career. He desperately wanted to become a Presbyterian minister. However, he feared that his desire to preach would never be fulfilled because his family was poor and the education he needed might be beyond his means. It was during his eighteenth year that he began

studying Latin under his Pastor, J.H. Grier. When Hamilton entered college three years later, he could read Caesar's Commentaries, Virgil's Aeneid, and many other philosophical works. According to his future son-in-law, Joel Warner, Hamilton still quoted passages from these works, even during the final weeks of his life.⁶

Hamilton entered Washington College in Washington, Pennsylvania, and graduated two and a half years later in 1834. He was only one of twelve members of the college's third graduating class. The curriculum taught at Washington was extremely demanding. The following courses are only a sample of the education Hamilton received while attending the school: Latin Grammar, Greek Grammar, Ancient and Modern Geography, Aristotle's Rhetoric, Algebra, Trigonometry, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, Mental Philosophy, Chemistry, Constitutional Law of the United States, and Horace's Art of Poetry.⁷

After graduation, Hamilton briefly taught school in the frontier community of Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia). He decided to leave Wheeling after an angry parent chastised Hamilton for whipping his son. Although Hamilton stated that the "virtuous part of town" supported his actions, he decided against remaining because of the excitement the incident had generated. He noted that "those were the days of slavery."⁸

After leaving Wheeling, Hamilton entered a seminary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. While attending classes, he taught three children three hours a day in exchange for room and board. By January 1835, Hamilton learned of a new teaching opportunity and, as a result, he taught at an academy in Bellefonte, Pennsylvania for the next two years. While there, Hamilton received a license to preach from the Presbytery of Northumberland in the spring of 1837.⁹

The summer of 1837 brought acceptance into the Western Foreign Missionary Society, soon to unite with the Board of Foreign Missions, and marriage to Julia Ann N. McGiffin of Washington, Pennsylvania. Hamilton quickly received his assignment to the

Indian Territory and, by October 1837, he was officially ordained by the Presbytery of Northumberland.¹⁰ The new minister and his wife were now ready to begin their long journey into the unknown.

As William Hamilton traveled west, he could not have anticipated the great hardships that awaited him upon his arrival in the Indian Territory. As a product of the nineteenth century's Second Great Awakening, Hamilton enthusiastically accepted the assignment given him by the newly formed Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions because he passionately believed that, with God's help, he would be able to better the "Kingdom of Christ on Earth" through his missionary work.¹¹

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, formally established in 1837, did not represent the first attempt of the Presbyterian Church at christianizing the American Indian. By all accounts, the first Presbyterian began his work among the Indians in 1741 when the Rev. Azariah Horton served among the Indians of Long Island, New York.¹²

The next recorded missionary venture was that of David Brainerd in 1743. Brainerd worked tirelessly among the Indians of Connecticut and New Jersey before his untimely death, at age 29, in 1747.¹³ Much of the money for these early enterprises was raised in Britain. For example, Horton's effort in Long Island received financial assistance from the "Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." Groups such as the "Society in Scotland," broadened their efforts as settlers wrote to their friends back home of the deplorable conditions of the Indians.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the early missionaries were forced to seek the safety of the established eastern settlements with the onset of the Revolutionary War. The excitement generated by the war temporarily stunted the Presbyterian mission movement, which had quickly expanded with the support of various synods, including the Synods of New York, Virginia, South Carolina, and Pittsburgh.¹⁵

The religious revival that swept the country after the end of the Revolutionary War gave the missionary effort a new impetus. Many Presbyterians served in the numerous

nondenominational volunteer societies such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1812) and the United Foreign Missionary Society (1817). The latter group merged in 1826 with the American Board which carried on the majority of the Presbyterian mission work until the schism of the Presbyterian Church in 1837.¹⁶

At the same time, the Synod of Pittsburgh zealously continued its missionary effort. The Synod eventually organized the Western Foreign Missionary Society in 1831 and it served as the direct predecessor of the Board of Foreign Missions. The organization's declared purpose included "conveying the Gospel to whatever parts of the heathen and anti-Christian world, the Providence of God might enable the Society to extend its evangelical exertions."¹⁷

Just as the Western Foreign Missionary Society established its first mission, the Wea Indian Mission, during 1833 in what would become northeastern Kansas, internal conflict deepened within the Presbyterian Church. Four years later, the disagreements between the conservative Old School and the more liberal New School Presbyterians climaxed with the division of the Church into two distinct groups.¹⁸

The disagreements between the Old and New School Presbyterians focused on their divergent interpretations of theology. According to historian Lefferts A. Loetscher, the Old School, primarily of Scot-Irish and Scottish descent, stressed the "the more 'objective' aspects of religion such as precise theological formulation, the professional and distinct character of the ministry, and orderly and authoritarian church government." In contrast, the New School Presbyterians, containing those of New-England, English, and Welsh descent, believed in "values of a more 'sectarian' type, laying less emphasis upon elaborated, fixed theology and on authoritarian church government, and more emphasis on spontaneity, vital impulse, and adaptability."¹⁹

As a result of the Schism of 1837, the Old School Presbyterians created the Board of Foreign Missions on October 31, 1837 in Baltimore, Maryland. This organization was

created because the men and women of the Old School fervently believed that "Presbyterian evangelical zeal should be channeled through Church-controlled agencies."²⁰ The New School Presbyterians remained content to serve the Indians under such voluntary societies as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The Western Foreign Missionary Society, primarily an Old School association, quickly merged with the new Board of Foreign Missions. With this merger, the Board inherited the Wea Mission and the Ioway and Sac Mission, which had been founded in 1835.²¹ Just at the time this transfer was taking place, William Hamilton journeyed west.

By accepting the position of missionary to the Board of Foreign Missions (BFM), William Hamilton adopted the goals of his Presbyterian employer. According to the Board, its "great object" was "to assist in making known the Gospel, for a witness unto all nations."²² In one of the Board's first Annual Reports, published in 1838, the Old School Presbyterians described what was needed to spread the word of God to those in need of salvation. First and foremost, the preaching of the church must be done by a "living teacher." Second, and connected to preaching, was "the raising up of a native ministry among the heathen."²³ The Board believed that once these new converts established their own churches, they would then be absorbed into the Presbyterian Church USA. The BFM also concluded that the education of the "heathen," under Presbyterian supervision, of course, should play a major role in attaining the "great object" of spreading the gospel to all.²⁴

In addition to the religious goals of the Board, secular goals abounded as well. According to Michael Coleman, a scholar of Presbyterian missionary activity, the BFM believed "Indians were to be stripped of their own lifestyles, to be "civilized" as well as christianized, and to be transformed into upright and economically independent members of American society."²⁵ The primary secular goal of the Board, as observed in the pages of the Annual Reports and other Presbyterian writings, was total assimilation and United

States citizenship for each American Indian.²⁶ However, much had to be done to acculturate native people into the dominant society before such a goal could be realized.

In order to achieve these aims, the BFM focused on the Presbyterian education of Indian youth. Even though the missionaries believed it to be highly unlikely that they could successfully convert the existing adult population, they were convinced that they could reach the children with their teachings. As a result, any influence the Board hoped to have with the adult Indian population rested upon the successful education of the children. The proper education of Indian youth included religious, academic and vocational instruction. While the children listened to scripture and sang church hymns, they also received tutelage in academic subjects such as history, geography, chemistry and algebra. The Board, especially its first corresponding secretary, Walter Lowrie, also fervently believed in the importance of vocational education. For this reason, Indian boys were taught the basic agricultural and mechanical skills, while the girls acquired the skills necessary to become good housewives -- sewing, knitting, cooking and cleaning. The BFM determined that only with a complete religious, academic and vocational education could the American Indian understand the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.²⁷

As William Hamilton began his journey in the fall of 1837, he took with him the religious and secular goals of the BFM, as well as the dedication to effect them. However, as he and the hundreds of other Presbyterian missionaries learned in the years that followed, it was much easier to create such goals than to attain them.

Upon arriving at their destinations, the missionaries were faced with a variety of problems from unlikely sources. According to historian Robert Berkhofer, there was a close relationship between the missionary penetration of Indian tribes and the expanding forces of American civilization.²⁸ While the missionaries constantly preached against the evil white whiskey trader and the corrupt government agent, they could not have achieved their success by keeping their Indian charges isolated from the elements of larger society.

Unfortunately, the missionaries did not see the contradiction of preaching about the virtue of Christian civilization, while at the same time lecturing against the shortcomings of certain white men. The Indian had a difficult time distinguishing between the ideal that the missionaries preached and the very real evils that increasing numbers of whites brought into their country.²⁹

Besides the common cultural problems encountered by the two races, such as the language barrier and lifestyle, the missionaries also faced a struggle none of them could have expected -- internal dissension among themselves. At first, such conflict seems impossible to imagine since these men and women shared the same dreams and desires. They wanted to spread God's word and to "civilize" the American Indian. One must remember, however, that these missionaries, wives, teachers, and farmers were strangers who were suddenly thrust together at remote missions where personality conflicts and jealousy were inevitable. In addition, even if they agreed on essential mission goals, disagreement on the method used to achieve such goals often occurred.³⁰ William Hamilton confronted such antagonism consistently throughout his years among the Iowa and Omaha Indians.

Before William Hamilton began his life's work among the Indians of Kansas and Nebraska, the Presbyterian Church had already established a mission among the Wea Indians. The Rev. William D. Smith had examined the territory of present-day Kansas for the Presbyterian Western Foreign Missionary Society. This organization decided to establish a mission among the small band of Wea Indians; as a result, the first Presbyterian missionaries arrived at Independence, Missouri, on December 31, 1833.³¹

The Rev. Wells Bushnell chose a site for the Wea mission approximately twenty miles west of the Missouri line on Wea Creek, a branch of the Marais des Cygnes River in present-day Miami County. By April 17, 1834, Bushnell, his wife, teacher Nancy Henderson, and Rev. and Mrs. Joseph Kerr occupied a partially completed mission house.

In a letter dated June 25, 1834, Bushnell described the completion of a twenty-four foot square log "school-and-meeting" house, a smokehouse, a corn crib and a stable.³² By August 1834, farmer Henry Bradley arrived at the mission, but Rev. Bushnell and his wife had departed. Bradley's writings described the severe fever and ague that afflicted the mission occupants. Sickness continued to plague the station during the next three years. In March 1837, the BFM granted Rev. Kerr a dismissal from the mission due to his wife's continued poor health.³³

As the formal establishment of the BFM neared, decisions were also made concerning the fate of the Wea mission. The Rev. Joseph Fleming had arrived at the station in July 1837. It appears that the Board eventually adopted Fleming's conclusions on the mission's future. The BFM decided that "as however the number of the Weas was but some two or three hundred, and their kinsmen were hardly more numerous, and a missionary station of the Methodist Church was not far distant, it appeared inexpedient to maintain the mission."³⁴ As a result of such reasoning, the Wea Mission permanently closed in 1838.

It is difficult to glean from the few sources available the effect of the missionary effort on the Weas. John Lowrie, the Board's second secretary and son of Walter Lowrie, concluded that, "Some of the noblest examples of self-denying and faithful missionary labor and some of the brightest displays of the power of divine grace were witnessed in the brief history of the mission among this [Wea] little tribe."³⁵ In addition, the 1837 Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions noted that "the Wea tribe of Indians greatly profited by the labors bestowed upon them."³⁶ In any case, the objectivity of such references must be questioned. If the missionary effort had proven to be so successful, why abandon the mission based solely on the low number of the tribe's population? Obviously such a concern should have discouraged the Western Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS) from establishing the mission in the beginning.

At the same time the Western Foreign Missionary Society worked among the Wea, they also became interested in another tribe from the same general region -- the Ioway Indians. As a result, the WFMS established the Ioway Mission in 1835. According to a mission history written by William Hamilton in 1850, the original Ioway mission was located on the northeast side of the Missouri River approximately nine to ten miles south of St. Joseph, Missouri.³⁷ The first mission family included Mr. and Mrs. Aurey Ballard and Mr. and Mrs. E.A. Sheppard. The Rev. Joseph Kerr and Miss Nancy Henderson, from the Wea station, also worked at the Ioway Mission, which was roughly eighty-five miles from the Wea location.³⁸

The missionaries vividly described the hardships they encountered as they worked among the Indians. For example, it often became difficult to bring the Ioway children together for schooling. Consequently, they were forced to travel from lodge to lodge in order to provide the instruction and religious worship necessary for "civilizing the heathen." However, the greatest obstacle faced by the Presbyterians was yet to come -- the excessive intemperance of the Ioway tribe.³⁹

The Ioway had encountered the white man approximately two hundred years before their initial contact with the first Presbyterian missionaries in 1835. The precise date for the first contact between the Ioway and the European explorers will never be known. However, an Ioway Indian, aged sixty years or more, related the following to William Hamilton in 1848:

About sixty six years ago, we lived on a river, which runs from a lake to the Mississippi, from the east, and on the east side of that river. Our fathers and great fathers lived there for a long time, as long as they could recollect. At that time we had about four hundred fit to go to war but we were then small to what we had been. Our fathers say as long as they can recollect, we have been diminishing. We owned all the land east of the Mississippi. Whatever ground we made tracks through, it was ours. Our fathers saw white men on the lakes about 120 years ago; do not know where they came from. About the same time we first got guns. We were afraid of them at first, they seemed like the "Great Spirit." Our fathers also, at the same time, for the first received iron, axes, hoes, kettles and woolen

blankets. We, the old men of our nation, first saw white men between forty and fifty years ago, near the mouth of the Missouri.⁴⁰

While this chronicle indicated that the Ioway did not come in contact with the Europeans until the early eighteenth century, evidence from French documents revealed that there had indeed been contact between the French and the Ioway during the late seventeenth century.⁴¹ The French had explored much of the upper Mississippi Valley, west of the Great Lakes and along the western edge of the Mississippi River during the seventeenth century. Accordingly, the first detailed report on the Ioway was written in 1676 by Father Louis André from St. Francis de Xavier Mission on La Baye des Puants, or Green Bay. André wrote:

This year we have among the Puants [Winnebago] seven or eight families from a nation . . . They are called Aiaoua . . . They say they live a great distance of 12 days' journey beyond the great River called the Mississippi.⁴²

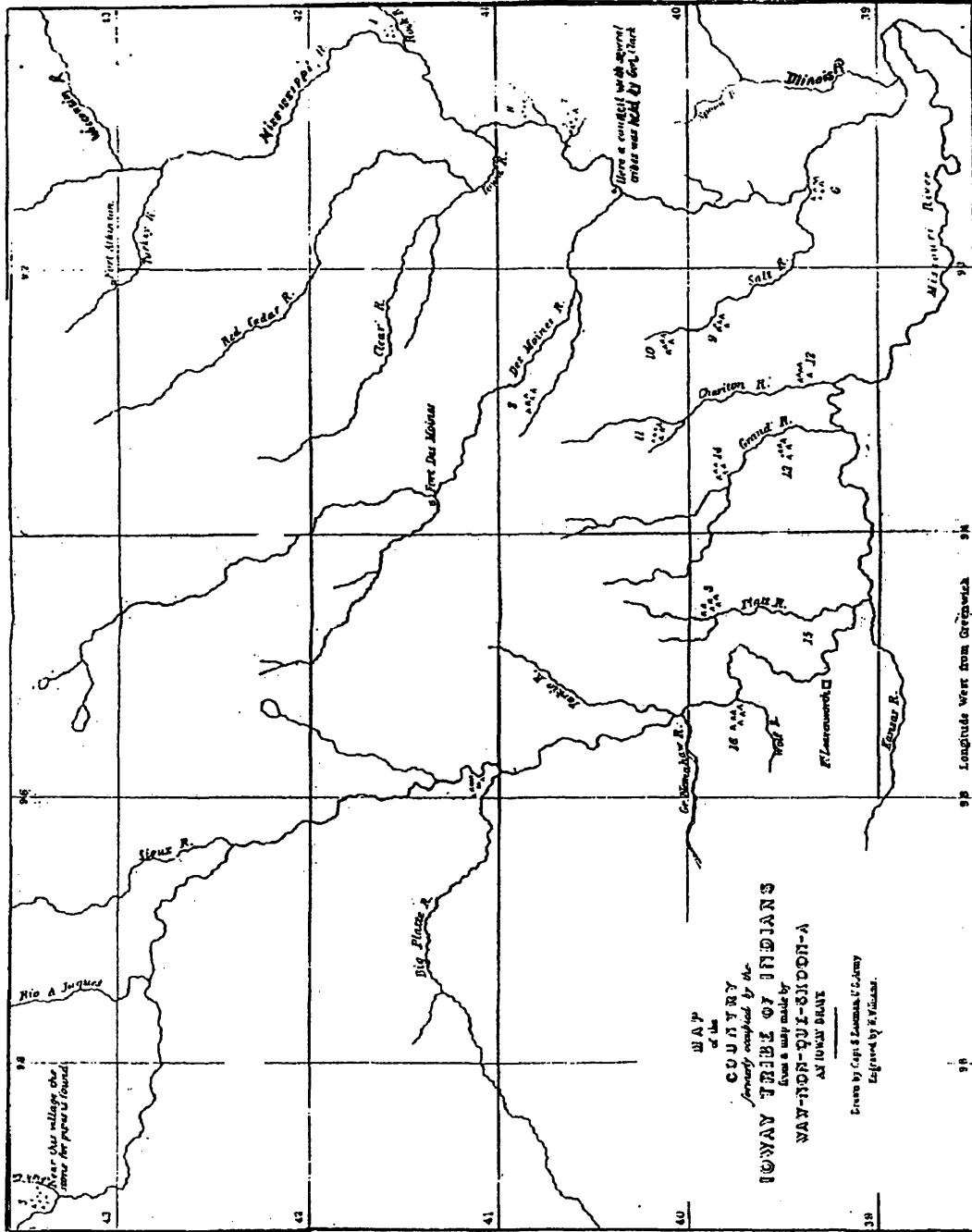
The Ioway were also described in Frenchman Pierre-Charles Le Sueur's narrative of his mining expedition up the Mississippi River in 1700.⁴³

According to locations assigned by different explorers from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Ioway lived on:

. . . the Rock River in western Illinois, on the Des Moines River in southeastern Iowa, near the Pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota, near the mouth of the Blue Earth River in the same state, at the mouth of the Platte River in Nebraska, near the headwaters of the Little Platte River in Missouri, on the Mississippi River in southeastern Iowa, on the Salt River in Missouri and at various points in southwestern Iowa and northeastern Missouri.⁴⁴

Attesting to these diverse settlements is a map drawn by an Iowa man, WAW-NON-QUE-SKOON-A. His map denoted sixteen separate tribal migrations, with migration one constituting the earliest recollection. (See Map One.)⁴⁵ The area pictured on the map includes present-day Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska and Kansas.

Map One



Taken from Henry R. Schoolcraft, Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851-1857), 256.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Ioway established their encampments at several locations, including settlements on the Grand, Nodaway and Little Platte rivers in present-day Missouri. During this time, the Ioway were also forming a relationship with the United States government. According to historian Martha Royce Blaine, the Ioway had been in contact with U.S. treaty commissioners since 1805, when the tribe first promised to live in peace with their former enemies, the Osage.⁴⁶ However, the first treaty between the Ioway and the United States was not signed until August 4, 1824. According to its provisions, the Ioway ceded all their claims to lands in Missouri. In return, the Indians were to receive \$500 in cash or merchandise that year and each year thereafter for ten years.⁴⁷

It should be noted that, at the time, Missouri's western boundary was a straight north-south line, "an extension northward of the present western boundary of the state south of the Missouri River."⁴⁸ Because the valley of the Little Platte River was not yet part of Missouri, it was not included in the 1824 treaty.

A second treaty, signed on August 19, 1825, gave joint claim with the Sac and Fox tribes to land in Iowa, but the Ioway ceded their joint claim in a third treaty signed July 15, 1830. Article 1 of the third treaty stated, however, that "the area between the state of Missouri and the Missouri River should be assigned to the tribes living on it or the others that the President might locate there on 'for hunting, and other purposes.'"⁴⁹

Of course, this tract of land, often referred to as the Platte Purchase, loomed ever larger as the white immigrants continued to move westward. By 1834, suggestions of annexation of this area to Missouri abounded. After feigning concern for the previous treaty's provisions, the government, under the direction of Gen. William Clark, negotiated yet another treaty with the Iowa and Sac and Fox tribes.⁵⁰ In this 1836 agreement, the tribes ceded all of their land east of the Missouri River. In return, the Indians were given

four hundred square miles of land on the west bank of the Missouri, between the Kickapoo reservation to the south and the Great Nemaha River to the north.⁵¹

During this same time, Samuel Irvin, born and raised in Mercer County, Pennsylvania, was received into the service of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. The WFMS quickly decided to continue their endeavor among the Ioway and as a result, they sent the twenty-five year-old Irvin, and his new bride, Eliza, to Missouri to accompany the Indians to their new home. Irvin, who struggled and worked tirelessly with William Hamilton among the Ioway for over fifteen years, first visited the tribe on April 17, 1837.⁵²

As Irvin began his work among the Ioway, the new Board of Foreign Missions, having just acquired the WFMS, specifically set out its policy with regard to the western Indians. The Board's Annual Report of 1837 stated,

From information which they have been enabled to obtain, the committee believes that the policy of the Board in the establishment of missions among our Western Indians should contemplate a speedy extension of its efforts to those more numerous and distant tribes, which reside near the sources of the Missouri and its tributary waters. Those people are far less debased and contaminated by the borrowed vices and bad example of our frontier settlements. They are comparative strangers to the use of ardent spirits; and many of them it is understood, are well inclined towards the great objects of missionary effort.⁵³

Unfortunately for the Board, and particularly Hamilton and Irvin, as more and more white settlers migrated west, the "less debased and contaminated" Western tribes would be irrevocably damaged by the consumption of "ardent spirits."

With their policy and goals firmly established, the new Board of Foreign Missions, on October 20, 1837, sent William and Julia McGiffin Hamilton out to the Indian Territory to aid Samuel Irvin and the rest of the mission family with the building of the second Ioway Mission.⁵⁴

The Hamiltons traveled west by steamboat and stagecoach. They reached Liberty Landing, Missouri, a few miles north of Independence, on November 18, 1837. Hamilton commented on the length of the trip, stating that it may have taken longer because he had not traveled on the Sabbath.⁵⁵ Hamilton's writings also revealed many of the adversities encountered by settlers as they journeyed west. For example, one letter described the fate of the steamboat, Boonville. After the boat departed from Liberty Landing, it traveled upriver twenty miles, hit a snag and sank.⁵⁶ Such occurrences were common on the Missouri River.

After reaching Liberty Landing, Hamilton expressed his high hopes concerning the future in a letter to Walter Lowrie. He wrote, "We feel greatly encouraged in our undertaking and trust and pray it may be a blessing both to ourselves and those with whom [we] expect to dwell."⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the Hamiltons were detained in Liberty almost four weeks because Hamilton had difficulty hiring a team to transport himself, Mrs. Hamilton, and their baggage. They finally reached the Old Ioway Mission by horseback on December 26, 1837.⁵⁸

According to Hamilton's remembrances, the trek from Liberty Landing to the new Mission totaled approximately eighty-six miles. It took forty-five of those eighty-six to reach the Old Iowa Agency located "nine miles below the East Black Snake Hills, where St. Joseph now stands."⁵⁹ The Hamiltons stayed at the agency briefly, having to wait for the Missouri River to freeze before they could safely cross it. William Hamilton traveled by foot, while his wife rode horseback from the agency to Joseph Robidoux's trading post at St. Joseph. Now only twenty-five miles lay between them and their future home in present-day Doniphan County, Kansas.⁶⁰

Hamilton reached Wolf Creek at eleven o'clock on December 29, 1837. He stated that,

The water at the ford lacked only three or four inches of coming over the pony's back and the bank was very miry, and not until four o'clock did we get over, all getting wet. Fortunately, though it was the 29th of December, it was for the time of year moderate or we might have perished.⁶¹

After conquering this final barrier, the Hamiltons descended upon the log shanty of Samuel and Eliza Irvin.

According to letters written to Lowrie, Hamilton spent his first month performing mostly manual labor. He described the existing buildings as "mere shells" that could not keep out the wind or rain.⁶² The first mission dwelling consisted of two rooms including one twenty foot square space for the Ballards, who arrived from the Old Agency in February, and a second room which measured seventeen by thirty-four feet and contained a divider. The Hamiltons and Irvins shared this second room.⁶³

Excitement and hope abounded as the two young missionaries and their wives began their labors among the Iowa, Sac and Fox tribes. Hamilton's earliest letters included such emotionally filled words as:

They [the Ioway] are probably as destitute and as needy as the poor Indians and I at times, when contemplating my situation and the leadings of Providence, thought the Lord had something for me to do in this place before I would leave it . . . Ah! My Brother, If God permits me to instruct these poor heathen and point them to Jesus, I shall be satisfied and rejoice that I am permitted to come to this people.⁶⁴

A few weeks later, Hamilton wrote, "I feel more and more . . . the responsibility that rests upon me, and the great need I have to be always at the feet of Jesus receiving instruction."⁶⁵

The beginning of 1838 witnessed Samuel Irvin and William Hamilton full of confidence and desire to succeed. Indeed, these religious men had yet to face the infinite frustration that coerced more than a few missionaries to abandon their calling. The 1838 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church asked the men and women of the Foreign Board to "be diligent in collecting all the information of every kind, which can be

considered as bearing on the missionary cause."⁶⁶ Little did the Assembly realize how prophetic their instructions would be. As their words reached the Rev. William Hamilton, he was just beginning his fifty-year chronicle of the American Indian.

Endnotes

¹ Poem by William Hamilton, late 1838 or early 1839, American Indian Correspondence, The Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., n.d., Microfilm) Box 8, vol. 1, no. 83. Hereinafter cited as AIC. Refer to Appendix One.

² William Hamilton, "Autobiography of Rev. William Hamilton," Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society vol. 1 (Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885), 61; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 29, 1852, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 37.

³ Hamilton, "Autobiography of Rev. William Hamilton," 61.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Photocopy of the Manuscript of the Rev. Joel Warner, Sarpy County Historical Society, Bellevue, Nebraska, 1.

⁶ Ibid.; Hamilton, "Autobiography of Rev. William Hamilton," 61.

⁷ Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Washington College, Washington, Pennsylvania For the Year Ending September 1839 (Washington, Pennsylvania.: George W. Brice, 1839), 5, 13.

⁸ Hamilton, "Autobiography of Rev. William Hamilton," 62.

⁹ Ibid.; Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 29, 1852, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 83. In his autobiography written in 1884, Hamilton refers to his college as "now Washington and Jefferson College."

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ For a discussion of the Second Great Awakening and its impact on the Protestant Missionary Movement, refer to Michael Coleman, Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes toward the American Indians, 1837-1893 (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1985), 9-11.

¹² Arthur J. Brown, One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA with Some Accounts of Countries, Peoples, and the Policies and Problems of Modern Missions (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1936), 160; Historical Sketch of the Missions Under the Care of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 7; Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 13.

- 13 Historical Sketch of Missions Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church, 7; Brown, One Hundred Years, 162-163.
- 14 Brown, One Hundred Years, 160.
- 15 George McCafee, Missions Among the North American Indians Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (New York: Women's Board of Home Missions, n.d.), 10-11; Historical Sketch of Missions Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church, 7.
- 16 Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 3-4; Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, An Historical Sketch of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church 1837-1888 (New York: C.H. Jones and Co., 1888), 3.
- 17 Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 13; Historical Sketch of Missions Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church, 8; Board of Foreign Missions, An Historical Sketch, 4.
- 18 John Lowrie, A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (New York: William Rankin, Jr., 1868), 38; Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 3-4.
- 19 Lefferts A. Loetscher, The Broadening Church: A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church Since 1869 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), 1-2. For more on the Schism of 1837, refer to Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, Chapter one; George Marsden, The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), Chapter three.
- 20 Board of Foreign Missions, An Historical Sketch, 3; Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 4.
- 21 Clifford Merrill Drury, Presbyterian Panorama: One Hundred Fifty Years of National Mission History (Philadelphia: Board of Christian Education, PCUSA, 1952), 139; Historical Sketch of Missions Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church, 14.
- 22 A Manual Prepared for the Use of Missionaries, and Missionary Candidates in Connection with the Board of Foreign Missions (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 1840), 5.
- 23 Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 1838), 20-21. Hereinafter referred to as Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions.
- 24 Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 15.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Refer to the Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of 1846, 12, and the Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of 1878, 10-11.

- 27 Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 17.
- 28 Robert Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and the American Indian Responses, 1787-1862 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1965), 106.
- 29 Coleman, Missionary Attitudes, 18.
- 30 Ibid., 19-20.
- 31 John Lowrie, Manual of Foreign Missions, 38; Louise Barry, The Beginnings of the American West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West 1540-1854 (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), 258-259.
- 32 Barry, Beginnings of the West, 258-259; David Harold McCleave, "A History of the Indian Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas," The Aerend 15-16 (1944-1945): 4-5.
- 33 Ibid.; Ashbel Green, 1762-1848 Presbyterian Missions (New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., Inc., 1893), 169.
- 34 Historical Sketch of Missions Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church, 8; Barry, Beginnings of the West, 258-259.
- 35 John Lowrie, Manual of Foreign Missions, 38; Historical Sketch of Missions Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church, 8.
- 36 Ashbel Green, Presbyterian Missions, 169.
- 37 William Hamilton, "History of the Ioway Sac Mission," November 14, 1850, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 1.
- 38 Ibid.; Taken from the Annual Report of 1837 found in Ashbel Green, Presbyterian Missions, 170.
- 39 Historical Sketch of Missions Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church, 14; Taken from the Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of 1837 found in Ashbel Green, Presbyterian Missions, 170.
- 40 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, per Act of Congress of March 3, 1847 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851-1857), Vol. 3, 262.
- 41 Martha Royce Blaine, The Iowa Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 16-17.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 24-25; A.P. Nasatir, ed., Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804, vol. 1 (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), 6-7; William Harvey Miner, The Iowa: A Reprint from 'The Indian Record' as Originally Published and edited by Thomas Foster (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1911), 10-11. Refer to Blaine, The Iowa Indians, Chapter two, for a complete discussion of early European-Ioway contact.

44 Roy W. Meyer, "The Iowa Indians, 1836-1885," Kansas Historical Quarterly 28 (Autumn 1962): 273-274.

45 For a detailed account of each of the sixteen migrations, refer to Schoolcraft, Historical and Statistical Information, 257-258.

46 Blaine, Iowa Indians, 136-137.

47 Charles J. Kappler, comp., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 208-209.

48 Meyer, "Iowa Indians," 274.

49 Kappler, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, 252, 306.

50 Meyer, "Iowa Indians," 275.

51 Kappler, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, 468-469.

52 Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, April 20, 1852, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 32; Letter of Samuel Irvin found in Pryor Plank, "The Iowa, Sac and Fox Indian Mission and Its Missionaries, Rev. Samuel Irvin and Wife," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 10 (1907-1908): 312. There is some conflict among the sources as to Irvin's arrival. One letter gives the April date; another gives a May 1837 date. An article by Joseph B. Herring, "Presbyterian Ethnologists Among the Iowa and Sac Indians 1837-1853," American Presbyterians 65 (Fall 1987): 195-203, states that Irvin did not leave Pittsburgh until June 1837. Hamilton states in AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 1 that Irvin arrived in the Spring of 1837.

53 Ashbel Green, Presbyterian Missions, 170-171.

54 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 20, 1837, AIC, Box 3, vol. 1, no. 391. In his 1884 autobiography, Hamilton stated he left Pittsburgh on October 30. Both sources agree, however, that November 18 is the date Hamilton arrived at Liberty Landing.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 26, 1837, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 4. Hamilton's "Pioneer Reminiscences" states that the arrival at the old Mission was on December 27. All sources agree that the arrival at the new Mission was December 29.

59 Hamilton, "Autobiography of Rev. William Hamilton," 62-63.

60 Ibid.; Barry, Beginning of the West, 339.

61 Hamilton, "Autobiography of Rev. William Hamilton," 63.

62 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 19, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 5.

63 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 10, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 10.

64 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 26, 1837, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 4.

65 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 18, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 5.

66 "Pastoral Letter to Foreign Missionaries," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1838, 54.

Chapter Two: Life Among the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians, 1838-1853

Today's relatively comfortable living conditions make it extremely difficult to imagine the broad range of emotions, experienced by William Hamilton, Samuel Irvin, and their young wives during those first days among an unknown people. How absolutely foreign the Kansas prairies must have seemed when compared to the bustling cities of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia which they had known. In fact, only one thing was certain as the idealistic missionaries ushered in 1838; they were ready and willing to convert their new Indian neighbors to the ways of the Lord.

William Hamilton's early years at the Ioway Mission in many ways mirrored his entire sixteen-year sojourn with the tribe. He experienced much during his time in Kansas, including the harshness of everyday pioneer life, constant bouts with illness, conflicts between missionaries, clashes with government agents and white traders, and numerous problems associated with Indian alcoholism. All of these difficulties greatly affected the two missionaries' tireless attempts at educating the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians.

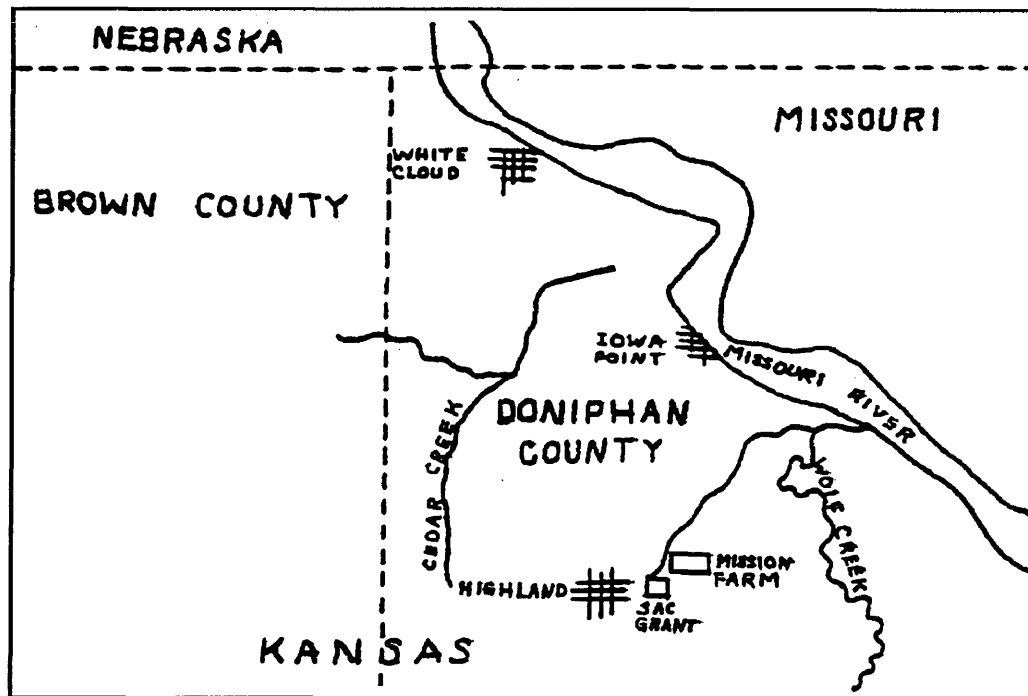
From the day he arrived at the mission in December 1837, William Hamilton began corresponding with the Board of Foreign Missions in New York. One of his first letters stated the expenses incurred on his trip from Pennsylvania to the Ioway station. The cost of the entire trip, including expenses incurred before leaving Pittsburgh, totaled \$462.89.¹

Some of the specific costs of the journey included:

Fare from Pittsburg[h] to Wheeling	\$8.00
Fare from Wheeling to Cin.[Cincinnati]	\$20.00
Stage fare from St. Louis to the Point (near Chariton)	\$28.00
Boarding at Liberty Landing	\$7.00
Medicines	\$18.80 ²

After building their first two-room dwelling, Hamilton and Irvin were ready to preach to the Ioway tribe. The men quickly realized their need to learn the native language

Map Two



Adapted from Douglas C. McMurtie and Albert H. Allen, A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas (Chicago: John Calhoun Club: 1930), 10.

after the untimely death of their interpreter only a few months after their arrival. Hamilton wrote that while at the tent of an Ioway chief, a disturbance "caused by whiskey" took the life of Louis, the interpreter. According to Hamilton, an intoxicated Indian thrust a knife through the arm of the interpreter's father. In trying to protect his father, Louis was stabbed in the breast and head. The interpreter died instantly; his father succumbed a week later from his injuries.³ This episode would be one of the first among hundreds in which the missionaries were forced to deal with the drunkenness of the Indians.

Later letters demonstrate the difficulty that the missionaries faced in obtaining and keeping an interpreter. In early 1839, Hamilton stated that a permanent agreement had finally been reached with a possible applicant for the job. The employee would perform his duties for a salary of \$240.00 per year, plus boarding, washing, and a horse. Unfortunately, by the end of the year, the interpreter in question had already been let go. Hamilton stated that he did not renew the interpreter's contract because he had "done more harm than good" while performing his duties.⁴

Attaining proficiency in the Ioway language did not occur as quickly as the missionaries hoped because they were often forced to spend much time performing the daily tasks of pioneer life. Strenuous chores such as the planting and harvesting of crops, making fences, and building corn cribs for the winter were common. Samuel Irvin explained that butchering stock was often a two-day affair. The men spent most of the first day killing the animals, while the following day saw the missionaries cutting and salting the newly-slaughtered meat.⁵ The building of the first crude school house also occupied much of the missionaries' time early in their tenure. The basic structure, though not totally completed, was usable by June 1838.⁶ Dealing with the hardships of everyday life never truly ended for the missionaries. Irvin's frustrations exploded in his later diary entry for March 22, 1842:

I worked all day at my stable and as usual it is late and I am very tired. I find my mind wonderfully engrossed about my worldly matters . . . I still, however, look for better times. A time not so distant when I will give all this up into other hands and be enabled to devote more of my time to that which is my abundant duty which God granted his name be the praise.⁷

Another troubling reality was the fact that mail service was a slow and haphazardous process. Until 1840, the missionaries were forced to travel over fifty miles by horse to Clay County, Missouri in order to retrieve their mail at the Liberty post office.⁸ As a result, the trip was usually made only once in the fall and once in the spring. At one point, Hamilton became discouraged because several eagerly anticipated packages and magazines were missing. He mused that perhaps the missing items were sent to Liberty, Mississippi instead of Liberty, Missouri. Hamilton wrote, "From what I saw on my trip to the west, of the manner of doing business in many of the post offices, I am more surprised at the safe arrival of packages than their being miscarried."⁹ However, the process eased somewhat in June 1840, when a post office opened at Joseph Robidoux's trading post in present-day St. Joseph, Missouri. This trip, much less taxing, only took two days by wagon.¹⁰

Because of the continual hardships of frontier life, the missionaries and their families constantly worried about their health. In fact, the mission family was forced to rely on the primitive medical training Hamilton and Irvin received in Pennsylvania. The mission women seemed particularly susceptible to illness after illness. During their stay among the Ioway, both Hamilton, Irvin and their families returned several times to the East, to the "comforts of home," with the hope of regaining their health. Irvin was forced to make his first request for leave as early as July 1838.¹¹ Returning to Pennsylvania, however, was done as a last recourse. For example, as Hamilton considered sending his wife back to Pennsylvania, he wrote, "I am well aware of the prejudice that exists in the minds of many against missionaries returning and I do not wish to be a stumbling

block . . ."12

Preaching to the Indians was all but impossible during periods when Hamilton or any member of his family became ill. Indeed, he related how an illness had kept Mrs. Hamilton bed-ridden for six weeks. After a subsequent bout with pleurisy, Hamilton had to "bleed and blister" his wife for two consecutive days. Hamilton stated that after the procedure, his wife had not suffered much pain but was very weak.¹³ Letter after letter vividly described a procession of illnesses, including various forms of the ague fever, bronchitis and the croup.

The white settlers at the mission were not the only people afflicted with sickness. Although the Indians relied more on their own remedies versus those of the missionaries, Hamilton often traveled to the Ioway village to provide medicine and assistance. For instance, he helped stop the bleeding of an Indian who had cut his foot.¹⁴ The missionaries also vaccinated Indian children for the smallpox. In the spring of 1851, several Ioway children suffered from the smallpox. Hamilton described how children, vaccinated the previous summer, were still not immune to the infectious disease. At one point, the missionaries were forced to inoculate the children at least three different times, because the earlier vaccinations proved ineffective.¹⁵

In addition, Hamilton constantly wrote the Board, requesting medicine or the new medical writings that could aid in his work. At one point, Hamilton asked for "a set of colossal drawings of the human stomach, also Dr. Jewel's essay with the drawings of the human stomach." He believed the drawings would greatly benefit the medical care of the Indians and the white men in the area.¹⁶

The following medicines were included in lists Hamilton sent to New York:

1 lb. cream of tartar	1 oz. quinine
1 oz. oil of peppermint	2 oz. calomel
1/2 lb. extract of rhubarb	1 lb. magnesia
2 oz. opium	1 gal. castor oil

1 oz. oil of turpentine

blister plaster¹⁷

Even when the Indians were particularly unyielding concerning religion and education, they still came to the missionaries for medical assistance.

Sad consequences of the harsh pioneer life included the sudden deaths of missionary children. Both Hamilton and Irvin lost children during their time in Kansas. Irvin lost a son to illness, while Hamilton lost a daughter to a freak accident.

Hamilton vividly recounted the events leading to the death of his youngest daughter, Priscilla, in a letter to a Rev. D. Wells. He described how his two older daughters had been washing clothes when their two younger sisters joined them. One daughter playfully sprinkled Priscilla with some water and in an attempt to get out of the way, she walked backward. Unfortunately, she fell into a kettle of boiling water, scalding the lower part of her body.¹⁸

Hamilton wrote of the accident:

I immediately ran and picked her up and put her in a tub of cold water, and when her clothes were cold, took her out, and endeavored to use such remedies as we could to relieve her. She soon became quiet in less than an hour, but was restless and soon became delirious. Her thirst was very great. I think the water must have penetrated . . . producing almost immediate inflammation of the intestines which soon ended in death . . . Her death was very sudden and unexpected . . . but the Lord saw we had need for this affliction and sent it. Yet it is mingled with mercy; her sufferings were not very long and we cannot doubt her spirit has gone to a better world.¹⁹

While members of any mission family relied greatly on each other in all aspects of their new lives, it was not uncommon for internal strife, often caused from the intense pressures of frontier life, to abound at the mission. In that regard, the Ioway station did not differ. In what would be the first of several "misunderstandings," stemming from what seems to have been jealousy on the part of both parties, William Hamilton quickly became involved in such a conflict with fellow Board employee Aury Ballard. In many instances, it is difficult to discern who was at fault in these encounters.

Aury Ballard had been employed as a mission teacher at the old Ioway Mission since 1835. He and his wife followed the Indians to their new reservation in 1837 and waited for instructions from Walter Lowrie. Ballard served as an unofficial interim mission superintendent until the arrival of Irvin and Hamilton. The controversy between the two men began after Ballard reluctantly gave Hamilton the Mission's accounting books. Hamilton noticed several discrepancies in the figures, which Ballard could not explain.²⁰

The dispute escalated and the two men engaged in a heated argument which Hamilton described in a letter to Walter Lowrie. He stated,

Upwards of a week since Mr. Ballard's conduct was such as I did not expect and trust I shall never witness again . . . He seemed to lose command of himself and his temper, and all at once give vent to his feelings and charging me with falsehood, . . . Telling me I had no business here and if I did not take care, I would have to leave the country. That the Indians did not like me . . . My great crime and offence appears, principally to be my desire to take care of the mission property, and to settle with him in a way that I think would or ought to be easy, agreeable and just.²¹

Hamilton was not the only party who wrote to the Secretary of the Foreign Board about the conflict at hand. After Lowrie had received Hamilton's letter, he then wrote to Aury and Sarah Ballard. Their replies were sent to Lowrie in August 1838. Aury Ballard wrote,

I could get statements from stable people in the settlement . . . I think [they] would convince the board that they were mistaken in Mr. H. I do not blame the board for they have to judge from the appearance and he appears well . . . I hope and pray that a brighter day awaits this poor people.²²

Mrs. Ballard also wrote to Lowrie and defended her husband's honor by attacking Hamilton. She told Lowrie how virtually everyone in the region disliked the new missionary from the first, and how they still disliked him even after becoming better acquainted with him.²³

Walter Lowrie and his son John, the second Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, had to read page after page of such diatribes. It is remarkable that by their

written words, these two men were able to resolve most of the mission squabbles. Such was the case in this instance. In February 1839, Hamilton wrote of Ballard, "We have got along more harmoniously . . . than at any time previous . . . He seems disposed to be friendly, that is more than formerly. I hope and pray that the time may not [be] far distant, when the dark cloud which so long hung over this mission will soon be banished. . ."24 By the fall of 1839, Ballard had officially ended his service with the Board of Foreign Missions. He stayed in the area, however, eventually working for the government as a farmer.²⁵

Even Samuel Irvin and William Hamilton, close friends and colleagues throughout the years, experienced a strained relationship from time to time. Though Irvin never denounced Hamilton, he sometimes expressed a candid opinion about his fellow missionary. After spending several years with the Hamilton family, Irvin wrote the following to Walter Lowrie:

He [Hamilton] is I believe a man of ardent piety prayer and devotion -- a good linguist and in some respects a strong and well trained mind, but in many points destitute of what is commonly called "common sense." But his real deficiency seems to be in the management of finatial [sic] matters. He is no economist though he does not intend to expend money... He is a good preacher, and capable of being very useful at a station in many respects but I think he should not have the management of the money matters of a station . . .²⁶

This judgment, unquestionably Irvin's harshest words about his lifelong acquaintance, was not written in malice, as were the words penned by Aury Ballard and several others in the years ahead. Irvin truly worried about the mission's future; nevertheless, his words prove that even the best of relationships were troubled from time to time.

The missionaries' efforts at educating the Indians were also hampered by their "love-hate" relationship with the U.S. government agent. While among the Ioway, Sac and Fox, Hamilton and Irvin coexisted with several different agents. Corruption within the

office and frequent changes in presidential administrations contributed to the turnover in Indian agents.

From the beginning, Hamilton and Irvin attempted to live harmoniously with the assigned agent. Whether they truly liked or distrusted the particular agent in question, they never shied away from expressing their feelings on any issue. They frequently wrote to Walter Lowrie in New York or, if the circumstance warranted such measures, to the President of the United States.

It did not take long for the first of many disagreements to emerge between the missionaries and the agent. The initial discord centered around whether to teach the Indians exclusively in English or to teach them in their native language. Throughout their years among the Ioway, Hamilton and Irvin often vacillated about which teaching technique to employ. In addition, they received little solace from New York; indeed, the Board did not firmly advocate any particular language policy until the late 1870's and early 1880's.²⁷

At first Hamilton and Irvin wished to teach the Ioway in their native tongue, much to the disdain of the agent. By early 1839, however, the missionaries had altered their position. Irvin wrote the following:

In my last letter I told you my wish to consult the Board in reference to teaching. Hitherto we have been greatly hindered in this part of our labour, because that we taught in the Indian language. Indeed the difficulties in the way of teaching Indian and the arguments in favor of teaching English, have led me to think that perhaps it might be best for the Board to give up the former and adopt the latter . . . In the first place, the policy of the Government appears to be opposed to teaching Indian . . . To my mind there are but two important arguments in favor of teaching Indian, and but one of these can have weight in the present case. One is that through their own language we can learn them to read and acquire some knowledge of the Scriptures sooner than any other way. This is an important consideration and must not be past without its just light -- The other is, that by confining them to their own language we hide from them that obscene profane language, and vile abomination of which, unfortunately our English is so full. This may be done in regard to tribes which are more remote; but in our tribes there are so many vagrant and unprincipled whites, who are acquainted with their language who are often engaged in communication of

this kind, that, we by confining ourselves to the Indian language cannot keep iniquity of this kind from the Nation.²⁸

After requesting direction from New York, but receiving none, the missionaries decided to teach only English in July 1839. Irvin again stated, "We have been led to this course principally from the wish of Major [John] Dougherty and indeed at present the Indians could not be taught for there has not been any printing done in their language."²⁹ In the years that followed, Irvin and Hamilton would make the printing of texts in the Ioway language a reality.

As the replacement of each Indian agent occurred, the missionaries were also forced to react to the divergent beliefs of each man. The Indians spent most of 1840 without an agent. In contrast to the feelings of Major John Dougherty, the subsequent agent, William Richardson, supported teaching the Indians in their own language.³⁰ Irvin wrote of their first meeting, "The agent seems very friendly and though no professor is willing to cooperate with us in all of our undertakings."³¹ Of course, these positive feelings are understandable, considering the fact that Richardson placed little to no restrictions on the missionaries. Later agents would not be held with the same high regard.

After frustrating attempts at teaching only English met with little success, the missionaries again wrote to Lowrie for guidance. Hamilton had created a new lesson plan whereby the Indians were taught to read in their own language and in that way, they could become acquainted with English. He strongly believed that they could read and speak English much faster by first being taught to read in their own tongue. In a letter to Lowrie, Hamilton stated that Congress had also been studying the matter. He asked the Secretary if any decision had yet been made. Would the new policy be exclusively English, exclusively native, or a mixture of both?³² Eventually, the missionaries settled on a combination of the two techniques.

Having an agent that favored their basic ideals was extremely important to Hamilton and Irvin, and after the 1844 presidential election, the two men wrote to Walter Lowrie, and asked him to use his considerable influence in Washington to secure the reappointment of current agent William Richardson. Hamilton and Irvin were concerned because allegedly only "whiskey traders and drunks" had applied for the position.³³

Lowrie did not hesitate; he wrote directly to the President of the United States and respectfully recommended "that Wm. P. Richardson, Esq., the present sub-agent to the Iowas, and Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, be continued in the office he now holds."³⁴ Unfortunately, for the missionaries, Lowrie's request fell on deaf ears. Richardson, as often happened, was removed.

Richardson's replacement as sub-agent, a Mr. A. McClintock, quickly became the target of missionary scorn. While Irvin and Hamilton continually chastised McClintock for placing much less restraint on the Indians, they were particularly worried about losing the much needed Indian appropriations to be used for the building of a boarding school.³⁵ Likewise, Irvin complained that McClintock had falsely accused W. McCreary, a member of the mission family, of wrongdoing.³⁶

In addition, a letter written by former agent William Richardson to Walter Lowrie may explain the motivation behind McClintock's distrust of the Presbyterian missionaries. In his letter, Richardson recalled how a mutual acquaintance asked Hamilton and Irvin to write to President Polk calling for the removal of Indian agent McClintock. In their correspondence, Hamilton and Irvin referred to McClintock as an infidel and a man of bad character. Unfortunately, McClintock read a copy of the letter.³⁷

Richardson's five-page letter accused McClintock of various transgressions. For example, the agent was charged with setting a bad example after he visited a whiskey shop located on the river. Richardson added,

The manual labor boarding school had as well be set on fire and consumed if McClintock is to remain. I would advise in all efforts at removal to apply to the President himself. I have confidence in Mr. Polk's moral principals and do believe that if one tenth of the evidence now in possession . . . if communicated to Mr. Polk, would be enough to have him [McClintock] removed immediately.³⁸

Hamilton, now back in Pennsylvania on a leave of absence, penned a strongly negative description of McClintock for Lowrie. He wrote:

I feel much for the Indians at that station. I know not whether you have been particularly informed with respect to the hostile course pursued by the new agent towards the mission. Did he vent his spite against Mr. Irvin and myself alone, we would be silent; for I fear nothing he can do to us individually. But he is determined to stop the appropriations made by the Indians to the school and to do all he can to counteract the influence of the mission.³⁹

Finally, all of the letters to Walter Lowrie and the President succeeded. After an investigation, McClintock was removed as Indian agent by April 1846.⁴⁰

The most interesting relationship between missionary and Indian agent occurred between Irvin, Hamilton and McClintock's successor, Colonel A.J. Vaughan. The missionaries' were extremely hopeful upon Vaughan's arrival. Hamilton eagerly described the new agent's apprehension of three whiskey traders trespassing on Indian land. In addition, Hamilton gave his approval of Vaughan when he wrote, "We have thus far found him very agreeable and accommodating. We earnestly desire that whatever may be the changes in Washington, that he may be continued as the agent to these tribes."⁴¹

Less than a year later, however, the missionaries' adopted an intensely negative attitude toward Agent Vaughan. As they had done with Agent McClintock a few years earlier, the missionaries began a writing campaign calling for Vaughan's resignation. The missionaries' discord grew out of accusations that the agent had misappropriated some of the Indian annuities. The missionaries blamed the agent for defrauding the Indians out of a portion of their annuities, an amount estimated at between \$600 and \$800. Hamilton went

so far as to provide Secretary of Interior Nathaniel Ewing with a list of grievances and charges.⁴²

Interestingly, Vaughan's 1849 annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs offered no suggestion of any trouble between himself and the missionaries. In fact, he complemented Hamilton and Irvin by stating,

I have been acting in the capacity of Indian sub-agent for many years, for a number of different denominations of missionaries . . . and I can say with truth that I have never seen the same untiring zeal, anxiety, and solicitude manifested by any others in training up and teaching . . . as the missionaries of this sub-agency.⁴³

For whatever reason, the new year witnessed the reappointment of William Richardson as Indian sub-agent of the Great Nemahaw Subagency.

Although the government agents and the missionaries quarreled over a variety of issues, the one constant in their relationship was mutual hatred of the white whiskey traders. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions fervently believed that the overwhelming obstacle faced by their missionaries in the quest to educate and "civilize" the American Indian was the intemperance of the native tribes. Missionary letters, reports and diaries, government documents, even frontier newspaper accounts, all recorded the drunken escapades of the Ioway Indians.

Unfortunately, while the agents and the missionaries had limited success in keeping the illegal traders off of Indian land, they had little control over the Indians' actions once they left the village. In many instances, corrupt government farmers and interpreters, men enlisted to aid the Indian, only contributed to the problem. Hamilton quickly experienced such an incident involving an interpreter. According to Hamilton,

The new interpreter . . . has been a trader among the Indians . . . He is about setting up a whiskey shop on the opposite side of the river. His father owns a distillery, and consequently, the Indians can have as much as they want . . . This man, unless restrained by divine providence, can do much harm.⁴⁴

A month later, Hamilton's frustration grew as he had already observed several drunken occurrences during his attempts at preaching to the tribe. He wrote,

They had been drinking so much the night previous that they were mostly asleep, having finished what they had on hand. You can scarcely form an idea of the various schemes that are laid for the ruin of this people, without witnessing them.⁴⁵

The government agent also reported on the hapless condition of the Ioway. Early in the missionaries' tenure, Agent John Dougherty had written,

They have drank more whiskey during the present year than usual; a number of them died in consequence of it . . . The men have drunk constantly all spring and summer, and not infrequently the squaws would join in the frolic.⁴⁶

For fifteen years, Hamilton looked on as a disease, just as dangerous as any cholera or smallpox epidemic, decimated a decent people. The pages of letters, diaries and government reports are filled with telling accounts of the destruction brought on by the "white man's poison." From his arrival in 1838, Hamilton witnessed only momentary lapses in the drunken episodes that characterized Indian life at the Ioway station.

For whatever reason, some of the more dismal events occurred during the winter months. Hamilton recalled what happened on December 23, 1841 in the following journal entry:

Last night several Sac Indians became drunk. It became quiet [and] cold. They were near perishing. We helped a squaw to take one home and on our way back we found two about a mile from the station, both helpless and almost insensible. One's feet were frozen. The next day, neither felt ashamed.⁴⁷

Irvin wrote of the same event:

I saw by the corner of the field a Sac squaw wrestling with a drunken husband who was so drunk and cold as to be about insensible. He had fallen down and laid for some time and became so numb . . . as not to have use of his limbs. I went to her assistance and we soon after [were] joined by Mr. H[amilton] and together we took him to his lodge.⁴⁸

One year later, to the day, Samuel Irvin wrote of another drunken incident involving an Indian and a Frenchman. Irvin stated that Agent Richardson called on Irvin, wanting him to help a severely beaten Frenchman who had been involved in a "drunken frolick" with an Indian. Irvin wrote that he had to sew up the Frenchman's severely cut head: "It was so that I could easily probe it to the scul bone." Unfortunately, the Frenchman died three days later.⁴⁹

Irvin's journal for 1841 is especially complete. The profound despair felt by the missionaries concerning the intemperance is seen in entry after entry. For example:

February 7, 1841: "Today came word than an Indian had been killed in a drunken ???? last night . . . The poor Indians are falling one after the other at an alarming rate . . . They may soon be exterminated."⁵⁰

February 27, 1841: "Went to the Indian village again to see the sick and give them medicine. Found some drunk and a great threat prevailing among them generally for liquor. They seem to be growing worse and worse."⁵¹

April 9, 1841: "After assisting to roll some logs, I went to the village . . . At the village, I found some drunk among whom was one of the main chiefs of the nation. Tis very common. In fact, the chiefs are as great drunkards as any in the nation."⁵²

June 10, 1841: "I started for the village but after nearly a mile, I was met by an Indian who told me they were so drunk at the village that it was not worthwhile for me to go. I turned back and went back to my studies."⁵³

August 21, 1841: "Great preparation is now making to visit the nation for the purpose of procuring buffalo meat, of which all Indians appear peculiarly fond. But a few years ago, the buffalo abounded here, but now they are not to be found nearer than 200 miles. So much has the advance of the white man done towards destroying the best living of the Indian, while the main return our Indians have received is whiskey."⁵⁴

Having to constantly cope with Indian intemperance took its toll on the missionaries. Irvin reacted negatively after his failed attempt to aid an Indian women with inflammatory rheumatism. It seems he could not help the woman because he was

surrounded by a group of drunken Indians. At the end of that harrowing day, Irvin wrote the following distressing entry in his diary:

I for a long time have not felt so unworthy, I hardly know what to try and say in prayer. I was so wonderfully unworthy and so justly exposed to the wrath of an angry God. What shall I do. I am so far from God and the fountain of all good. I am a wretch undone without thy spirit and thy grace. I find I come short in every respect.⁵⁵

By the time Hamilton and Irvin reached their new home in 1837, the tribes they had been sent to "civilize" had already spent decades coping with the cultural pressures associated with adapting to white society. As the years passed, the Indians' felt increasingly demoralized as they were forced to deal with the constraints imposed on their life-style by the government. Accordingly, the Indians responded to their loss of autonomy with anti-social acts, which included the increased consumption of alcohol.⁵⁶

Despite all of their steadfast efforts, the missionaries' hope for Indian sobriety never materialized. There were sporadically successful attempts at temperance, but they never lasted long. At one point, the two men convened a meeting at the Indian Agency. At the gathering, thirty persons, many of them government employees, took a pledge of temperance. Hamilton and Irvin then approached the Indians with the pledge and, as a result, fifty to sixty Ioway signed similar commitments.⁵⁷

Within a few months, however, it was evident that nothing had changed. The Indian agent reported that the Indians had sold more than one hundred of their blankets for whiskey since payment of their annuities. In addition, he wrote, "When the goods give out, they will sell their guns, horses, or any other articles which they possess that will be of any service to such murderers and robbers as sell them poison."⁵⁸ While the missionaries knowingly fought a losing battle for Indian sobriety, they never gave up. As Hamilton wrote, "If even a few are reclaimed, the labour is not lost."⁵⁹

After approximately three years at the Ioway station, the missionaries sadly concluded that their efforts at educating and converting the Ioway tribe to Christianity had met with little success. Their endeavors with the Indian children met with only a bit more progress. In addition to their frustrating attempts with the Ioway, the missionaries had absolutely no luck with the neighboring Sac and Fox tribe.

The Sac and Fox, often referred to as one tribe, were in fact two distinct Indian tribes. Linguistically, the Sac and Fox belong to the Algonquian family in contrast to the Ioway, Oto and Omaha, who belong to the great Siouan family. Because of their different origins, no two words in the Ioway and Sac languages are alike.⁶⁰

The Sac and Fox, close allies since the early eighteenth century, originally made their homes in the upper Michigan peninsula and the south shore of Lake Superior respectively. After several conflicts with the French and various tribes, including the Iroquois and the Chippewas, the Sac and Fox migrated south. The two tribes eventually settled along the Mississippi River in present-day Illinois. This shared migration also marked the beginning of a close alliance between the two tribes that lasted well into the nineteenth century.⁶¹

Once in Illinois, the two tribes sadly observed the ever-increasing numbers of white settlers moving westward onto their land. Finally, the Sac and Fox succumbed to the pressures and promises of the U.S. government. In a series of treaties, the Indians ceded away claims to more and more of their land. By September 1836 the Sac and Fox, along with the Ioway, ceded away their joint claims to lands in Iowa and agreed to move to a tract in northeastern Kansas.⁶²

Each year Hamilton and Irvin spoke with the Sac chiefs, hoping the tribe would send their children to the Ioway day school, but the chiefs steadfastly refused. The tribe believed their children would die at the school as some of them had when they were sent to a school in St. Louis. Moreover, intense jealousy existed between the two tribes. The

missionaries believed these negative feelings may have also contributed to the Sac refusal.⁶³ In fact, Hamilton had at one point been hired to be the Sac government teacher. He finally resigned, however, after receiving fewer than five Sac scholars in his tenure as teacher.⁶⁴

The Ioway, in contrast to the Sac and Fox, seemed more receptive to the idea of sending their children to the Presbyterian day school. Their desire was limited, however, for they often pulled the children out of school because they feared for the children's safety from enemy tribes. They also pulled the children when it was time to harvest crops or leave for the winter hunt.⁶⁵ Irvin said that,

When the time of the hunting draws near, the children grow eager to feast themselves with novelties. New views, new objects, new employments are presented and they long to be away. The parents indulge not a little in the same feeling and a mind thus employed is but poorly fitted for learning or religion.⁶⁶

The children also witnessed their parents' war parties and, of course, yearned to imitate what they saw. Irvin related one particular experience:

On my way to the village some days ago, I met a large number of scholars of the School . . . They were going on a war party, and accordingly had in miniature, all the equipment necessary for such an expedition. One, the leader, had on his back the "medicine bag" which they view as indispensable on all occasions . . . the boys had scarcely any clothes on, and without any baggage so that they could run well, which is an important requisite in these exercises. I proposed that they stop and say a lesson. To this they readily complied, and we took our seat under a shade in the edge of prairie and spent some time in the common exercises of the School . . . On my way home, I met the same party who were now returning. Their appearance and manners were quite different. They said they had killed an Indian and were now returning in triumph. They had round their heads, necks and legs large bunches of grass weeds and flowers as marks of bravery and success . . . They were singing the triumphant war song, dancing and maneuvering in all the various forms practiced by the experienced warrior on such occasions. It was astonishing to see how they seemed all to be elated.⁶⁷

The missionaries soon realized that their limited success with the children could be derived from the fact that they only had the children a few hours each day. After class the

children returned to their parents and the traditional Indian ways. There was no positive reinforcement. Consequently, by early 1841, Irvin and Hamilton began turning their attention to the idea of a Manual Labour Boarding School. The missionaries believed "that manual labour could be taught and the children more easily directed when away from the home environment."⁶⁸

The government agent, at that time William Richardson, quickly supported the missionary idea for a boarding school. Furthermore, he promised to petition Washington for monetary aid and help in achieving the needed Indian support. By the spring of 1842, the agent had approximately 100 acres of land fenced off, with the intent of transferring the land to the Board of Foreign Missions.⁶⁹

During 1842-1843, the missionaries earnestly prepared detailed plans for a boarding school and sent them to Walter Lowrie. Hamilton and Irvin also visited existing manual labour boarding schools in the area run by the Baptists, the Society of Friends, and the Methodist Episcopal Church. They were particularly impressed by the Shawnee schools operated by the Society of Friends and the Methodists.⁷⁰

Irvin also wrote to Lowrie about his conversations with others concerning the establishment of a boarding school. On a trip to St. Louis, Irvin met with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and other individuals with Indian Affairs experience. According to Irvin, all agreed "that manual labor, connected in some way with mental training, is the only way of labouring successfully among the youth of the wild tribes." The Superintendent promised Irvin his full assistance in seeking a government appropriation for a boarding school.⁷¹

Irvin continued in his arguments for a new plan of action by describing the existing method of teaching. He stated,

Soon after I came from St. Louis, I commenced teaching on the old plan -- going daily (except when I knew that they were drunk) to the village and teaching the children as I could find them. The small ones are

progressing about as usual, but I have been pained and I may say discouraged (I mean with the present plan of teaching) to find that many of the large boys, who last year, and previous to that time, had made the best progress and who gave me the most encouragement, have grown so large as to be ashamed or too proud to say a lesson. Their love for fashion and idleness is so strong, that they would much rather pass away the precious hours, in painting their faces, smoking and walking about the village, than tax their minds. This seems strongly to argue the necessity of a different plan of labour among their youth.⁷²

After receiving many letters and construction plans, the Board finally gave formal approval for a Manual Labour Boarding School. The missionaries then had to secure the funds to build such a structure. After the government pledged \$2,000.00 for the building of the school, the Ioway and Sac and Fox nations held councils with the agent. As a result, they also pledged monetary support for a school. The Ioway held council in September 1844, and according to the minutes of the council, the tribe requested that \$1,456.62 be applied toward the building of the school.⁷³ The Sac and Fox tribe met with the agent in early October 1844. Surprisingly, they appropriated an astounding \$3,259.05 for the building of the school.⁷⁴

A reading of the Sac council minutes in their entirety, makes it apparent that the tribe freely donated their funds only because they were trying to please their "great father" and "white brothers." Indeed, the tribe had been accused of killing a white man's cattle, a charge which they denied. In any case, the following extract of the minutes confirms the tribe's true feelings. Nesomequot, the principal chief of the Sac and Fox, stated,

We understand from you that there is on hand at this time, \$1,719.05, which has been sent to you. Also, there is the sum of \$1,540 in the hands of our great father, which he is anxious we should give to this school. We give it all, together, with what may be due us from year to year, for education purposes, with the condition that, if our nation desire it, they shall have a right to send their children to the school. You know many of us are opposed to having our children educated; some of us think differently, and will no doubt, send their children to the school. As we cannot get the money, we freely surrender it for the benefit of the Manual Labour Boarding School . . . Father, we have given our money to the school, and we hope it will please our great father and our white brothers.⁷⁵

Hamilton stated in a letter that money donated by the Sac and Fox tribe came from monies that had accrued during the time when they had no government teacher. That money had been marked for educational purposes; consequently, the Sac and Fox realized the government would not simply give the money to them to spend as they wished.⁷⁶

The agent seemed particularly pleased with the prospect of a boarding school. He wrote the following positive statements about Hamilton and Irvin in his Annual Report for 1844:

I take great pleasure in bearing my humble testimony to the qualifications and entire fitness of the individuals who are to have charge of this institution. If a knowledge of the Indian character and language, and devoted piety, are considered requisite, they certainly possess them in a preeminent degree. I feel well assured that the Government will never regret having contributed to the building up of this institution.⁷⁷

By the end of 1844, the dreams for a Manual Labour Boarding School were slowly turning into a reality. In fact, the missionaries signed a contract for the making of 200,000 bricks, and employed hands to "commence the foundation, forward stone, &c." According to Hamilton and Irvin, there were plenty of workmen at St. Joseph ready and willing to begin work.⁷⁸

In March 1845, Irvin reported on the progress of the school in a letter that was printed in a British publication. The Board of Foreign Missions often received aid and donations from sister societies in England and Scotland. Irvin wrote the following description on March 15, 1845:

We are progressing as fast as we can, with the building of the Manual-Labour Boarding-School at this place. We (myself, wife and one of the chiefs of the Ioway) expect in a short time to start for Pittsburg . . . to obtain materials for building, clothing &c . . . The main building for the school will be over one hundred feet long, and thirty six wide, three stories high. To put up and furnish this building with all that is necessary, and then meet the annual expense, will require much, particularly as we are so remote from supplies. But we intend to live in the most cheap and plain manner, sleeping on straw, and living mainly on corn and milk.⁷⁹

The summer of 1845 came and went as completion of the structure fell behind schedule. There were early problems with the plans that Walter Lowrie had sent from New York. As a result, the missionaries were forced to revise the plans after they experienced problems with the slope of the ground and the thickness of the bricks needed for the building's walls.⁸⁰ By the summer of 1845, the school's basement had been completed and the brick masons were working rapidly on the walls of the building.⁸¹

Unfortunately, William Hamilton would not see the completion of the school building. Mrs. Hamilton's health had deteriorated for some time and the Hamilton family, minus William, was finally forced to travel east in the spring of 1845. Hamilton fervently believed he needed to join his family; consequently, he left for Pennsylvania on the Steamboat Amarath in August 1845.⁸²

By September, the school building received its roof. Samuel Irvin provided the government with a detailed description of the structure as it then stood. He stated,

It is 106 feet long by 37 feet wide, three stories high. The first or basement story is of limestone, the two upper stories of brick, and the roof of good pine. Dressed lumber, for most of the floors; sash and blinds for the windows, and well-made doors, are in readiness to finish the building, having been brought from Pittsburg last spring. Glass, nails and paints are also on hand to complete the house, as well as a large quantity of bedding, clothing and kitchen furniture to commence the school.⁸³

The structure was ready for service in July 1846, and on the 18th of the month, the mission family celebrated with a dinner for the construction crew. On Sunday, July 19th, Samuel Irvin preached at a well-attended dedication ceremony.⁸⁴

An unidentified witness to the dedication wrote a glowing letter to the editor of the St. Joseph Gazette concerning the history of the mission and the completion of the new school. The letter stated,

We may confidently predict that the plan upon which the missionaries are now operating will succeed in converting the ignorant and the heathenish tribes into intelligent, refined and religious societies . . . I will only add, that an impartial individual cannot visit the Iowa and Sac

Mission and see and hear what I have seen and heard there, without being impressed with the belief that those belonging to the establishment are not only gentlemanly, but are good and honest; that the many derogatory things said of them are unfounded slanders, and that their efforts must ultimately triumph if permitted to exert what influence they are prepared to command.⁸⁵

Having decided to return to the Ioway Mission, Hamilton and his family reached the station on September 16, 1846. Unfortunately, upon his arrival, he discovered that severe sickness had afflicted both the mission family and the Indians, thus slowing the operation of the new boarding school. Samuel Irvin was especially ill. In addition, the mission had lost Hamilton's first replacement, the McCoon family, to ill health. They had returned east in late 1845. Furthermore, their replacements, the Rev. Edmund McKinney and wife, formerly of the Spencer Academy among the Choctaw Indians, had been transferred by the Board to a newly-established station. This mission, approximately 125 miles to the north at the mouth of the Great Platte River, would serve the Otoe and Omaha tribes.⁸⁶

Hamilton spent the next seven years tirelessly operating the Manual Labor Boarding School with Samuel Irvin. While there were periods of high enrollment and accomplishment, overall the sustained success that the missionaries had envisioned never truly materialized. Illness had contributed to the small enrollment of only eight children at the school when it officially opened in 1846.⁸⁷ By January 1847, however, the numbers of Ioway children had increased substantially. Unfortunately, an old problem soon reappeared. The Sac and Fox Indians, who had never sent their children to the Mission school in any great number, now requested an end to their yearly appropriation set aside for the institution.⁸⁸

The missionaries were greatly frustrated by such events but they did not give up, having come so close to their goal of educating the Indian children. Hamilton and Irvin acted in good conscience when they met with a Sac Chief, Ne-Sa-Waw-Quot. Hamilton

told the chief he could withdraw the Sac appropriation if that was his wish. If he decided otherwise, however, Hamilton assured him that the tribe's money was safe and would only be used for the education of their children. In addition, the missionaries, at Walter Lowrie's suggestion, offered to divide the school's stock of clothing between the Ioway and Sac and Fox tribes regardless of Sac intentions to send their children to the boarding school. According to the missionaries, the Sac and Fox greatly appreciated this gesture.⁸⁹

In addition to the seemingly constant bouts with illness and the Sac dissatisfaction with the school, the missionaries also faced many of the same concerns that had haunted them since their arrival in Indian Territory. For example, during Hamilton's tenure at the school, it was often understaffed and, at times, the missionaries had to turn some children away. Moreover, Hamilton and Irvin were never truly able to keep the parents from collecting their children at harvest time or for the buffalo hunt. Runaway children also kept the missionaries extremely busy.⁹⁰

While these and other concerns kept the school from becoming the total success Hamilton and Irvin had desired, the Manual Labour Boarding School was by no means a failure. Indeed, the missionaries' records reveal much information about successful curriculum and methods.

The missionaries sent quarterly and yearly school reports to the Board of Foreign Missions in New York, as well as a yearly report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In one report dated November 4, 1850, Hamilton recorded the following statistical information:

Years	1847	1848	1849	1850
No. rec'd, including those in school.	70	45	40	40
No. left	50	16	8	2
Average Attendance	24	24	34	32 ⁹¹

Other reports contained the names and ages of particular children attending the boarding school. In addition to the English names given to the children by the missionaries, the reports also included their Indian names. Also included in the quarterly reports were lists of supplies needed and of the supplies on hand at the station. These lists were important because the Board was always receiving donations from different philanthropic groups. One list of supplies on hand in January 1847, included items such as: 11 lamps; 8 stoves; 3 yoke oxen; 3 barrels of flour; 25 lbs. of rice; 12 lbs. of coffee; 5 bushels of beans; 210 boys' shirts, and 206 girls' frocks and slips.⁹²

The children's scholastic progress was extremely important to Hamilton and Irvin. In a report for Agent Richardson, Irvin wrote that "the design of our mission is, as much as possible to combine the important objects of morals and Christianity with industry and domestic economy."⁹³ In that same report, Irvin listed the stages of the children in their formal education. For example he wrote,

8 study Geography.
8 study Arithmetic on slate and blackboard.
26 read the New Testament in English.
6 read McGuffey's 4th reader.
10 read McGuffey's 3rd reader.
12 read McGuffey's and Cobb's 1st reader.
22 write the alphabet.
All have memorized portions of the scripture and hymns in English.⁹⁴

In addition to their formal educations, the boys were also taught farming and building skills, while the girls learned to sew, cook, wash and churn.⁹⁵

Hamilton and Irvin wrote often of the joy and sorrow each experienced as they strove to provide the Indian children with a solid Presbyterian education. For example, 1848 was a good time for the Manual Labour Boarding School. Hamilton said,

I think the school is at present more interesting than it has been at any previous time. I do not allude to their progress in learning, but to the regularity of their attendance and to the contentment they seem to manifest.⁹⁶

Interestingly, one negative comment stood out from all of the positive reports and letters of that year. Irvin described the difficulty of teaching the children during America's war with Mexico, saying,

Our war with Mexico too cripples our influence and arguments with them. When we tell them it is wrong to go to war and kill our fellow men, they say they have heard that we are at war with Mexico and have killed many of them. When we tell them it is so cruel to kill women and innocent children they say they have heard that many, very many women and children who have done us no harm have been killed by us in Mexico.⁹⁷

Paul Bloohm, a member of the Society of Friends, wrote a letter titled "Ioway and Sac Indians" which was reprinted in a Society of Friends publication. Although the letter may have been written with propagandistic intentions and possibly to solicit future donations for the school, its content provides an enlightening look at the school's progress in early 1848. Bloohm stated,

When we left this summer, all things looked dark and cheerless . . . Judge, therefore, of my surprise, when on my arrival at the Mission, I found that they boarded twenty boys, and ten girls . . . But my gratification was greater than my surprise, when I found that these children of the wilderness were by far superior in their manners and behavior to any children that I have seen in schools visited by me in Europe.⁹⁸

Although limited progress continued to be made at the school, growing frustration appeared on the pages of the missionary writings. Hamilton reluctantly described the drunken antics of the principal Ioway chief, White Cloud, in the summer of 1849. According to Hamilton, White Cloud came to the boarding school and shouted, "Leave, Children, Leave. I will rule in this matter. I am a great man. I am not afraid, not even of the agent. Whip me. Tye [sic] me. I want to die."⁹⁹

By 1852 Irvin remarked that nearly all of the thirty-four children living at the school were orphans; that perhaps only three of them had both parents still living. He lamented, "Our school might be called an orphan asylum."¹⁰⁰ The Annual Report for 1852, written

by Irvin on behalf of the Mission and only a few months before Hamilton's permanent departure, aptly expressed the feelings of those who had served among the Ioway for so many years. Irvin wrote,

Still we are not yet permitted to see any marked moral or religious influence upon the nation as a whole; nor have some of the children who have had the best advantages in the Mission and school given us the reward and encouragement we hoped for ... The inquiry often rises in our minds, 'O, Lord, How Long?'. . . Is fifteen years, or an age ... time enough to enable us to understand the great designs of a wise Providence in the missionary work, or to interpret the apparently long delays of his power in vindication of the oppressed.¹⁰¹

When analyzing what the missionaries hoped to accomplish during their time among the Indians, one still can sympathize with their feelings of hopelessness and despair, whether or not one agrees with their goals. Hamilton and Irvin may have died believing they accomplished little during their stay in Kansas. How wrong they would have been. The two Presbyterian missionaries not only established one of the first printing presses in what became the Kansas Territory, they also became two of the region's earliest anthropologists and sociologists.¹⁰²

Hamilton and Irvin quickly realized that good quality written materials were needed if their quest to educate the Indians were to succeed. After spending the first few years unremittingly learning the Ioway language, the missionaries had their first small Ioway book printed at Liberty, Missouri, in 1841.¹⁰³ At the same time, the two men decided it would be cheaper to operate a press of their own. As a result, Irvin wrote to Walter Lowrie in the summer of 1842 and requested a printing press for the Mission. Lowrie approved his request in October of the same year.¹⁰⁴

The \$250.00 press, including the type and fixtures, reached the Mission by April 1843. The missionaries published two books in 1843, a 101-page Elementary Book of the Ioway Language, and a 62-page Original Hymns in the Ioway Language.¹⁰⁵ Hamilton described some of their publishing problems when he wrote,

We are much cramped in our operations for want of type, and if we had type, we would soon want pages, as we have hardly enough for our elementary and hymn books. In type we are very deficient, having k's sufficient to set up only 5 pages of hymns and scarcely capital m's ... As we need them very much, I suppose there will be no objection to sending to St. Louis for them.¹⁰⁶

The two men faithfully mentioned their printing efforts in their diaries, letters and reports. For example, Hamilton wrote in April 1844 that 26,000 pages had been printed since the previous winter.¹⁰⁷ The building and opening of the Manual Labor Boarding School slowed the missionaries' printing for a time. By 1848, however, the press was back in full operation. The result was a new book titled, An Ioway Grammar.¹⁰⁸

According to Iowa Indian historian Martha Royce Blaine, each sentence of the Ioway grammar books was selected carefully; each one was intended to "convey ideas and values of white society."¹⁰⁹ The following set of sentences is one example of the ideas and values described by Blaine:

Hogs are useful animals. White people raise a great many hogs. People who raise hogs have plenty of meat. Indians who hunt for their meat often at times have none. They ought to quit hunting and go to work and raise hogs. They would not always be hungry.¹¹⁰

While records for that time are sketchy, it appears that at least nine separate books were printed on the Ioway and Sac press.¹¹¹ Even if the educational benefits of the press cannot be truly measured, the fact that such tedious work was accomplished at all under those harsh and primitive conditions is an achievement in itself.

The greatest achievement of Hamilton's sixteen-year tenure was the quantity and quality of ethnohistoric information that he and Irvin recorded in their journals and letters on the Ioway tribe. In addition to their contributions in private correspondence, the missionaries also offered what they had learned to scholars such as Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, James Owen Dorsey and Lewis Henry Morgan.

In compiling his Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, anthropologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft sent out questionnaires to qualified parties such as missionaries, agents, and traders. Schoolcraft requested that each recipient provide him with as much information as possible on each of the tribes in question. Hamilton and Irvin sent Schoolcraft a detailed reply to his forty-eight-question survey in February 1848.¹¹²

Schoolcraft divided the questionnaire into five major sections including History, International Rank and Relations, Geography, Antiquities, and Astronomy. In a preface to their formal reply, Hamilton and Irvin noted the difficulties that they encountered as they attempted to trace Ioway tribal history. The missionaries described receiving contradictory answers to questions. As a result, they concluded that "it requires long acquaintance, and close observation, to arrive at anything like just conclusions on these points, and it is only by collecting different and conflicting notions, and balancing them, that we can find which prevails."¹¹³

In addition to the information they communicated on Ioway religion and customs, Hamilton and Irvin also painted a vivid picture of the northeastern Kansas terrain circa 1848. They described the countryside as:

Beautifully diversified with gentle hills and plains, most of which are fit for cultivation, except on the immediate bluffs of the Missouri. The slopes inclining to the Nemahaw are usually gentle enough for cultivation, and the streams are extensive. Soil generally very fertile; timber very scarce; springs of water and running brooks rather abundant. No restriction in the extent and resources of the prairies or natural meadows of the country.¹¹⁴

After completing the Schoolcraft report, Hamilton realized how much more needed to be learned about the Ioway Indians. For this reason, he made a concerted effort during his final five years among the Ioway to study and record all he could about the tribe.¹¹⁵

Hamilton kept especially complete journals for the years 1849-1853. Extracts of these writings are located in the papers of anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, who visited Hamilton and Irvin at different times during the middle nineteenth century. The newly collected material was also utilized by Indian scholar James Owen Dorsey in several of his writings.¹¹⁶

During his last years among the Ioway, Hamilton had several discussions with No-Heart, one of the tribe's principal chiefs. On one afternoon, No-Heart described an eclipse of the sun, which had occurred years earlier. Hamilton wrote of the conversation:

Today No-Heart visited us and talked about the falling stars and about the great eclipse of the sun that happened when he was small. He said the Iowa were much alarmed and kept shooting off their guns while it lasted. They thought the sun was lost . . . [he] said they thought they remedied the supposed sin by their shooting. When the moon is eclipsed, they say it is sick; the sun he spoke of as being dead.¹¹⁷

Hamilton also described numerous religious customs, including the Ioway mode of burial. He seemed particularly fascinated, however, with Ioway accounts of the tribe's introduction to the earth. At one meeting with several Ioway men, Hamilton listened as they discussed the different clans to which each Ioway belonged. Hamilton wrote,

The Elk family was extinct except one woman. The Snake family except one boy and the Beaver family except perhaps one, part Otoe . . . They said there were many of the Bear, Buffalo, Wolf and Bird families and concluded by asking me what family I belonged to. I told them I did not belong to any such family and said, 'Do you think your ancestors were found among these animals?' 'Yes, we suppose they were when they came out of the ground.'¹¹⁸

While Dorsey, Schoolcraft and Morgan extensively referred to Hamilton and Irvin's writings, the missionaries' contributions were also acknowledged in the scholarship of Ferdinand Hayden, William Henry Miner, Alanson Skinner, and Harold Faust.¹¹⁹ Likewise, recent historians Martha Royce Blaine, Joseph Herring, and Michael Coleman cite extensively from the letters and reports of these two missionaries.¹²⁰ In addition to the ethnographic knowledge found in the pages of William Hamilton's voluminous writings,

his letters contain detailed references to such local events as an Ioway trip to Europe, the frequent encounters with the California and Oregon emigrants, and the 1849 cholera epidemic. Because primary source material on mid-nineteenth century Kansas history is limited, modern scholars have often utilized the missionary accounts in order to add credence to the accuracy of certain historical events.

The nearly two-year Ioway journey throughout Europe, for example, received extensive coverage in Hamilton and Irvin's letters to Lowrie. When the idea of such a trip first emerged, the missionaries quickly expressed their displeasure. However, at some point in 1843, the Ioway reached an agreement with a George H.C. Melody to send fourteen members of the tribe on an exhibition tour under his tutelage. Once the missionaries realized the certainty of the trip, however, they arranged for the Indians and their interpreter to stop in New York to meet with Board of Foreign Missions Secretary Walter Lowrie.¹²¹

One of their early concerns about the European venture rested with their negative feelings for the Catholic interpreter, Jeffery Deroin. Hamilton wrote to Lowrie,

I do not know that we ever informed you that a party of Ioways have started with the intention of going to Europe, as far as to Rome; . . . Should they get as far as Rome, no doubt Jeffery, may try to have them favorably impressed with Popish dignity.¹²²

After stopovers in St. Louis and New Orleans during the winter of 1843-1844, the Indians finally reached New York and spent some time with an impressed Walter Lowrie. After their visit, the Indians left on their oceanic voyage in the summer of 1844 and reached London in mid-July. The Ioway visited England, Scotland, Ireland, and France before their eventual arrival back home in November 1845.¹²³ The Indians thoroughly enjoyed their trip abroad, and often times they met members of European royalty. Unfortunately, three members of the Ioway group, including an infant, died while on the trip. A member

of the Scottish Society of Friends, Anna Richardson, described the events surrounding the death of the Ioway infant. She wrote to Lowrie,

Their dear little infant Corsian, son of Shonta-gi-ga died at Dundee in Scotland on the 8th inst . . . It had been ill for some weeks, and we think the complaint must have been inflammation of the lungs . . . the best medical advice was called in but without avail - and it just gently died soon after it had been reposing on its mothers person . . .¹²⁴

While the missionaries had been reluctant to give their approval for the European trip, it had several positive results for the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. First, the Indians impressed almost everyone they met during the tour. Consequently, the monetary and material donations for the Ioway Mission increased dramatically. In fact, the Society of Friends in Newcastle Upon-Tyne sent a box of donations for the Indian children, as well as a \$350.00 contribution.¹²⁵

Secondly, the absence of Jeffery Deroin, the interpreter, aided in the appointment of Irvin as the new government interpreter. In the summer 1844, Irvin accompanied Agent Richardson on a trip to meet with the Otoe Indians. The purpose of the meeting was to settle some longstanding disputes between the Ioway and the Otoes. Irvin quickly realized his chance to make inquiries regarding the possibility of a Presbyterian Mission among the Otoe and Omaha tribes. This trip laid the foundation for the establishment of the future Otoe and Omaha Mission near present-day Bellevue, Nebraska.¹²⁶

After the missionaries reached their new home in 1837, they truly believed they were on the farthest fringes of civilization. As the years passed, however, their little Presbyterian Mission became one of the most mentioned landmarks of the California and Oregon emigrants. Hamilton and Irvin met many of the westward-bound emigrants because the Mission was a major marker on the much-traveled St. Joe Road. According to historian Merrill Mattes, the St. Joe Road,

. . . meandered west about 150 miles, back and forth across present U.S. 36 from St. Joseph to Marysville, Kansas . . . From the bottomlands

opposite St. Joe the route climbed upland near Wathena, went north of Troy to reach Highland (the Indian Mission), thence westerly via Hiawatha and Sabetha to a line about eight miles north of Seneca, not far from the Nebraska line, then southwestward to Marysville and the Big Blue.¹²⁷

Mattes also stated that except for the Indian Mission near Highland, none of the aforementioned towns then existed west of St. Joseph.¹²⁸

The Mission was mentioned in so many emigrant journals because it was one of the only real signs of civilization between St. Joseph and Fort Kearny. Many of the entries described the impressive Mission Boarding School. One emigrant, Thomas Wood, stated that in 1850 that there was an emigrant register at the Mission.¹²⁹

Hamilton and Irvin also mentioned the emigrants in their letters to Lowrie. In one letter, Hamilton described preaching to the emigrants at their camp. At one point, he passed out sixty bibles and eighty testaments, all that he had on hand. Hamilton stated that the emigrants were poor and seemed thankful to receive the books. Not surprisingly, he wrote,

We thought we could not send them to a more destitute place; especially as they were to meet a camp at some distance out, in which I understand there [to be] several priests and nuns.¹³⁰

The number of emigrants that traveled on the St. Joe Road peaked between 1849 and 1852 due in large part to the California Gold Rush. Hamilton and Irvin witnessed much activity during those years, including heightened conflicts between emigrants and Indians and the hideous effects of the 1849 cholera epidemic. The Indians became increasingly irritated as they were forced to watch helplessly as emigrants, with no regard to Indian ownership, depleted the natural resources of the land. Eventually the Indians fought back. They implemented "schemes" such as charging a "two bits" toll for passage on a primitive bridge over Wolf Creek.¹³¹

If exhausting the land's natural resources was not enough, the emigrants inadvertently contributed to the depletion of the Indian population. With the emigrants

came disease and death, including the horrendous epidemic of 1849. The dreaded scourge had swept through most of the "jumping off points" by late spring 1849 and reached the Mission in full force by summer. Irvin, returning from Pittsburgh that June, described events in St. Louis. He stated,

I had engaged our passage on the S.B. Sacramento [sic] to leave this evening but the captain of that boat died this morning of the cholera. He died about day brake [sic] this morning although he left his boat for the "Planter's House" in usual health last evening! . . . It is a time of considerable excitement here. There has been great mortality from cholera on the Missouri River. From sickness and the late dreadful fire, St. Louis seems to be the seat of considerable suffering.¹³²

Hamilton, in a letter written a month later, described the effects of the epidemic among the Ioway. He wrote,

At its first appearance, but few were affected with it, until it appeared to subside. It shortly after began to spread again and No-Heart's wife died with it only few days ago . . . According to the best information I can get, twenty two [Ioway] have died of this disease, twelve men, ten women, or nine and a little girl. About twenty five or upwards have had it and recovered and today I've heard of two more cases . . . It has created some alarm among them, but not enough to stop them from drinking.¹³³

Even with all of the suffering and the frustration he encountered, Hamilton would have been content to live out his days among the Ioway. However, by 1853, the Board of Foreign Missions had other ideas. Edmund McKinney, founder of the Otoe and Omaha Mission near Bellevue, had requested leave from his station. As a result, Lowrie wrote to Hamilton in the spring of 1853 and asked him to replace McKinney. Hamilton unenthusiastically replied,

It seems almost impossible to comply with your request as Mr. Irvin is on his way to New York . . . I suppose it will fall to our lot to go, if one of us goes, not by choice, for it will be attended with a good deal of inconvenience, but of duty, but duty I hope will be choice.¹³⁴

Despite Hamilton's aversion to leaving the Mission, Lowrie decided to transfer his able missionary to the Bellevue station. Hamilton and family were to leave as soon as they could following the return of Irvin from New York. Irvin reached the Mission on May 20

and Hamilton left for St. Joseph May 30, 1853. A part of his life was coming to an end and never again in the years that followed would he find the kind of friendship and kinship he shared with Samuel Irvin. Hamilton's closest friend penned a letter to Lowrie on the day of departure. He wrote,

At noon today he left us, with scarcely a hope of ever returning to remain. To brake off attachments of near sixteen years grown in the confidence of friendship are trials through which we will desire to pass but a few times through life.¹³⁵

These great friends would again labor together briefly in the years that followed, but Hamilton had no knowledge of this as he traveled up the Missouri in June 1853. For him the journey must have been filled with the same feelings of uncertainty and insecurity which he no doubt experienced sixteen years earlier. While one chapter in his life was about to end, a new one was just beginning. The challenges of the future lay ahead in La Belle Vue.

Endnotes

¹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 16, 1837, American Indian Correspondence, The Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., n.d., Microfilm) Box 8, vol. 1, no. 4. Hereinafter cited as AIC.

² Ibid.

³ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 12, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 8; Aury Ballard to Walter Lowrie, March 21, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 13. The Indian in question had also attacked another Indian family as well as an Ioway Chief, White Cloud. As a result, he was shot with several arrows and finally tomahawked in May 1839. For details refer to William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 28, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 44.

⁴ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 5, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 36; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 9, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 50; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 9, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 51.

⁵ Diary of Samuel Irvin, November 24, 1841, Samuel Irvin Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

⁶ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 12, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 16.

⁷ Diary of Samuel Irvin, March 22, 1842.

⁸ David Harold McCleave, "A History of the Indian Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas," The Aarend 14-15 (1944-1945): 46.

⁹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 5, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 47.

¹⁰ McCleave, "A History of the Indian Missions," 46.

¹¹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 23, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol.1, no. 23.

¹² William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 6, 1844, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 137.

¹³ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 2, 1841, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 69; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 6, 1844, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 137.

¹⁴ Diary of Samuel Irvin, February 18, 1841; Diary of Samuel Irvin, February 23, 1842. The St. Joseph Gazette, October 17, 1845, 2, describes the severe illness among

several Indian tribes including the Iowa, Sac and Fox. According to the article, "This fall, more, we are informed, in each of those tribes have died in the last three months than for many years before."

¹⁵ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 11, 1851, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 42; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 7, 1851, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, 43.

¹⁶ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 22, 1841, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 111.

¹⁷ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, no date, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, 253; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 12, 1846, AIC, Box 4, no. 379.

¹⁸ Samuel Irvin and William Hamilton to Rev. D. Wells, August 16, 1847, AIC, Box Q, vol. 3, no. 116.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 5, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 9; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 12, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 19.

²¹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 12, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 19.

²² Aury Ballard to Walter Lowrie, August 15, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 25.

²³ Sarah Ballard to Walter Lowrie, August 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 26.

²⁴ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 5, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 36.

²⁵ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 13, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 50.

²⁶ Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, October 1845, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, 411.

²⁷ For specific references, refer to William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 12, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 21; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 31, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 30; Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, February 7, 1839, AIC, Box 3, vol. 1, no. 37. For a discussion of the Board's language policy, refer to Michael Coleman, Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes toward the American Indians, 1837-1893 (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 116.

²⁸ Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, February 7, 1839, AIC, Box 3, vol. 1, 37.

²⁹ Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, July 31, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 46.

30 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 29, 1840, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 64.

31 Diary of Samuel Irvin, April 18, 1841; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 27, 1841, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 74.

32 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 27, 1841, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 74.

33 Samuel Irvin and William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 6, 1844, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 136.

34 Walter Lowrie to the President of the United States, no date given, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 139. The letter can be presumed to have been written in late 1844 or early 1845.

35 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, November 4, 1845, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 426.

36 Copy of Samuel Irvin letter to Major T.H. Harvey, January 24, 1846, AIC, Box 4, no. 283.

37 William Richardson to Walter Lowrie, January 1846, AIC, Box 4, no. 271; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 15, 1846, AIC, Box 4, no. 275.

38 Ibid.

39 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 15, 1846, AIC, Box 4, no. 275.

40 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, April 15, 1846, AIC, Box 4, no. 318.

41 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 1848, AIC, Box 4, no. 571; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 1848, AIC, Box 4, no. 582.

42 Copy of William Hamilton letter to Secretary of Interior Nathaniel Ewing, November 7, 1849, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 653. For a detailed explanation of the charges against Agent Vaughn, refer to William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 14, 1849, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, 640 and William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 20, 1849, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 671.

43 Report of Alfred J. Vaughan, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1849, 145.

44 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 1, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 16.

45 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 12, 1838, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 19.

⁴⁶ Report of Major John Dougherty, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1838, 504.

⁴⁷ Journal of William Hamilton found in William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 1841, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 79.

⁴⁸ Journal of Samuel Irvin, December 23, 1841.

⁴⁹ Journal of Samuel Irvin, December 23, 1842; Report of William Richardson, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1843, 398.

⁵⁰ Journal of Samuel Irvin, February 7, 1841.

⁵¹ Ibid., February 27, 1841.

⁵² Ibid., April 9, 1841.

⁵³ Ibid., June 10, 1841.

⁵⁴ "Letter of Samuel Irvin," Foreign Missionary Chronicle 10 (May 1842): 140.

⁵⁵ Journal of Samuel Irvin, April 28, 1841.

⁵⁶ Martha Royce Blaine, The Iowa Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 119, 202.

⁵⁷ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 28, 1842, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 105.

⁵⁸ Report of William Richardson, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1843, 398.

⁵⁹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 28, 1842, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 105.

⁶⁰ William T. Hagan, The Sac and Fox Indians, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: 1958), 6; Ferdinand V. Hayden, "Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 12 (1863): 446-447.

⁶¹ Hagan, Sac and Fox Indians, 5.

⁶² Ibid., 12; Roy W. Meyer, "The Iowa Indians," Kansas Historical Quarterly 28 (Autumn 1962): 274-275.

⁶³ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 5, 1839, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 36; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 22, 1842, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 92; Journal of Samuel Irvin, May 17, 1842; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 26, 1842, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 94.

⁶⁴ William Hamilton to William Richardson, September 30, 1843, 28th Cong., 1st sess., Serial 439, 324. For additional references to negative Sac attitudes toward education, refer Report of William Richardson, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1842, 436 and Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, December 17, 1842, AIC, Box 8, vol. 2, no. 243.

⁶⁵ Harold S. Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian During the Period of Indian Removal, 1838-1893," Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1943, 214.

⁶⁶ Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, January 19, 1842, AIC, Box 3, vol. 1, no. 186.

⁶⁷ Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, May 12, 1842, AIC, Box 3, vol. 1, no. 220.

⁶⁸ Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian," 217; Diary of Samuel Irvin, January 4, 1841; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 2, 1841; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 69.

⁶⁹ Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian," 218; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 22, 1842; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 92.

⁷⁰ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 4, 1843; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 109; Report of Samuel Irvin, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1843, 316. For an early plan of the proposed school, refer to William Hamilton and Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, September 1844; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 318. For a greater discussion of the Methodist and Baptist Missions among the Shawnee, refer to Stephen A. Warren, "The Baptists, The Methodists, and The Shawnees: Conflicting Cultures in Indian Territory," Kansas History 17 (Autumn 1994): 148-161.

⁷¹ Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, May 25, 1843; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 269.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian," 218; Minutes of the Council of the Great Nemahaw sub-agency, on the 24th of September, 1844, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, 67.

⁷⁴ Minutes of the Council held by the Sac and Fox Nation of the Missouri river, with W.P. Richardson, Indian subagent, at the Great Nemahaw sub-agency, on the 4th day of October, 1844, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, 65-66; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 5, 1844; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 130. Faust states that the Sac donation was \$3,219.09; not \$3,259.05.

75 Ibid.

76 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 5, 1844, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 130.

77 Report of William Richardson, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, 145; William Hamilton and Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, November 26, 1844; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 132.

78 Report of Samuel Irvin and William Hamilton, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, 64; Louise Barry, The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West 1540-1854 (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society: 1972), 528.

79 Letter of Samuel Irvin, March 15, 1845, Scriptural Instruction among the Ioway Indians, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 261.

80 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 1, 1845; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 140.

81 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 18, 1845; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 375.

82 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 16, 1845; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 147; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 8, 1845; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 381. Hamilton wrote the Board many letters during his year off in Pennsylvania. He had to determine his future plans, including whether to return to the Mission. Also, Walter Lowrie questioned Hamilton's competence in money matters. The construction of the school seemed to cost much more than anticipated. According to Louise Barry and the St. Joseph Gazette, it cost a total of \$8,000 to build the school. See letters in AIC, Box 4.

83 Report of Samuel Irvin, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845, 605; Barry, 563. For an extensive list of items the missionaries requested for the new school, refer to William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 3, 1845; AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 350.

84 Barry, Beginning of the West, 629.

85 Letter to the editor concerning the Iowa and Sac Mission, St. Joseph Gazette, July 24, 1846, 2.

86 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 14, 1850; AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 11; Report of Samuel Irvin, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1846, 15; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 25, 1846; AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 380, "Letters of William Hamilton, 1811-1891," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 35 (September 1957): 163. This last article also contains a letter written by Hamilton which includes an itemized list of the cost of his most recent trip from Pittsburgh to the mission.

87 Meyer, "The Ioway Indians," 279.

88 Ibid.; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 2, 1847, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 457; Report of W.E. Rucker, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847, 156.

89 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 2, 1847, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 457; Report of Samuel Irvin and William Hamilton, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847, 215.

90 "Letters of William Hamilton," 167-169; "More Letters of William Hamilton, 1811-1891," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 36 (March 1958): 58-61; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 9, 1849, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, 36.

91 Report of William Hamilton, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1850, 82. For a complete set of quarterly reports sent to New York, refer to William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 3, 1851, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 19; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 30, 1851, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 26; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 31, 1851, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 28.

92 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, January 1, 1847, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 404; For an example of a list compiled by Hamilton of the Indian children, refer to Appendix Two and to "More Letters of William Hamilton," 58-59.

93 Samuel Irvin to W.P. Richardson, August 30, 1852, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 36; For an additional report on the progress of the children, refer to Report of William Hamilton, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851, 101.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 2, 1848, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 585. For an additional positive letter, refer to Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, September 18, 1848, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 573.

97 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, May 30, 1848, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 544.

98 Paul Bloohm, "Ioway and Sac Indians," No date given. Probably written in 1848, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 483.

99 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 31, 1849, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 645.

100 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, January 29, 1852, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 29.

101 Report of Samuel Irvin, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852, 74.

102 For a more detailed study of the Ioway printing press, refer to Douglas C. McMurtie and Albert H. Allen, A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1930); Lois Ann Stapleford, "An Investigation of the Printing of the Shawnee Baptist, and Presbyterian Iowa, Sac and Fox Missions in Preterritorial Kansas, MS Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, 1956; and Lela Barnes, "Notes on Imprints From Highland: The Second Point of Printing in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly 8 (May 1939): 140-142. For a discussion of Hamilton and Irvin as early anthropologists, refer to Joseph Herring, "Presbyterian Ethnologists Among the Iowa and Sac Indians 1837-1853," American Presbyterians 65 (Fall 1987): 195-203.

103 Diary of Samuel Irvin, May 24, 1841.

104 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, August 9, 1842, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 93.

105 Barry, Beginning of the West, 470; Pryor Plank, "The Iowa, Sac and Fox Indian Mission and Its Missionaries, Samuel Irvin and Wife," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 10 (1907-1908): 320; McCleave, "History of the Indian Mission," 46-47.

106 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 22, 1843, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 111.

107 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 3, 1844, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 121; For other mentions of the printing press, refer to Reports, 1844, 1847, 1848, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and "History of the Ioway and Sac Mission," found in William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 14, 1850, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 11.

108 McCleave, "History of the Indian Mission," 47; Barry, Beginning of the West, 776.

109 Blaine, Iowa Indians, 218.

110 Rev. William Hamilton and Rev. Samuel Irvin, An Ioway Grammar (Ioway and Sac Mission, 1848) quoted in Blaine, Iowa Indians, 218.

111 For a list of the works printed at the Mission, refer to Appendix Three. For a complete list of materials prepared by William Hamilton, refer to James C. Pilling, Bibliography of the Siouan Language, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 5, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 31-32.

112 For the complete questionnaire, refer to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs per Act of Congress of March 3, 1847 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1853-1857), 256-276.

Alanson Skinner in his "Societies of the Iowa, Kansas and Ponca Indians," Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Natural History 11, Part 9 (1915): 730, gives February 1, 1849 as the date of Hamilton and Irvin's report. February 1, 1848 is the date given in Schoolcraft, 259.

113 Schoolcraft, Information Respecting the History, 260.

114 Ibid., 270.

115 Blaine, Iowa Indians, 192.

116 Ibid., 192, 227.

117 "Extracts from the unpublished Journals of Rev. William Hamilton, a missionary of the Presbyterian Board for 20 years among the Iowas and Sac of Kansas and the Omahas of Nebraska, now resident of Bellevue, Nebraska," photocopied from the Lewis Henry Morgan Papers, University of Rochester Library, Box 25, Folder 94, February 17, 1848.

118 Ibid., February 28, 1851; For a detailed description of the Ioway mode of burial, refer to Morgan Extracts, October 11, 1851; Journal of Samuel Irvin, August 1840, August 1841; Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 59, no. 76.

119 Refer to Ferdinand V. Hayden, "Contributions to the Ethnology and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley,"; William Harvey Miner, The Iowa: A Reprint from "The Indian Record" as Originally Published and Edited by Thomas Foster (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1911); Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian."

120 Refer to Blaine, Iowa Indians; Herring, "Presbyterian Ethnologists Among the Iowa and Sac Indians," and Coleman, Missionary Attitudes.

121 Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian," 240.

122 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 23, 1843, AIC, Box 3, vol. 1, no. 99.

123 Barry, Beginning of the West, 519; St. Joseph Gazette, November 21, 1845, 2. All sources generally agree that the trip lasted approximately from December 1843-November 1845. Blaine, Iowa Indians, 229, however, gives the dates "1841-1845". Perhaps this is a typographical error.

124 Mrs. Anna Richardson to Walter Lowrie, February 25, 1845, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 261.

125 Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian," 246.

126 Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian," 249; Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie July 29, 1844, AIC, Box 3, vol 1, no. 314. For other accounts of the Ioway trip to Europe, refer to George Catlin, Notes of Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe 2 vols. (London: Waterloo Palace, 1848); Blaine, Iowa Indians, 229-237; Faust, "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian," 240-248.

127 Merrill J. Mattes, The Great Platte River Road, (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1969), 142-143.

128 Ibid., 143.

129 Ibid., 145-146.

130 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 23, 1844, AIC, Box 8, vol. 1, no. 125.

131 Mattes, Platte River Road, 145; Blaine, Iowa Indians, 243. Refer to Map Two.

132 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, June 6, 1849, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 634.

133 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 14, 1849, AIC, Box 4, no. 542; For other references to the cholera epidemic, refer to Mattes, Platte River Road, chapter 3; Barry, Beginning of the West, 862-866.

134 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 27, 1853, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 33.

135 Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, May 30, 1853, AIC, Box 3, vol. 2, no. 49.

Chapter Three: The Bellevue Years, 1853-1867

As William Hamilton and his family reached the frontier village of Bellevue on June 5, 1853, he undoubtedly struggled with intense feelings of uncertainty at the prospect of laboring among a different Indian people. At the same time, however, Hamilton probably realized he was not the same inexperienced man who had entered the missionary field some fifteen years earlier.

Bellevue, located on the west side of the Missouri River, approximately ten miles above the mouth of the Platte River, had existed a little more than thirty years when William Hamilton arrived in 1853. While Bellevue's precise beginnings cannot be positively traced, historians have concluded that a trading post was opened there in the latter part of 1822.¹

Several Indian tribes, including the Omaha, Otoe and Pawnee, also encamped in the region and, as a result, the Office of Indian Affairs established an agency at Bellevue in 1832.² In addition to the fur traders, Indians, and government employees, missionaries also made Bellevue their home. Early missionary endeavors included the Pawnee labors of Presbyterians Samuel Allis and John Dunbar in the 1830's, and the work of Baptist Moses Merrill, who labored among the Otoes until his death in February 1840.³

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions sent Samuel Irvin and Edmund McKinney to Bellevue in May 1846 to investigate the possibility of establishing a new mission among the Otoe and Omaha Indians. After their visit, the two missionaries sent a detailed report to Walter Lowrie in which they acknowledged the need for such a mission. The men concluded that the Otoe and Omaha parents would not send their children to the Ioway and Sac Mission because of the distance involved and a general distrust of the Ioway tribe. Without waiting for formal approval from Lowrie, Irvin and McKinney decided that Bellevue would be the location of the new Presbyterian Mission, even though it consisted

of nothing more than "a couple of trading establishments, a few houses belonging to the half breeds, and the agency buildings." Consequently, McKinney's family and Paul Blohm, a volunteer from England, joined him at Bellevue on September 2, 1846.⁴

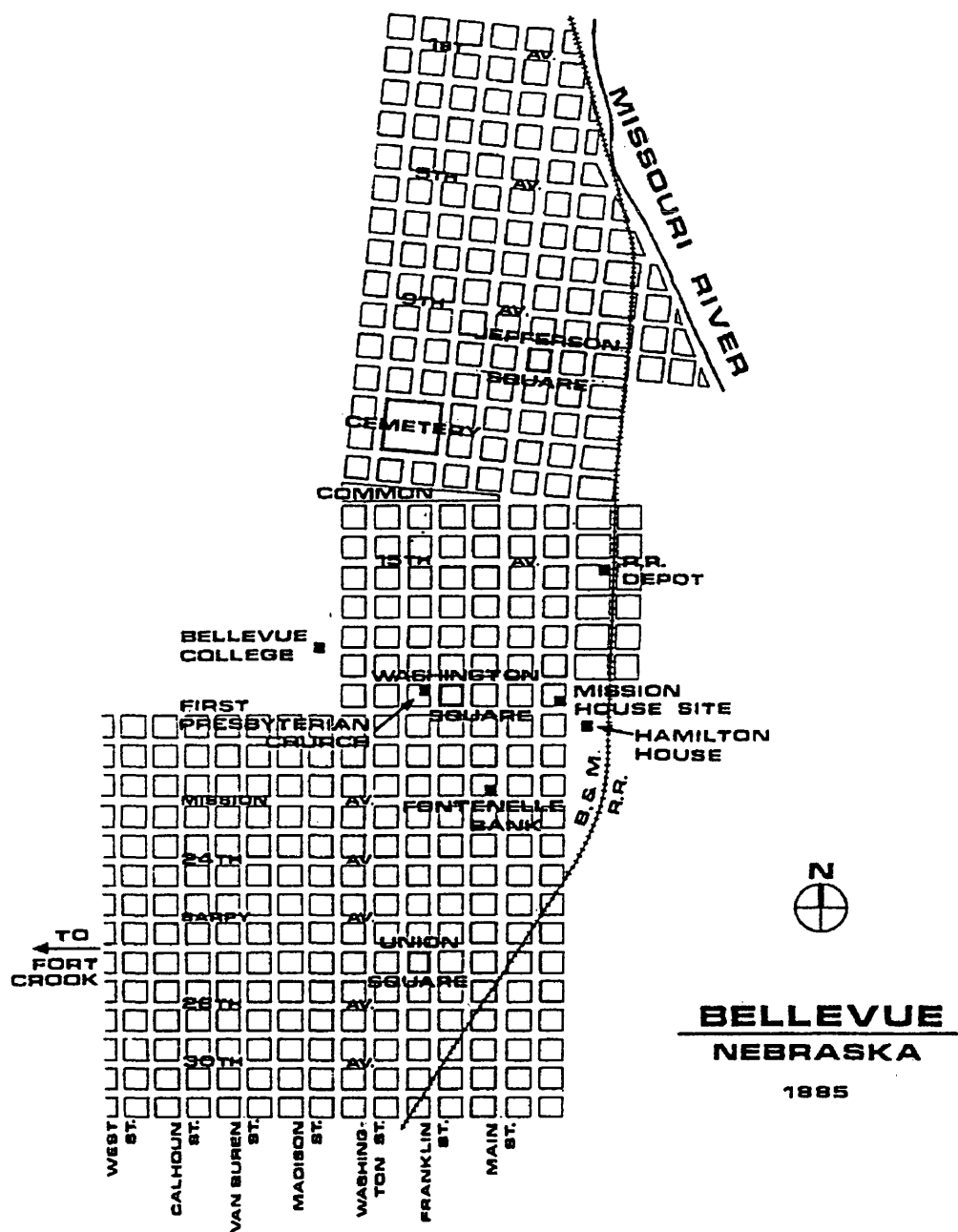
Living conditions were extremely harsh during McKinney's first months in Bellevue. The missionary had no house and he found it difficult to find the necessary lumber needed to build one. The Indian Agency's blacksmith allowed the mission family to live on the Agency's front porch until a home could be built. Approximately six weeks after his family's arrival, McKinney had completed two crudely constructed log rooms.⁵

Walter Lowrie visited the station in May 1847 and helped Edmund McKinney select a site for the future mission house. They chose a level piece of ground bordering the edge of the plateau some eighty feet above the river bottom. The house was to face east so as to provide a clear view of the Missouri River and its valley. Before returning to New York, Lowrie also approved a construction plan for the building. According to the original proposal, the house would be a two-story cottonwood log structure, to be sixty-four by twenty-eight feet in front, with two wings, one of which was to be thirty by eighteen and the other thirty by twenty-two feet. It was estimated that the ten-room building would comfortably accommodate the mission family, hired assistants, and forty Indian children.⁶ The mission house was completed and welcomed its first students in the fall of 1848.⁷

While the Otoe and Omaha Mission enjoyed moments of prosperity during the next seven years, McKinney and his associates encountered many of the same difficulties faced by Hamilton and Irvin at the Ioway and Sac Mission, including inconsistent student attendance, Indian intemperance, and continual battles with illness. It was his incessant ill health that finally forced Edmund McKinney to tender his resignation in October 1853.⁸

Hamilton's first letter from the Otoe and Omaha Mission described the feeble health of Edmund McKinney. He expressed surprise about the seriousness of McKinney's condition, and stated that he had not been able to learn anything about the Omaha Mission's

Map Three



Taken from Jerold L. Simmons, ed., "La Bellevue": Studies in the History of Bellevue, Nebraska (Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1976), 47.

state of affairs before he left the Ioway station. Hamilton also mentioned that there were thirty-seven Indian students at the boarding school.⁹

Hamilton immediately began attending to mission business. He wrote Lowrie asking his advice on several matters. One interesting question concerned the living quarters of Edmund McKinney. He wrote,

Shall we rent the house Brother McKinney now occupies this fall to the agent if he desires it, and at what price? If left vacant it will be much injured. The former agency house has been taken down and the site gone into the Mo. River.¹⁰

Hamilton was also interested in making improvements to the mission property. For example, he wanted to add a fence, a shed and a permanent stable. The mission had a temporary stable, but its roof was only a hay covering.¹¹ The new missionary also wanted to enlarge the farm in order to make the mission more independent of the infrequent supply system. Indeed, corn meal was \$1.25 a bushel and flour was \$6.00 a barrel when available at Kaneshville, Iowa, a few miles upstream. Flour could also be as high as \$8.00 a barrel at the trading houses at Bellevue. Hamilton believed any outlay of funds for the mission would yield double interest on the investment, and in a few years would pay back the principal.¹²

The Missouri River flooding during the preceding spring proved troublesome for the area post office. Both Hamilton and McKinney, in letters written to Lowrie in July, observed the delays in the receiving and sending of mail due to high water. By October 1853, Hamilton informed Lowrie of a significant change. The Council Bluffs Post Office, formerly located at Traders Point on the east side of the River, was moved upstream to Kaneshville, Iowa because of the high waters in the spring. Because of the relocation, Hamilton explained that Kaneshville was now being called Council Bluffs City. He instructed Lowrie to send all mail to Traders Point, Pottawattamie Co. Iowa.¹³

After only four months of service at the Otoe and Omaha Mission, Hamilton prepared his first report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. According to his report, the school now had 42 scholars: 26 boys and 16 girls. Of the 42, however, only 10 were Omaha and 3 were Otoe children. The other 29 scholars were from the Pawnee, Sioux, Blackfeet, and Ponca tribes.¹⁴ The student's method of learning closely resembled what the Ioway children had received from Hamilton at their manual labor boarding school. In addition to studying the secular subjects of reading, writing, and spelling, the children received extensive religious lessons. Hamilton commented that "most of those reading commit portions of the catechism, hymns . . . to memory."¹⁵ The children also performed physical tasks which included farming for the boys and cleaning and sewing for the girls.¹⁶

In January 1854 Hamilton noted that after a long absence, the government agent, Major James Gatewood, had returned with the authority to take a delegation of Omaha Indians back to Washington. According to Gatewood, the government wished to negotiate a new treaty with the Omaha.¹⁷

Federal Indian policy had noticeably changed in 1848 due to the ever-increasing numbers of emigrants moving west. According to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the government's new objective would be "to relocate the Indians, dividing them into two colonies, a northern and a southern group, and open the central routes between the two groups."¹⁸ Execution of this new policy is evidenced by the initiation of negotiations between the government and the Omaha in 1854.

The Omaha and neighboring tribes were willing to negotiate new treaties because they had already suffered at the hands of the Mormon and California emigrants during the late 1840's. Council Bluffs Sub Agent John E. Barrows reported in 1849 that the Indians were unable to support themselves because of the emigrant slaughter of native animals.¹⁹ By 1854, thousands of emigrants were on the western borders of Iowa and Missouri

waiting for the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to be officially opened for white settlement.²⁰

On March 16, 1854, the Omaha tribe signed a treaty with the United States government in which they ceded the last of their hunting lands north of the Platte River and west of the Missouri River in exchange for 300,000 acres of land in northeastern Nebraska, approximately seventy miles above present-day Omaha. In addition to the land agreement, the tribe released all claims to monies awarded under previous treaties, excluding one payment of \$25,000. They also were to receive a total of \$840,000 in annuities over the next 30 years.²¹

Just a few years before the 1854 treaty, many Anglo-Americans had considered the land the Omaha ceded to be unworthy of white settlement. In fact, several early reports referred to the land as a "vast desert wasteland," suitable only for Indian occupation.²² Consequently, by the 1830's, Congress had created an unorganized Indian Territory which consisted of all land west of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa.²³

By the early 1850's, however, the Plains region had shed its "desert" image with the acknowledgement of the area's agricultural potential. In addition, the recent acquisition and settlement of California, Oregon, and the Southwest, and the prospect of a transcontinental railroad made the centrally located Nebraska frontier seem especially appealing to settlers and land speculators.²⁴ This new-found interest in the Indian Territory meant the renegotiation of several Indian treaties. With the signing of the 1854 treaty, a chapter in the history of the Omaha tribe came to a close.

The earliest beginnings of the Omaha Indians are difficult to document, but it is generally believed they were one of many peoples who migrated westward from as far east as the Appalachian Mountains in search of new hunting grounds and to escape intertribal warfare.²⁵ The Omaha people belong to the Siouan linguistic family of tribes. These tribes have been classified into two groups, the Dhegia and the Chiwere. The Dhegia,

linguistically similar but otherwise culturally distinct, included the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes. The Chiwere peoples, while of Siouan stock, spoke a dialect not easily understood by the Dhegia and included the Iowa, Otoe, and Missouri tribes.²⁶

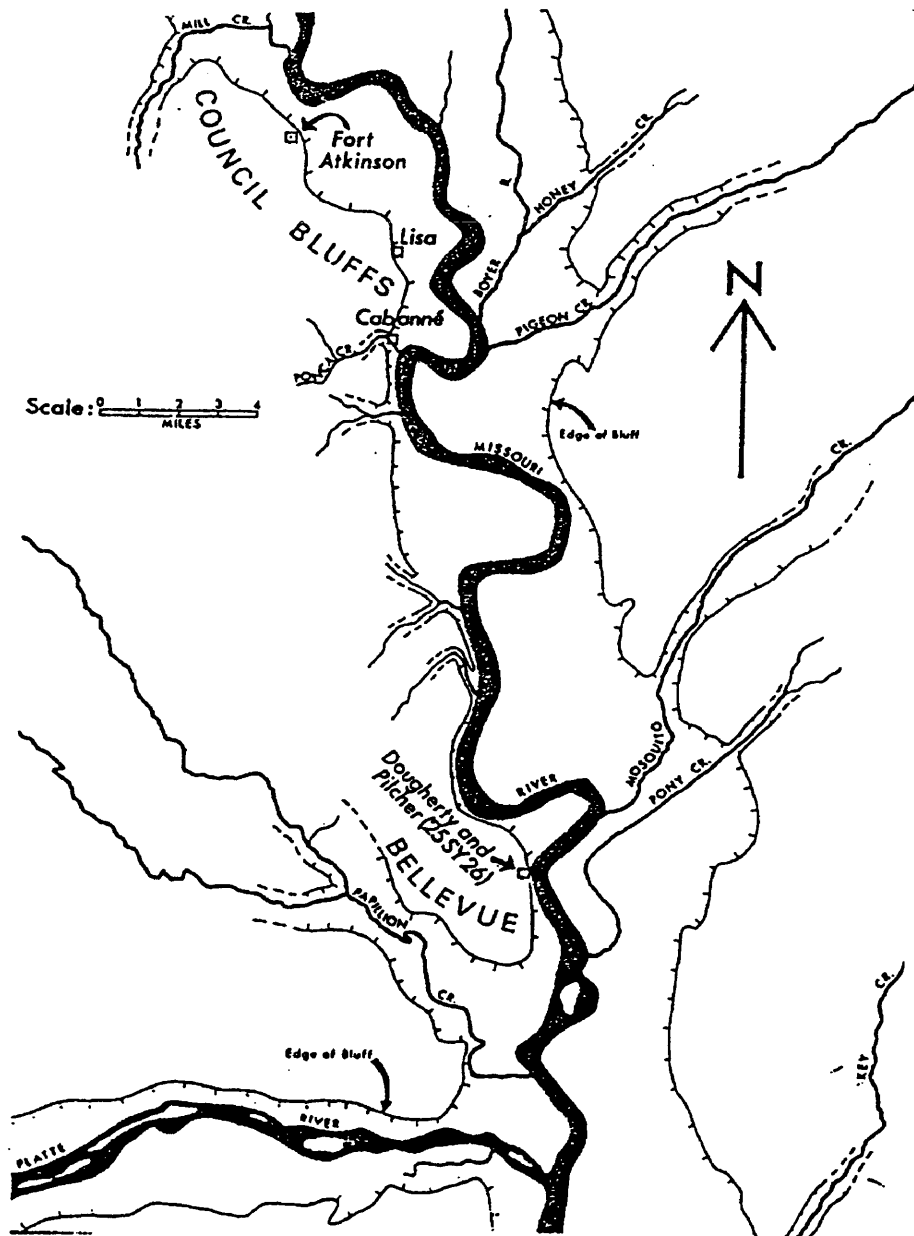
According to several tribal traditions, the Siouan peoples migrated westward as one group. They eventually moved into the southern Great Lakes region, traveled down the Ohio River to its mouth before the different groups separated, some earlier than others, after reaching the Mississippi River.²⁷ One splintered group, the Omaha, migrated up the Mississippi and Des Moines Rivers. Although the precise origins of the term, "Omaha," remain vague, historians have translated it to mean "against the current" or "upstream." In contrast, the term, "Quapaw," means "with the current" or "downstream." The Quapaw tribe migrated down the Mississippi and eventually settled in present-day Missouri and Arkansas.²⁸

By 1720, the Omaha had settled in northeastern Nebraska around Bow Creek. Their continual migrations led the tribe to occupy the bluffs along the Missouri River as far south as the mouth of the Platte River. As a result, Lewis and Clark observed some Omaha villages while on their journey in 1804.²⁹

After Lewis and Clark's visit to the area, occasional white contact with the Otoe and Omaha tribes occurred until 1819. In that year, the U.S. government sent a military expedition to the upper Missouri region to establish what became known as Fort Atkinson, which was constructed in the area of the site named Council Bluffs by Lewis and Clark some fifteen years earlier. This location was some twenty miles north of Omaha on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, near present-day Fort Calhoun.³⁰

Contact between Indians and white men became increasingly common as more and more fur traders traveled the rivers. In 1823 a new trading post, operated by Joshua Pilcher, and the Indian Agency moved some fifteen miles down river from Fort Lisa to Bellevue. With the center of trade and their agent firmly ensconced at Bellevue, the Omaha

Map Four



Bellevue and Council Bluffs Area Circa 1820's

Taken from Jerold L. Simmons, ed., "La Bellevue": Studies in the History of Bellevue, Nebraska (Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1976), 345.

spent more and more of their time in that region. They eventually set up their primary village about four miles west of Bellevue in 1845.³¹

Immediately after his arrival at Bellevue in June 1853, William Hamilton's primary responsibility was to become acquainted with the Omaha tribe. Although fluent in the Ioway language, Hamilton needed an interpreter to speak with the Omaha. In the years that followed, Hamilton and his interpreter became close friends. While they experienced their share of differences, they also developed a mutual respect for one another and each man defended the other from a variety of charges. Hamilton's interpreter and friend was one of the Omaha chiefs, Joseph La Flesche, or Iron Eye.

Joseph La Flesche was not a full-blooded Omaha, but rather was the only son of a French fur trader and an Omaha woman. He spent his early childhood with his mother and her family, but he later accompanied his father on trading expeditions. Though he knew no English, the teenage La Flesche learned to speak French and several Indian languages, including Iowa, while on trading trips with his father. As a young man, La Flesche adopted the traditional Omaha way of life. For this reason, he spent considerable time with the tribal elders, becoming well versed in traditional Omaha customs. La Flesche quickly became a favorite of the last lineal Omaha chief, Big Elk, who later adopted Joseph as his "oldest" son. It was Big Elk's hope that La Flesche inherit the Omaha chieftainship after his own death.³²

Big Elk's wish became a reality when the Omaha chief succumbed to a fever in 1853. After the death of Big Elk, Joseph La Flesche became one of the two Ni' Kagahi u'zhu, or principal chiefs. He accompanied other tribal leaders to Washington as part of the delegation that negotiated the 1854 treaty.³³

The letters written by Hamilton in 1854-1855 are filled with descriptions of events such as the treaty negotiations between the Omaha and the U.S. government, the heightened land speculation by white settlers, and the intense fight between rival infant

towns for Nebraska's territorial capital. In January 1854, Hamilton described some of the early attempts at treaty negotiations. The missionary mentioned one particular rumor regarding the initial negotiations. The rumor stated that the Indians were to ask for \$40,000 per year in annuities for thirty years and the services of a government blacksmith and farmer.³⁴ In contrast to this rumor, Hamilton also described one of the government's more meager offers which included a yearly annuity of only \$11,500 for forty years.³⁵

During the negotiations, the Omaha were not completely unwilling to remove northward to land which had been the site of previous Omaha villages. They did not, however, wish to move as far north as the government wanted because of an overwhelming fear of attack by their western Sioux enemies. Only after the government made fervent promises of protection against the Sioux, did the Omaha reluctantly agree to relocate to the land approximately seventy miles north of present-day Omaha.³⁶

As early as December 1853, Hamilton worried about how a new treaty might affect the interests of the Board of Foreign Missions and his work among the Indians. He wrote to Lowrie and implored him to quickly acquire Board ownership of a sizable piece of land at the new reservation. He stated,

I am satisfied that efforts will be made to [put] us into a small spot, if not to cut us out. I do not ask or expect anything from our agent, and to you I would say, he is too much under the advice of the [unintelligible] trader.³⁷

In addition to his concerns about the Board's future service among the Omaha, Hamilton also fretted about the ramifications that the new treaty could have on the Board's current holdings in Bellevue. He wrote in February 1854,

As soon as these treaties are confirmed if not before, we look for the country to be occupied especially about here. Inquiries are made of me. What will be done with the Mission? Will the Government buy it? What is it worth, etc.?... I am satisfied there are some who would be glad [if] the Mission were far away from this place.³⁸

The people Hamilton referred to as hoping "the Mission were far away" probably included the well-known trader, friend to the Indians, and one of Bellevue's earliest residents, Peter A. Sarpy. While Hamilton spoke a bit more admirably about his contemporary in 1884, the two men were often adversaries during Bellevue's early years.³⁹ It was Sarpy and ten additional men, including Indian Agent James M. Gatewood, who formed the Bellevue Town Company only two days after Hamilton penned his concerns to Lowrie in February. Their primary goal was to officially plat the town of Bellevue.

Sarpy and the other members of the Bellevue Town Company were undoubtedly irritated by the contents of Article 13 of the new treaty between the Omaha and the government, which had been ratified by the Senate in April 1854.⁴⁰ Article 13 of the 1854 treaty gave the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church four adjoining quarter sections of land on which the Otoe and Omaha manual labor boarding school had been built. It had been decided that the children would best be served if the present school continued operating until new facilities could be built at the new reservation.⁴¹

With the ratification of the Omaha treaty in April and the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854, the quick settlement of the Nebraska Territory seemed inevitable. When the contents of Article 13 became known to the few residents of Bellevue, tensions between Hamilton and some members of the Bellevue Town Company rose. Hamilton immediately wrote to Lowrie and asked the Secretary what he wished to be done with the Board's land. He mentioned a meeting he had with his old friend, Samuel Irvin, in which the two missionaries concluded it would be best for the Mission if the land were accurately surveyed and sold as quickly as possible. The two men believed the land would sell for a sizable price.⁴² Hamilton seemed especially troubled by the prospect of dealing with the new settlers. He wrote,

I find that the people will not wait for the regular action of the Government, and are taking matters into their own hands, and I do not see how they are to prevent "squatter sovereignty" when the people will it...⁴³

In one letter, Hamilton described a disagreement he had experienced with Major Gatewood concerning the claims to the Board's land in Bellevue. Hamilton stated that after the Board's claim to the Mission land became public, many people had asked for the specific boundaries of the property. Some persons told Hamilton that they would fight the Board if any of the boundaries interfered with their claims. In fact, the missionary stated that Major Gatewood planned to contest the constitutionality of the Board's claims before the Supreme Court.⁴⁴

In addition to worrying about the Board's interests at Bellevue, Hamilton again was faced with making some difficult decisions regarding his life work. Several times during his tenure at the Ioway and Sac Mission, he had strongly considered resigning his position. With the Board of Foreign Missions already committed to building another boarding school at the new reservation, Hamilton believed he had to give serious thought to whether his family, particularly his wife, Julia, could successfully make another move.⁴⁵

As Hamilton anguished over his future plans, events in the newly-created Nebraska Territory continued to unfold. The news that President Franklin Pierce intended to appoint a territorial governor reached Hamilton in July 1854. He immediately wrote to Lowrie and described the emergence of several new settlements throughout the region. One settlement particularly intrigued him. He wrote,

There has been a proposition... efforts are being made by a company at Kanesville to lay off a town (rather it has been laid off and much expense already incurred) about 10-12 miles above this [place], and if possible [to] secure the Capital, by securing first the residence of the Governor.⁴⁶

Peter Sarpy and other members of the Bellevue Town Company envisioned the establishment of the territorial capital at Bellevue. It only seemed logical since Bellevue

already had the buildings needed to accommodate a territorial legislature. Indeed, Sarpy asked for use of the home that had been built and abandoned by former missionary Edmund McKinney for the purpose of accommodating the new governor. According to Hamilton, the relatively new house needed some repairs because it had been victim to Indian vandals, but he readily agreed to Sarpy's request.⁴⁷ With accommodations for the territorial governor firmly secured, the citizens of Bellevue were confident that their town would be chosen as the location for the territorial capital. They did not anticipate the intense battle that lay ahead with the new settlement of Omaha City.

As soon as the news of the impending arrival of the governor reached the Nebraska Territory, promoters for both locations immediately did all they could to bolster the positions of their respective towns. For example, each site began publication of its own booster newspaper; indeed, the first issue of Bellevue's publication, The Nebraska Palladium, appeared on July 15, 1854 while Omaha's entry, The Omaha Arrow, first appeared on July 28, 1854.⁴⁸ Both publications fervently exalted the attributes of their favored location. At the same time, criticisms of their prospective rival could be found throughout the pages of each newspaper.⁴⁹

President Franklin Pierce appointed his personal and political friend, Francis Burt of South Carolina, to be the first governor of the Nebraska Territory on August 2, 1854. Burt had been a lawyer in Pendleton, South Carolina, editor of the Pendleton Messenger, and a long-time member of the South Carolina state assembly. After the inauguration of President Pierce in 1853, Burt accepted his first presidential appointment as the Third Auditor of the Treasury.⁵⁰

Francis Burt was a man greatly admired by nearly all who knew him. President Pierce undoubtedly believed his friend could handle the pressures associated with supervising such an immense region as the Nebraska Territory.⁵¹ Honest men were needed to govern these new territories because of the endless offers of quick wealth they

received from greedy speculators, who themselves were filled with visions of railroads and riches. Francis Burt left South Carolina for the Nebraska Territory on September 11, 1854, ready to "cast my lot among the pioneers of Nebraska as one of them, to aid in developing the resources of the territory, and to share their destiny."⁵²

As Burt prepared for his trip west, Hamilton informed Lowrie of an offer to purchase the Board's four quarter sections of land for the purpose of "laying off" a town.⁵³ Hamilton again reiterated his belief that selling the land would be good for the Mission cause. He also presented one other interesting argument for selling the land. He believed that the land could be sold,

... for the good of the white settler who may make this their new home. I suppose you are aware of the conditions of the west and that there are towns and countries [*sic*] where Presbyterianism has no hold, and many where Christianity is little known. I think you might pursue a liberal policy here, that would greatly permit the cause of Christianity and good morals, as well as the cause of education... Catholicism and infidelity are [unreadable] and the sway of the west. Mormonism has almost ruined Council Bluffs as far as morals are concerned... I feel anxious that some decisive steps should be taken in favour of education and religion.⁵⁴

Therefore, according to Hamilton's reasoning, if the land were sold under favorable circumstances and Bellevue became the territorial capital, it seemed logical that the Board could exert its influence to ensure the strength of Presbyterianism in the area.

Burt reached Bellevue, with his son and several associates, on October 7, 1854. It had been an extraordinarily long journey because the future governor had become ill and was forced to stop and rest for awhile in St. Louis.⁵⁵ An exhausted Burt spent his first two days in Bellevue at the Indian Agency. After Hamilton visited Burt at the Agency, he took the feeble man back to the Old Mission House so he could help care for him.⁵⁶

Hamilton quickly summoned doctors from Council Bluffs and, as a result, Burt seemed to improve. Though still weak, he was sworn into office on October 16, 1854. Unfortunately, the Governor's improvement was short-lived, and he died two days later.⁵⁷

According to the organic act for the Nebraska Territory, ". . . in case of the death, removal, resignation, or absence of the Governor from the Territory, the Secretary shall be, and is hereby authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers, and duties of the Governor."⁵⁸ Thus, after a very short tenure as Nebraska Territorial Secretary, Thomas Barnes Cuming Jr. became the acting territorial governor of Nebraska on October 18, 1854.⁵⁹

Even before Francis Burt had left his native South Carolina, William Hamilton had concluded that Bellevue stood the best chance of becoming the territorial capital of Nebraska. In fact, although he mentioned the persuasive efforts of the territory's several "embryo towns," Hamilton reiterated his confidence in Bellevue's position in letters written to Lowrie in the days before and immediately after Burt's death.⁶⁰ Hamilton's first meetings with Thomas Cuming had been extremely positive. Indeed, the missionary described the new governor as a noble man, willing to fulfill the promises of his predecessor.⁶¹ Unfortunately, Hamilton's opinion of Cuming changed drastically in the months that followed.

The negotiations for the territorial capital placed Hamilton in a precarious position. Many failed to understand that, as an employee of the Board of Foreign Missions, he could not act on any land offers without first receiving instructions from Walter Lowrie. Hamilton knew only too well of the limitations of his position and, as a result, requested Lowrie's presence in Bellevue at his earliest opportunity.⁶²

In a letter dated October 24, 1854, Hamilton voiced several of his concerns regarding the capital question. Perhaps most importantly, he was extremely worried about the effect a territorial legislature would have on the operation of the Otoe and Omaha Mission school. According to Hamilton, Bellevue did not have the facilities for both the legislature and the school. Consequently, after communicating with Samuel Irvin,

Hamilton decided to transfer the children temporarily to the Ioway school until a new building could be erected at the new reservation.⁶³

In his reminiscences, written thirty years after these events, Hamilton discussed an early offer made by Judge Barton Green of Ohio, with the supposed approval of Thomas Cuming, for the Board's Mission Reserve. According to Hamilton, Green offered \$25,000 in gold for the Board's four quarter sections of land. Furthermore, Hamilton mentioned a meeting between Green and Cuming in which the two men agreed to make Bellevue the capital if Green and his partners were able to purchase the Mission land. Accordingly, Green left Bellevue soon after Burt's death and traveled to New York to discuss his offer with Walter Lowrie.⁶⁴ Green's interest in the Mission Reserve was purely speculative. The judge and his partners believed they could achieve huge returns by selling sections of the land to the region's new settlers. These enormous profits would only be possible, however, if Bellevue became the capital of the Nebraska Territory.⁶⁵

Although Hamilton steadfastly believed Cuming favored Bellevue as the location of the capital, the missionary noticed almost immediately the influences that others were trying to exert over the young acting governor.⁶⁶ By early November, the first doubts came into Hamilton's words. He stated,

I have since seen the Governor and he will be here today. He is I may say oppressed with his new friends... I still think he desires to locate it, the seat of government, here if he can remove all difficulties in the way... The governor has issued a proclamation ordering a census... He [Cuming] remarked to Mr. Jones [Governor Burt's intimate friend] and to myself that he thought of selecting this place as the seat of government with a branch at Omaha City because of private interests there. How far he is indebted to them for his situation, I do not know.⁶⁷

What Hamilton did not know was that Cuming had, in the last few years, developed a relationship with Bernhart Henn, an Iowa politician. Henn was a primary stockholder in the Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company, Omaha City's primary advocate for the capital location movement.⁶⁸ No one knew that Cuming had become a

stockholder in the Nebraska Ferry Company. The financial rewards for Cuming and the other stockholders possibly would be immense if the acting governor called the first legislature in Omaha.⁶⁹

Hamilton received word in early November 1854 that Lowrie had rejected Judge Green's offer of \$25,000. According to Hamilton, the Board's asking price had been \$50,000 or \$78.12 per acre. For reasons no one has been able to ascertain, Judge Green and his partners would not, or could not, acquire the financing needed for such a venture.⁷⁰

After the rejection of the Green offer, other bids were put forth by towns interested in holding the first territorial legislature. In fact, the Bellevue Land Claim Association made a grand offer even though they only had claims and no actual titles to any land. Hamilton described how Fenner Ferguson, Nebraska's first Supreme Court Chief Justice, came to him and stated that an agreement between the Land Association and Cuming was almost complete. All the acting governor asked for was 100 acres of mission land for himself. If the land were donated, Cuming promised to locate the capital at Bellevue.⁷¹ Hamilton rejected the bribe and replied without hesitation, ". . . not one foot to the man." He was willing, however, to recommend giving the land to the county or the territory.⁷²

Hamilton's latest refusal sealed the fate of Bellevue and Omaha City, and between November 23 and November 25, Thomas Cuming decided to name Omaha City the territorial capital of Nebraska. The acting governor undoubtedly wished to keep his decision quiet until after the elections scheduled for December 12. The explosive news became public, however, when a letter that Cuming had written about his intentions was intercepted and reprinted in several territorial newspapers.⁷³

Everyone, except perhaps the residents of Omaha, were incensed when the contents of Cuming's letter became public. Hamilton was no exception. He wrote to Lowrie and stated that he was shown a "true copy" of the letter. He disappointedly remarked,

... This is sad work. I have been fearful the Governor would injure himself by his undecided course. Still it has but little affected my opinion. I may be mistaken, [but] I relied on the location and facilities the Mission could afford. Self interest may be greater than them.⁷⁴

Hamilton's description of Cuming as "noble" only two months earlier hardly seemed possible. In one of his last letters on the subject he wrote,

I am heartily glad he [Cuming] did not call the legislature here, and you may feel glad also... I tried hard to think well of the Governor and would not allow expression to my fears, as he was a public officer, but it is useless to describe the fact. I do not see that he could be more corrupt in politicks or more unfit for the position he occupies than he has shown himself to be.⁷⁵

Acting Governor Cuming sealed Bellevue's fate on December 20, 1854, when he issued a proclamation convening the legislature at Omaha on January 16, 1855.⁷⁶ The members of the Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company, including Thomas Cuming, had won. William Hamilton and the other residents of the Nebraska Territory had witnessed only the first of many battles between Bellevue and its burgeoning rival, Omaha. Bellevue never forgot this chapter in the city's early history. Only ten years later, Hamilton would find himself involved in yet another struggle between the two cities when Bellevue and Omaha would compete for another prize: the terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad.

While the location of the territorial capital seemed to be of the utmost importance to Nebraska's white settlers, the Omaha Indians were more concerned with finding the location of a safe home to the north. In November 1854, Indian Agent Major George Hepner and several Omaha chiefs traveled along the "Aoway" (Iowa) River, located in present-day Cedar County and Dixon County, Nebraska, in search of a prime spot for their village. Everyone concluded, however, that the country along the river was too poor and a site, in what is now Thurston County, Nebraska, near the Missouri River between the two Blackbird creeks was chosen instead.⁷⁷

The Omahas wished to leave for their new home the following spring, but the tribe needed final approval from Washington before they could do so. Also, the Indians were adamant in their refusal to leave Bellevue before the payment of a promised cash annuity was carried out.⁷⁸ The uncertainty about their future home kept many of the Indians from sending their children to the Mission school that spring.⁷⁹

While the Indians anxiously waited for any news from Washington, William Hamilton was busily carrying out his latest instructions from Walter Lowrie. After Lowrie rejected Judge Green's offer, Hamilton regularly reminded his friend of the potential value of the Mission land, and that the Board must act quickly if they were to benefit from the large number of emigrants heading west. As a result, Lowrie asked Hamilton to plat or officially survey the Board's portion of the town of Bellevue.⁸⁰ Hamilton initially attempted to survey the land using a specific draft created by Lowrie in New York. But as so often happened in missionary endeavors, revisions were made to the original plan because Lowrie could not possibly foresee all of the potential problems from his New York office.

Hamilton sent his own survey diagram to New York and wrote Lowrie of his major concerns. He stated that everyone interested in land lots was greatly disappointed in the narrowness of the streets as designed by Lowrie. He wrote,

The blocks are so large and the streets so narrow that there will be little chance of ventilation and cleanliness. The long allies [sic] are especially objectionable both on account of the difficulty of keeping them clean and their inconvenience... Should it ever become a large city, the health of it would require larger streets than you have marked, and if it should not be a large city, there is land enough to allow street room and I am well satisfied you will realize more money from the town laid off in smaller blocks than in the plan you sent.⁸¹

In addition, Hamilton noted the lack of many corner lots in Lowrie's plan and he related how such lots would sell for twenty-five to fifty percent more than the inside lots.⁸²

In the course of his surveying, Hamilton requested Lowrie's assistance in purchasing the supplies needed to successfully perform his duties such as a compass and chain, a popular treatise on surveying, and an electromagnetic machine.⁸³ By the end of February 1855, the initial survey was almost complete. For this reason, Hamilton asked Lowrie to consider several important questions such as:

1. Which lots were to be sold and which lots were to be reserved?
2. What would be the average price for both the inside and corner lots?
3. What would be the number of lots donated for the purpose of building schools, churches, and a college?⁸⁴

Surprisingly, Hamilton inquired as to the Board's interest in donating ten acres to the territory, to be used for a possible seat of government. Hamilton firmly believed that Omaha received its reward solely through political intrigue and bribery. He wrongly thought that perhaps the new governor would review the situation and change the prior decision.⁸⁵

Hamilton was not the only person platting lots in Bellevue. The members of the Bellevue Town Company, led by Peter Sarpy, and a few other individuals were busy as well. A competition abounded between all of the interested parties because the part of town that developed quickest offered the original claimants their greatest chance at prosperity. Tempers erupted frequently, with the accidental death of a Town Company employee being the result.⁸⁶

According to Hamilton, the Bellevue Town Company had been laying out its town and had extended its survey some two miles from the Indian Agency, thereby encroaching on the claim of a Dr. Butterfield. A verbal argument ensued between Butterfield and George W. Hallester (or Hollister), which culminated in the doctor chasing Hallester with a stick. In the chase, Hallester picked up an axe and pursued Butterfield until A.C. Henry,

brother of the acting Indian Agent, shot the twenty-five-year-old Hallester in the abdomen. Hallester died shortly thereafter. Henry immediately surrendered and was taken to a jail in Omaha City.⁸⁷ Hamilton remarked that the incident caused a great deal of agitation; in fact, Peter Sarpy tried to raise a mob and in so doing, "cursed the church, mission, and even defied the almighty himself."⁸⁸ Although one does not know if Hamilton was being melodramatic in his description of these events, it is clear that during this time, the relationship between Sarpy and Hamilton seemed to be in its most explosive state.

For whatever reason, Peter Sarpy and some of the other residents of Bellevue harbored a great animosity toward Hamilton and the Board of Foreign Missions. Perhaps they were irritated by the donation of the Mission Reserve by the government. During April 1855, in the midst of the town platting and while the Omaha still waited for their cash annuity and the promised escort to the Blackbird Hills site, Sarpy made a feast for the Indians.⁸⁹ The fur trader used the feast as a forum and asked the Omahas to inform him of any future departure for their new home because he intended to follow them and establish a trading post in the area. According to an acquaintance of Hamilton, Sarpy also took the opportunity to make several disparaging comments about the Mission. Hamilton wrote the following:

I cannot write the filthy charges he made against the Mission, but among other things he told... that the Mission had in this place cheated the Omaha out of [\$]60,000 and now out of \$4,000 a year, that we did not teach the children anything except to cut wood and make corn, that they ought not to have the Presbyterian Mission...⁹⁰

Still hearing no word about the status of their new home, the Omaha decided to plant a corn crop in their old fields at Bellevue. By early May, however, Agent Hepner finally brought back word that the president had approved the proposed location.⁹¹

Unfortunately, by this time, Hamilton had become extremely worried about the Mission school. The Agent had brought thirteen children to the school in April, but only

seven remained in May. They had run away and the parents were now anxious to take all of the children to the new reservation, opting to wait for the completion of a new school building there. Hamilton stated that La Flesche was the only chief who truly favored a Protestant Mission school.⁹²

The Indians finally left for their new home on May 19, 1855. Unfortunately, yet another pledge was broken when the tribe did not receive their annuity until after they reached the reservation. Furthermore, the military escort, which had been promised to protect the tribe from the Sioux, also did not materialize. These almost predictable events caused Omaha Chief Logan Fontenelle to exclaim that "It was murder, and nothing but murder, to place the unarmed and defenseless Omahas right in the path of their hereditary enemies."⁹³

By early June, most of the Indians had settled at the new site. Yet, they were forced almost immediately to set out on a buffalo hunt because they had abandoned their crops in Bellevue. With little food on hand, it was imperative that the Indians obtain the meat they needed for the coming year.⁹⁴

While on their hunt, the Omaha were attacked by a band of Sioux Indians. When the series of battles was over, five Omaha had lost their lives, including the beloved chief, Logan Fontenelle. The Omaha panicked and fled back to Bellevue, and it would take much to convince the tribe to return to the reservation. Joseph La Flesche had witnessed the murder of his fellow chief and he spent hours describing the events surrounding Logan's death to Hamilton.⁹⁵

Hamilton's letters to Lowrie provided a vivid recollection of the murder as told to the missionary by a reliable eyewitness. Hamilton described La Flesche's irritation after he heard the news account of Fontenelle's death as published by the St. Louis Democrat.⁹⁶ La Flesche also told the story of Fontenelle's death to editor Thomas Tibbles in 1882. There were some discernible differences between La Flesche's two versions, but La

Flesche's earlier account to Hamilton was particularly valuable because it included a map which outlined the country and the battle movements. Hamilton copied La Flesche's map and sent it to Lowrie.⁹⁷

Coincidentally, Walter Lowrie had visited Bellevue and Blackbird Hills only days before Fontenelle's untimely death. Lowrie and Hamilton had traveled to the reservation, hoping to select a site for the new Mission school. The two men held a council with twenty-nine Omaha chiefs and asked their opinion on the location for a school. Already fearing a Sioux attack, the Indians gave no definite reply. As a result, Hamilton and Lowrie examined the land but reached no formal decision.⁹⁸ By October 1855, most of the Omaha had left on their fall hunt. Agent George Hepner told the tribe that they could stay near the mouth of the Horn (Elkhorn River) for the winter, but that they had to return to Blackbird Hills during the following spring.⁹⁹

Hamilton spent the winter acquiring as much information as he could on the Blackbird Hills area. The missionary had made many mistakes during his seventeen years among the Indians and he was determined to use his acquired experience to select the best possible site for the new school. Hamilton learned from a Council Bluffs merchant that settlers were erecting a saw mill about six to nine miles above the reservation at a well-timbered town site to be called Omadi. Such a sawmill would greatly aid Hamilton in his construction efforts. La Flesche also gave Hamilton detailed descriptions of the land above the reservation. Hamilton passed on all that he learned to Lowrie in New York. In addition, Hamilton obtained the services of an experienced carpenter, his friend Daniel Reed of Bellevue, who would direct the construction the school building.¹⁰⁰

By early spring, no school site had yet been selected, but Hamilton sent Lowrie a series of suggestions intended to aid in the building efforts. He wrote,

If you have to ship your lumber before selecting the spot, ship it to Omadi, a town projected, near the mouth of the Omaha creek, a few miles below Sargents Bluffs... It would be well to ship about 1500 feet of

flooring... This could be shipped to Bellevue, Omaha City, or DeSoto, as most convenient and hauled up... Besides flooring and window frames, and a door frame, some 2000 feet would be wanted for finishing different parts. Pine is worked so much easier and so much further than our knitty lumber here, that for many purposes it is much the cheapest...¹⁰¹

The Omaha again started for their reserve in May of 1856. Hamilton, too, left Bellevue for Blackbird Hills that same month. In fact, he passed the tribe on his journey and stopped to talk to them. After the Omaha reached the reservation, Hamilton and La Flesche, communicating in Iowa, decided to survey the land together. Hamilton wanted his friend's advice and La Flesche suggested that the school be located at least fifteen miles from the primary Omaha village. He believed the distance between locations would prevent the children from running away from the school. In the end, however, Hamilton chose a spot just above Blackbird Hills only two to three miles from the village, on a high bluff overlooking the river. The location's proximity to a good spring, a plentiful supply of wood, and its access to the river were advantages Hamilton could not ignore.¹⁰²

Almost immediately after Hamilton selected the site for the mission school, a conflict emerged between the Government and the Board of Foreign Missions. According to Hamilton, Major Daniel Vanderslice, a government agent whose duty included relocating the Indian tribes along the Missouri River, suddenly advised Hamilton to select an alternate site for the school. Vanderslice insisted that the spot chosen by Hamilton had already been designated the location for the new Indian Agency. Hamilton and Vanderslice made an appointment to discuss their difficulties, but the agent failed to make an appearance.¹⁰³

After Vanderslice neglected to show up for their appointment, Hamilton again met with the Indian chiefs and asked their opinion on the matter. The latter replied that Hamilton should go forward with his original plans.¹⁰⁴ Hamilton theorized about the Government's latest position. He decided that certain individuals wished to get a foothold in the desired area so that in later years they could ignore the Omaha treaty and open the

area for speculation. In addition, these same individuals wished to undermine La Flesche's authority with the tribe because they knew that he was "the only strictly honest and intelligent chief."¹⁰⁵

Although there were those within the tribe who resented the position given to La Flesche by Big Elk, Hamilton's friend proved over and over why he deserved the reverence given him by the majority of his people. The annual government annuity again had been delayed, and when the tribe arrived at the reservation in the spring of 1856 their winter supplies were low. The condition of the Omaha worsened and many were near starvation by summer. The Indians survived that summer only because Joseph La Flesche used his trading business savings and purchased the much-needed meat for his people.¹⁰⁶ Hamilton best described the condition of the Omaha when he wrote, "They certainly have been shamefully treated since they sold their land."¹⁰⁷

After Hamilton received the Indians' approval to build the Mission school a second time, he confronted the new agent, onetime Omaha farmer John B. Robertson. During their conversation, Robertson insisted that he had been instructed by Vanderslice to survey the Mission's chosen site for a government agency and farm. Hamilton responded and encouraged the agent to follow his orders. He also made it clear, however, that he intended to continue with the Board's original plans regarding the construction of the school.¹⁰⁸

The agent attempted to justify his actions by insisting that the Indians wished to farm the chosen land. Hamilton knew this to be false because the Omaha interpreter had heard of no such request. In addition, Hamilton studied all aspects of the region and wrote the following description of the future school site:

The location is a good one for timber or wood and water, not so good for a farm. The land seems to be more sandy and clay, not so rich a soil as the field by their village. We will have to make our field near the river, and the land is rough and uneven with the sand hills. There is no convenient grass suitable for mowing, as the bottom beyond the timber is weedy, mixed with some grass.¹⁰⁹

Agent Robertson wrote to Alfred Cumming of the Central Superintendancy for Indian Affairs asking for further instructions. Cumming, in turn, wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Colonel George Manypenny. Robertson could only stand by and watch the construction of the school as he waited for direction from Washington. Hamilton had counted on the Indian Department's slow response. In July 1856, he told Lowrie ". . . I hope their plans have been frustrated and, as Government moves slowly we may yet be up and so far along with our work operations as to be out of reach."¹¹⁰ Hamilton also realized that he must act quickly if the school walls were to be up and the roof completed before the coming of the winter snows.¹¹¹

Completing the exterior of the Mission school before winter seemed to be an impossible task. Hamilton soon encountered difficulties in keeping competent laborers and he complained often about the high wages extracted from him. At one point, he stated that "they do not blush to ask two dollars per day or even more, adding [that] they get this in Omaha."¹¹² Indeed, by September, he paid his workmen three dollars per day plus board.¹¹³

Several unexpected construction problems also plagued Daniel Reed and his workmen. As a result, Hamilton informed Lowrie in August that the new building would cost much more than previously calculated.¹¹⁴ Two of the greatest difficulties included the quality and access to the stone and sand needed for the building's foundation and walls. Reed protested that it took three men to quarry the stone that required only one man at Bellevue. Why the stone was so difficult to work with is obvious today after reading Hamilton's description of the rock. He wrote,

All the masons say they never worked such stone, they don't know what it is. It is a formation of some kind, for marks of leaves, flowers, and walnuts are found in it.¹¹⁵

The masons had no idea they were working with fossilized rock!

The workmen also had great difficulty hauling sand from the Missouri River and Blackbird Creek to the building site in a timely fashion. To rectify the situation, Hamilton and some of the laborers dug two roads from the school to the Missouri River and Blackbird Creek respectively. Completion of the roads greatly increased the workmen's efficiency, for instead of hauling two loads of sand per day, they were able to haul four and five loads.¹¹⁶

Despite all of these obstacles, construction of the school progressed. By the end of September, the first story, including the kitchen and the cellar, were completed. It looked as if Hamilton's goal of laying the roof before winter seemed plausible, and in November he wrote,

The walls were finished on the 18th. On the same day of the month 19 years ago, we landed at Liberty, Mo. there on the edge of civilization, now between three and four hundred miles distant, and yet the people are beyond us.¹¹⁷

In another letter he said, "I believe the house will stand, if no accidents happen, long, long after we shall have gone to our graves."¹¹⁸

By the end of November, the region endured the first of several heavy snowfalls. For this reason, Hamilton was forced to leave for Bellevue before the school's roof had been completed. In spite of the weather, however, the roof was finished in early January 1857. Accordingly, Hamilton wrote Lowrie and asked that the missionary families be sent to Blackbird Creek that spring. He believed the school would be ready to receive its first scholars by summer.¹¹⁹

With the arrival of the new superintendent, minister Charles Sturgis, and teacher L.R. Rolphe at Omaha City on May 17, 1857, a major chapter in the life of William Hamilton was about to come to an end. Hamilton accompanied the two men and their families to Blackbird Hills and stayed on until the Mission building was officially finished sometime in July.¹²⁰ As travelers moved up the Missouri River and gazed up the bluffs,

the Mission school must have seemed impressive. There were a few structures in the area, but none compared to the four and a half story stone building surmounted by a cupola.¹²¹ It must have been especially difficult for Hamilton to leave the site on which he had labored so tirelessly. When William Hamilton returned to Bellevue that July, he did so as a private citizen. With the completion of the new Omaha Mission school, the fervent missionary, now forty-five, officially resigned his position of almost twenty years with the Board of Foreign Missions.

The reasoning behind Hamilton's sudden resignation is difficult to ascertain. Surprisingly, none of Hamilton's letters specifically discuss any of the details regarding his decision. During his tenure among the Ioway tribe, Hamilton had considered leaving the Board several times, primarily because of the hardships associated with the sustained ill health of himself, his wife, and his children. In each instance, however, he decided to continue with his work. While no definite evidence exists, it seems that Hamilton again reconsidered his situation after the Omahas signed the 1854 treaty and it became apparent that the Board would follow the tribe to their new home. The only written corroboration of Hamilton's future actions are found in the insightful words he wrote on January 22, 1855:

I fear I have grieved you but I could not avoid making the request ... I must have some care for my family. So far as I am individually concerned, I feel no less interest than formerly and shall always esteem it a privilege to do what I can for the cause. Though I have unreservedly devoted body and mind to the interests of the Board for the last 17 years, and feel much the worse for wear in body, I think my labours are light compared with yours and would rather relieve than burden you.¹²²

Other than those enigmatic words, the only evidence concerning the impetus behind Hamilton's resignation is found in two Board of Foreign Mission publications. According to both sources, William Hamilton left the missionary field in 1857 because he "felt constrained by the health of himself and family."¹²³

For the next ten years, Hamilton and his family lived a relatively peaceful existence at Bellevue. Hamilton had promised Walter Lowrie his assistance, if needed, on any Mission matters and, as a result, he tried to visit Blackbird Hills at least twice a year. Hamilton also continued to assist in the platting of Bellevue after the Board's Mission Reserve was incorporated within the town limits during January 1856.¹²⁴ Hamilton's primary responsibility, however, revolved around his duties as the minister of Bellevue's first Presbyterian church.

With a congregation of only six parishioners, Bellevue's Presbyterian church was organized by Hamilton's former colleague, Edmund McKinney, on December 26, 1850.¹²⁵ With McKinney's departure in 1853, Hamilton assumed the task of running the young church. Greatly disappointed with the operation he inherited, Hamilton called a congregational meeting on June 26, 1856. At this meeting, the church was formally reorganized as the First Presbyterian Church of Bellevue, with the Rev. William Hamilton serving as the church's pastor.¹²⁶

Church services had previously been held in the old Mission house, but after the Omaha relocation, the building was no longer needed for its original purpose. As a result, the Board sold the Mission house in 1856, and it was converted into one of Bellevue's earliest hotels.¹²⁷ In early April 1857, the members of the First Presbyterian Church assembled at the home of William Hamilton to discuss their ideas about the erection of a permanent house of worship. Construction soon commenced under the supervision of Daniel Reed, builder of the Blackbird Hills Mission school.¹²⁸ The Bellevue Gazette reported on the church's progress in June 1858:

The walls of the Presbyterian Church have been completed, the building roofed, and the steeple is now nearly finished. The edifice [sic], when completed will be an ornament to the town, and a credit to its builder, Rev. Wm. Hamilton, whose labors have been untiring in behalf of that object.¹²⁹

The new church, reorganized a third and final time by Hamilton in May 1858, received its first parishioners soon thereafter.¹³⁰

Although Hamilton had several negative experiences with people who did not share his religious or moral convictions, he was also revered by some in the Bellevue community. Evidence of this sentiment is found in pages of the Bellevue Gazette. In an October 1856 issue of the newspaper, Hamilton unexpectedly noticed that he had been nominated to be a candidate for Joint Councilman for the counties of Burt, Washington and the Southern District of Douglas County.¹³¹ In a response published in the October 30, 1856 edition of the Gazette, Hamilton kindly refused the nomination, stating that he could better serve the community from his present position.¹³² An unidentified author, known only as a "Nebraskian," responded:

Mr. H thinks he can better promote the interests of religion and society by a faithful discharge of his legitimate ministerial duties, than by dabbling in a turbid pool of politics, and what candid person of either party does not approve of this conduct? How different the position of those clergymen, who at a time when our country is agitated by the greatest political excitement known in the history of this union... have used their best endeavors to fan the flame of mutual hatred and discord have prostituted their high calling to the basest of political purposes, converted their pulpits into hustings, from which the most illiberal political harangus [sic] have been delivered... who does not admire the course of conduct pursued by Mr. Hamilton in this matter?¹³³

Hamilton also received the town's accolades after he donated several imported "ornamental trees" to improve the appearance of the infant city. In addition, the respect he garnered was not limited to Bellevue, for on July 14, 1858, Hamilton gave the opening sermon at the first meeting of the Presbytery of Omaha.¹³⁴

Letters from Hamilton to Lowrie declined greatly after Hamilton resigned in 1857. During the first five years of his "retirement," Hamilton usually wrote only when involved with the internal problems of the Blackbird Hills Mission school. Because of Hamilton's

promise of assistance, it did not take long for Walter Lowrie to press his former superintendent back into service.¹³⁵

Lowrie traveled to Bellevue in June 1858. The reasons for his trip were two-fold. First, Lowrie had several business matters to attend to regarding the Board's Mission Reserve at Bellevue. Secondly, the Mission school had been in operation less than a year, but internal dissension between mission employees, characteristic of so many Presbyterian missions, had already erupted at Blackbird Hills. Lowrie was to leave for Blackbird Hills after concluding his business at Bellevue, but terrible traveling conditions finally forced him to cancel his trip. Lowrie asked Hamilton to go in his place and report back on what he found at the Mission.¹³⁶

Hamilton was no stranger to the domestic discord that so often intruded on the day-to-day operations of the Indian missions. It often seemed that he was either involved in or supervising some type of internal dispute. Consequently, when he left for Blackbird Hills to investigate the discontent at the new Mission, he had already acquired much valuable experience from which to draw.¹³⁷

Immediately after his arrival at Blackbird Hills, Hamilton met individually with each member of the mission family and listened with great interest as they voiced their concerns. He quickly came to the conclusion that a series of misunderstandings, primarily between Charles Sturgis, the superintendent, and L.R. Rolphe, the teacher, had led to the Mission's present state of affairs. As a result, Hamilton suggested a group meeting whereby "mutual concessions and explanations with a forgiving spirit" of the Mission's difficulties could be discussed openly. Everyone willingly agreed and, at the time of his departure, Hamilton believed that the gathering had been a success.¹³⁸

Unfortunately, Hamilton's visit to Blackbird Hills provided only a temporary solution. Little more than a month after his trip, he wrote to Lowrie and described a recent meeting he had just held with Sturgis at Bellevue. According to Hamilton, Sturgis was

considering asking the Board for an early release from his duties. Sturgis truly believed he could not continue on at the Mission as long as Rolphe remained.¹³⁹

Hamilton wrote,

As long as there is this unsettled state of mind, the whole heart can hardly be enlisted in the work... It seems to be out of the question for things to move smoothly as they are. The expenses there have been so great, that it would be sad to have the Mission in-efficiently carried on, especially when the Indians are so favourable... The interest I feel in these people must be my excuse of troubling you with this letter.¹⁴⁰

In the end, Rolphe left the Mission in 1858 and Sturgis stayed on until May 1860. It was Sturgis' successor, the Rev. R.J. Burt, who would once again involve Hamilton in mission business.

When Burt assumed the responsibilities of Mission Superintendent in the summer of 1860, the prospects for the school seemed bleak. An epidemic of whooping cough and measles afflicted the children in June; therefore, the school's attendance had dwindled to only twenty-four pupils.¹⁴¹ Burt immediately met with the Omaha chiefs, including Joseph La Flesche, and enlisted their assistance in filling the school. By October 1861, there were fifty-six regularly attending students and the future looked more promising.¹⁴²

All of the hard labor and thought Burt had put into running the school was almost for naught because gossip and scandal spread throughout the Indian tribe, the Mission, and the Indian Agency in the summer of 1862. In July of that year, Indian Agent O.H. Irish informed Walter Lowrie that the Rev. Burt and a fellow mission employee, a Miss Smith, had been charged with immoral conduct. More explicitly, the two "had been caught in the act of having criminal intercourse."¹⁴³ Allegedly, the story had been circulated by another mission employee, Joseph Betz, a charge he fervently denied. In his letter to Lowrie, Irish stated that no one would take responsibility for the spreading of the rumor, although the Indians claimed that Mrs. Betz had told them the story. Irish advised Lowrie of the negative impact the gossip was having on the school. Indeed, the Indian parents were

removing their children from the school and La Flesche had recently taken yet another wife. Upon taking his fourth wife, La Flesche purportedly stated, "If the missionary can do so -- so can I."¹⁴⁴

The implications were enormous if, as Irish reported, Burt and the Mission had lost the trust and confidence of the Indians. Lowrie immediately wrote Hamilton and asked him to find the truth and take whatever actions necessary to ensure the successful continuation of the Mission school.¹⁴⁵

Hamilton left for Blackbird Hills on August 21, 1862. Lowrie's letter requesting his assistance had not come as a complete surprise to the former missionary since he had already been made aware of the rumors.¹⁴⁶ Hamilton's voluminous letters, dating from August 1862 to October 1862, were all written in the context of the Burt investigation. His everlasting devotion to the Mission cause can be seen in the painstaking effort he took to record every detail of his inquiry.

In order to ascertain the origin of the gossip, as well as its effect on the Mission school, Hamilton recorded sworn statements of several interested parties. Included were mission employees Rev. and Mrs. R.J. Burt; Joseph Betz; Isaac Black; a Miss Diamond; Indian Agent O.H. Irish; Church elder Alexander MacCready, and several other church members. Although all of the participants interviewed by Hamilton professed their belief in Burt's innocence, they also concluded that the damage done to the Mission cause was irreversible. Accordingly, most suggested that Burt resign his position.¹⁴⁷

Although some of the statements seem humorous in retrospect, the detrimental impact that such remarks had on the Mission should not be underestimated. Hamilton encountered the following slanderous assertions: "Mr. Burt and Miss Smith went off together and did nasty; He saw them in the storeroom together with her clothes above her knees; and Mr. Burt sacked Miss Smith as often as he wished."¹⁴⁸ Hamilton's investigation lasted approximately three months. During that time, operation of the Mission

school practically ceased. In fact, Hamilton reported that one Omaha mother stated that she would not "send her daughter [to the school] to be a prostitute."¹⁴⁹

In his final report on the subject, Hamilton suggested that Burt be given another chance. Hamilton honestly believed that the rumors were false, started perhaps by a former Indian agent or a jealous mission employee. Furthermore, Hamilton asserted that if Burt had lost the confidence of the Indians, he deserved an opportunity to regain their trust.¹⁵⁰

Just how Hamilton reached his conclusions is obvious when one reads some of the statements that were sent to Lowrie. For example, in one piece of testimony, Omaha tribal member Henry Fontenelle related how he was first made aware of the Burt rumors. He stated that his wife told him of Mr. Burt's immoral conduct and upon inquiry, his wife stated that a Mrs. Arlington told her; that Mrs. Arlington got it from her sister-in-law, Pilcher's wife; who got it from Sophia; who said Mrs. Betz told her.¹⁵¹ Hamilton said it best when he referred to Fontenelle's statement: "Poor testimony to condemn a man!"¹⁵²

After receiving public support from Hamilton, as well as from La Flesche, Burt reported that nearly all of the children had returned to the school by October. In addition, Lowrie sent Dr. Sturgis back to the mission temporarily to monitor the school's progress, but in the end, the Board followed Hamilton's recommendation and kept Burt as superintendent.¹⁵³ Although the mission family successfully put the episode behind them, it was never entirely forgotten.

While Hamilton investigated the allegations against Rev. Burt at Blackbird Hills, grand visions of expansion and wealth were once again emerging at Bellevue. As emigrants continued to travel westward in large numbers, the idea of building a transcontinental railroad linking the established eastern states with the younger western settlements gained popularity. The passage of the Pacific Railroad Act of 1862, which created the Union Pacific Railroad, brought new hope to the citizens of Bellevue, who had

been so disappointed by the location of the territorial capital at Omaha City only eight years earlier.¹⁵⁴

As early as September 1862, Bellevue resident Henry T. Clarke surveyed the land in and around Bellevue looking for the most advantageous railroad routes. According to Hamilton, Clarke intended to lay his surveys before the President of the Pacific Railroad Company in the hope that it would encourage Bellevue's selection as the terminal point for the new railroad.¹⁵⁵

During the next year, Omaha and Bellevue struggled for the terminus prize. Indeed, both cities offered the railroad lucrative incentives in exchange for the terminus designation. In November 1863, Bellevue's hopes were seemingly dashed when President Abraham Lincoln issued an order fixing the eastern terminus at Omaha.¹⁵⁶

William Hamilton, always interested in the prosperity of his adopted home town, kept Walter Lowrie informed of all railroad developments. This seemed prudent since Hamilton still acted on the Board's behalf as a property agent. Even after Bellevue lost the terminus battle, one last chance remained for the little community to benefit from the railroad frenzy. After the terminus had been decided, railroad officials faced their next challenge, selecting the best possible site for the Union Pacific bridge to cross the Missouri River.¹⁵⁷

A spirited competition ensued once more between Bellevue and Omaha for the location of the bridge. Hamilton wrote Lowrie and, as he had nearly a decade earlier, asked for any assistance the Board could offer Bellevue in its fight for the bridge location. Hamilton inquired about the possibility of a Board of Foreign Missions donation of one or more of the following: the old Mission house, land lots, or a stone quarry. In addition, Hamilton noted the low demand for the purchase of lots. He added, however, that the value of the same lots would double if Bellevue obtained the bridge.¹⁵⁸

It seemed that Bellevue's dreams of eminence would soon be realized after the Union Pacific engineers recommended the Childs' Mill Crossing, near Bellevue, as their choice for the bridge. Anxiety spread rapidly throughout Omaha since many Omahans believed that Bellevue's selection foreshadowed the eventual relocation of the railroad's eastern terminus from Omaha to its chief rival.¹⁵⁹ As a result, Omaha sent a delegation to New York to meet with the Union Pacific Board of Directors and, after reaffirming an earlier offer that included a donation of ten acres of land for a depot and \$250,000 in bonds toward the cost of the bridge, the Board reversed its decision on the Childs' Mill location.¹⁶⁰ With the reversal, Bellevue lost its last chance at becoming the metropolis that its citizens, including William Hamilton, had envisioned.

While the fight for the location of the railroad bridge raged on, William Hamilton was faced with some decision-making of his own. Early in 1866, the elders of the Bellevue Presbyterian Church decided to no longer retain Hamilton's services as minister. According to Hamilton, the church officers believed he deserved more than the \$150 salary that they were able to pay him. Nearly a year later, however, Hamilton suggested that there may have been other circumstances that contributed to his dismissal. He wrote the following in reference to his position with the congregation: "The door here seemed to be closed and apparently without reason, and so far apparently to the detriment of the church here."¹⁶¹

In April 1866, Rev. Burt had requested Hamilton's presence at the Mission. Burt stated that the Indians had lost their interpreter and he knew Hamilton could help communicate with them through La Flesche.¹⁶² Burt may have also asked Hamilton back to Blackbird Hills because he may have anticipated his eventual resignation as Omaha superintendent. Indeed, Burt had again become the target of unsavory gossip; consequently, he resigned his position and left the Mission in June 1866. S. Orlando Lee, a mission teacher, became provisional superintendent of the Indian school. Because the

Mission no longer had a minister, Hamilton now made monthly visits to Blackbird Hills.¹⁶³

During this time, Hamilton also "supplied the pulpit" (served as an interim minister) at Council Bluffs and aided the Iowa town's citizens in land negotiations with the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company.¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately, by December, internal dissension had reappeared at the Omaha Mission. This time John Lowrie, son of Walter Lowrie, asked for Hamilton's assistance. Walter Lowrie's health had been failing for some time and his son had assumed most of his father's official duties. Hamilton quickly reported on what he found at the Mission.¹⁶⁵

Confidence in Orlando Lee's ability to run the Mission seemed to be at the root of all of the Mission's most recent difficulties. Hamilton was especially disgruntled by one incident he discovered during his investigation: mission employees sleeping during prayer meetings! He wrote,

I then referred to another matter in which Mr. Lee, Mrs. Lee, and Mr. Black were especially concerned, that was sleeping in meeting. Long, Long naps. I told him it was a disgrace to the Mission and a great injury to it and the Cause. No wonder people were trying to get the Mission into other hands, when they saw the missionaries fall asleep almost as soon as services commenced... It would counteract all the good teaching. The children who learn more by example than by words... would think that part of the service, as they seem to fix themselves for sleep soon after entering the chapel.¹⁶⁶

In his final analysis, Hamilton believed Lee had made some improvements, but he still had doubts about Lee's ability to permanently run the school. Hamilton also informed John Lowrie of Omaha Mission farmer Isaac Black's decision to leave the Mission during the following spring.¹⁶⁷

Meanwhile, John Lowrie had written Isaac Black and asked for any suggestions pertaining to the future of the Mission school. Black replied,

First it seems to me, that if Rev. William Hamilton could be obtained at this place, and immediately, he could accomplish more for the

spiritual welfare of the Omahas than any other man I know. First because he can converse with several of the leading men of the tribe... Second because the Omahas have confidence in him... I have introduced his name because... I know of no other man so suitable.¹⁶⁸

Soon after receiving Black's letter, John Lowrie wrote Hamilton and asked him to assume the duties of Omaha superintendent. Hamilton answered with uncertainty. He told Lowrie that the church position in Council Bluffs had been filled; consequently, he had been preaching at the nearby community of Plattsmouth every Sabbath. According to Hamilton, the members of the Plattsmouth congregation wished to retain his services permanently, but he had not given them an answer because of Lowrie's request.¹⁶⁹

Making such a momentous decision proved to be extremely difficult for Hamilton. He wrote John Lowrie several reflective letters and voiced his concerns. For example, he reminded Lowrie of the motive behind his earlier resignation: the sustained ill health of Mrs. Hamilton. If he returned to the missionary field, Mrs. Hamilton could not be expected to perform all of the physical labors she once had done.¹⁷⁰ Hamilton also worried about the well-being of his children. Indeed, he was especially concerned about the impact the relocation would have on his three-year-old son, Willie.¹⁷¹ Perhaps most surprising was Hamilton's deep insecurity about his abilities. In one letter he stated, "I fear I am not adequate to the duties under the contemplated changes, but if undertaken at my time of life, I should wish to give what strength I have."¹⁷²

Hamilton returned to Blackbird Hills during June in the hope that a visit would enable him to reach a final decision. At some point between July and September 1867, he finally decided to accept Lowrie's request and return to the missionary field.¹⁷³ By the end of September, his family had settled in at Blackbird Hills and Hamilton immediately set to work. He wrote to John Lowrie of the necessity for several Mission repairs including the restoration of the barn and the replacement of the Mission's water pipes.¹⁷⁴ As William

Hamilton energetically returned to his zealous labors and reacquainted himself with old friends, he had little idea of the remarkable changes that lay ahead.

Endnotes

¹ Richard E. Jensen, "Bellevue: The First Twenty Years, 1822-1842," in "La Belle Vue": Studies in the History of Bellevue, Nebraska, ed. Jerold L. Simmons, (Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1976), 70.

² Ibid., 71.

³ S.D. Bangs, "History of Sarpy County," Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society vol. 2 (Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1887), 294; Florence De Golier, "Ta-Pooth-ka [Man-Who-Speaks-the-Truth]: The Story of Moses and Eliza Merrill," in "La Belle Vue", 162.

⁴ Edmund McKinney and Samuel Irvin to Walter Lowrie, August 26, 1846, American Indian Correspondence. The Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., n.d. Microfilm), Box 4, vol. 1, no. 372. Hereinafter cited as AIC; Report of Edward McKinney, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847, 296; Ray H. Mattison, "Indian Missions and Missionaries on the Upper Missouri to 1900," Nebraska History 38 (June 1957): 134. McKinney is often referred to as both Edmund or Edward in many different sources. However, the Presbyterian Historical Society lists him as Edmund McKinney.

⁵ Edmund McKinney to Walter Lowrie, December 15, 1846, AIC, Box 5, vol. 2, no.2.

⁶ Report of Edward McKinney, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847, 296-297; Mattison, "Indian Missions and Missionaries", 135; Amanda Krider, "The Otoe and Omaha Mission House," in "La Belle Vue", 189; Federal Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, State of Nebraska (comp.), Old Bellevue (Papillion, Nebraska: Papillion Times, 1937), 20. The modern location of the mission house is noted with an historic marker east of Warren St., between 19th Ave. and 20th Ave. in downtown Bellevue. Refer to Map Three.

⁷ Krider, "The Otoe and Omaha Mission House," 190; Rev. Julius F. Schwarz, History of the Presbyterian Church in Nebraska (N.p., n.p., 1924), 30; Historical Sketch of the Missions Under the Care of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 17.

⁸ Krider, "The Otoe and Omaha Mission House", 190; For a more detailed look at the early years of the Otoe and Omaha Mission, refer to McKinney's letters found primarily in Boxes 4 and 5 of the American Indian Correspondence and the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1847-1852.

⁹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 1, 1953, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 43.

46. 10 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 22, 1853, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 46.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 1, 1853, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 43; Edmund McKinney to Walter Lowrie, July 14, 1853, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 45; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 31, 1853, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 56. Also refer to C. Chaucer Goss, Bellevue, Larimer and St. Mary: Their History, Location, Description and Advantages (Bellevue: John Q. Goss, 1859), 7 for a similar discussion of the name change.
- 14 Report of William Hamilton, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853, 111.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
60. 17 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 26, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 60.
- 18 James C. Malin, The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers Inc., 1953), 72.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 For the complete text of the treaty, refer to Charles J. Kappler, comp., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 611-614; Norma Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Family: The Children of Joseph La Flesche (Lincoln: Johnsen Publishing Co., 1969), 17.
- 22 James Byron Potts, "Nebraska Territory, 1854-1867: A Study of Frontier Politics," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1973, 35-37.
- 23 Ibid., 38-39.
- 24 Ibid., 40-41; 71-72.
- 25 Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), 34-35.

26 *Ibid.*; Michael L. Tate and Neil M. Johnson, "Travelers From The Great Waters: Indian Peoples of the Middle Missouri," in "La Belle Vue", 23.

27 For a discussion of the different traditions and the movements of these related tribes, refer to Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, 34-41; Tate and Johnson, "Travelers From The Great Waters," 23-44; Henry Fontenelle, "History of the Omaha Indians," Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society vol. 1 (Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885), 76-85 and Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, Omaha Sociology, Third Annual Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, 1881-1882 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884), 211-214.

28 Tate and Johnson, "Travelers From The Great Waters," 23-34.

29 *Ibid.*, 24; James C. Olson, History of Nebraska (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 24; John O'Shea and John Ludwickson, Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Omaha Indians: The Big Village Site (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 20. Fletcher and LaFlesche, The Omaha Tribe, 611, also note that the Omaha probably first encountered the white man (the French) sometime in the middle seventeenth century.

30 Tate and Johnson, "Travelers From The Great Waters," 30; According to Merrill J. Mattes, The Great Platte River Road (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1969), 122, the Council Bluffs site named by Lewis and Clark was some twenty miles north of modern Omaha on the Nebraska side, near present-day Fort Calhoun. For a detailed discussion of Omaha-European contact during the eighteenth century, refer to Thomas F. Schilz, and Jodye L. D. Schilz, "Beads, Bangles, and Buffalo Robes: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Fur Trade Along the Missouri and Des Moines Rivers, 1700-1820," The Annals of Iowa 49 (Summer/Fall 1987): 5-25.

31 Tate and Johnson, "Travelers From The Great Waters," 31. Refer to Map Four.

32 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 2-8; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, 631-632; Fannie Reed Giffen, Oo-Mah-Ha-Ta-Wa-Tha (Omaha City) (Lincoln: n.p., 1898), 28-29.

33 Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, 632-633. There are conflicting accounts as to the year of Big Elk's death. Several sources state that Big Elk died in the fall of 1846. However, Fletcher and La Flesche and Norma Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Family, 12, list the year of Big Elk's death as 1853. I agree with Fletcher and La Flesche and Norma Kidd Green. Charles Charvat, "Logan Fontenelle: An Indian Chief in Broadcloth and Fine Linen," in "La Belle Vue," 135, states that Presbyterian missionary Edmund McKinney preached the sermon at Big Elk's funeral. McKinney did not reach Bellevue until September 1846 so that gave him only four months to preach such a sermon. In his first report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1847, he mentions no such death. Surely he would have mentioned the death of such an important chief. Also McKinney described a severely intoxicated but healthy Big Elk in a December 15, 1846 letter to New York. I would also conclude that Fletcher and La Flesche received their information from

living members of the Omaha tribe. Because Joseph La Flesche became chief of the Omaha following Big Elk's death, surely he must have told the story to his son, Francis.

34 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 26, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 60.

35 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 31, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 62.

36 Ibid.; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 9, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 72; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 17.

37 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 17, 1853, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 58. Hamilton again told Lowrie that the Board ought to own the land they needed for the new mission, in William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 9, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, 72.

38 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 7, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 64.

39 William Hamilton, "Autobiography of William Hamilton," Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society vol. 1 (Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885), 65; For a discussion of the life of Peter Sarpy, refer to Edward F. Sterba, "Peter Sarpy 1805-1865," in "La Belle Vue," 87-106.

40 S.D. Bangs, "History of Sarpy County," 295; Federal Writers Project, Old Bellevue, 11; C. Chaucer Goss, "History of Bellevue," 8.

41 Kappler, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, 613-614. The Otoe Indians also signed a treaty with the United States in 1854, which ceded all of their lands west of the Missouri River except a reservation on the Blue River in what is now southern Gage County, Nebraska, and northern Marshall County, Kansas. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions followed the tribe to their reservation and established a boarding school among them. The school closed in 1860.

42 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 9, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 72; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 18, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 76.

43 Ibid.

44 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 21, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 77.

45 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 22, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 73; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 8, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 78.

- 46 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 21, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 77.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Charles Arthur Hawley, Fifty Years on the Nebraska Frontier: A History of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Omaha (Omaha: Rolph Print Co., 1941), 29, 31.
- 49 For a discussion of the role of the rival newspapers in Nebraska's capital fight, refer to Kim A. Simmons, "Bellevue and Omaha: The Contest for the Capital," in "La Belle Vue," 211-221.
- 50 Clyde Aitchison, "The Life of Governor Burt," Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society second series, vol. 1 (Lincoln: Jacob North and Co., 1894-1895), 26-29.
- 51 Ibid., 32; Simmons, "Contest for the Capital," 212.
- 52 Aitchison, "Life of Governor Burt," 33.
- 53 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 28, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 81.
- 54 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 29, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 82.
- 55 Simmons, "Contest for the Capital," 212; Aitchison, "Life of Governor Burt," 34.
- 56 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 7, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 83; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 10, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 84.
- 57 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 17, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 85. Nan Viergutz Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming, Jr. and the Location of Nebraska's Territorial Capital," M.A. Thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1961, 82.
- 58 Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 83.
- 59 Ibid., 86.
- 60 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 17, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 85; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 19, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 86.
- 61 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 19, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 86.

62 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 24, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 87.

63 Ibid. The Indians would later veto the idea and the selection of Omaha as territorial capital made such a decision moot.

64 Hamilton, "Autobiography of William Hamilton," 67-68; Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 121. Hamilton's recollection as told in his autobiography has been generally accepted by historians as accurate. The letter of October 24, 1854 also discusses the Green \$25,000 offer and therefore corroborates the 1884 memoir.

65 Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 116.

66 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 24, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 87.

67 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 2, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 88.

68 Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 117; Simmons, "The Contest," 219.

69 Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 152. Ms. Carson's Master's thesis provides a detailed discussion of Cuming's personal motivations and an excellent examination of the participants involved in the bids for the territorial capital.

70 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 20, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 90; Hamilton, "Reminiscences," 68; Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 149-150.

71 Hamilton, "Autobiography of William Hamilton," 68.

72 Ibid.

73 Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 155-156.

74 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 7, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 99.

75 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 27, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 104.

76 Carson, "Thomas Barnes Cuming," 174. For a good discussion of Cuming's controversial actions after he received the results of the territorial census, refer to Simmons, "The Contest," 217-221, and Olson, History of Nebraska, 82-85.

77 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 18; Charvat, "Logan Fontenelle," 141; Henry Chapman, Undated manuscript map of Nebraska Territory, in the possession of Harl Dalstrom.

⁷⁸ Green, Iron Eye's Family, 18; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 24, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 118.

⁷⁹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 13, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 116; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 9, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 126.

⁸⁰ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 24, 1854, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 87; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 13, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 107.

⁸¹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 13, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 107.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 30, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 111.

⁸⁴ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 23, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 115.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 6, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 121; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 15, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 123.

⁸⁷ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 6, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 121; Council Bluffs Chronotype, April 11, 1855, 4; Council Bluffs Bugle, April 10, 1855, 2. Hamilton spelled the victim's last name "Hallester," but both Council Bluffs newspapers spelled it "Hollister."

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 18, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 124.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 16, 1855, AIC, Box A, no. 18. Green, Iron Eye's Family, 18-19.

⁹² William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 16, 1855, AIC, Box A, no. 18. William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 21, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 127.

⁹³ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 23, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 128. Giffen, Oo-Mah-Ha, 25.

- 94 Charvat, "Logan Fontenelle," 142; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 19.
- 95 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 19; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 28, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 134.
- 96 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 17, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 137.
- 97 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 28, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 134; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 17, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 137; "Death of Logan Fontanelle [sic]," prepared by T.A. Tibbles from story by Iron Eye, Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society second series, vol. 5 (Lincoln: Jacob North and Co., 1902), 161-164.
- 98 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 17, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 137; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 9, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 33; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 20.
- 99 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 26, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 139; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 19.
- 100 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, February 6, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 2; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 21, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 5. William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 26, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 7.
- 101 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, March 21, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 6.
- 102 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 9, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 33; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 20-21.
- 103 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 14, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 9; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 21.
- 104 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 14, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 9.
- 105 Ibid.; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 2, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 21; In the September 2 letter, Hamilton also charged that the Government eventually planned to open the Omaha land for speculation. They would accomplish this by relocating the Omaha on the land of the neighboring Poncas. Hamilton's charge seemed plausible, especially because Omaha Agent John Robertson was also appointed agent for the Poncas.
- 106 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 19, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 15.

- 107 Ibid.
- 108 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, December 9, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 33.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 21, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 16; Norma Kidd Green, "The Presbyterian Mission to the Omaha Indian Tribe," Nebraska History 48 (Autumn 1967): 271-272.
- 111 Green, "Presbyterian Mission," 272.
- 112 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 21, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 16; Green, "Presbyterian Mission," 273.
- 113 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 1, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 20.
- 114 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 14, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 18.
- 115 Green, "Presbyterian Mission," 273; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 22, September 8, 1856.
- 116 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 30, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 25; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 7, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 26.
- 117 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 30, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 25; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 22, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 32.
- 118 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 14, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 31.
- 119 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, November 26, 1856, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 34; Green, "Presbyterian Mission," 275.
- 120 Green, "Presbyterian Mission," 275-276.
- 121 Omaha Mission School Report for 1864-1865, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864, 406.
- 122 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 22, 1855, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 109. Perhaps no other reference to his resignation is made because Hamilton and Lowrie met in Bellevue in the spring of 1855 and may have discussed all the pertinent details at this time.

123 John Lowrie, A Manual of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (New York: William Rankin Jr., 1868), 50; Historical Sketches of the Missions under the Care of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 17; Hamilton's resignation due to ill health is also mentioned in Lewis Henry Morgan, The Indian Journals 1859-1862, ed. by Leslie A. White, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 89.

124 Schwarz, History of the Presbyterian Church, 139; Goss, Bellevue, Larimer and St. Mary, 11; Bangs, "History of Sarpy County," 302.

125 The Historic Records of the First Presbyterian Church at Bellevue, microfilm collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Session Book one, volume one, 1; Hawley, Fifty Years on the Nebraska Frontier, 27; William Shallcross, Romance of a Village (Omaha, Nebraska: Roncka Bros., 1954), 81-82; Dorothy Wood, "The First Presbyterian Church," in La Belle Vue lists the date of the organization of the congregation as December 26, 1849. Although there are no formal endnotes in this edition, Wood states that she used the same session book.

126 The Historic Records of the First Presbyterian Church at Bellevue, Session Book one, volume one, 12; Wood, "First Presbyterian Church," 201.

127 Wood, "First Presbyterian Church," 202.

128 Bellevue Gazette, April 16, 1857, 3; Bellevue Gazette, April 22, 1858, 3.

129 Ibid., June 10, 1858, 2.

130 The Historic Records of the First Presbyterian Church at Bellevue, Session Book two, volume two, 1-2; Shallcross, Romance of a Village, 82. The First Presbyterian Church still stands on the southwest corner of 20th Avenue and Franklin Street in downtown Bellevue. It is the oldest church in the state. The city of Bellevue purchased the structure in 1972 and maintains it as an historic site. Refer to Map Three.

131 Bellevue Gazette, October 30, 1856, 2.

132 Ibid.; The letter was reprinted in the November 6, 1856 edition.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid., May 7, 1857, 2; Nebraska Republican, July 1858, found in the Historic records of the First Presbyterian Church at Bellevue.

135 The American Indian Correspondence contains relatively few letters from Hamilton for 1858-1865. There are several letters from 1862 only because Hamilton was asked to mediate in a serious Mission school dispute. The letters increase again in 1865 after Hamilton asked Lowrie's advice in regard to the Union Pacific terminus question. As

a result, information on Hamilton for the years 1859 to 1861 and 1863 to 1864 is scarce. The Federal Writers Project's Old Bellevue, 15, states that Hamilton assisted a Mr. Schimonsky in the platting of Bellevue in 1859. Hamilton is also mentioned in the Indian journals of anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan. Morgan described Hamilton in a journal entry, dated June 6, 1860, as a farmer and pastor of Bellevue's Presbyterian church. It was during this visit that Hamilton gave Morgan the extracts of five years' worth of manuscripts he compiled during his time among the Ioway Indians.

136 Bellevue Gazette, June 17, 1858; John Lowrie, ed., Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie, (New York: Baker and Taylor Co., 1896), 153.

137 For examples of the dissension Hamilton encountered during his years at the Otoe and Omaha Mission, refer to William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, AIC, Box 5, vol. 1, no. 59, January 10, 1854 and Phillips G. Davies, "David Jones and Gwen Davies, Missionaries in the Nebraska Territory, 1853-1860," Nebraska History 60 (Spring 1979): 77-91.

138 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 2, 1858, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 78.

139 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 18, 1858, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 84.

140 Ibid.

141 Ray H. Mattison, "Indian Missions and Missionaries on the Upper Missouri to 1900," Nebraska History 38 (June 1957): 137.

142 Ibid.

143 O.H. Irish to Walter Lowrie, July 29, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 119.

144 Ibid.; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 39.

145 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 39.

146 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 21, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 123.

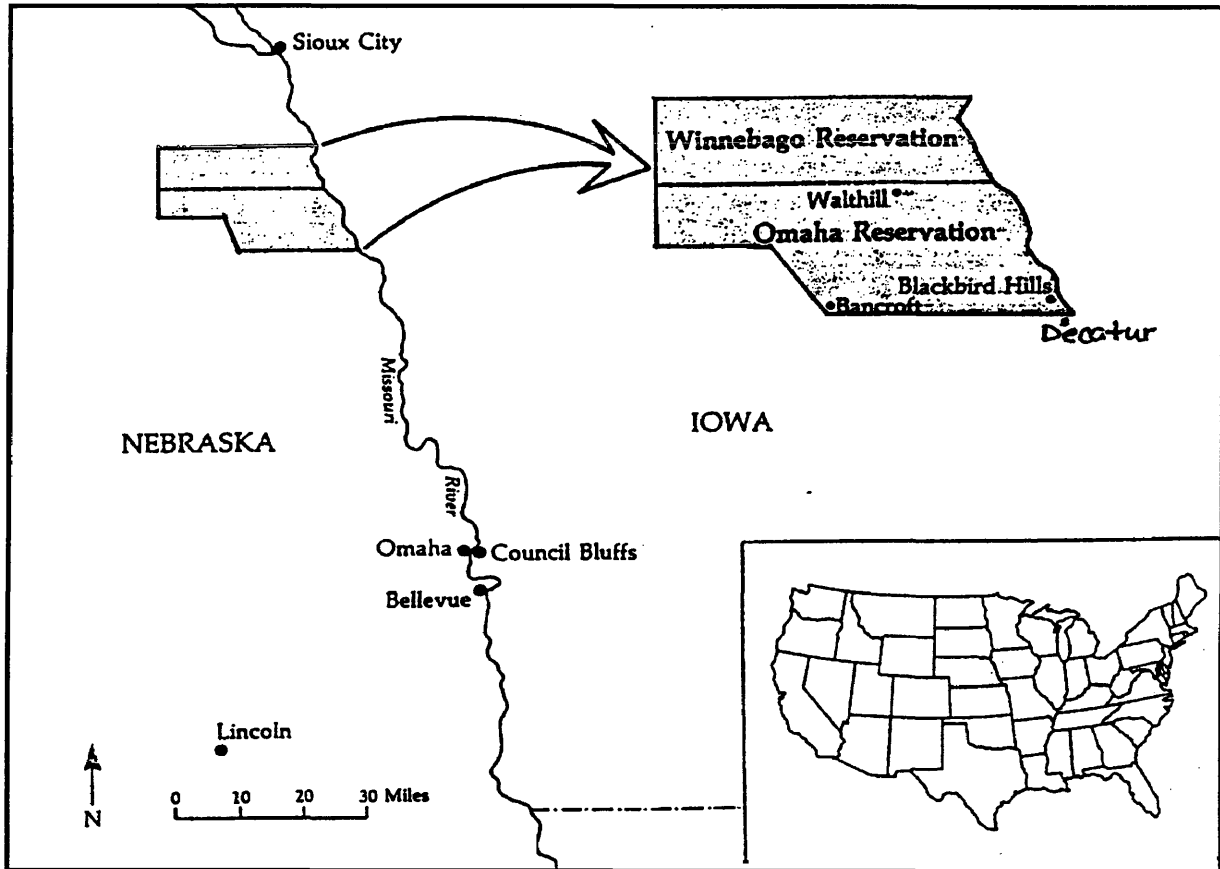
147 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 25, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 124.

148 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 19, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 122; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 25, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 124.

- 149 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, August 21, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 123.
- 150 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 39; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 1, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 133.
- 151 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 1, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 133.
- 152 Ibid.
- 153 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 22, 1862, AIC, Box A, no. 125; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 31, 1862, AIC, Box A, no. 127.
- 154 Barry B. Combs, "The Bellevue Scare," in "La Belle Vue," 229.
- 155 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 24, 1862, AIC, Box 4, vol. 1, no. 129; Shallcross, Romance of a Village, 130.
- 156 Gary W. Garabrandt, "A Brief Look Into the Life of Charles Childs, A Bellevue Pioneer," in "La Belle Vue," 261; Combs, "Bellevue Scare," 232. Bellevue had still another chance at the U.P. terminus when, in 1864, the village became a pawn in the devious machinations of Union Pacific vice president, Thomas Durant. For a detailed discussion of these events, refer to Combs, "Bellevue Scare," 235-242, and Maury Klein, Union Pacific: Birth of a Railroad: 1862-1893 (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1987), 56-61.
- 157 Garabrandt, "Life of Charles Childs," 261; Combs, "Bellevue Scare," 232.
- 158 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, June 29, 1866, AIC, Box A, no. 392; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 10, 1866, AIC, no. 396.
- 159 Garabrandt, "Life of Charles Childs," 261.
- 160 Ibid.; 262; Shallcross, Romance of a Village, 134.
- 161 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, May 22, 1866, AIC, Box A, no. 375; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 12, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 500.
- 162 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 20, 1866, AIC, Box A, no. 365.
- 163 S. Orlando Lee to John Lowrie, February 7, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 495; Green, "Presbyterian Mission to the Omaha Tribe," 279; Report of S. Orlando Lee, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866, 216.
- 164 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, July 10, 1866, AIC, Box A, no. 396.

- 165 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 21, 1866, AIC, Box A, no. 479.
- 166 Ibid.
- 167 Ibid.
- 168 Isaac Black to John Lowrie, January 25, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 495.5.
- 169 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 12, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 500;
William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 5, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 502.
- 170 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 7, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 506;
William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 17, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 520.4.
- 171 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 17, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 520.4.
For whatever reason, Hamilton never wrote extensively about his children; he merely mentioned them from time to time. Bureau of the Census, Schedule 1, The Census of 1860, 805, lists the following information on the William Hamilton family: William Hamilton, age 48, born in Pennsylvania; wife Julia, age 47, born in Pennsylvania; daughter Anna, age 21, born in the Indian Territory; daughter M.[argret] Elsie, age 19, born in the Indian Territory; daughter Mary Elizabeth, age 17, born in the Indian Territory; daughter Amanda, age 12, born in Nebraska; and son Willie, age 3, born in Nebraska. The 1860 Census was incorrect regarding the birthplace of daughter Amanda. Hamilton did not move to Nebraska until 1853, consequently, Amanda could not have been born in Nebraska. The Census of 1870 lists Amanda's birthplace as Kansas.
- 172 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 17, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 520.4.
- 173 William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, September 30, 1867, AIC, Box A, no. 520.8.
- 174 Ibid.

Map Five



Adapted from James A. Clinton, ed., Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), 139.

Chapter Four: Life on the Reservation, 1867-1891

Almost immediately after his return to Blackbird Hills in 1867, William Hamilton was thrust back into the everyday toil associated with being the Omaha Mission superintendent. The Mission building, now ten years old, was in desperate need of renovation. Hamilton tried to act quickly and get as many repairs done as possible before the onset of winter. Indeed, he wrote Walter Lowrie and complained about having to pay men three dollars per day for work he could do himself. Unfortunately, he alone could not accomplish all of the desired tasks in a timely fashion.¹

By January 1868, several renovations still needed to be addressed. For example, Hamilton described how the Mission's water pipes had been incorrectly laid during the previous spring. As a result, the pipes froze in the winter and all water had to be carried to the mission building by hand. Hamilton also mentioned problems with the drainage of the kitchen's waste water. After the water left the kitchen, it ran down a hill toward the Mission's barn. According to Hamilton, the barn was always surrounded either by excessive mud in the summer or by ice and stoppage in the winter. An old ditch had been clogged, and Hamilton arranged for it to be redug and deepened in order to solve the problem.²

An area of the building that seemed to need particular attention was the kitchen. Hamilton stated that the floor and flour chest in the kitchen needed to be repaired immediately. He wrote,

Heretofore the flour has been laid in planks on the cellar floor, and the bread on a table, and the result has been that the bread has been run over and eaten by the mice, of which there seems to be many hundreds, and the flour and sacks destroyed.³

In addition to his Mission school duties, Hamilton also made a daily effort to preach to as many Omaha Indians as he could. During his first months back at the Mission, most

of Hamilton's sermons took place at the home of former Omaha chief, and still unofficial leader, Joseph La Flesche.⁴ The former chief had been a friend of Hamilton and the Mission for several years. Although La Flesche followed many of the traditional Omaha customs, he also had the foresight to realize that "without education in white ways," present and future Omaha generations would not be able to protect their rights.⁵ For this reason, he faithfully sent his children to the Mission school.

Joseph La Flesche led a group of Indians who supported a progressive agenda. La Flesche and his followers, known as the "young men's party," erected a village near the Missouri River and the Presbyterian Mission. Their village became known by many names, including "Joe's Village," or "The Make-Believe White Man's Village."⁶ "Joe's Village" differed from the other Omaha villages in that for the first time, the Indians did not live in tepees or earth lodges, but they built wood frame homes instead. The Mission offered La Flesche and his band the use of its sawmill and it is said that Joseph La Flesche was one of the first Indians to build his own frame house west of the Missouri.⁷

La Flesche and his followers consistently encountered criticism and dissension from the other members of the tribe who did not advocate a close relationship with the Mission. The conservative element of the tribe was not willing to surrender its native identity. These Indians wanted to preserve their traditional way of life. They wanted to live in their earth lodge villages, practice their own religion, and continue going on their annual buffalo hunts. The dissension between the two factions climaxed with the removal of La Flesche as an official Omaha chief in 1866. Historical records provide relatively few details about the events that led to La Flesche's resignation. Once removed, however, he pulled his children from the mission school and left his home on the reservation. La Flesche and his family eventually returned and he sent his children back to the Omaha Mission. He also reasserted his influence and continued on as an unofficial leader of the Omaha.⁸

William Hamilton encountered this contentious atmosphere upon his return to Blackbird Hills. Although the hopeful missionary reported strong attendance at his nightly prayer meetings, most of the attendees were from La Flesche's band. Hamilton described the Omahas' willingness to listen, learn, and pray. But while encouraged by the Indians' attentiveness, Hamilton still experienced great difficulty in discouraging the Omaha from practicing some of their traditional customs such as polygamy. The practice of polygamy occurred primarily among the more prominent men of the tribe who wished to broaden their kinship lines into other families.⁹ Because of his religious rigidity, the values of white society, and indifference towards the Omaha culture, William Hamilton never accepted the Omaha practice of polygamy.

Although preaching to the Indians and operating the Mission school consumed most of Hamilton's time, the missionary still made a point of receiving reports about events in Bellevue. He and the Board of Foreign Missions still owned land in Bellevue, and John Lowrie had probably instructed Hamilton to keep the Board informed of any pertinent developments. In January 1868, Hamilton wrote Lowrie about Bellevue's ongoing quest for a railroad bridge. He described how the Union Pacific Railroad seemed to be ignoring Bellevue in its surveys. In fact, the railroad was already operating from Council Bluffs to a point northeast of the old Mission about eight to ten miles from Bellevue. At this time, Hamilton still hoped for a bridge crossing at Childs' Hollow only three miles from Bellevue.¹⁰

Hamilton received some sad news early in 1868. His confidant of the previous thirty years, Walter Lowrie, had died after a long illness. Hamilton was deeply moved by the passing of his old friend. He wrote to Lowrie's son, John,

I see by the papers, that you have been called upon to bear that grief which is felt in the loss of a beloved parent . . . For him it was better to depart and be with Christ, but you can not but feel the loss . . . I was not anticipating his departure. No day has past without his being in my

thoughts . . . You have my sympathy, and I trust his devotedness to our Master's cause may stir us up to more earnestness in our work.¹¹

With the death of Walter Lowrie, his son, John, the second Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, became the recipient of Hamilton's ongoing correspondence.

Only a few months after being informed of Walter Lowrie's death, William Hamilton and his family suffered a far greater loss when his beloved wife, Julia, died from injuries she suffered after being thrown from a horse-drawn buggy on April 29, 1868.¹² To lose his wife so suddenly after thirty years of marriage was extremely difficult for Hamilton. Indeed, his youngest son, Willie, was only eleven years old.

Interestingly, there are no letters in the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions American Indian Correspondence written by Hamilton for the first two months after his wife's death. The last letter received prior to her death was dated April 21, 1868. The next letter found in the correspondence is dated July 16, 1868. Moreover, in the first July letter and all of the letters immediately following, there is no mention of Julia's death. It is as if it had not happened. A reference to her death was finally made over a year later when Hamilton announced his intent to remarry.¹³

Perhaps William Hamilton did not mention his recent loss in his letters to John Lowrie because, by the summer of 1868, he had become embroiled in a dispute among the different factions of Omaha Indians. In February 1868, he wrote of his hope that the earlier divisions between the "young men's party" and the other Omaha factions would be healed with Joseph La Flesche's resignation of the chieftainship.¹⁴ His optimism proved to be short-lived.

By 1868, the fundamental beliefs pertaining to the education of American Indian children were beginning to change. The philosophy behind the manual labor boarding school was slowly giving way to support for the Indian day school. The day schools

differed from the boarding schools in that the children would return to their families each night, instead of returning home only on weekends. Advocates of the change believed that the day schools could teach more children, and regular attendance could be sustained.¹⁵

The Board of Foreign Missions must have sensed the changing sentiment, for John Lowrie asked William Hamilton to prepare a budgetary report that not only estimated the yearly outlay for the operation of a twenty-five-scholar boarding school, but also included the cost of running two Indian day schools as well. Hamilton obliged and, in fact, prepared two reports in April 1868. The second appraisal estimated the yearly expense of operating a fifty-scholar boarding school and two day schools, versus Lowrie's original request. According to Hamilton's calculations, it would cost approximately \$800 more per year to run the fifty-scholar/day school operation (\$5,888.19) compared to the cost of the twenty-five-scholar/day school operation (\$4,980.08).¹⁶

By the summer of 1868, relations between the Mission School and the Omaha, minus La Flesche's band, had reached an impasse. As a result, the Omaha chiefs sent a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs which asked for the termination of the contract between the tribe and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.¹⁷ The chiefs contended that the present boarding school served only one-fifth of the tribe's children and they were especially disgruntled with the school's superintendent, William Hamilton. The letter stated in part,

We also feel dissatisfied with the manner in which the school has been conducted and feel that the superintendent, during the past year has not manifested toward the majority of us, that degree of kindness and interest in our welfare which we think we had right to expect. He has interfered in the local dissension in our tribe, not as a peacemaker, but as a partizan [*sic*], and has even refused to hold religious meetings with the opposite party.¹⁸

Because of their strong concerns, the Indians concluded that the \$3,750 annuity, set aside each year for the Presbyterian Mission school, could better serve the entire tribe if given instead for the operation of two or more Indian day schools. Finally, the chiefs, including

Fire Chief, Yellow Snake, No Knife, and White Horse, asked that William Hamilton not be placed in charge of the day schools and, if their first request were denied, that he should at least be terminated as superintendent of the Mission school.¹⁹

After being made aware of the Omaha chiefs' grievances, their agent W.P. Callon, wrote a letter to his immediate superior, Col. Hampton B. Denman, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Superintendency. Callon's letter heartily endorsed all of the chiefs' requests. Indeed, his letter described the success of two Indian day schools located at the neighboring Winnebago reservation. Consequently, Callon asked for the commencement of two Omaha day schools which he believed could easily accommodate 150 scholars, in contrast to the Mission school's fifty-scholar limit.²⁰

Callon's letter also related the events of the last year that pertained to the ongoing feud between the "young men's party" and the Indians of the "Big Village." According to Callon, Hamilton immediately involved himself in the quarrel over La Flesche's chieftainship and perpetuated the negative feelings within the tribe with his interference. For this reason, Callon asked for William Hamilton's immediate removal.²¹ Agent Callon reiterated all of his concerns in his Annual Report written for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.²²

After Superintendent Denman reviewed Agent Callon's letter, he sent his own thoughts to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel G. Taylor. Denman argued that the feelings of the majority of the Omaha tribe must be considered in this matter. He truly believed that because of all of the conflict, the Indians of the "Big Village" would no longer send their children to the boarding school; therefore, he recommended the closing of the Mission school and the introduction of two Indian day schools. If, however, the Commissioner decided against this suggestion, he asked that a replacement be sent for William Hamilton as superintendent. Denman asked for someone "who will work for the benefit of the Indians without mixing up in their quarrels, and who will endeavor to

cooperate with the Agent."²³ Interestingly, Denman wrote that he knew nothing of Mr. Hamilton, but was basing his recommendation on the representations of the Omaha chiefs and their Agent.²⁴

Hamilton defiantly denied all of the charges made against him. He accused both Agent Callon and Col. Denman of negatively influencing the chiefs against the Mission school. At one point, Hamilton even suggested that Denman, a Catholic, disliked Protestant missions.²⁵

The conflict with the Omaha chiefs took its toll on the Mission school's attendance. In February 1868, Hamilton reported an average attendance of forty-eight scholars -- nineteen girls and twenty-nine boys. Attendance greatly declined when members of the "Big Village" removed their children from the school and took them on the summer hunt. In one instance, the school only had fifteen scholars.²⁶ By the end of September, the number of students had rebounded to thirty-three and Hamilton reported that some members of the "Big Village" continued to come to him for medicine. Hamilton stated that in addition to the school's thirty-three students,

We have the promise of more, and some from the Big Village where the opposition was said to exist. I am satisfied the opposition is confined to a few bad men, who could easily be quieted if the authorities were so disposed. Even with the efforts made to break up the school, I hope to see it increased further.²⁷

Joseph La Flesche's steadfast support of the Mission school can be found in the pages of Hamilton's quarterly reports to the Board of Foreign Missions. For example, the following students were listed as attending the school for the quarter that ended September 30, 1868: Frank, Susette, Rosalie, Marguerite, and Lucy La Flesche.²⁸ Hamilton also described events such as the baptism of Susette La Flesche. In February 1869, Hamilton recorded the statements that Susette made just before becoming a member of the Mission church. According to Hamilton, she stated in part,

If God have mercy on me, help me, and hear my prayer, it will make me happy. When I think of the wickedness I have done in times past, I am filled with shame that I want to unite with the people of God.²⁹

The dissension among the Omaha carried into early 1869 and Hamilton continued to deny the charges made against him. The beleaguered missionary described the anger and concern expressed by Joseph's band. The members of the "young men's party" believed that the government "had cast them off" because of their support of the Mission.³⁰ When Hamilton met with Agent Callon at the end of February, the two men discussed the events of the previous two years, and Callon formally asked for Hamilton's resignation. Hamilton inquired about why he was not allowed to be present at the previous summer council at which the charges against him were first put forth. According to Hamilton, the agent had no answer.³¹

In the spring of 1869, a frustrated Hamilton reflecting on his possible removal, wrote:

I have no doubt God will take care of his own course and if he have work for me to do here, all the influence of the disaffected chiefs, and agents cannot remove me. He has baffled them thus far, and will baffle them till my work is done.³²

As William Hamilton waited for official word regarding the Mission school's future, major changes were being made in federal Indian policy in Washington. President Ulysses S. Grant, inaugurated in March 1869, had promised new reforms to benefit the American Indian. The President's reforms, later called "Grant's Peace Policy," included an end to the old Indian treaty system, the transfer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Interior Department to the War Department, the localization of all Indians on reservations, and a change in the appointment procedure for U.S. Indian agents.³³

Grant hoped to carry out his new proposals with the aid of his new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a Tonawanda Seneca chief, General Ely S. Parker. Although Grant advocated strong military control in the implementation of his "Peace Policy," Ely Parker

convinced the President to experiment with the appointments of a few of the agents. As a result, Quakers were appointed as agents, but only in the Bureau's Central and Northern Superintendencies. The Omaha Indian reservation was part of the latter.³⁴

All other Indian agents appointed under Grant's Peace Policy had extensive military backgrounds. It was not until Congress unexpectedly forbade all military personnel from holding civil office in July 1870, that Grant expanded his "experiment" and awarded the newly vacant Indian agencies to members of other Protestant denominations.³⁵

William Hamilton witnessed the implementation of Grant's Peace Policy first-hand when a new Indian agent, Quaker Edward Painter, arrived at the Omaha reservation in late May 1869.³⁶ Hamilton's first impressions of Dr. Painter were favorable. He found Painter to be a pleasant and conscientious man, one who would "labor hard to see justice done to the Indian." He also noted that Dr. Painter's wife immediately won the hearts of his daughters by her kindness.³⁷

Dr. Painter's initial impressions of William Hamilton and the Mission also seem to have been positive as well. In Painter's first Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he gave the Mission school commendatory marks.³⁸ In addition, a report made by a Quaker delegation that visited the reservation in August 1869 spoke highly of the Mission. The Quaker report which, in all likelihood, Painter endorsed, stated,

We think the school is doing a great deal of good, and wished those in charge of it to be encouraged in their arduous and responsible duties, for the welfare and improvements of these wrongly neglected people.³⁹

The report also went on to describe a "very friendly and satisfactory conversation" that the Quaker delegation and Painter had with Hamilton during their visit.⁴⁰

Hamilton's worst fear with regard to the Mission was realized when he received word at the end of June 1869 of the government's decision to cancel the school contract made between the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and the Omaha. Apparently,

the new Northern Superintendent, Samuel Janney, heavily relied on the last report of his predecessor, Col. Denman. And while Janney firmly believed that the Mission school had been extremely beneficial to the small number of children it served, he also thought the Omaha deserved a voice in the disposition of their funds.⁴¹

Although the Mission school was to close its doors in September, Superintendent Janney indicated a willingness to keep the school open if the Board would cover all of its expenses. Janney understood that some members of the Omaha, especially those from La Flesche's group, might wish to continue sending their children to the boarding school. In any case, Hamilton spent the summer waiting for the final decision from Lowrie as to the Board's intentions.⁴²

After being informed of the Government's decision to terminate the Omaha contract, John Lowrie wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ely Parker and suggested a modification of the existing agreement. Although the Presbyterians did not want to abandon their work among the Omaha, Lowrie realized that the Board of Foreign Missions could not afford to operate the school alone. Therefore, Lowrie proposed a change from the fifty-scholar manual labor boarding school to a new system which would include not only a twenty-five-scholar boarding school, but also two Indian day schools.⁴³ Lowrie explained that he had previously prepared this new proposal and was about to submit it to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but the present situation interfered with his original plans. Indeed, Lowrie had instructed Hamilton to prepare a yearly budget for such a proposal in 1868.⁴⁴ Unfortunately for Lowrie, Hamilton, and the Board of Foreign Missions, Commissioner Parker did not reverse the decision to close the Mission school.

The previous two years had been extremely trying for Hamilton. In addition to the difficulties he experienced with the feuding Indians, he had also been forced to deal with the loss of his first wife. In April 1869, Hamilton mentioned the return of a former Mission employee, Miss Etta D. Hunting, in one of his letters. By early August, Hamilton

informed John Lowrie of his impending marriage to Miss Hunting, thirty-six years his junior.⁴⁵ He said,

I had many thoughts of remaining single the rest of my life, unless the Lord should send me one [a wife], for I had no intention of making a special effort in that direction . . . His providence however seemed to place one within my reach, amiable and affectionate, and one who was willing to labour here. . . . After knowing me for over a year, she has become warmly attached to me, and her love is devotedly returned . . . We expect to be married on the 1st of September. My choice meets with the approbation of my children . . . My work now seems to be among the Indians, and in selecting a companion, I could not think of looking for one, who would draw me from this work.⁴⁶

After realizing that Lowrie's final efforts to save the school had failed, Hamilton wrote Agent Painter and, after one last attempt to refute former Agent Callon's allegations, he offered his assistance in future educational work.⁴⁷ Two weeks later, Hamilton offered the teaching services of his son-in-law, the Rev. Joel Warner, as well as the use of the Mission building. Hamilton told Lowrie that Painter seemed surprised by the offers but that the Quaker Agent promised to consider them. Hamilton concluded that if Painter refused to hire Warner, "it must be with the design to appoint teachers only of their own faith."⁴⁸ Painter eventually accepted Hamilton's overtures and Warner taught at the reservation's only day school in 1870.⁴⁹

The Mission school was formally closed on September 30, 1869. According to Hamilton, he dismissed all of the scholars except three girls, including Joseph La Flesche's daughter, Susette, who had asked to remain with him.⁵⁰ The process of ending the operation seemed to be much more involved than one might expect. Speaking of the difficulty of harvesting the farm's crops in October, Hamilton said:

It will probably take some time to secure the crops, and dispose of the movable property the most valuable of which is the stock. The large crop of corn I want to feed to the hogs, as there is no sale for it, but [there] will be for pork.⁵¹

With Warner accepting the position as government teacher, Lowrie decided that Hamilton, too, would remain at the reservation in the capacity of minister of the Mission church. Hamilton's duties included spreading the gospel to as many Indians as possible and in return, he continued to collect a salary from the Board of Foreign Missions.⁵²

Edward Painter spent much of his first year as agent carrying out the land allotment in severalty that had been stipulated in the Omaha's 1865 treaty with the United States. In addition to ceding a northern portion of their reservation to the Winnebago Indians, the 1865 treaty awarded each head of an Omaha family 160 acres of land, with each unmarried adult entitled to forty acres.⁵³ In his 1870 Annual Report, Painter praised the land allotment. Indeed, he believed that the allotment was responsible for the increased Indian interest in agriculture, education, and "all that pertains to the arts of civilized life." Although Agent Painter issued many land certificates, in the end, few Indians actually took their land allotments. The Omaha were not satisfied with the initial allotments because the certificates did not give them actual title to the land, only the right to occupy it.⁵⁴

Although greatly discouraged by the closing of the boarding school, William Hamilton truly wished the new Quaker agent well in his efforts to implement President Grant's new "Peace Policy." In early February 1870 Hamilton said,

I sincerely hope the efforts of our worthy president to civilize and christianize the Indians, directly and indirectly will be [met] with success. I do not conceive that the Quaker policy as it has been called, was adopted because any supposed superiority in them as a religious body or as a people, but they were the professed friends of the Indians and he looked to them to select honest men for agents, instead of trusting politicians.⁵⁵

In one of his last official reports written to Agent Painter, Hamilton expressed his high hopes for the prosperity of the future Indian day schools. He stated, "I would rejoice, if the system of day schools should be successful and be the means of advancing the education and civilization among them, and to this end will I labour as far as I may be able;

for if successful, the Cause I have at heart will be promoted thereby." Privately, however, Hamilton had serious doubts about the schools.⁵⁶ Only time would tell.

Hamilton spent the next year preaching to as many Indians as he could reach. He claimed that the Omaha women were much more devoted to the cause than the Omaha men. His new wife became extremely ill in the spring of 1870 and, at one point, the doctors believed that she was near death. By mid-summer, Hamilton complained about the lack of provisions and that the rats were once again destroying his corn and "taking possession" of the barn. He stated that, in many respects, it was much more expensive to live on the reservation than it would be to live in the nearby white settlements of Decatur, Lyons or Tekamah.⁵⁷

As Hamilton continued his religious efforts among the Omaha, the Board of Foreign Missions began to express an interest in the Ponca tribe. Like the Omaha, the Poncas were a Siouan-speaking people. In 1858 the Ponca ceded their hunting grounds to the United States, and reserved for their new home the land near their old villages on the Niobrara River.⁵⁸ In the spring of 1871, Hamilton wrote of apparent Ponca interest in the idea of having a missionary among them. As a result, John Lowrie instructed Hamilton to meet with the Ponca chiefs to discuss such a possibility.⁵⁹

Hamilton met extensively with the Ponca in the summers of 1871 and 1872. The first visit occurred while the Ponca visited their kindred Omaha friends at the Omaha reservation. The following summer, Hamilton traveled to the Ponca lands and interviewed most of the Ponca chiefs and principal men. Hamilton recorded each word of his interviews with them and he sent a detailed report to John Lowrie.⁶⁰

According to Hamilton, the Ponca expressed a strong desire to have a missionary among them. One of the Indians Hamilton interviewed, Standing Bear, stated that the government had promised the tribe a missionary, but one had never been sent.⁶¹ Hamilton listened intently and promised to present the Ponca case to John Lowrie and the Board of

Foreign Missions. However, he told the tribe that he could not guarantee the establishment of a Presbyterian Mission among them.⁶²

In March 1872, Hamilton sent John Lowrie a discouraging report of the previous year's activities. The missionary lamented that although many Indians still attended his religious services, they incessantly complained about how hard it was to be a Christian. A frustrated Hamilton wrote,

The work is great and I am painfully unfit for it, yet have no wish to leave it while I can do anything to advance the Cause.⁶³

As the years went by, William Hamilton watched with great interest the interaction between Agent Painter and the Omaha. Hamilton seemed quick to judge whenever conflict arose between the Quaker agent and the Indians. Although he had pledged his support upon their arrival, Hamilton probably harbored some resentment against the Quakers because of their control over the Indians' education.

After he had carried out the initial land allotment in 1869, Agent Painter urged the Omaha to sell 50,000 acres of land from the western part of their reservation. Painter wanted to use the proceeds from the land sale to fence fields, build houses, purchase implements, and maintain the new day schools about to be built.⁶⁴ In 1871, Edward Painter asked for almost \$50,000 to build just over 300 frame houses for the Indians. Less than half the number of homes Painter envisioned were ever completed and the quality of their construction suffered. As a result, when a Quaker delegation visited the reserve in 1875, they found many of the homes untenable.⁶⁵

Some of the first discouraging words written by Hamilton in reference to Quaker policy and Agent Painter were recorded in late 1871. A smug Hamilton seemed to take great pleasure in reporting the low average attendance of the reservation's only day school. At the time of Hamilton's writing, the reservation's second and third day schools had only recently opened. And although the day school attendance was never as high as originally

anticipated, it consistently averaged a greater number of students than the Presbyterian boarding school.⁶⁶ Moreover, the first reservation day school was taught at the old Mission by former Mission teacher Joel Warner. Hamilton did not seem to consider that the day school's initial low attendance may have been due to the Indian hostility toward the Mission.

Hamilton was also critical of Painter's involvement in the 50,000 acre land sale. According to Hamilton, a majority of the Indians did not support such a sale but felt intense pressure from the agent to follow his instructions. It was at this time, July 1872, that Hamilton first mentioned the possibility that Painter might be forced to resign.⁶⁷

A personal conflict erupted between William Hamilton and Edward Painter in the spring of 1873 after the former answered a series of questions on the status of the Omaha sent to him by the Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. Apparently Painter had been notified of Hamilton's responses and he confronted the missionary. In their private meeting, Hamilton defended his belief that Painter had spent the Indians' money unwisely. He was especially critical of Painter's statement that all of the improvements made by the Omahas had occurred only in the last three years.⁶⁸ Hamilton informed John Lowrie of the hostile episode with Painter. In an attempt to defend his position, Hamilton let Lowrie know that Agent Painter had once spent some time in an insane asylum.⁶⁹

The hostility between the two men continued to grow as the weeks passed. The harmonious relationship Hamilton described in 1869 no longer existed. For example, an angry Painter now blamed Hamilton for a letter signed by 140 Indians that asked for his removal. In like manner, Hamilton had charged Painter with incompetency when questioned about the agent by a Quaker delegation that visited the reservation in June.⁷⁰

Soon after the Quaker delegation left the reservation, Edward Painter succumbed to the increasing pressure and resigned as Indian agent effective October 1, 1873. His replacement, Theodore Gillingham, had been a Quaker teacher at one of the day schools.⁷¹

Shortly after Gillingham took office, Hamilton stated:

In my experiences, I have had to deal with several agents, who were at first friendly and glad to have me... but when I could not commend, because it was wrong, they turned a cold shoulder. Dr. Painter was one of them... It was a shame to keep him in office so long... I was pained the other day in going to the lower village to see the waste of timber, logs out and setting in the woods, evidence of his folly and want of judgment.⁷²

Hamilton had become fond of Theodore Gillingham, in part, because the new agent gave him a job vaccinating Indian children.⁷³ By early 1874, however, Hamilton had grown discouraged. There had been a marked decline in the adult Indian interest in Christian religion and Hamilton seemed especially concerned with his family's well being. The missionary's annual salary for the previous few years had been \$800, but his yearly expenses consistently exceeded \$1,000. He also noted that other missionaries refused to live on less than \$1,500. Having recently remarried, Hamilton now was faced with raising a new family. In addition to his new wife and seventeen-year-old son Willie, Hamilton now had two young daughters, four-year-old Lottie Ella, and infant Juliet.⁷⁴

Besides his regular expenses, Hamilton also purchased the wood for the Mission church and he provided the medicine for the Indians as needed. Because he could not afford to send Willie away to school, his son helped with the farming. However, 1873 proved to be an extremely disappointing year. Grasshoppers destroyed the oats and the potato bug destroyed the potatoes. The corn crop also suffered and Hamilton was forced to buy a supply from an Indian. When Hamilton wrote John Lowrie in February 1874, he stated that he had on hand only 8 bushels of corn; less than 50 pounds of flour; \$3 worth of sugar, coffee, and tea; and \$1 in money. The disheartened missionary knew he could not purchase any additional supplies until he received his next quarter's salary.⁷⁵

Hamilton also worried about affairs back at Bellevue. It seemed that his first wife had used an inheritance from her father to pay off the mortgage on the Hamilton home. Consequently, upon her death, the home and twenty-five acres passed on to her children.

Hamilton had leased the house since his relocation to Blackbird Hills, but the rent he received was low, and half of that went for property taxes.⁷⁶

In early 1875, a frustrated Hamilton wrote to John Lowrie, saying that he had tried for the last year to sell the Bellevue home for his children, but without success. His final tenant, a Mr. Halloway, had recently departed and, according to Hamilton, left the home "a wreck."⁷⁷ Because Bellevue had lost the battle for the Union Pacific Railroad Bridge, the hopes of its boosters that it would become a metropolis had languished. As a result, Hamilton aptly described the village when he wrote,

The town is looked upon as dead by the people. It might become a place of residence for the people of Omaha, if their prejudices would let them look at it.⁷⁸

Hamilton realized that it could be a long time before he was able to sell his former home.

On a positive note, Hamilton was extremely pleased with the advancement of one of his former pupils, Susette La Flesche, daughter of Joseph La Flesche. With the aid of a former Mission teacher, Susette had been able to travel east and study at the celebrated Elizabeth Institute in Elizabeth, New Jersey.⁷⁹ Susette had been depressed after the closing of the Mission school in 1869. In fact, she and two other classmates briefly stayed on at the Mission as extended members of the Hamilton family. Hamilton quickly recognized Susette's talents and let her read the limited number of books from his library as often as she liked. After Susette reached the Elizabeth Institute, Hamilton sent her George MacDonald's Within and Without, a long dramatic play written in verse. It became one of her favorite pieces of literature.⁸⁰

Hamilton beamed like a proud father as he learned of Susette's progress at the institute. He often asked John Lowrie to visit the Omaha girl and view for himself her progress anytime he was in New Jersey. In January 1875, Hamilton informed Lowrie of Susette's upcoming graduation in June. He stated that Susette had written Agent

Gillingham and requested a teaching position at the reservation, but she received only an ambiguous reply. William Hamilton now made it his personal fight to have Susette La Flesche appointed teacher among her own people.⁸¹

Hamilton immediately inquired about the agent's response to Susette's request. According to Hamilton, Gillingham replied that he could promise nothing and he doubted Susette's qualifications. Several times between January and June 1875, Hamilton praised Susette's teaching abilities. At one point, Hamilton suggested that if the government rejected her application, perhaps she could be hired to conduct a new day school at the reservation under the care of the Board of Foreign Missions.⁸²

Agent Gillingham consistently refused Hamilton's recommendations. Hamilton believed the agent refused his requests because of the jealousy found among current school employees towards Susette. Hamilton pleaded with Gillingham a final time on Susette's behalf shortly before her arrival back at the reservation. Hamilton argued that Susette was much more qualified than one of the present teachers, a Mr. Lee. Hamilton's arguments fell on deaf ears as Agent Gillingham again refused Susette an appointment as government teacher.⁸³ Eventually Susette was hired as an assistant teacher at one of the agency's day schools, but at a reduced salary.⁸⁴

Despite all the frontier hardships he experienced during his time among the Indians, William Hamilton had enjoyed relatively good health. Hamilton's good fortune changed for the worse in early 1876, when he suffered a stroke. After he recovered enough to write, he told John Lowrie of his condition. He stated,

I am sitting up most of the day and am improving... My left side and limbs show more weakness as I gain strength but my arm is most affected, but improving some. How thankful I am that it is not my right arm... I suppose it had been coming for some time. But I hope to recover entirely by God's blessing but not as soon as I thought... I still have a dizziness in my head.⁸⁵

Hamilton, who still had been depressed about the progress of the Indians, saw some hope for the future after suffering the stroke. Apparently, many Indians inquired about Hamilton's condition and visited him during his recovery. He related a few of these conversations in a letter to John Lowrie. According to Hamilton, one Indian spoke of a dream he had in which Hamilton died, but then returned to the Indians. In the Indian's dream, Hamilton supposedly said, "Christ has sent me back to teach the Indians."⁸⁶

Another Indian told Hamilton,

We feel sorry that you are sick. True we have not been very attentive to your words, but we feel that you are the only one that is trying to do us good.⁸⁷

By the summer of 1876, Hamilton was well enough to take a trip to Bellevue, although the missionary lamented that he would never again enjoy his former good health. At this time, Hamilton still experienced a "deadness" in his left arm and visits to several physicians offered little encouragement.⁸⁸ Before his stroke, he had found that some Indians were more attentive to his religious message if he delivered his sermons at their homes after the weekly Sabbath services. Unfortunately, Hamilton had been able to visit the Indians only once since his illness because of extreme fatigue. As a result, he encouraged the Indians to come to him because he realized that visiting the Indians would only become more difficult as they were "getting so scattered on their farms."⁸⁹

In early February 1877 Hamilton, for the first time since the Presbyterian Mission closed in 1869, mentioned the possibility of reopening the former boarding school. Although he presented no evidence to support his statements, Hamilton declared the Indian day school experiment "a failure." Hamilton believed that several among the tribe desired the reestablishment of a boarding school and he thought that the new agent, Jacob Vore, also supported the idea. Vore arrived at the reservation in September 1876, after Agent Gillingham resigned to take a mercantile job in Chicago.⁹⁰ Hamilton understood the

financial restraints now placed on the Board of Foreign Missions and, with that in mind, asked John Lowrie if the Board would consider operating a boarding school if the Indians provided all of the necessary funding.⁹¹

As Hamilton wondered about a possible reopening of the boarding school, he continued his preaching to the Indians each Sabbath. In addition to delivering his sermons, Hamilton continued, as he had done for the past forty years, to study and translate the scriptures from English to the Ioway language. Because of his age, however, the translation process proved to be even more tedious than before. Hamilton reviewed his previous Ioway translation of Matthew and, with the help of Joseph La Flesche and his wife, Mary, slowly translated the gospel into Omaha.⁹² Hamilton unwittingly referred to this tiresome work when he wrote, "I hope that my labour may be useful after I am gone."⁹³

Attendance declined at Hamilton's church services in 1878 after the agent opened a nondenominational Sabbath school at the Indian Agency. Susette La Flesche and her sisters assisted in the new school's operation. In the beginning, there was no conflict between the two services until the agent changed the starting time of his service to coincide with the Presbyterian services. Hamilton also attributed the decline to the fact that the Indians continued to settle to the west and the south, making the distance from their homes to the Mission even greater.⁹⁴

Hamilton ended the year, once again, concerned about his salary. Although all of his children from his first marriage were now grown and gone, he now had three small children with the addition of a new son, John. In 1877, Hamilton received a total stipend of \$950 -- \$800 in salary, an additional \$50 for each child, and \$50 for interpreting. With the addition of his new son, Hamilton expected an increase in income to \$1,000 annually.⁹⁵ He wrote of the difficulties incurred since the onset of his illness, including his need to hire all of the outdoor work done because he could no longer do it himself.

Understandably, Hamilton became distressed after being informed that his annual salary would now total only \$900.⁹⁶ Greatly discouraged he wrote,

I am not satisfied with what I do for the cause and I suppose I never will be. I don't want my salary increased, and I don't see how I can well get along if it were less, yet I feel it is more than my labours are worth . . . I have no other home, and no means to get one, yet he who has kept me this far will not forsake me now.⁹⁷

In the spring of 1879, William Hamilton unknowingly involved himself in a series of events that eventually led to a landmark legal decision: the first declaration that the American Indian was indeed "a person" and, as such, entitled to the protection of the law. What Hamilton had observed, beginning in 1877 and climaxing in the spring of 1879, was the illegal removal of the Ponca Indians from their native lands on the Niobrara to the Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma.

When Hamilton visited the Ponca in 1872, they were living on a 96,000 acre reservation that had been guaranteed by a treaty with the United States in 1865. Suddenly, however, in January 1877, the government informed the Ponca that they were to be removed to the Indian Territory as soon as possible. In 1868, the Sioux Indians reached an agreement with the United States in which the tribe was granted a large reservation encompassing the western half of present-day South Dakota. Unfortunately, within their reservation lay all of the Ponca lands. In addition, the Ponca were never told that their lands had been given away until the government decided it was time to remove them.⁹⁸

Several chiefs from the tribe, including Standing Bear whom Hamilton had met several years earlier, left for the Indian Territory in early 1877. The chiefs did not like what they saw once they reached Arkansas City and, as a result, they made the long journey home on foot. The government would not stand for this disobedience and, for this reason, sent the military to the Ponca lands with orders to remove the entire tribe to the

Indian Territory. Consequently, the Ponca Indians were removed from their ancestral lands in May 1877.⁹⁹

The change from the cool, dry climate of northern Nebraska to the hot, humid south took its toll on the Ponca. Indeed, within one year, one-third of the tribe, including the teenage son of Standing Bear, had died. Because he believed that his son should be buried next to his ancestors, Standing Bear and a small band of followers left the Indian Territory for their old home once more in January 1879. The midwinter trip was long and arduous, but the Ponca finally reached the friendly home of their kindred Omaha in March 1879. The sympathetic Omaha, also worried that the government would one day remove them from their lands, immediately granted Standing Bear and his followers shelter and provisions. They were about to plant a crop when the military authorities arrived to arrest them and take the Indians to Fort Omaha.¹⁰⁰

William Hamilton had been aware of the Ponca plight since 1877 when he first offered Standing Bear his support while the Ponca chief visited the Omaha reservation on his first trek back from the Indian Territory. Apparently at that time, Hamilton assisted in sending a telegram to Washington which declared the Ponca position. Unfortunately, that telegram had been ignored.¹⁰¹

Now as the Ponca were being rounded up for their journey to Fort Omaha, Hamilton, Susette La Flesche, and James Owen Dorsey, an Episcopal missionary and ethnologist living among the Omaha, pleaded for their release. Their efforts were futile, however, and the Ponca were taken to Fort Omaha and imprisoned.¹⁰² Hamilton again wired the Indian Office in Washington and asked for any assistance. Again, his request was ignored. In one last attempt at assistance, Hamilton, on April 13, 1879, interpreted and recorded an interview with Standing Bear in which the Ponca chief described the events of the previous two years.¹⁰³ James Owen Dorsey also presented the Ponca case to

A.B. Meacham, editor of The Council Fire, an eastern Indian-rights publication. Meacham responded and reprinted Dorsey's letter in the April 1879 issue of The Council Fire.¹⁰⁴

Another sympathetic ally offered his assistance to the Indians' cause. Thomas Henry Tibbles, assistant editor of the Omaha Herald, used his position to spread the story of the Ponca injustice to all who would hear it. It was Tibbles who obtained a writ of habeas corpus on Standing Bear's behalf. The writ demanded the freedom of the Ponca chief. Two respected attorneys in the city of Omaha, A.J. Poppleton and John L. Webster, offered Standing Bear their services in court.¹⁰⁵

When the case came to trial, the government argued that,

An Indian was neither a person or a citizen within the meaning of the law, and therefore could bring no suit of any kind against the government.¹⁰⁶

After listening to arguments from both sides, the judge ruled that,

. . . if the Indian must obey the laws of the land, then he must also be afforded the protection which those laws provide; that the term "person" in legal terms was meant to exclude no one, whether citizen or Caucasian, and that the habeas corpus suit was valid, the Ponca were being illegally detained, and they must be freed.¹⁰⁷

Even after their legal recognition as "persons," the Ponca Indians were still left without their original northern lands. As a result, T.H. Tibbles resigned his position at the Omaha Herald and devoted his efforts full-time to the plight of the American Indian. Accompanied by Standing Bear and Susette La Flesche, who had seen first-hand the terrible condition of the remaining Ponca in the Indian Territory, Tibbles and his associates spread the message of the American Indian in a series of tours in the East.¹⁰⁸

As Hamilton witnessed the tragedy of the Ponca unfold, rumors abounded about the closing of the Indian day schools and the reopening of the manual labor boarding school. In a letter to John Lowrie, Hamilton mentioned a visit from Indian Office Inspector Gene Hammond. According to Hamilton, Hammond inspected the Omaha agency and

went out of his way to call on the missionary. Hammond told Hamilton that it would be his recommendation that the manual labor boarding school be reestablished among the Indians. Furthermore, Hammond stated that if the Board of Foreign Missions were interested in "taking charge" of the old Mission school, the Board could expect his full support.¹⁰⁹

An excited Hamilton, eager to influence the Board's opinion on the matter, wrote John Lowrie one week later and reported,

The Indians are delighted with the thought of the school being established again. One woman with three children, a former scholar, remarked today, she almost wished herself a little girl again.¹¹⁰

In March 1879, Agent Vore visited the Mission and informed Hamilton of his instructions from Washington to examine the old Mission building to see what repairs were needed to reopen the boarding school. Hamilton complied with Vore's request and later estimated the costs of the repairs at between \$1,500 and \$2,000. Hamilton believed that the agent would perhaps recommend the commencement of two boarding schools, but he also theorized that if the agent had his way, neither school would be placed under his care.¹¹¹

In addition to the rumors concerning the Indian schools, stories also circulated about the possible consolidation of the Omaha and neighboring Winnebago Indian agencies. If such a consolidation occurred, both agencies would be under the control of one Indian agent. Hamilton thought the idea was a bad one as did several Omahas. Some of the Omaha were concerned because they did not want the present Winnebago agent, Howard White, to assume the duties of Omaha agent. Unfortunately, the Omaha had lost many horses to Winnebago raiders and the Indians were unjustly associating the seeming inaction of the Winnebago agent with the thefts. As a result, several Omaha Indians, including Joseph La Flesche, sent a letter to Washington and asked that the present

Winnebago agent not become the Omaha agent.¹¹² Their letter, reprinted in The Council Fire, did little to change minds in Washington. The two agencies were consolidated in June 1879, and Howard White became the Indian agent of the newly created agency the following July.¹¹³

This one seemingly unimportant letter, written by a small number of Omaha Indians, became the burning ember that ignited a major controversy between William Hamilton and yet another Indian agent, Jacob Vore. The battle between the two men played out in the pages of The Council Fire.

After defending his involvement in the interpretation and translation of the Omaha letter, William Hamilton leveled some strong accusations against then ex-agent Vore. In one instance, Hamilton charged Vore with not letting the Indians have any say in the education of their children. Hamilton inferred that the Indians were no longer happy with the Quaker-run day schools.¹¹⁴

Vore responded with a vicious letter of his own. The former agent reported how, after taking charge of the Omaha agency, he had been warned of Hamilton's "extreme sectarianism." Vore also denied Hamilton's charge that the Omaha wanted nothing more to do with the Quakers. He stated that he heard no such comments from the Indians. In fact, Vore argued that Hamilton only "mingled" with a small number of Indians who attended his services and his influence among the tribe was indeed minimal.¹¹⁵ Embarrassed by the personal vendettas being fought in the pages of his publication, editor Alfred B. Meacham of The Council Fire decided to let an impartial third party respond one last time in the hope of finally putting the matter to rest.

In the end, James Owen Dorsey's letter, published in the March 1880 Council Fire, generally defended the position of William Hamilton. Dorsey had been a resident of the Omaha reserve for almost two years; consequently, he had frequent contact with both men.

Dorsey spoke kindly of the treatment he received from Agent Vore; thus, it was with great reluctance that he felt compelled to respond to the former agent's charges.¹¹⁶

First, Dorsey attacked the "sectarian" charge made by Vore against Hamilton. Indeed, Dorsey found the opposite to be true, for the Episcopal minister had lived with the Hamilton family for over six months. According to Dorsey, Hamilton offered the Mission chapel to the visiting missionary anytime he wished to conduct his own religious services. In addition, Dorsey disputed Vore's misleading statement that only a few Indians attended Hamilton's religious services. He informed the readers of The Council Fire about Hamilton's sustained poor health. He explained that as a result of his partial paralysis, Hamilton's mobility had been severely limited, and thus the aging missionary could not lead as active a life as he had in the past.¹¹⁷

Dorsey concluded by giving examples of Hamilton's continued influence among the tribe. Dorsey said that a majority of the Indians, including members of both Omaha parties, still came to Hamilton for medical attention and that the Omahas had a greater confidence in Hamilton's medical skills than in those of the government physicians. Dorsey also noted that Hamilton furnished the medicine at no cost to the Indians.¹¹⁸ Whatever the basis for these observations, the editor of The Council Fire seemed to believe in Dorsey's impartiality. As in most conflicts between Indian agents and Hamilton, both parties were probably partly to blame.

By September 1879, the U.S. government officially decided to reestablish manual labor boarding schools among the Omaha. In addition to reopening the Presbyterian Mission school, the government hoped to open another industrial school at the Omaha Indian Agency. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions accepted a government contract to reopen their old school and John Lowrie set out to find a new school superintendent.¹¹⁹

John Lowrie realized that, because of poor health, William Hamilton could no longer be called upon to oversee the operation of the Omaha Mission school. As a result, Lowrie wrote to another trusted missionary, Hamilton's old friend and colleague, Samuel Irvin, asking him to assume the duties of school superintendent. Irvin, only six months younger than Hamilton, told Lowrie he would consider the request, but he did not know if his ailing wife could handle making the relocation.¹²⁰ In his reply to Lowrie, Irvin also described a recent visit he had with William Hamilton. He wrote,

It so happened that since I last saw you I had a chance to visit the Omahaw [sic] Mission. I found my old friend Hamilton more infirm physically than I expected, but his mind all right and as devoted to his work as ever.¹²¹

Eventually, Samuel Irvin accepted Lowrie's offer and Hamilton was elated with the Board's choice for school superintendent. Hamilton had told Lowrie that the Mission school repairs were to begin at anytime. However, when Irvin reached the Omaha reserve in late October 1879, nothing had yet commenced. Irvin visited Sioux City, Iowa, Omaha, and St. Joseph, Missouri and purchased supplies for the school. According to Irvin, he found most of what he needed in St. Joseph and, upon his return to the reservation, he discovered that the renovations were finally under way.¹²²

Irvin and Lowrie decided that Hamilton would help as much as he could in the operation of the Mission school, but that he would function primarily in a religious capacity. Hamilton did, however, suggest that Rosalie La Flesche, another daughter of Joseph, either teach at the school or assist in the care of the girls. He wrote,

Rosalie would teach here or take care of the girls . . . She is a good girl, much like her mother. So is another sister Maggie, both members of the church. Rosalie, in her 19th year, I may say, is the choice of the family. Kind, obliging and careful not to offend.¹²³

Over the years, Hamilton watched with great interest the development of the

La Flesche children. Although the relationship between himself and Joseph La Flesche was beginning to show some signs of strain, probably due to the stubbornness of old age, Hamilton always had a special affection for the La Flesche children.¹²⁴

In December 1879, Hamilton described a social event in which many of the La Flesche children were present. With his support of Joseph La Flesche still apparent, he wrote,

The employees of the Agency came over to spend the evening and with them Frank, Susette, Rosalie, and Margaret. In conversation, manners, dress, and everything else except the color of their skin, they did not seem inferior to their [unintelligible] sisters, and I think in intelligence surpassed many of them. What might have been the result among this people, if government, instead of supporting heathenism had thrown its influence in favour of the man who was the best friend both of government and the Indian. No one can tell.¹²⁵

The renovated Mission school finally reopened in January 1880. The school immediately reached its fifty-student limit and, as a related development, attendance at Hamilton's religious services significantly increased as well.¹²⁶ The last Quaker agent, Howard White, still hoped to open a second boarding school at the Agency, but his resignation in the spring of 1880 temporarily postponed any such plans. In any case, White's departure signalled the official end of Quaker involvement with the Omahas.¹²⁷

Irvin spent much of early 1880 back at his home in Highland, Kansas. His wife had never been well enough to make the trip to the reservation, and in May 1880, it appeared that she would never be able to complete such a journey. Therefore, sadly and with great reluctance, Samuel Irvin resigned as Mission superintendent effective June 30, 1880.¹²⁸ In concluding his resignation, Irvin, greatly concerned for the future of the newly reopened school advised John Lowrie:

Mr. Hamilton should never leave the Omahas as their spiritual instructor and guide, but his age and condition is such that he cannot look after the details of the boarding school as it ought to be done. Mrs. Hamilton in the care of her husband, children, and the school is over worked . . . It might be best for you to appoint Mr. Hamilton to the

religious care . . . of the Indians . . . and to appoint some younger man with a suitable wife to take the entire charge of the Boarding school work.¹²⁹

In June 1880, William Hamilton officiated at the wedding of Rosalie La Flesche and Edward Farley. Only thirteen months later, in July 1881, Hamilton was conspicuously absent at the wedding of Susette La Flesche and Thomas H. Tibbles. Susette had grown close to Tibbles while the two travelled together on their lecture tours in the East. It was upon Susette's return to the reservation that discord between her and Hamilton began.¹³⁰

Hamilton wrote Lowrie in May 1880 and told him of certain rumors surrounding the management of the Mission school. According to Hamilton, reliable sources stated that Tibbles wished to "overthrow" the present Mission staff and assume the duties of school superintendent.¹³¹ As he had during his conflict with Agent Painter, Hamilton wasted little time enlightening Lowrie with some unsavory details regarding Tibbles' personal life. In Hamilton's opinion, Tibbles left his first wife "destitute and in tears" when he joined Susette La Flesche on their speaking engagements. Moreover, according to Hamilton, when Tibbles refused his wife's pleas to return, she died. Hamilton further ridiculed Tibbles for not attending his wife's funeral. He told Lowrie that Tibbles was a man not to be trusted.¹³²

Especially distressing to Hamilton was the "change" in Susette La Flesche after her return to the reservation. The missionary who had fought so hard to send Susette to the Elizabeth Institute in New Jersey, now openly criticized her "eastern education and habits."¹³³ He described how Susette asked to live in the Mission attic upon her return because her family's home was small. After being at the Mission several days, Hamilton, for whatever reason, asked Susette if she kept a backgammon board in her room. She replied that she did, and an altercation broke out. According to Hamilton, he asked Susette,

'Do you intend playing [backgammon] in your room?' 'Yes.' 'Can you play alone?' 'No.' 'Then I would like that you should not play with anyone belonging to this house'... She replied with bitterness, it was her room, and she would do as she pleased with it, and had a right to do it, and would play with anyone who came into it... What would those Christian people in the east say or think, who gave their money to support this school, if they knew I did not allow the playing of backgammon which they also practiced...¹³⁴

Hamilton informed Lowrie of his conflicts with Susette and Tibbles because he worried that Susette would carry out her threat to "tell all" about the Mission to the influential eastern philanthropic organizations.¹³⁵ Interestingly, Hamilton was not alone in his dislike of Tibbles. Indeed, Susette's brother, Frank, now an elder in the Mission church, had accompanied his sister on one of her eastern trips and had instantly developed a loathing for Tibbles. It seemed that Frank did not appreciate the attention Tibbles gave Susette while his first wife was still living. Frank La Flesche, like William Hamilton, also did not attend Susette's wedding because he had received an appointment as a copyist in the Office of Indian Affairs. La Flesche probably would not have attended the ceremony even if he had still been on the reservation, so strong were his feelings toward Tibbles.¹³⁶ In any case, Tibbles did not become the new Mission superintendent, but Hamilton's association with this man was far from over.

Samuel Irvin and his wife visited the Omaha reservation in July 1880. Apparently, Mrs. Irvin's health had improved somewhat; consequently, Samuel Irvin was now doubting his decision to leave the Mission. In addition, John Lowrie also informed William Hamilton of the Board's decision to send him and his family to work among the neighboring Winnebago Indians. The Hamilton family was to have lived on the Winnebago reservation, but John Lowrie had been misinformed about available housing. As a result, Hamilton continued working at the Omaha Mission, before finally leaving in October 1880.¹³⁷ Still having no permanent home, Hamilton sent his wife and children to visit family in eastern Iowa, while he went to preach among the Ioway Indians at their

reservation in northeastern Kansas. While he was away, Samuel Irvin secured Hamilton a home for seven dollars per month in the nearby community of Decatur, Nebraska. There he was to live until a home could be built for him on the Winnebago reserve.¹³⁸

Before William Hamilton left the Mission in October, Samuel Irvin came to a decision he had already made only months earlier. Because of his wife's failing health, Irvin realized that he could not continue his labors among the Omaha. The discouraged missionary promised to stay on at the Mission, however, until a new superintendent could be found.¹³⁹ A reflective Irvin wrote to Lowrie,

Brother Hamilton and I will have to part again, but we are the same old tried and true friends, and at most it cannot be long and if I have anything to say about it I would like to be near him after we have passed over "the River."¹⁴⁰

As he prepared to labor among yet another tribe, no one can imagine the trepidation William Hamilton must have felt. Now a seventy-year-old man with a young family, this latest relocation would be much more difficult than any of his previous endeavors in 1838, 1853, or 1867. A discouraged Hamilton tried to look positively toward the future. Soon after he left the Mission, he wrote,

As long as the Board are not tired of me or discouraged, I am content to labour where they send me. This has always been my feeling and today while I have no home and nothing to call my own . . . I would not wish to exchange my work for any among the whites, not with the largest salary that any of our ministers get and this is not boasting.¹⁴¹

The Irvins and the Hamiltons were replaced by Mr. and Mrs. Homer Partch, who arrived at the Mission in December 1880 to assume the superintendency duties. Hamilton instantly took a liking to Homer Partch.¹⁴²

Hamilton returned with his family to Decatur in December 1880. Shortly after his arrival, he received a disturbing letter from John Lowrie. According to Lowrie's instructions, Mrs. Hamilton could no longer visit the Omaha reservation. Hamilton would

be allowed on the reserve to preach to the Indians, but his wife could not accompany him.¹⁴³

Hamilton had mentioned a charge of extravagance leveled against his wife by Susette La Flesche back in October, but he was shocked to learn that his transfer had been due, in part, to several accusations made against his wife.¹⁴⁴ Hamilton replied to Lowrie's letter with a twenty-four-page defense of his spouse. It seemed that a Mrs. Douglas, of the Ladies Board of Chicago, had received a contentious letter, later revealed to have been written by Susette La Flesche, regarding Mrs. Hamilton. William Hamilton wrote Mrs. Douglas and demanded to know the wrongs committed by his wife, but according to the missionary, he received only an evasive reply.¹⁴⁵

In his letter, Hamilton attempted to explain in detail all of the conflicts that had occurred at the Mission during the previous year. Hamilton's recollection only confirms that gossiping, personality conflicts, and jealousies still thrived among the Mission family. John Lowrie probably believed it would be best for all concerned to remove Hamilton and his family from an unpleasant situation.¹⁴⁶

Hamilton's departure, at first, worried the new Mission superintendent. Partch feared that Hamilton's "going away" might affect the continuation of the school. This apprehension soon passed, but he then found himself wondering how he should treat the Hamilton family. Partch found Hamilton to be "an excellent man," but at the same time, he viewed him as "very much under his wife's influence."¹⁴⁷ Understandably, Partch wrote, "I did not know anything of the trouble before I came here and if possible, I don't want any connection with it now."¹⁴⁸

The winter of 1880-1881 had been extremely severe in northeast Nebraska. Hamilton complained that he had not witnessed such a season since 1856-1857. In fact, he was still writing of huge snow storms as late as April 1881. While he waited for the snow to melt, Hamilton prepared building plans for the proposed Winnebago Mission.¹⁴⁹

However, unbeknownst to Hamilton, John Lowrie received a letter from John W. Peebles, a Presbyterian minister at Decatur. Peebles expressed deep concern over Hamilton's sustained ill health. He told Lowrie that Hamilton had suffered "two strokes of palsy" in the previous two years and that, at one point, it was thought that Hamilton "would never get up."¹⁵⁰ Peebles wrote Lowrie because he believed Hamilton could not handle the pressures associated with beginning a new missionary venture. He suggested that Hamilton stay in Decatur and, perhaps, establish a new congregation of Indians in town. Peebles stated that Decatur was well within reach of the many Omaha who had settled on the north side of town, just south of the reservation. In addition, if Hamilton stayed in Decatur, he could continue preaching at the Omaha reserve without severely affecting his health, due to Decatur's close proximity to the reservation.¹⁵¹

As a result of Peeble's letter, John Lowrie reconsidered his decision to send William Hamilton to serve the Winnebago. Indeed, he wrote Hamilton of the Board's probable decision to keep him in Decatur. Lowrie also asked Hamilton to prepare a statement of his overall health. Hamilton complied and sent a six-page reply.¹⁵² Hamilton's response to Lowrie's inquiry stated in part,

Were you to step in and see me you would likely say I looked remarkably well and healthy. So if you should see me in the pulpit, or riding to and from appointments, you might make the same remarks . . . But if you were to walk with me . . . [you would] find me stopping every hundred yards in evident pain . . . Severe pain in my left arm . . . going up into my breast, and effecting my breathing, and increasing in violence until I sit down.¹⁵³

Only eight months earlier, William Hamilton's wife had been banished from the Omaha reserve. Then in August 1881, Partch asked for approval to hire Mrs. Hamilton as a Mission teacher and William Hamilton as an interpreter. However, Partch did not know if the Hamiltons would accept his offer because they were considering a move back to Bellevue the following spring. In the end, the Hamiltons decided against returning to

Bellevue and instead, remained at their home in Decatur. In addition, it appears that Homer Partch's request to hire Mrs. Hamilton as a Mission teacher was denied.¹⁵⁴

William Hamilton spent most of 1881, when his health permitted, preaching to the Omaha Indians on their reservation. His Omaha translations of the New Testament also took up much of his time. By the end of the year, however, Hamilton found himself embroiled in yet another controversy. This latest dispute involved Joseph La Flesche and two of his children, Susette and Frank.¹⁵⁵

Hoping to put the matter quickly to rest, Partch arranged for a meeting between Joseph La Flesche and William Hamilton. During their encounter, Hamilton confronted his old friend and asked the reason for his anger. La Flesche referred to statements made by Hamilton about his daughter, Susette. Apparently, a bitter Hamilton accused Thomas H. Tibbles of controlling Susette's every action; therefore, he blamed Tibbles for the letter Susette sent to the Presbyterian Ladies of Chicago. La Flesche told Hamilton that the charges against his daughter were unfounded. Indeed, although he admitted that Susette sent the letter, he stated that she did so of her own accord. After hearing La Flesche's words, Hamilton "stood corrected" but noted that "Susette did not act towards Mrs. H[amilton], as she had done lately till she became acquainted with Mr. Tibbles."¹⁵⁶

Joseph La Flesche was also angered by Hamilton's unnecessary involvement in La Flesche family business. It seems that Frank La Flesche had married an Omaha woman a few years before and now he wished to divorce her. Hamilton believed that he could bring forth a "Christian solution" to the matter by meeting with Joseph La Flesche and Frank's father-in-law, Prairie Chicken. Both Joseph and Frank reacted negatively to Hamilton's interference, and Frank even sent Hamilton a mean-spirited letter. Hamilton defended his actions to La Flesche by stating that he had only been trying to help.¹⁵⁷

On the Sabbath immediately following their meeting, Homer Partch reported that Joseph La Flesche, his family, and two or three of his friends had not attended Hamilton's

religious service. In an ironic reversal from previous problems with the Omaha, Partch noted that the present dissatisfaction did not extend much beyond the La Flesche family. The Mission superintendent also hoped that the strain in the long friendship between La Flesche and Hamilton would be only temporary.¹⁵⁸

In the fall of 1881, the Omahas received Miss Alice Fletcher, a new visitor who would greatly change their lives. A student of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, Fletcher had been interested in Indian reform a long time before she met Susette and Thomas Tibbles on one of their first trips East. Fletcher showed an enthusiastic interest in studying Native American lifestyles and, as a result, the Tibbles invited her to join them on the Omaha reservation. Soon after her arrival on the reserve in September 1881, Fletcher embarked on a quick trip to study among the Sioux Indians. By early November 1881, she was back among the Omaha.¹⁵⁹

Soon after Fletcher's arrival on the reservation several Omaha Indians, including Joseph La Flesche, enlisted her help with the government in Washington. Under Quaker policy, many Omahas had been allotted land plots in the early 1870s. After witnessing the forced removal of the Ponca Indians to the Indian Territory, however, the Omaha became increasingly worried about the validity of their land certificates. Fletcher listened earnestly to the Omaha concerns and on December 31, 1881, she sent a petition, signed by fifty-three Omaha men, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The petition asked that the Indians be given clear and full title to the allotments of land.¹⁶⁰

Fletcher went to Washington and fought for the Indian cause. Although she believed that only those Indians who had zealously worked the land deserved secure land titles, the Act of Severalty that passed on August 7, 1882 declared that:

. . . Each Omaha man, woman, and child was to be given a portion of the tribal land, secured to him or her by a patent held in trust by the federal government for twenty-five years during which time the land could not be encumbered or sold.¹⁶¹

Because of her involvement in the creation of the Severalty Act, the government appointed Alice Fletcher special agent to the Omahas. Her duties included overseeing and surveying the allotment of the Omaha lands. Fletcher arrived at the reservation with her interpreter, Francis La Flesche, in May 1883.¹⁶²

During her first visit to the Omaha reservation, Alice Fletcher found few friends among the Mission family. Most of the missionaries, including William Hamilton and Homer Partch, saw her as a troublemaker intent on hindering their work among the Omaha. For example, Fletcher believed in sending as many of the talented Indian children as possible east for their education, a policy Hamilton, Partch, and even Susette Tibbles opposed.¹⁶³ In addition, Fletcher had written John Lowrie, among others, and lobbied for William Hamilton's complete removal from the Mission. It is little wonder that by the time Fletcher returned to the reservation for the land allotment, Hamilton referred to her as a "snake in the grass."¹⁶⁴

By early 1883, William Hamilton was beginning to wonder about his standing with the Board of Foreign Missions. In June 1882, John Lowrie wrote that, after much forethought, the Board had decided that Hamilton was "no longer equal to the work of a missionary among the Omahas."¹⁶⁵ The Home Mission Committee of the Omaha Presbytery concurred with the Board's judgment and in April 1883, it adopted the following statement:

After careful consideration, your Com[mittee] would recommend that, while we honor Bro. Hamilton for his past work and believe him capable of doing most effective work still, we request the Board of F.M. to appoint an associate missionary to labor with Bro. Hamilton upon the Reserve, and give his time to the spiritual interests of the Indians.¹⁶⁶

Although the Presbytery had recommended a second missionary to aid Hamilton in his work, Lowrie believed that the Omaha Mission needed only one full-time minister. As a result, Lowrie informed Hamilton of the Board's decision to reduce his salary to \$800

annually and eventually to \$600 within two years as a "retiring allowance" due to his poor health. Lowrie extended Hamilton the Board's sympathy and its hope that "he may still be enabled to engage in missionary work to some extent."¹⁶⁷

Hamilton reacted to Lowrie's news with much distress. He continually wondered about the motives behind what he believed was the Board's unexpected decision to retire him. At one point, he asked, "Could not the Board had waited until the Lord set me aside?" Eventually, the Board amended its decision and Hamilton's salary was not reduced as much as Lowrie had originally indicated.¹⁶⁸

In the end, Hamilton firmly believed that an outside party, for example, Alice Fletcher, had influenced the Board's sudden action against him.¹⁶⁹ Although Fletcher had lobbied for Hamilton's removal, it is not known how much influence she had on the Board's final decision. Hamilton's worsening health, as documented by his own letters and those of John Peebles, was probably the determining factor in Lowrie's determination to lighten the duties of his long-time missionary.

Not as easily understood was Lowrie's justification for reducing Hamilton's salary. Yes, Hamilton's labors among the Indians would be reduced, but the Omaha Presbytery still believed that Hamilton could benefit the Presbyterian cause. Lowering Hamilton's salary did not conform with statements made by John Lowrie only fifteen years earlier. In his Manual of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, Lowrie stated,

But while an infirm or aged missionary remains in the missionary field, though he may no longer be able to engage in the full work of his former years, his Christian example, his counsels, and his performing such active duty as he may still undertake may well justify the Church in continuing his usual salary.¹⁷⁰

With a young family to raise and little to call his own, it is understandable that Hamilton was beginning to feel abandoned by the organization for which he had served for the last forty-six years.

By the fall of 1883, several changes had taken place at the Omaha Mission. Homer Partch, upset because more and more of the children were being educated in the East, resigned his position as Mission superintendent and was replaced by Mission teacher Margaret Wade. The Board of Foreign Missions also decided to change the Mission school to a girls-only institution. Although several Omaha Indians asked the Board to continue accepting small boys, a request Margaret Wade favored, the change became official when a new contract between the Board of Foreign Missions and the U.S. government was signed in 1884.¹⁷¹

Also, much to the delight of many, Joseph La Flesche and William Hamilton reconciled their differences. After a long absence, Joseph La Flesche was persuaded by his daughter, Marguerite, to attend one of Hamilton's religious services in August 1883. After giving his sermon, Hamilton followed La Flesche from the Mission church and thanked his old friend for attending. He stated, "I am very glad you have come to [the] meeting. Ever since you said you would fight me, I have been praying for you."¹⁷²

Mary Barnes, a Mission employee, invited both the Hamilton and La Flesche families, along with several others, to a dinner following the church services. During the dinner, Joseph La Flesche stood up and offered to put his differences with Hamilton aside. According to John Peebles, after the two men shook hands, "There was not a dry eye in that little assembly."¹⁷³

After being informed that he could no longer adequately perform the duties of a full-time missionary, William Hamilton reluctantly accepted his lesser role with the Board of Foreign Missions. Although he preached occasionally at the Mission church, that weekly responsibility was eventually assumed by John Copley, Margaret Wade's brother. Soon after Copley's arrival at the Mission in May 1884, he was received by the Omaha Presbytery as a candidate for the ministry and placed under William Hamilton's tutelage.¹⁷⁴

Hamilton decided to devote all of his energies to preaching to the "distant and non-church going" Indians who were scattered throughout the southern portion of the reservation. Hamilton traveled tirelessly, going daily from house to house, to spread his religious message. The success he achieved during that first year can be seen in the statements of the new Mission minister, John Copley. He wrote,

Mrs. Wade and I wish to live more among the other division of the tribe. We believe a great work can be accomplished among them, as is shown by the faithful labors of Father Hamilton. The interest he has awakened among them is very encouraging to us... Indeed the general interest in the whole tribe, due to the hearty efforts of Mr. Hamilton, is very good. I have known Mr. Hamilton to be out ten miles from home visiting from tent to tent; and wherever he could get a hearing, when the thermometer was from fifteen to twenty degrees below zero.¹⁷⁵

Hamilton found it difficult to deal with the reduction in his annual salary. The Board of Foreign Missions had previously contributed a small stipend for housing and had paid for the services of an interpreter and buggy driver. Hamilton complained of having to borrow money from friends and of having to sell his final lot in Bellevue in order to cover his expenses. Hamilton had previously supplemented his income with occasional odd jobs from the government which included vaccinating the Indian children and serving as an enumerator for the 1880 U.S. Census. As the years passed, however, these opportunities diminished.¹⁷⁶

An indication of Hamilton's material condition can be found in the words of Mission superintendent Margaret Wade. In a letter dated November 1884, Wade described receiving a box of clothing and other donations from Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. Wade noted that William Hamilton lived briefly in Bellefonte and that a Mrs. Wilson inquired if Hamilton was the same young man she remembered. Wade wrote,

I felt very sorry that they did not know it, and know his circumstances before they sent the box, as they would probably have been glad to help him. They [the Hamiltons] live very plain but do not seem to be making any head-way toward getting out of debt. Their case is all the

more pitiable because Mr. Hamilton has always been so kind and generous to the Indians and everyone.¹⁷⁷

Hamilton's daily visits to the Indians were temporarily disrupted when he suffered a severe "hemorrhage of the stomach" in the summer of 1885. He continued to have difficulty reaching the Indians following his recovery due to the intensely cold and snowy winter of 1885-1886 and the high waters associated with the spring thaw.¹⁷⁸

Hamilton eventually resumed his religious activities, but he also spent much of his time studying, preparing, and revising his Omaha language translations. For years he had studied the Omaha language and had translated several books from the New Testament. By the spring of 1886, Hamilton had dedicated himself to publishing a book of hymns written in the Omaha tongue. He received little support for his efforts because the government advocated teaching the Indians only in English. However, with John Copley's assistance, Hamilton realized his dream and published his hymn book the following year.¹⁷⁹

In early March 1887, William Hamilton received sad news from Highland, Kansas. Hamilton was informed that on February 27, 1887, his beloved friend of nearly fifty years, Samuel Irvin, had "passed over Jordan, and gone before you into the promised Land."¹⁸⁰ Only a week before his death, Irvin had celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. He had remarked that if he lived only a few more days, it would be fifty years since he first came to "this neighborhood." In a letter to Lowrie, Hamilton wrote, "Of those with me when I went to the Iowa Mission, I alone remain."¹⁸¹

Hamilton spent his last years still preaching from house to house and working on his translations. He sent John Lowrie quarterly reports which described his activities in great detail. For example, in April 1887, the seventy-five-year-old Hamilton told Lowrie that his daily trips took him "as far as fifteen miles or more in different directions." He estimated that he had traveled almost 1,000 miles during the past year while spreading God's word.¹⁸²

Hamilton's quarterly report of March 1888 provided an especially descriptive account of his labors. He wrote in part,

I may say that during the past year, I have visited the Mission nine times . . . for the benefit of the church there . . . Besides these visits, I have spent 44 days visiting from house to house, reading, singing, praying with, and talking to them [the Indians] collectively and personally. During these days I have made about 219 visits, and conversed with or talked to 1,800 persons . . . These are mostly Sabbath visits . . . My weekdays are spent, as far as possible in the study and writing of the language and preparing for the Sabbath. I can see enough work in this line to keep me busy for years if God spares my life.¹⁸³

Although he was listed as a member of the Omaha Mission in an 1888 Historical Sketch of the Board of Foreign Missions, William Hamilton had not had any official authority over Mission matters for several years. This fact did not stop him, however, from offering his opinions regarding Mission business. Until his death, Hamilton answered all of John Lowrie's queries and continually offered his advice. In 1888, the issue in question concerned several rumors which suggested that the Indian agent had given his full support to a Catholic priest. According to the stories, the Catholics planned on assuming control of the Agency Indian schools. In one of his reports about the Catholic conflict, Hamilton told Lowrie, "I thought I would, at least remind you of the workings of Satan."¹⁸⁴

Rosalie La Flesche had written the Hamiltons in March 1888 and informed them of her grandmother Nicomi's death. Mrs. Hamilton responded and sent Rosalie the family's sincere condolences. Sadly, only six months later, William Hamilton lost yet another friend with the death of Joseph La Flesche.¹⁸⁵

An aging Hamilton constantly worried about his young family's future once he was gone. Still heavily in debt in 1889, Hamilton sent a desperate letter to the Financial Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions. Hamilton described his sorry situation to the Committee, stating that "If the Merchants did not trust me, I should have neither food nor

fire, nor anything else for support."¹⁸⁶ Hamilton asked the Committee for \$450.00 he claimed to have spent during his last six years of preaching among the Indians. A depressed Hamilton told the Committee,

Sometimes . . . I feel I have been so long in the service of the Board, that it would be a relief to them if I were laid aside. I cannot help this feeling at times.¹⁸⁷

Little more than two years after Hamilton had written those words, he was finally removed from the service of the Board of Foreign Missions. No one had forced him to end his laboring among the Indians, for he toiled until the very end. It was one last "attack of paralysis" and old age that ultimately took William Hamilton from the missionary work he had loved for so long. News of Hamilton's death on September 17, 1891 reached the pages of the Omaha World-Herald and the Omaha Bee.¹⁸⁸

Approximately 600 people attended William Hamilton's funeral at the Methodist church in Decatur, Nebraska. Of the area newspapers, only the North Nebraska Eagle survives from that time to give the details of his burial. It stated,

"Father" Hamilton, the veteran Indian missionary, died of heart disease last Thursday. For fifty-four years he labored among the aborigines; on August 1st, he had celebrated his 80th birthday . . . His family consisted of a wife and seven children. One of the children, a boy, lives at the former Mission or station, at Bellevue. People, white and red, came from a distance of fifteen to twenty miles to the obsequies on Sunday. The Indians expressed the wailing which has been their custom at the funeral of one of their tribe, and showed their grief in a deeper, while no less hearty fashion . . . Rev. Dr. Kerr, president of Bellevue college, preached the sermon, which was devoted to a sketch of the life of the revered missionary and the lesson it taught.¹⁸⁹

Hamilton's son-in-law, the Rev. Joel Warner, stated that during his sermon Rev. Kerr preached from Revelations 14:13, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."¹⁹⁰ Warner, remembering his father-in-law, wrote, "No man can measure the fruits of Father Hamilton's labor; eternity only will reveal them."¹⁹¹

Endnotes

¹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, October 18, 1867, American Indian Correspondence, The Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., Microfilm) Box A, no. 532.2. Hereinafter cited as AIC.

² William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 6, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 526. Either the date of the letter was incorrect or Hamilton meant to address the letter to "John Lowrie" because he wrote John Lowrie a letter dated January 5, 1868 and in it Hamilton expressed remorse at hearing of the recent death of Walter Lowrie.

³ Ibid.

⁴ William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 1, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 530.

⁵ Kristin Herzog, "The La Flesche Family: Native American Spirituality, Calvinism, and Presbyterian Mission," American Presbyterians 65 (Fall 1987): 224.

⁶ Norma Kidd Green, "The Make-Believe White Man's Village," Nebraska History 56 (Summer 1975): 243-244; Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Twenty Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1911), 633.

⁷ Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, 633; Green, "Make-Believe White Man's Village," 243.

⁸ Herzog, "The La Flesche Family," 223-224; Norma Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Family: The Children of Joseph La Flesche (Lincoln: Johnsen Publishing Co., 1969), 36; William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, April 20, 1866, AIC, Box A, 365. For a discussion of the conflicts between Indian Agent Robert Furnas and Joseph La Flesche that led to La Flesche's removal in 1866, refer to Green, Iron Eye's Family, 30-37.

⁹ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 6, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 526; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 1, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 530; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, 326..

¹⁰ William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 6, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 526.

¹¹ William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 5, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 525; Robert Speer, Studies in Missionary Leadership (Philadelphia: n.p., 1914), 43.

¹² Manuscript of the Rev. Joel Warner, photocopy found in the Sarpy County Historical Society, Bellevue, Nebraska, 4; J. Sterling Morton, and Albert Watkins, ed., Illustrated History of Nebraska: A History of Nebraska from the Earliest Explorations of the Trans-Mississippi Region vol. 2 (Lincoln: Jacob North and Co., 1906), 250; Ted

Landale, "Father Hamilton, Indians and Early Presbyterians," Omaha World-Herald Magazine, October 1, 1950, 5C; "Rev. Hamilton's Granddaughter Writes," Nebraska History Magazine 16 (April-June 1935): 114.

13 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 21, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 532; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 16, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 535; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 10, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 199.

14 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 1, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 530.

15 Norma Kidd Green, "The Presbyterian Mission to the Omaha Indian Tribe," Nebraska History 48 (Autumn 1967): 280; Report of H.B. Denman, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, 228.

16 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 16, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 531; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 7, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 531.5.

17 Copy of a letter from The Omaha chiefs to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, June 29, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 533.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.; Report of H.B. Denman, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, 228.

20 Copy of a letter from W.P. Callon to H.B. Denman, June 30, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 533. Callon had only been the agent for the Omaha little more than a year when wrote the aforementioned letter. In the Report of W.P. Callon, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867, 285, Callon stated that he had not yet formed an opinion of the mission school because he had not yet visited or inspected the institution. Consequently, Callon's negative view of the mission school emerged as the agent witnessed the dissension among the tribe during his first year among them.

21 Ibid.

22 Report of W.P. Callon, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, 240-241.

23 Copy of a letter from H.B. Denman to N.G. Taylor, July 9, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 533.

24 Ibid.

25 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 1, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 538; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 18, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 541.

- 26 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 1, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 530; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 21, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 541; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 30, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 543.
- 27 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 30, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 543.
- 28 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 3, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 153.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 3, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 153; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 26, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 162.
- 31 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 21, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 161; W.P. Callon to William Hamilton, February 24, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 160.
- 32 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 1, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 173.
- 33 Harold Faust, "The Growth of the Presbyterian Missions to the American Indian during the National Period," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 22 (September 1944), 113; Clyde Milner II, With Good Intentions: Quaker Work Among the Pawnees, Otos, and Omahas in the 1870s (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 2-3.
- 34 Milner, With Good Intentions, 2-4.
- 35 Henry E. Fritz, "The Making of Grant's "Peace Policy,"" Chronicles of Oklahoma 37 (Winter 1959): 428; Milner, With Good Intentions, 4. In addition to Clyde Milner's With Good Intentions, refer to the following sources for a more detailed study of Grant's "Peace Policy": Henry E. Fritz, "The Making of Grant's "Peace Policy,"" Chronicles of Oklahoma 37 (Winter 1959): 411-432; Joseph E. Illick, "'Some of Our Best Indians Are Friends...': Quaker Attitudes and Actions Regarding the Western Indians during the Grant Administration," Western Historical Quarterly 2 (July 1971): 283-294; and Raynor Wickersham Kelsey, Friends and the Indians: 1655-1917 (Philadelphia: Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917), 162-200.
- 36 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 2, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, 187; Orrin C. Painter, William Painter and His Father, Dr. Edward Painter: Sketches and Reminiscences (Baltimore: Arundel Press, 1914), 129.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Report of Dr. Edward Painter, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869, 345.

39 "Quaker Report on Indian Agencies in Nebraska, 1869," Reprint of the Society of Friends Delegation Report, Nebraska History 54 (Summer 1973): 182; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 16, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 204.

40 "Quaker Report," 183.

41 Report of William Hamilton, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869, 334; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 16, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 204; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 7, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 209.

42 Report of Samuel Janney, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869, 334; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 12, 1869, AIC, Box B., vol. 1, no. 202.

43 John Lowrie to Ely Parker, August 26, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 205.

44 Ibid.; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 16, 1868, AIC, Box A, no. 531.

45 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 12, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 178; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 10, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 199; Landale, "Father Hamilton, Indians and Early Presbyterians," 5C.

46 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 10, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 199.

47 Copy of a letter from William Hamilton to Edward Painter, September 6, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 208.

48 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 24, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 212.

49 Report of Edward Painter, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870, 252; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 21, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 221.

50 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 21, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 221; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 25, 1870, AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 5.

51 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 21, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 221.

52 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 7, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 209; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 21, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 221.

- 53 Milner, With Good Intentions, 160-161; U.S. Statutes at Large, XIV, 667.
- 54 Report of Edward Painter, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870, 250; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 19, 1875, AIC, Box N, no. 211.
- 55 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 11, 1870, AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 13.
- 56 William Hamilton to Edward Painter, October 17, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 220; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, November 4, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 226.
- 57 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 11, 1870, AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 13; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 18, 1870, AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 30; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 6, 1870, AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 37. For a discussion of the early white settlements of present-day Burt County, Nebraska, refer to Morton and Watkins, ed., Illustrated History of Nebraska, vol. 2, 402-411.
- 58 Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, 51; U.S. Statutes at Large, XII, 997.
- 59 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 15, 1871, AIC, Box Q, vol. 6, no. 112; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 28, 1871, AIC, Box O, no. 3.
- 60 "Ponca Indians-Report of their Speeches to the Rev. William Hamilton, of the Presbyterian Mission to the Omaha, Kindred Tribe on his Recent Visit," June 1872, AIC, Box L, no. 207; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 21, 1871, June 24, 1871, June 28, 1871, AIC, Box O, no. 3; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 28, 1872, AIC, Box L, no. 203.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 1, 1872, AIC, Box L, no. 67.
- 64 Report of Edward Painter, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, 445-446; Report of Edward Painter, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872, 221; Milner, With Good Intentions, 162.
- 65 Milner, With Good Intentions, 163-164.
- 66 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, November 9, 1871, AIC, Box Q, vol. 8; Report of Joel Warner, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, 449;

Report of Samuel Janney, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, 445.

67 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 26, 1872, AIC, Box L, no. 228; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 1, 1872, AIC, Box L, no. 265.

68 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 14, 1873, AIC, Box M, no. 117; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 21, 1873, AIC, Box M, no. 141. According to Milner, With Good Intentions, 31, Congress established the Board of Indian Commissioners during April 1869 in response to President Grant's Peace Policy. The board, composed of ten independent citizens selected by the President, shared control with the Secretary of Interior of the disbursement of funds appropriated for the Indians.

69 Ibid.

70 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, November 3, 1869, AIC, Box B, vol. 1, no. 227; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 21, 1873, AIC, Box M, no. 141; William Hamilton to William Rankin, June 30, 1873, AIC, Box N, no. 18.

71 William Hamilton to William Rankin, June 30, 1873, AIC, Box N, no. 8; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 11, 1873, AIC, Box M, no. 304.

72 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 11, 1873, AIC, Box M, no. 304.

73 Ibid.

74 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 6, 1874, AIC, Box N, no. 42.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 19, 1875, AIC, Box N, no. 211.

78 Ibid.

79 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 46; Dorothy Clarke Wilson, Bright Eyes: The Story of Susette La Flesche, an Omaha Indian (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974), 109; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 21, 1873, AIC, Box M, 141. There seems to be some disagreement as to when Susette La Flesche left for the Elizabeth Institute. Norma Kidd Green, in Iron Eye's Family, gives the year 1869, while Dorothy Clarke Wilson in Bright Eyes, states that it was some time in 1872. Hamilton wrote in January 1870 (AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 5) that Susette and Mary and Sara Tyndall had stayed on with him after the closing of the Mission school. In July 1870, (AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 37), Hamilton stated that the girls stayed with him all winter and had just left in the spring. He does not, however, mention where Susette had gone. In a letter dated May 21, 1873 (AIC, Box M, no. 141), Hamilton stated that Susette "has gone to a female seminary at Elizabeth, New

Jersey." He later stated in a June 8, 1875 letter (AIC, Box N, no. 281), in reference to Susette's time in New Jersey, that "The Friends have kindly supported her for these two years." This seems to confirm that she left for the school in early 1873.

80 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 48; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 25, 1870, AIC, Box B, vol. 2, no. 5; Wilson, Bright Eyes, 110.

81 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 19, 1875, AIC, Box N, no. 211; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 14, 1875, AIC, Box N, 247.

82 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 14, 1875, AIC, Box N, no. 247.

83 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 8, 1875, AIC, Box N, no. 281; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 29, 1875, AIC, Box N, no. 289; Wilson, Bright Eyes, 117.

84 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 49.

85 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 6, 1876, AIC, Box C, no. 202.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 19, 1876, AIC, Box C, no. 241.

89 Ibid.

90 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 2, 1877, AIC, Box C, no. 303; Milner, With Good Intentions, 165.

91 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 2, 1877, AIC, Box C, no. 303.

92 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 5, 1877, AIC, Box C, no. 318.

93 Ibid.

94 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 5, 1878, AIC, Box E, no. 12.

95 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 18, 1878, AIC, Box E, no. 62; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 5, 1878, AIC, Box E, no. 101.

96 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 5, 1878, AIC, Box E, no. 101.

97 Ibid.

98 Alice Fletcher, "Standing Bear," The Indian School Journal 9 (March 1909): 17; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 56; Charles Kappler, comp., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 875-876, 998.

99 Fletcher, "Standing Bear," 18; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 56.

100 Fletcher, "Standing Bear," 18; James T. King, "'A Better Way': General Crook and the Ponca Indians," Nebraska History 50 (Fall 1969): 242; T.H. Tibbles, The Ponca Chiefs: An Account of the Trial of Standing Bear (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 16; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 51.

101 Wilson, Bright Eyes, 134-135; Tibbles, Ponca Chiefs, 9, 59.

102 Wilson, Bright Eyes, 162-164.

103 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 58; Tibbles, Ponca Chiefs, 17.

104 Letter of James Owen Dorsey, The Council Fire, 2 (April 1879): 61.

105 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 58; King, "A Better Way," 247; Fletcher, "Standing Bear," 18.

106 King, "A Better Way," 247.

107 Ibid., 250.

108 Fletcher, "Standing Bear," 19; King, "A Better Way," 252; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 60-62; Etta Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 18, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 198.

109 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 7, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 118.

110 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 14, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 125.

111 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 21, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 140; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, AIC, May 2, 1879, Box E, no. 159.

112 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 2, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 159; "Plain Talk by the Omahas," The Council Fire, 2 (September 1879): 139.

113 Report of Howard White, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879, 106, 108; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 28, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 173.

114 Letter of William Hamilton, The Council Fire, 2 (December 1879): 190-191.

115 Letter of Jacob Vore, The Council Fire, 3 (January 1880): 12.

- 116 Letter of James Owen Dorsey, The Council Fire, 3 (March 1880): 43.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 4, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 204; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 10, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 210; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 1, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 224; Milner, With Good Intentions, 181.
- 120 Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, September 6, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 206. According to David Harold McCleave, "A History of the Indian Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas," The Aereud 13-14 (1944-1945): 55, 61, Irvin had labored among the Ioway Indians until the Mission closed in 1866. Irvin and his wife had remained in Highland, Kansas, however, and had concentrated their efforts on Highland University, a college that had been run by the Synod of Kansas.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 15, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 214 1/2; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, November 3, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 225; Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, November 7, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 243.
- 123 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, September 27, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 222.
- 124 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 164.
- 125 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 18, 1879, AIC, Box E, no. 241. For a more detailed look at Frank La Flesche's experiences among the Presbyterian missionaries, refer to Frank La Flesche, The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).
- 126 Letter of James Owen Dorsey, The Council Fire 3 (March 1880): 43; Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, February 8, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 188.
- 127 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 12, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 204; Milner, With Good Intentions, 181.
- 128 Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, May 13, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 220.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Green, Iron Eye's Family, 64; Wilson, Bright Eyes, 282; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 14, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 221.

- 131 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 14, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 221; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 25, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 227.
- 132 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 14, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 221.
- 133 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 25, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 227.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Ibid.; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 64; Wilson, Bright Eyes, 282-283.
- 137 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 4, 1880, AIC, Box F, no. 290; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 31, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 290; Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, August 31, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 278.
- 138 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 31, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 280; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 5, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 316; Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, November 1, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 326; Tim Sinclair to John Lowrie, November 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 338.
- 139 Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, September 7, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 290.
- 140 Samuel Irvin to John Lowrie, September 30, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 314.
- 141 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 29, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 325.
- 142 Tim Sinclair to John Lowrie, December 27, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 350; Homer Partch to John Lowrie, January 5, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 40; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 3, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 37.
- 143 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 10, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 45.
- 144 Ibid.; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 5, 1880, AIC, Box D, no. 316.
- 145 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 10, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 45.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Homer Partch to John Lowrie, January 5, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 40; Homer Partch to John Lowrie, March 4, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 97.
- 148 Homer Partch to John Lowrie, January 5, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 40.

149 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, February 18, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 87; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 30, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 117; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 6, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 128; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 11, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 135.

150 John W. Cunningham, "History of Decatur, Nebraska, to 1909," (Masters thesis, University of Nebraska, 1934), 52; John Peebles to John Lowrie, April 19, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 142.

151 John Peebles to John Lowrie, April 19, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 142.

152 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, May 10, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 164. Although Lowrie opted against sending Hamilton to the Winnebago reservation, the Board of Foreign Missions still established a mission among the Winnebago in 1881 under the ministry of Rev. Samuel N. Martin.

153 Ibid.

154 Homer Partch to John Lowrie, August 1, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 221; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 3, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 319.

155 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 18, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 216; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 19, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 282.

156 Homer Partch to John Lowrie, December 1, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 317; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 3, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 319.

157 Ibid.; Copy of letter from William Hamilton to Francis La Flesche, December 3, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 319.

158 Homer Partch to John Lowrie, December 1, 1881, AIC, Box F, no. 317.

159 Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "The Lady From Boston and the Omaha Indians," American West 3 (Fall 1966): 33; Joan Mark, A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 36, 70.

160 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, January 19, 1875, AIC, Box N, no. 211; Mark, Stranger in Her Native Land, 70; Alice Fletcher, "Lands in Severalty to the Indians: Illustrated by Experiences with the Omaha Tribe," Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science 33 (1885): 659.

161 Mark, Stranger in Her Native Land, 76.

162 Lurie, "Lady From Boston," 81; Mark, Stranger in Her Native Land, 89.

163 Mark, Stranger in Her Native Land, 90, 127; Homer Partch to John Lowrie, April 14, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 59.

164 Journal of William Hamilton, July 15, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 234; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 23, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 191; Mark, Stranger in Her Native Land, 127.

165 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 23, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 191.

166 Report of the Presbytery of Omaha, April 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 64.

167 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, October 23, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 191.

168 Ibid. Hamilton's previous compensation had been \$1,200 annually. This included a \$100 housing allowance, \$150 children allowance, \$100 team hire allowance, and a \$50 interpreter allowance. In the end, Hamilton's annual compensation was only reduced to \$950 annually; \$800 annual salary and a \$150 children allowance; not the \$600 as Lowrie first mentioned.

169 Ibid.

170 John Lowrie, A Manual of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (New York: William Rankin Jr., 1868), 26.

171 Homer Partch to John Lowrie, June 4, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 86; Margaret Wade to John Lowrie, August 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 126; Letter from the Omaha Indians to John Lowrie, October 20, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 187; Norma Kidd Green, "The Presbyterian Mission to the Omaha Indian Tribe," Nebraska History 48 (Autumn 1967): 281; Historical Sketch of the Missions Under the Care of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 18; Report of George Wilkinson, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885, 135.

172 Journal of William Hamilton, July 15, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 234.

173 Ibid.; Margaret Wade to John Lowrie, August 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 126; John Peebles to John Lowrie, August 17, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 151.

174 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 19, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 226; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 24, 1884, AIC, Box H, no. 19; John Copley to John Lowrie, June 16, 1884, AIC, Box H, no. 12; John Copley to John Lowrie, October 1, 1884, AIC, Box H, no. 83.

175 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 19, 1883, AIC, Box G, no. 226; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, June 24, 1884, AIC, Box H, no. 19; John Copley to John Lowrie, March 24, 1885, AIC, Box H, no. 171; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 23, 1885, AIC, Box H, no. 222; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, December 30, 1885, AIC, Box H, no. 263.

176 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 21, 1884, AIC, Box G, no. 317; Bureau of the Census, The Census of 1880, District 2, Blackbird Hills Indian Reservation, 2.

177 Margaret Wade to John Lowrie, November 19, 1884, AIC, Box H, no. 192.

178 John Copley to John Lowrie, August 4, 1885, AIC, Box H, no. 255; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 30, 1886, AIC, Box 11, vol. 4, no. 24; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 6, 1886, AIC, Box 11, vol. 4, no. 27.

179 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, August 17, 1886, AIC, Box 11, vol. 4, no. 33; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 18, 1887, AIC, Box J, no. 61; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 5, 1887, AIC, Box J, no. 72; Landale, "Father Hamilton, Indians and Early Presbyterians," 5C.

180 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 10, 1887, AIC, Box J, no. 45 1/2.

181 *Ibid.*; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 9, 1887, AIC, Box J, no. 45.

182 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 8, 1887, AIC, Box J, no. 61

183 William Hamilton to John Lowrie, March 10, 1888, AIC, Box J, no. 133

184 Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, An Historical Sketch of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1837-1888 (New York: C.H. Jones and Co., 1888), 14; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 17, 1888, AIC, Box J, no. 159; William Hamilton to John Lowrie, July 30, 1888, AIC, Box J, no. 160. For a more detailed look at the Presbyterian-Catholic conflict, refer to the Omaha Missionary letters found in Box J of the AIC for 1887-1888.

185 Etta Hamilton to Rosalie La Flesche, March 26, 1888, Miscellaneous Correspondence, La Flesche, Joseph and Family Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska; "Joseph La Flesche," Southern Workman 17 (December 1888), 27; Norma Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Family, 98.

186 William Hamilton to the Financial Committee of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, February 1889, AIC, Box J, no. 129.

187 Ibid.

188 "Rev. Hamilton Dead," Omaha World-Herald, September 19, 1891, 1; "Special Telegram to the Bee," Omaha Bee, September 19, 1891, 3.

189 North Nebraska Eagle, September 24, 1891, 5.

190 Manuscript of the Rev. Joel Warner, photocopy found in the Sarpy County Historical Society, Bellevue, Nebraska, 4.

191 Ibid.

Conclusion

A few years before his death in 1891, William Hamilton reflected on his fifty years of living and laboring among the Iowa and Omaha Indians. He said, "As to the fruits of this work, it is hard to decide. Eternity alone will tell."¹ Over a century has passed since Hamilton's death, and judging the results of his efforts among the Indians remains just as difficult.

That William Hamilton was able to labor among the Indians with any success is itself a great accomplishment. From the moment he first set foot on Kansas soil, he was forced to devote all of his energies to his own survival and that of his family. Day after day, year after year, nearly all of Hamilton's time went toward performing such strenuous manual labor as the planting and harvesting of crops, and the construction and repair of barns, homes, and fences. The unexpected deaths of family members and friends and the constant battles with illness contributed to the everyday pressures of living in a remote land among an unknown people. Being able to establish and operate viable Indian boarding schools and learn to read and write in the Iowa and Omaha languages are even more remarkable feats in view of the hardships which Hamilton and his family endured.

When William Hamilton received his assignment from the Board of Foreign Missions in 1837, he did so with the understanding that his primary duty was to christianize and "civilize" the American Indians with whom he came in contact. As the Indian country was opened to white settlement, however, Hamilton was forced to accept new roles and responsibilities he could not have anticipated.

The Board of Foreign Mission's acquisition of land in Bellevue in 1854 and the later move of the Omaha people northward to a permanent reservation transformed Hamilton from a missionary into a frontier town booster. As a champion of Bellevue, he fought losing battles for the location of the territorial capital and the construction of the Union Pacific

Railroad bridge into his community. He also aided the citizens of Council Bluffs in their negotiations with the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company.

At times during his missionary career, Hamilton's education and position required him to perform activities in which he had little experience or training. Walter Lowrie entrusted him with such complicated assignments as the surveying of the Board's land in Bellevue. He was also responsible for the care and the sale of the land lots once they were platted. Hamilton's control over these financially sensitive matters is surprising in view of the criticism that had been leveled against him regarding his competency in money matters while at the Ioway Mission.

During his many years among the Indians, Hamilton never abandoned the primary goal of the Board of Foreign Missions: to transform the Indian into an upstanding and economically independent member of American society. Although Hamilton fervently believed that total Indian assimilation could only be achieved through Presbyterian religious and educational efforts, his attempts at converting and "civilizing" the Iowa and Omaha Indians seemed to bring only ordinary results. Hamilton's limited success at educating the Indians can be attributed, in part, to his unwillingness to incorporate any Indian customs or traits into his Christian teachings.² Only after he decided to teach the Indians in their native tongue, did Hamilton witness some positive progress. Had he been willing to accept any of their traditional beliefs and embody them into his teachings, his success among the Indians might have been much greater.

As the years passed, Hamilton became possessive of the Indians among whom he labored for so long. He believed that only the Board of Foreign Missions truly had the best interests of the Indians at heart. Consequently, as other groups such as Catholics and Quakers, attempted to work among the Indians, Hamilton was always quick to identify their failings. He seemed especially resentful of anthropologist Alice Fletcher's influence among the Omaha Indians in part because of her different beliefs regarding Indian education.

Whatever the paternalistic shortcomings of William Hamilton's efforts among the Iowa and Omaha Indians, his genuine affection for these peoples cannot be denied. It was Hamilton's sincere concern for the Indians' welfare in 1867 that brought him back into the service of the Board of Foreign Missions even though more lucrative offers abounded. And it was this same concern and unswerving faith in God that enabled him to labor among the Indians until the end of his life.

William Hamilton could not have imagined the immense wealth of information he was leaving behind as he wrote in his journals and penned his hundreds of letters to New York. Indeed, many of his ethnographic descriptions of traditional Indian customs and beliefs have been found only in the pages of his writings. In addition to his Indian records, Hamilton's letters also recounted several key events of frontier and early history, including the Great Western Migration of the 1840s, the white settlement of the Nebraska Territory, Bellevue's fight for the territorial capital, and the Ponca tragedy of the 1870s. Two of Nebraska's oldest buildings, the William Hamilton residence and the First Presbyterian Church of Bellevue, still stand as reminders of Hamilton's important role in Bellevue's early history.

During his fifty-four years among the Iowa and Omaha Indians, Hamilton witnessed great cultural and historical change. When he and his wife reached the Kansas prairies in 1837, they were on the fringes of the American frontier. Yet, upon his death in 1891, America's "manifest destiny" had long since been fulfilled. Although he died believing that there was still much left to be done, William Hamilton lived out his last days among the Indians as he had his first years in the trans-Missouri country: preaching the Gospel to all who would listen.

Endnotes

- ¹ William Hamilton to John Lowrie, April 8, 1887, AIC, Box J, no. 61.
- ² Michael C. Coleman, Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837-1893 (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1985), 175.

APPENDIX

Appendix One

Two other poems by William Hamilton survive.

This untitled poem, dated November 1856, was written after a terrible snowstorm which delayed one of Hamilton's trips up to Blackbird Hills:

Tired and weary,
 While sitting half, and half reclining,
 But yet not at my lot repining,
 Though tis dreary,
 Traveling along from day to day,
 O'er hills and streams without a way,
 So far from all I love to roam
 Yet 'tis not far from All I love
 For there's ever

A Friend who in Life's journey's by me,
 Sometimes to cheer, sometimes to try me,
 But who never
 Forsaketh those who trust in Him,
 Though oft their way seems very dim,
 Nor tries his own their strength above.

Hard and uneven is my bed,
 But how many
 Have a much harder one to lie on
 And harder still to die on.
 Few, if any
 Now fare as hard as He who gave
 His life our ruined world to save
 Yet had "not where to lay his head"

Calm as upon my own soft bed
 I lay me down.
 No fear disturbs my sweet repose
 God keeps me safe from all my foes
 Nor does he frown,
 But shows e'en here, his smiling face,
 And then bestows his richest grace,
 Through him who suffered in my stead.

The poem was taken from William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, AIC, Box 4, vol. 2, no. 34, November 26, 1856.

This second poem was written on New Years Eve, 1875:

Reflections at the Close of the Year

O I am weary, all my bones are aching,
And aching, even when I'm sitting still;
Although, through all my life, I've been partaking
Much more of what is good, than what is ill.

I lay me down to rest, but am not rested,
I wake, and the same journey still renew;
Lo much of what I've done in life's detested,
Yet the same fruitless path, I oft pursue.

My years are passing swiftly; age is creeping,
By slow, but sure degrees, in every vein;
I feel it when awake, and when I'm sleeping
I feel it, and of weariness complain.

This Tabernacle, frame work of the spirit,
Gives signs that it must soon be taken down;
When it is laid aside, shall I inherit
That which is spirited and wear a crown?

I know there is a crown, even one of glory,
Laid up in Heaven for those who love the Lord;
I love to read of it, in that sweet story,
That tells of Jesus, the Eternal Word.

My heart dwells more upon it, as I'm growing,
Older and weaker, as each day I love;
I would be always ready, since, not knowing,
How soon, to me, that crown, my Lord may give.

It is for those who love their Lord appearing,
Laid up in Heaven, and safe with Christ, in God,
As life is led with him; wait then, not fearing,
My Soul; - Thy comfort is his staff and rod.

Each day when ended, brings my heaven nearer,
And nearer too, the time, when sin no more
Shall vex. Than this, the life to come, is dearer;
I would see him, whom I unseen adore.

"Forever with the Lord", O words of cheering,
Words of sweet comfort to the aching heart;
And as the port of heavenly bliss, I'm nearing,
Each day, I feel more willing to depart.

Not that I'm tired working, No! tis sinning;
Of which I'm tired, even unto death; -
I still would work, even as at the beginning,
And spend, for my dear Lord, my latest breath.

Roll on, then, dying year; - twill soon be ended,
And soon my life will end, as ends this song;
And earthly songs, with heavenly songs, be blended,
When God gives me a place, his sons among.

December 31, 1875, near 11 o'clock

The poem was taken from William Hamilton to John Lowrie, AIC, Box C, no. 202,
December 31, 1875.

Appendix Two

Ioway Students, January 1847

In the absence of anything more interesting, I will send you a list of their names, with the probable ages, which may be of use in selecting clothing. Instead of giving them an entire English name, we give them an English name in connection with the names of their father.

Names of Boys	Age	
1. Charles Kawhathkaw	9	White crows
2. Oliver Frances	10	half breed
3. David M. Caramonya	14	Fair weather walker
4. John Grier Chapainga	12	Little buffalo head
5. Frances Benoit Dupuy	7	Half breed
6. Wells Charutoinga	12	Little buffalo-rib
7. Abrech Thepashaqua	11	Six toes
8. Harvey Washcamonya	16	One who runs upon an enemy
9. Alexander Pathumonya	16	The hailstorm
10. Nelson Tharamonya	16	Swift walker
11. Lee Tharamonya	13	Swift walker
12. Murray Chapainga	10	Little buffalo head
13. Slater Aakrapha	8	?Britain
14. Moses Rtainga	4	Asking for the moon
15. Humes Monthasthunga	11	Left iron or pewter
16. Thomas Washcamonya	12	One who runs upon an enemy
17. Beely Dosoway	10	Half breed
18. Gamble Monthasthunga	12	Left iron, pewter
19. Bradbury Rathakaraka	7	Rough tongue
20. Robert Frances Vesser	7	Half breed

Names of Girls

1. Nancy Henderson	18	
2. Rhoda J. Wagoner	10	
3. Martha Tashainga	17	Little otter
4. Ann Eliza Whitecloud	8	
5. Sarah Whitecloud	6	
6. Alconza Francis	9	Half breed, Pottowatommie
7. Ellen Monthasthunga	9	Left iron, pewter x dead
8. Rebecca Thepashaqua	8	Six toes
9. Margaret Tharamonya	9	Swift walker
10. Keryia Montonawa		Grizzley Bear's paw
11. Fanny Montonawa		Grizzley Bear's paw

The ages marked here are only supposition as I have no means of obtaining their correct age. Yours as ever, Wm Hamilton.

Taken from William Hamilton to Walter Lowrie, January 28, 1847, AIC, Box 4, vol. 3, no. 409.

Appendix Three

Publications of the Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission Press*

An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language, with an English Translation. By William Hamilton and Samuel Irvin. Under the direction of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. J. B. Roy, Interpreter. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, Indian Territory. 1843.

Original Hymns, in the Ioway Language. By the Missionaries, to the Ioway and Sac Indians, under the direction of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, Indian Territory, 1843.

Wv-ro-hae. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, 1843 or 1844.

We-wv-hae-kju. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, 1844.

Ce-sxs/ wo-ra-kee-pe ae-ta-wae./ Mat-fu ae-wv-kv has-naha, A-rae-kae. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, 1846 or 1847.

An Ioway Grammar, illustrating the principles of the language used by the Ioway, Otoe and Missouri Indians. Prepared and printed by Rev. William Hamilton and Rev. Samuel M. Irvin Under the direction of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, 1848.

The Ioway Primer composed of the most common words, and arranged in alphabetical order. Compiled and printed for the Ioway School by William Hamilton and Samuel M. Irvin Under the direction of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, 1849.

The Ioway Primer. second edition, prepared and printed by William Hamilton and Samuel M. Irvin under the direction of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, 1850.

Omaha Primer. By Rev. Edmund McKinney, Presbyterian missionary to the Omahas. Ioway and Sac Mission Press [?], 1850. Has the appearance of coming from the Ioway and Sac Mission Press.

*Taken from Douglas C. McMurtie and Albert H. Allen, A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1930), 26-28.

Bibliography

Manuscript Material:

American Indian Correspondence, The Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., n.d. Microfilm available at the University of Nebraska at Omaha Library.

Diary of Samuel Irvin. Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. Microfilm.

The Historic Records of the First Presbyterian Church at Bellevue. Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska. Microfilm.

La Flesche, Joseph and Family Collection. Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Lewis Henry Morgan Papers. "Extracts from the unpublished Journals of Rev. William Hamilton." University of Rochester Library, Box 25, Folder 94. Photocopy.

Manuscript of the Rev. Joel Warner. Sarpy County Historical Society, Bellevue, Nebraska. Photocopy.

Government Documents:

Dorsey, James Owen. Omaha Sociology. Third Annual Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, 1881-1882. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884.

Fletcher, Alice, and Francis La Flesche. The Omaha Tribe. Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911.

Kappler, Charles J., comp. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, 5 vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Pilling, James C. Bibliography of the Siouan Language. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 5. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1860, 1870, 1880.

U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior. 1837-1891. Microfiche available at the University of Nebraska at Omaha Library.

U.S. Congress. William Hamilton to William Richardson, September 30, 1843. 28th Congress, 1st sess., Serial 439.

U.S. Statutes at Large. XII, 997.

U.S. Statutes at Large. XIV, 667.

Newspapers:

Bellevue Gazette. (Bellevue, Nebraska). October 1856-June 1858.

Council Bluffs Bugle. (Council Bluffs, Iowa). April 10, 1855.

Council Bluffs Chronotype. (Council Bluffs, Iowa). April 11, 1855.

Council Fire. April 1879-March 1880.

Nebraska Republican. (Omaha, Nebraska). July 1858.

Omaha Bee. (Omaha, Nebraska). September 19, 1891.

Omaha World-Herald. (Omaha, Nebraska). September 1891-April 1993.

North Nebraska Eagle. (South Sioux City, Nebraska). September 24, 1891.

St. Joseph Gazette. (St. Joseph, Missouri). October 1845-July 1846.

Other Primary Material:

Biographical and Historical Catalogue of Washington and Jefferson College, 1802-1902. Philadelphia: George H. Buchanan and Co., 1902.

Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA. Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 1838, 1846, 1878.

_____. An Historical Sketch of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1837-1888. New York: C.H. Jones and Co., 1888.

_____. A Manual Prepared for the Use of Missionaries and Missionary Candidates in Connection with the Board of Foreign Missions. New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 1840.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Washington College, Washington, Pennsylvania For the Year Ending September 1839. Washington, Pennsylvania: George W. Brice, 1839.

Catlin, George. Notes of Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe: England, France and Belgium. 2 vols. London: Waterloo Palace, 1848.

Fletcher, Alice. "Lands in Severalty to the Indians Illustrated by Experiences with the Omaha Tribe." Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science 33 (1885): 654-665.

_____. "Standing Bear." The Indian Journal 9 (March 1909): 17-20.

- Fontenelle, Henry. "History of the Omaha Indians." Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. 1. Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885: 76-85.
- Frissell, H.B. "A Visit to the Omahas." Southern Workman 16 (November 1887): 117.
- Giffen, Fannie Reed. Oo-Mah-Ha-Ta-Wa-Tha (Omaha City). Lincoln: n.p., 1898.
- Goss, C. Chaucer. Bellevue, Larimer and St. Mary: Their History, Location, Description and Advantages. Bellevue: John Q. Goss, 1859.
- Green, Ashbel. 1762-1848 Presbyterian Missions. New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., Inc., 1893.
- Hamilton, William. "Autobiography of Rev. William Hamilton." Edited by Robert W. Furnas. Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. 1. Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885: 60-73.
- _____. "Father William Hamilton on Traditional Origin of Omahas and Other Tribes." Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. 1. Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885: 47-49.
- _____. Hymns in the Omaha Language. Prepared by Rev. William Hamilton, Omaha Mission. New York: American Tract Society, 1887.
- _____. "Indian Names and Their Meaning." Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. 1. Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1885: 73-75.
- _____. "Letters of William Hamilton, 1811-1891." Edited by Charles A. Anderson. Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 35 (September 1957): 157-170.
- _____. "Mission Work Among the Omaha Indians." Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 38 (September 1960): 182-190.
- _____. "More Letters of William Hamilton, 1811-1891." Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 36 (March 1958): 53-65.
- _____. Translations Into the Omaha Language, with Portions of Scripture; Also a Few Hymns. New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1868.
- Hamilton, William, and Samuel Irvin. An Ioway Grammar. Ioway and Sac Mission, 1848.
- Hayden, Ferdinand V. "Contributions to the Ethnology and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley." Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 12 (1863): 231-461.
- Historical Sketch of the Missions Under the Care of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886.
- "Joseph La Flesche." Southern Workman 17 (December 1888): 27.
- "Journal of William Hamilton." Foreign Missionary Chronicle 8 (June 1849): 187.

La Flesche, Francis. The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1901.

"Letter of Samuel Irvin." Foreign Missionary Chronicle 10 (May 1842): 139-143.

Lowrie, John. A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA. New York: William Rankin, Jr., 1868.

Lowrie, John, ed. Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie. New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1896.

McCafee, George. Missions Among the North American Indians Under the Care of the Presbyterian Church in the USA. New York: Women's Board of Home Missions, n.d.

Morgan, Lewis Henry. The Indian Journals. Edited by Leslie A. White. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959.

Nasatir, A.P., ed. Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804, 2 vols. St. Louis Historical Society Documents Foundation, 1952.

Painter, Orrin C. William Painter and His Father, Dr. Edward Painter: Sketches and Reminiscences. Baltimore: Arundel Press, 1914.

"Pastoral Letter to Foreign Missionaries." Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA., 1838.

"Quaker Report on Indian Agencies in Nebraska, 1869." Reprint of the Society of Friends Delegation Report. Nebraska History 54 (Summer 1973): 151-219.

"Rev. Hamilton's Granddaughter Writes." Nebraska History 16 (April-June 1935): 114.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, per Act of Congress of March 3, 1847, 6 vols. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851-1857.

Stabler, Eunice W. How Beautiful the Land of My Forefathers. N.p.: n.p., 1943.

Tibbles, Thomas Henry. "Death of Logan Fontanelle [sic]." Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, second series, vol. 5. Lincoln: Jacob North and Co., 1902: 161-164.

_____. The Ponca Chiefs: An Account of the Trial of Standing Bear. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks and Co., 1880. rpt. with new introduction by Kay Graber, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972.

Secondary Material:

Books, Dissertations, Theses:

- Allen, Albert H., and Douglas C. McMurtie. Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas. Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1930.
- Barnes, R.H. Two Crows Denies It: A History of Controversy in Omaha Sociology. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Barry, Louise. The Beginnings of the American West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West 1540-1854. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972.
- Berkhofer, Robert. Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and the American Indian Responses, 1787-1862. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1965.
- Blaine, Martha Royce. The Iowa Indians. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.
- Brown, Arthur. One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA with Some Accounts of Countries, Peoples, and the Policies and Problems of Modern Missions. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1936.
- Carson, Nan Viergutz. "Thomas Barnes Cuming Jr., and the Location of the Nebraska Territorial Capital." M.A. Thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1961.
- Clifton, James A., ed. Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers. Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989.
- Coleman, Michael C. Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward the American Indians, 1837-1893. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1985.
- Cunningham, John. "History of Decatur, Nebraska to 1909." Masters Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1934.
- DeWitt, A.P. Story of An Old Town: With Reminiscences of Early Nebraska and Biographies of Pioneers. Omaha: Douglas Printing Co., 1902.
- Drury, Clifford Merrill. Presbyterian Panorama: One Hundred Fifty Years of National Mission History. Philadelphia: Board of Christian Education, PCUSA, 1952.
- Faust, Harold. "The Presbyterian Mission to the American Indian During the Period of Indian Removal, 1838-1893." Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1943.
- Federal Writers Project. Works Progress Administration, State of Nebraska, comp., Old Bellevue. Papillion, Nebraska: Papillion Times, 1937.
- Gray, P.L. Gray's Doniphan County History: A Record of the Happenings of Half of A Hundred Years. Bendena, Kansas: The Roycraft Press, 1905.
- Green, Norma Kidd. Iron Eyes Family: The Children of Joseph La Flesche. Lincoln: Johnsen Publishing Co., 1969.
- Hagan, William T. The Sac and Fox Indians. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

- Hawley, Charles Arthur. Fifty Years on the Nebraska Frontier: A History of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Omaha. Omaha: Rolph Print Co., 1941.
- Keller, Robert H. American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-1882. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Kelsey, Raynor Wickersham. Friends and the Indians: 1655-1917. Philadelphia: Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917.
- Klein, Maury. Union Pacific Railroad: 1862-1893. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1987.
- Loetscher, Lefferts A. The Broadening Church: A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church Since 1869. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954.
- Ludwickson, John, and John O'Shea. Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Omaha Indians: The Big Village Site. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- Malin, James C. The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1953.
- Mark, Joan. A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.
- Marsden, George M. The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.
- Mattes, Merrill J. The Great Platte River Road. Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1969.
- Milner, Clyde A., II. With Good Intentions: Quaker Work Among the Pawnees, Otos, and Omahas in the 1870s. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.
- Miner, William Harvey. The Iowa: A Reprint from "The Indian Record" as Originally Published and Edited by Thomas Foster. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1911.
- Morton, J. Sterling, and Albert Watkins, ed. Illustrated History of Nebraska: A History of Nebraska from the Earliest Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi Region. 3 vols. Lincoln: Jacob North and Co., 1906.
- Olson, James C. History of Nebraska. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.
- Potts, James Byron. "Nebraska Territory, 1854-1867: A Study of Frontier Politics." Ph.D Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1973.
- Schwarz, Rev. Julius F. History of the Presbyterian Church in Nebraska. N.p.: n.p., 1924.
- Shallcross, William. Romance of a Village. Omaha, Nebraska: Roncka Bros., 1954.

Sheldon, Addison E. Nebraska: The Land and the People. 3 vols. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1931.

Simmons, Jerold L. ed. "La Belle Vue": Studies in the History of Bellevue, Nebraska. Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Co., 1976.

Speer, Robert. Studies in Missionary Leadership. Philadelphia: n.p., 1914.

Stapleford, Lois Ann. "An Investigation of the Printing of Shawnee Baptist, and Presbyterian Iowa, Sac and Fox Missions in Preterritorial Kansas." MS Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, 1956.

Wilcox, Wilma Estelle. "Early Indian Schools and Education Along the Missouri." Masters Thesis, University of Iowa, 1928.

Wilson, Dorothy Clarke. Bright Eyes. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1974.

Articles:

Aitchison, Clyde B. "The Life of Governor Burt." Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, second series, vol. 1. Lincoln: Jacob North and Co., 1894-1895: 25-38.

Bangs, S.D. "History of Sarpy County." Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. 2. Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1887: 293-308.

Barnes, Lela. "Notes on Imprints From Highland: The Second Point of Printing in Kansas." Kansas Historical Quarterly 8 (May 1939): 140-142.

Coleman, Michael. "Problematic Panacea: Presbyterian Missionaries and the Allotment of Indian Lands in the Late Nineteenth Century." Pacific Historical Review 54 (May 1985): 143-159.

_____. "The Responses of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis through Missionary Sources." History of Education Quarterly 27 (Winter 1987): 473-497.

Davies, Phillips G. "David Jones and Gwen Davies, Missionaries in the Nebraska Territory, 1853-1860." Nebraska History 60 (Spring 1979): 77-91.

Faust, Harold. "The Growth of the Presbyterian Missions to the American Indian During the National Period." Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 22 (September 1944): 88-123; 22 (December 1944): 137-171.

Fritz, Henry E. "The Making of Grant's Peace Policy." Chronicles of Oklahoma 37 (Winter 1959): 411-432.

Green, Norma Kidd. "The Make-Believe White Man's Village." Nebraska History 56 (Summer 1975): 242-247.

- _____. "The Presbyterian Mission to the Omaha Indian Tribe." Nebraska History 48 (Autumn 1967): 267-288.
- Herring, Joseph B. "Presbyterian Ethnologists Among the Iowa and Sac Indians, 1837-1853." American Presbyterians 65 (Fall 1987): 195-203.
- Herzog, Kristin. "The La Flesche Family: Native American Spirituality, Calvinism, and Presbyterian Missions." American Presbyterians 65 (Fall 1987): 222-232.
- Illick, Joseph E. "'Some of Our Best Indians Are Friends...': Quaker Attitudes and Actions Regarding the Western Indians during the Grant Administration." Western Historical Quarterly 2 (July 1971): 283-294.
- King, James T. "'A Better Way': General Crook and The Ponca Indians." Nebraska History 50 (Fall 1969): 239-256.
- Landale, Ted. "Father Hamilton, Indians, and Early Presbyterians." Omaha World-Herald Magazine. October 1, 1950: 5C.
- Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. "The Lady From Boston and the Omaha Indians." American West 3 (Fall 1966): 31-33, 80-85.
- Mattison, Ray H. "Indian Missions and Missionaries on the Upper Missouri to 1900." Nebraska History 38 (June 1957): 127-154.
- McCleave, David Harold. "A History of the Indian Missions of Presbyterian Church in Kansas." The Aereid 15-16 (1944-1945): 3-61.
- Meyer, Roy W. "The Iowa Indians, 1836-1885." Kansas Historical Quarterly 28 (Autumn 1962): 273-300.
- Olson, James. "Out of Old Nebraska." Albion News. (Albion, Nebraska). February 10, 1949.
- Plank, Pryor. "The Iowa, Sac and Fox Indian Mission and Its Missionaries, Rev. Samuel Irvin and Wife." Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 10 (1907-1908): 312-325.
- Schilz, Thomas F., and Jodye L. Schilz. "Beads, Bangles, and Buffalo Robes: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Fur Trade Along the Missouri and Des Moines Rivers, 1700-1820." The Annals of Iowa 49 (Summer/Fall 1987): 5-25.
- Skinner, Alanson. "Societies of the Iowa, Kansas and Ponca Indians." Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Natural History 11, Part 9 (1915): 683-740.
- Waltmann, Henry G. "John Lowrie and Presbyterian Indian Administration, 1870-1882." Journal of Presbyterian History 54 (Summer 1975): 259-276.
- Warren, Stephen A. "The Baptists, The Methodists, and The Shawnees: Conflicting Cultures in Indian Territory." Kansas History 17 (Autumn 1994): 148-161.