

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL

THE HISTORY OF SLAVEHOLDING INDIANS



Annie Heloise Abel

The History of Slaveholding Indians

**Enriched edition. Native Americans as Slaveholder as
Participants in the Civil War & Under Reconstruction**

Introduction, Studies and Commentaries by Jenna Saunders

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Introduction

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This book confronts the paradox that some Indigenous nations, themselves subject to dispossession, became entwined with the practice and politics of chattel slavery. Annie Heloise Abel's *The History of Slaveholding Indians* examines how captivity, coerced labor, and legal definitions of property intersected with Native sovereignty and U.S. expansion. Rather than simplifying responsibility or innocence, the work follows the difficult choices communities made under pressure from empires, markets, and war. Its central tension resides in the collision between survival and complicity, and in the ways power moves through treaties, borders, and households to bind peoples together in unequal, often violent, relationships.

A work of scholarly history, the book situates its narrative in the nineteenth-century United States, with particular attention to Indian Territory, the borderlands of the South, and the upheavals surrounding the Civil War and its aftermath. First published in the early twentieth century, it reflects a rigorous archival orientation characteristic of its era while tackling a subject that remains vital to American historiography. Abel writes as a historian of the American West and federal Indian policy, tracing the regional and national dimensions of slavery and diplomacy as they converged in Native nations negotiating their autonomy amid competing sovereignties.

At its core, the study follows how certain Native polities adopted slaveholding, how factional politics and treaty-making shaped their choices, and how wartime alignments recalibrated obligations to the United States and, at times, the Confederacy. Readers encounter a documentary voice

that privileges official correspondence, treaty texts, and governmental records, presented in a measured, analytical tone. The narrative unfolds deliberately, attending to legal frameworks and political chronology rather than anecdote-driven storytelling. The result is a layered account that reads as both a regional case study and a lens on national transformations without foreclosing the moral and social questions those transformations raise.

Key themes structure the book's inquiry: sovereignty under duress; the construction of racial hierarchy and personhood; the relation between land, labor, and law; and the enduring power of treaties to shape belonging and exclusion. Abel highlights how slavery functioned as an institution embedded in diplomatic practice and domestic life, and how emancipation and defeat in war did not immediately resolve questions of citizenship or rights. The work underscores internal diversity within Native nations as leaders and communities debated alignment, reform, and continuity. It also traces how federal policy and southern politics leveraged Indigenous divisions to advance broader agendas.

For contemporary readers, the book matters because it refuses a single-axis account of American oppression or freedom. By situating Black and Indigenous histories within the same frame, it complicates national memory and challenges narratives that isolate communities' struggles from one another. The study illuminates how colonialism's structures fostered collaboration and resistance in uneven measure, and how legal categories forged in crisis continue to echo in present debates over sovereignty, recognition, and belonging. It offers a foundation for considering responsibility and repair without collapsing historical actors into caricatures of virtue or guilt.

The reading experience is characteristically archival: dense with documents, attentive to chronology, and cautious in inference. Abel's method prizes official records

and treaty-making as engines of causation, giving readers a clear view of how policies traveled from capitals to councils and households. As an early twentieth-century work, it bears the period's scholarly conventions and limitations, including terminology and emphases that invite critical engagement. Even so, its painstaking assembly of evidence makes it a durable point of departure, best read alongside more recent studies by Native and Black scholars that extend, revise, and diversify its conclusions.

Approached on these terms, *The History of Slaveholding Indians* becomes less a closed verdict than a map of entanglements that readers must traverse with care. It invites reflection on how communities navigate impossible choices, how power embeds itself in law and kinship, and how remembrance shapes justice. By foregrounding complexity without abandoning clarity, Abel's work helps dismantle simplistic binaries and equips readers to hold multiple truths at once. As an introduction to a challenging subject, it sets expectations for moral seriousness, historical nuance, and sustained attention to the lives shaped by policy, profit, and survival.

Synopsis

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Annie Heloise Abel's *The History of Slaveholding Indians* is a multi-volume, early-twentieth-century study of the intertwined histories of slavery, Native sovereignty, and United States expansion in the southern borderlands and Indian Territory. Concentrating on the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, Abel traces how certain Native nations came to hold enslaved African Americans, how this institution shaped political life, and how external pressures transformed it. Organized across the antebellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction periods, the work proceeds chronologically while pausing for thematic analysis of law, diplomacy, economy, and social order. Its narrative follows policy shifts and factional debates as much as battlefield events.

Abel begins with the long antecedents to Native slaveholding, situating it within coerced migration and treaty regimes that removed Southeastern peoples westward. She details how missionization, commercial agriculture, and proximity to Southern markets fostered plantation-style enterprises among elite families, while communal norms persisted elsewhere. Drawing heavily on treaty texts, Indian Office correspondence, and military records, she reconstructs legislative frameworks adopted by tribal councils and the debates they stirred. The analysis emphasizes variation between nations and regions, presenting slavery as one strand within evolving strategies for survival, accommodation, and autonomy under intensifying U.S. pressure.

Turning to the internal mechanics of bondage, the study outlines how enslaved labor was organized, regulated, and contested. Abel examines statutes defining status, mobility,

punishment, and manumission; the places where those provisions mirrored southern state codes; and the places where they diverged. She connects legal design to economic incentives and to political projects aimed at signaling civilization to federal observers. At the same time, she tracks the social boundaries around kinship, marriage, and property that structured everyday life, and notes the persistent friction such boundaries produced within communities that were never uniform in practice or outlook.

As sectional crisis deepened, Abel shifts to diplomacy and alignment. Confederate envoys courted Native governments with promises of recognition and protection, while Union officials insisted on treaty obligations. The slaveholding question, though important, appears alongside calculations about borders, annuities, and security. The work follows formal treaties made by some nations with the Confederacy, the emergence of countervailing Unionist factions, and the resulting fragmentation of authority. In this telling, secession is less a single decision than a sequence of negotiations, defections, and reversals that embedded the Indian Territory within a volatile border theater.

Her wartime chapters trace the consequences of that fragmentation: rival councils, shifting garrisons, resource shortages, and widespread displacement. Abel reconstructs campaigns and raids principally to illuminate their civilian effects—flight to Kansas and Texas, destruction of crops and stock, and the reorganization of labor under military exigency. The status of enslaved people becomes increasingly fluid as federal policy evolves and local control changes hands, producing contested claims of freedom and responsibility. Attention to correspondence between commanders and Indian agents underscores how administrative decisions, as much as battles, determined the lived reality of allegiance and emancipation on the ground.

With federal victory, the study moves to Reconstruction treaties that required emancipation and, in some cases, the incorporation of freedpeople. Abel analyzes negotiations over citizenship, land access, and political representation, along with new constitutional provisions and institutions. She traces how tribal governments restructured amid external oversight and internal resistance, and how freedpeople's rights became a durable arena of conflict across nations. The account situates these debates within wider questions of sovereignty, jurisdiction, and the repair of wartime damage, noting how promises made at the treaty table played out unevenly in courts, councils, and communities.

Abel concludes by framing the history of the slaveholding Indians as a test of overlapping institutions—slavery, federalism, and Native nationhood—when subjected to the stress of civil war and reconstruction. Without forcing a single moral or causal arc, the work leaves readers with a layered picture of adaptation and fracture, and of how legal texts translated, or failed to translate, into social change. Its enduring significance lies in documenting a borderland where categories of race, citizenship, and sovereignty met and reshaped each other, a foundation on which later scholarship has built while revisiting sources, interpretations, and legacies.

Historical Context

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Annie Heloise Abel's multi-volume study, commonly known as *The Slaveholding Indians*, appeared between 1915 and 1925. It examines the intertwined histories of slavery, Native sovereignty, and the American Civil War within Indian Territory, the region that became Oklahoma. The narrative centers on the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek (Muscogee), and Seminole Nations (often called the Five Civilized Tribes), whose governments operated courts, legislatures, and schools before, during, and after the war. Abel situates these tribal institutions amid U.S. federal oversight through the Office of Indian Affairs and treaty relations, and against the rise of the Confederate States, whose agents sought alliances west of the Mississippi.

In the decades before the Civil War, these nations were forced west from their southeastern homelands under the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and subsequent treaties. Removal culminated in arduous migrations, most notoriously the Cherokee's 1838-1839 Trail of Tears, into Indian Territory. There, many mixed-economy communities rebuilt farms, towns, and national councils. A planter class within several nations adopted chattel slavery, influenced by longstanding ties to the American South and U.S. "civilization" programs that promoted agrarian models. By 1860, several thousand people of African descent were enslaved across the Five Nations, and tribal legislatures enacted laws regulating slaveholding, inheritance, and discipline.

Indian Territory's political economy was tied to federal institutions and southern markets. The Office of Indian Affairs distributed treaty annuities, supervised agency superintendents, and coordinated with army posts such as

Fort Gibson and Fort Towson. Missionaries and tribal governments operated seminaries and academies, including well-known Cherokee and Choctaw schools. Overland roads and the Butterfield Overland Mail route (1858-1861) linked the territory to Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. The escalating sectional crisis after the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 destabilized the borderlands, as violence in neighboring Kansas and Missouri disrupted trade and security, heightening pressures on tribal leaders to navigate allegiance, neutrality, and survival.

When war erupted in 1861, federal troops withdrew from much of Indian Territory, leaving agencies and annuities in disarray. The Confederate government dispatched Albert Pike as commissioner to negotiate alliances; that summer and fall, he concluded treaties with the Choctaw and Chickasaw, and with factions among the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole. These agreements promised protection, representation, and payment of arrears. Yet the nations were divided. Principal Chief John Ross of the Cherokee signed a Confederate treaty, while Stand Watie led a pro-Confederate faction. Creek leader Opothleyahola rallied Union loyalists, who fled north toward Kansas amid skirmishes at Round Mountain and Chusto-Talasa.

Indian Territory became a contested zone, with Native regiments serving both the Union and the Confederacy. Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole units fought at Pea Ridge in 1862, while Union "Indian Home Guard" regiments organized in Kansas conducted operations southward. Stand Watie, a Cherokee commander, later became a Confederate brigadier general and led cavalry raids that targeted supply lines and river traffic. Warfare, drought, and scorched-earth campaigning devastated farms and towns, producing a refugee crisis as families fled to Kansas and Texas. Abel documents how military commitments, disrupted annuities, and internal political rivalries compounded economic collapse within the Five Nations during the conflict.

After 1865, federal Reconstruction reshaped tribal-federal relations. New treaties in 1866 required the abolition of slavery and addressed the status of Freedmen. The Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole Nations incorporated Freedmen and their descendants as citizens, with rights to annuities and allotments; Choctaw and Chickasaw provisions required adoption of Freedmen or contemplated federal resettlement if citizenship was withheld, a point that remained disputed in the Chickasaw Nation for years. The treaties also demanded land cessions for railroad corridors and future settlement. Abel traces how emancipation, treaty revisions, and reconstruction politics reordered sovereignty, membership, and revenue, while intensifying debates over authority within each nation.

Abel built her interpretation on extensive documentary research. Across the trilogy - *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (1915), *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (1919), and *The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy* (1925) - she mined treaty texts, Indian Office correspondence, congressional documents, Confederate records, and contemporary newspapers. Her approach reflects Progressive Era historical practice, emphasizing administrative structures, legal frameworks, and policy decisions. Abel's focus on diplomatic relations and official correspondence foregrounds government actors and tribal leadership, while preserving valuable archival detail about military organization, relief, and treaty negotiations that shaped life in Indian Territory before, during, and immediately after the war.

Written amid early twentieth-century debates over frontier expansion, race, and citizenship, Abel's work both reflects and interrogates its era. By documenting how Native nations practiced slavery, negotiated with rival governments, and navigated emancipation, the study challenges simplified North-South narratives of the Civil War. Its emphasis on treaties and sovereignty highlights the legal

and diplomatic dimensions of Indian Territory's upheavals, while its period vocabulary and administrative lens reveal the assumptions of Progressive Era scholarship. The result is a foundational account that preserves crucial records and frames enduring questions about authority, allegiance, and belonging that continued to shape the region well into the twentieth century.

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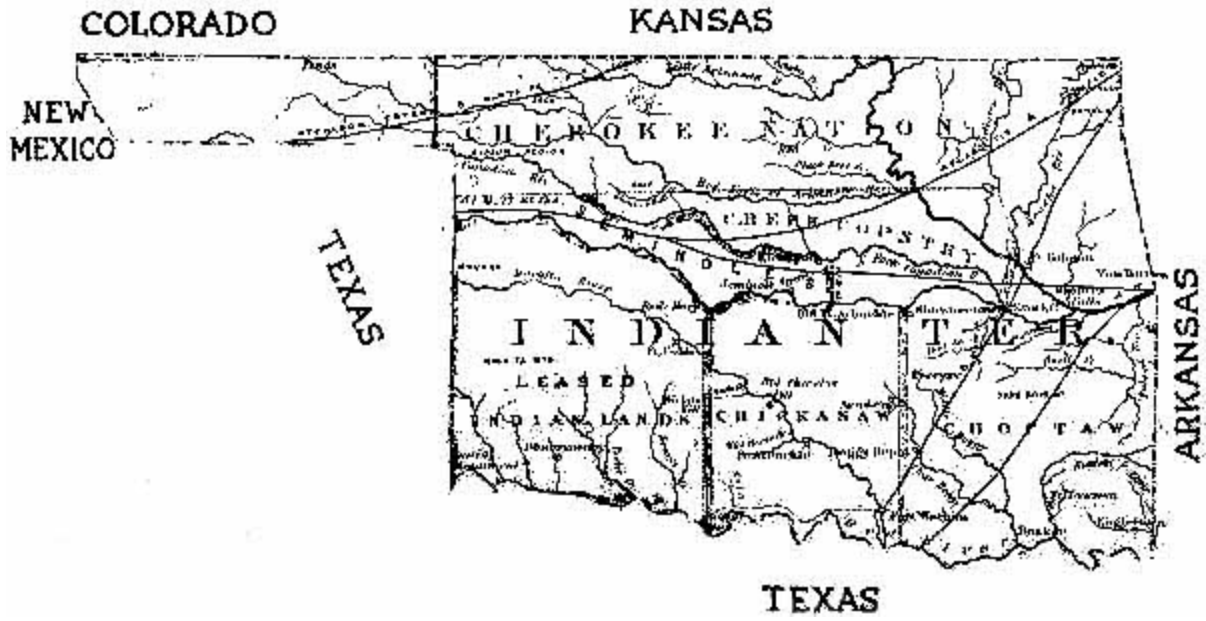
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PREFACE

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This volume is the first of a series of three dealing with the slaveholding Indians as secessionists, as participants in the Civil War, and as victims under reconstruction. The series deals with a phase of American Civil War history which has heretofore been almost entirely neglected or, where dealt with, either misunderstood or misinterpreted. Perhaps the third and last volume will to many people be the most interesting because it will show, in great detail, the enormous price that the unfortunate Indian had to pay for having allowed himself to become a secessionist and a soldier. Yet the suggestiveness of this first volume is considerably larger than would appear at first glance. It has been purposely given a sub-title, in order that the peculiar position of the Indian, in 1861, may be brought out in strong relief. He was enough inside the American Union to have something to say about secession and enough outside of it to be approached diplomatically. It is well to note, indeed, that Albert Pike negotiated the several Indian treaties that bound the Indian nations in an alliance with the seceded states, under the authority of the Confederate State Department, which was a decided advance upon United States practice—an innovation, in fact, that marked the tremendous importance that the Confederate government attached to the Indian friendship. It was something that stood out in marked contrast to the indifference manifested at the moment by the authorities at Washington; for, while they were neglecting the Indian even to an extent that amounted to actual dishonor, the Confederacy was offering him political integrity and political equality and was establishing over his country, not simply an empty wardship, but a bona fide protectorate.

Granting then that the negotiations of 1861 with the Indian nations constitute a phase of southern diplomatic history, it may be well to consider to what Indian participation in the Civil War amounted. It was a circumstance that was interesting rather than significant; and the majority will have to admit that it was a circumstance that could not possibly have materially affected the ultimate situation. It was the Indian country, rather than the Indian owner, that the Confederacy wanted to be sure of possessing; for Indian Territory occupied a position of strategic importance, from both the economic and the military point of view. The possession of it was absolutely necessary for the political and the institutional consolidation of the South. Texas might well think of going her own way and of forming an independent republic once again, when between her and Arkansas lay the immense reservations of the great tribes. They were slaveholding tribes, too, yet were supposed by the United States government to have no interest whatsoever in a sectional conflict that involved the very existence of the "peculiar institution." Thus the federal government left them to themselves at the critical moment and left them, moreover, at the mercy of the South, and then was indignant that they betrayed a sectional affiliation.

The author deems it of no slight advantage, in undertaking a work of this sort, that she is of British birth and antecedents and that her educational training, so largely American as it is, has been gained without respect to a particular locality. She belongs to no section of the Union, has lived, for longer or shorter periods in all sections, and has developed no local bias. It is her sincere wish that no charge of prejudice can, in ever so small a degree, be substantiated by the evidence, presented here or elsewhere.

Annie Heloise Abel.
Baltimore, September, 1914

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY, 1830- 1860

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Veterans of the Confederate service who saw action along the Missouri-Arkansas frontier have frequently complained, in recent years, that military operations in and around Virginia during the War between the States receive historically so much attention that, as a consequence, the steady, stubborn fighting west of the Mississippi River is either totally ignored or, at best, cast into dim obscurity. There is much of truth in the criticism but it applies in fullest measure only when the Indians are taken into account; for no accredited history of the American Civil War that has yet appeared has adequately recognized certain rather interesting facts connected with that period of frontier development; viz., that Indians fought on both sides in the great sectional struggle, that they were moved to fight, not by instincts of savagery, but by identically the same motives and impulses as the white men, and that, in the final outcome, they suffered even more terribly than did the whites. Moreover, the Indians fought as solicited allies, some as nations, diplomatically approached. Treaties were made with them as with foreign powers and not in the farcical, fraudulent way that had been customary in times past. They promised alliance and were given in return political position—a fair exchange[1q]. The southern white man, embarrassed, conceded much, far more than he really believed in, more than he ever could or would have conceded, had he not himself been so fearfully hard pressed. His own predicament, the exigencies of the moment, made him give to the Indian a justice, the like of

which neither one of them had dared even to dream. It was quite otherwise with the northern white man, however; for he, self-confident and self-reliant, negotiated with the Indian in the traditional way, took base advantage of the straits in which he found him, asked him to help him fight his battles, and, in the selfsame moment, plotted to dispossess him of his lands, the very lands that had, less than five and twenty years before, been pledged as an Indian possession “as long as the grass should grow and the waters run.”

From what has just been said, it can be easily inferred that two distinct groups of Indians will have to be dealt with, a northern and a southern; but, for the present, it will be best to take them all together. Collectively, they occupied a vast extent of country in the so-called great American desert. Their situation was peculiar. Their participation in the war, in some capacity, was absolutely inevitable; but, preparatory to any right understanding of the reasons, geographical, institutional, political, financial, and military, that made it so, a rapid survey of conditions ante-dating the war must be considered.

It will be remembered that for some time prior to 1860 the policy¹ of the United States government had been to relieve the eastern states of their Indian inhabitants and that this it had done, since the first years of Andrew Jackson’s presidency, by a more or less compulsory removal to the country lying immediately west of Arkansas and Missouri. As a result, the situation there created was as follows: In the territory comprehended in the present state of Kansas, alongside of indigenous tribes, like the Kansa and the Osage,² had been placed various tribes or portions of tribes from the old Northwest³—the Shawnees and Munsees from Ohio,⁴ the Delawares, Kickapoos, Potawatomes, and Miamies from Indiana, the Ottawas and Chippewas from Michigan, the Wyandots from Ohio and Michigan, the Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Piankashaws from Illinois, and a

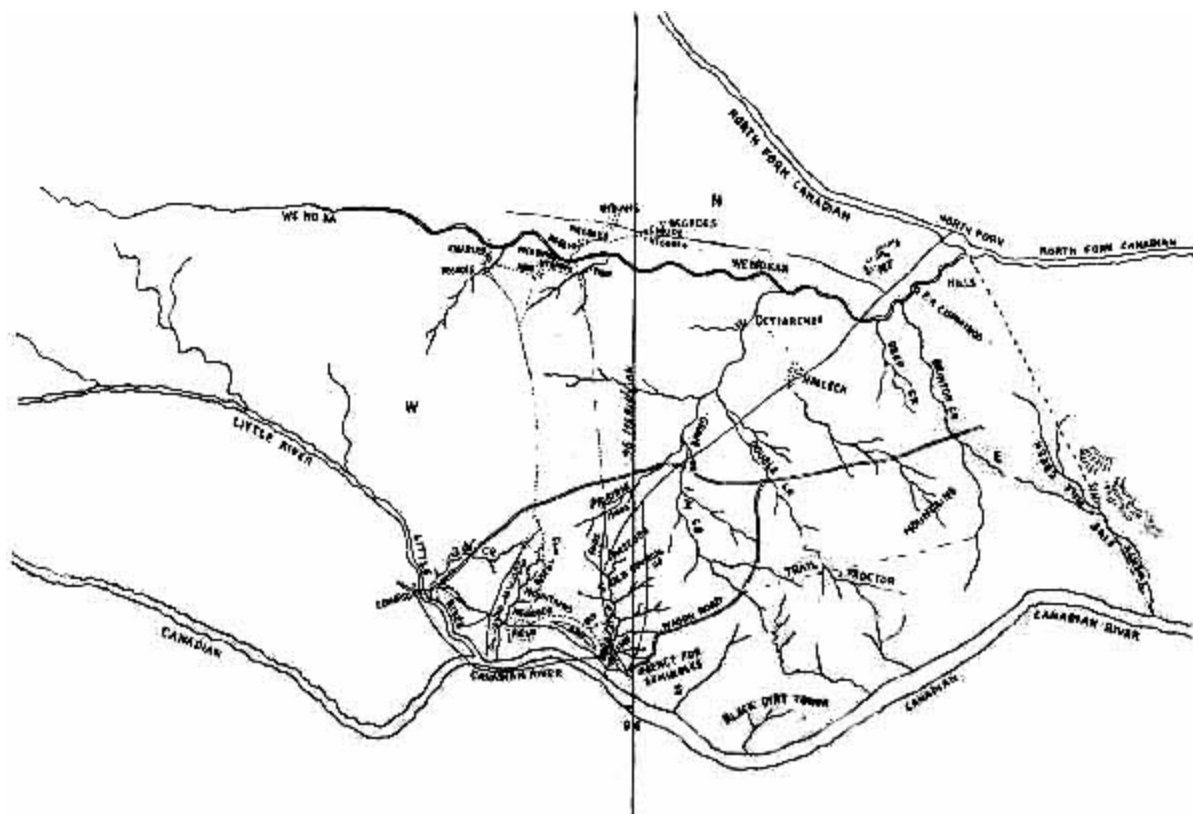
few New York Indians from Wisconsin. To the southward of all of those northern tribal immigrants and chiefly beyond the later Kansas boundary, or in the present state of Oklahoma, had been similarly placed the great⁵ tribes from the South⁶—the Creeks from Georgia and Alabama, the Cherokees from Tennessee and Georgia, the Seminoles from Florida, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws from Alabama and Mississippi.⁷ The population of the whole country thus colonized and, in a sense, reduced to the reservation system, amounted approximately to seventy-four thousand souls, less than seven thousand of whom were north of the Missouri-Compromise line[1]. The others were all south of it and, therefore, within a possible slave belt.

This circumstance is not without significance; for it is the colonized, or reservation, Indians⁸ exclusively that are to figure in these pages and, since this story is a chapter in the struggle between the North and the South, the proportion of southerners to northerners among the Indian immigrants must, in the very nature of things, have weight. The relative location of northern and southern tribes seems to have been determined with a very careful regard to the restrictions of the Missouri Compromise and the interdicted line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes was pretty nearly the boundary between them.⁹ That it was so by accident may or may not be subject for conjecture. Fortunately for the disinterested motives of politicians but most unfortunately for the defenceless Indians, the Cherokee land obtruded itself just a little above the thirty-seventh parallel and formed a “Cherokee Strip” eagerly coveted by Kansans in later days. One objection, be it remembered, that had been offered to the original plan of removal was that, unless the slaveholding southern Indians were moved directly westward along parallel lines of latitude, northern rights under the Missouri Compromise would be encroached upon. Yet slavery was not conscientiously excluded from Kansas in

the days antecedent to its organization as a territory. Within the Indian country, and it was all Indian country then, slavery was allowed, at least on sufferance, both north and south of the interdicted line. It was even encouraged by many white men who made their homes or their living there, by interlopers, licensed traders, and missionaries;¹⁰ but it flourished as a legitimate institution only among the great tribes planted south of the line. With them it had been a familiar institution long before the time of their exile. In their native haunts they had had negro slaves as had had the whites and removal had made no difference to them in that particular. Since the beginning of the century refuge to fugitives and confusion of ownership had been occasions for frequent quarrel between them and the citizens of the Southern States. Later, when questions came up touching the status of slavery on strictly federal soil, the Indian country and the District of Columbia often found themselves listed together.¹¹ Moreover, after 1850, it became a matter of serious import whether or no the Fugitive Slave Law was operative within the Indian country; and, when influenced apparently by Jefferson Davis, Attorney-general Cushing gave as his opinion that it was, new controversies arose. Slaves belonging to the Indians were often enticed away by the abolitionists¹² and still more often were seized by southern men under pretense of their being fugitives.¹³ In cases of the latter sort, the Indian owners had little or no redress in the federal courts of law.¹⁴

In point of fact, during all the years between the various dates of Indian removal and the breaking out of the Civil War, the Indian country was constantly beset by difficulties. Some of the difficulties were incident to removal or to disturbances within the tribes but most of them were incident to changes and to political complications in the white man's country. Scarcely had the removal project been fairly launched and the first Indian emigrants started upon

their journey westward than events were in train for the overthrow of the whole scheme.



Map showing free Negro Settlements in the Creek country

When Calhoun mapped out the Indian country in his elaborate report of 1825, the selection of the trans-Missouri region might well have been regarded as judicious. Had the plan of general removal been adopted then, before sectional interests had wholly vitiated it, the United States government might have gained and, in a measure, would have richly deserved the credit of doing at least one thing for the protection and preservation of the aborigines from motives, not self-interested, but purely humanitarian. The moment was opportune. The territory of the United States was then limited by the confines of the Louisiana Purchase and its settlements by the great American desert. Traders only had penetrated to any considerable extent to the base of the Rockies; but experience already gained might have

155 Edmund Kirby Smith, a senior Confederate general who commanded the Trans-Mississippi Department (the Confederate military district west of the Mississippi River); his 1865 surrender marked the collapse of organized Confederate resistance in that region.

156 A 19th-century designation for U.S. Army mounted troops who combined cavalry and dismounted infantry functions; regiments called dragoons served on the frontier before the Civil War.

157 A military term meaning to discharge or formally release troops from service at the end of their enlistment or by order; here it refers to the planned disbanding of the Indian regiments.

158 In this context, the "Home Guard" refers to Union-organized militia units composed of Native Americans (often called Indian Home Guards) who served locally during the Civil War rather than in the regular Federal army.

159 Henry W. Halleck (a senior Union general and army administrator) and Edwin M. Stanton (United States Secretary of War) were leading federal authorities during the Civil War; both had major roles in directing Union military and wartime administrative policy.

160 P. P. Pitchlynn (Peter Pitchlynn) was governor (principal chief) of the Choctaw Nation in the mid-19th century and a key political leader representing Choctaw interests during and after the Civil War.

161 The Treaty of New Echota (1835) was a controversial agreement signed by a minority Cherokee faction ceding Cherokee lands east of the Mississippi to the United States, a treaty that was enforced and led to the Cherokee removal of 1838–39 (the Trail of Tears).

162 A United States Army officer referenced in the chapter who sent a dispatch to the Grand Council about the commissioners' travel; the text presents him as reporting on arrangements and movements prior to the Fort Smith council.

163 Named in the chapter as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who chaired the Fort Smith commission and acted as its principal spokesman during the council proceedings.

164 Identified in the text as a member of the commission and a Seneca; Parker was a Native American who served as a U.S. Army officer during the Civil War and later held federal offices.

165 The informal name given in the chapter to Senate Bill No. 459, a bill for the organization of Indian Territory associated with Secretary Harlan and which shaped commissioners' instructions.

166 Named in the chapter as the Wyandot first chief who spoke at the Fort Smith council and commented on the commissioners' actions and proposals.

167 A rendering of the name Opothleyahola, the Creek leader referenced in the chapter who led a Unionist Creek faction during the Civil War era and whose actions and correspondence are discussed.

168 Local truces mentioned in the chapter whose binding force was later disputed by officials in the Interior Department, and which the commissioners told some tribes were of no legal effect.

169 James Harlan was U.S. Secretary of the Interior in 1865 under President Andrew Johnson; he issued the printed

instructions to commissioners and earlier served as a U.S. senator from Iowa.

170 Fort Smith was a U.S. military post on the Arkansas-Oklahoma border (established in the early 19th century) that functioned as a regional military and judicial center and a frequent site for negotiations with tribes in the Indian Territory.

171 This is a citation to the United States Statutes at Large (volume XII, page 528), indicating where the act of Congress dated July 5, 1862 is published in the official record.

172 Refers to the Indian Removal Act of 1830, federal legislation signed by President Andrew Jackson authorizing the relocation of eastern Native American tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River during the 1830s.

173 Alludes to the legislative proposal associated with Senator Stephen A. Douglas that became the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), which opened new territories to settlement and applied 'popular sovereignty' to the question of slavery.

174 Refers to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the federal law that established a template for organizing U.S. territories and territorial government, often cited as a model for later territorial organization.

175 The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 created the territories of Kansas and Nebraska and allowed settlers to decide by popular vote whether to permit slavery, a measure that heightened sectional tensions in the 1850s.

176 Candlemas is a traditional Christian feast observed on February 2; in this context 'Candlemas Day, 1865' denotes

the date February 2, 1865, when the Senate resolution mentioned was introduced.

177 Refers to the Lecompton Constitution(s), pro-slavery proposed constitutions for Kansas (circa 1857) whose contested adoption produced national political controversy in the late 1850s.

178 'Colonel Browning' is named in the Senate debate as the acting chief of the Cherokee tribe at the time; the passage presents him as a figure involved in questions over which leaders might give consent, though it provides no further biographical detail.

179 A 1865 meeting at Fort Smith, Arkansas, where U.S. commissioners and representatives of several Indian nations negotiated post-Civil War peace terms and arrangements—including measures addressing slavery and the status of freedmen in Indian Territory.

180 John B. Sanborn (1826-1904), a Union general appointed after the Civil War to oversee and regulate relations between freedmen and Native American tribes in Indian Territory.

181 Refers to the Civil Rights Act drafted by Senator Lyman Trumbull in 1866 to secure legal rights for formerly enslaved people; it was passed by Congress in 1866 over President Andrew Johnson's veto and shaped later Reconstruction legislation.

182 Refers to the Homestead Act (federally enacted during the Civil War era) that authorized settlers to claim public land—commonly 160 acres—by improving and residing on it for a specified period, thereby encouraging white settlement of western territories.