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and provides a good historical data base for the comparative study of the diverse cultural experiences of still another group of American women. The field of Women's Studies *needs* to incorporate the historical record of more women of color into its data base. This book also provides historical data that show the effects of institutionalized racism, sexism and classism on scholarly thought about the lives of people of color. Women's Studies scholars and researchers cannot afford to fall into those same ethnocentric traps. Finally, it is a welcome volume to the discipline of Ethnic Studies because it provides comparative historical data that can be used by teachers, researchers and scholars who are trying to look at the collective effects of racism and sexism on different ethnic/racial groups. Albers and Medicine are to be commended. Their volume will become a much used and useful addition to libraries and people looking for new methodologies and approaches to studying ethnohistory, American Indian culture and gender.

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**The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley.** By Gilbert C. Din and Abraham P. Nasatir. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. 432 pp. \$39.95 Cloth.

From his massive collection of French and Spanish documents concerning the Mississippi Valley, Abraham Nasatir separated and translated those documents dealing with the Osage. This collection, painstakingly annotated and prefaced with a lengthy introduction, was transformed over twenty years ago into a manuscript entitled "The Imperial Osages: A Documentary History of the Osage Indians During the Spanish Regime," similar in format to Nasatir's *Before Lewis and Clark*. This Osage manuscript was over 1,000 pages long but, due to its great length and narrow focus, was never published. This rich store of Spanish and Osage information lay largely unused in Nasatir's study in San Diego until 1974 when Spanish Borderlands historian Gilbert Din approached Nasatir to use his Osage material for a proposed article. In time the two men decided to rework

The Imperial Osages and prepare it for publication. Substituting historical narrative for the translated documents, they were able to reduce the size of the manuscript substantially. Incorporating recent anthropological and historical research they have written *The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley*, number 161 in The Civilization of the American Indian series of the University of Oklahoma Press.

Din and Nasatir have chronicled Spanish efforts to control the Osage in a book that is a traditional Indian-White relations history. This confrontational history focuses solely on the conflict between the Osage and the Spanish. The emphasis is clearly Spanish and the second half of the title, *Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley* best expresses the theme of this work.

The Din and Nasatir volume concentrates on a period during which the Osage dominated the forests and prairies between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers for most of the eighteenth century. Wedged between the Spanish and French frontiers, they had early access to French guns and Spanish horses. Using both, they hunted and raided extensively in the region of present-day Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, northern Louisiana and northeastern Texas. The French, greatly outnumbered, did little to challenge Osage autonomy and welcomed Osage trade. French traders exchanged guns, metal tools and other manufactured goods for valuable slaves, livestock, furs and skins that the Osage acquired when hunting and raiding south and west of their prairie homes.

The Spanish, who acquired Louisiana at the end of the Seven Years War, arrived with different goals. The Spanish sought peace and stability in their North American territory and tried to stop Osage raids in Spanish Texas and Louisiana. The Osage resisted any attempts at stopping their trade and continued to raid. Eager to protect their valuable resources, they also opposed Spanish attempts to move into their territory and consistently drove non-Osage hunters from the region. The Spanish, from 1770 to 1804, sought to bring the Osage under their control and end their attacks.

Attempts to control the Osage were doomed, for they were a strong tribe and their warriors were well-armed. They clearly outnumbered the Spanish in the region, and the Spanish-sponsored Native American expeditions against the Osage were seldom successful. Attempts to stop trade with the Osage to gain control of

them also failed, for the Osage trade was the most valuable of the lower Missouri. St. Louis traders demanded access to such a valuable resource and when it was denied traders such as Silvestre Labbadie and Auguste and Pierre Chouteau violated Spanish trade embargos and traded with the Osage illegally. Outlaw traders operating from the Arkansas Post also traded with the Osage in violation of Spanish restriction. The proximity of Spain's international rivals, England and the United States, further doomed any Osage trade embargos, for foreign traders ignored Spanish edicts and supplied the Osage with trade goods.

In 1794, in another attempt to establish some control over the Osage and bring an end to their raids, the Spanish government awarded the Osage trade to Auguste Chouteau, a prominent St. Louis trader. In exchange for a monopoly of the lucrative Osage trade Chouteau agreed to construct and man a fort near the Osage villages and to stop their attacks on non-Osage. Chouteau had only limited success in controlling the Osage, for the tribe was divided into at least three major groups and few respected the authority of Chouteau or his Osage protégé Pawhuska. Thus the Osage remained free throughout the Spanish period despite Spanish attempts to influence them.

This is not a balanced history of the Osage and the Spanish and was probably never meant to be one. Yet it is indeed unfortunate at this stage of Native American historiography that the long-held jaundiced view of the Osage is retained. For too long these misunderstood people have been portrayed as unreasonable and bellicose. One cannot arrive at an understanding of Osage history when relying only on the records and documents of their principal rivals, yet this is what Din and Nasatir have done in using solely the French, Spanish and American documents. They have dismissed the sometimes fierce Osage behavior as simply the results of some ingrained cultural belligerence rather than the actions of a people confronting powerful rivals and undergoing rapid social, economic and political change. It is written almost entirely from the Spanish point of view and provides little explanation or analysis of Osage behavior.

The authors have included a chapter on Osage culture but the information provided in this chapter is never incorporated into the main text of the book. While the authors devote care and attention to Spanish political, economic and diplomatic considerations, similar Osage concerns are largely ignored. The problems

of jurisdiction and of the conflicting objectives of Spanish officers at Nagadoches, Natchitoches, Ouasita, Arkansas Post and St. Louis are described, as is the complicated Spanish bureaucracy. At the same time the Osage political system and the problems resulting from the limited political power of the Osage dual chieftains and tribal council are not taken into account when the authors describe the lack of consistent Osage behavior.

Another cause for concern is the frequent use of such adjectives as primitive, treacherous and villainous to describe Osage behavior (pp. 7, 75, 88, 102, 117, 391). Sometimes Osage actions were brutal, as were those of the French and the Spanish, yet these adjectives are used only to characterize the Osage.

Despite the absence of an Osage point of view, Din and Nasatir have produced an impressive study of Spanish-Indian relations. The amount of work involved in finding, collecting, translating and annotating the thousands of documents is staggering. Making sense of the information found in the often disparate documents is impressive, and the creation of a clear-flowing narrative is indeed praiseworthy.

Another important contribution made by this book is its treatment of Auguste Chouteau's role in the split of the Big Osage tribe. They challenge the long-held view that Chouteau was directly responsible for the departure of the Arkansas Band. They correctly point out that the Arkansas group had left well before Chouteau lost his Osage monopoly to Manuel Lisa in 1802.

Din and Nasatir have clearly presented the dilemma of Spanish officials as they attempted to balance local, national and international objectives while trying to restrain the Osage. Their struggle to control the fiercely independent Osage was a difficult, impossible task to the end. The book describes the struggle in great detail from a Spanish viewpoint and provides a wealth of information about Spanish-Indian policy in the Mississippi Valley.

The book contains fourteen historical maps and both the authors and the publisher are to be commended for including them. It is unfortunate, however, that the only modern map is small and does not include many of the place names mentioned. The book has several fine illustrations of both Osage and Spanish individuals active during this era. The footnotes are impressive as the book is replete with lengthy notes. The bibliography is another important contribution of the book. It is comprehensive

and will serve as an excellent source for further research. The book itself is one resource that scholars in the future can use to present a balanced treatment of Spanish-Osage relations.

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**When Freedom Is Lost: The Dark Side of the Relationship between Government and the Fort Hope Band.** By Paul Driben and Robert S. Trudeau. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983. xii + 131 pp. Illus. \$15.00 Cloth. \$5.95 Paper.

The economic situation of Canada's Amerindians is a living testimony to the truth of the adage that the problems we don't solve stay with us. Ever since Europeans came to stay in Canada, they have been bedevilled by what has been consistently referred to as the Amerindian "problem." Quite apart from the argument that can be made as to whose "problem" it has actually been through the centuries, the Canadian situation has been an unusual one for at least one reason: In the generally dreary record of Amerindian-European relations in the Americas, it comes off comparatively well. Sadly enough, that does not make it a record about which to boast.

From its beginning in the sixteenth century, to the end of the colonial wars in the nineteenth century, the relationship between Amerindian and European in Canada was one of interdependence. This was expressed in the give-and-take of the fur trade and in the use of Amerindians as guerrillas in the colonial wars. Euro-Canadians experienced their greatest dependency on Amerindian expertise and cooperation at the beginning of colonization, when settlers were least familiar with the skills needed for survival in a rigorous climate and when both trade and colonial wars were escalating. This dependence quickly diminished, particularly when the wars ended, but cooperation remained a necessity of the trade. Although Euro-Canadians were not always tolerant of Amerindian ways, which they vigorously (even aggressively) sought to replace with their own, their dealings were marked with fewer of the overt antagonisms and little of the active hostility so characteristic of the U.S. frontier. In fact, to many observers looking in from the outside, the Canadian government