

Addiction as a Biopolitical Tool: The ‘Drunken Indian’ Stereotype and the Politics of Removal in 19th-Century United States

By Keaton Pregozen

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Supervised by:

Prem Kumar Rajaram, Judit Bodnar

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Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned, Keaton Pregozen, candidate for the MA degree in Sociology and Social Anthropology declare herewith that the present thesis titled “Addiction as a Biopolitical Tool: The ‘Drunken Indian’ Stereotype and the Politics of Removal in 19th-Century United States” is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography.

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the concept of addiction, particularly as reified in the 'drunken Indian' stereotype, emerges as a racializing technology that legitimates settler colonial dispossession in early 19th-century United States. It argues that addiction is not a self-evident medical condition but a historically contingent discourse mobilized to justify Indigenous elimination. The central problem addressed is how addiction, under the guise of benevolent concern, functions as a biopolitical tool during the conjunctural moment surrounding the 1830 Indian Removal Act (IRA).

Methodologically, the thesis applies conjunctural analysis following Stuart Hall, tracing the articulation of addiction discourse across newspaper articles, congressional records, and missionary writings from approximately 1787 to 1830. It also employs a theoretical framework grounded in settler colonial studies, cultural hegemony, and historical sociology, particularly drawing on the works of Patrick Wolfe, Lorenzo Veracini, and Raymond Williams.

The research finds that the 'drunken Indian' stereotype can be analyzed through three dominant discursive types: the 'child,' the 'murderous savage,' and the 'doomed addict,' with each justifying a different mode of Indigenous transfer. These representations are operationalized through legal, religious, and ideological State apparatuses, culminating in the hegemonic acceptance of removal as moral and inevitable. The thesis concludes that addiction discourse not only facilitates the racialization and removal of Indigenous peoples but also continues to shape contemporary narratives around addiction, race, and state violence.

Acknowledgements

I unwittingly began my sociological study when I identified as an alcoholic and read the how-to manual that is *Alcoholics Anonymous*. This thesis was inspired by the drug addicts, the invalids, the ‘unemployable,’ and the lunatics I met in those rooms, whose obstinacy and resistance to ‘treatment’ helped me develop my conviction that we must change how we talk about addiction. I struggled with the idea that so many, including myself, were unfit for the only solution to a problem so well defined, especially when those who fail to recover are those “who are constitutionally incapable of being honest with themselves.”¹ The ideas I develop in this thesis, and all further works, are dedicated to those deeply honest folk who, somehow!, still fail to recover.

Thanks go to Professor Rajaram for his tireless engagement with my (often gnostic) musings, to Professor Bodnar for exposing me to the field of historical sociology, and to Professor Cucu for such a luminous belief in me that I have no opportunity to doubt it. A special thanks to Viswesh, my dear friend without whom I would be producing very different work. Anca, you taught me to embrace the revolutionary love in myself and others. Anna, you showed me the integrity and hidden resources within us all. Anne, your political journey has inspired me more than you can imagine. Jona, Lenke, Yuki, Yoline, and Sara – thank you for being breath itself within dim, fetid CEU. Back home, thank you to Rowan for initiating my journey and for all the spoons you could spare, and to Yuli for all the phone calls that carve tributaries from the river of my research. And thank you Granny and Zadeh for your unconditional support.

¹ “Chapter 5: How It Works,” in *Alcoholics Anonymous: The Story of How Many Thousands of Men and Women Have Recovered from Alcoholism*, Fourth edition (New York City: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, 2001), 58.

Table of Contents

Introduction: Moral Panic and the Making of the 'Drunken Indian'	1
Theoretical Framework and Existing Scholarship	2
Research Design	5
Conjunctural Analysis	5
Archival Sourcing	6
Limitations	7
Chapter Overview	7
Chapter 1: Racializing Addiction – The 'Drunken Indian' as Settler Colonial Apparatus	10
1.1. Historical Background: Settler Hypocrisy and the Circular Logic of the ‘Drunken Indian’ Stereotype	10
1.2. Theoretical Framework: Settler Colonial Structure and Racialization in Discourse and Policy	13
1.3. A Typology of Addiction: The Child, the Murderous Savage, and the Doomed Addict	17
1.3.1. The Child: Transfer by Assimilation	18
1.3.2. The Murderous Savage: Indigenous Criminalization	20
1.3.3. The Doomed Addict: Narrative Transfer	23
Chapter 2: Hegemonic Incorporation, Protestant Reform, the IBEPIAA, and the Co-optation of Benevolence	27
2.1. Historical Background: Thomas L. McKenney, Propagandist and Paternalist	28
2.2. 1829: Political Alignment and the Limits of Juridical Opposition	30
2.3. Appropriating Christian Discourse: The Government's Moral Counter-Offensive	31
2.4. Hegemonic Incorporation and the Transformation of Protestant Discourse	32
Chapter 3: Contested Temperance – William McIntosh and Settler Appropriation of Indigenous Sobriety	39
3.1. Tenskwatawa: Temperance as Anti-Colonial Resistance	40
3.2. William McIntosh: Temperance as Settler Tool	44
3.3. Temperance as Contested Sovereignty	48
Conclusion: Reification and Resistance – Toward a Global Analysis of Addiction	51
Works Cited	57

List of Figures

Figure 1: depiction of treaty negotiation	12
Figure 2: Indigenization/Europeanization dialectic	15
Figure 3: population economy dialectics.....	15
Figure 4: settler colonial depiction of Indigenous violence	20
Figure 5: inversion of sexual violence committed by whites	21
Figure 6: Thomas L. McKenney	28
Figure 7: example of farms of the period	29
Figure 8: Elliot Mission.....	33
Figure 9: Tenskwatawa.....	39
Figure 10: map of Prophetstown.....	41
Figure 11: Creek War	44
Figure 12: McIntosh in settler garb	46

Introduction: Moral Panic and the Making of the 'Drunken Indian'

A 1797 article in a Vermont paper alleges that the Spartans would “make their slaves drunk, and then expose them to their children,” hoping that the disorderly behavior of the drunken slaves would dissuade the children from the “*bestly vice*.” The article continues by lamenting that, while there exist no “slaves to intoxicate” in 1797 United States’ “land of freedom,” contemporary drunkards exist as “voluntary slaves” to “strong drink.” The worry is not that “a miserable half naked Indian should intoxicate himself,” as this is seen as natural. Instead, the article bemoans that a “civilized being,” or, a white man, should become a drunkard.² ‘Ditto’ displays a defined moral position: drunkenness is a morally repugnant state to which ‘the Indian’ is inherently prone but which does not befit “civilized” whites. His solution – to berate drunkards with appeals to their pride, social stratum, work ethic, and family.

The discourse would not even be particularly anachronistic if printed in a modern newspaper. A 1983 article titled “Center helps urban Indians overcome their problems” claims that Indigenous clients miss appointments because “their concept of time is different,” attributes low life expectancy to “cultural disadvantages,” says that “they are not yet adjusted to technology,” and that “up to 50 percent of all Native American men have an alcohol problem.”³ The language has changed, but the content remains mostly the same. This implies that some discursive thread from 1797 has persisted for nearly 200 years, making moral arguments about alcohol use and essentializing Indigenous addiction even when attempting to curb it.

As this thesis will show, this discursive thread became politically salient in the early 19th century as material and cultural forces combined in the United States’ South, producing a

² Ditto, “On Drunkenness,” *Federal Galaxy*, January 27, 1797.

³ Dorothy Powers, “The Spokesman-Review,” *The Spokesman-Review*, July 21, 1983.

conjunction from which emerged a new political order. The central moment was the 1830 Indian Removal Act (IRA), which juridically enshrined a settler colonial policy of ‘transfer’ that had been applied piecemeal prior. The result was a contiguous territory within which Indigenous nations had no claim to sovereignty over their lands. This thesis argues that an addiction concept manifesting in the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype was articulated in discourse and policy that led causally to the IRA; specifically, the settler colonial structure, treaties, segregation policies, prohibition laws, and the newspaper discourse that underpinned these. The addiction concept should therefore be seen as a biopolitical tool used for the racialization and ethnic cleansing of Indigenous peoples, a quality with significant contemporary resonance in how we talk about addiction today.

Theoretical Framework and Existing Scholarship

This thesis is situated within an emerging interdisciplinary field that brings together insights from Addiction Studies, Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS), and historical sociology. While prior studies, such as those by Alfred McCoy (1972), K. D. Burton (2015), James Wilt (2022), and Oswaldo Zavala (2022), have traced how discourse around drug use has functioned historically as a tool of imperial power, this thesis analyzes how addiction narratives were weaponized under *settler colonialism*, a gap underexplored in both NAIS and Addiction Studies. Rather than treating NAIS and Addiction Studies as wholly separate fields, this project contributes to a growing body of work that examines how the addiction concept historically entangles with the dispossession of Indigenous peoples – see William E. Unrau (1996), Peter Mancall (1997), Maggie Brady (2017), and Sami Lakomäki et al. (2017). While this thesis remains attentive to the specificities of each field, it aims to advance this interdisciplinary conversation by foregrounding addiction’s political life in a settler-colonial context.

In addiction studies, branches of anthropology, sociology, and historical studies contribute to a constantly evolving addiction concept. Eugene A. Raikhel and William Campbell Garriott (2013) theorize that modern developments in neurobiological interventions, the rise of harm reductionism, and a consumer society that upends incentive structures have focused contemporary interest on the addiction concept. Crucially to this thesis, the authors stress “the historically situated nature of addiction,”⁴ invoking Ian Hacking’s concept of ‘historical ontology’ to contextualize the addiction concept and avoid “naturaliz[ing] it as a self-evident phenomenon.”⁵

This thesis applies insights from Michael Taussig (1980) to argue that ‘addiction’ assumes a phantom objectivity: its diagnostic criteria – its signs – while purporting to reflect a material disease, obscure the social relations essential to the functioning of those signs.⁶ This approach harkens to Latourian Science and Technology Studies which seeks not only to describe social forces like addiction, but to “explore how they come about and what they produce.”⁷ However, rather than showing how addiction emerged as a scientific object (Lorraine Daston 2000), this thesis explores the addiction concept’s *political life*; how it expresses in a concrete juridical and social moment. The addiction concept’s relevance to the IRA should show how cultural formations are articulated and become wrapped up in a concept’s historical baggage (Raymond Williams 1983, Ashley Carse 2016) as it is mobilized for particular purposes. The thesis argues that actors like the State, Indigenous groups, missionaries, and newspapers contest the addiction concept’s content; and this contestation renders ‘addiction’ malleable and applicable in moments like the IRA.

⁴ Eugene A. Raikhel and William Campbell Garriott, eds., *Addiction Trajectories*, Experimental Futures: Technological Lives, Scientific Arts, Anthropological Voices (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 7.

⁵ Raikhel and Garriott, 11.

⁶ Michael T. Taussig, “Reification and the Consciousness of the Patient,” *Social Science & Medicine. Part B: Medical Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (1980): 3–13, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7987\(80\)90035-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7987(80)90035-6).

⁷ Matilda Hellman, “Understanding Addiction: The Shift from Epistemology to Ontology,” *Behavioural Brain Research* 412 (August 2021): 2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bbr.2021.113416>.

The project begins with an analysis of the IRA, officially titled ‘An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi.’ This thesis claims that this single piece of legislation had more impact on Indigenous peoples, since the United States’ inception, than any other. At the same time, the political importance of the IRA cannot be located in the Act itself, or even fully in its enforcement in the Trail of Tears – the forced deportation of entire ethnic groups including the Cherokee.⁸ This thesis engages with a body of literature that identifies this period as a critical moment in American history. Eric Kades (2000), Michael Blumm (2004), and Lindsay Gordon Robertson (2005) focus on the technologies of dispossession apotheosized in the IRA, especially within treaties and frontier dynamics. Patrick Wolfe (2006), Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz (2014), and Lorenzo Veracini (2024) situate the IRA within a structure of settler colonialism. Drawing on Wolfe’s logic of elimination and Veracini’s settler-colonial theory, this thesis examines how addiction discourse facilitated Indigenous dispossession by framing Indigenous peoples as racialized Others.

While medical and social historians (Herbert Fingarette 1988; Susan Zieger 2008; Matthew Warner Osborn 2014) have established the temporal situatedness of addiction as a diagnostic category, this thesis demonstrates how political actors *mobilized* one reification of addiction within the structure of settler colonialism. This politicization challenges contemporary theorists who invoke addiction frameworks without attending to this political genealogy, thereby reproducing logics of racial differentiation. By exposing how 19th-century representations of Indigenous ‘addiction’ functioned as a technology of racial governance, this work lays the foundation for a genealogy of the addiction concept that foregrounds its entanglement with settler-colonial and imperial structures.

⁸ See: Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*, ReVisioning American History (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 112.

Research Design

Conjunctural Analysis

I employ *conjunctural analysis* as developed by Stuart Hall (2002, 2016) to examine how the IRA represents a critical conjuncture in American settler colonial formation. For Hall, a conjuncture is a moment in which ideological threads “cohere”⁹ to “overdetermine”¹⁰ a historical situation – overdetermination operating not through singular causality but via the dense convergence of cultural, political, and material forces. Analyzing the IRA as a conjuncture requires tracing the evolving matrix from which it emerged: moral panics around liquor use, the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype, settler-colonial hunger for land (Wolfe 2006), the political economy of liquor (Unrau 1996), and Indigenous temperance movements (Mancall 1997; Adam Jortner 2012). These forces did not merely coincide; they *mutually constituted* one another, naturalizing removal as inevitable while obscuring its contested production.

I analyze this cultural matrix using a theoretical framework developed by Raymond Williams (1977). While acknowledging Louis Althusser’s insight that “ideology always exists in an apparatus,”¹¹ this thesis follows Williams in treating cultural formations as *constitutive* of material relations, not mere reflections of them.¹² The settler colonial structure, hegemonic in 1830, operates as a “lived system of meanings and values”¹³ that shapes the limits of acceptable thought.¹⁴ The IRA conjuncture operated not through top-down imposition but by reorganizing everyday experience; for example, Chapter 2 will show how sympathy for Indigenous suffering was reconstituted as an eliminatory element by the ideological State apparatus (Althusser 1971). As Williams stresses, hegemony is continually “renewed, recreated, defended, and

⁹ Stuart Hall, Jennifer Daryl Slack, and Lawrence Grossberg, *Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*, Stuart Hall (Durham London: Duke University Press, 2016), 142.

¹⁰ Hall, Slack, and Grossberg, 150.

¹¹ Hall, Slack, and Grossberg, 131.

¹² Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Marxist Introductions (Oxford New York: Oxford University press, 1977), 75–82.

¹³ Williams, 110.

¹⁴ Williams, 87, 110.

modified”¹⁵ amid resistance; the IRA’s power lay in its ability to *rearticulate* existing discourses into a novel formation that rendered removal commonsense. Ultimately, this method illuminates how the IRA’s ‘inevitability’ was itself a hegemonic achievement, one with enduring echoes in contemporary addiction discourse such as the War on Drugs.

Archival Sourcing

This research traces cultural formations through two primary archival corpora – newspaper discourse and congressional documents – selected for their capacity to reveal both the public articulation and institutional mobilization of addiction discourse within the IRA conjuncture. Newspapers from a loose period from 1787 (the year of the Constitution’s signing) until 1830 were sourced from Readex’s *America’s Historical Newspapers* database and the Library of Congress’ *Chronicling America*. Newspapers functioned as key sites where the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype was naturalized through, for example, reports of Indigenous people committing drunken violence.¹⁶ Newspapers’ repetitive, day-to-day coverage¹⁷ shows the ‘drunken Indian’ being enshrined as “journalistic common sense.”¹⁸ Congressional documents from the Congressional Serial Set, Readex’s *Early American Imprints*, and the *Register of Debates in Congress* reveal how addiction rhetoric was operationalized institutionally (e.g., petitions justifying removal with the “unfortunate” condition of Indigenous peoples¹⁹). This aligns with Hall’s method of tracing ideological threads across policy and public discourse. The overlap of moral, economic, and racial arguments in congressional records demonstrates how disparate threads coalesced to overdetermine removal. This sourcing strategy rejects

¹⁵ Williams, 112.

¹⁶ “Unfortunate Affray,” *The Arkansas Gazette*, July 27, 1824.

¹⁷ Stuart Hall, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*, Transferred to digital print, Critical Social Studies (London: Macmillan, 2002), 72.

¹⁸ Hall 2002, 96.

¹⁹ “Ohio. Memorial of the Citizens of the County of Miami, in the State of Ohio, in Relation to the Indian Tribes. March 17, 1830. -- Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union”

(Washington, DC), U.S. Congressional Serial Set, <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=SERIAL&docref=image/v2%3A0FD2A62D41CEB699%40SERIAL-10133EC0A9A32630%40-141B7303B85664D0%400>.

“encompassing” approaches that might treat archives as neutral repositories. Instead, it follows Hart’s relational comparison by treating newspapers and congressional records as active participants in constituting hegemony, and whose contradictions reveal struggles over meaning.

Limitations

This thesis focuses primarily on the U.S. context from 1787-1830, which captures the critical IRA conjuncture but may miss extended processes that preceded and followed this period. The reliance on digitized newspaper and congressional archives, while revealing public and institutional discourse, introduces selection biases toward better-preserved documents and may exclude more marginalized textual productions, particularly Indigenous voices. Future research could expand this analysis transnationally and incorporate private archives to uncover less institutionally enshrined perspectives.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 1 lays the theoretical and historical foundation by examining how the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype emerged from overlapping forces: Protestant moral panics, the political economy of liquor, and settler population management strategies. These forces produced a reified manifestation of the addiction concept serving to naturalized Indigenous elimination. I identify three central discursive types: the ‘child’ (who justifies paternalistic intervention), the ‘murderous savage’ (who incites carceral responses), and the ‘doomed addict’ (who frames removal as benevolent rescue). Drawing on Wolfe and Veracini, I theorize how settler colonialism operationalizes these types through a population economy logic, using the addiction concept to racially mark Indigenous peoples as threats to the settler body politic – regardless of actual alcohol use. This chapter shows how addiction discourse, while appearing diagnostic, functions as a flexible apparatus of elimination that rationalized settler expansion by producing difference.

Chapter 2 provides a case study of the ideological crystallization that occurred in 1829–30, when opposition to removal was co-opted into the very apparatus that enabled it. Through close archival analysis of Thomas McKenney’s Indian Board for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America (IBEPIAA), this chapter shows how Protestant resistance to removal was absorbed and transformed into support for transfer. McKenney’s pivot from assimilationist to eliminationist discourse exemplifies the conjunctural logic of hegemonic incorporation, in which the ‘civilizing mission’ was folded into settler colonialism’s drive to eliminate. Using Hall and Louis Althusser, I interpret the IBEPIAA as an ideological State apparatus that rearticulated Indigenous pathology as moral crisis. The typologies developed in Chapter 1 resurface here: Indigenous temperance becomes evidence of moral worth only when it reinforces settler control, while addiction is used to argue for inevitable extinction. McKenney’s ideological flexibility serves as a microcosm of the settler State’s capacity to repurpose humanitarian discourse into mechanisms of domination.

Chapter 3 deepens the conjuncture by staging a comparative analysis between two contrasting figures: Tenskwatawa and William McIntosh. Tenskwatawa’s temperance movement, which advocated sobriety alongside Indigenous sovereignty, challenged settler colonialism by creating a pan-Indigenous proto-state explicitly rejecting settler culture. This spiritual and material secession from the settler economy reframed addiction not as Indigenous moral failure but as a colonial weapon. In contrast, McIntosh, a mixed-race Creek chief, exemplified how the State assimilated Indigenous sobriety into settler narratives by individualizing temperance and rewarding it with land cessions. His 1825 Treaty of Indian Springs served settler interests by fracturing Creek sovereignty and legitimizing removal through the rhetoric of ‘civilized’ sobriety. The contrasting functions of temperance in these figures illustrate how addiction discourse was not simply repressive but contested—mobilized by both settler and Indigenous actors in different political projects. This chapter thus argues

that sobriety itself became a battleground: it could either challenge settler hegemony or be co-opted into its logic of elimination.

The Conclusion returns to the question of conjuncture, situating the IRA as both a legal milestone and a transformation in the State's capacity to manage racialized populations. While removal policies enacted material displacement, their success depended on discursive forms like the addiction concept, which rendered that displacement moral, necessary, and even benevolent. The typologies developed in this thesis continue to reverberate in contemporary addiction discourse, particularly in the racialized governance of drug users. The final section draws a parallel between 19th-century portrayals of Indigenous 'debauchery' and modern descriptions of open-air drug scenes in San Francisco, demonstrating that the reification of addiction remains a central tool in managing dispossession. Ultimately, the thesis calls for a global and conjunctural genealogy of addiction that foregrounds its utility in producing racialized difference and justifying State violence.

Chapter 1: Racializing Addiction – The 'Drunken Indian' as Settler Colonial Apparatus

This chapter traces the pre-conjunctural conditions that converged around the 1830 Indian Removal Act, examining how the 'drunken Indian' stereotype developed as a flexible apparatus that would prove crucial to naturalizing removal as inevitable. I outline how the stereotype became politically important through three converging forces: evangelical moral panic, the political economy of the liquor trade, and settler colonial population management strategies. I then develop a typology revealing how the stereotype functioned as a flexible biopolitical apparatus, rendering Indigenous bodies as pathological whether sober or intoxicated. This apparatus naturalized elimination while masking settler complicity in creating the conditions it purported to address. This analysis provides the groundwork for Chapter 2's examination of how this reified concept was weaponized during the IRA conjuncture to transform removal from a controversial policy into a seemingly necessary biopolitical intervention.

1.1. Historical Background: Settler Hypocrisy and the Circular Logic of the 'Drunken Indian' Stereotype

The IRA emerged from a cultural matrix with history extending beyond 1830. As Burton (2015) demonstrates, the 17th-century's focus on drunkenness as a sign of disorder reflected broader shifts in political economy and moral governance. Protestant temperance discourse, emerging alongside capitalist discipline, recast intoxication as evidence of bodily and moral degeneracy. This shift was neither neutral nor universal: as physicians and clergy medicalized habitual drinking,²⁰ they simultaneously racialized and gendered behaviors once deemed therapeutic or sacred.²¹ The 'drunken Indian' stereotype crystallized within this

²⁰ Matthew Warner Osborn, *Rum Maniacs: Alcoholic Insanity in the Early American Republic* (University of Chicago Press, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226099927.001.0001>.

²¹ Kristen D Burton, "Intoxication and Empire: Distilled Spirits and the Creation of Addiction in the Early Modern British Atlantic" (Arlington, University of Texas at Arlington, 2015), 178–79.

17th-18th century conjuncture, but its political utility lay in how it divorced Indigenous alcohol use from its embeddedness in settler-colonial trade networks (Unrau 1996) and recast it as innate degeneracy.

A set of Protestant moral panics amplified this racialized framing. Evangelical revivalist rhetoric, starting as early as the 1600s but being rearticulated in the early-1800s Second Great Awakening, fused temperance²² with civilizational hierarchies and social evolutionist discourse,²³ portraying sobriety as a Protestant virtue²⁴ and intoxication as “beastly.”²⁵ To even get drunk, willingly abdicating reason, “became known as ‘voluntary madness’ [and] presented a direct affront to the ideals of enlightened philosophers”²⁶ – recall the article about ‘voluntary slavery.’ Meanwhile, the global commodification of spirits, from Caribbean rum²⁷ to colonial taverns, intensified elite anxieties over subaltern solidarity.²⁸ Tavern laws targeting Indigenous and enslaved people²⁹ exposed the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype’s dual function: disciplining racialized populations while masking settler reliance on selling liquor to those populations (Chapter 3). By the 1830s, per capita alcohol consumption among settlers dwarfed modern rates,³⁰ yet only Indigenous peoples were pathologized, a contradiction epitomized by

²² Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, The Oxford History of the United States 4 (New York (N. Y.): Oxford university press, 2007), 168.

²³ Osborn, *Rum Maniacs*, 27.

²⁴ Osborn, 18.

²⁵ Burton, “Intoxication and Empire,” 271–73; Ichabod, “Drunk as a Brute!,” *Westchester Herald*, August 9, 1825.

²⁶ Burton, “Intoxication and Empire,” 73.

²⁷ Driven by British West Indies sugar production. Frederick H. Smith, *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History* (Gainesville, Fla: Univ. Press of Florida, 2008).

²⁸ Burton, “Intoxication and Empire,” 216.

²⁹ Burton, 202–3: As “racialized stereotypes emerged, colonial legislators began to prohibit these groups’ access.”

³⁰ W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 1979), 8: “between 1800 and 1830, annual per capita consumption increased until it exceeded 5 gallons-a rate nearly triple that of today’s consumption.”

Benjamin Franklin's portrayal of Indigenous people as "apt to get drunk" and "quarrelsome" when so when Franklin himself "was certainly not abstemious."³¹



Figure 1: depiction of treaty negotiation

This hypocrisy was institutionalized in the U.S.' treaty system. Article IX of the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell, for example, granted the U.S. sole authority of "managing [Cherokee] affairs," ostensibly for their "benefit and comfort."³² A colonial report from the treaty's commissioners dryly depicted the Cherokee as "beggars" selling blankets "for a pint of rum,"³³ severing the government from its complicity³⁴ in producing alcohol dependency³⁵ by including liquor in gifts at treaties³⁶ – see Figure 1, which depicts chests

full of gifts.³⁷

The stereotype's power lay in its circular logic: settlers weaponized the very conditions they engineered to justify paternalism. As Chapter 3 explores, Indigenous temperance movements like Tenskwatawa's would later expose this logic by rejecting liquor outright, only

³¹ Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1997), 11-12.

³² United States Congress, "Treaty of Hopewell" (1785), <https://treaties.okstate.edu/treaties/treaty-with-the-chokeke-1785-0008?query=hopewell>.

³³ Hawkins, Pickens, and Martin, 1786. In *Indian Affairs Vol. I*, American State Papers, Class II (Buffalo, N.Y.: W.S. Hein, 1998), 50.

³⁴ Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 391, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>: "If the government notionally held itself aloof from such disreputable proceedings, however, it was never far away."

³⁵ Burton, "Intoxication and Empire," 251: "Europeans... introduced distilled liquors to Native Americans in an attempt to establish power over the tribes."

³⁶ Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 47.

³⁷ John Boydell, *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians (Furnishing Fabric)*, Cotton, plain weave; copperplate printed, 119.5 × 72.5 cm (47 × 28 1/2 in.), 1795 1775, <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/31467/william-penn-s-treaty-with-the-indians-furnishing-fabric>.

to be later incorporated into settler discourse as proof of progress in ‘civilizing’ Indigenous peoples.

While these forces explain the stereotype's emergence, their political effectiveness would be realized only when they converged in the specific conjunctural moment of 1829-1830, when removal became not just possible but structurally inevitable. To understand the stereotype's structural function, we must situate it within the broader logic of settler colonialism. Drawing on Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini, the following section theorizes settler colonialism not as isolated events but as an enduring structure that mobilizes reified stereotypes like the ‘drunken Indian’ to manage populations and naturalize elimination.

1.2. Theoretical Framework: Settler Colonial Structure and Racialization in Discourse and Policy

This thesis conceptualizes settler colonialism as a structure characterized by the tensions and adaptations that arise from the intrusion of exogenous settlers into already populated Indigenous space. A settler colony manifesting in a particular locality differs from other colonial entities based on its population economy, the transfer strategies used, and its relationship to the colonizing metropole³⁸ (i.e., Britain). Settler colonial policy is structured by what Patrick Wolfe calls the “logic of elimination,” which seeks the “dissolution of native societies”³⁹ and the replacement of these societies with a “regenerated” community of settlers.⁴⁰ Elimination in the settler colonial context entails genocide only when needed⁴¹ – when other strategies prove more effective, or cheaper,⁴² the settler colonial structure will gravitate toward these. This thesis argues that the U.S. settler colonial project weaponized the ‘drunken Indian’

³⁸ Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 2024), 33, 52-53, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-63926-5>.

³⁹ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 388.

⁴⁰ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 19.

⁴¹ Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven, Conn. London: Yale University Press, 2007), 310: “US. policies toward Indians did not mandate genocide, but it was practiced when considered necessary.”

⁴² Eric Kades, “The Dark Side of Efficiency: Johnson v. M’Intosh and the Expropriation of American Indian Lands,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 148, no. 4 (2000): 1065, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3312840>.

stereotype as part of transfer strategy under Wolfe's logic of elimination. The following section defines the terms central to this argument.

1.2.1. Population Economy Management

Population economy refers to the biopolitical management of the distribution of people across groups and territory. Veracini identifies a triangular structure of relationships comprising the settler collective, Indigenous Others, and exogenous Others.⁴³ These relationships are *produced*, beginning with the foundational "irruption" of settlers into Indigenous space.⁴⁴ This foundational displacement creates two "negatively defined alterities:"⁴⁵ the indigenous Others (when referring to this dialectically-defined population segment, I will use the lowercase 'indigenous'; 'Indigenous' refers to ethnic or cultural groups) who originally inhabit the land, and the exogenous Others; those immigrants who lack either permanent residency or a claim to sovereign entitlement.⁴⁶ In the U.S., Black slaves were the paradigmatic exogenous Other, being noncitizens and nonresidents.⁴⁷ Indigenous and exogenous Others are selectively included⁴⁸ in the settler collective: for example, the Choctaw chief Greenwood LeFlore signed a removal treaty with the U.S. government before embarking on a settler-side political career.⁴⁹ This inclusion follows the logic of elimination, as a Choctaw who privatizes his land, adopts a white name, and becomes a U.S. politician is functionally no longer an indigenous Other.

⁴³ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 16.

⁴⁴ Veracini, 17.

⁴⁵ Veracini, 17.

⁴⁶ Veracini, 20.

⁴⁷ Veracini, 79.

⁴⁸ Veracini, 26.

⁴⁹ Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 396.

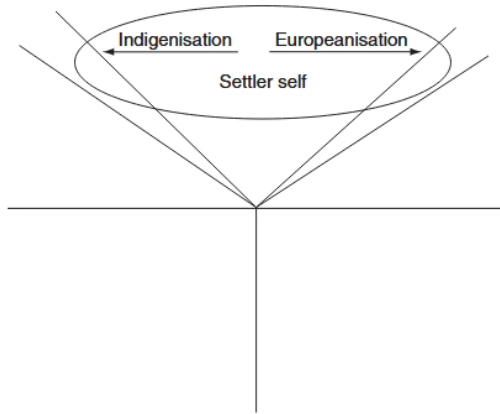


Figure 1.2 The settler collective

Figure 2: Indigenization/Europeanization dialectic

polity, they must redefine their relationship to the Indigenous communities they displace. The settler collective is defined by a dialectic, seen in Figure 2,⁵¹ between *Europeanization* – the maintenance of European cultural norms – and *Indigenization* – the assertion of territorial sovereignty through claims to nativeness.

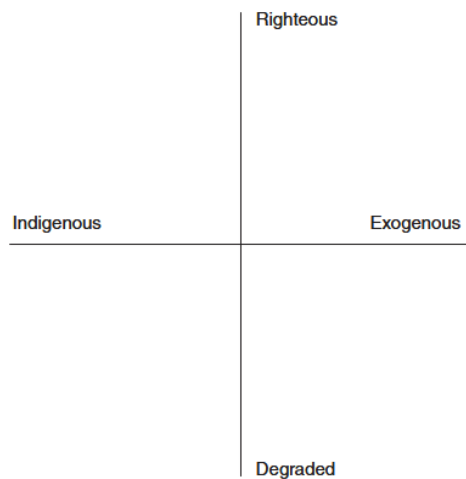


Figure 1.1 Population economy

Figure 3: population economy dialectics

righteous, having a “sovereign entitlement” originally deriving from the colonizing

These relationships are systematically produced according through two key dialectics employed by the settler collective. The “Indigenous/exogenous dialectic is established” by the movement of the settler collective through inhabited space.⁵⁰ Each time frontier settlers establish a new, semi-autonomous

The diagonal lines represent barriers between a buffer zone and the indigenous and exogenous Others. The lines are conditionally permeable. Freed slaves can be absorbed into the (Northern) settler collective, as can Indigenous people who meet certain criteria – e.g., Greenwood LeFlore, or William McIntosh as I detail in Chapter 3.

A second dialectic represents settlers as

⁵⁰ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 18.

⁵¹ Veracini, 21.

metropole.⁵² Population economy management can be conceived of as plotting, through the same dialectics and discursive strategies which originally produced the population segments, individual bodies on this grid, seen in Figure 3.⁵³

Representing every Indigenous person as an actual or potential ‘drunken Indian’ puts downward pressure on Indigenous positions in the population economy; likewise, the inherently righteous position of settlers sanctions their drinking habits, however excessive. The key insight is that “these categories and the people they endeavour to identify... are open to ongoing and protracted contestation... and are continually tested and reproduced.”⁵⁴ This contestation and reproduction, from the settler side, employs the logic of elimination in representational regimes that “see either ‘improvable’ or ‘non-improvable’ people”⁵⁵ and biopolitical management strategies including assimilation, segregation,⁵⁶ and mass transfer (the coerced movement of a population).⁵⁷ The ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype functions both representationally, as a hegemonic discourse, and biopolitically, as a racializing element. Settler colonial population management requires producing racialized difference to establish distinct population segments. Allen (1994) demonstrates how U.S. ‘Blackness’ was constructed through state-driven juridical interventions. A 1705 Virginia law barring any “Negro, mulatto, or Indian” from purchasing slaves except those matching “their own complexion”⁵⁸ exemplifies how the ambiguities and inconsistencies of phenotypic criteria (Appiah 1998) allowed legal interpretations in the interest of power.

⁵² Veracini, 18.

⁵³ Veracini, 19.

⁵⁴ Veracini, 19.

⁵⁵ Veracini, 29.

⁵⁶ Veracini, 27.

⁵⁷ Veracini, 33.

⁵⁸ June Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia; a Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present* (Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936), 25, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000340605>.

Foucault's (1976) analysis of racism illuminates this process: racism both produces difference within biopolitically managed populations⁵⁹ and creates relationships where one segment's safety depends on another's elimination⁶⁰ (of bodies or cultures). In the U.S., laws spatially segregated 'Indian country'⁶¹ and barred Indigenous testimony in court,⁶² constructing 'the Indian' through juridical apportioning of rights rather than phenotype or even culture. As the 'drunken Indian' stereotype became ubiquitous, Indigenous presence itself was constituted as threatening (see also Chapter 3), demonstrating how racialization transforms population segments into existential dangers requiring elimination. Settler population economy management both drives and hijacks racializing discourse to produce difference, describing and thereby controlling non-settler alterities. Representing the Indigenous population as an inherent threat neatly solves the problem, for settlers, of continual Indigenous presence.

1.3. A Typology of Addiction: The Child, the Murderous Savage, and the Doomed Addict

Having established the structural conditions that produced the 'drunken Indian' stereotype, this section analyzes how it functioned as a flexible biopolitical apparatus. The stereotype operated through distinct but overlapping discursive formations, each rendering Indigenous bodies – whether sober or intoxicated – as always already pathological. This section describes three of these types, demonstrating how settler colonial discourse transformed Indigenous people into problems requiring elimination, regardless of their actual relationship to alcohol. The stereotype is therefore an epistemological project embedded within the settler colonial population economy. This section shows how each type posed a contradiction that the

⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, ed. Mauro Bertani, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), 255.

⁶⁰ Foucault, 256.

⁶¹ United States Congress, "An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to Preserve Peace on the Frontiers," Pub. L. No. 2 Stat. 139 (Chapter 13) (1802), <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-2/pdf/STATUTE-2-Pg139.pdf>.

⁶² An act to add the territory lying within the chartered limits of Georgia... December 19, 1829. Cited in Richard Peters, *The Case of the Cherokee Nation against the State of Georgia; Argued and Determined at the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term 1831* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Grigg, 1831).

settler colonial structure then resolved through transfer.⁶³ Transfer operates on bodies as well as on discourse; settler colonial manifestations aim to “cleanse” the settler body politic of Indigenous presence, and therefore aim to eliminate cultural and political forms as well.⁶⁴ So, mass transfer “is thus mirrored dialectically” by discursive transfers – including the following.

1.3.1. The Child: Transfer by Assimilation

Indigenous peoples in this discourse are positioned as invalids, often because of their uncontrolled drinking, therefore requiring settler discipline. Put succinctly, “whisky is the great impediment to civilization.”⁶⁵ For a paradigmatic example of this type, a 1798 article recounts the death of John Tatson, an Indigenous man whose tribesmen determined that his “death was occasioned by the freezing of the large quantity of water... that had been mixed with the rum he drank.”⁶⁶ Tatson is represented to be incapable of managing himself such that he got drunk, fell asleep outside, and froze to death. The story would be reprinted in multiple northeastern States in 1817,⁶⁷ revealing the embeddedness of the type as it functioned as a long-memory device justifying paternalism: two years later, the 1819 Civilization Fund Act massively scaled up federal paternalism.

This configuration aligns with Veracini’s concept of “transfer by assimilation,”⁶⁸ which operates through ‘uplifting’ Indigenous peoples “out of existence.”⁶⁹ It employs the righteous/degraded dialectic, positioning Indigenous people as unruly “red children”⁷⁰ or even “honest, simple”⁷¹ savages to then police, manage, and transform their behavior. The discourse

⁶³ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 33-52. Veracini identifies twenty six transfer forms, labeling them A-Z.

⁶⁴ Veracini, 33.

⁶⁵ “The Choctaws,” *Boston Recorder*, October 24, 1828.

⁶⁶ “A WARNING To Those Who Put Too Much Water in Their Grog.—An Indian Verdict,” *The New Hampshire Gazette*, February 14, 1798.

⁶⁷ *Portland Gazette*, 1817; *Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, November 15, 1817.

⁶⁸ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 38.

⁶⁹ Veracini, 37.

⁷⁰ Secretary of War James Barbour, 1826. In U.S. Congress, *Indian Affairs Volume II*, American State Papers, Class II (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 698. “Your great father does not wish to oppress his red children... [He] expects you... to be industrious and sober.”

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

also fits transfer by coerced lifestyle change, in which Indigenous “social and political organization”⁷² are targeted. Paternalistic interventions like the 1802 Trade and Intercourse Act, in which Section 21 federally prohibited alcohol sales to Indigenous people,⁷³ thus become a mode of elimination. Indigenous attempts to regulate liquor⁷⁴ are delegitimized and replaced by settler authority expressed through laws, institutions, and raw military power.

I argue that the righteous/degraded dialectic presents a contradiction: indigenous Others cannot be both at once, and the logic of elimination necessitates their movement out of the indigenous segment of Figure 2. Those in the lower left quadrant, the degraded, must be repositioned as abject Others,⁷⁵ permanently segregated from the settler body politic. The unruly child cannot be disciplined. This policy motivated the division of ‘Indian country’ from the contiguous U.S., and the mirroring of Figure 1’s buffer zones in physical buffer zones: to “[prevent] a white and Indian population from remaining in immediate contact with each other,” and to “render [Indigenous] access to ardent spirits more difficult,” William Clark, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for tribes west of the Mississippi, argued that there should be a twenty five-mile buffer between the “Missouri line” and the Osage reservation.⁷⁶ Those indigenous Others in the upper left quadrant must be assimilated into the settler collective. This assimilation can occur juridically, as with the Choctaw who became American “homesteaders”⁷⁷ after Greenwood LeFlore’s treaty, but also discursively. This is illustrated by a temperance story in which an Indigenous man, having been offered whiskey, refuses as “tears rolled down his cheeks.” He explains that he had taken a vow of temperance after murdering his own child in a drunken rage. The article’s author recounts that, fifteen years after this vow,

⁷² Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 44.

⁷³ United States Congress, An Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers.

⁷⁴ William E. Unrau, *White Man’s Wicked Water: The Alcohol Trade and Prohibition in Indian Country, 1802-1892* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 19; also see Tenskwatawa’s movement in Chapter 3.

⁷⁵ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 27.

⁷⁶ William Clark to James Barbour, June 11, 1825. In U.S. Congress, *American State Papers Class II Indian Affairs Volume II*, 592.

⁷⁷ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 397.

the Indigenous man “had acquired a handsome property” and lived an industrious life amid “drunken, poor, and wretched” tribesmen.⁷⁸ The story seems tailor-made – the unruly Child renounces liquor, adopts the regenerative habits of the white man, and thereby separates himself from his Indigenous neighbors.

1.3.2. *The Murderous Savage: Indigenous Criminalization*



Figure 4: settler colonial depiction of Indigenous violence

Here, intoxication becomes a racializing signifier of inherent violence, violence having already been essentialized in representations of Indigenous peoples: see Figure 4,⁷⁹ which is simply titled *Native Americans kill a European in a canoe*, and a Christian paper’s claim that Indigenous people might “burst away from the lethargy of intoxication” to attack

oppressors.⁸⁰ Such discourse escalated frontier conflicts: in June of 1827,⁸¹ Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) chief Red Bird, in a party including his father, murdered Registre Gagnier, a French-Canadian fur trader. An 1829 report on the ensuing trial describes the murders as “without provocation,” attributing them to “general malice toward the whites” that “broke forth under

⁷⁸ “INDIAN TESTIMONY,” *Morning Star*, Limerick, Maine, November 6, 1829.

⁷⁹ *Native Americans Kill a European in a Canoe*, 1706,

<https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~5743~9310002:-Native-Americans-kill-a-European-i>.

⁸⁰ Zion’s Herald, “An Address, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the South Carolina Conference Missionary Society, in Charleston, January, 1824, by the Rev. Stephen Olin,” *Zion’s Herald*, August 25, 1824.

⁸¹ “Red Bird, Ho-Chunk Chief, 1788-1828,” in *Wisconsin Historical Society*, 2012, <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS2354>.

the influence of rum.”⁸² A more plausible explanation, provided by an 1827 article, is that the attack was retaliation for the rape of Ho-Chunk women by unidentified white settlers.⁸³ To digress, I did not do extensive research on representations of racialized sexual violence, but Figure 5⁸⁴ demonstrates an inversion of the narrative from this 1827 article; a separate 1828 article further underscores the importance of these narratives as it recounts a “distressing incident” in which “eight persons, of whom seven were females,” embarked on a canoe ride “for the purpose of visiting some Indians.”⁸⁵ Five of the women drowned, the article says – while the distressing nature of the incident derives from its fatality, some distress likely came from the idea of seven white women visiting Indigenous men, and this trope probably had some import in the ‘murderous savage’ type.

Returning to the Ho-Chunk, a series of negotiations failed to convince the Ho-Chunk to surrender Red Bird’s party to the U.S., eventually culminating in the Winnebago War.⁸⁶ The same 1827 article

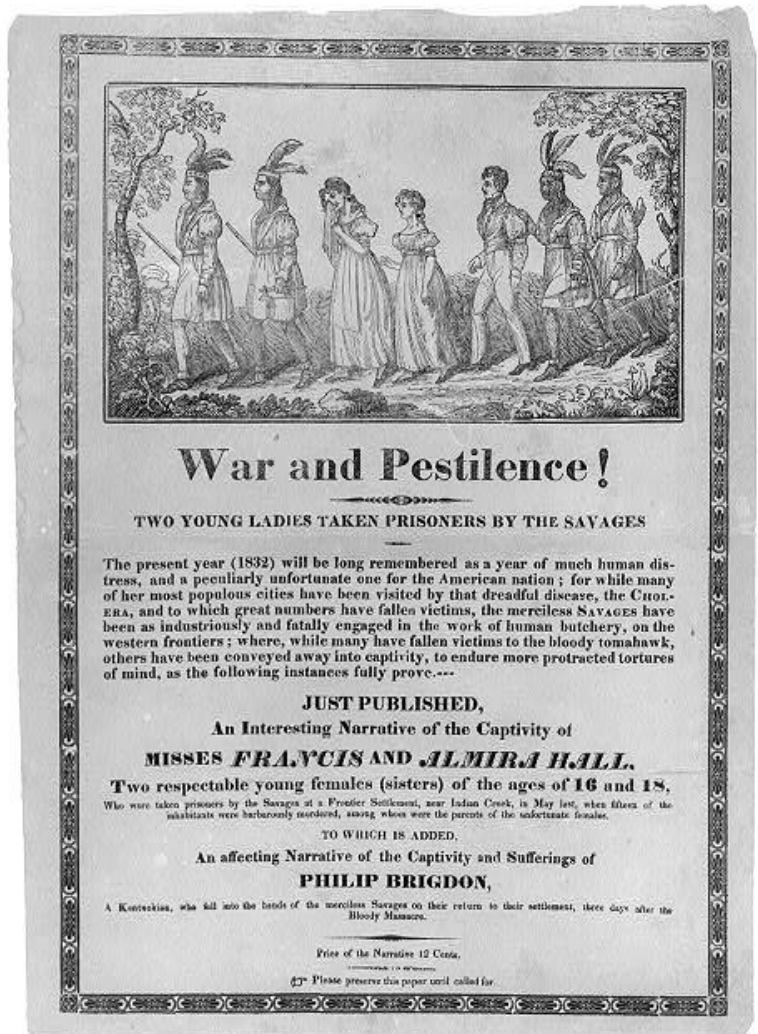


Figure 5: inversion of sexual violence committed by whites

⁸² *Daily Commercial Gazette* (Boston), January 7, 1829.

⁸³ “The Indian War,” *New-Harmony Gazette*, September 26, 1827.

⁸⁴ *War and Pestilence! Two Young Ladies Taken Prisoners by the Savages*, 1833, 1 print: woodcut, 1833, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3a44142>.

⁸⁵ Christian Mirror, “Distressing Sunday Accident,” *Christian Mirror*, August 1, 1828.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

never be civilized... the sooner they are exterminated the better.” In this way, the article supports the idea that this war was overdetermined by the assault, the murder, *and* the discourse of the logic of elimination.

The overall effect of this type is to constitute Indigenous resistance as drunken criminality, justifying public safety measures – for example, a Congressional report claims that the frontier town of Natchez “is always subject to an influx of Indians, who, from excess and intoxication... often breed riots and tumults,” producing the “necessity for a strong and vigilant police.”⁸⁷ The type also illustrates how prohibitory laws around alcohol and Indigenous people, though routinely ignored, were rhetorically wielded to entrench ideas of Indigenous criminality. An Arkansas paper demanded “punishment” for “those who... [sell] spirituous liquors to the Indians... thereby jeopardizing their own and their neighbors’ lives,” and demanded that they follow the said laws.⁸⁸ This framed the illicit trade as a threat to (settler) life while obscuring the broader economy of exploitation.

The dialectic is a tension between resistance and violence. The contest is over the very nature of the settler project: if Indigenous violence takes the form of “riots,” it is unjustified, and must be quelled by force. But Indigenous violence that takes the form of, for example, a pan-Indigenous movement preaching separation from the settler political economy – as I examine in Chapter 3 – exposes the original settler irruption as bald land theft. Resistance, by its very nature, is justified; Indigenous resistance must therefore be represented as wanton violence, often induced by liquor.

In Veracini’s terms, this type fits transfer by “Indigenous incarceration/criminalization,” in which “indigeneity is collapsed with criminal behaviour.”⁸⁹ The logic follows: because the ‘drunken Indian’ has an inherent tendency to be violent when drunk, Indigenous peoples are

⁸⁷ House Select Committee on the Petition of the City of Natchez, “Claims of the City of Natchez,” American State Papers: Public Lands Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. House of Representatives, December 15, 1803).

⁸⁸ “Serious Disturbance with the Indians,” *Arkansas Gazette*, June 11, 1828.

⁸⁹ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 45.

rendered as irredeemable criminals, positioning them as abject Others. By forming inherent associations between Indigenous people and drunken violence, this type effectively racialized ‘the Indian’ in a Foucauldian sense, constituting Indigenous presence as a threat by the very nature of Indigenous being. Wolfe’s logic of elimination operates through the displacement of Indigenous resistance (either violent, or merely Indigenous temperance movements) into pathologized criminality, demanding intensified policing and thereby ensuring settler hegemony.

1.3.3. The Doomed Addict: Narrative Transfer

This figure casts Indigenous people as biologically or civilizationally *destined to vanish*, with addiction cited not as a moral failing, but as tragic proof of their incapacity to survive modernity. Rather than positioning Indigenous people as threats or as candidates for assimilation, this stereotype offers “regret for the inevitable ‘vanishing’”⁹⁰ of Indigenous bodies which, wracked by addiction and other “misfortunes,”⁹¹ are already disappearing under the “tide of history.”⁹² This form maps onto Veracini’s “narrative transfer” type two.

Examples of this type abound to an almost nauseating extent. Indigenous populations, one article says, “will become scattered or extinct from the intoxicated habits which are introduced by the whites.”⁹³ A letter in a Congressional report claims that the “ultimate extinction” of the Potawatomie and Miami is “inevitable, unless” they are prevented from being introduced to “spirituous liquors.”⁹⁴ Jeffrey Ostler notes that Indigenous peoples were quite

⁹⁰ Veracini, 41.

⁹¹ James Barbour to Thomas L. McKenney, “Letter from the Secretary of War to the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Accompanied by a Bill for the Preservation and Civilization of the Indian Tribes within the United States,” February 21, 1826.

⁹² Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 41.

⁹³ “Arkansas, June 28,” *New-Hampshire Patriot & State Gazette*, August 15, 1825.

⁹⁴ William Conner, Calvin Fletcher, and Jordan Vigus to James Barbour, date unknown. Cited in United States Congress, “Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Report from the Secretary of War, in Relation to the Removal of the Indian Agency from Fort Wayne, in Indiana. May 1, 1828. Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States,” Senate Document, Congressional Serial Set (Washington, D.C.).

conscious of settlers' genocidal intent⁹⁵ – intent, he says, which employed liquor, citing a 1790 report from Mohican diplomat Aupaumut fearing that settlers would gift his people poisoned liquor.⁹⁶ This thesis wonders if the poison may have been the liquor itself.

This dialectic counterposes the 'vanishing native' discourse to the State's responsibility for Indigenous lives. With the societal shift toward biopower in full swing,⁹⁷ 1820s discourse implies a collective understanding that the U.S. government must ensure the health of Indigenous populations: see, the Executive must effect "its duty to these unfortunate people,"⁹⁸ or "this government is under a moral obligation to make their situation... comfortable."⁹⁹ Addiction here functions as a biopolitical justification for elimination through care. It renders Indigenous bodies as simultaneously in need of rescue, yet destined to vanish, creating a moral crisis that only removal can resolve: "to prolong their free existence... it was proposed... to effect the removal of all the Indians."¹⁰⁰ Framed as both symptom and cause of civilizational decay, addiction becomes the evidence that Indigenous people cannot survive within the settler body politic, rationalizing transfer not as repression, but as benevolent quarantine. While settler discourse was all-too willing to emphasize the pernicious impact of liquor on Indigenous lives, and even admit complicity, the admission was always in the context of memory. A frequently reprinted exchange between an Ottawa Chief and a reverend proceeds:

Reverend: "I am glad... that you do not drink whiskey, but it grieves me to find that your people use so much of it."

*Chief: "Ah yes!... we Indians use a great deal of whiskey, but we do not make it."*¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Jeffrey Ostler, "'To Extirpate the Indians': An Indigenous Consciousness of Genocide in the Ohio Valley and Lower Great Lakes, 1750s–1810," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (2015): 620, <https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.72.4.0587>.

⁹⁶ Ostler, 607.

⁹⁷ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 239–63.

⁹⁸ James Barbour to President Adams, April 30, 1828. In United States Congress, "Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Report from the Secretary of War, in Relation to the Removal of the Indian Agency from Fort Wayne, in Indiana. May 1, 1828. Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States," 189.

⁹⁹ "Arkansas, June 28.," *New-Hampshire Patriot & State Gazette*, August 15, 1825.

¹⁰⁰ From N. Intelligencer, "Removal of the Indians," *Concord Gazette and Middlesex Yeoman*, October 22, 1825.

¹⁰¹ Boston Traveler, "Miscellany," October 7, 1825.

The only purpose for reprinting such a conversation that admits settlers' role in Indigenous addiction is to represent said addiction as a foregone conclusion. Settler society could have *been* responsible, but now, the narrative would continue, it is too late to do anything about it. What would you have us do; stop producing whiskey!? According to Claudio Saunt, the *repetition* of this discourse made the "imminent extinction" of Indigenous peoples seem an "unquestioned fact."¹⁰² If the narrative successfully locates the "defeat" of an Indigenous people in the past, "their activism in the present is perceived as illegitimate."¹⁰³ Indigenous people were not, in fact, defeated; "the expulsion of indigenous people was far from inevitable" even after 1830.¹⁰⁴ What was represented as the "inevitable and rapid decline" of Indigenous populations, necessitating philanthropy including removal, was really moral cover for settlers "to dispossess native peoples and feel righteous about it."¹⁰⁵

To conclude, the 'drunken Indian' diagnosis thus functions as a settler colonial epistemology. It legitimized federal liquor prohibitions and broader efforts to police, dispossess, and reconstitute Indigenous life. By framing Indigenous people as biologically predisposed to intemperance, settler regimes naturalized exclusion from civil society and justified the imposition of carceral interventions. The addiction concept was operationalized as an instrument of governance,¹⁰⁶ establishing behavioral norms that disproportionately marked racialized others as deviant. The figure of the 'drunken Indian' produced both an anxiety and a solution: racialized Indigenous people as legible only through intoxication, then used that legibility to rationalize dispossession and moral reform. Thus, by the time of the IRA, the figure of the 'drunken Indian' had already been weaponized in three contradictory yet compatible forms: as a child in need of rescue, as a criminal in need of policing, and as a doomed addict

¹⁰² Claudio Saunt, *Unworthy Republic* (W. W. Norton & Company, Incorporated, 2020), 15.

¹⁰³ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 41.

¹⁰⁴ Saunt, *Unworthy Republic*, xviii.

¹⁰⁵ Saunt, 14.

¹⁰⁶ See also Burton, "Intoxication and Empire," 121, 138.

in need of removal. These types were not mutually exclusive but converged, as Chapter 2 will argue, in a conjunctural moment where moral, legal, and religious discourses fused into a coherent rationale for dispossession.

Chapter 2: Hegemonic Incorporation, Protestant Reform, the IBEPIAA, and the Co-optation of Benevolence

The conjunctural analysis attempted by this thesis requires not only the elucidation of the conjunctural moment, but a causal analysis showing how that moment was overdetermined by concrete policies and discursive trends. In Chapter 1, I showed that moral panics based in religious ideology, the settler colonial structure, and the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype all contributed to the cultural matrix from which the IRA emerged. I further showed that the settler colonial structure mobilized the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype as a racializing apparatus, using it to justify transfer strategies that manifested in policy. The following chapters extend the analysis by tracing the development of the types introduced in Chapter 1 and examining their convergence in two conjunctural moments. Using Francis Paul Prucha’s archival work¹⁰⁷ and the primary sources it compiled, this chapter analyzes the formation of the Indian Board for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America (IBEPIAA) as a site of ideological incorporation, where Protestant resistance to removal was absorbed and redirected toward support for elimination. The analysis should concretely ground Veracini’s observation that settler colonialism operates on material *and* discursive scales.

¹⁰⁷ Francis Paul Prucha, “Thomas L. McKenney and the New York Indian Board,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 48, no. 4 (March 1962): 635, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1893146>.

2.1. Historical Background: Thomas L. McKenney, Propagandist and Paternalist



Figure 6: Thomas L. McKenney

In researching for this thesis, I became fascinated with McKenney, (pictured in Figure 6¹⁰⁸) a career opportunist who engaged in a quid pro quo with John C. Calhoun: as Secretary of War under Monroe, Calhoun created the Bureau of Indian Affairs with McKenney as its head,¹⁰⁹ this served as payment for McKenney's newspaper, the *Washington Republican*, supporting Calhoun's failed 1824 presidential bid. The transactional relationship was an open secret, but was alleged

frequently by the *Washington Gazette*, in one case accusing Calhoun of using his franking privileges – and the congressional funds they granted – to have clerks mail the *Republican* and its pro-Calhoun propaganda to non-subscribers.¹¹⁰ The case later led to a congressional investigation. The relevancy of this is to show that McKenney was a known grifter, positioning him as an ideal candidate for Jacksonian propagandist.

¹⁰⁸ Charles Loring Elliott, *Thomas McKenney*, Painting: oil on canvas, Frame: 77.5 x 64.8cm (30 1/2 x 25 1/2"), 1856, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.2011.62.

¹⁰⁹ David H. DeJong, "Thomas L. McKenney: Superintendent of Indian Trade (April 12, 1816–May 6, 1822), Chief Clerk (March 12, 1824–August 16, 1830)," in *Paternalism to Partnership, The Administration of Indian Affairs, 1786–2021* (University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 40, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv2cw0sp9.12>.

¹¹⁰ *Washington Gazette*, September 21, 1822.

McKenney's civil involvement with Indigenous 'civilization' began with his serving, in 1822, on the Ways and Means committee of the American Society for Promoting the Civilization and General Improvement of the Indian Tribes within the United States.¹¹¹ Clearly, acronyms had not been invented yet. The Society's constitution contained a laundry list of settler colonial transfer strategies: in order to 'civilize' Indigenous peoples, it aimed to assess Indigenous "dispositions to receive instruction," to conduct a census of Indigenous ethnic



groups,¹¹² to create “experimental farms in the immediate view of Indians,” (see: Figure 7,¹¹³ Figure 7: example of farms of the period

which shows a modernist rendition of agriculture using sharp divisions) and to survey the mineral content of Indigenous lands.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ From the New-York Daily Advertiser, “Civilization of Indians,” *Boston Recorder*, March 16, 1822.

¹¹² For an analysis of the census’ function in colonial projects, see: Arjun Appadurai, “Number in the Colonial Imagination,” in *The Rise and Fall of Modern Empires, Volume II* (Routledge, 2013).

¹¹³ Patrick Campbell, *Plan of an American New-Cleared Farm*, 1793, 1 print: engraving, 1793, JCB Archive of Early American Images, <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~438~115901139:Plan-of-an-American-New-Cleared-Far>.

¹¹⁴ *The First Annual Report of the American Society for Promoting the Civilization and General Improvement of the Indian Tribes in the United States* (Printed for the Society, by S. Converse, 1824), http://archive.org/details/Ayer_2_A534_1824.

These respectively fit Veracini's transfer by assimilation, transfer by accounting,¹¹⁵ and transfer by coerced lifestyle change. The mineral content survey predicts the exploitation of Indigenous lead,¹¹⁶ gold,¹¹⁷ and copper¹¹⁸ resources. So, 'civilizing' in this context entailed paternalism, resource expropriation, and exercise of biopower.

2.2. 1829: Political Alignment and the Limits of Juridical Opposition

When Jackson took office in 1829, the political stars aligned for the IRA. Jackson brought with him the mandate of "land-poor white rural people" who wanted "land [made] available to them by ridding it of Indians."¹¹⁹ Georgia finally saw an end to its protracted fight over Cherokee land,¹²⁰ officially annexing it nine months after Jackson's inauguration.¹²¹ Debates over removal took two main forms: a juridical, and a moral argument. The juridical argument hinged on the relationship of the Cherokee to their land. Georgia's position, represented by McKenney, Secretary of War John H. Eaton, and President Jackson,¹²² was that the Cherokee held only a possessory right of occupancy,¹²³ "permitted to live and hunt"¹²⁴ but not to exercise political authority. In response, the Cherokee position, expressed in a congressional memorial, rejected Georgia's appellation of the Cherokee as "tenants at will"¹²⁵

¹¹⁵ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 39.

¹¹⁶ "The Winnebago tribe of Indians... owns... the most abundant and the richest repository of lead ore to be found on the globe." Sentinel and Witness, "Foreign Intelligence," *American Sentinel*, November 5, 1828.

¹¹⁷ Georgia General Assembly, "An Act to Authorize the Governor to Take Possession of the Gold, Silver, and Other Mines, Lying and Being in That Section of the Chartered Limits of Georgia, Commonly Called the Cherokee Country, and Those upon All Other Unappropriated Lands of the State, and for Punishing Any Person or Persons, Who May Hereafter Be Found Trespassing upon Said Mines" (1830), <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~gachero2/GaLaws.htm#1830-12-02>.

¹¹⁸ McKenney later oversaw a treaty to "obtain from the [Sioux] the privilege of working and carrying away any metal or minerals found in their territory" – mostly copper. "Indian Affairs," *Christian Register*, October 7, 1826.

¹¹⁹ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, 109.

¹²⁰ Dunbar-Ortiz, 110.

¹²¹ "An Act to... Extend the Laws of This State over the [Cherokees]; and to Annul All Laws and Ordinances Made by the Cherokee Nation of Indians, (1829).

¹²² Prucha, "Thomas L. McKenney and the New York Indian Board," 636.

¹²³ Letter from McKenney to J. Evarts, May 1, 1829. In *Documents and Proceedings Relating to the Formation and Progress of a Board in the City of New York, for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement, of the Aborigines of America* (New York, Vanderpool & Cole, printers, 1829), 12, <http://archive.org/details/documentsandpro00amergoog>.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹²⁵ United States Congress, "Memorials of the Cherokee Indians, Signed by Their Representatives, and by 3,085 Individuals of the Nation," Congressional Serial Set (Washington, DC, February 15, 1830), 3,

on the basis that President Washington sent “Commissioners Plenipotentiaries” to treat with the Cherokee at Hopewell in 1785¹²⁶ and Holston in 1791.¹²⁷ This constituted, in the Cherokee argument, an admission of Cherokee sovereignty.¹²⁸ While my characterization of the legal specifics lacks some nuance, the conclusion was definite: in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Justice John Marshall ruled in favor of the Cherokee, declaring that the Cherokee comprised “a state... capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself,”¹²⁹ and could not therefore be subsumed under Georgia’s laws. The executive’s response may shed light on the relative power of juridical interventions in general: removal proceeded because “Jackson... had an army while Marshall did not.”¹³⁰

2.3. Appropriating Christian Discourse: The Government's Moral Counter-Offensive

The moral dialectic, in which both sides committed the government to the “survival of the Indians,”¹³¹ likely held more political salience than the juridical dialectic. At the start of 1829, the loudest voices came from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), a Protestant group with extensive missions within Indigenous communities.¹³² The ABCFM, led by Secretary Jeremiah Evarts, opposed removal for a few reasons: on the surface, its missionaries maintained that removal would hamper its ‘civilizing’ program,¹³³ which focused on religious education and temperance. For a more cynical

<https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/doc?p=SERIAL&docref=image/v2%3A0FD2A62D41CEB699%40SERIAL-10133EC067DF0800%40-141B73393B6A8688%400>.

¹²⁶ United States Congress, Treaty of Hopewell.

¹²⁷ United States Congress, “Treaty with the Cherokee” (1791), <https://treaties.okstate.edu/treaties/treaty-with-the-cherokee-1791-0029>.

¹²⁸ United States Congress, “Memorials of the Cherokee Indians, Signed by Their Representatives, and by 3,085 Individuals of the Nation,” 3.

¹²⁹ Peters, *The Case of the Cherokee Nation against the State of Georgia; Argued and Determined at the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term 1831*, 160.

¹³⁰ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*, 110.

¹³¹ Prucha, “Thomas L. McKenney and the New York Indian Board,” 635.

¹³² Prucha, 636.

¹³³ Will Chavez, “Historic Profile: Missionaries Stood with Cherokees to Fight Removal,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, August 21, 2012, https://www.cherokeephox.org/culture/historic-profile-missionaries-stood-with-cherokees-to-fight-removal/article_c465a5a2-6344-5054-9d87-e0c89756d3d8.html.

motivation, this thesis suggests that the ABCFM opposed removal to protect its \$10,000 federal grant and the infrastructure of twenty-one schools the grant supported.¹³⁴

With the ABCFM as the loudest voice on the moral dimensions of removal, Prucha says, the Jackson administration had McKenney establish the Indian Board for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America (IBEPIAA) to argue, “under the aegis of... Christian concern for the Indian,” Jackson’s pro-removal position.¹³⁵ The IBEPIAA therefore served as a tool of propaganda, not unlike McKenney’s *Republican*. In July of 1829, McKenney used War Department funds¹³⁶ – an irony in light of Calhoun’s alleged 1822 fraud – to publish a document containing the new organization’s constitution.

2.4 Hegemonic Incorporation and the Transformation of Protestant Discourse

Recalling the section on conjunctural analysis in this thesis’ Introduction, a hegemonic structure, during the “active process”¹³⁷ that constitutes hegemony, must continually defend against resistance as new cultural forms come into being. This thesis has argued that the settler colonial structure played a constitutive role in the IRA; I can extend this by arguing that settler colonialism was a *hegemonic* order that selectively included¹³⁸ oppositional elements to maintain its dominance. So far, we have seen this play out in the selective inclusion of indigenous Others like Greenwood LeFlore into the settler collective, thereby erasing their presence as indigenous. This section argues that the IBEPIAA *incorporated*¹³⁹ ABCFM Protestant discourse; specifically, the ‘civilizing mission’ and a paternalistic position relative to Indigenous peoples, as part of the settler colonial structure, resolving the dialectic in which the ABCFM represented *transfer by assimilation* and the IBEPIAA *ethnic transfer*.

¹³⁴ Prucha, “Thomas L. McKenney and the New York Indian Board,” 636.

¹³⁵ Prucha, 637.

¹³⁶ Prucha, 646.

¹³⁷ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 115.

¹³⁸ Williams, 116.

¹³⁹ Williams, 122.

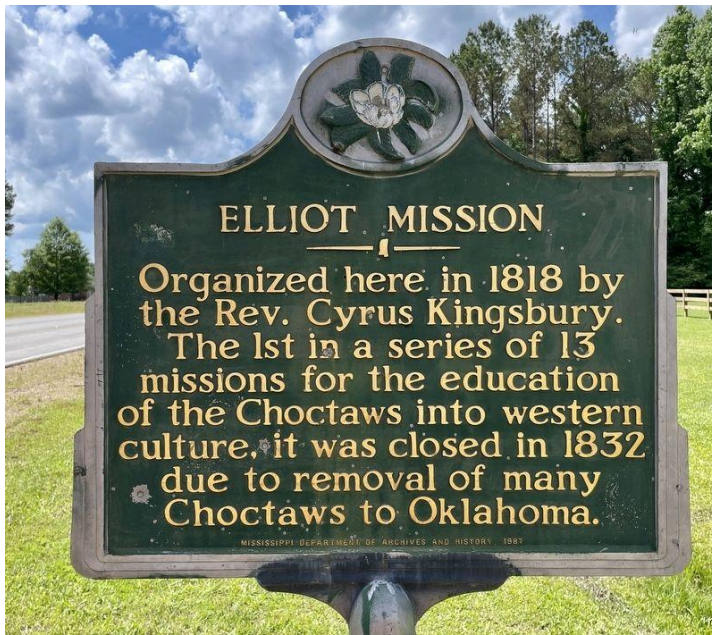


Figure 8: Elliot Mission

Both the ABCFM and the IBEPIAA employed the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype. As argued in Chapter 1, transfer by assimilation (pursued by the ABCFM) employs ‘the child’ as a discursive type, positioning Indigenous people as unruly drunks in need of guidance. An 1828 report on the Elliot Mission, founded in 1818 (see Figure 8¹⁴⁰) by ABCFM missionary Cyrus Kingsbury, claims that between 1825’s ten

murders “in consequence of intoxication” and 1828, “only one death by drunkenness has occurred.”¹⁴¹ If we view this discourse as the ‘murderous savage’ type, the dialectic invoked would not result in civilizing discourse; instead of missionaries, the eliminatory actors would be the military. Kingsbury continued pushing the civilizing mission in an 1830 letter which credits the Elliot mission for making “intemperance within the nation... hardly known,”¹⁴² framing this temperance as “improvement” in the condition of the Choctaw. This fits the trend in which “Puritan ministers saw themselves as responsible” for the behavior of their charges,¹⁴³ believing that only religious instruction could produce temperance. For example, a retrospective on Oneida chief Skenandoa recalls that he was “addicted to drunkenness” until Reverend Kirkland, a Presbyterian (like many in the ABCFM), turned Skenandoa into a “reformed man.”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Mark Hilton, “Elliot Mission,” The Historical Marker Database, 2021, <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=173979>.

¹⁴¹ Boston Recorder, “The Choctaws.”

¹⁴² Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, “Extracts from a Letter Written by the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury to the War Department,” February 8, 1830.

¹⁴³ Burton, “Intoxication and Empire,” 137.

¹⁴⁴ “Skenandoh, the Oneida Chief,” *Boston Telegraph*, November 11, 1824.

While the ABCFM deployed the 'drunken Indian' stereotype to justify paternalistic intervention, the IBEPIAA appropriated the same discourse toward a different end. While McKenney is quite clear in his paternalism, writing, "I look upon the Indians... to be nothing but children,"¹⁴⁵ his incessant references to the vanishing of Indigenous peoples indicate that he believes the government no longer capable of reforming these children. Instead, the IBEPIAA employed what Chapter 1 identified as the 'doomed addict' type to portray Indigenous people, by virtue of their addiction, as constitutionally incapable of coexistence with settler society. The IBEPIAA's constitutional document includes a letter from McKenney to Evarts – a declaration of cultural war between the two groups – in which McKenney displays a surprisingly sophisticated, though racist, understanding of the U.S. settler colonial situation. The letter exhibits a grotesque *realpolitik* that acknowledges the brutality of settler colonialism but retreats to the position that nothing can be done save removal – a quintessential example of 'narrative transfer.' McKenney blames the "final disappearing of the red before the white man"¹⁴⁶ upon the "*intellectual, moral, political, and social relations*"¹⁴⁷ between Indigenous peoples and the settler collective. He argues that, because "the Indian is seen to be degraded,"¹⁴⁸ Indigenous peoples face "total impracticability"¹⁴⁹ of participation in settler society. The U.S.' settler colonial structure, as I interpret McKenney, has determined relations between indigenous Others and settlers such that assimilation has become impossible; and, if Indigenous peoples do not remove west, they will be eliminated. McKenney's claim that "*it could not have been otherwise*,"¹⁵⁰ in the letter's context referring to the Cherokee's land rights always being

¹⁴⁵ "McKenney Removal Talk," *Cherokee Phoenix*, November 18, 1829.

¹⁴⁶ McKenney, *Documents and Proceedings Relating to the Formation and Progress of a Board in the City of New York, for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement, of the Aborigines of America*, 13.

¹⁴⁷ McKenney, 13.

¹⁴⁸ McKenney to Evarts, May 1, 1829, *Documents and Proceedings Relating to the Formation and Progress of a Board in the City of New York, for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement, of the Aborigines of America*, 14.

¹⁴⁹ McKenney, 14.

¹⁵⁰ McKenney to Evarts, May 1, 1829. In Thomas Loraine McKenney, *Documents and Proceedings Relating to the Formation and Progress of a Board in the City of New York, for the Emigration, Preservation, and*

possessory, in reality reveals a blueprint: in a settler colony, Indigenous sovereignty is impossible by design.

McKenney does not explicitly reference temperance in this document, so until this point, he has employed the ‘vanishing native’ but not the ‘doomed addict.’ We must examine his other writings to fill in the blanks as to his inclusion of liquor within “those elements, which... beat so destructively” upon Indigenous peoples.¹⁵¹ In 1821, McKenney in fact praised Mayhew, an ABCFM school, for its “important work of civilizing and evangelizing [Choctaw] children”¹⁵² – probably partially to justify the federal funds requisitioned by the 1819 Civilization Fund Act, which aimed to “teach Indian children reading, writing and arithmetic, &c.”¹⁵³ McKenney argued that Indigenous peoples should hand over their annuities, with which they would otherwise indulge their “propensities to drunkenness,” to mission schools to avoid situations, like that of the Wyandot, in which “annuity grounds... [display] a scene of riot, and drunkenness, and murder.”¹⁵⁴ Clearly positioning the indigenous Others far toward the degraded part of Veracini’s grid, and still committed to transfer, McKenney nevertheless believed in the assimilation project at this point. Prucha claims that McKenney’s view shifted in 1827, after a tour of the states convinced him that the “degradation” of Indigenous peoples meant “that the survival of the Indians depended upon their separation from the whites.”¹⁵⁵ It takes no large leap to intuit that drunkenness played a part in this perception of degradation, but an 1827 letter drives the point home. McKenney writes that the Muscogee “are a wretched

Improvement, of the Aborigines of America (New York, Vanderpool & Cole, printers, 1829), 12, <http://archive.org/details/documentsandpro00amergoog>.

¹⁵¹ McKenney, 18.

¹⁵² “Office of Indian Trade, Georgetown, Aug. 15, 1821,” *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 11, 1821.

¹⁵³ “An Act Making Provision for the Civilization of the Indian Tribes Adjoining the Frontier Settlements.,” (1819).

¹⁵⁴ “Office of Indian Trade, Georgetown, Aug. 15, 1821.”

¹⁵⁵ Prucha, “Thomas L. McKenney and the New York Indian Board,” 637.

people. Poverty and distress are visible every where; and these have become entailed upon them by habitual drunkenness.”¹⁵⁶

Still, it remains unclear what difference exists between the 1827 Muscogee and the 1821 Wyandot. Here we must return to the beginning of the chapter, in which I claimed that McKenney was a career opportunist. It is likely that *no difference* exists between the 1827 Muscogee and the 1821 Wyandot; that McKenney’s shift derived not from demographic developments among Indigenous populations – after all, some demographers argue that Indigenous populations in fact *grew* in the 18th and 19th centuries¹⁵⁷ – but from the shifting political landscape, in which removal began to appear more likely than assimilation. The pressure from Georgia, the hunger for land and mineral resources, and the presidency of “genocidal sociopath Andrew Jackson”¹⁵⁸ signaled the direction of the wind, and McKenney simply adjusted his position accordingly.

This case demonstrates how the IBEPIAA functioned as a hegemonic apparatus, incorporating the ABCFM’s civilizing discourse into the dominant settler colonial structure while neutralizing its oppositional potential. The ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype, a *residual* cultural formation rooted in 17th-century colonial encounters – “effectively formed in the past, but... still active in the cultural process”¹⁵⁹ – was repurposed by McKenney to serve the state’s removal agenda. By adopting the paternalistic discourse of missionaries while shifting its implications, the IBEPIAA transformed a moral argument *against* displacement into one that rendered removal not just justifiable, but *inevitable*.

This inevitability was determined by a settler colonial structure whose very makeup depended on elimination of indigenous Others. McKenney’s creation of the IBEPIAA can be

¹⁵⁶ Cherokee Phoenix, “Indian Emigration. Extract of a Letter from Thomas L. M’Kinney, to the Secretary of War, Dated Nov. 29, 1827,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828.

¹⁵⁷ Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), http://archive.org/details/americanindianho00thor_0.

¹⁵⁸ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*, 94.

¹⁵⁹ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 122.

seen as an action of the ideological State apparatus; the totality of those “specialized institutions” in the private domain (e.g., churches, media, civic organizations) which function through ideology rather than through pure repression.¹⁶⁰ I am aware that Althusser’s structural materialism risks reducing hegemony to a static, deterministic system. I adopt Hall’s approach, emphasizing the contingent and contested nature of ideological incorporation, while using Althusser’s conceptual tool of the ideological State apparatus to identify the unified nature of the ideology beneath this process.¹⁶¹ settler colonialism, which, as Veracini says, utilizes a multiplicity of dialectics and discursive forms to enact transfer and replacement. Hall himself conceptualizes the State as a “structuring force” that operates both coercively and through education – delimiting and articulating “cultural possibilities.”¹⁶² The IBEPIAA’s propaganda weaponized missionary discourse to reinforce the settler colonial order by framing Indigenous peoples as irredeemable, ‘doomed addicts’ and removal as the only viable ‘solution.’ This incorporation was a calculated act of domination, ensuring that even resistance was rearticulated in service of hegemony. The Cherokee’s legal victory in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* ultimately proved hollow against this structural reality: proof that juridical opposition, when unaccompanied by material power, could be overridden by a state committed to elimination.

McKenney’s career epitomizes the fluidity and ruthlessness of hegemonic incorporation. His ideological pivot from assimilationist to removalist was not a genuine evolution but a strategic realignment with the dominant settler colonial project. His words, therefore, reflect not his personal ideology but the ideological strategies of the dominant class at any particular time. He is an empty vessel. The case thus underscores both the dynamism of cultural hegemony and its systemic, often violent enforcement. The IBEPIAA’s successful

¹⁶⁰ Louis Althusser and Fredric Jameson, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, trans. Benjamin Robert Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001, originally published 1971), 143-145.

¹⁶¹ Althusser and Jameson, 146.

¹⁶² Hall, Slack, and Grossberg, *Cultural Studies* 1983, 163.

appropriation of Protestant discourse demonstrates how settler colonial hegemony operated not through crude suppression alone, but through the sophisticated transformation of oppositional elements into instruments of domination.

Chapter 3: Contested Temperance – William McIntosh and Settler Appropriation of Indigenous Sobriety



Figure 9: Tenskwatawa

Bowen, John T., Lithographer, Alfred M Hoffy, Frederick W Greenough, Thomas Loraine McKenney, and James Hall. *Tens-Kwau-Ta-Waw, the prophet / A.H. ; drawn, printed & coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St. , ca. 1838.* [Philadelphia: Published by F.W. Greenough] Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95502239/>.

3.1. Tenskwatawa: Temperance as Anti-Colonial Resistance

The Shawnee Lalawauthika became known as Tenskwatawa (the Open Door)¹⁶³, or The Prophet, after a religious vision revived him from a life of isolated drinking. From this religious experience he developed tenets of a pan-Indigenous spiritual movement primarily aimed at seceding from the cultural and material entanglements of settler society.¹⁶⁴ He preached abstinence from liquor, attributing all Indigenous woes to drinking and claiming that “white people... alone know how” to drink healthily.¹⁶⁵ Like future incarnations of Temperance discourse such as those that eventually culminated in the 18th Amendment, Tenskwatawa’s took on a decidedly political shape. Jortner argues that “the ban on alcohol” fit within “the larger prohibition against white goods and culture.”¹⁶⁶ Three years later, Tenskwatawa united with his brother Tecumseh in a move from Ohio to Indiana to establish Prophetstown, a territorial entity described by Indian agent¹⁶⁷ John Johnston as “an Indian city-state possessing more ‘Western’ political structures.”¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ Tim Fulford and Kevin Douglas Hutchings, “Introduction: The Indian Atlantic,” in *Native Americans and Anglo-American Culture, 1750-1850: The Indian Atlantic* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2009).

¹⁶⁴ Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 97–102.

¹⁶⁵ Jortner, 100.

¹⁶⁶ Jortner, 100.

¹⁶⁷ The “temporary agents, to reside among the Indians” appointed by the President, specified in the Trade and Intercourse Acts starting with “An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse With the Indian Tribes” (1793), https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/na025.asp.

¹⁶⁸ Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown*, 147.



In this cartographer's rendition, Prophetstown is imagined as a city-state, with the 1809 Fort Wayne Treaty lands forming its border with the United States.

Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 146.

Figure 10: map of Prophetstown

Furthermore, as part of forsaking civilized society, Tenskwatawa's program instructed followers "not to sell their goods to whites"¹⁶⁹ – a prohibition that, crucially, precluded land cessions. Tecumseh later urged Prophetstown residents to "consider their land as the common property of the whole."¹⁷⁰ This clashed with American tolerance of Indigenous governance only so long as Indigenous leaders accommodated American wishes by "demean[ing] themselves."¹⁷¹ The U.S. could not tolerate a unified pan-Indigenous state that resembled a foreign nation within U.S. borders more than a protectorate "depend[ing] on [U.S.] friendship."¹⁷² This measure of solidarity, transcending tribal divisions, angered William Henry Harrison, who described the idea of common Indigenous lands as "extremely absurd" precisely because it would "prevent any further purchase of lands by the United States."¹⁷³

To conclude the analysis, one could call Tenskwatawa's religious program a temperance movement, but this undersells its political importance. The brothers established a proto-state that directly contravened the territorial aims of the United States – aims that, until Tenskwatawa's interference, had received little resistance from accommodationist Indigenous leadership.¹⁷⁴ Temperance formed part of a robust pan-Indigenous identity centered on resistance to a settler culture and its copious whiskey consumption. Blue Jacket embodied this fiery resistance when he "promised to smash any whiskey barrels he found,"¹⁷⁵ a proclamation with eerie resemblance to the Boston Tea Party's "Destruction of this Tea"¹⁷⁶ perpetrated by separatists dressed as caricatures of Indigenous people (a "Transfer by Performance" in

¹⁶⁹ Jortner, 99.

¹⁷⁰ Tecumseh's speech to Governor Harrison, August 20, 1810. In *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison, Volume 1*, 465.

¹⁷¹ The speech of the President of the United States to the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, February 7, 1791. In *American State Papers II Indian Affairs Vol. 1*, (Buffalo, N.Y.: W.S. Hein, 1998), 144.

¹⁷² From George Washington to James Duane, September 7, 1783.

¹⁷³ Annual Message, November 12, 1810. Harrison, *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison, Volume 1*, 490.

¹⁷⁴ Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown*, 103.

¹⁷⁵ Jortner, 101.

¹⁷⁶ From the Diary of John Adams, December 1773. In Founders Online and National Archives, *The Adams Papers, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, vol. 2 (Harvard University Press, 1961), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0003-0008>.

Veracini's typology¹⁷⁷). In each case, rebels cast aside a drink identified with the culture of the enemy (White civilization or Britain), and in so doing established their own oppositional cultural norms. This symbolic rejection of settler vice was not mere performative defiance, but a *material* strategy. By smashing whiskey barrels and banning trade with whites, the movement attacked the economic lifelines of settler expansion.

Tenskwatawa's movement challenged even more than U.S. territorial expansion – it threatened the fundamental structure of settler sovereignty. In the settler colonial structure, settlers establish normativity by manipulating the divisions between population segments.¹⁷⁸ When Indigenous people began defining their own terms of engagement with settler society, even terms that aligned with U.S. policy preferences like racial separation and sobriety, they were claiming the sovereign right to set the rules. Just like the Cherokee attempt to create a sovereign state, this represented an existential threat to settler colonial power. In the first decades of the 19th century, the U.S. tolerated Indigenous sobriety only when it served assimilation, as with the ABCFM. Tenskwatawa's movement, by contrast, weaponized sobriety against the settler political economy. This inversion of settler logic could not be absorbed into the settler colonial structure and thus required elimination. By one argument, this repression took the form of the Creek War of 1813-1814 (depicted in Figure 11¹⁷⁹). For this thesis about addiction, though, I am more interested in the discursive response mobilized by the settler colonial structure. As Tenskwatawa's movement gained followers and Prophetstown emerged

¹⁷⁷ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 47.

¹⁷⁸ Veracini, 32.

¹⁷⁹ Abel Bowen, *A View of Col. Johnson's Engagement with the Savages (Commanded by Tecumseh) near Moravian Town, October 5th 1812 [i.e., 1813]*, 1 print: woodcut, hand-colored, 1828, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2012645379/>.



Figure 11: Creek War

as a symbol of pan-Indigenous defiance, the 'murderous savage' type – developed in Chapter 1 – was deployed in reverse to recast political resistance as irrational violence. This incorporative move utilized the figure of William McIntosh.

3.2. William McIntosh: Temperance as Settler Tool

The success of Tenskwatawa's movement created a crisis for U.S. authorities. If Indigenous peoples could claim moral authority through sobriety while rejecting assimilation, the entire justification for removal collapsed. William McIntosh provided the solution: a model of Indigenous temperance that validated rather than challenged settler norms. His mixed-race identity and 'stolen education' narrative cast him as a liminal figure; neither fully Indigenous nor white, but useful to settlers as proof of assimilation's 'success.'

McIntosh was born to a Scottish father and Senoia Henneha, likely a member of an “aristocratic” Muscogee clan.¹⁸⁰ In this way he serves as a neat foil to Tenskwatawa’s admonition for “Indian women” to “abandon their white husbands and mestizo children.”¹⁸¹ On his father’s side, McIntosh could trace his lineage to a collection of “emigrant Highland Scots”¹⁸² brought to James Oglethorpe’s original Savannah colony. Dunbar-Ortiz recounts that these Scots Highlanders, from whom McIntosh’s grandfather descended, were “brutal killers” who aided the mid 18th-century British war effort against Spain by “ranging, looting, and scalp hunting,” with Spanish-allied Indigenous people as the targets.¹⁸³ McIntosh’s paternal lineage thus situates him as a perfect candidate to be absorbed into the settler collective. Chapman (1988) continues the McIntosh origin story by citing Harriet Corbin’s claim that McIntosh’s Creek uncles covertly removed him from a ship destined for Scotland, where he was to undergo formal education at his father’s behest.¹⁸⁴ The story, with its trope of ‘savage’ relatives stealing away the mixed-race child to prevent his civilization, reads more like an apocryphal morality tale than a verified episode.

¹⁸⁰ George Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh: A Man of Two Worlds*, 1. ed (Atlanta, Ga: Cherokee Publication Co, 1988), 13–14.

¹⁸¹ Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*, Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History (Cambridge (GB) New York Melbourne [etc...]: Cambridge university press, 1999), 250.

¹⁸² Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 13.

¹⁸³ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*, 66.

¹⁸⁴ Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 19.

I agree with Naomi Slipp's (2020) insight that McIntosh serves as a "mythic figure" used to support the "Southern, predominantly white viewpoint of the moment."¹⁸⁵ He is constantly represented as being between two cultures – Slipp showcases a portrait of McIntosh wearing a cultural mishmash of artifacts,¹⁸⁶ and Chapman uncritically writes that McIntosh "heard the call of the forest... but also felt drawn to the white man's world."¹⁸⁷ This ambivalent position allows rhetorical leeway ("he became all things to all people"¹⁸⁸) in stories about McIntosh, yielding no essential contradiction between describing him as "worthless and unprincipled"¹⁸⁹ or as "truly distinguished."¹⁹⁰

The events important to this thesis concentrate on the 1825 Treaty of Indian Springs and its aftermath, in which the Creek Nation, represented by a small faction led by McIntosh, ceded all its lands within Georgia in exchange for \$400,000 and land west of the Mississippi River.¹⁹¹ In

this way, the Treaty heralded the form of the 1830 Indian Removal Act. McIntosh, by any



Fig. 7. Albert Newsam, after Charles Bird King, "William McIntosh," 1836. Hand-colored lithograph on paper, image dimensions: 17 5/16 x 11 3/4 inches. In Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, 3 vols. (Vol 1; Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle, 1836), plate facing page 129. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Figure 12: McIntosh in settler garb

¹⁸⁵ Naomi Slipp, "Traversing Two Cultures: A Portrait of William McIntosh, Southern Slave Owner and Lower Creek Chief," *Panorama: Journal of the Association of Historians of American Art* 6, no. 2 (2020): 7, <https://doi.org/10.24926/24716839.10640>.

¹⁸⁶ Slipp, 6.

¹⁸⁷ Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 17.

¹⁸⁸ Slipp, "Traversing Two Cultures," 8.

¹⁸⁹ Speech of John Forsyth, May 20, 1826. In United States Congress, *Register of Debates in Congress. Nineteenth Congress... First Session: Commencing December 5, 1825, and Ending May 22, 1826*, vol. II, Register of Debates (Washington D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1826), 2668, http://archive.org/details/sim_united-states-congress-register-of-debates-in-congress_december-5-7-1825-may-22-1826_2.

¹⁹⁰ "A Sketch of The Life of Gen. Wm. McIntosh, The Indian Chieftain," *Savannah Republican*, May 25, 1825.

¹⁹¹ Treaty with the Creeks: Indian Springs, February 12, 1825. In Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History* (New York, NY: Random House, 1973), 2389.

measure, lacked the authority to make the treaty, as while the commissioners of the Treaty wrote to Georgia Governor Troup – not coincidentally, McIntosh’s cousin¹⁹² – in February that “we concluded a treaty... with what we consider the [Creek] nation,”¹⁹³ McIntosh himself was aware that Creek laws prohibited such unilateral sales. Opothleyahola, the chief of Tuckabatchee (another village), said that “General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold... without the consent of all the nation.”¹⁹⁴

In one sense, the commissioners used McIntosh’s authority as ‘Creek chief’ (though only of the Coweta town¹⁹⁵) as an expedient to push through a treaty that massively benefited U.S. expansion. The ‘Creek’ are not one ethnic group; instead, the name refers to a confederation of chiefdoms that coalesced after the collapse of the Mississippian cultural order, gradually forming a loose union of towns and clans that settlers called Creek.¹⁹⁶ The Treaty of Indian Springs was exactly the sort of deal that Tecumseh had railed against fifteen years earlier when he insisted that tribal warriors retake authority from “village chiefs” who substituted their will for that of the tribe.¹⁹⁷ For his initiative, McIntosh received \$25,000 for personal properties located in the cession, stipulated by an additional article appended two days after the Treaty was signed. He was also “probably” paid for signing the Treaty itself.¹⁹⁸ At a deeper level, McIntosh’s mythic function as an empty vessel clearly began even before his death in April. The U.S. utilized McIntosh’s “honor and dignity”¹⁹⁹ as moral cover for a treaty, the validity of which was undermined only a year later by the 1826 Treaty of Washington.²⁰⁰

¹⁹² Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 111.

¹⁹³ “Treaty with the Creek Indians Confirmed,” *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Reprinted from *Savannah Republican*, February 26, 1825.

¹⁹⁴ Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States*, 2389.

¹⁹⁵ Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 22.

¹⁹⁶ Abe Cabrera, “Atassa: Lessons of the Creek War (1813-1814),” in *Atassa: Readings in Eco-Extremism* (Berkeley: Ardent Press, 2016), 79, <https://dn790009.ca.archive.org/0/items/atassa-1-readings-in-eco-extremism/Atassa%201%20Readings%20in%20Eco-Extremism.pdf>.

¹⁹⁷ John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life*, 1. ed, A John Macrae Book (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Co, 1998), 200.

¹⁹⁸ Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 111.

¹⁹⁹ Chapman, 22.

²⁰⁰ Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States*, 2389.

3.3. Temperance as Contested Sovereignty

The idea for this case study began when I read an article recounting the death of Little Prince, the principal chief of the Creek during the 1813 War.²⁰¹ The article tells a story in which Little Prince got drunk in the presence of a newspaper editor and “fell from his chair in a state of beastly intoxication.” McIntosh, who was also present and “mortified that a brother chief should so disgrace himself,” had Little Prince “exposed to the gaze of about 2500 of his people.”²⁰² Whether factual or fabricated, the account reveals how temperance narratives functioned as tools of power. By contrasting McIntosh’s ‘civilized’ restraint with Little Prince’s ‘beastly’ intoxication, settler narratives recast Indigenous temperance as individual morality (rewarded with land ‘sales’) rather than collective sovereignty.

This thesis argues, as Tenskwatawa seriously challenged the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype by severing the relationship between liquor and the racialization of ‘the Indian,’ that McIntosh served as a discursive response to Tenskwatawa, allowing U.S. settler colonialism to reconstitute Indigenous temperance in the terms of the settler collective by transforming it into a marker of white civilization. Where Tenskwatawa’s temperance was a refusal of settler control of the population economy, McIntosh’s became part of the myth that made him legible in treaty negotiations. The former rejected the commodification of land; the latter enabled it. For the ‘drunken Indian’ trope to serve its function as a racializing technology, sobriety needed to be a heroic, individual choice instead of part of a collective rejection of settler normativity. An article paints a picture of the Creek population as “consumed in intoxicating potations,” living “a life of such immorality and indolence.” The article then argues that McIntosh ceded so much territory in the Treaty of Indian Springs “to awaken his countrymen to a sense of their approaching extermination.”²⁰³ In abstaining from liquor, the chief who embraces realpolitik

²⁰¹ Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 54.

²⁰² “Little Prince,” *Freedom’s Sentinel*, from *Boston Courier*, May 20, 1828.

²⁰³ “A Sketch of the Life of Gen. Wm. McIntosh, the Indian Chieftain.”

and embarrasses his ‘drunken Indian’ comrade becomes, functionally, a part of the settler collective.

I argue that, like with the IBEPIAA, the ideological State apparatus operated through newspapers to hijack McIntosh’s mythic figure to effect transfer. McIntosh’s myth becomes an example of a regenerated indigenous Other who “that rejected [his] traditional communit[y] and ‘individualised’ [his] land.”²⁰⁴ This rejection of Tenskwatawa’s collectivization alone positioned McIntosh as part of the settler body politic, demonstrating uplift through ‘civilized’ habits of land privatization, but it is his death that enshrined him into settler mythology. After signing the Treaty of Indian Springs, McIntosh was killed by a group of Creek warriors led by Menawa, unhappy with the treaty, who set fire to McIntosh’s home and shot him as he tried to defend himself.²⁰⁵ This version of events is uncontested. The nature of the execution, however, became a topic of heated debate in newspapers. What Chapman – who already skews towards a settler-sided understanding of events – describes as a “death sentence”²⁰⁶ carried out by nearly two hundred Muscogee was represented in newspapers very differently. “Unhappy wretched people! you have murdered your greatest benefactor and friend,”²⁰⁷ reads one. Another reports Georgia Governor Troup’s speech referring to the “massacre of M’Intosh” as “so foul a murder, perpetrated by a foreign force upon our territory.”²⁰⁸ Recalling that the Treaty contravened Creek law, this framing takes issue with the possibility that the Creek nation make and enforce such laws. Troup explicitly views the Creek land on which the execution occurred as under Georgian sovereignty.

This goes beyond the ideological thread from Chapter 2, in which the Cherokee’s juridical claims were rebuffed. McIntosh serves as a negative counterpoint to each of the

²⁰⁴ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 38.

²⁰⁵ Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh*, 85–89.

²⁰⁶ Chapman, 85.

²⁰⁷ “A Sketch Of The Life Of Gen. Wm. McIntosh, The Indian Chieftain.”

²⁰⁸ “The Creeks,” *The New-York Evening Post*, June 7, 1825.

‘drunken Indian’ types. He is not the ‘child’ – he scolds his drunken tribesman. He is not the ‘murderous savage’ – he is in fact murdered by his tribesmen. And he is not the ‘doomed addict’ – he has already been uplifted into the settler collective. By reclaiming Indigenous temperance narratives from Tenskwatawa’s movement, McIntosh’s myth only further entrenches the ‘drunken Indian’ stereotype as McIntosh becomes the exception to prove the rule.

Further, the threat Prophetstown posed, of a civilized, temperate Indigenous nation, even reappeared in the Cherokee; yet, the settler colonial hegemony had found a sufficient dialectical counterpoint. Cherokee legal efforts were already preemptively undermined by McIntosh’s myth. By casting Creek law as illegitimate (even in punishing a treaty violator), the state apparatus closed off avenues for Indigenous political autonomy. Prophetstown was replaced with a myth that individualized Indigenous ‘civilization’ and collapse – portending the individualization of temperance itself.

Conclusion: Reification and Resistance – Toward a Global Analysis of Addiction

This thesis has focused on the hegemonic function of the IRA, but for the IRA to be a conjunctural moment, it must have transformed the U.S. materially as well. This much is clear, as the Cherokee territorial experiment was quashed, vast tracts of land were converted to slave plantations,²⁰⁹ and the Act itself established a legal and logistical precedent for future structural extirpations – the Trail of Tears, the Navajo “long walk” in 1864,²¹⁰ and the 1898 Curtis Act that “deposed the sovereignty”²¹¹ and expropriated the Indigenous lands west of the Mississippi that the IRA had promised to “forever secure and guaranty to them.”²¹² As intimated in Chapters 2 and 3, resource extirpation served as a primary motivator for these structural policies – the ‘civilizing’ plans in Chapter 2 opened up Indigenous land to mineral surveys, Tenskwatawa’s threat to the settler political economy was one catalyst for military action, and the land the IRA expropriated was the ultimate prize. Further analysis could focus on the Cherokee’s economic, rather than political threat. cursory evidence indicates that Barbour and McKenney, architects of the IRA, were worried about the Cherokee “[exporting] cotton in boats, down the Tennessee, to the Mississippi,”²¹³ Georgia would doubtless abhor a Cherokee nation claiming sovereignty and producing value from land within what Georgia saw as its territory. Patrick Wolfe theorizes that it was this “aptitude for civilization” more than any representations of savagery that “antagonized” Georgia by signifying “permanence.”²¹⁴ In this way, Indigenous success at ‘civilizing’ threatened the existence of a settler colonial structure

²⁰⁹ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 391.

²¹⁰ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*, 138.

²¹¹ Dunbar-Ortiz, 158.

²¹² United States Congress, “An Act to Provide for an Exchange of Lands with the Indians Residing in Any of the States or Territories, and for Their Removal West of the River Mississippi,” 412 (1830), <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-4/pdf/STATUTE-4-Pg411.pdf>.

²¹³ Barbour to McKenney, September 2, 1825. In “Letter from the Secretary of War to the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Accompanied by a Bill for the Preservation and Civilization of the Indian Tribes within the United States,” February 21, 1826, 18.

²¹⁴ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 396.

dependent on the replacement of indigenous Others with settlers. I have corroborated this in my thesis, showing that the settler colonial hegemonic structure used representations of infantilization, savagery, and addiction to manage the position of indigenous Others within the population economy. The ideological State apparatus and the military combined forces to manufacture moral consent for removal and crush Indigenous resistance movements.

This thesis, however, is about addiction. In the Introduction, I argued that the addiction concept should be seen as a phantom objectivity that reifies signs and symptoms into a scientific object used for political purposes. These purposes comprise addiction's true nature – the social relations that produce the utility of the signs and symptoms. In Chapter 1, I showed that the 'drunken Indian' stereotype can be typified into discursive threads, each corresponding to usage in transfer policy. The 'child' casts Indigenous people as unruly and in need of discipline, the 'murderous savage' naturalizes Indigenous violence as a consequence of addiction, and the 'doomed addict' framed removal as necessary to 'save' Indigenous nations from civilizational collapse.

These types, the building blocks of the addiction concept at the IRA's historical conjuncture, were used contingently for the transfer of Indigenous peoples. This does not mean that the addiction concept is *always* used for this purpose or *always* uses these types – historical, structural, and discursive particularities determine the form the addiction concept takes and the purposes for which it is used. Nevertheless, if we accept Veracini's argument that settler colonialism is a "global phenomenon" characterized by "enduring political claims,"²¹⁵ there may be value in following the discursive types employed with the 'drunken Indian' stereotype.

This thesis can serve as a beginning for a global project that does exactly this, analyzing structural developments between interconnected colonial powers and noncolonial alterities while simultaneously examining how these mobilize the addiction concept over time. Even

²¹⁵ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 73.

simply following the intersection between drug use and political crises in the U.S. could prove fruitful. Altschuler and Saltzgaber (1984) and Kristine Nelson (1995) outline a homelessness crisis, particularly in New York and instigated by the Panic of 1837, to ameliorate which the state mobilized addiction narratives to “confine the poor, insure their proper supervision and, above all, keep them from disrupting the community.”²¹⁶ Sounds familiar. The next major political crisis, the Civil War and Reconstruction, required a shift in the racialization of Black Americans as millions of freedmen suddenly entered the labour force. Addiction’s centrality is uncertain here, but Kathryn Benjamin Golden (2024) offers valuable insight into the cultural significance of alcohol among antebellum enslaved Black communities. Frederick Douglass’ recollection that he and his comrades “were induced to drink” to placate them²¹⁷ is particularly striking and reminiscent of Indigenous people being “made drunk on purpose”²¹⁸ during treaty negotiations. A global analysis could extend these developments by assessing their relationship with British colonial opium production in India and China, the emergence of coca production in South America, and the eventual globalized management strategy employed by the U.S. in the so-called War on Drugs. The addiction concept will no doubt be utilized throughout discourse and policy during these conjunctural moments.

Having lived in Berkeley and San Francisco for three years, and having experience with the contemporary U.S. ‘treatment’ industry, I have personal entanglements with the addiction concept and the War on Drugs. Jarrett Zigon argues that “the drug war is best conceived as a... complex phenomenon that manifests temporarily and locally as a situation,” these manifestations including “military interventions, policing and incarceration strategies...

²¹⁶ Glenn C. Altschuler and Jan M. Saltzgaber, “Clearinghouse for Paupers: The Poorfarm of Seneca County, New York, 1830-1860,” *Journal of Social History* 17, no. 4 (1984): 578.

²¹⁷ Kathryn Benjamin Golden, “‘Very Fond of Spirituous Liquors’: Alcohol and Fugitive Black Life in the Slaveholding South,” *Slavery & Abolition* 45, no. 2 (April 2, 2024): 247, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2023.2240796>.

²¹⁸ United States Congress, House, Select Committee on the Report from the Governor and Judge of the Michigan Territory, “Land Titles in Michigan Territory.” Legislative Document, American State Papers: Public Lands, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 18, 1806), 281.

biopolitical therapeutics, national and international legislation, and the normalization of labor regimes and discipline.”²¹⁹ The police response to the ‘homelessness epidemic’ in the Bay Area, and the biopolitical therapeutic regime that serves as the ‘humane’ counterpoint to incarceration – including ‘harm reductionist’ interventions like safe injection sites – are both inextricably tied in with the War on Drugs. Scholarship needs, in my estimation, a materially grounded analysis of how the addiction concept is mobilized for political purposes in the present conjuncture, especially as U.S. President Donald Trump scales up both domestic and foreign policing using fears, for example in 2021, that former Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández would “flood the United States with cocaine.”²²⁰

Given that this thesis, however, focuses primarily on discourse, I will conclude with a discursive comparison of reporting on the streets of my San Francisco to reports from Indigenous trading posts. In 1826, Col. Josiah Snelling described Indigenous people near trading posts as “herds... drawn together by the fascinations of whiskey” exhibiting “the most degraded picture of human nature” and a “disgusting scene of drunkenness, debauchery, and misery,” framing Indigenous drinking as “the fruitful source of... nearly all the murders committed in Indian country.”²²¹ This situation prompted Thomas L. McKenney to argue that “it should be made a capital offence for any person to furnish spirituous liquor to Indians,” since, “if the Indians are to remain subject to... an intoxicated and brutified state,” there is no guarantee of “security against acts of violence upon our settlements.”²²² The lurid picture evokes ‘herds’ of ‘debauched’ and ‘degraded’ drunks – employing the ‘child’ type – who

²¹⁹ Jarrett Zigon, *A War on People: Drug User Politics and a New Ethics of Community* (Oakland, California: University of California press, 2019), 21-22.

²²⁰ Emily Palmer and Kirk Semple, “Honduran Leader Vowed to Help Flood U.S. With Cocaine, Prosecutor Says,” *The New York Times*, March 9, 2021, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/09/world/americas/President-Hernandez-Honduras-drug-traffickers.html>.

²²¹ Col. J. Snelling to James Barbour, August 23, 1825. In United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, “In Senate of the United States, March 8, 1826. Mr. Benton, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, Reported a Bill ‘For the Better Regulation of the Fur Trade,’ and Laid on the Table the Following Documents in Relation Thereto” (U.S. Government Printing Office), 12, https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/SERIALSET-00127_00_00-004-0058-0000.

²²² McKenney to Barbour, February 14, 1826. In United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 8.

commit drunken violence – the ‘murderous savage’ – necessitating capital punishment for liquor traders and harsh policing of Indigenous people. Two centuries later, the same discursive types are used to describe San Franciscan drug users: “several areas of the city have become de facto open-air drug bazaars,” as drug users who have “lost control over their lives” come to San Francisco – recall the Indigenous ‘herds’ – “from elsewhere because they know the city tolerates and facilitates drug use.”²²³ Like with McKenney’s carceral response, Mayor London Breed “said she would flood [the city] with police and ‘make life hell’ for dealers and open-air drug users,” this justified by the fact that “being surrounded by crime and drug use is difficult for parents who want their kids to grow up safe.”²²⁴

I will not comment on the veracity of these representations. While the addiction concept does not require a material referent to be politically effective, its effectiveness doubtlessly increases the more closely real conditions correspond to the representation. Nevertheless, addiction is at its core a reification, and we must uncover the social relations obscured by the signs and symptoms that the dominant discourse tells us comprise addiction. This thesis should provide a blueprint for this type of analysis, and the fact that newspapers position San Francisco’s unhoused people as invalids who have “lost control” and commit crime that makes the city unsafe demonstrates that the types of the ‘child’ and the ‘murderous savage’ have been repackaged with modern terms for the same purposes of paternalistic and carceral interventions. Representations of San Francisco’s streets, therefore, show that these discursive forms, at the very least, retain some resonance. Future research will follow the addiction concept in its various manifestations in specific addictions – the ‘drunken Indian’ or, for example, Chinese opium addicts – showing how these manifestations come out of the changing

²²³ Lee Ohanian, “San Francisco’s ‘Progressive’ Drug Policies Kill Hundreds Annually,” *Hoover Institution*, January 12, 2021, <https://www.hoover.org/research/san-franciscos-progressive-drug-policies-kill-hundreds-annually>.

²²⁴ Trisha Thadani, “Fentanyl Is a Public Health Crisis in San Francisco. These Stories Show Why It’s so Difficult for Victims to Escape Its Grip,” *S.F. Chronicle*, February 2, 2022, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/projects/2022/sf-fentanyl-opioid-epidemic/>.

international political situation and the political economy of the substances involved. Drawing parallels to San Francisco is an attempt to show that there exists *some* continuity; that the addiction concept I locate in the 19th century has some connection to the addiction concept in use today.

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