

NORTHWESTERN INDIANS.

LETTER

FROM

THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

TRANSMITTING

A copy of a Report of Schoolcraft's Expedition among the Northwestern Indians.

MARCH 2, 1833.

Read, and laid upon the table.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
March 2, 1833.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit a copy of the report of Henry R. Schoolcraft, esquire, of the expedition performed by him among the northwestern Indians, last year, under orders from this department.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

LEW. CASS.

Honorable ANDREW STEVENSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS, NORTHWESTERN AGENCY,

Sault Ste. Marie, December 3, 1832.

ELBERT HERRING, Esq.,
Indian Bureau, Washington.

SIR: The condition of the Indians, situated in the area of country traversed by the St. Croix and Chippewa rivers, has not essentially varied since the date of the report which I had the honor of transmitting to the department on the 22d of September, 1831. I beg leave now to solicit your attention to the observations made during my recent visit to the bands living northwest of that point in our geography.

From a very early period war has existed between the Chippewas and Sioux, and although the condition of independent bands, separated by local position and local interests, has produced intestine feuds, they have united

in defending their respective frontiers, and have not hesitated to make inroads into the hunting grounds of each other whenever circumstances have favored them.

The Chippewas assert that their warfare has been one of self defence, and that their inroads have been the inevitable consequence of a successful assertion of their territorial rights. The Sioux complain that their hunting grounds have been intruded on, and that they cannot restrain their warriors. Each party lays claim to the title of forbearance and generosity. Neither appear to omit any opportunity of inflicting injury on the other. Every blow is a fresh invitation to aggression. A state of perpetual insecurity and alarm is the consequence. Time has exasperated their feelings; and much of the severity of their condition is owing to the pertinacity with which the contest is kept up.

In this State the Chippewas, who are particularly the object of this report, were found in 1806 by our Government, who, in that year, directed the late General Pike to visit the Upper Mississippi. Owing to their remote position, little attention was, however, bestowed upon them until the summer of 1820, when Governor Cass, who then administered the Government of Michigan, conducted an expedition through the country. By his recommendation a military post and agency was established on the avenue of their trade at the foot of Lake Superior, and the usual means adopted to regulate the trade and intercourse of our citizens with them. They were counseled to remain at peace, to intermit their visits to the Canadian posts, and to pursue their usual occupations on their own lands. It was immediately found, however, that the force of their hostilities fell upon their western frontier, where they bordered on the Sioux, and where the dispute respecting territorial boundary gave scope to continual and afflicting aggressions.

In 1825 the Chippewas were invited to meet the other tribes in a general council at Prairie du Chien, which, after a full discussion, resulted in a treaty of limits. This treaty was fully explained to the northern Chippewas, convened at Fond du Lac in 1826, and assented to in a treaty signed at that place. The following season delegates of this nation, living on its southern border, attended, and became parties to the treaty of Butte des Morts, on Fox river, in which the subject of boundaries was finally carried out and adjusted between themselves and the Menominees and Winnebagoes. With the latter tribes, there has been no subsequent dispute respecting limits; but the delineation, on paper, of the extensive line between them and the Sioux, without an actual survey and marking of it gave rise to difficulties on that frontier, and the pretext was thus given for renewed aggressions. Several instances of these have been reported from this office to the department. The hardships of a people, short of resources, were thus increased, and those citizens who were licensed by the Indian office to carry on trade, complained of losses and want of protection. Many of the former, and several of the latter, fell in their conflicts, or lost their lives through circumstances connected with them.

During the summer of 1830, I was directed, personally, to visit the Indians, to endeavor to restore peace among them. It was not practicable to carry the instructions into immediate effect. A part of the following year was employed in visiting the bands intermediate between Lake Superior and the Mississippi, below the mouth of the St. Croix, with results which have been communicated to the department. Instructions were issued, in the spring 1832, for extending the visit, and embracing as many Indians on

the heads of the Mississippi, as circumstances would permit. This brings the sketch which I have offered of the efforts made by the department to place the Chippewas and Sioux on a footing of peace, to the date of the instructions under which I performed my late tour to the sources of the Mississippi; and I will now proceed to detail such of its results as relate to the subject.

It will be recollected that, during the previous visit, general councils were held with the Chippewas at Chegiomegon, at Yellow river, at Lac Courtourelle, and at Rice lake, on the Red Cedar fork of the Chippewa river; that the subject of the treaty of peace and limits of 1825 was distinctly brought home to the chiefs, and their promises obtained to use their influence in keeping their warriors at peace; that messages were despatched by them to the principal Sioux chiefs, expressive of these sentiments, accompanied with messages from myself; that a Chippewa war party was encountered, and its objects frustrated, and the subject of limits on the Red Cedar fork referred by them to the President, with a request that he would use his influence to keep the Sioux at peace. From all which, auspicious results were anticipated.

I had the satisfaction to find, in the progress of my visit the present year, that these measures had been productive of the best effects; that the fall and winter of 1831 had passed without any war parties going out of the region of the Chippewa and St. Croix rivers; that a peace council had been held by the Chippewas of the Folk Avoine, and the Sioux of the Petite Corbeau's band, which was also attended by the Upper Snake river Indians, and by deputations of the Mille Lac and Fond du Lac Chippewas, and that my counsels and admonitions had been extensively spread.

On casually meeting a party of Indians and traders at the Portail on Lake Superior, (June 11th,) I heard of the existence of a feud at Lac Courtourelle, which had, during the previous winter, resulted in the murder of a Canadian named Jean Baptiste Brunet; at Long lake, the murder of an Indian boy by the son of Mozojeed, the chief of the band. That the murderer had been apprehended by the Chippewas and traders, and brought out as far as the carrying place on the head of the Mauvais river, where he escaped.

On reaching the trading post of Keweena bay, (14th,) I met Pizhickee, the chief of Lapointe, with several men, going out to visit me at the Sault. He made a speech, and presented me a pipe in token of his friendship. There was, also, at this place the old speaker, Mizi, on his way, with a considerable retinue, to Penetanguishine, the British post on Lake Huron. I here learned the death of Mosobodo, the chief of Lac du Flambeau, and that his brother, the White Crow, a man of inferior merit, had succeeded to the chieftainship, and was forming a war party to descend the Chippewa river against the Sioux.

I reached the Ontonagon on the 19th, and found Mushcosween, or the Moose's Tail, an elder brother of the White Crow of Lac du Flambeau, and Mozojeed, the chief of Lac Courtourelle, encamped with their followers, being all on their way to visit me at the Sault. No further information was obtained of the state of affairs at Lac du Flambeau, except that a trader had clandestinely visited that post from the Mississippi with whiskey.

Being nearest the theatre of the Sac disturbances, I felt much anxiety to be particularly informed of the state of feeling in this numerous, warlike, and hitherto disaffected band. This, however, I was left to infer from the studied silence or affected ignorance of Mushcosween.

Mozojeed gave me reason to be satisfied that the Chippewas of his quarter were quite friendly, and that no disposition was felt to sanction, far less to aid, the confederate Sacs and Foxes in their schemes. He regretted the murders that had taken place in his vicinity during the winter, which he said arose wholly from private jealousies and bickerings. He said he lamented the folly of the young men of his village who had committed the murders. He could not prevent it. *He could not see through the trees*—alluding to the difficulty of foreseeing and governing the acts of people at a distance. He could not absolutely govern those in his own village; but these murders were committed at Long lake, and not at Ottawa lake, where he lived. He said that the murderer of Brunet had been apprehended by the joint advices of himself and those who had grown old in wearing medals, (meaning the elder chiefs;) but he had escaped on the Mauvais portage. From that point, the chief called Miscomonedo, or the Red Devil, and his people, had returned, saying that they would punish the fugitive. With respect to the murder committed by his son, he said that he had come out to give himself up for it, to be dealt with as might be dictated. He stood ready to answer for it. And he awaited my decision respecting it, as well as the other murder. He concluded his address by presenting a stealite pipe.

Soon after passing Presque Isle river, (20th,) we met Mr. Warren and his brigade of boats on his annual return from his wintering ground. He confirmed the reports heard from the Indians, and added, also, that a trader from the Mississippi had entered the St. Croix river, and introduced whiskey among the Chippewas of Snake river. Mushcosween followed me, with others, to Chogoinegon or Lapointe, became a sharer in the presents distributed there, and presented, at the conclusion of a speech, in which he expressed himself in decidedly friendly terms, an ornamented Otter skin pouch.

At the mouth of river Broula, I encountered Ozawindib, or the Yellow Head, and Manitogooz, or the Handsome Enunciator, two Chippewa chiefs from the Cassinian source of the Mississippi, being on their way to visit me at the seat of the agency. They reported that the Indians at Leech lake had raised a war party, about one hundred strong, and gone out against the Sioux of the Plains. Both these Indians returned with me to Cass lake. The former guided me from that remote point to the source of this river.

On reaching Fond du Lac, (23d,) I found the Indians at that post assembled preparatory to the departure of the traders of the Fond du Lac department. Mr. Aitkin represented that the Hudson's bay clerks had been well supplied with high wines during the season of trade, which were freely used, to induce our Indians to cross the boundary in quest of them. And that, if the American Government did not permit a limited quantity of this article to be taken by their traders, part of the hunts would be carried to their opponents. His clerks, from Rainy lake, presented me a pipe with ornamented stem, accompanying a speech of general friendship from Aissibun or the Rakcoon, and another, with similar testimonials, from the son of the late chief Ainakamigishkung, both of the Rainy Lake band.

Mongazid, or the Loon's Foot, the second chief and speaker of the Fond du Lac band, confirmed what I had previously heard of a peace council having been held on the St. Croix with the Petit Corbeau's band of Sioux. He said that Kabamappa was at the head of the Chippewa party, and had been the prime mover in this pacific attempt. That he had himself been present with eleven men of the Fond du Lac band, including the elder chief Chingooop.

Dr. Borup, a clerk in the A. F. Company's service, added, in relation to affairs on the Rainy lake border, that five chiefs had been invested with flags and medals by the British traders of Rainy lake; that eighty kegs of high wines were exhibited to the Indians at that post during the last season; that it was freely sent over the American lines, even within a few hours' march of Leech lake, having been sent west of the portage into Turtle lake.

We had now reached the head of Lake Superior. Our route thence to the Mississippi, was up the river St Louis, and across the Savanne portage. We reached the trading house at the junction of Sandy Lake river with the Mississippi, during the afternoon of the 3d of July, and remained at that place until six o'clock in the evening of the 4th. The Indians here confirmed the report of a war party's having gone out from Leech Lake. All accounts from that quarter indicated a state of extreme restlessness on the part of that band, and also among the Yaaktons and Sessitous, with whom they usually war.

Inincewi, or the Manly Man, acted as a speaker at the council I held on the west bank of the river. He mingled, as is common, his private affairs with his public business. He said that he was not possessed of the authority of chieftainship, but that his father, Kabigwakosizaga, had been a chief under the English Government; that Chiigoop, the chief of the Fond du Lac, was his uncle, and Chames, our guide, his nephew. He said that the Gross Guelle, and most of the chiefs and hunters of the place, had dispersed from their encampment, and were now passing the summer months in the country near the mouth of *L'Isle du Corbeau* or Crow wing river; that he would forthwith convey my message to them, &c. confirming his words with a peace pipe.

Having determined to ascend the Mississippi from this point, and being satisfied, from my Indian maps, that I could make a portage from Cass lake into Leech lake, and from the latter into the source of the Crow-wing river, so as to descend the latter to its junction with the Mississippi, I transmitted a message to the Gross Guelle to meet me with the Sandy lake Indians at Isle du Corbeau in twenty days, counting from the 5th. I then deposited the provisions and goods, amounting to 26 pieces,* intended for distribution at the council at Isle du Corbeau, with the person in charge of Mr. Aitkin's house, with arrangements to have the articles sent down the Mississippi in exact season to meet me there.

Relieved of this portion of the burden of transportation, we proceeded with more alacrity. We passed the falls of Pukaguma on the 7th, and encamped at ———, the trading post at Lake Winnepec, above the Savannahs, on the 9th, having pursued the side route through Bogotowa lake. While encamped at *Point aux Chenes*, in the SAVANNAHS, A FRENCHMAN arrived from Leech lake, on his way to the post at Sandy lake. He reported that the war party had returned to Leech lake, bringing three Sessiton scalps, having in their engagements lost one man, a brother-in-law of the Guelle Plat's; that the Guelle Plat led the war party, and encountered the Sioux coming out against them. He also reported that the Sioux had scalped a Chippewa girl near Pembina; that they were pursued immediately by a party of Chippewas, overtaken in the act of constructing a raft to cross

* A piece, in the trade of the northwest, consists of a bale, a bag, or any other parcel of the invoice made up for transportation on the portages, and in canoes.

a stream, and four of the number killed and scalped. Finding the waters favorable for ascending, and that our progress had been much accelerated thereby, I sent a verbal message by this man to have the canoe with supplies, destined for Isle du Corbeau, set forward two days earlier than the time originally fixed. The clerk in charge of the post at Lake Winnepec, communicated a number of facts respecting the location and number of the Indians living in the middle grounds between that place and Rainy lake. I proposed to him the following questions, to which I have annexed his answers.

1. Do the Hudson's Bay clerks cross the American line from the post of Rainy lake for the purposes of trade? *Answer—No.* They furnish goods to Indians who go trading into the American territory. 2. Do the partners or clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company present flags and medals to Indians? *Answer—Yes.* 3. Do they give such flags and medals to Indians living within the American line? *Answer—No.* I have heard that they took away an American flag given to an Indian, on the United States' borders of Rainy Lake, tore it, and burnt it, and gave him a British flag instead. 4. Was the Hudson's Bay Company's post on Rainy lake supplied with ardent spirits last season? *Answer—It was.* They had about 60 kegs of high wines, which were shown to some of our Indians who went there, and Mr. Cameron, who was in charge of the post, said to them, that, although their streams were high from the melting of the snows, they should swim as high with liquor if the Indians required it. 5. What is the strength of the high wines? *Answer—One keg is reduced to four.* 6. Have the Indians sent out on *Derwin* by the Hudson's Bay Company, approached near to your post? *Answer—They have come very near, having been on the Turtle Portage with goods.* 7. Did they bring liquor thus far? *Answer—No.* The liquor is kept at Rainy lake to induce the Indians to visit that place with their furs. 8. Did the disposition made of the liquor which the Secretary of War permitted the principal Factor of the Fond du Lac department to take in last year, embrace the post of Winnepec? *Answer—It did not.* It was chiefly kept at Rainy lake, and on the lines, to be used in the opposition trade.

On reaching Cass lake, or Lac Cédar Rouge, (July 10th,) I found a band of Chippewas resident on its principal island, where corn and potatoes are raised. They confirmed the reports of the murder, and the subsequent fray at Pembina, and of the return of the war party which went out from Leech lake. Some of the warriors engaged in the latter were from the island in Cass lake, including the person killed. His widow and her children attended the council, and shared in the distribution of presents which I made there. While encamped on this island, two of the Sioux scalps, which had been brought in as trophies on the late excursion, were danced, with the ceremonies peculiar to the occasion, on an eminence adjacent to, and within sight of my encampment. This painful exhibition of barbaric triumph was enacted without consulting me.

Finding it practicable, in the existing state of the waters, to visit the principal and most remote source of the Mississippi above this lake, I determined to encamp my men, and leave my heavy baggage and supplies on this island, and accomplish the visit in small canoes with the aid of Indian guides.

As the details of this expedition afford no political information of a character required by my instructions, beyond the observation of some evidences of a Sioux inroad in former years, and the statistical facts heretofore given, they are omitted.

It will be sufficient to remark, that the object was successfully accomplished under the guidance of Oza Windib. I planted the American flag on an island in the lake, which is the true source of the Mississippi, 149 years after the discovery of the mouth of this stream by La Salle. I was accompanied on this expedition by Mr. Johnston, of the department, Dr. D. Houghton, Lieutenant Allen, U. S. army, and the Rev. W. Z. Boutwell.

On returning to my encampment on the island in Cass lake, I explained to the Indians, in a formal council, the object of my instructions from the department, so far as these relate to their hostilities with the Sioux. I found the gross population of the island, which is called Grand Isle by the French, to be 157, to whom I distributed presents of clothing, ammunition, tobacco, and some provisions. I invested Oza Windib with a flag and medal, finding him to be looked up to as the principal man in the band, and there being at present no one who claimed, or appeared to be as well entitled to the authority of chieftainship.

Neezh Opinais, or the Twin Birds, who received a medal from Governor Cass, through the intervention of his principal guide in 1820, was formerly resident at this lake, but is now incorporated with the band at Red lake. I sent him a flag, accompanied with a formal message by his son, and acknowledged the receipt of a peace pipe and stem from Wawain Jigun, of Red lake, sent out by him through one of the clerks of the American Fur Company. These attentions to the ceremonial messages of the Indians are of more importance, so far as respects their feelings and friendship, than might be inferred.

Cass lake is about 16 miles long in the direction that the Mississippi passes through it, and may be estimated to be 12 miles wide, exclusive of a spacious prolongation or bay in the direction of Leech lake. It has four islands, two of which have been considerably cultivated. It is the second large lake below the primary forks of the Mississippi, and is decidedly the largest expanse assuming the character of a *lake* in its entire length, covering a greater square of superficies than Lake Pepin. I directed one of the men to stretch a cord across its outlet, which he found to be 54 yards, and reported the depth at 8 feet. I had previously directed a similar measurement of the Mississippi across the joint volume produced by the inlet of Sandy Lake river, and found the width to be 110½ yards.

This lake also receives the tributary of Turtle river from the northwest. This is a small river originating about 38 to 40 miles distant. From its source there is a series of portages with intervening small lakes, by means of which goods are transported across the height of land separating the Mississippi valley from Red lake and Red river.

The Mississippi is but little used by traders going northwest beyond Cass lake, and not at all beyond Lac Traverse. It is found to take its rise nearly due west from Cass lake. In consequence, its source has seldom been visited even by the traders, whose highest point of temporary location is Pamitchi Gumaug, or Lac Traverse, estimated to be 40 miles W. N. W. of Cass lake. And this point has been fixed on by Lieutenant Allen as the extreme northwest point attained by its waters.

Representations having been made to the department on the subject of foreign interference in the trade on this frontier, I here addressed a number of queries on the subject to a clerk* engaged in the American trade, who

* I inquired of him whether the American traders on that border were strenuously opposed in their trade by the inhabitants of the Red river colony, or by the partners and clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company.

has been many years a resident of Red lake, and is well acquainted with the geography and resources of the adjacent country.* He replied that the inhabitants of Pembina made temporary voyages of trade to Voleuse, or Thief river, south of the parallel of 49", but that they had not built or made a permanent stand there. He said that the open nature of the country about the Red river settlements gave great facilities for making short excursions into the Indian country on horseback and in carts; but he did not know any place where permanent outfits had been sent, except to Rivière Souris, or Mouse river, west of Red river. He believed that this traffic was carried on exclusively by the inhabitants of the colony, and not by the Hudson's Bay Company. I asked him whether the Indians of the Lake of the Woods visited the post of Red lake, and whether our traders were annoyed in their trade from that quarter by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. He replied that the Lac du Bois Indians came across to Red lake ordinarily; that it is a three days' journey, but that no annoyance is experienced in the trade of that post from the Hudson's Bay Company factors. He is of opinion that they do not send outfits into any part of the territory south of the national boundary, beginning at Rat portage on the Lake of the Woods.

Every assurance being given by the Indians that the portages of the overland route from Cass lake to Leech lake were not only practicable for my canoes and baggage, but that, by adopting it, a considerable saving would be made both in time and distance, I determined on returning by it. The first portage was found to be 950 yards. It lies over a dry sand plain. A small lake, without outlet, is then crossed, and a second portage of 4,100 yards terminates at the banks of another small lake which has a navigable outlet (for canoes) into an arm of Leech lake. We accomplished the entire route from the island in Cass lake to the Guelle Plat's village, in Leech lake, between 10 o'clock A. M. and 10 o'clock P. M. of the 16th July. Although the night was dark, and the Indians had retired to their lodges, a salute was fired by them, and an eligible spot for an encampment pointed out. It was so dark as to require torches to find it. The next morning, I found myself in front of a village numbering upwards of 700 souls. They renewed their salute. Fresh fish and berries were brought in in abundance. The chief, Guelle Plat, sent his officiator† to invite Mr. Johnston and myself to breakfast with him. We found him occupying a comfortable and spacious log house of two rooms. During the repast, the room became filled with Indians, apparently the relatives and intimate friends of the chief, who seated themselves orderly and silently around the room. When we arose, the chief assumed the oratorical attitude, and addressed himself to me. He expressed his regret that I had not been able to visit them the year before, when I was expected. He hoped I had now come, as I had come by surprise, to remain some days with them. He said they lived remote, and were involved in wars with their neighbors, and wished my advice. They were not insensible of advice, nor incapable of following it. They were anxious for counsel, and desirous of living at peace, and of keeping the advice which had heretofore been given to them. They had been told to sit still on their lands. But their enemies would not permit them to sit still. They were compelled to get up and fight in defence. The Sioux continued to kill their hunters. They had killed his son during the last visit he had made to my office. They had never ceased to make inroads; and he believed there

*Louis Dufault.

† The Indian term mishinowa has this general meaning.

were white men among the Sioux who stirred them up to go to war against the Chippewas. He named one person particularly. It was necessary, he continued, to take some decisive steps to put a stop to their inroads. This was the reason why he had let out the war party which had recently returned. This was the reason why I saw the stains of blood before me. (He alluded, in this expression, to the flags, war clubs, &c. which decorated one end of the room, all of which had vermilion smeared over them to represent blood.) I replied succinctly, stating the reasons which would prevent my making a long visit, and notified him that, in consequence of the length of my route yet to perform, I would assemble them to-day, (17th,) to a general council at my camp as soon as I could be prepared. That notice would be given them by the firing of the military, and that I should then lay before them the advice I came to deliver from their Great Father, the President, and offer them, at the same time, my own counsels on the subjects he had spoken of.

During the day, constant accessions were made to the number of Indians from neighboring places. Among these was a party of Rainy lake Indians under the leadership of a man named Wiawish the Geezhig, or the Open Sky. He represented himself and party as residents at Springing-bow-string lake: said that he had heard of my passing Lake Winnepec with an intention to return by Leech lake, and came to express his good will in the hope that he would not be overlooked, &c. I presented him, publicly, with a flag and some clothing and tobacco, for himself and party, committing to him a short address to be delivered to the Rainy lake Indians.

The Mukkundwar, or Pillagers, being present with their chiefs and warriors, women and children, I displayed the presents intended for this band on blankets spread out on the grass in front of my tent. I called their attention to the subjects named in my instructions, to the desire of the Government for the restoration of peace to the frontiers, and its parental character in directing the present expedition in carrying its benevolent objects into effect; reminded them of their solemn treaty of peace and limits with the Sioux, signed at Tipisagi,* in 1825; enforced the advantages of it in relation to their hunting, their trade, &c. &c. I presented the presents in bulk to the chiefs, who immediately directed their distribution.

Aishkebiggikozh, or the Guelle Plat, was their speaker in reply. He called the attention of the warriors to his words. He thanked me for the presents, which reminded him, in amount, of the times when the British held possession of that quarter. He pointed across an arm of the lake, in front, to the position occupied by the Northwest Company's fort. He said many winters had now passed since the Americans first sent a chief to that post to visit them—(alluding to Lieutenant Pike's visit in the winter of 1806 and 7.) He remembered that visit. I had come, he said, to remind them again that the American flag was flying in the land, and to offer them counsels of peace, for which they were thankful. They had hoped that I was to spend more time with them, to enter more fully into their feelings; but, as they must speak on the instant, they would not lose the opportunity of declaring their thoughts.

He thought that the advice of the Americans resembled a rushing wind; it was strong and went soon; it did not abide long enough to choke up the road. He said that at the treaty of Tipisagi, it had been promised that the

* Prairie du Chien.

aggressors should be punished; but that they had even that very year, and almost yearly since, been attacked by the Sioux, and some of their nation killed. He said that they had even been fired on under the walls⁷ of the fort at Ishki Buggi Seepi,* and four of their party killed. He had himself been present. He handed to me a small bundle of sticks, which he said exhibited the number of Leech lake Chippewas who had been killed by the Sioux since they had touched the quill† at Tipisagi. The number was 43.

He lifted up four American medals attached by a string of wampum and smeared with vermilion: he said they were bloody; he wished me to wipe off the blood; he said he was himself unable to do it; he found himself irretrievably involved in a war with the Sioux; he said he believed that it had been intended by the Creator that they should be at war with this people; he was not satisfied with the result of the late war party; his warriors were not satisfied; he complimented their bravery; he disclaimed any merit himself; he said that they had looked for help where they did not find it; they were determined to revenge themselves. If the United States did not aid them, he had it in mind to apply elsewhere for aid. He clearly referred to, but did not name, the English Government in Canada. His warriors were in a restless state; he had sent out his pipe and invitations to the neighboring bands to continue the war; circumstances controlled him; he could not avoid it; his own feelings were enlisted deeply in the contest. When the enemy killed his son, he had resolved never to lay down the war club; he had sought for death in battle, but had not met it; all he now could say was that perhaps he should not lead the next war party; he thought some other person would.

He accused persons on the waters of the Upper Mississippi of giving advice to the Sioux to go to war against the Chippewas. He said it was the interest of persons in the trade to induce the Sioux to extend the territorial boundary northwest; he evinced a familiarity with the names of persons and places; he did not exempt some persons, officially connected with the Government in that quarter, from participating in this course of mal-counsel.

He complained of the traders; he criticised their conduct with severity; he thought their prices exorbitant, and that they were so intent on getting furs that they did not deem it necessary to use much formality in their dealings with the Indians; he complained of the exclusion of ardent spirits, but, at the same time, admitted that formerly it was brought in to buy up their wild rice, a practice which left them, at the beginning of cold weather, in a destitute situation.

Much of the sentiment of this address appeared to be uttered for popular effect on the young warriors, who stood an eager gazing group around, and made loud responses of approbation at every pause. Such parts of it as were not given as a reply to my remarks, or contained allusions entitled to notice, I replied to, aiming to keep their attention fixed on the great principles of the pacific policy which dictated the letter of instructions under which I visited them, and which I had distinctly laid before them on opening the council; and not meaning that they should forget them, nor mistake them, in any bursts of feeling or appeals to the passions or prejudices of ardent young men, who only looked to the war path as the avenue to personal distinction, and who generally applauded their chiefs with a warmth pro-

* St. Peters.

† Signature, is expressed by the ceremony of marking their mark.

portioned to the plausibility of the pretéxts they assigned to justify their young men's going to war, or to palliate their bad conduct towards the traders or the Government.

I brought these principles back to their minds, and enforced them by obvious appeals to some facts which it was impossible, equally, to deny or refute. I told the chief that his political sentiments should be favorably reported to the Government, whose object it was, in the employment of subordinate officers, to accumulate facts which might form the basis of future action.

So far as related to the traders withdrawing the article of whiskey from the trade, I felt it due to say that no hard feelings should be entertained towards them; that it was excluded by the office; that the Indians should, in justice, blame me or blame the Government, and not the traders; I was satisfied that the use of whiskey was very hurtful to them in every situation, and felt determined to employ every means, which the control of the agency of the northwest gave to me, to exclude the article wholly and rigidly from the Chippewas, and to set the mark of disapprobation upon every trader who should make the attempt to introduce it.

Having an engagement to meet the Sandy lake Indians on the 21st, (after a lapse of four days,) and an unknown route to explore, I terminated the council by the distribution of provisions to the Rainy lake Indians, guides, and chiefs; requested fresh guides for the route into the *Cagagee* or de Corbeau river, and immediately embarked. We encamped on the southern shore of Leech lake. During the following day, (the 18th,) we accomplished the whole route from this lake to the head waters of the De Corbeau. It consists of five portages of various length, separated by ten small lakes and ponds. The last of the portages terminates on the handsomely elevated banks on a lake called Kagi Nogum Aug. This lake is the source of this fork of the Mississippi. The Guelle Plat, with the secondary chief of his band, Magigaubowie, rejoined me at the commencement of the fourth portage, and accompanied me to my encampment; he said that he had many things which he still wished to consult me on, and spent the evening until 12 o'clock in conversation. I found him to possess a reflective and intelligent mind. He stated to me his opinions on the Sioux war, the boundary line, the trade, location of trading posts, &c.; he evinced the gratified feelings created by the circumstance of my visit to his people, and said he should visit me at the agency next year if his life and health were spared.

We commenced the descent of the De Corbeau on the 19th. The channel is, at first, small and winding; it expands successively into eleven lakes of various dimensions, and acquires considerable breadth and velocity before it forms its upper forks by the junction with the shell river. We encountered, in this distance, no Indians, but observed, as we had the previous day, traces of the recent war party. In passing out of the tenth of the series of lakes, the men observed a camp fire on shore, but no person appeared; it was conjectured to indicate the presence of Sioux, who, perceiving the character of the party, had fled and concealed themselves. The next day afforded no certain evidences of a fixed population. We observed continued traces of the recent war party, and other signs of temporary occupancy, in the standing camp poles and meat racks, which frequently met the eye in our descent. We passed the entrance of Leaf river, a large tributary from the right, having its source near the banks of Otter Tail lake, and the next day had our attention directed to the entrance of Prairie river on the same shore. The

latter is also a tributary of the first class; it is the war road, so to say, between the Chippewas and Sioux, having its source in a lake which is designated, in the treaty of Prairie du Chien, as one of the points in the boundary line between these two nations.

The day following, (21st,) the monotony of vegetable solitude was broken by meeting a Chippewa and his family in a canoe: he informed me that we were within a few hours journey of the mouth of the river; that the Sandy lake and Mille Lac Indians were assembled there, awaiting my arrival, and that they expected me this day. I found this information to be correct.

We entered the Mississippi about noon, and saw the opposite shore lined with lodges with the American flag conspicuously displayed. The long continued firing and shouts of the Indians left me no reason to doubt that my arrival was both anticipated and desired. I was gratified on being told, within three hours of my arrival, that the canoe with the goods and supplies from Sandy lake was in sight, and, in a few moments, found the event verified in the safe arrival of the men and the landing of the packages. I determined to lose no time in assembling the Indians in council, addressing them on the objects of the expedition, and causing the presents to be prepared and distributed. I was addressed in reply by the elder chief Grosse Guelle, and also by the brother of the Strong Ground, by Waub Ojeeg, and by a young man called Nitum E' Gabo Wai. Peculiarities in the addresses of each only require to be adverted to.

The Grosse Guelle deemed it important that the line between them and the Sioux should be surveyed and marked; he said that much of it was a land line, and it could not be told by either party where it ran. This was true of it, in the section of country immediately west of them. The Sioux were in the habit of trespassing on it, and when their own hunters went out in the pursuit of game, they did not like to stop short of the game, and they saw no marked line to stop them. He said that it had been promised at the treaty that the line should be run, and he wished me to refer the subject to the President. He was in favor of peace now, as he had been at Tipisagi and at Fond du Lac.

Mushkowokumigaw, or the Strong Ground, expressed his sentiments through the medium of his brother, who was the more ready speaker. He said he had taken a part in defending the lines, and he hoped that they might be made plain so that each party could see them: as it is, a perpetual pretence is given for crossing the lines. It must be expected that peace would often be broken when it could be so easily done.

Waub Ojeeg, or the White Fisher, said that he had given his influence to peace counsels. He had been present at the treaty of Fond du Lac. But the Sandy lake Indians had been lately reproached, as it were, for their pacific character, by hearing of the Leech lake war party's passing so near to them. He hoped that the same advice that was given to them would be given to the Sioux. If the Sioux would not come north or east of the lines, the Chippewas would promise not to go south or west of them. He thought the lines might have been differently run, but, as they had been agreed to by their old chiefs who were now gone, it would be best to let them run as they do. Their hunters, however, always came out at the mouth of Sauce river, which had been given up to the Sioux. The young man said that he was the son of Pugijamajigun, who had died recently at Sandy lake. He said that the medal which he wore had been given to his father by me at the

reaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825, in exchange for a British medal surrendered by him. He did not profess to have any experience in political affairs. He had inherited his medal, and hoped to be considered by me worthy of it. He expected the respect due to it. He expressed his friendship, and confirmed his speech with a peace pipe and stem.

Ascertaining the trading house to be near my encampment, after closing the council, I descended the Mississippi in the evening about 18 miles, and encamped at *Prairie Piécée*.

Intelligence had reached this place, a few days before, of some skirmishes between the hostile Sacs and Foxes and the militia on Rock river, the murder of St. Vrain their agent, and the general alarm consequent in that portion of the frontier.

The distance from the mouth of the De Corbeau to St. Anthony's falls, may be computed to exceed 200 miles. The line between the Chippewas and Sioux crosses from the east to the west of the Mississippi, so as to strike and follow up Little Sauc or Watap river, which is the first river on the west banks of the Mississippi, "above the mouth of Soc river." We passed several Chippewa hunters, with their families, along this part of the Mississippi, but encountered no Sioux, even on that portion of it lying south of their line. I was informed that they had, in a measure, abandoned this part of the country, and I observed no standing Sioux camp poles, which are, with this people, a conspicuous sign of occupancy, and which were in 1820 noticed to extend as high up the river as Little Rock, (Les Petites Roches.)

I passed the portage of the falls of St. Anthony, and reached Fort Snelling on the 24th July. There being no agent or sub-agent present, Captain Jouett, the commanding officer, on whom the charge of the agency had temporarily devolved, afforded me every facility for communicating to the Sioux the object of my visit to the Chippewas, and requesting their concurrence in its accomplishment. For this purpose the Wappeton Sioux were collected together at the agency house, on the 25th. I stated to them the object of the visit, and the means which had been used to persuade the Chippewas to give up war, and to confine themselves within their lines.

I reminded them of the anxiety of their Great Father, the President, to bring about a firm peace between them and the Chippewas, and the numerous proofs given them of this anxiety by calling them together at several councils, which had this object particularly in view. They had men of wisdom among them, and they would quickly see how utterly useless it would, however, be for the Chippewas to remain quiet during any single season if the Sioux did not also at the same time sit still.

I appealed to them to resolve on peace; to take the resolution now, to take it sincerely, and to adhere to it firmly and for ever. I stated to them the request made by the Grosse Guelle, and other Chippewa chiefs, respecting the marking out of their lines, and invited them to express their opinions on this subject.

I announced to them the exclusion of whiskey. The aged chief Petit Corbeau uttered their reply.

I recognized in this chief one of the signers of the grant of land made at this place twenty-six years ago, when the site of the fort was first visited and selected by the late General Pike. He adverted to the agency which he had exercised for many years in managing the affairs of his people. They lived upon the river; they were constantly in sight; they were in the habit of being consulted; his ears had always been open to the Americans;

he had listened to their counsels; he would still listen to them, although they were at present in a depressed situation. He adverted particularly to the existing war with the Saucis, and the accusations which had been thrown out against the Sioux party which had gone down to join the American standard, but had returned. He denied that they felt any friendship for the Saucis and Foxes. He said they were willing to go against them again if requested by the commanding officer.

He spoke on the subject of the Chippewa war at some length, adverting to a time when this people did not approach so near to the river—when they dared not approach so near to it. He thought the lines were drawn too close upon them on the St. Croix; that the young men could not go out hunting, but quickly they found themselves beyond the lines. He thought they might even now be driven back were it undertaken in earnest.

He said the chief of Leech lake was wrong to appeal to me to wipe the blood off his medals; he ought to be able to wipe it off himself. It was pitiful to make this appeal for men who were able to do a thing themselves. He referred to the late Chippewa war party. He said that a relative of his had been killed—blood would call for blood. He did not rule the Sessitons; he thought they would repay the blow. His own advice had been pacific. He had received my wampum last year, and smoked the pipe with the St. Croix Chippewas. They were their neighbors; they were now at peace; they wished to remain so; they would act by my advice. He thanked me for the advice. He warmly approbated the proposition to run out the lines; he said it had been mentioned at the treaty, and although the lines had not been adjusted to the full satisfaction of all, perhaps they could never be settled better. He, therefore, united in requesting that the President might be asked to direct white men to establish them. It would be necessary, however, to have both parties by.

He again adverted to the difficulties between them and the Chippewas; he thought that these difficulties were kept alive by the visits of the Chippewas to this post; he said it put bad feelings into the hearts of the Sioux to see the Chippewas share the bounties of the Government, which the Sioux believed the Government intended exclusively for them. Besides, it was difficult to restrain their feelings of hostility when they came together. Both parties were mistrustful. It was only necessary to look back a few years to perceive what the consequences had been. He believed that these tribes ought to be kept apart; and one of the best means of keeping them apart was to draw their lines plain, and to order presents to be given out on their own lands, and not on each other's lands.

He spoke against the location of any trading post on the St. Croix, which should be fixed so near to the lines as to bring the Sioux and Chippewas into contact. He also stated reasons why a post at the mouth of the St. Croix, which is exclusively in the Sioux country, was not necessary.* He wished to keep his band together, and not to give them excuses for going hither and yon. He requested me to stop at his village, and to use my influence in persuading his people to live in one village, and not to continue, as they now were, in two distinct villages, which were not, in consequence, so fully under his control.†

* I enclose the copy of a letter on the subject of posts, &c. addressed by me to General J. M. Street, agent at Prairie du Chien.

† On my arrival at the Petit Corbeau's village his people fired a salute with ball, and, after making further remarks on the state of their affairs, he presented me a peace pipe and stem.

Wamidetunka, or the Black Dog, followed him in a speech containing sentiments not at variance with those expressed by the Little Crow. Its distinguishing feature was, however, its reference to the indulgences formerly granted to the Sioux at this post. He thought it hard that these indulgences should be withdrawn or curtailed; and he could not comprehend how such a course could be consistent with professions of friendship on the part of officers of the United States. He referred particularly to the indiscriminate visiting at the fort, and the purchase of ardent spirits from the sutler.

* Cahraheah said that he had been present with the Petit Corbeau at the signing of the treaty of cession at St. Peters, and it was owing to this act that the American flag was now displayed there. He had sustained this chief in his public acts, and he concurred with him in what he had uttered about the Chippewa war, and also the existing troubles with the Black Hawk. He repelled the idea that the Sioux were friendly to the Sauc and Foxes in the present controversy. They were a people who were never at ease. They had often struck the Sioux. The Sioux war club had also been often lifted against them, and it was ready to be lifted again. They were ready to hear the commanding officer, who was sitting present, say "strike."

The details of my route through the St. Croix and Burntwood rivers do not essentially vary the aspect of northwestern Indian affairs given above. Facts communicated, expressive of the then existing state of feeling respecting the Sauc disturbances, were promptly reported to his excellency George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan, in a letter, of which I have the honor herewith to furnish a copy. The proposition of running out and marking their territorial lines, as a means of preserving peace, was approved; the recent meeting on the St. Croix for the purpose of renewing pledges of peace declared to be sincere on the part of the Chippewas, and sentiments of friendship to the Government, and welcome to myself expressed at each of the councils which I held with them.

In submitting to the department this summary of facts resulting from my visit to the source of the Mississippi, I take the occasion to remark, that, whatever may be the present state of feeling of the tribes on that stream above Prairie du Chien, respecting the Government of the United States, causes are in silent, but active operation, which will hereafter bring them into contact with our frontier settlements, and renew, at two or three separate periods, in their hostility, the necessity of resorting to arms to quell or pacify them. The grounds of this opinion I need not now specify, further than to indicate that they exist in the condition and character of opposite lines of an extensive frontier population, which will inevitably compel the one to press, and the other to recede or resist. This process of repulsion and resistance will continue, if I have not much mistaken the character of that stream, until the frontier shall have become stationary about 500 miles above the point I have indicated. I advert to this topic not in the spirit of exciting immediate alarm, for there are no reasons for it, but for the purpose of calling the attention of the Secretary of war, through you, sir, to the importance of keeping up, and not withdrawing or reducing the northwestern posts and agencies; and to express the opinion that the advice and influence of the Government upon these tribes would fall nearly powerless, without ready and visible means, upon the frontiers, of causing its counsels to be respected. Christianity, schools, and agriculture, will do much to melio-

* This, with the other Sioux names, was written with pencil on my wallet notes, and, being partially obliterated, it may not be correctly transcribed.

rate their condition and subdue their animosities, but it is a species of influence which has not yet been felt, in any general effects, in this quarter. Among the means of securing their friendship and preserving peace, I have the honor to suggest that, beneficial effects would result from following out the system of exploratory visits, by extending them to the region of Lac du Flambeau, and to that portion of the peninsula of Michigan lying north of Grand river. A deputation of the Chippewas from the sources of the Mississippi and Lake Superior to the seat of Government, would also prove advantageous.

So far as respects the state of hostilities among the Sioux and Chippewas, it must be expected that continued efforts will be necessary effectually to check it. Nothing could perhaps now be done, which would tend so directly to promote this end, as the surveying of the lines agreed on between themselves at the treaty of Prairie du Chien, of 1825.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, *I. A.*

