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Lucy Trumball Brown
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THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS FORSYTH ON THE SAUK AND FOX INDIANS

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1812-1832

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Lucy Trumbull Brown

1982

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
INTRODUCTION	
I. THE DOCUMENTS	2
II. THOMAS FORSYTH	17
III. THE SAUK AND FOX INDIANS	35
BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE	50
EDITORIAL NOTE	57
THE DOCUMENTS	
DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERAL INDIAN TRIBES (1812)	59
ACCOUNT OF THE SAUK AND FOX (1827)	76
ACCOUNT OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR (1832)	155
BIBLIOGRAPHY	173

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine Thomas Forsyth's writings on the Sauk and Fox Indian tribes of Illinois and Wisconsin. Three essays, written by Forsyth between 1812 and 1832 while an Indian agent in Illinois, are presented. The essays are a thorough and relatively unbiased view into the lives of two important Algonkian tribes at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The writings are unusual for their day in the amount of detail and the accuracy of the observations they contain. Forsyth's 1827 "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians" is the most important study of the traditional Sauk and Fox cultures known to scholars.

The essays are annotated to add clarity and detail, and to present any contradictory material from other writers, both contemporary and modern. The annotating remains faithful to Forsyth's purpose in writing the documents--to describe the life of the Sauk and Fox Indians. That life is not judged, nor is it compared to that of other Indian tribes.

The introductory material is divided into three parts. The first examines the history of the documents and evaluates their importance. A biography of Thomas Forsyth sketches the life and ideas of the man who developed an enduring interest in and respect for the Indians he wrote about. A political and geographical history of the Sauk and Fox tribes adds background to the documents.

THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS FORSYTH ON THE SAUK AND FOX INDIANS

1812-1832

INTRODUCTION

I. THE DOCUMENTS

In 1818 Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent at Rock Island, Illinois, wrote to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun complaining that men who did not know the customs and language of the Indians were being given positions as Indian agents, and he argued that this was detrimental to Indian-white relations.¹ Forsyth himself cannot be placed in this category of agent; a group of his friends wrote of him in 1820: "An experience of thirty years has familiarized him with the language, habits and mode of life of most of the North western tribes of Indians, and has made him, perhaps the most efficient officer of his rank employed in the indian department on this frontier."² Forsyth used his experience and knowledge to write about the Indians he knew, and these writings are some of the most informed and accurate of their time. Unlike many others who wrote about the American Indians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Forsyth was not passing by the Indians on a trip; he was not on a religious mission to convert or civilize the Indians; and he did not just happen to live near the Indians. His business was the Indians. He had lived with them, eaten with them, made treaties with them, threatened them, stood up for them against injustices by whites, and in the end

respected them and was respected by them.

Forsyth wrote mostly about the Sauk and Fox Indians, whom by 1827 he had come to know intimately. His writings, especially his 1827 "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians" (printed below), are unique. A few other white men had the opportunity to observe these Indians of the upper Mississippi Valley closely--for example, a trader with the American Fur Company, George Davenport, who lived on Rock Island, and Nicholas Boilvin, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien from 1808 to 1823. But these men did not choose to write in detail about the Indians with whom they were in contact. Forsyth did.

The bulk of Forsyth's writings (found in the Draper Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and in the Indian Office Files in Washington, D.C.), although concerned with the Indians, hardly mentions the customs, manners, or language of the Sauk and Fox. Most of his writings are letters to his superiors in Washington, D.C., or St. Louis, and they deal with making treaties, licensing traders, giving out annuities, and keeping young warriors from going to war--i.e., political and geographical problems that the Indians presented to the United States government. Three exceptions to this pattern are published below.³ The three were grouped together by Forsyth in one letterbook.

In 1812 and again in 1827 Forsyth wrote to William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, letters that departed from his usual reporting of day-to-day occurrences. In 1812 he sent to Clark,

then in Washington, a long description of the country in Illinois and Indiana, western Ohio, the southern half of Wisconsin, and all but the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Also included was a description of several of the Indian tribes within the territory. The first section describing the territory is not primarily from Forsyth's own observations and does not concern Indians. Only the section on Indians is included below. The second document, entitled "An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians," was sent to William Clark in January 1827. It is thirty-seven long pages of tightly handwritten prose and encompasses everything about the life of the Sauk and Fox Indians from their political structure to their favorite food and how they prepared it. It also contains a lengthy vocabulary. The third document, written in 1832, was finished shortly before Forsyth's death. It is an angry outburst against the United States government's role in the Black Hawk War. In it Forsyth gives a twenty-five year history of the events leading up to the war, a personal view of the motives of the opposing sides, and an outline of the actual war. This document was included at the end of one of Forsyth's letterbooks and was not addressed to anyone. It may have been written for publication in a newspaper, but there is no evidence that it was ever printed. It is also unlikely, in view of the mood of the white settlers of the Upper Mississippi Valley, that this document would have been accepted for publication.

The 1827 "Account" is the most significant document of the three in both size and historical importance. It is twice as long as the other two

combined, and it contains almost none of the secondhand information and biases of the documents written in 1812 and 1832. It is the story of two tribes, the Sauk and Fox (they were then considered a single tribe), whom in 1827 Forsyth knew from fifteen years experience as an Indian agent, the last nine years exclusively with the Sauk and Fox. The document is written from personal observations (an exception is the history of the tribes as the Indians told it to him), and it is free from obvious personal bias. Forsyth's knowledge of these tribes was extensive, and he prided himself on his knowledge of them and was insulted when it was suggested to him that someone else knew something about the Sauk and Fox that he did not know. He once wrote,

Such an action could not take place in this country without my knowledge, and I think (without boasting) that I have sufficient influence with the Sauk and Fox Indians to put a stop to any Machinations of this kind, and also, I would be much wanting in my duty if I did not notify you of any such circumstance having taken place among the Indians for which I am agent.⁴

In the 1827 description Forsyth portrays the Sauk and Fox society as an entity to itself. He does not mention its relationship to white culture, nor does he compare it to white culture or judge it by white standards. He simply details the daily life of the Indians and the organization of that life.

Thomas Forsyth saw among the Sauk and Fox Indians a well regulated way of life, a culture that he believed should be respected as such and which he considered worthy of preserving and recording. Forsyth was unusual in this regard. Others who studied the Indians did not share his respect. Secretary of War Lewis Cass, who was termed "the best informed man in the United States on Indian affairs," wrote in 1830:

As civilization shed her light upon them [the Indians], why were they blind to its beams? Hungry or naked, why did they disregard, or regarding, why did they neglect, those arts by which food and clothing could be procured? Existing for two centuries in contact with a civilized people, they have resisted, and successfully too, every effort to meliorate their situation, or to introduce among them the most common arts of life. Their moral and their intellectual condition have been equally stationary. And in the whole circle of their existence, it would be difficult to point to a single advantage with Europeans. . . . There must be an inherent difficulty, arising from the institutions, character, and condition of the Indians themselves. . . .⁵

Cass went on to argue that as God meant the world to be civilized, it was the right of the whites to push the Indians from their lands. With this attitude, Secretary of War Cass, even with his knowledge of the

details of an Indian society, would not have thought them worthy enough to put on paper.

Forsyth's attitude toward the Indian civilization also differed from some who believed in the Indians' rights and knew the Indians well. Indian agent Boilvin, who strongly argued that the Indians had a right to justice, also believed that trying to make the Indians "like whites" was a worthy goal.⁶ In only one instance in the nine volumes of Forsyth's writings in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin does he even hint that the Indians might have been better off if they had adopted more of the white culture. Instead he appears to have believed that the Indians' own customs and law, if enforced, would be the best thing for them and for the United States government dealing with them. Others did not see enough organization within Indian society to conclude that there was an Indian law. Cass wrote: "Government is unknown to them; certainly, that government which prescribes general rules and enforces or vindicates them. The utter nakedness of their society can be known only by personal observation."⁷

Forsyth's lack of prejudice against Indian society in comparison to other whites adds credence to his description of the manners and customs of the Sauk and Fox nations. He is able to describe how the Indians painted their faces and shaved their heads without commenting that the effect was unappealing. He tells of the frequent preparations for war and the treatment of prisoners without implying this was a barbarous life. Forsyth simply put on paper everything he knew about

the Sauk and Fox, and he seems to have found the customs and manners interesting enough to have observed them in detail. The only obvious omission in the document is a description of the menstrual habits of the Sauk and Fox women, which Forsyth did relate to the Reverend Morrell Marston for his description.⁸ Perhaps for reasons of delicacy Forsyth did not feel comfortable putting on paper the rather unusual details of the practices connected with menstruation.

Certainly Forsyth's "Account" is not perfect. First, his contact with the Sauk and Fox was almost exclusively during the spring and summer months when they returned to their permanent villages from their winter hunt. Although he did discuss a few of their winter activities, it is likely that important details of daily living in that season were not known to him. It is difficult to estimate how significant this omission may be since no one else has written in detail of the migratory winter ways of the Sauk and Fox. Second, there is the possibility that some of Forsyth's observations may have been one-time occurrences, and thus the specific was made the general. The likelihood of this is not great. Forsyth lived among the Sauk and Fox over a long period of time, and he ought to have been able to distinguish the unusual from the usual. Also, when Forsyth was reporting a unique incident, he seems to categorize it as such: "I have seen them make use of a pair of old Scissors to extract an arrow point"—the "I have seen" separates this instance from the general.

There is no contemporary description of the Sauk and Fox comparable to Forsyth's for detail and accuracy. Modern ethnologists have both

drawn heavily on Forsyth for information and substantiated his work through their own research and observations of the Sauk and Fox Indians. None has challenged his findings.

The timing of Forsyth's "Account" is historically important. It is hard to give an exact date when white culture came to dominate and integrally change Sauk and Fox society. Certainly before 1827 European societies had an enormous effect on these nations—their tools, clothing, and means of hunting were adopted from the whites, and the whites had to some degree controlled the relations between the Sauk and Fox and other nations by forcing treaties upon them and by threats. The whites also affected the Indian's economy through the fur trade. Yet the Sauk and Fox still chose their own way of life. They lived in their own villages; governed themselves by their own form of government; spurned the religion of the whites; and except for trade were largely unaffected by the ways of the whites. They were able to maintain a fairly traditional Indian way of life against the pressures of spreading white settlement, although not always against the external restrictions of military law. But by the end of the 1820s the equilibrium between the Sauk and Fox and the whites began to shift. The Sauk and Fox began to lose their right of choice. The United States government began to tell the tribes where they must live; it took over their political organization by making chiefs who by Sauk and Fox standards were not qualified; and the Sauk and Fox economy began gradually to disintegrate as the number of available furs declined because of white settlement and as restriction

of the Indians to reservations rendered their lives sedentary. They came to depend more and more on annuities and gifts from the United States government. Before the 1820s the Sauk and Fox together received only \$1,000 in annuities, but during the late 1820s, as they sold more of their lands, their annuities grew and so did the number of Indians begging for handouts from Forsyth.

Forsyth wrote his "Account" just before the Sauk and Fox Indians lost their freedom of choice. Since white settlement had not quite reached most of their summer towns, their contact with white society was as yet minimal. Most were still able to earn a living through the fur trade, although they were being forced to hunt farther and farther west. The Sauk and Fox tribes in alliance with other tribes of the upper Mississippi Valley were still a military threat to the frontier settlements of the United States. Forsyth's 1827 "Account," therefore, documents the end of an era that had existed since the first white contact more than two centuries before. Forsyth describes the Sauk and Fox societies that existed before white control, before these Indians no longer made their own choices about their way of life, and before their civilization was irrevocably altered. The "Account" details a relatively traditional Indian culture and way of life.

Thomas Forsyth's "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians" is an essential document in the study of the Sauk and Fox nations, as well as in the study of the Indians of the Upper Mississippi Valley in general. Its value has been long recognized. It has

been used extensively by historians and ethnologists, and it has been published twice. In 1912 Emma Helen Blair published it in The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes, II (Cleveland), and in 1974 it was published in Sac, Fox, and Iowa Indians I, edited by David Agee Horr (London and New York). The 1974 edition is apparently based on the recipient's copy of the letter that Forsyth wrote to General Clark in St. Louis. Clark must have forwarded it to the Indian Office in Washington, D.C. Blair's 1912 edition uses Forsyth's letterbook copy, now held in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, as her copytext. The 1974 edition contains no annotation and does not attribute authorship to Forsyth (or anyone else). It describes the document as having been found by the Indian Claims Commission and simply lists it as "Docket 158, Def Ex 57." The edited text contains none of the corrections and addenda that Forsyth added to his file copy, but in other respects, except for some variant spellings, is identical to the document in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. There is no attempt to place the document in its historical and ethnological setting; there is no introductory material at all.

Blair's 1912 edition does contain some annotation largely quotations from the recently published Bureau of American Ethnology's Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1907 and 1910). The annotation does not deal with the Sauk and Fox Indians in particular, nor with Forsyth's observations. Instead, when a subject is broached in Forsyth's document, Blair

quotes the Handbook on the subject, and never specifically refers to the Sauk and Fox. The notes are generalizations. Because Blair's two-volume set also includes the writings of Nicholas Perrot, Bacqueville de la Potherie, and the Reverend Morrell Marston, Blair's emphasis is on Indians in general, not the Sauk and Fox nations or Forsyth's document.

Because of the lack of specific annotation in the two published editions, I believe that Forsyth's "Account" deserves another edition. Rhoda Gilman argues in her article "The Fur Trade in the Upper Mississippi Valley" that even with extensive white contact, individual Indian nations retained their individual identities; each society still had "inherent vitality."⁹ The document below is annotated with a belief in this vitality. Aspects of the Sauk and Fox culture, as revealed by Forsyth, are looked at on their own merits. Forsyth's document is examined in the light of other writings about the Sauk and Fox and of Forsyth's other writings while Indian agent for the Sauk and Fox Indians.

The 1827 "Account," besides being a document about the Sauk and Fox Indians, is a document by Thomas Forsyth. Forsyth's writings have been extensively used by scholars interested in Indian cultures, Indian-white relations, and the office of Indian Affairs, but Forsyth himself has never been critically examined. He was a gifted man whose ideas on Indians, and the Sauk and Fox in particular, were well developed by 1827 and were unusual for his time. The fact that the 1827 "Account" was written at all is a result of his unusual attitudes. That he believed an Indian tribe worthy of this kind of study seems unique. The development

of his ideas and the growth of his involvement with the Sauk and Fox nations can be seen in his writings. It is for this reason that the 1812 and 1832 documents are also presented. Neither document offers significant new information or interpretation, but they do show different periods of Forsyth's development and place the 1827 "Account" in context.

The documents move from the general to the specific, paralleling the development of Thomas Forsyth's knowledge about and attitude toward Indians in general and the Sauk and Fox nations in particular. The 1812 document deals with several Indian tribes, each receiving about a paragraph that includes their numbers, village locations, and general disposition. The material is interesting, but not much different from that logged by travelers who journeyed through the area, such as Peter Pond, Jonathan Carver, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark. Much of the material is filled with quite judgmental assertions, such as, "The Pottawatimie Indians are, as most all other Indians are, a deceitful, treacherous people, with very few exceptions cowardly." Forsyth wrote this only a few months after he had been appointed subagent of Indian Affairs at Peoria, Illinois. Previously he had twenty years experience with Indians as a trader, during which time he had lived regularly among several different tribes, but his interest in the Indians had been from a business point of view.

By the time he wrote the 1827 "Account," Forsyth had become more closely associated with one group of Indians—the Sauk and Fox. The 1832 document, concerning a single event in the history of the Sauk and

Fox tribes, the Black Hawk War, is even more specific. In it Forsyth is often concerned with individual Indians as he had not been in earlier writings. But like the 1812 document, Forsyth's account of the war is not entirely firsthand. Forsyth had been removed from his position of Indian agent at Rock Island in the summer of 1830 and had moved to St. Louis. The events reported between his removal and the war in the summer of 1832 are secondhand and, because he was angry about his removal, are biased. At this point Forsyth shows a very strong attachment to the Indians and a resentment at the lack of respect shown them by the United States.

The documents presented below comprise a unique set of examinations of the Sauk and Fox Indians. They come at a critical turning-point in the Sauk and Fox way of life, and they are written by the white man who knew and understood these Indians better than anyone else. The "Account" documents a life style that had not previously been examined in depth and that was dramatically altered over the next two decades. The 1832 document details the events that precipitated the alterations. These documents are certainly worthy of further study.

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION I

1. To Calhoun, Apr. 2, 1818, Draper Papers, Ser. T, Vol. 1, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (hereafter cited Draper Papers, T1, SHSW).

2. Petition Requesting Forsyth Not Be Removed from Office, Aug. 24, 1820, Draper Papers, T1, SHSW.

3. I have not presented a descriptive journal that Forsyth kept of a journey up the Mississippi. It is printed in the "Journal of a Voyage from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1819," State Historical Society of Wisconsin Collections, VI (1872), 188-219. It does not contain any descriptions of Indian nations.

4. Forsyth to William Clark, June 27, 1826, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

5. "Considerations on the Present State of the Indians, and Their Removal to the West of the Mississippi," North American Review, XXX (Jan. 1830), 12-13.

6. Boilvin to John C. Calhoun, March 7, 1818, Platteville MSS, Scanlan Papers, Vol. 1, SHSW.

7. "Considerations on the Indians," North American Review, XXX, 14.

8. See Morrell Marston to Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820, printed in Emma Helen Blair, ed., The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes (Cleveland, 1912), II, 170-172.

9. Wisconsin Magazine of History (Autumn 1974), 13-14.

II. THOMAS FORSYTH

Thomas Forsyth was born in Detroit on December 5, 1771. He was the son of William Forsyth, a Presbyterian Scotchman who had arrived from Ireland in New York City around 1750. William Forsyth joined the military, fought in Quebec, and was eventually stationed in Detroit, where he remained after his military discharge. There he opened a tavern, engaged in the fur trade, and married the widow Kinzie. During the American Revolution he was sympathetic with the colonial side and was jailed by the British. He died in Detroit around 1790.

Little is known about Thomas Forsyth's early life and education in Detroit. His extant writings go back only as far as 1812, but they show him to have been literate and fairly widely read, at least among American authors. In his letters, works by Thomas Jefferson and William Penn are often cited.¹ He left Detroit in 1793 with his half-brother John Kinzie, who has been called the "founder of Chicago" because he built the first non-military structure on the site of the present city. Together they worked for several fur traders and merchants, spending several winters on Saginaw Bay. Forsyth wrote that he wintered one year at Two Rivers, below the mouth of the Fabius River on the Mississippi, and that as early as 1798 he had traveled to and beyond the Rocky Mountains.² About 1802 Forsyth and Kinzie established their own

trading company, Kinzie & Forsyth. Kinzie was located at Chicago, and Forsyth at Peoria on the Illinois River. Little is known of the business, but they were successful enough to hire agents in 1807 to winter among the Indians for them.³ Between 1802 and 1809 Forsyth married Keziah De Maillot (or Malotte or Le Motte) of Hagerstown, Maryland. They had four children, three sons and a daughter.⁴

Forsyth remained in business with his half-brother until the spring of 1812 when he was appointed subagent of Indians Affairs at Peoria. During his previous ten years at Peoria, he had come to know and be known by the neighboring Indians. Black Hawk, relating events of 1811, said of Forsyth: "I went to Peoria, on the Illinois river, to see an old friend, a trader, to get his advice. He was a man that always told us the truth, and knew every thing that was going on."⁵ Just after Forsyth took office as subagent, Governor Ninian Edwards wrote of him: "He is a very intelligent, gentlemanly man, has a perfect knowledge of the Indians, and would make a first rate agent."⁶

Forsyth's commission as subagent was issued on April 1, 1812, and listed a salary of \$600 per annum plus three rations a day,⁷ although Ninian Edwards told Secretary of War William Eustis that Forsyth initially refused the job as it offered only \$700 per annum and one ration a day.⁸ Perhaps Forsyth's initial refusal indicates that he had been doing at least moderately well as a partner in Kinzie & Forsyth and for financial reasons was somewhat reluctant to leave the partnership (no records of the business are extant, although his half brother, who

remained a trader, went on to become a wealthy and influential citizen of Chicago). There is some indication that Forsyth's appointment as subagent may have been kept a secret. His superiors believed that he would be able to get more information from the Indians, of whom a majority were siding with the British during the War of 1812, if they did not know he was an agent of the United States government.⁹ Even Black Hawk expressed surprise after the war when he discovered that Forsyth was an Indian agent.¹⁰

With the outbreak of war in 1812, Forsyth's position in Peoria became both precarious and strategically important. He moved his family to St. Louis, where they remained for the rest of his life. He returned to Peoria, which at that time was inhabited by twenty French-speaking families. Peoria, suspected of being a haven for British sympathizers, was looted and burned by United States troops in 1812, and Forsyth and the French inhabitants were taken prisoner by Captain Thomas E. Craig. Craig believed that Forsyth had pro-British tendencies and was too friendly with the Indians, all of whom Craig viewed as enemies.¹¹ Forsyth was released within a few days, but spent a great deal of effort attempting to obtain compensation for his losses (all the goods from his trading company had been destroyed); the last letter demanding compensation from the United States government was written six months before his death in October 1833.¹²

As Indian agent in Peoria during the War of 1812 Forsyth relayed a great deal of information to the United States authorities on the

loyalties and movements of the different Indian tribes and also information on British plans and actions as relayed to him by the Indians. The British considered the Indians' friendliness toward Forsyth to be such a threat to them that they attempted to bribe him to join their side and at one point even planned to kidnap him. Only Craig's arrest saved him from capture.¹³ Although Forsyth was often referred to as Colonel Forsyth, there is no evidence that he fought in the War of 1812 or was ever in the military.

After the war Forsyth remained at Peoria until 1817 when he was sent to Rock Island, Illinois, to deliver annuities to the Sauk and Fox Indians. In 1818 he was made a full agent for the Sauk and Fox nations. His salary was raised to \$1,000 per annum.¹⁴ As an agent Forsyth wrote regularly to his superiors, informing them of the constantly changing state of Indian affairs at Rock Island. His own duties were varied. He was responsible for doling out annuities, and he had a small supply of items that he could give out to the Indians as goodwill presents. He was responsible for seeing that the Indians turned over to the white authorities any member of the tribes who had committed murder or any other misdeed against the whites and that they returned stolen horses and other property. Forsyth kept track of the Indians' plans and often attempted to prevent groups of warriors from going to war. If war did break out, he was responsible for negotiating a treaty between the warring tribes. He was the law of the territory for the external affairs of the Sauk and Fox. He was also responsible for the whites in the area.

He licensed traders and told them where and when they could trade. He escorted the builders of a fort at St. Anthony's through Indian country, and he attempted to keep the whites mining lead around Dubuque from encroaching on Indian mines and lands. He also tried to stop illegal traders and trappers. He was often frustrated in performing his duties by government red tape. He told auditors in Washington, D.C., that it was impossible to obtain the vouchers they required for every present given to the Indians, as they refused to sign anything.¹⁵ He also complained about the poor items sent out by the Indian Office and of the rules of the commissary at Fort Armstrong that allowed meat to spoil rather than be given to starving Indians.¹⁶

Forsyth was a successful and loyal Indian agent. He knew the Indians and their temperament well, and he spoke their language. He became friends with and was respected by the head man of the Sauk tribe, Keokuk, through whom Forsyth was able to influence the majority of the members of the tribes. Forsyth had no trouble convincing the tribe to turn over those Indians who had committed crimes against whites and was usually successful at stopping war parties, at least during the summer. He many times disagreed with the policies the government ordered him to carry out, but he never disobeyed orders. He felt strongly that the Sauk and Fox Indians had the right (as stated in the Treaty of 1804) to remain on their land east of the Mississippi until the United States government put the land up for sale and it was sold. But because of orders from the United States government he repeatedly

attempted to persuade the Indians to remove; eventually some of Black Hawk's party even blamed him for the forced removal and plotted to kill him.¹⁷ Forsyth's frustration with this situation led him to express the wish that the whole thing were over with, since the Indians brought up the topic of ownership of the lands at every council Forsyth attended.¹⁸

The only complaint lodged against Forsyth as an Indian agent was that he was often absent from his post. This complaint was made frequently from the beginning of his tenure as agent to the end. Several times between 1812 and 1830, despite his experience and achievements, his superiors came close to firing him for being in St. Louis instead of Peoria or Rock Island.¹⁹ Forsyth vigorously defended his absences, arguing first that there was no reason for an agent to be in the area as the Indians were not living in their villages during the winter months, and second, that the agency provided no decent place for him to live. Until 1825 Forsyth lived out of the storerooms of Fort Crawford, Peoria, and Fort Armstrong, Rock Island. At Peoria he had to leave the fort in order to meet the Indians, and he complained that he could not even offer them a comfortable place to smoke.²⁰ Forsyth claimed that the lack of housing was the reason his family remained in St. Louis and never accompanied him to his agency. In 1825 an agency building was erected on Rock Island, but Forsyth still remained away during the winter.

In 1830 William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, was informed by Thomas McKenney, head of Indian Affairs: "I am directed by the Secretary of War to convey to Major Thos. Forsyth,

Indian Agent at Rock Island, that public policy and the public service combine to make it advisable to appoint another person in his place."²¹

In 1832 Forsyth discovered from a source within the War Department:

I can find nothing on the files of the Department against you with the exception of a letter, from General Clark to the War Department dated April 12, 1830 on the subject of your continued absence. . . . Now, in all this matter, he does not suggest the necessity of your removal. . . . if Gen Clark had made no complaints against you, you would not have been removed—He always professed to me, great regret, at your removal—²²

As evidence of the government's continued respect for Forsyth's ability even after his removal from office, in 1831 he was offered an appointment to settle the "half-breed" land question among the Sauk and Fox. He refused, saying that he did not wish any further contact with William Clark, whom he blamed for his removal.²³

After his dismissal as Indian agent Forsyth returned to St. Louis to his farm on the west side of the city (in the area which is now Forest Park). He died there in October 1833. In the only personal description of him I have found, Governor John Reynolds of Illinois wrote that he had "a sound, well-balanced mind, and benevolence and kindness of heart were his predominant traits. His person was large and portly."²⁴ Forsyth's writings reveal that he thought highly of his own abilities,

regularly reminding his superiors of his indispensability.

Although removed from office for not fulfilling his duties, Forsyth had been for eighteen years one of the most enlightened and successful Indian agents. He took his work as an agent seriously, and he performed his duties thoroughly. He had thought through the role of the Indian Agency and of the agent from the point of view both of the individual agent's actions and of Indian-white relations in general. Perhaps if his views had been more popular, or even listened to by a few more people in the right places, the course of Indian-white relations in the nineteenth century would have been smoother.

From the beginning of his tenure as Indian agent Thomas Forsyth had advocated a restructuring of the Indian affairs of the United States. Forsyth believed that Indian Affairs should be made a separate department of the United States government, and that it should be staffed by qualified people. He argued that a territorial governor sent from the east, who might never have seen an Indian, was not fit to administer the Indian affairs for a territory (as was the case until 1822). Forsyth believed that such governors did not know what was necessary to gain the Indians' respect and obedience.²⁵ Forsyth recommended instead that there be one superintendent of Indian Affairs, appointed by the federal government, who would live in St. Louis. Agents among the Indians would be responsible only to the superintendent, not to the governor of the territory or state. Forsyth also insisted that agents should be

knowledgeable about the Indians and be able to speak the language of the Indians they worked with.²⁶

In 1822 the Indian Agency was remodeled, very much along the lines that Forsyth had recommended. Although not made a separate department, the Indian Agency was placed in the War Department. William Clark was made superintendent and was based at St. Louis (Forsyth had recommended Clark for this post in 1821). The agents reported to Clark. But the quality of the agents still continued to irritate Forsyth. Many were ignorant of Indian customs, and most could not speak the appropriate languages. George Boyd, Indian agent at Green Bay from 1832 to 1840, was an example. When appointed agent he could not speak any Indian language, and his previous experience had been as a banker, store owner, and special agent for the War Department in Europe.²⁷ In 1831 Forsyth told Secretary of War Cass that "evil" interpreters, who were usually other Indians, were often the cause of things "broiling" between the Indians and an agent who could not speak their language.²⁸

The United States government may have taken suggestions made by Forsyth concerning the arrangement of the Indian Agency, but it seems never to have listened to Forsyth's advice on what was fair treatment for the Indian nations of the United States. Forsyth's ideas were not radical, nor was he an "Indian lover" who thought everything about the Indians was wonderful. Forsyth believed the whites had a superior society, and at times despised the way the Indians acted. In 1825 he called one group of Fox Indians "a set of discontented Rascally fellows";²⁹ another time,

after not being able to stop a party led by Black Hawk from going to war against the Sioux, he wrote in exasperation: "I sincerely hope that not one of any war party from this country may ever return to their homes."³⁰ Forsyth also did not believe the Indians could be civilized: "As to civilize the Indians in this country is out of the question; much money is thrown away by the U: States for that purpose, and to no good effect."³¹ But because the Indians could not be assimilated into white society, he did not believe them unworthy of respect and justice.

There were two major aspects of Forsyth's theory on Indian treatment. First, to make the Indians truly understand and not resent American authority, he urged the United States government to take advantage of Indian law when dealing with the Indians, as well as to do exactly what it said it was going to do. Second, Forsyth was concerned that the United States understand the Indians' needs and not take actions that might interfere with these needs. In 1814 Forsyth wrote to Rufus Easton, who had just been appointed a territorial Representative to Congress, expressing a theory of Indian control that was to be made even more emphatic and clear over the next decade and a half:

half way measures in my opinion is the worst kind of measures (as respects Indians) that can be followed, give them what you promise, never threaten, punish first and threaten afterwards, indeed, give the Indians Indian law and you may be assured you are always on the right side, if Indians commit murder, retaliate, . . . they will soon get tired

of doing mischief and be peacable, but on the other hand listen to their Complaints and do them Justice, if any of our Citizens have injured any of them, let them have redress. . . .³²

During the 1820s the United States government was dictating to the Sauk and Fox Indians how to behave in their external affairs. But much to Forsyth's consternation the government often did not enforce its dictates. In 1821 Forsyth, on behalf of the government, had demanded the Sauks turn over the murderer of a Frenchman, but then discovered there was no money allocated to transport the man to St. Louis or to pay for a trial—"half way measures will never do with the Indians, and without an agent is authorized and supported in doing what is right, he must appear a mere cypher in the eyes of the Indians."³³ In the late 1820s and 1830 Forsyth recommended that the government make a show of force to emphasize to the rebellious Sauk and Fox Indians that the United States was serious about making them move west of the Mississippi River. "To use threat to Indians and not put them into execution is doing worse than nothing."³⁴ The United States government did not follow this recommendation, and many of the Indians did not leave. A show of force did finally move Black Hawk across the river in 1831, and it seems it would have in 1832 if the Americans had not started shooting before the Indians had a chance to return across the river.³⁵

Forsyth was also constantly urging the government to carry out its promises to the Indians, not just its threats. In 1829 and 1830 there were

several unfulfilled promises to the Indians: that lands east of the Mississippi would be theirs until auctioned by the United States; that whites would not work certain Indian mines; and that the Menominee and Sioux Indians guilty of murdering nine Fox would be brought to justice. Forsyth argued that if the United States government did not fulfill its promises, it could not expect the Indians to remain faithful to theirs. Urging the government to stand by its promises, Forsyth wrote, "the Indians then will see that the Government are friendly disposed towards them. This in my opinion is the moment for the Government of the U.S. to show their affection towards the Sauk and Fox Indians."³⁷

Forsyth also believed that the United States should utilize Indian law when dealing with the Indians; the Indians would be more likely to abide by that law and there would be fewer misunderstandings. Part of this policy involved retaliating in kind for Indian misdeeds, but an even more important part was the way in which treaties and promises were made. Forsyth knew the internal structure of the Sauk and Fox and understood that treaties and promises extracted from just any chief or warrior would not be adhered to by the whole tribe. Forsyth instructed the government which Indians should be invited to a treaty negotiation and insisted that the whole tribe be told the purpose of the meeting before it took place, as no chief or chiefs could act without the tribes' approval.³⁸

Forsyth urged the government to consider the impact upon the Indians of laws passed in Washington. He unsuccessfully argued that the British not be forbidden from trading within the United States immedi-

ately after the War of 1812 as most of the traders in Illinois were British and the Illinois Indians would be left without any traders.³⁹ (The government and other Indian agents feared British traders would enlist the Indians against the United States.) Forsyth also insisted that the Indians be able to buy on credit or else they would have no supplies for their winter hunt; and if the traders were not allowed to go into the interior to trade, the Indians "would suffer much hardship"⁴⁰—the government had tried to stop both these practices. Forsyth also argued in the 1820s that there was no point stopping the Sauk and Fox Indians from visiting the British in Canada; the British had little to offer the Indians, and the returning Indians were a valuable source of information to Forsyth. The Indians would certainly harbor ill-feelings against the United States if stopped.⁴¹

Forsyth practiced his own rules. He asked the Indians their opinion before forcing any new white contact or control on them. In 1825 he asked the Fox who mined near Dubuque if they would like a trader stationed near them. When the Indians said no, that one white always brought more whites, Forsyth promised not to license any trader near the mines.⁴² He attempted to remove illegal settlers and traders, and he made sure that white depredations against the Sauk and Fox Indians were punished.

Why Thomas Forsyth developed these enlightened and humane attitudes toward the Indians when very few others did is not entirely clear.

Certainly his immense experience with the Indians, especially the Sauk and Fox tribes, gave him insight into how to handle Indians. But others like Nicholas Boilvin and Lewis Cass, who also had wide experience with Indians, did not have enough respect for the Indians' own culture to look at treatment of the Indian from the Indian point of view. Forsyth constantly did so, a habit that seems to have been an important reason for his success as an agent. Forsyth may also have identified with the Indians in feeling personally used and abused by the United States government. The government had refused to pay the war damages Forsyth sought; the Indian Agency did not supply him with decent living quarters until 1825; and he felt constantly threatened with the loss of his position. Forsyth also had the almost unique experience (at least for an American) of knowing one particular group of Indians extremely well and gaining their confidence. Because the Indians trusted him, perhaps Forsyth felt them worthy of trust and respect in return—a trust and respect he felt the United States government should also give.

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION II

1. Forsyth to William Clark, Dec. 23, 1812, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW, and Forsyth, "Journal," SHSW Collections, VI (1872), 214.
2. To Lewis Cass, Oct. 24, 1831, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.
3. "Accounts," 1807, Draper Papers, T1, SHSW.
4. The preceding biographical detail has been gathered from Henry H. Hurlbut, Chicago Antiquities (Chicago, 1880); John Reynolds, The Pioneer History of Illinois (Chicago, 1887); and J. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County (Philadelphia, 1883).
5. Black Hawk, Autobiography of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, Black Hawk, an Autobiography, ed., Donald Jackson (Urbana, Ill., 1955), 69.
6. To William Eustis, May 26, 1812, in Ninian W. Edwards, History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833, and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards (Springfield, Ill., 1870), 324.
7. "Commission," Apr. 1, 1812, Draper Papers, T1, SHSW.
8. May 26, 1812, in Edwards, History of Illinois, 324.
9. See Forsyth, "Journal," SHSW Collections, VI, 188n, and Scharf, St. Louis, 1293.
10. Autobiography, 66.
11. See Craig to Ninian Edwards, Dec. 10, 1812, in E. B. Washburne, ed., The Edwards Papers, Chicago Historical Society Collections, III (1884), 86-90.
12. Forsyth to Lewis Cass, Apr. 1, 1833, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

13. Black Hawk, Autobiography, 75-78, and Reynolds, Pioneer History, 251-252.
14. See "Commission," Apr. 20, 1818, Draper Papers, T1, and "Accounts," Draper Papers, T3, SHSW.
15. See Forsyth to William Clark, Apr. 3, 1823, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.
16. Forsyth to John C. Calhoun, Apr. 22, 1822, Draper Papers, T4, and to William Clark, Aug. 7, 1827, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.
17. Forsyth to William Clark, May 24, June 2, 1828, May 17, 22, 1829, May 25, June 1, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW; and Black Hawk, Autobiography, 118.
18. Forsyth to John C. Calhoun, Sept. 23, 1823, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.
19. Ninian Edwards to Forsyth, Nov. 5, 1814, Wis. MSS, Q1, Box 1, SHSW; George Grahm to Edwards, Mar. 26, 1817, in Edwards, History of Illinois, 544; and Draper Papers, T2 and T5, SHSW.
20. Forsyth to William Clark, July 31, 1814, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.
21. June 7, 1830, Indian Office Files, Box 3, SHSW.
22. ? to Forsyth, Mar. 14, 1832, Draper Papers, T2, SHSW.
23. Forsyth to William H. Ashley, Dec. 3, 1831, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.
24. Reynolds, Pioneer History, 252.
25. Forsyth to William Clark, Sept. 22, 1815, Draper Papers, T4,

SHSW.

26. Forsyth to Rufus King, Sept. 18, 1814; to William Clark, Sept. 22, 1815; and to John Scott, July 1821, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

27. "Papers of Indian Agent Boyd, 1832," SHSW Collections, XII (1892), 266-298.

28. To Lewis Cass, Oct. 24, 1831, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

29. To William Clark, June 21, 1829, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

30. Ibid., May 27, 1827.

31. To John Scott, July 1821, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

32. Sept. 18, 1814, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

33. To William Clark, May 10, 1821, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

34. Ibid., May 17, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

35. See Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Prelude to Disaster: The Course of Indian-White Relations Which Led to the Black Hawk War of 1832," in Ellen M. Whitney, ed., The Black Hawk War, 1831-1832 (Springfield, Ill., 1970), I, 50-51.

36. See Forsyth to William Clark, June 17, 1829, and June 7, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

37. Ibid., June 14, 1830, Draper Papers, SHSW.

38. See Forsyth to William Clark, Apr. 9, 1825, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

39. See *ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1822.

40. To John C. Calhoun, Sept. 30, 1824, Draper Papers, SHSW.

41. Forsyth to Lewis Cass, May 12, 1822, Draper Papers, SHSW.

----- 42. Forsyth to William Clark, June 1, 1825, Draper Papers, SHSW. -----

III. THE SAUK AND FOX INDIANS

The Sauk and Fox nations are both members of the Central Algonkian group linguistically and culturally, although both adopted some practices of the Plains Indians during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although their languages and cultures are similar, the Sauk and Fox have distinct histories both before and after the Black Hawk War. Prior to 1730 and after the 1850s the two tribes did not live together, and their histories are distinct for these periods. Between 1730 and 1850 the two tribes maintained villages next to each other, they intermarried, and they shared ceremonies. During this period they were treated as one nation by other Indian nations and by white authorities. They themselves acted as a single entity when dealing with external groups.

Even during this time of intimate contact, white observers, like Forsyth and Morrell Marston, were able to observe distinctions between the political structure of the two tribes. This distinction credited the Sauk with a well-organized and disciplined political system. The Fox political structure was seen as more chaotic because of a lack of respect for authority. This difference was characterized with less prejudice by Anthony F. C. Wallace in 1959 when he wrote that the Fox were "radically individualistic in comparison with the relatively well-coordi-

nated Sauk."¹ Culturally the Sauk and Fox were seen by observers during this period as almost identical, and they were always grouped together. Even Forsyth, who knew both tribes intimately, made no distinction between them in habits and customs. Twentieth-century ethnologists consider the Sauk and Fox separately; but they have not compared the two cultures to show where any differences lie, nor have they addressed the question as to whether the two tribes were culturally almost identical between 1730 and 1850. The differences are usually brought forward in vague statements, such as

"they [the Fox] seem to be more distinct from the Sauk in all matters save material culture than has been generally realized, and should be considered separately by ethnologists. The Sauk feel keenly that they are a distinct tribe, as much so as the Kickapoo or even the Potawatomi. It may well be that even in material culture the Fox are farther removed from the Sauk than is now supposed. At present the Fox are by far the more conservative group of the two."²

But Forsyth's 1827 document, printed below, makes a very strong case for considering the Sauk and Fox as culturally one tribe, at least during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In this document and in his other writings, Forsyth pointed out differences between the Sauk and Fox in their political structure, drinking habits, relative wealth, and

village locations, but he does not make distinctions in material culture or customs. As he was a keen observer of other aspects of the Sauk and Fox civilizations, I doubt that he was less so when it came to material culture and customs.

Forsyth's descriptions of the history of the Sauk and Fox in the documents below are quite accurate. The following history, therefore, will simply fill in a few blanks.

At the time of the first white contact in the 1640s, the Sauk and Fox were both living in the Green Bay area, having been pushed northwest from the Michigan peninsula by warring tribes to the east. The Sauk lived near the head of Green Bay, and the Fox a short distance away at the Fox-Wisconsin portage.

Here the Sauk and Fox, but particularly the Fox, openly rebelled against the French, who controlled the fur trade in the Great Lakes area. They were the only Algonkian tribes to do so. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Fox attempted to control the French fur trade with the tribes to the west.³ They closed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway to all travelers and effectively stopped the lucrative French trade with the Sioux Indians. During this time the Fox, in alliance with the Sauk and other Algonkian Indians, were at war with the Illinois Indians, whom they soundly defeated. This action also greatly interfered with the French traders, several of whom were killed by the Algonkians. This war cut off the trade routes between Canada and St. Louis.

These actions by the Fox led to chronic warfare with the French and their Indian allies in the early eighteenth century. The Fox attacks finally got so out of hand that the French waged a war of extinction against them, culminating in a massacre in 1731 that left very few Fox alive. These few were given asylum by the Sauk Indians. This angered the French, and the Sauk and Fox were attacked by the French and their allies at Green Bay in 1733 and were decisively defeated. The two tribes, in an effort to escape the French, crossed the Mississippi River and wandered for several years in the Iowa area before returning east of the Mississippi.

As a result of this defeat by the French and their allies, the Sauk and Fox moved permanently away from the Green Bay area. They settled on the Wisconsin River, where they had previously established at least one village, and they also began moving south into Illinois. In 1766 Jonathan Carver described a Sauk village on the Wisconsin River as the largest he had ever seen. It contained more than three hundred warriors and eighty large buildings.⁴ This was at present-day Prairie du Sac, Wisconsin. By the 1760s the Sauk and Fox had established villages in Illinois on the Mississippi River at the mouth of the Rock River⁵ and opposite Dubuque. The Sauk and Fox left Wisconsin permanently in the late eighteenth century.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, the Sauk and Fox hunting grounds east of the Mississippi were being settled by whites. Their hunting lands west of the river were

being rapidly depleted of game. In an effort to expand their hunting grounds, the Sauk and Fox made war on the tribes along the Missouri River—the Osage, the Otos, the Omahas, and the Missouri—while keeping their permanent summer homes along the Mississippi. Expanding in another direction, they came into conflict with the Sioux at the headwaters of the Des Moines River in the first decades of the nineteenth century.⁶

It was during this time that the Sauk and the Fox nations had their first contact with the United States government. In 1804 they were among the last Mississippi area tribes to sign a treaty with the United States. It was negotiated in a suspect manner and was the source of tension for the next twenty-eight years. The Indians who signed the treaty in St. Louis had come to that city with the intention of negotiating for the release of a Sauk prisoner held for murder, not to make a treaty. Somehow the United States commissioners convinced the Indian representatives to sign a document that sold all their lands east of the Mississippi for \$2,234.50, plus an annuity of \$1,000.

Whether the Indians knew in 1804 that they had sold the lands is not certain. They denied any sale at all until 1829 when Quashquame, a Sauk chief who had signed the 1804 treaty, admitted selling land, but said he sold none above the Rock River.⁷ Even if the Sauk and Fox delegation had signed the treaty with knowledge of the land sale, they had no right to do so. They were not sent to St. Louis for that purpose, and land could not be sold without the permission of the entire tribe.

One Sauk squaw even argued the "the men could not sell the cornfields, for they belonged to the women—they had made them."⁸

Anthony F.C. Wallace questions whether the Indian representatives understood the treaty. First, Article 7 stated:

As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribes, shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them.

Wallace suggests that the Indians, unacquainted with the concept of private versus public ownership of land, believed that the land was being held for them in perpetuity under United States guardianship. Second, if the Indians had understood the treaty, they would never have sold their lands for such a small amount. The Sauk and Fox had been carrying on for years a fur trade worth over \$60,000 a year, and they would not give up a major portion of their hunting lands for a few thousand dollars.⁹

Whatever the circumstances of the treaty, or the later claims by the Sauk and Fox, the United States held the Indians to the agreement, although allowing the Indians, as stated in the treaty, to live on the east side of the Mississippi River until the late 1820s. In the meantime, the Sauk and Fox joined the British against the United States in the War of 1812. Black Hawk claimed in his autobiography that the Sauk and Fox wanted to remain neutral as the United States had ordered, but when the government trading factories would not give the credit essential to the

Indian economy and the British would, "here ended all hopes of our remaining at peace."¹⁰ One group of Sauk did accept an offer of protection from the United States and moved to Missouri, where they remained after the war and never rejoined the Rock River tribe. Following the conclusion of the war, the United States made peace treaties with the Sauk and Fox in 1816 and 1817, respectively.

Such was the situation into which Forsyth stepped when he was appointed agent for the Sauk and Fox in 1818. The Sauk and Fox were still living on the Mississippi at the mouth of the Rock River and at Dubuque. Their lives were divided between agriculture and hunting, with some members of the tribes, mostly the Fox, mining lead during the summer hunting season.¹¹ They were warring with western tribes to obtain more hunting ground, but their economy was strong. They were following a pattern of life they had followed for two centuries. But in the nine years before Forsyth wrote his "Account" of 1827, much of this life began to be threatened. The threat caused internal problems for the tribes. A conservative faction began to develop that wanted to rebel against the threats and was insistent upon retaining their homelands and preserving their old ways. These Indians became Black Hawk's followers. The other group, led by Keokuk, the Sauk council's spokesman, were willing to negotiate with the whites and eventually were willing to accede to white demands. They seem to have believed that the strength of the United States was too great to oppose.

By 1827 the land the Sauk and Fox farmed on was claimed by the United States, and the Indians were told they would have to leave. They argued vehemently against the order and wrote a letter, signed by Keokuk and Black Hawk among others, to the president of the United States, declaring that they had never sold their homeland.¹² Also at this time many of their mines had been taken over by the whites; they were forced to go farther and farther west to find enough game; and the white traders were pressing harder and harder for furs, not understanding the indifference of the Indians toward acquiring wealth beyond their immediate needs.¹³ This indifference was a major factor leading aggressive traders to encourage liquor consumption among the Indians. Traders discovered that Indians who were addicted to liquor produced more furs than those who hunted only to make a living.¹⁴ Drunken Indians coming into conflict with whites became a constant source of trouble for Forsyth, who regularly wrote to Superintendent William Clark about the problem. Although liquor could not legally be sold in Indian territory, Forsyth and Clark could do nothing themselves because the government did not enforce the regulation.¹⁵ During the late 1820s more and more Indians show up on Forsyth's account books as receiving whatever goods (mostly foodstuffs) he had to give—which seems never to have been enough. The Sauk and Fox were losing control of their lands and their livelihood.

This situation provoked the Black Hawk War. When the pressures on the Indians began to mount in the late 1820s, many of the Sauk and

Fox chose not to resist them. The Fox Indians abandoned their villages at the mouth of the Rock River after the summer of 1828, but continued to mine on the west bank of the Mississippi River until 1832 when the United States coerced the Sauk and Fox into selling their hunting and mining lands in eastern Iowa. The Sauk tribe put off their departure from their Rock River village, Saukenuk. In an effort to stall, they shared their village in 1829 with several families of white squatters who had moved in before the Indians' spring return. That summer some of the Sauk began to move to a new village that had been established in 1828 twelve miles up the Iowa River; but many, including Keokuk and Black Hawk, stayed. Keokuk told Forsyth that he wanted to leave, but the chiefs at Iowa River had ordered him to keep control of his fellow tribesmen still at Rock River.¹⁶ The following summer only a small party of Sauk and Fox, known as the Black Hawk party, returned to the east bank of the Mississippi. Although they lived peacefully, their return upset many whites, and the government ordered them not to return the following year. When the Black Hawk party returned the next summer in greater numbers than before, the militia and a company of regulars forced them to go back across the river and to sign a document acknowledging the treaty of 1804.

The following summer the Black Hawk party again crossed the river, this time heading for the Winnebago Prophet's town up the Rock River, to which they had been invited. Their appearance precipitated the Black Hawk War of 1831. The events of the war and its causes are

outlined by Forsyth in his 1832 document and have been discussed at length by many historians. For the purpose of this essay it can be said with certainty that the white authorities' fear and lack of understanding of the Sauk and Fox nations were the leading factors precipitating the bloodshed. With the defeat of Black Hawk at the end of the summer of 1832, the history of the Sauk and Fox nations east of the Mississippi River came to an end.

The Sauk and Fox Indians attempted to follow their former life style west of the Mississippi River. They lived in several towns along the Des Moines and Iowa rivers and seemed to be fairly happy with their lands. But illegal settlers came in, and the whiskey trade flourished. Deeply in debt, the tribes willingly sold their lands in the early 1840s. In 1845 the Sauk headed for new lands on a reservation at the headwaters of the Osage River in Kansas. The Fox followed the next year. For the Sauk and Fox, who were accustomed to an abundance of water and trees, the flat, sandy soil of Kansas was not appealing. They were decimated by disease in the early 1850s and engaged in a series of wars with the Plains Indians over hunting grounds.

The dissatisfaction of the tribes continued to grow. There was internal strife between progressive and conservative factions over whether to work within the white system and to accept much of the white culture. A conservative band of Foxes, discontented with their lives in Kansas, moved back to Iowa in 1854 and settled near Tama, where they bought land and began to farm. Much of the Fox tribe lives in Tama

today and still resists assimilation.

The Sauk and Fox in Kansas began to feel heavy pressure from white settlement in the late 1850s and 1860s. A railroad was even built through their lands. In 1867 they ceded all their land in Kansas to the United States government and accepted resettlement in Oklahoma, where they moved in 1869. By this time the Sauk and Fox had virtually given up farming; they continued to hunt, primarily for buffalo, as long as there was game. They subsisted largely on their annuities. Only as the hunting grew less and less productive, did they, at the urging of the United States government, return to farming. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Sauk and Fox of Oklahoma gradually gave up many of their old ways, and tribal unity began to disappear. In 1958 William T. Hagan described the almost complete acculturation of the Oklahoma Sauk and Fox in the twentieth century:

Socially, the Sacs and Foxes are slowly merging with their white neighbors. Each decade since 1920 has seen the rate of acculturation accelerated. True, there are today tribesmen who do not speak English, and at least one still wears his hair long . . . and a number of Sacs and Foxes are still pagans. Also, without a doubt, there is a sizable minority within the tribe which would like to cling to the old ways. . . . But the dances, which are the principal manifestation of their conservatism, are a far cry from those Thomas Forsyth saw in Saukenuk before Black Hawk went on the

warpath. . . . And old Black Hawk would turn over in his grave at the thought of the Sacs and Foxes staging a war dance under the sponsorship of the local Chamber of Commerce.¹⁸

The assimilation of the Oklahoma Sauk and Fox with the other reservation tribes is now almost complete, and few of the old ways are even remembered.

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION III

1. "Prologue," 3.
2. Alanson Buck Skinner, Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians, Milwaukee Public Museum Bulletin, V (1923-1926), 9.
3. Natalie F. Joffe, "The Foxes of Iowa," in Ralph Linton, ed., Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes (New York and London, 1940), 259, suggests that the British encouraged the Fox to attempt this action against the French, but these actions are usually attributed solely to Fox animosity toward the French.
4. John Parker, ed., The Journals of Jonathan Carver and Related Documents, 1766-1770 (Saint Paul, Minn., 1976), 83.
5. The Sauk village at the mouth of the Rock River is dated back to the late 1730s in David Agee Horr, ed., Sac, Fox, and Iowa Indians, I (New York and London, 1974), 138, and Gilman, "Fur Trade," WMH, LVIII, 8.
6. The above early history of the Sauk and Fox is taken from the following sources: Gilman, "Fur Trade," WMH, LVIII, 8; William T. Hagan, The Sac and Fox Indians (Norman, 1958); Horr, ed., Sac, Fox, and Iowa; Joffe, "Fox of Iowa"; William Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox Indians," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 125 (1939); Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The Fox Indians during the French Regime," SHSW Proceedings, 1907 (Madison, 1907), and The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest (Madison, 1925); Skinner, Observations on the Sauk;

and Wallace, "Prologue."

7. Forsyth to William Clark, May 17, 1829, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

8. J. W. Spencer, Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in the Mississippi Valley in Milo Milton Quaife, ed., The Early Days of Rock Island and Davenport (Chicago, 1942), 46.

9. Wallace, "Prologue," 20-21.

10. Autobiography, 72. For a complete view of the trading practices of the United States, see Royal B. Way, "The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1796-1822," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VI (Sept. 1919), 220-235.

11. Forsyth wrote of these lead mines in 1822: "The Fox Indians in particular, who are very improvident, & illy provided with horses, arms &c. to make a summer hunt all go up to work those mines every summer where they find many traders plentifully provided with merchandize and provisions to purchase their lead, indeed I cannot see how the major part of the Foxes and some of the Sauk could exist without those mines" (to John C. Calhoun, Aug. 18, 1822, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

12. "Indians' Letter to the President," 1821, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

13. According to Rhoda Gilman, by the late 1820s "some kinds of game, like elk and buffalo, had been permanently depleted, and beaver was practically extinct in the area. The highly valued 'fine' furs like marten, fisher, and otter were no longer shipped in large quantities." ("Fur

Trade," WMH, LVIII, 18).

14. Ibid., 14.

15. See Forsyth to John C. Calhoun, Apr. 2, May 26, 1818, Aug. 27, 1826, and to William Clark, July 24, 1826, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

16. Forsyth to William Clark, May 22, 1829, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

17. Spencer, Reminiscences, 40-41.

18. Sac and Fox, 263-264.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

In annotating Forsyth's documents I have tried to remain faithful to Forsyth's own purpose in writing these documents—to describe the life of the Sauk and Fox Indians in the early nineteenth century. I have not tried to draw conclusions about Sauk and Fox life or to interpret Forsyth's observations. I have added detail from other chroniclers of the Sauk and Fox and have tried to elucidate obscurities without altering or overwhelming Forsyth's documents.

The sources used fall primarily into three categories: 1) Forsyth's correspondence and records; 2) writings about the Sauk and Fox or the Indian Agency contemporary with or earlier than Forsyth's; and 3) modern ethnological studies of the Sauk and Fox Indians. Other modern sources were helpful in establishing the framework in which Forsyth worked and wrote and in which the Sauk and Fox Indians lived.

Forsyth's extant correspondence in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is made up primarily of letters from and to officials in the Indian Agency and War Department, governors, and congressional representatives. The letters are all file copies, but when compared to the few extant originals in the Indian Office files in Washington, D.C., no substantial differences are revealed. Forsyth did not edit his file copies. Also among Forsyth's papers are copies of commissions, official orders,

and accounts for the Indian Agency—lists of annuities and presents given; lists of licenses granted traders, which include names of those working for the traders and where they were given permission to trade.

Since Forsyth reveals little or nothing about himself in the documents, his papers are invaluable for understanding the man and for adding specific examples to the text of the documents. His letters, all of which are business letters, on occasion will reveal a fact from his past—where he had traveled, for whom he had worked—and from these bits his life can be pieced together. But even more important, these papers reveal the mind of Thomas Forsyth. He expresses his opinions, his anger, his awe at a beautiful landscape, his respect or disrespect for certain individuals (both white and Indian), and also his pride and sense of self-importance. The documents printed below stand by themselves as important and useful documents in the study of the Sauk and Fox Indians, but knowing what kind of man wrote them adds a great deal. Forsyth's papers reveal a person who did his job well and held the confidence of his superiors.

Other contemporary writers were examined to establish how typical Forsyth's views and attitudes toward Indians were among those who knew the Indians. This material proved very rich. The variety of attitudes was broad and at times surprising. In a letter in a collection at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin containing letters about the Indian Agency, Benjamin O'Fallon, a subagent for a short time at Prairie du Chien, wrote: "I wish to know what uniform has been concluded upon-

-It is not so much the red, as the military appearance which the Indns. admire—Agents and Interpreters must be in uniform" (to William Clark, Nov. 29, 1817, Wis. MSS, Q1, Box 1, SHSW). In another instance a Rock Island settler, who fought against the Indians in the Black Hawk War, described Black Hawk as "a very quiet, peaceable neighbor" (Spencer, Reminiscences, 27). In general there was little concern about justice for the Indians in these writings, at least not until enough furs and land were procured for the whites.

The papers of other Indian agents—Nicholas Boilvin, Joseph Street, Cutting Marsh, George Boyd, Alfred Brunson, and William Clark—are housed in various collections at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Like most of Forsyth's papers, they deal with Indian relations, not Indian society. But they offer insight into the job of agent and the kind of man who filled the job. Only Boilvin expressed views on how to handle the Indians; all wanted the Indians out of the way of white settlement.

Another group of contemporaries whose papers were consulted are the travelers or settlers who described the Indians around them—Peter Pond, Jonathan Carver, Morrell Marston, Cutting Marsh, John Long, Lewis and Clark, James Lockwood, and J.W. Spencer. The descriptions each of these men gave of the Sauk and Fox were compared with Forsyth's works and used, if possible, to add detail. The problem with these sources is that with the exception of Cutting Marsh and Morrell Marston, none of these travelers did more than pass by the Sauk and Fox, and most of them do not add to Forsyth's work, only substantiate it.

Cutting Marsh, a minister and later an Indian agent who lived a season among the Sauk in Iowa in 1834, seems only to have taken note of Indian customs when he was praying for their souls. But he did record a Sauk vocabulary, and this, as the only other large vocabulary of the Sauk and Fox written before the twentieth century, is invaluable for comparison with Forsyth's vocabulary. Morrell Marston has a fairly long description of the Sauk and Fox, but most of it was given to him by Forsyth. It is interesting that he tried to get this information himself by interviewing the Indians, but found them too evasive.

The final group of contemporary writers whose works were used are government officials, exclusive of agents, who were involved with the Sauk and Fox. This group included Lewis Cass, governor of the Illinois Territory and secretary of war; Thomas McKenney, head of the Indian Agency; and Ninian Edwards, governor of Illinois. Their writings contribute nothing to the study of the customs and manners of the Sauk and Fox, but they do establish the official white attitude under which the Sauk and Fox lived and against which Forsyth battled in his efforts to get the white authorities to respect the Indian way of life.

The third group of materials used, the modern ethnological studies, have been most helpful in annotating Forsyth's documents. They have added detail to Forsyth's descriptions and have often cleared up confusion. None of these studies treats the Sauk and Fox together, and all were written from the perspective of investigators of the modern Sauk or Fox, and they at times seem to confuse modern customs and those of

the early-nineteenth-century Sauk and Fox. Sol Tax, "Social Organization of the Fox Indians," in Fred Eggan, ed., Social Anthropology of North American Tribes (Chicago, 1937); William Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox Indians," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 125 (1939); Natalie Joffe, "The Foxes of Iowa," in Ralph Linton, ed., Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes (New York and London, 1940); and Frederick O. Gearing, The Face of the Fox (Chicago, 1970), concentrate on the Fox. Allanson Buck Skinner describes the Sauk in Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians, Milwaukee Public Museum Bulletin, V (1922). In addition, Bruce G. Trigger, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast, vol. 15 (Washington, D.C., 1978), contains a lengthy essay on each tribe.

Skinner's book on the Sauk, although poorly organized, perhaps because it originally appeared as three separate articles, is full of rich detail, especially on material culture. Skinner was collecting evidence on the material culture of the Sauk when he made his notes for these essays. His information came mainly from Sauks interviewed in the early 1920s, although he also investigated the standard historical sources, including Forsyth. Unfortunately his emphasis is on twentieth-century culture, from which the relevant material must be distilled.

The Jones and Joffe articles on the Foxes were very enlightening. Jones, an anthropologist and a half-breed Fox, made his notes about the early twentieth-century Fox in Oklahoma. Much of the article is filled with descriptions of Fox myths and dances—as these were the major

aspects of early Fox society that survived. Jones did not comment on how recently a custom had been adopted or what customs might have been lost or altered. The major thesis of Joffe's study of the twentieth-century Fox of Tama, Iowa, is that this group of Fox had consistently and successfully resisted acculturation into white society. To support her view she adds a detailed social and political history. She uses Forsyth and other early sources and combines this information with her own knowledge of the conservative Fox. The outcome is a clear outline of the political and social culture of the Fox.

Two further sources that proved invaluable for annotating the Forsyth documents should be mentioned. Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk, an Autobiography, ed. Donald Jackson (Urbana, Ill., 1955), although basically a justification from the Indian point of view of the Black Hawk War, does at times have sidenotes that deal with Indian culture. Nothing is better to authenticate Forsyth's writings, as it does in almost every instance. The other source is Truman Michelson, ed., "Autobiography of a Fox Woman," Bureau of American Ethnology, Fortieth Annual Report (Washington, D.C., 1925). This is the narrative of a late-nineteenth-century Fox woman's life, which contains much detail on tasks and customs that Forsyth only touched upon. The life the woman described leading as a child and adult in the Fox tribe is remarkably similar to Forsyth's description; more detail is supplied, but he had not missed any important aspect of the life of a Fox woman, except the menstruation ritual. This one article, more than anything

else, confirmed my trust in Forsyth as an attentive observer and an accurate biographer.

EDITORIAL METHOD

The documents transcribed below are from Thomas Forsyth's file copies, which are now held in the Draper Collection, Series T, Volume 9, at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. They are written in Forsyth's hand in a large, bound notebook. Unlike other of Forsyth's notebooks, this one is not titled. I have changed the order of the documents to make them chronological. Originally the 1827 document preceded the 1812 and 1832 documents in the notebook. I have not included the first two-thirds of the 1812 document, a descriptive essay on the lands around the Great Lakes and Mississippi River, and have eliminated a couple of anecdotes that Forsyth appended to the end of the notebook in 1832.

The documents are written clearly and carefully, and I have transcribed them literally, following the original text with fidelity. Any changes that have been made are in brackets, and the reader should be able to reconstruct the original text without difficulty. Misspellings, unusual capitalization, awkward punctuation, and abbreviations have all been retained. If a word is unintelligible without the addition of letters, these have been added in brackets. Punctuation enclosed in brackets has been inserted when either the sentence otherwise would not make sense

or could be misinterpreted, or Forsyth clearly meant a period (generally when he came to the end of a line in the notebook and neglected to insert a period before going to the next line to begin a new sentence). Words crossed-out by Forsyth have not been retained.

The form of the documents has been slightly modified. The addenda that Forsyth added in his margins with an asterick have been placed at the bottom of the page preceded by an asterisk. The asterisk within the text has been placed exactly where Forsyth drew it. If two such addenda fall on the same page I have used a double asterisk. Forsyth's original pagination is not noted.

Each document is preceded by a short headnote that gives bibliographic and background material to the particular document. Thomas Forsyth's statements have been checked and compared where possible with those of others, but only differences are noted. Opposing or additional material is either quoted, if short enough, or cited in the endnotes. For the 1827 "Account," only comparable material dealing specifically with the Sauk and Fox Indians has been used. Forsyth's own writings have been liberally employed to add detail and examples to the three documents. Where possible all persons mentioned by Forsyth are identified briefly in the endnotes. Place names are only identified when they might be misidentified by the reader or when the name given is not used today; alternate spellings have not been identified (i.e., Rocky and Ihoway rivers are not identified as the Rock and Iowa rivers).

1812

DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERAL INDIAN TRIBES

The following document is in the Draper Papers, Series T, Volume 9, in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It is part of a letter to William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated December 1812 and written entirely in Thomas Forsyth's hand. It is a file copy that includes addenda probably added in the early 1830s. The first two-thirds of the document, which are a topographical description of the land around the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi River, are omitted here.

The Wabash Country was once inhabited by the Miamies Weahs, Piankishaws and Kicapos Indians only, but when the Chipeways, Ottawas & Pottawatimies made war against the Peorias (a small remnant of that Nation still exists at St. Geneveve in this Territory) the Chipeways, Ottawas & Pottawatimies also included in that war the abovementioned Nations of Indians, (except the Kicapos)¹ as there is a great similarity, in their Languages, by which means the Pottawatimies settled on St. Joseph River of Lake Michigan and Wabash: after the Peorias was driven down the Illinois River, the Pottawatimies, took possession of that River also, and have resided in that Country ever since, however the Ottawas claim the right of conquest, altho the Pottawatimies have the Possession, as very few Chipeways or Ottawas live on Illinois River. The Pottawatimies are very numerous and are living in a very extensive Country, for you will find Pottawatimies in Detroit, and some villages near that place, and you may travel a straight course to the Sauk villages on the Mississippi, and you will find nothing but Pottawatimies and many of them are settled among the Sauks on the banks of the Mississippi. A few years ago the Wabash was also full of Pottawatimie Indians, as also Millwakee; where there is now many of that Nation. The Pottawatimie Indians are, as most all other Indians are, a deceitful, treacherous people, and with very few exceptions cowardly, a Pottawatimie would do almost any thing rather than assist his wife or wives in cultivating their cornfields, or making sugar, some old men indeed will stoop so low as to

assist in making sugar or gathering in and husking the Corn, they are very Jealous of their women, and if they have the least room for suspicion, death generally follows either on the woman or her gallant. They are allowed to be (by all Nations of Indians) the greatest horse thieves of any Indians that exists, but will not pilfer. The Celebrated Main Pogue² is of this nation, and is a fellow of great enfluence, not only among his own Nation, but among the Sauks, Kicapooos and Ottawas, I should suppose that all the Pottawatimies collected together would amount to * 1000 warriours at least—⁴

The Ottawas who reside near Detroit, and on the borders of Lake Michigan, are quite to the reverse, they are an open, frank upright, industrious, and brave people, and I think with very little pains they might be civilized, but from the great intercourse with the Canadians, they would be more easily brought to a sense of Religeon by a Roman Catholic Priest, than by any other of a different profession;⁵ a few Years ago, a Mr. Bacon a Baptiste or Methodist Preacher settled among them, near Abre Croche,⁶ and wished them to attend divine Service, but

* Gomo,³ the Pottawatimie Chief of Illinois River, informed one in 1814, that the year previous, there were 1200 pottawatimies with Genl. Proctor at Malden and there might have been, said he, about 150 more at their different villages. Gomo was a good Indian, and was bred a Catholic in his younger days, but after he grew up, he neglected that religion and the french language.

they refused, saying, it was impossible that the Great Spirit listened to a man who cohabited with a woman, (as Mr. Bacon was a married man) I am informed that many of that Nation are rigid Roman Catholicks, and says their prayers daily in their families, if an Ottawa finds a White man in distress, he will assist him liberally; many of them will hire for the winter season to the Traders to work, a thing a Pottawatimie Indian would be ashamed to do, thinking it beneath him to serve a whiteman; the Ottawa women in general are very amorous, and for a small present, they can be readily procured and their relations think nothing of it; a husband may beat his wife if informed of a thing of the kind, but it is seldom or ever that any lives are lost on an occasion of this kind.

The Ottawas have always been inveterate enemies to the Shawanoe Prophet,⁷ so much so that had the United States a few years ago, shewn the least inclination, the Ottawas alone would have routed the Prophet and his party from the Wabash. This Nation can furnish from 1000 to 1200 Warriours.⁸

The Sakies and Foxes are allowed (by all who know them) to be very numerous, but are a dastardly,* cowardly set of Indians they are full of duplicity, so much so, that their best friends, nay even their relations know not when they are sincere,⁹ I have frequently in the course of

* since the late war, the Sauk and Fox Indians have become more formidable, and are a terror to all the Missouri Indians including the Sioux Indians of St Peters and N & n. West of that place.

conversation tried to draw from them any little news that might be going, but all to no purpose [.]¹⁰ The[y] are great boasters of their bravery, in their wars with the Ossages, all which is well known to be false, they use their * prisoners in a horrid barbarous manner, their word is not to be taken on any account, they will make fair promises with prior intention never to perform. Their numbers is supposed to amount to at least 1200 or 1500.—¹¹

The Kicapos whose Language is similar to that of the Sakies,¹² but they are different in Character, for it must be allowed by all parties, that they are a ** brave and warlike people, they are also a proud haughty Nation of Indians; prone to insult. They think that their dogs or horses are equal in value to a person of any other Nation, they shew no mercy when they have the power in their own hands, and will talk with indifference of all mankind, that the Great Spirit is their great friend, and they dont care about any person or thing else, it is one happiness that the Kicapos are not very numerous, I should suppose that the whole of them do not exceed 500 Warriours.¹³

* I was misinformed when I wrote this letter in 1812, as respects the Sauk & Foxes bad treatment to their prisoners, on the contrary, they treat them well, as I have had many opportunities since 1812 to know

** The Kicapos are certainly brave, see this summer (1832) 100 of them joined the Black Hawk's party, and it is said that every one is killed in the different skirmishes with the white people.

The Winnebagoes¹⁴ or as the French commonly call them Puants, are a fierce brave nation, and they all live on the head waters of Rocky River (those with the Prophet excepted) and it appears to me to be impossible to subdue them in the Spring Summer or Fall months, from the situation of their country, as it is one continued Swamp, Marsh, Lake or River,¹⁵ and almost all their travelling is done by water, and should they be attacked they can immediately embark in their Canoes and go up or down a River, or into a Swamp or Marsh and it is out of the power of a Whiteman to follow them. 1st on account of having no craft ready, 2nd Admitting that canoes were to be had, you cannot trace them as you do not know their haunts in the different Rivers, Swamps, Marshes, and Lakes, in the Spring of the year the whole country is over-flowed with water, by which means they work their canoes into the woods, where it is out of the power of man to find them, in the summer and fall seasons the wild rice in that country is so plenty, that it will furnish them with hiding places: I cannot see any other way to get at the Winnebago Indians, in a Complete manner but during the winter season, when all those Lakes, Rivers &c. &c. is fast bound with the frost, and then should the winter be very severe and a great deal of Snow, it would be impossible to travel to their Country without Snowshoes: as to their numbers I should suppose they amount to 4— or 500 Warriours.¹⁶

The Chipeways are a very numerous Nation of Indians, the[y] commence at Detroit, and they are to be found on both sides of Lake Huron, all the way to Mackinaw, as also on both sides of Lake Superiour, and

beyond the grand portage: there is also some to be found in the Country extending back from the South side of Lake Superiour and towards Green Bay; they also inhabit the Country between Green Bay and Millwakee and some are found about Chicago. This Nation of Indians is allowed by all the different Indian Nations to be the bravest and most warlike of any Indians that is known. You are very well acquainted with the war that exists between them and the Sioux Indians, and it may be supposed that it will ever exist,¹⁷ and I am informed, that the Chipeways in all their rencounters with the Sioux Indians that they (generally speaking) loose less men, and where they fight in the woods the Sioux Indians are sure to be beaten, however they are allowed by all who are acquainted with them to be a very treacherous set of Indians; they will remember an injury for years, and revenge the first opportunity: and more particularly when intoxicated if the object of their revenge is near. When a Chipeway says that he has thrown his body away, he will accomplish his ends at the risk of fifty lives if he possessed them, they are also the greatest drunkards of any Indians that I know of, when once they taste liquor they will go any lengths to get more; they will prostitute their wives and daughters, nay even their mothers for a Bottle of Liquor, when intoxicated, they are capable of committing the most outrageous acts. The Chipeways are the most expert of all other Indians in fishing, as they live long the Lakes they are bred to fishing from their Infancy, many of whom fish both winter and summer. I am told that it is impossible to conceive with what agility they will go through a Cedar swamp in the

winter Season on Snowshoes when in pursuit of game, as they generally live in cold Climates they can indure the cold beyond any thing that can be imagined. You are very well acquainted with the residence of the Shawanoe Prophet,¹⁸ at or near the mouth of the Tipicanoe, we may date our difficulties with the Indians from the time that he and his followers first settled at that place, not that I believe that his first intention was inimical to the views of the United States, but when he found he had got such enfluence over the different Indians he immediately changed his discourse and from the instructions he occasionally received from the British, he was continually preaching up the necessity of the Indians to have no intercourse with the Americans; as you will see in his form of prayers that he learnt to all his followers. I was informed by a very intelligent young man who has been often at the Prophet's village, and who has conversed with the Prophet and Tecumseh, he give me the following history of the Prophet.

The Prophet with all his brothers are pure Indians of the Shawanoe Nation, and when a boy, was a perfect vagabond and as he grew up he wd not hunt and became a great drunkard. While he lived near Grenville in the State of Ohio, where spirituous Liquor are plenty he was continually intoxicated; having observed some preachers who lived in the vicinity of Greenville a preaching, or rather the motions &c. in preaching (as he cannot understand a word of English) it had such an effect on him, that one Night he dremt that the Great Spirit found fault with his way of living, that he must leave of drinking, and lead a new life, and also

instruct all the red people the proper way of living. He immediately refrained from drinking any kind of Spirituous Liquor, and recommended it strongly to all the Indians far and near to follow his example and laid down certain laws that was to guide the red people in future. I shall here give you as many of those laws or regulations as I can now remember, but I know I have forgot many.

1st Spirituous Liquor was not to be tasted by any Indians on any account whatever.

2nd No Indian was to take more than one wife in future, but those who now had two three or more wives might keep them, but it would please the Great Spirit if they had only one wife.

3d No Indian was to be runing after the women; if a man was Single let him take a wife.

4th If any married woman was to behave ill by not paying proper attention to her work &c the husband had a right to punish her with a rod, and as soon as the punishment was over, both husband and wife, was to look each other in the face and laugh, and to bear no ill will to each other for what had passed.

5th All Indian women who were living with White men was to be brought home to their friends and relations, and their Children to be left with their Fathers, so that the Nations might become genuine Indians.

6th All medicine bags, and all kind of medicine dances and songs were to exist no more; the medicine bags were to be destroyed in presens of the whole of the people collected for that purpose, and the destroyng of

such medicine &c. every one was to make an open* confession to the Great Spirit in a loud voice of all the bad deeds that he or she had committed during their lifetime, and beg for forgiveness as the Great Spirit was too good to refuse.

7th No Indian was to sell any of their provision to any white peoples, they might give a little as a present, as they were sure of getting in return the full value in something else.

8th No Indian was to eat any victuals that was cooked by a White person, or to eat any provisions raised by White people, as bread, beef pork, fowls &c. &c.

9th No Indian must offer skins or furs or any thing else for sale, but ask to exchange them for such articles that they may want.

10th Every Indian was to consider the French, English, and Spaniards as their Fathers or friends, and to give them their hand, but they were not to know the Americans on any account, but to keep them at a distance.

11th All kind of White People's dress, such as hats, coats, &c were to be given to the first whiteman they met, as also all dogs not of their own breed and all cats were to be given back to white peoples.

12th The Indians were to endeavour to do without buying any Merchandise as much as possible, by which means the game would

* Indians who have been present at some of those confessions, have repeated them to me, and certainly they were ridiculous in the extreme.

become plenty, and then by means of bows and arrows, they could hunt and kill game as in former days, and live independant of all White people.

13th All Indians who refused to follow these regulations were to be considered as bad people, and not worthy to live, and must be put to death. (a Kicapoo Indian was actually burned in the spring of the year 1809, at the old Kicapoo Town for refusing to give up his medicine bag, and another old man and old woman was very near sharing the same fate at the same time and place).

14th The Indians in their prayers prayed to the earth, to be fruitful, also to the fish to be plenty, to the fire and Sun &c. &c and a certain dance was introduced simply for Amusement, those prayers were repeated morning and evening, and they were taught that a deviation from these duties would offend the Great Spirit. There are many more regulations but I now have forgot them, but those abovementioned are the principal ones.

The Prophet had his Disciples among every Nation of Indians, from Detroit in Michigan Territory, to the Indians on the Mississippi (and have since been informed, that, there were disciples of the Prophet, among all the Indians of the Missouri and as far north as Hudson Bay (see Tanners Narative¹⁹)[]) always reserving the Supreme authority to himself, viz, that he (the Prophet) might be considered the head of the whole of the different Nations of Indians, as he only, could see and convene with the Great Spirit. As every Nation was to have but one Village, by which means they would be always together in case of danger. The Pottawati-

mie Indians in the course of one season got tired of this strict way of living, and declared off, and joined the * Main Pogue, as he never would acknowledge the Prophet as his superiour, seeing perfectly that he the Prophet was seeking enfluence among the different Indian Nations. Many Indians still follow the dictates of the Prophet in a great measure. The Prophet's plan in the first instance was to collect by fair means all the Indians he could, to live in the same village with him, and when he thought his party sufficiently strong, he would oblige the others to come into measures by force and when so assembled in great numbers, that he would be able to give laws to the White people. Tecumseh has been heard to say, "We must not leave this place" (meaning Tipicanoe) "we must remain stedfast here, to keep those people who wear hats, in check["]: he also observed to the Indians; "no white man who walks on the earth, loves an Indian, the white people are made up with such materials, that they will always deceive us, even the British who says that they love us, is because they may want our services, and as we yet want their goods, we must shew them some kind of Friendship".—

* The Main Pogue was a pure Pottawatimie Indian, and great juggler, and made the credulous Indians believe every thing he said, he had great enfluence among the Chipeways, Ottawas, Pottawatimies, Kicapos Sauks, Fox and other Indians. He died along Lake Michigan in summer of 1816

I herewith enclose you a ^{*} Chart of the Country I allude too, which no doubt will give you a tolerable good idea of all the country beforementioned, with references to the different Indian villages as they stood last summer, with the exception of the Chipeways and Ottawas of Lakes Michigan and Hurons.--

General William Clark

I am &c

Washinton City

T.F--

* I had a very handsome Chart made by Mr. Quiol, which cost me a trifle, Genl. Clark never thanked me for this letter or Chart, but appeared jealous, that I had the capacity to furnish such a production, poor as it is, it being the best the Govt. then had, or could collect from a host of Indian Agents then in employ

ENDNOTES TO 1812 DESCRIPTION

1. In 1827 Forsyth included the Sauk, Fox, Sioux, Cherokees, and others, as well as the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi, as the aggressors; he also named several more tribes in the Illinois confederacy that were attacked (see the 1827 "Account," below).

2. Forsyth described the Main Pogue as a pure-blooded Pottawatomini warrior, who lacked a finger and thumb on his left hand. He was not a chief, but was a great orator and had much influence among his tribe, as well as other Algonkian tribes. He claimed to be able to talk with the Great Spirit. Forsyth describes him as a "bad Indian" with a love of liquor and a hatred of the United States. (Main Pogue, Drapers Papers, T4, SHSW.)

3. In a eulogy to Gomo in 1815, Forsyth described him as a friend to the United States. Gomo had traveled to the east coast in the late 1700s and had met President Washington. (Forsyth to the Secretary of War, April 13, 1815, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.)

4. In the early 1820s Jedidiah Morse listed the Pottawatomi as the second most populous Indian tribe in Illinois and Indiana. They were 3,400 persons, and the largest, the Sauk, were 4,500. By the formula of one warrior in every four persons (which Forsyth consistently used), there were 850 warriors among the Pottawatomi. (See Jedidiah Morse, A Report to the Secretary of War. . . [New Haven, 1822], 363.)

5. The Ottawa had been in a close alliance with the French in

Canada and had conducted most of the French fur trade with the western tribes. Many French missionaries had lived among them during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

6. L'Arbre Croche, near the lower end of Lake Michigan.

7. For a description of the Prophet, see pp. 66-70.

8. This estimate is slightly higher than Morse's estimate in the early 1820s (A Report, 362).

9. In 1804 Lewis and Clark found that "these people the Sauk and Fox are extremely friendly to the whites, and seldom injure their traders" (American State Papers, Indians Affairs, VII-VIII Washington, D.C., 1832 and 1834 , VII, 711).

10. Rev. Morrell Marston found a similar uncommunicativeness in 1820: "It is the character of these people to conceal as much as possible their history and customs from the Whites, it is only when they are off their guard that anything upon these subjects can be obtained from them" (Marston to Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820, in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 146).

11. This must be 1,200 or 1,500 warriors, a larger estimate than Forsyth's 1,000 in 1817 (Forsyth to William Clark, June 3, 1817, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

12. The Sauk and Fox told Rev. Marston that the Kickapoo were the only other nation they could talk to without learning the language (Marston to Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820, in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 145).

13. This is very close to Morse's estimate made in the 1820s (A

Report, 363); but in an addendum to his 1827 "Account," not printed below, Forsyth says the Kickapoo could never muster more than 400 warriors (see Draper Papers, T9, SHSW).

14. The Winnebago were linguistically a Siouxian tribe, but culturally they were very similar to the Central Algonkian tribes, such as the Sauk and Fox.

15. At this time the Winnebago occupied southern and central Wisconsin.

16. Morse states that their number was more than double this in the early 1820s (A Report, 362).

17. The Chippewa had certainly wielded power over many tribes; in the eighteenth century they were responsible for pushing the Fox out of northern Wisconsin and driving the Sioux across the Mississippi. The war with the Sioux that Forsyth refers to here was brought about by the Chippewa's desire to control the territory in Minnesota and westward.

18. The Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa, was the twin brother of Tecumseh. In 1805 he proclaimed himself the bearer of a new revelation from the Great Spirit. He denounced witchcraft, liquor, and contact with whites and white culture, and advocated a return to a pure Indian culture. He also claimed the power to cure. His doctrine spread quickly and widely for a while. Much of his influence was lost with Harrison's victory against Tecumseh at Tippecanoe in 1811. The Prophet did instill in the Lakes Indians the idea of a confederacy against the encroaching white settlement.

19. John Tanner's Narrative of Captivity and Adventures during Thirty Years' Residence among the Indians in North America (reprint, New York, 1830).

1827

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE
SAUK AND FOX NATIONS OF INDIANS

The following document is in the Draper Papers, Series T, Volume 9, in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It is a file copy of a letter addressed to William Clark, dated January 1827. Addenda from the 1830s are included. It is written entirely in Thomas Forsyth's hand and fills thirty-four long pages of notebook. It was followed by several pages of etymological information on tribal and place names. These are not included below. The document has been published before in Emma Helen Blair, ed., Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes, II (Cleveland, 1912), 183-245, and David Agee Horr, ed., Sac, Fox, and Iowa Indians, I (New York, 1974), 185-236.

An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox
nations of Indians

Tradition

The original and present name of the Sauk Indians, proceeds from the compound word Sakie alias, A-saw-we-kee literally yellow Earth.¹

The Fox Indians calls themselves Mess-qua-kee alias Mess-qua-we-kee literally Red Earth,² thus it is natural to suppose, that those two Nations of Indians were once one people, or part of some great Nation of Indians, and were called after some place or places where they then resided as Yellow banks and Red Banks &c.—Both the Sauk and Fox Indians acknowledge, that they were once Chipeways, but intestine Quarrels, and wars which ensued separated one band or party from another, and all became different in manners, customs and language—The Sauk Indians, are more immediately related to the Fox Indians than any other Nation of Indians, whose language bears an affinity to theirs, such as the Kicapooos and Shawanoes to whom they (the Sauks and Foxes) claim a relationship by adoption. The Kicapooos and Shawanoes call the Sauk and Fox Indians their Younger Brothers, the Sauks call the Foxes (and the Foxes call them) their kindred.³

The earliest Tradition of a particular nation among them, is the landing of the Whites on the Shores of the Atlantic, somewheres about the Gulf of St Lawrence. The Sauk and Fox Indians have been at war formerly with the Iroquois, and Wyandotts,⁴ who drove the Sauks up the

St Lawrence to the Lakes, and the Foxes up the Grand River, and at Green Bay they formed a coalition and renewed their former relations to each other,⁵ since then, (in alliance with the Chipeways, Ottawas, & Pottawatimies[?]), they have been engaged in a war with the Illinois Indians, which ended in their final extermination:⁶ Afterwards the Sauks and Foxes in alliance with other Nations of Indians, made war against the Ossage Indians, and on Settlement of their differences⁷ they allied themselves to the Ossage Indians, against the Pawnee Indians, with whom in alliance with the Ossages they had a severe fight in 1814 on the head waters of the Arkansas River, where the Sauks lost the Blue Chief who was then Celebrated among them. Thro the interference of the Government that war was Quashed.⁸

The Sauk and Fox Indians repeatedly told me that from depredations continually committed on them by the Sioux Indians of the interior (the Yanctous and Scipitous bands) they (the Sauk and Fox Indians) thro the Solicitations of their youngmen, they commenced a war against the abovementioned Sioux Indians in the Spring of the year 1822, but the General Council held at Pirarie des Chiens in August 1825 put a final stop to that war, otherwise, not a Sioux Indian would have been seen South of St Peters River, in twelve months after the termination of that Council—⁹

Belts Alliances &c

The wampum Belts are woven together by thread made of the deers sinews, the thread is passed thro each grain of wampum¹⁰ and the grains lay in the belt pallel to each other, the Belts are of various Sizes, some more than two yds in length, if for peace or friendship the Belts are composed solely of white grained wampum, if for war, they are made of the blue grained wampum painted red with vermilion, the greater the Size of the Belt, the more force of expression is meant by it to convey. In forming Alliances other Belts are made of White wampum interspersed with diamond like figures of blue wampum, representing the various Nations with whom they are in alliance or friendship.

Government

The Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians are governed by hereditary Chiefs, their power descending to the oldest male of the family, which on refusal extends to the Brothers or Nephews of the Chief and so on thro the male relations of the family. They have no war Chiefs, any individual of their Nations may lead a party to war, if he had enfluence to raise a party to redress any real or supposed greivance—¹¹

The Chiefs interfere and have the Sole management in all their National Affairs, but they are enfluenced in a great measure by their Braves or principal men in matters of peace or war.¹² The province of the Chief, is to direct, the Braves or Warriors to act. The authority of the Chiefs is always supreme in peace or war.¹³ There are no female

Chiefs among the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians, a Boy (if a Chief) is introduced into the councils of the nation, accompanied by some older branch of the family capable of giving him instructions. When the Chiefs direct the head or principal Brave of the nation to plant Centinels for any particular purpose,¹⁴ if they neglect their duty or fail to effect the purpose, they are flogged with rods by the women publicly. There is no such thing as a Summary mode of coercing the payment of debts, all contracts are made on honor. for redress of Civil injuries an appeal is made to the old people of both parties and their determination is generally acceded to. In case of murder, it is determined by the relations of the deceased, they say, that by killing the murderer, it will not bring the dead to life, and it is better to receive the presents offered by the relations of the murderer than want them, horses, Merchandise and Silver works sometimes to a very large amount are given to the relations of a murdered person,¹⁵ and indeed in some instances the murderer will marry or take to wife the widow of the person whom he has killed.

Sometimes it may happen, that the relations of the deceased will refuse to receive any thing for the loss of a murdered relative, the Chiefs then interfere, who never fail to settle the business. There is nothing that I know of that an Indian may be guilty what is considered a national offence, except aiding and assisting their enemies, such a person if taken in war is cut to pieces, such things rarely happen—

The Sauk and Fox Indians are not thievish, the[y] seldom steal any thing from their traders, they sometimes steal a few horses from a neighboring nation of Indians, and formerly they used to steal many from the White Settlements and their excuse is always that they were in want of a horse, and did not take all they seen: Stealing horses from their enemies is accounted honorable, the women will sometimes steal trifling articles of dress or Ornament, the men very seldom, the Traders feel perfectly safe among them, so much so, that they seldom or ever close their door at night, but give them free access to come in and go out at all hours, day and night. All Questions relating to the nations are settled in Council by the Chiefs, and when it is necessary that the Council must be a Secret* one, the Chiefs apply to the principal Brave for Centinels, who must do their duty or they are punished by the women by stripes on their bare backs. In all Indian Councils that I have seen and heard of, the whole number of Chiefs present must be of the same opinion otherwise nothing is done.¹⁶

Council Fire at Brownstown in Michigan Territory—¹⁷

It is hard for me to say at this late day where and when this council fire originated, but I believe it to have originated immediately after the

* Secret Council. I never was at more than one secret council all the time I were among the Indians, and it was strictly a secret council to all intents and purposes.

reduction of Canada by the Britttish.¹⁸ A Similar one is supposed to have existed on the Mohawk River¹⁹ at Sir William Johnston's place of residence previous to our Revolution. The first knowledge I have of it, is when it existed at old Chilicothe in the State of Ohio, and from the Indian war that took place subsequently to the peace of 1783 the council fire was by unanimous consent removed to Fort Wayne thence afterwards to the foot of the rapids of the Miamie River of the Lakes, where it remained untill 1796 when it was removed to Brownstown where it now is. The Britttish in Confederacy with the Shawanoes, Delawars, Mingoos, Wyandots, Miamies, Chipeways, Ottawas and Pottawatimies offensive and defensive are the members of this council fire. The first nation of Indians who joined were the Shawanoes and Delawars and the other nations fell in or joined afterwards.

The Britttish as head of the Confederacy have a large Belt of White wampum of about six or eight Inches wide at the head of which is wrought in with blue grains of a diamond shape, which means the Britttish Nation: the next diamond in the Belt is the first Indian Nation who joined in alliance with the Britttish by drawing the Belt thro their hands at the Council fire and so on, each Nation of the Confederacy have their diamond in the Belt, those diamonds are all of the same size and are placed in the Belt at equal distances from each other: When any business is to be done that concerns the Confederacy it must be done at this Council fire where are assembled as many Chiefs as can be conveniently

collected. At any meeting at this* council fire, the British Government is always represented by their Indian Agent, and most generally accompanied by a Military Officer, to represent the Soldiers or Braves. By consent of the Confederacy, the Shawanoe Nation were formerly the leading Nation, that is to say, the Shawanoes had the direction of the wars that the parties might be engaged in, the power of Convening the Allies &c. &c.—Since the late war,²¹ the Chipeways are at the head of those affairs and no doubt receive occasional lessons from their British Father. All Indians in forming alliances with each other, select a central spot to meet every two or three years, to Commemorate and perpetuate, their alliances, it is very well known that for many years an alliance has existed between the Chipeways Ottawas and Pottowatimies, and their Chiefs encourage intermarriages with each other, for the purpose of linking themselves strongly together, and at a future period to become one people.²² These Alliances are strickly attended to by all the parties

* Council fire at Brownstown. In a conversation I had with General Clark previous to my giving him a Copy of this production, I told him about this council fire at Brownstown in Michigan Territory: he observed "no other Agent but yourself knows any thing about this council fire." There is more besides that, that the Indian agents do not know said I to him, and if I had included himself I would have done right, for in Indian Affairs he is a perfect ignoramous.²⁰ But he is Superintendant and can do no wrong.

concerned, and should there be any neglect to visit the council fire, (by deputies or otherwise) to Commemorate their Alliances, it is considered as trifling with their allies. In 1806 or 7 the Chipeway and Ottawa Chiefs sent a Speech to the Pottawatimie Indians, saying that for many years they had not sent deputies to the Island of Mackinac to the council fire according to custom, and if they declined sending deputies the ensuing summer, their part of the Council fire would be extinguished: the Pottawatimies fearful of the Consequences sent deputies the following year to Mackinac which satisfied all parties—

Names and number of Tribes among the Sauk Nation of Indians²³

1	Na-ma-wuck	or	Sturgeon Tribe
2	Muc-kis-son	"	Bald Eagle
3	Puc-ca-hum-mo-wuck	"	Ringed Perch
4	Mac-co Pen-ny-ack	"	Bear Potatoe
5	Kiche Cumme	"	Great Lake
6	Pay-shake-is-se-wuck	"	Deer
7	Pe-she-pe-she-wuck	"	Panther
8	Way-me-co-cuck	"	Thunder
9	Muck-wuck	"	Bear
10	Me-se-co	"	Black Bass
11	A-ha-wuck	"	Swan
12	Muh-wha-wuck	"	Wolf

Names and Number of Tribes among the Fox Nation of Indians—²⁴

1	Wah-go	or	Fox Tribe
2	Muc-qua	"	Bear
3	Mow-whay	"	Wolf
4	A-ha-wuck	"	Swan
5	Puck-hee	"	Partridge (druming)
6	Ne-nee-me-kee	"	Thunder
7	Me-sha-way	"	Elk
8	As-she-gun-uck	"	Black bass

War and its Incidents.

The warriors of the Sauk Nation of Indians are divided into two bands or parties,²⁵ one band or party is called Kees-ko-qui or long hairs, the other is called Osh-cush which means brave the former being considered something more than brave, and in 1819 each party could number 400 men, now (1826) perhaps they can number 500 men each. The Kees-ko-quis or long hairs are commanded by the hereditary brave of the Sauk Nation named Kecocuck* and whose standard is red. The head man of the Osh-cushes is named Wha-cal-la-qua-uc and his standard

* Kecocuck is a sterling Indian, and he is the hinge on which all the affairs of the Sauk and Fox Indians turn on, he is a very smart man, his manners are very prepossessing, his mother was a half breed, and much attached to white people. Kecocuck is about 40 years old now in 1832²⁶

is blue: him and his party are considered inferiour in rank to the other party. Among the Sauk Indians every male Child is classed in one of the two parties abovementioned in the following manner. The first Male Child born to a Kees-ko-qui, is and belongs to the band or party of Kees-ko-quis the second Male Child (by the same Father) is an Osh-cush,²⁷ the third a Kees-ko-qui and so on. The first Male Child of an Osh-cush is also an Osh-cush the second is a Kees-ko-qui and so on as among the Kees-ko-quis. When the two bands or parties turn out to perform Shambattles, Ball playing, or any other diversion the Kees-ko-quis paint or daub themselves all over their bodies with White Clay. The Osh-cushes black their bodies on same occasions with Charcoal.²⁸ The Sauk and Fox Indians have no mode of declaring war, if injured by another Nation they wait patiently for a deputation from the Nation who committed the injury, to come forward and settle the business, as a Fox Chief told me some years ago, "the Sioux Indians have killed of our people four different times, and according to our custome, it is time for us to prepare for war, and we will do so, as we see the Sioux Chiefs will not come forward to settle matters."²⁹ Sometimes a Nation of Indians may be at peace with all others when they are invited by a neighbouring Nation to assist them in a war, by promising them a portion of the enemy's Country they may Conquer. Young Indians are always fond of War, they hear the old Warriours boasting of their war exploits, and it may be said, that the principle of war is instilled into them from their Cradles they therefore embrace the first opportunity to go to war even

in Company with a strange Nation so that they may be able to proclaim at the dance, I have killed such a person, &c. &c.³⁰ One or more Indians of the same Nation and Village may at same time fast, pray, and consult their Munitos or Supernatural Agents about going to war. The dreams they may have during their fasting praying &c. determine every thing, as they always relate in public the purport of their lucky dreams to encourage the young Indians to join them. Those Indians who prepare for war by dreams &c. may be any common Indian in the Nation, and if the warriors believe in his dreams &c. he is never at a loss for followers,³¹ that is to say, After a Partizan³² is done fasting, and praying to the great Spirit, and that he continues to have lucky dreams, he makes himself a Lodge detached from the Village, where he has tobacco prepared, and in this lodge a belt of blue wampum painted red with vermillion, or a Stripe of Scarlet Cloth hanging up in his lodge, and each warrior who enters the lodge smokes of the partizans tobacco and draws the wampum or Scarlet Cloth thro his hands, as much as to say, he is enlisted in his service.³³ If a Nation of Indians or a Village are likely to be attacked, every one turns out for the general defence.

Two or more partizans may join their parties together, and may or may not divide when near the enemies Country. The Business of the partizan is to shew his followers the enemy, and they are to act, the partizan may if he pleases go into the fight. In going to war, the Indians always travel slowly and stop to hunt occasionally, where the[y] deposit their jerked meat for their return, in going off the partizan leads the

party carrying his Mec-shome or Medicine Sack on his back,³⁴ and on leaving the village sings the She-go-dem or war-song ie the partizan takes up his Medecine Sack and sings words to the following effect. "we are going to war, we must be Brave, as the Great Spirit is with us" the warriours respond by singing heugh! heugh! heugh! in quick time dancing round the partizan. Sometimes a certain place distant from the village is appointed for the party to rendezvous at, in this case, every one as he departs from his residence sings his war song, and on the departure of the whole from the general rendezvous, they sing the She-go-dem or general war Song as described above.³⁵

The form of a war encampment is this, Small forks the size of a mans arm are planted in two rows about 5 or 6 feet a part and about four feet out of the ground, on which are laid small poles, these rows extend in length proportionate to the number of warriours, and the rows are about 15 feet a part, thro the center are other forks set up on which other poles are placed, these forks are about six feet out of the ground, and them with the poles are stoughter then the side forks and poles: The warriours lay side by side with their guns laying against the side poles if the weather is fair, if wet they place them under their blankets.³⁶

The Indian who carries the Kettle is the cook for the party, and when encamped the warriours must bring him wood and water furnish meat &c. the Cook divides the vituals, and has the priviledge of keeping the best morsel for himself. The partizan and warriours when preparing for war, are very abstenious, never eating while the sun is to be seen,

and also abstenious from the company of women, after having accepted of the wampum or Scarlet Cloth before spoken of the[y] cease to cohabit with their wives, and they consider the contrary a Sacrilidge. A woman may go to war with her husband, but must cease during the period to have any connection. Before making an attack they send forward some of their smartest youngmen as spies, the attack is generally made a little before day light, the great object is to surprise, if defeated, every one makes the best of his way home stoping and taking some of the meat Jerked and burried on the way out. If a party is victorious the person who killed the first of the enemy heads the party back, by marching in front, the prisoners in the center and the partizan in the rear. On the arrival of a victorious party of Indians at their village they dance round their prisoners by way of triumph after which the prisoners are disposed of:³⁷ elderly prisoners are generally killed on the way home, and their Spirits sent as an atonement to that of their deceased friends. Young persons taken in war are generally adopted by the Father or nearest relation of any deceased warrior who fell in the battle or Child who died a natural death and when so adopted, are considered the representatives of the dead, prisoners who are slaves are bought and sold as such, when they grow up the males are encouraged by the young men of the Nation they live with, to go to war, if they consent and kill one of the enemy, the Slave changes his name and becomes a freeman to all intents and purposes. The female Slaves are generally taken as Concubines to their owners and their offspring if any are considered legal.³⁸

Sometimes an owner will marry his female Slave, in that case, she becomes a freewoman, but whether a Slave or free, the Sauks and Fox Indians treat their prisoners with the greatest humanity, if the[y] have the luck to get to the village alive, they are safe and their persons are considered Sacred. I never heard except in the war with the Ninneways^{*} of the Sauk or Fox Indians burning any of their prisoners, and they say, that the Ninneways commenced first, I remember to have heard sometime since of a Sauk Indian dying and leaving behind him a favorite male Slave, the relations of the deceased killed the Slave so that his Spirit might serve on the Spirit of his deceased Master in the other world.⁴⁰

The young Sauk and Fox Indians generally go to war about the age of from 16 to 18 and some few instances as young as 15 and by the time they are 40 or 45 they become stiff from the hardship they have encountered in hunting & war, they are apt at that age to have young Men Sons or Sons-in-law to provide for them: they pass the latter part of their days in peace (except the village is attacked)[.] A good hunter and warrior will meet with no difficulty in procuring a wife in one of the first families in the nation. I know a half-breed now living among the Sauk Indians who had the three Sisters for wives, they were the daughters of the principal Chief of the nation.⁴¹ I have always observed

* Ninneways so called by the Sauk, Fox, Chipeway, Ottawa & Pottawatimie Indians: but the[y] called themselves Linneway ie men from which comes the word Illinois³⁹

that the half-breeds raised among the Indians are generally resolute, remarkably brave and respectable in the nation. The case that leads to war are many: the want of Territory to hunt,⁴² depredations committed by one nation against another,⁴³ and also the young Indians to raise their names, will make war against their neighbours without any cause whatever.⁴⁴ The Sauk and Fox Indians have for many years back wished much for a war with the Pawnees who reside on the heads of the River Platte, they know that country is full of game and they dont fear the other nations who live in the way such as the Ottos, Mahas, and Kansez, they dont consider them formidable. The Sauk and Fox Indians would long ago have made war against the Pawnies if they thought the United States Government would allow them,⁴⁵ they are well acquainted with the Geography of the country West as far as the mountains, also the Country South of Missouri River as far as Red River which falls into the Mississippi River down below.⁴⁶ More than a Century ago all the Country commencing above Rocky River and running down the Mississippi to the mouth of Ohio up that River to the mouth of the Wabash, thence to Fort Wayne on the Miamie River of the Lakes down that River some distance, thence North to St. Josephs and Chicago also all the Country lying South of River de Moine down (perhaps) to Missouri River was inhabited by a numerous Nation of Indians who called themselves Linneway and called by other Indians Ninneway (literally men) this great Nation of Indians were divided into several bands and inhabited different parts of an extensive Country as follows. The Michigamians the Country

South of River de Moine[.] The Cahokians the Country East of the present Gakokia in the State of Illinois[.] The Kaskaskias East of the present Kaskaskia. The Tamorois had their village near St Phillip nearly Central between Gahokia and Kaskaskia[.] The Piankishawa near Vincennes. The Weahs up the Wabash. The Miamies on the head waters of the Wabash and Miamie of the Lakes, on St Joseph River and also at Chicago .⁴⁷ The Piankishaws, Weahs and Miamies must have hunted in those days South towards and on the banks of the Ohio River. The Peorias (being another band of the same Nation) lived and hunted on Illinois River: also the Masco or Mascotins called by the French Gens des Pirarie lived and hunted in the great Piraries lying between the Illinois River and the Wabash⁴⁸

All those different bands of the Ninneway Nation spoke the language of the present Miamies, and the whole considered themselves as one and the same people, yet from the local situation of the different bands and having no standard to go by, their language assumed different dialects, as at present exist among the different bands of the Sioux and Chipeway Indians. Those Indians (the Ninneways) were attacked by a general Confederacy of other Nations of Indians such as the Sauks and Foxes who then resided at or near Green Bay and on Ouisconsin River, the Sioux Indians whose frontiers extended South and on the River des Moine, the Chipeways and Ottawas from the Lakes and the Pottawatomies from Detroit as also the Cherrokees, Chickashaws & Chactaws from the South, this war continued for a great many years, untill that

great Nation (the Ninneways) were destroyed⁴⁹ except a few Miamies and Weahs on the Wabash and a few who are now s[c]attered among Strangers of the Kaskaskia Indians from their wars, their great fondness for Spirituous Liquor and frequent killing each other in drunken frolics, there remains but a few of them say 30 or 40 Souls, of the Peorias near St. Geneveve about 10 or 15 souls, of the Piankishaws 40 or 50 Souls.⁵⁰ The Miamies are the most numerous band, they did a few years ago consist of about 400 souls, they dont exceed in my Opinion at the present day more than 500 souls of the once great Ninneway Nation of Indians. Those Indians (the Ninneways) were said to be very cruel to their prisoners, they used to burn them, and I have heard of a certain family among the Miamies who were called man eaters as they always made a feast of human flesh when a prisoner was killed, that being part of their duty so to do.⁵¹

From enormities, the Sauk and Fox Indians, when they took any of the Ninneways, they give them up to the women to be buffeted to death. They speak of the Mascota or Mascotins at this day with abhorance for their cruelties. In the history of the Sauks and Foxes, they speak of a severe battle having been fought opposite the mouth of Ihowai River, about 50 or 60 miles below the mouth of Rocky River.

The Sauk and Fox Indians descended the Mississippi River in canoes, from their villages on Ouisconsin River, and landed at the place abovementioned, and started East towards the enemy's country, they had not gone far, before they were attacked by a party of Mascota or

Mascotins, the battle continued nearly all day, the Sauks and Foxes gave way for want of amunition, and fled to their canoes, the Mascotins pursued, fought desperately and left but few of the Sauks and Foxes to return home to tell the Story. The Sauk Indians attacked a small village of Peorias about 40 or 50 years ago, this village was about a mile below St Louis, and has beens said by the Sauks themselves that they were defeated in that affair. At a place on Illinois River called the little Rock there were killed by the Chipeways and Ottawas a great number of men, women and Children of the Ninneway Indians. In 1800 the Kicapooos made a great Slaughter among the Kaskaskia Indians. The celebrated Main Pogue the Pottawatimie Jugler in 1801 killed a great many of the Piankishaws on the Wabash. It does not appear that the Kicapooos entered into the war against the Ninneway Indians untill after they (the Kicapoo Indians) left the Wabash River which is now about 50 or 60 year ago and only made war against the band of Kaskaskias.⁵² I do not mean to say, that all the Kicapooos left the Wabash at the time abovementioned as Joseph L'Reynard and a few followers never would consent to leave the Wabash, and go into the Piraries, and it is well known he directed that after his death that his body must be burried in a Coal Bank on the Wabash, so that if the Kicapooos sold the lands after his death, they would also sell his body and their flesh, such was his antipathy to sell any land.⁵³

Peace

I never heard of any peace having been made between two nations of Indians (when war had properly commenced) except when the Government of the United States interfered, and that the Indians were within reach of the power of the United States to compel them to keep quiet, for when war once commenced, it always led to the final extermination of one or the other of the parties.⁵⁴

Some years ago a war commenced between the Sauk and Fox Indians against the Ossage Indians. The Sauks and Foxes being a very politic and cunning people, managed matters so well, that they procured the assistance of the Ihowais, Kicapooos, and Pottawatimies headed by the celebrated Main Pogue, and in passing by the Sauk village on Rocky River in one of his war expeditions he was joined by upwards of one hundred Sauk Indians, this happened in 1810, the government interfering, put a final stop to the war, otherwise before this there can be no doubt the whole of the Ossages would have been driven beyond reach, as some of the Chipeways and Ottawa Indians accompanied the Main Pogue.⁵⁵ This Confederacy would have gained strength daily. It is true we hear of Belts of wampum and pipes accompanied with presents in Merchandise as peace offerings sent with conciliatory talks to make peace, but such a peace is seldom or never better than an armistice,⁵⁶ witness the Sioux and Chipeway Indians, they have been at war for the last 60 or 80 years, the British Government thro their Agents, General Pike when he travelled to the heads of the Mississippi River, and last year (1825) the

United States Commissioners at Pirarie des Chiens made peace (apparently) between the Sioux and Chipeway Indians but the war is going on as usual, the reason is because those Nations are out of reach of the power of the United States.⁵⁷ The Ihowai Indians, sent a deputation of their people some years ago, to the Sioux Indians, to ask for peace, the Messengers were all killed and the war continued until a general peace took place at Pirarie des Chiens last year (1825)[.]⁵⁸ In the Summer of 1821 I advised the Sauk and Fox Indians to make peace with the Otto and Maha Indians living on the Missouri River, they took my advise and the winter following they sent Messengers to the Council Bluffs with a letter from me to the Indian Agent at that post, the Sauk and Fox Messengers proceeded on to the Otto and Maha Villages where they made peace and mutual presents took place among them to the satisfaction of all parties. I know of no armorial bearing among the Sauk and Fox Indians, except Standards of White and Red feathers, they have flags American & Brittish which they display at certain ceremonies.⁵⁹

Death and its Incidents

When an Indian is sick, and finds he is going to die, he may direct the place and manner of his interment, his request is religously performed. The Sauk and Fox Indians bury their dead in the ground and sometimes have them transported many miles to a particular place of interment.⁶⁰ The grave is dug similar to that of white people, but not so deep, and a little bark answers for a Coffin, the body is generally carried

to the grave by old women, howling at intervals most pitiously, Previous to closing the grave one or more Indians who attend the funeral will make a motion with a stick or war-club called by the Indians Puc-ca-maw-gun speaking in an audible voice "I have killed so may men in war, I give their Spirits to my deceased friend who lies there (pointing to the body) to serve him as Slaves in the other world." After which the grave is filled up with earth, and in a day or two afterwards a kind of cabbin is made over the grave with split boards something like the roof of a house, if the deceased was a brave a post is planted at the head of the grave, on which is painted with vermillion the number of Scalps and prisoners he had taken in war, distinguishing the Sexes in a rude manner of painting peculiar to themselves. The Indians bury their dead as soon as the body becomes cold. After the death of an Adult all the property of the deceased is given away to the relations of the deceased,⁶¹ and the widow or widower returns to his or her nearest relations, if a widow is not to old after she is done mourning, she is compelled to become the wife of her deceased husband's brother, if he wishes, sometimes an Indian will take the wife of his deceased brother, and dismiss his other wife or wives from all obligation to him, or he may keep them all. Many may mourn for the loss of a relation but the widows are always the principal mourners, they are really sincere, they are to be seen all in rags, their hair disheveled, and a spot of black made with charcoal on the Cheeks, their countenance dejected, never seen to smile but appears always pensive, seldom give loose to their tears unless it is alone in the woods,

where they are out of the hearing of any person, there they retire at intervals and cry very loud for about fifteen minutes, they return to their lodges quite composed. When the[y] cease from mourning which is generally at the suggestion of their friends, they wash themselves put on their best clothes and ornaments, and paint red.⁶² I have heard Indians say, that, the Spirit of a deceased person, hovers about the village or lodge for a few days, then takes its flight to the land of repose⁶³

The Spirit on its way arrives at a very extensive Pirarie, over which they see the woods at a great distance appearing like a blue Cloud, the Spirit must travel over the Pirarie and when arrived at the further border, the Pirarie and woodland are separated by a deep and rapid stream of water, across this Stream is a pole which is continually in motion by the rapidity of the water, the Spirit must attempt to cross on the pole, if he or she has been a good person in this world, the Spirit will get safe over and will find all of his or her good relations who died formerly. In those woods are all kinds of game in plenty, and there the Spirits of the good live in everlasting happiness, if on the contrary, the person has done bad in this life, his or her Spirit will fall off the pole into the water, the current of which will carry the Spirit to the residence of the evil Spirit, where it will remain forever in Indegence and extreame Missery.⁶⁴ If convenient, the graves of deceased Indians are often visited, they hoe away the grass all about and sweep it clean, and place a little vituals occasionally with some tobacco near the grave. All Indians are very fond of their Children and a sick Indian is loth to leave this

world if his Children are young,⁶⁵ but if grown up and married they know they are a burden to their Children and dont care how soon they die. An Indian taken prisoner in war, or so surrounded by his enemies that he cannot escape, or that he is to suffer for murder, he will smile in the face of death, and if an opportunity offers he will sell his life dear. In burying Indians they place all their ornaments of the deceased, sometimes his gun and other implements for hunting, also some tobacco in his grave, paint and dress the dead body as well as possible previous to interment.

Birth and its Incidents

A couple marrying the offspring belong the Tribe of the Father, therefore are named from some particular thing or incident that has relation to the name of the Tribe: for example, if the man belong to the Bear Tribe, he takes the name of the Child from some part of the Bear, or the Bear itself. A few days after a Child is born,⁶⁶ and some of the old relations of the Father or Mothers side are near, the mother of the Child gives a feast and inviting a few of her or her husband's oldest relations, she having previously hinted to some or all of them the nature of the feast, one of the oldest relations gets up while the others are sitting on the ground in a ring with a dish containing some vituals before each person (the Mother and Child being present but do not taste of the feast⁶⁷) and makes a Speech to the following purport. "We have gathered together here to day in sight of the Great Spirit, to give that

child a name; we hope the Great Spirit will take pity on our young relation (if a male) make him a good hunter and warrior and a man of good sense &c. &c—(if a female) that she may make an industrious woman &c. and we name him or her"⁶⁸——This name cannot be changed until he goes to war, when an Indian commonly changes his name from some fete in war, which has no analogy to the Tribe he belongs to. A female after marriage may change her name, perhaps a dream may occasion a woman to change her name or some incident that has happened may do so—An Indian may change his name half a dozen times without being to war more than once, an Indian who has been to war and returns home after travelling towards the enemy's country for a few days, may change his name, and very often in Changing their names, take the name of one of their ancestors so that those names may be handed down to posterity. I know a Fox Indian whose name is Muc-co-pawm which is in English Language Bears Thigh or ham, he belongs to the Bear Tribe. A Sauk Indian named Muc-it-tau Mish-she-ka-kake in English the Black Hawk, he belongs to the Eagle Tribe,⁶⁹ Wab-be-we-sian or White hair (of an animal) belongs to the Deer Tribe.

The Eagle Tribe have a peculiar Monumental way of designating their dead from others by placing the trunk of a fallen tree at the head of their graves, with the roots upwards. The other Tribes have also a peculiar way of marking their graves but I am not acquainted in what manner. All Indians that I am acquainted with are always unwilling to tell their names except when immediate necessity require it before many

people, if you ask an Indian what his name is, he will not answer you, some other Indian present will generally answer for him; it is considered impolite to ask an Indian his name promptly: in speaking of an Indian not present, his name is mentioned, but if present the Indians will say him, that man, if a few old acquaintances meet they will call one another comrade, Uncle, Nephew, Brave &c. &c—Children while young are altogether under the guidance of their mothers, they seldom or ever whip their Children particularly the boys: The Mother reports to their Children all the information she possesses relating to any great event that she recollects or has heard of. When a Boy grows up to be able to hunt they follow their Father a hunting, he shews them the different tracks of animals, and the art of hunting different animals, and the mode of preparing the medicine for the Beaver Traps and how to apply it &c.

A female always keeps close to her Mother until she gets married who teaches her how to make moccosins dress skins, make or construct a lodge &c. &c⁷⁰—Males after marriage or being once to war are considered men, yet if a young Indian has to serve for a wife, he has nothing to say in the disposal of his hunt until after the birth of the first Child, after which he considers himself his own master, and master of his wife. In delivering to the Indians annuities or presents for the whole it is divided among the poorer class of the Indians, the Chiefs and Braves seldom keep any of the annuities or presents for themselves.⁷¹

Old people are a very great incumbrance to their relations except the[y] live exclusively on the Banks of rivers or Creeks, where they may be

easily transported in Canoes. A great many of the old people of the Sauk and Fox Indians may be seen passing the winter on the Banks of the Mississippi, they live on Corn, pumpkins and such other provision as a Boy or two can procure such as wild fowl, Raccoons &c—they are very indigent in the absence of their relations in the interior of the country, yet never complain.⁷² All adopted Children are treated as real Children and considered in same light, it is often the case, a man may adopt his Nephew who he calls his son, and the nephew calls the uncle Father.⁷³ all young Indian Children are tied up in an Indian cradle, I know of no difference made between the Children until the Boys begin to hunt, then the Mother shews a preference to the best hunter or the oldest (as it generally happens that they are all hunters in time) in giving them good leggins, Mocosins &c—The young females are also very industrious in attending on their Brothers, as they well know the hardships their Brothers endure in hunting. When young Indians grow up to 17 or 18 and their Fathers are hard to them, they leave their Parents, but when the young Indians begin to kill deer, they are seldom spoken harsh to, on the contrary, they are generally flattered with silver works, wampum, vermillion and other ornaments

In the event of an Indian dying and leaving a family of Children, the relations take care of them until they are married, if the orphan children have no relations their situation is bad, but it is almost impossible for a Child or Children in the Sauk and Fox Nations not to have relations. The Mother always takes care of her Children, ligeti-

mate or illegitimate, it seldom happens that Indian women have more than one Child at a birth, and I never heard of any Indian woman having more than two--

Marriages

An Indian Girl may become loose,⁷⁴ and if she happens to be taken off by a young Indian in a summers hunting excursion (as it frequently happens) on his return he will give her parents part of his hunt, probably a horse, or some goods and a little Whiskey, telling them that he means to keep their Daughter as his wife: if the old people accept of the presents, the young couple live peacably together with his or her relations, and so ends that ceremony. A young Indian may see a Girl whom he wishes for a Wife, he watches opportunities to speak to her, if well received, he acquaints his parents: his parents not wishing to part with their Son if he is a good hunter, the old people make an offer of goods or horses for the Girl, and if they succeed they take home their Daughter-in-law. On the contrary if the parents of the Girl will not agree to receive property but insist on servitude, the young Indian must come to hunt for his wifes parents for some one, two, or three years as may be agreed on before the parents will relinquish their right to their daughter.⁷⁵ I do not know of any marriage ceremony except the contract between the parties. An Indian may have two, three or more wives, but always prefer Sisters as they agree better together in the same lodge,⁷⁶ the eldest has generally the disposal of the hunt, purchase

all the goods and regulate all the domestic affairs. Adultry among the Sauk and Fox Indians is punished by cutting off the ears, or cutting or biting off the nose of the woman, the punishment is generally performed by the husband on the wife, however this seldom happens, and altho there are many loose Girls among them, the married women are generally very Constant.⁷⁷ An Indian will not be blamed for committing the act, if he has not made use of force, the old women will say, he is a Hit-che Waw-wan-ish-caw ie a very worthless rake, however the injured husband might in a fit of Jealousy kill both of them

An Indians wife is his property, and has it in his power to kill her if she acts badly without fear of revenge from her relations. There is no such thing as divorces, the Indians turn off their wives, and the wives leave their husbands when they become discontented, yet the husband can oblige his wife to return if he pleases. Women seldom leave their husbands and the Sauk and Fox Indians as seldom beat or Maltreat their wives, an Indian will listen to a woman scold all day, and feel no way affected at what she may say.⁷⁸ Barreness is generally the cause of seperation among the Indians.

The Indian women never have more then one husband at a time, nor does an Indian ever marry the Mother and daughter, they look with contempt on any man that would have connection with a Mother and her Daughter, he would be called a worthless dog. The relationship among Indians is drawn much closer than among us, for instance, Brothers Children consider themselves and call one another brothers and Sisters

and if the least relationship exists between an Indian and a Girl it will prevent them from being married. An old Sauk Chief who died a few years ago named Masco,⁷⁹ told me that he was then upwards of Ninety years of age, I hesitated to believe him, but he insisted on what he said to be true, he spoke of the taking of Canada by the British⁸⁰ also about the French Fort at Green Bay on Lake Michigan, mentioned the French Commandant's name Monsieur Marrin⁸¹ which left no doubt with me of his being a very old man. There are now many very old people among the Sauk and Fox Indians but as all Indians are ignorant of their exact age, it is impossible to find out the age of any of the old people. It is very uncommon for unmarried woman to have Children, except it be those who live with Whitemen for sometime, in that case, when they return to live with their nation, necessity compels them to accept the first offer that is made to them and they generally get some poor, lazy, worthless fellow who cannot procure a wife in the usual way.

There are few women among the Sauk and Fox Indians who are Sterile: the proportion of Sterile women to them who bear Children, are about one to 500, it will not be to much to say, that each married woman on an average have three Children. Girls seldom arrive at the age of Sixteen without being married, fourteen is the usual age of getting married for the young Girls, and we often see a Girl of fourteen with her first Child on her back, Indian women generally have a Child the first year after marriage, and one every two years subsequent, they allow

their Children to suck at least twice as long as Whitewomen do[,] they generally leave of Child bearing about the age of thirty.⁸²

Family Government &c—

The duties of an Indian is to hunt, to feed and Clothe his wife and Children, to purchase arms and amunition for himself and Sons, purchase kettles, axes, hoes &c. &c—to make Canoes, paddles, poles, and Saddles, to assist in working the Canoes also in hunting, Saddling and driving the horses.

The duties of the women is to skin the animals when brot home, to stretch the skins and prepare them for market, to cook, to make the camp, to cut and carry wood, to make fires, to dress leather, make mocosins and Leggins, to plant hoe and gather in the corn, beans &c—and to do all the drudgery[;] they will scold their husbands for getting drunk or parting with a favorite horse or wasting any property to purchase Spirituous Liquor, will scold their Children for wasting or destroying any property. It is a maxim among the Indians that every thing belong to the woman or women except the Indians hunting and war implements, even the game, the Indians bring home on his back as soon as it enters the Lodge, the man ceases to have any thing to say in its dispossial, properly speaking, the husband is master, the wife the Slave, but is in most cases voluntary slavery as the Indians seldom make their wives feel their authority by words or deeds, they generally live very happy together, they on both sides make due allowances—

Medicines—

The Sauk and Fox Indians are much troubled with the pleuricy and sore eyes, one proceeds from their fatigue and exposure in hunting and war, the other I suppose from smoke in their lodges. They understand the use of medicine necessary for the cure of most complaints, they are subject, they make use of purgatives and emities, some of them operate promptly, some of the Indians understand the art of bleeding, and make use of the lancet or penknife for that purpose, they make use of decoctions of Roots and there are few die for want of Medicines, probably some die from taking to much⁸³

Anatomy

I am informed that the Indians in general are much better acquainted with the anatomy of the human body, then the commonalty of white people, and in many instances, making surprising cures, they are very successful in the treatment of wounds: I have known many to have been cured after having been shot in the body, both with ball and arrows, they are rather rough in their Surgical operations, they cut away with a small knife, and I have seen them make use of a pair of old Scissors to extract an arrow point stuck in the thigh bone, and succeeded after much carving to get at it. Every Indian is acquainted either more or less with the use of common medicines, in extreame cures, they apply to some of their most celebrated Jugglers, they, in addition to their medecine make use of Superstitious Ceremonies, to impress on the minds of the Sick or

the persons present, that he makes use of Supernatural means for the recovery of the person Sick: also that the sick person is bewitched, and will work away making use of the most ludicrous experiments all of which is swallowed by the credulous Indians.⁸⁴ The Conjuror or Munatoo-caw-so or doctor are feared by the bulk of the Indians, and never dare to do any thing to displease them.

Astronomy

The general opinion of all Indians is, that the earth is flat, and appear to be acquainted with several Stars, they know all the fixed stars, and have names for them all, also for others that apparantly change their position, the[y] regulate their seasons as well by the Stars as by the Moon: The year the[y] divide into four seasons, as we do. Spring Man-no-cum-ink. Summer Pen-a-wick. Autumn Tuc-quock. Winter Pap-poen also into twelve Moons as follows—

Tuc-wot-thu	Kecshis	First frosty moon	commencing in Sept.
Amulo	"	Rutting	October
Puccume	"	Freezing	November
Kiche Mucqua	"	Big Bear	December
Chuckee Mucqua	"	Little Bear	January
Tuc-wun-nee	"	Cold	February
Pa-puc-qua	"	Sap	March
A-paw-in-eck-kec	"	Fish	April
Uc-kee-kay	"	Planting	May

Pa-la-nee	"	First summer	"	June
		or flowering		
Na-pen-nee	"	Midsummer	"	July
Mish-a-way	"	Elk	"	August

Their year is quoted as the[y] are placed in the above list of moons, commencing with the Moon that changes in September, being the time the[y] usually leave their villages (after saving their corn) to go westward to make their fall and winters hunt. The Sauk and Fox Indians say that the Great Spirit made every thing, the Earth, Moon, Sun Stars &c. all kinds of birds, beasts, and fishes and all for the use of the Indians, as a proof they say, that it is only in their country that the Buffaloe, Elk, Deer, Bear, &c. are to be found, therefore they were Specially intended for the Indians. To the white people the Great Spirit gave the Book, and taught them the use of it, which the Great Spirit thought was absolutely necessary for them to guide them through life: he also shewed them how to make Blankets, Guns, and Gunpowder, all of which were special gifts to the whites, the use of letters particularly astonish them, and the[y] hold writing of any sort in great esteem, they have many papers among them of Sixty and Seventy years old in the French and Spanish languages, they take care of all old papers, without knowing any thing of the purport of them: the old papers are generally recommendations formerly written by French and Spanish Commandants, commonly called patents by the French & Spaniards.

The Indians do not like to see eclipses of the Sun or Moon, they say that some bad munitoo is about to hide and devour the Sun or Moon, the Indians always fire at the Eclipse to drive away the Munitoo, which they think they succeed in when the Eclipse is over.⁸⁵ The Indians also fire ball at any comet, or bright Star, which they think are Munitoos.

All Indians can count as far as 1,000, which they call a big hundred, a great many can count to 10000 they know as much of arithmetic as is sufficient to do their own bussiness, also they have no particular mark to represent numbers. The method the Indians describe North, East, South and West, is as follows. They point to the North (or at night to the North Star which they call the immoveable Star) which they call the Cold Country, South the warm Country, East the rising Sun, West the setting Sun. The Indians are excellent Judges of the weather, and I have known them prepare for rain, when I could observe no signs whatever. Metors they cannot comprehend, they call them munitoos. In making calculations for the appearance of the New Moon, they say, in so many days the present moon will die, and in so many more days, the next moon will hang in the firmament (or the moon will be visible)—

Few of the Indians know any thing of Europe, or the Ocean, the little they know, they have learned it from the Traders.

Music

The only musical instruments the Sauk and Fox Indians make use of is the flute, made of a piece of Cane or two pieces of soft wood hollowed

out and tied together, with leather thongs, also a drum, which they beat with a stick, the flute they blow at one end, and except the key it is something like a Flagelet. They beat the drum at all kinds of feasts, dances, and Games, they dance keeping time with the tap of the drum, their tunes are generally melancholly, the[y] are always on a flat key, and contain many variations,⁸⁶ they have a peculiar mode of telling stories, elegantly illustrated with Metaphor and Similie, in telling their Stories they always retain something to the last, which is necessary to explain the whole.

Religion

The Sauk and Fox Indians believe in one great and good Spirit, who Superintends and commands all things,⁸⁷ and that there are many supernatural Agents or Munitoos permitted by the great Spirit to interfere in the concerns of the Indians

They believe the thunder persides over the destinies of war, also Mache-Munitoo or bad Spirit is subordinate to Kee-shay-Munitoo or the Great Spirit, but that the bad Spirit is permitted (occasionally) to revenge himself on mankind thro the Agency of bad Medecine, poisonous reptils, killing horses, sinking Canoes &c. &c—every accident that befalls them, they impute to the bad Spirits machinations, but at sametime, concieve it is allowed to be so, in attonement for some part of their misdeeds. All Indians believe in Ghosts, and when they imagine they have seen a Ghost, the friends of the deceased immediately give a feast

and hang up some clothing as an offering to pacify the troubled Spirit of the deceased, they pray by singing over certain words before they lay down at night, they hum over a prayer also about sunrise in the morning.⁸⁸ The Sauk and Fox Indians are very religeous so far as Ceremony is concerned, and even in passing any extraordinary Cave, Rock, Hill &c. they leave behind them a little tobacco for the Munitoo, who they suppose lives there. There is a particular Society among the Sauk and Fox Indians, (and I believe among some other nations of Indians) the particulars of which, I understand is never divulged by any of the Society, they hold their meetings in secret, and whatever passes among them at their meetings, is never spoken of by any of them elsewhere, this Society is composed of some of the best and most sencible men in the two nations.⁸⁹ I have given myself much trouble to find out the particulars of this Society, but have been able to succeed in a very small part only.⁹⁰ The Indians of this Society are called the Great Medecine Men, and when a young Indian wish to become one of the Society he applies to one of the members to interceed for him, sayng "you can vouch for me as being a good Indian &c." the friend of the applicant mentions the circumstance to the headman of the Society, who gives an answer in a few days after consulting others of the Society, if the applicant is admitted, his friend is directed to prepare him accordingly, but what the preparation &c.—is, I never could find out, but no Indian can be admitted untill the expiration of one year, after application is made. This Society or Great Medecine consists of four roads (or as we

would call them, degrees) and it requires to do something to gain the first road, and so on to the Second, third, fourth roads or degrees. It costs an Indian from forty to fifty dollars in goods, or other articles to be initiated or admitted into this Society, and am told there are but few of them who can gain the end of the fourth road.⁹¹ A Trader once, offered fifty dollars in goods to a particular Indian friend of his, Who is the head or principal man of this Society among the Sauk and Fox Indians, to be allowed to be present at one of their meetings, but was refused. Age has nothing to do with an applicant who wishes to become a member of this Society, as I have been told the Minnominnie Indians admit boys of fourteen and fifteen years of age, but the Sauk and Fox Indians will not admit any so young. The Sauk and Fox Indians believe in wizards and witches and none but their Jugglers have power to allay them—⁹²

General manner and Customs

The Sauk and Fox Indians (like all other Indians) did formerly eat human flesh, and in their war excursions would always bring home pieces of the flesh of some of their enemies killed in battle, which they would eat, but for the last forty or fifty years they have abandoned that vile practice, and sometimes will yet bring home a small piece of human flesh of their enemies for their little Children to gnaw, to render them brave as they say. The Sauk and Fox and all other Indians that I am acquainted with have no particular Salutation in meeting or parting from

each other, with a Whiteman they will shake hands in defference to our Custom. The Sauk Indians pay great respect to their Chiefs when assembled in council, but the Fox Indians are quite to the Contrary, they pay no respect to their Chiefs at any time, except necessity compels them, but as there are so much equality among all Indians, the Chiefs seldom dare insult a private individual.⁹³ The Indians have no language like our profane cursing and swearing, they on emergencies appeal to the deity to witness the truth of their Statements. They will say such a man is worthless dog, a bad Indian &c. &c. Friendship between two Indians as comrades has no cold medium to it, an Indian in love is a Silly looking mortal, he cannot eat, drink, or sleep, he appears to be deranged and with all the pains he takes to conceal his passion, yet it is so vissible that all his friends know what is the matter with him, they never laugh at him, but rather pity him. After an Indian returns home from hunting he will throw his game at the door of the Lodge, enter in, put away his gun, undress his leggins and mocosins, and sit down without speaking a word, with his head between his knees; immediately some thing to eat is placed before him, after eating heartily he looks at his wife or friends smiles, and enters into conversation with them about what he seen extraordinary during the day a hunting. Their power of recollection dont seem to be as Strong as ours, many circumstances that have occured within my recollection they have totally forgot. The Indians have only one way of building their bark⁹⁴ huts or Summer residences, they are built in the form of an oblong, a bench on each of the long sides about three feet

high and four feet wide, paralel to each other, a door at each end, and a passage thro the center about Six feet wide, some of those huts are fifty or Sixty feet long and capable of lodging fifty or Sixty persons. Their winter lodges⁹⁵ are made by driving long poles in the ground in two rows nearly at eaqual distances from each other, bending the tops so as to overlap each other, then covering them with matts made of what they call puc-wy a kind of rushes or flags, a Bearskin generally serves for a door, which is suspended at the top and hangs down, when finished it is not unlike a Ovan with the fire in the center and the smoke omits thro the top. The Indians are acquainted with the various ways in which different nations of Indians encamp, an[d] when they happen to come to an old encampment they can tell by the signs, the peculiar mode of making spits to roast their meat on &c. &c. whether it was their own people or whom and how many days old the encampment was, also which way they came and which way they went. The reasons that Indians spare the lives of Snakes is thro fear of offending them, they wish to be friendly with the whole family of Snakes particularly the venemous kinds, they frequently throw them tobacco and to the dead ones they lay a few scraps of tobacco close to their heads.

Food mode of Living, Cooking Meals &c:

There are few animals a hungry Indian will not eat, but the preference is always given to venison or Bears meat, and are the chief kinds of meat they eat, they feel always at a loss without corn, even in

the midst of meat,⁹⁶ corn with beans and dried pumpkins well prepared, and sweet corn boiled with fat venison, ducks, or Turkeys, are delicious in the extreme. The Sauk and Fox Indians eat but few roasts, as they raise an immensity of Corn, they sometimes make use of the wild potatoe a-pin, and the Bear Potatoe or Muco-co-pin also Wah-co-pin or Crooked root, Wab-bis-see pin or Swan root. They do not make much use of wild rice, because they have little or none in their Country, except when they procure some from the Winnebagoes or Minnominnie Indians.⁹⁷ They most generally boil every thing into soup. I never knew them to eat raw meat, and meat seems to disgust them when it is not done thoroughly. They use fish only when they are scarce of tallow in summer, then they go and spear fish both by night and day, but it appears they only eat fish from necessity. The old women set the kettle a boiling in the night, and about day break all eat whatever they have got, they eat in the course of the day as often as they are hungry, the kettle is on the fire constantly suspended from the roof of the Lodge, every one has his wooden dish or bowl and wooden spoon or as they call it Me-quen which they carry along with them when they are invited to feasts. Their cooking are not very Clean, they seldom wash their kettles, dishes or meat, the old women will sometimes by way of Cleanliness wipe the dish with her fingers.

Games dances &c. &c

The Sauk and Fox Indians have many games, such as the mocosin, the platter &c: their most active game is what they call Puc-a-haw-

thaw-waw it is not unlike what we call Shiny or bandy,⁹⁸ they make use of a Yarn Ball covered with leather, the women also play this game, also the platter which is exclusively theirs.⁹⁹ Running foot races and horses they are very fond of. The Sauk and Fox Nations have dances peculiar to themselves, also others they have adopted from other Nations. They dance the Buffallow dance, and the otter dance, in dancing the Buffallow dance they are dressed with the pate of a Buffallow Skin with the horns, they imitate Buffalow by throwing themselves into different postures, also by mimic[ki]ng his groans, attempting to horn each other, keeping exact time with the drum, the women often Join in these dances, but remain nearly in the same spot (while dancing) and singing in a shrill voice above the men.¹⁰⁰ The Medecine dance or Mit-tee-wee, all those who belong to that fratarnity, are made acquainted by some of the head persons, that on a certain day, the whole will assemble at a particular place; On the day appointed they make a shade, both males and females make their best appearanse, they have two drums on the occasion, the business is opened with a prayer from one of the members, after which the drummers sing a doleful ditty, beating at sametime on their drums, each person Male and female are provided with a Sac or Pouch of the whole skin of some animal as the Raccoon mink marten, Fisher, and otter, but generally of the last mentioned:¹⁰¹ one of the elders get up and commence dancing round the inside of the lodge, another follows, and so on untill they are all in motion, as they pass by each other, they point the nose of the Sacs or Pouches at each other blowing a wiff at the

sametime, the person so pointed at, will fall down on the ground apparantly in pain, and immediately get up again and touch some other one in turn, who will do the same in succession &c. The Sauk and Fox Indians play at Cards, and frequently play high, they bett horses, wampum silver works &c. They frequently in the Summer Season have Sham Battles, a party of footmen undertake to conduct to their village some friends, they on their journy are attacked by a party of horsemen who rush on them from the woods and surround them,¹⁰² the footmen throw themselves into the form of a hollow Square, the horsemen are armed with pistols, the footmen receive them with a volley, and beat them off, and are again attacked from another Quarter, and so on alternately untill they succeed in bringing their friends safe to their village: In those encounters many get thrown from their horses and sometimes, the footmen get trampled on by the horses, but during the whole of the transaction nothing like anger makes its appearance, they all retire on the best terms with each other, and it would be considered as shameful and to much like a woman for a man to become angry in play.

International Law of Relations

The Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians are in very strict alliance with each other, indeed their affinity are doubly rivited by intermarriages, similarity of manners & customs as also the similarity of language. I

have never heard where their council fire is, but believe it to be at the Sauk Village on Rocky River, it may be elsewhere.¹⁰³ The alliance between the Sauk and Fox Indians and the Ossages was made at the Ossage village on the Ossage River which falls into the Missouri River. The Alliance between the Sauk and Fox nations and the Kicapoo nation of Indians was formed at the Sauk Village as above described. All those Nations of Indians, except the Ossages have long since joined the General Confederacy at Browns Town in Michigan Territory, and it still exists. The Sauk and Fox Indians have no national lodge that I know, they call the Shawanoes and Kicapoos their elder Brothers. Every Nation of Indians think themselves as great as any other, and I never heard of any relative rank among the different nations of Indians, except what has been said about the Council fire at Brownstown.

Hunting

About the middle of September (some years later) the Sauk and Fox Indians all begin to move from their villages, to go towards the Country the[y] mean to hunt during the ensuing winter, they generally go Westwards in the interior on the head waters of Ihoway and Demoine Rivers and some go beyond these rivers quite in the interior of the Country.¹⁰⁴ There are some who have no homes as also many old people who descend the Mississippi River in Canoes as far as the Ihoway, Scunk and other Rivers and ascend those rivers to the different places where they mean to pass the winter a hunting

Those Indians who have a sufficiency of horses to transport their families and baggage go as far westward in their hunting excursions as the Missouri River and sometimes are invited by the Kanzez and other Indians to cross the Missouri River and hunt in their country as far westward on small streams that fall into Arkansaw River. They generally stop hunting deer when the winter begins to be severe and forms themselves into grand encampments to pass the remainder of the winter or severe weather. They at this time are visited by their Traders who go and receive their credits and also trade with them.¹⁰⁵ On the opening of the Spring those that have traps go to Beaver hunting others to hunt Bear and they generally finish their hunt about the 10th of April.¹⁰⁶ They formerly had general hunting parties or excursions before the Buffaloe removed so far westward. It is customary to make a feast of the first animal killed by each party, the whole are invited with some ceremony. In case of Sickness they feast on dogs meat and Sacrifice dogs by killing them with an axe, tying them to a Sapling with their noses pointed East or West and painted with vermillion.¹⁰⁷ When Strangers of an other nation visit their villages, the Crier makes a long harangue thro the village in a loud voice, to use the Strangers well, while they stay &c.—The Strangers may be invited to several feasts in the course of the same day, while the[y] remain at the village; however particular Indians give feasts to particular individuals, their particular friends and relations, and the custom of feasting strangers is not so

common now among the Sauk and Fox Indians as formerly, or as is at present among the Indians of Missouri.

The Sauk and Fox Indians will on great emergencies hold a general feast throughout their Nations, to avert some expected general Calamity, while the Magicians are praying to the Great Spirit and making use of numerous ceremonies.

It is a very mistaken idea among many of the white people, to suppose, that the Indians have not hair on every part of their body, that they have both Males and females: they pull it out with an instrument made of brass wire in the form of a gun worm they consider it indecent to let it grow.

The Sauks and Fox Indians shave their heads except a small patch on the Crown, which they are very fond of dressing and plaiting,¹⁰⁸ the[y] suspend several ornaments to it of horse or deers hair died red as also silver ornaments feathers of Birds &c they paint their faces red with vermilion, green with verdigrease and black with charcoal, their prevailing colour is red, except before or after coming from war, after returning from war they divest themselves of all their ornaments, wear dirt on their heads, and refrain from using vermilion for One year. The women tye their hair in a club with some wasted binding, red, blue, or green, but the former is preferred leaving two ends to hang down their backs

The Indians admire our manufactories but more particularly guns and gunpowder, but many old Indians say they were more happy before

they knew the use of fire arms, because they then could kill as much game as they wanted, not being then compelled to destroy the game to purchase our merchandise as they are now obliged to do.¹⁰⁹

They say that the white peoples thirst after land is so great, that they are never contented untill they have a belly full of it, the Indians compare a White Settlement in their neighbourhood to a drop of Raccoons Grease falling on a new Blanket the drop at first is scarcely perceptible, but in time covers almost the whole Blanket. The Sauk and Fox Indians do almost all their carrying on horseback and in Canoes, if any carrying is obliged to be done for want of horses, the women have to Shoulder it. Among the Sauk and Fox Indians the youngmen are most generally handsome, well made, and extremely modest.

The youngmen and women, when they begin to think of marrying use vermilion. I have observed in the course of my life, that Indians are not now so stout and robust as formerly, in general they are very atheletic with good constitutions, yet whatever may be the cause, they have not the Strength we have. Their general hight is about five feet eight Inches, a great many of the old people are much taller, however they are not in my opinion degenerating.¹¹⁰ It is impossible to ascertain the proportion of births to the deaths but it is well known they are on the increase. In a Conversation I had with Kecocuck the most intelligent Indian among the Sauk & Fox Indians (and a Sauk by birth) last summer (1826) he told me the Sauk Nation could furnish twelve hundred warriors, three fourths of which are well armed with good Rifles and

remainder with Shot guns and some few with bows and arrows.¹¹¹ The Sauk and Fox Indians encourage Polygamy and the adoption of other Indians in their nations, which serves to augment their nations rapidly. All Belts of wampum are presented in council (after speaking) by the principal Chiefs, the principal Brave or Chief of the Soldiers also delivers his speech and wampum in public council when it is a national affair or that they wish to do any thing permament. They make use of no heiroglyphicks except painting on a Tree or Rock or on a post at the head of Graves, the representation of the Tribe the person belong to, the number of Scalps and prisoners taken from the enemy &c. Strings or Belts of white wampum are occasionally sent with a piece of Tobacco tied to the end of it as a friendly message or invitation from one Nation to another for the purpose of opening the way to an ajustment of differences or any other subject of importance, Blue wampum painted red, with Tobacco in the same manner denotes hostility or a Solicitation to join in hostility against some other power. Those strings or Belts of wampum are accompanied by speeches to be repeated verbatim on presenting them to the person or persons to whom they are sent, should the terms offered or the purport of the Message be acceded to the parties accepting the wampum smoke of the Tobacco thus tied to it and return their answer in a similar way. A Belt of wampum sent to a neighboring nation for assistance in war is made of Blue wampum, at one end is wrought in with white grains the figure of a tomyhawk, presented towards a dimond of white grains, also both painted red with vermillion.

Should the nation accept the Message, they work their dimond of white grains of wampum in the same way—

Bad Me-aw-nith

WorseA-ne-kai-may-me-aw-nith

WorstA-me-kaw-she-me-aw-nith

Language¹¹²

The Sauk and Fox languages are guttural and nosal[,] the following letters are made use in their language as well as other sounds that cannot be represented by any letters in an Alphabet—A. B. C. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. S. T. U. W. Y. Z. are the letters of our alphabet that are sounded in their language: the accent is generally placed on the second syllable and often on the first[,] they place a very strong emp[h]asis on the superlative degree of their ajectives also their adverbs of Quality and Interjections,

They designate the Genders thus—

Masculine	Femenine
Man	Woman
Ninney	Hequa
Men	Women
Ninnywuck	Hequa-wuck
Buck	Doe
Iawpe	A-co

The Genders of all other animals are formed by placing the word

male or female before them. The plurals of Substantives are formed by the termination of uck or wuck also the termination of Y or Wy to the name of an animal is the proper name of its Skin.

Singular	Plural
I-aw-pe-wy	I-aw-pe-wy-uck
Buckskin	Buckskins
Shusk-wy	Shusk-wy-uck
Muskrat	Muskratskins
American	Muc-co-mon
Englishman	Sog-o-nosh
French	Mith-o-cosh
Blanket	Mi-cosay
Powder (gun)	Muck-i-tha
Flint	Sog-o-cawn
Whiskey or Rum	Scho-ta-wa-bo
Cow	Na-no-ce
Cat	Caw-shu
Cat (wild)	Pis-shew
Fowls	Puck-a-ha-qua
Looking glass	Wa-ba-moan
Silver	Shoo-ne-aw
Knife	Mau-thiss
Dog	A-lem-mo

Saddle	Tho-me-a-cul
Bridle	So-ke-the-na-pe-chu-cun
Canoe	It-che-maun
Paddle	Up-we
Water	Neppe
Sun	Keishis
Otter	Cuth-eth-tha
Beaver	Amic-qua
Elk	Mesh-shay-way
Bear	Muc-qua
Wild goose	Alick-qua
Duck	She-sheeb
Eagle	Mick-is-seou
Owl	We-thuc-co
Swan	A-ha-wa
Pidgeon	Mee-mee
Eye	Os-keish-oc-qua
Hand	Neck
Mouth	Thole
Nose	Co-mouth
Teeth	Wec-pec-thul
Legs	Cau-then
Arms	Nitch
Head	Weesh

Foot	Couth
Hair (of the head)	We-ne-sis
Hair (of animals)	We-se-an
Corn	Thaw-meen
Tree	Ma-thic-quai
Moon	Kee-shis
Stars	A-law-queck
Day	Keesh-o-co
Night	Tip-pic-quoc
Father	Oce
Mother	Kea
Sister	Ni-thuc-quame
Brother (elder)	Si-say
do (younger)	Se-ma
Sister (elder)	Ne-mis-sa
do (younger)	Chu-me-is-sum
Son	Quis
Daughter	Thaunis
Grand Father	Mish-o-miss
Grand Mother	Co-miss
Friend	Cawn
Yesterday	O-naw-co
Today	He-noke
Tomorrow	Wa-buck

Warriour	Wa-taw-say
Spring	Man-no-cum-me
Rock	As-sen
Sand	Na-kow
Wood	Ma-thi-a-cole
Mississippi	Mes-is-se-po
Wind	No-then
Snow	Ac-coen
Rain	Kee-me-a
Thunder	An-a-mee-kec
Dance	Ne-mec
Path	me-ow
God	Man-nit-too
Devil	Mache man-nit-too
Fire	Scho-tha
Boy	Qui-es-ea
Girl	Squa-cy
Tobacco	Say-maw
Sail	Caw-tha-sum
Thought	Es-she-thai
Courage	A-e-qua-me
Hatred	Es-kin-a-wa
Fear	Co-sue-kea
Love	Tip-pawn-nan

Eternity	Caw-keek
Happiness	Men-we-pem-au-this-sec
Strength	We-shic-is-sec
Beauty	Wa-wan-is-sec
Insanity	Waw-wen-au-this-se-ow
Revenge	Ash-e-tho-a-caw-no
Cowardice	Heesh-kee-tha-hum
Hunger	Wee-shaw-pel
Round	Wa-we-i-au
White	Qa-bes-kiow
Black	Muck-et-tha-wa
Yellow	As-saow
Green	Shi-buc-ki-a
Red	Mus-quaou
Blue	We-pec-qua
Song	Nuc-a-moan
Feast	Kay-kay-noo
Salt	Sli-wee-thaw-gun
Sugar	Sis-sa-bac-quat
White Oak	Mec-she-mish
Red ditto	Ma-thic-wa-mish
Cedar	Mus-qua-aw-quck
Pine	Shin-qua-quck
Cottonwood	Me-thew-wuck

Sycamore	Keish-a-wock-quai
Grass	Mus-his-kec
Hill	Mes-is-sauk
Island	Men-ness
River	Scepo
Flat	Puc-puc-his-kia
Alive	Pematiss
Dead	Nippo
Sick	Oc-co-muth
Well	Mes-say
Tiered	Je-qua
Lazy	Naw-nec-kec-tho
Early	Maw-my
Late	A-maw-quas
Handsome	Waw-won-niss-sec
Ugly	Me-aw-niss-sec
Rich	O-thai-wiss-sec
Poor	Kitch-a-moe-is-sec
Good	Wa-wun-nitt
Better	Na-kai-may-wa-won-nitt
Best	One-kaw-men-we-wa-won-nitt
Boat	Mis-se-gock-it-che-man
Flute	Paw-pe-guen
Boards	Miss-sec-gock

Personal Prounouns.

Singular		Plural		
I	neen	We	Neenwaw	
Thou or you	Keene	Ye	Keenwaw	
He. she. or it	Weene	They	Weenwaw	
Singular	Possession		Plural	
Mine or My	Nichi Enim *	Ours	Neen-ane-i-thi-enim	
They or thine	Kiche Enim	Yours	Keen-ane-othi-enim	
His or hers	O-thi Enim	Theirs	Ween-waw-othe-enim	

* the termination enim has reference to things.

Conjugation Verb to Love

Singular

I love	ne-men-wen-a-maw
Thou lovest	Ke-men-wen-amaw-kia
He loved	O-men-wen-a-maw-kia

Plural

We Love	Neen-wa-ke-men-a-kia
ye or you Love	Keen-wa &c. &c
They Love	Ween-wa &c. &c.
Loved	men-a-wa-kia-pic
Loving	men-wen-a-meen

One	Necouth
Two	Neesh
Three	Ness
Four	Ne-a-we
Five	Nee-aw-neen
Six	Ne-couth-wa-sick
Seven	No-wuck
Eight	Niss-wash-ick
Nine	Shauck
Ten	Mit tous
11	Mittausway Necouth a nissec
12	do neshway nissec
13	do ness-way-Nissec
20	Neesh Wap-pe-tuck
30	Ness Wap-pe-tuck
100	Necouth-wock-qua
1,000	Mittans-wock-qua or necouth kichi wock
10,000	Mittans kichi wock or ten great hundreds--

The Sauk and Fox and I believe all other Indians count decimally--

Child	A-pen-no
Children	A-pen-no-wuck
Chief	O-ke-maw

Chiefs	O-ke-maw-wuch
Indian	Me-thu-say-nin-ny
Indians	Me-thu-say-nin-ny-wuck
Prepositions	
Come with me	Ke-we-thay-me
Go to him	E-na-ke-haw-loo
I will fight for you	Ke-me-caw-thu-it-thum-one
Come in with me	Pen-the-kay-thaun
Let us wade thro the water	Pec-than-sic-e-thawn
Adverbs	
He shoots badly	Me-awn-os-shou-whai
He eats much	Kichu-o-we-sen-ne
The River raises rapidly	Kichu-mos-on-hum-o-sec-po
Come here	Pe-a-loo
Go there	E-tip-pe-haw-loo
Behave well	Muc-quache-how-e-wa
Not you but me	a-qua-kun-neen
Neither you nor I	A-qua-necoath I.O.

End of the Chapter—

The above is submitted to your better Judgement of Indian Manners
and Customs by

* General William Clark
Suptnt. of In. Affs
St. Louis

Your Obedient Servant
Thomas Forsyth

St. Louis 15th January 1827

* General Clark was heard to say that this account of the manners and
customs of the Sauk & Fox Indians was "tolerable" it was so tolerable
that he nor any of his satelites could equal it, and I should be glad to see
some of their productions on this head¹¹³

ENDNOTES TO 1827 ACCOUNT

1. In sign language, the sign for Sauk means "something sprouting up" (Skinner, Observations on the Sauk, 10), but Forsyth's translation is the one usually given by contemporary and later writers.

2. They were known to other Algonkian Tribes as "Outagami," people of the other shore (Trigger, ed., Handbook, 464).

3. The Chippewa and Kickapoo, like the Sauk and Fox, were part of the Algonkian family—the Kickapoo being especially close to the Sauk and Fox ethnically and linguistically. The Shawanoes were the Shawnee, who at least linguistically belonged to the Algonkian group (Trigger, ed., Handbook, 622).

4. The Wyandots were a tribe within the Huron family. It is argued that the Neuters with the aid of the Hurons drove the Algonkian tribes west (see Trigger, ed., Handbook, 594, and Horr, ed., Sac, Fox, and Iowa, 2). Rhoda R. Gilman suggests that it may not only have been pressure from other Indians that drove the Algonkian nations into Wisconsin. The quest for furs, brought on by increasing French demand, may have been a major factor. ("Fur Trade," WMH, LVIII, 3.)

5. The Sauk and Fox were driven out of the area to the west of Lake Huron in the late 1500s and early 1600s. In the mid-1600s the Sauk were living near present-day Green Bay, Wis., and the Fox were not far away around the Fox River (see Horr, ed., Sac, Fox, and Iowa, 4-5, and Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox," 2). The Sauk and Fox were often in

alliance, but this alliance was not made permanent until the 1730s.

6. The Illinois Indians, a confederacy of the Algonkian tribes of the Cahokia, Kaskasia, Michigamea, Moingwena, Peoria, and Tamaroa, occupied northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. The murder of the Ottawa chief Pontiac about 1769 by the Illinois Indians provoked the Lake tribes into a final showdown (they had been warring with the Illinois for decades). In a few years the Illinois Indians had been almost exterminated, and the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo began to move into the Illinois lands.

7. The Sauk and Fox, with other tribes from east of the Mississippi River, signed a peace treaty with the Osage in St. Louis in 1805. By 1810 they were again fighting (see p. 95).

8. The Pawnee at this time lived in Nebraska on the Platte River, which was probably the outer limits of the Sauk and Fox winter hunting grounds—and the headwaters of the Arkansas was a long way from the Sauk and Fox usual hunting grounds.

9. The treaty of 1825 (at which Forsyth was present) recognized the gains the Sauk and Fox had made against the Sioux; when boundary lines were drawn the Sauk-Fox hunting grounds were expanded. By 1827 the Sauk were ready to go to war with the Sioux again. (See Draper Papers, T4 and T6, SHSW, for many examples.)

10. Wampum were beads of varying material, often shells or glass, that the Sauk and Fox at this time received from the whites (see Lists of Gifts to Indians, Draper Papers, T3, SHSW).

11. It does appear that there were specific war chiefs, at least among the Sauk, among whom the war chiefs may have been the same as the principal warriors. Forsyth is correct that any warrior could lead a war party. Black Hawk describes returning to his village about 1814 and being told Keokuk had been made war chief by virtue of his successfully protecting the village from an enemy (Autobiography, 81-83). Marston identified Keokuk as "chief" of a moiety (to Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820, in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 156-157).

12. The Sauk council was composed of the chiefs and probably sib (see n. 23, below) representatives (this may account for the prominence of Keokuk and Black Hawk, who were not chiefs). The Fox council was made up of chiefs and other warriors distinguished for military skill and knowledge. (Wallace, "Prologue," 4, and Joffe, "Fox of Iowa," 271.)

13. It is interesting that Forsyth groups the Sauk and Fox together when describing their systems of government. In his other writings he had said that the Sauk braves had respect for their chiefs, whereas the Fox chiefs are described as "tools" of their warriors (to Thomas L. McKenney, Aug. 28, 1824, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

14. Marston says that "Martial law" was declared and sentinels placed when the Sauk and Fox were returning to their village in the spring. This was to prevent one family from returning before the others and being exposed to attack from an enemy or from stealing corn belonging to others. (To Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820, in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 163-164.)

15. This satisfied the Indians also when a white had killed an Indian (see Forsyth to Clark, Sept. 23, 1819, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

16. The preceding description of the Sauk and Fox government is confusing and seems incomplete, but it is one of the few such descriptions in original accounts. Marston got his information from Forsyth; Marsh did not explain political organization; and the editor of Jones's early-twentieth-century notes describes Jones's material on government as "incoherent and rais[ing] more questions than it answers" ("Ethnography of the Fox," 83n).

17. Brownstown was the location of a Wyandot village in Wayne County, Michigan. For a full discussion of the Indian confederacies, and British involvement therein, see Robert S. Allen, "The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830," in Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archeology and History, no. 14 (1975), 5-125.

18. In 1763.

19. In central New York.

20. This statement certainly reflects Forsyth's bitterness over the loss of his position in 1830—a loss he blamed on Clark. In July 1821 he wrote John Scott, a Missouri representative to Congress, that Clark would be the perfect person for superintendent of Indian Affairs; he had the trust of the Indians and always made good treaties (Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

21. The War of 1812.

22. According to tradition, the Chippewa, Pottawatomi, and Ottawa were at one time a single band, but divided in Michigan during their westward movement (Trigger, ed., Handbook, 725). Many Pottawatomi now live among the Chippewa and Ottawa in Ontario (ibid.).

23. These divisions are known as sibs or gentes. Marston in 1820 reported that there were "no less than fourteen tribes" among the Sauk, yet he names only nine. Four of those he does name are not included on this list—Dog, Elk, Partridge, and Sucker (to Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820, in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 163).

24. In 1906 William Jones named fourteen Fox gentes, all that Forsyth names here were included ("Ethnography of the Fox," 72).

25. Called moieties. The Fox also had two moieties, the "Kicko" and the "Tokan" (see Joffe, "Fox of Iowa," 270, and Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox," 80).

26. It is unclear that Keokuk's position was hereditary; Black Hawk claimed he had been appointed (Autobiography, 81-83). In 1830 Forsyth said that neither the Sauk nor the Fox could do anything without Keokuk's assistance (to Thomas L. McKenney, Aug. 6, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW).

27. It appears that Forsyth has this backward. According to Joffe, "Fox of Iowa," 270, and Skinner, Observations on the Sauk, 12, the first son went into the opposite moiety from his father.

28. Game playing was the main role of these two divisions (see Skinner, Observations on the Sauk, 13, and Jones "Ethnography of the

Fox," 81).

29. Black Hawk put this very plainly: "If the Sioux have killed the Sacs last, they expect to be retaliated upon, and will fly before them, and vice versa. Each party knows that the other has a right to retaliate, which induces those who have killed last, to give way before their enemy—as neither wishes to strike, except to avenge the death of their relatives. All our wars are predicated by the relatives of those killed; or by aggressions upon our hunting grounds" (Autobiography, 105).

30. No Indian, except a woman, could take part in the scalp dance, a joyous ritual after a triumphant return to town, until he had been to war and killed an enemy (see Black Hawk, Autobiography, 52-53).

31. See Joffe, "Fox of Iowa," 272. In a letter to William Clark, Forsyth tells of a Sauk Indian having a dream and then being followed by 200 warriors to war with the Sioux (Sept. 16, 1822, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

32. A partizan is the leader of the war party.

33. Black Hawk talks of "recruiting" a strong force (Autobiography, 54).

34. A warrior had the right to own a medicine sack or sacred bundle after he had dreamed concerning war powers or had inherited a bundle from a deceased relative. The sacred bundle was a deerskin pouch that often contained parts of animals and scalps, roots and herb medicines, and tobacco sacrifices (see Skinner, Observations on the Sauk, 65, 84-93, and Joffe, "Fox of Iowa," 272-273). The sack was meant to

bring luck in war.

35. For a fuller description of the war songs, see Skinner, Observations on the Sauk, 69.

36. This description is confusing, but I have found no other reference to this kind of war encampment. The purpose of the structure is unclear.

37. Spencer describes the return of both defeated and victorious Sauks. He says those returning from a losing battle blacken their faces and mourn the loss of those killed in the battle. He has a colorful description of the victorious party's dance, which he says he "witnessed several times." (Spencer, Reminiscences, 21-22.)

38. It is unclear what the role difference between a concubine and a wife were.

39. Cutting Marsh gives "eminne" as the Sauk word for man (Cutting Marsh Papers, Wis. MSS, AU, SHSW).

40. Dogs were also often killed to accompany, protect, and guide the dead (Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox," 65).

41. Forsyth also reports that the Main Pogue had three wives who were all sisters (Main Pogue, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

42. For examples of the Sauk and Fox going to war for more hunting grounds, see Forsyth to William Clark, Sept. 30, 1818, Draper Papers, T4, and to John C. Calhoun, Aug. 27, 1829, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW.

43. For examples of war for revenge, see Forsyth to John C.

Calhoun, June 6, 1822, and to William Clark, May 28, 1827, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW; and Black Hawk, Autobiography, 105.

44. Forsyth was often complaining that the Sauk could not stop their young men from going off to war (for examples, see Forsyth to William Clark, July 2, 1818, and to John C. Calhoun, July 3, 1821, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

45. It is unclear how the United States would stop the Sauk and Fox from warring with the Pawnee, as there were no United States agents or troops in the Nebraska area at this time.

46. Peter Pond claimed in the eighteenth century that the Sauk traveled as far as Santa Fe, where they obtained Spanish horses ("Journal of Peter Pond, 1740-1775," SHSW Collections, XVIII, 335).

47. Forsyth's placement of the tribes is quite accurate. Technically the Miami, and their subtribes the Weah and Piankishaw, were not part of the Illinois confederacy (see Trigger, ed., Handbook, 681).

48. The Mascoutens (or Gens de Prairie) were not part of the Illinois confederacy. According to Trigger, they were absorbed by the Kickapoo in the late eighteenth century. Forsyth is correct in his location of the tribe; they did roam the plains of Illinois and Indiana. (Handbook, 668).

49. Lewis and Clark said of this war: "to them [the Sauk and Fox] it is justly attributable the almost entire destruction of the Missouries, the Illinois, Cohokias, Kaskaskia, and Peorias" ("Information Communicated to Congress," Feb. 19, 1806, ASP, Indian Affairs, VII, 711).

50. This description is extremely accurate. It cannot be said with certainty that the Illinois Indians were at one time one tribe, but they certainly were all from the Central Algonkian group. The Illinois began being harassed by the Sioux and Foxes as early as La Salle's visit in 1680. The war of extermination, waged primarily by the Lake tribes, began after the murder of Pontiac in 1769.

51. There is no indication in the literature that this was widely practiced by the Miami. Many tribes practiced some sort of cannibalism—chewing flesh for magical reasons or giving it to small children to make them brave.

52. The Kickapoo did not move down to the Wabash River area until the defeat of the Illinois tribes in the 1770s. They moved away from the Wabash several years later, part of the tribe heading east, and part west (this latter group shows up on Forsyth's 1812 map on the Sangamon River and around Peoria).

53. The land was ceded to the United States in 1809.

54. In 1818 Forsyth wrote of the Fox, Sauk, and Iowa settling their "differences" apparently without white interference; but the important distinction here may be between "differences" and war (Forsyth to William Clark, July 2, 1818, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW). Certainly a conquered tribe would not always be extinguished, just driven from their homelands.

55. According to Horr, the reason for this war was "to obtain control of the western hunting lands" (Sac, Fox, and Iowa, 182). The

Osage controlled much of the lands between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers.

56. In April 1830, when the Fox had sent presents to the Sioux indicating they wanted to settle their differences, the Sioux accepted, and the Fox delegation was then killed by the Sioux on their way to make the treaty (see Forsyth to Capt. W. Warner, Apr. 25, 1830, and to William Clark, May 8, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW).

57. The Chippewa and Sioux were close neighbors in Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas.

58. Throughout the 1820s the Sauk and Fox also were warring with the Sioux in Iowa. Several times there were gifts of wampum exchanged. In 1825 at Prairie du Chien there was also a peace made between the tribes at the insistence of the United States, but by 1827 Forsyth is again futilely attempting to stop Sauk and Fox war parties from setting out against the Sioux. (See 1827, Draper Papers, T4 and T6, SHSW.) There were no Indian agents west of the Mississippi to control this.

59. The United States government kept insisting that all Indians give up their British flags and medals. The Sauk and Fox refused to give theirs up until they were replaced with American flags and medals. Forsyth had great difficulty procuring these from the government, although they had been promised. (See Forsyth to John C. Calhoun, July 3, 1821, and Jan. 6, 1822, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.)

60. Other contemporary writers also mention tree burial, although this was not common (see Morrell Marston to Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820,

in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 173).

61. Jones says the possessions of the deceased were divided among those who were the attendants at the funeral—and these were all men ("Ethnology of the Fox," 67). A Fox woman tells of dividing up her dead husband's possessions among his male relatives (Truman Michelson, ed., "The Autobiography of a Fox Woman," Bureau of American Ethnology Fortieth Annual Report [1925], 329-331).

62. For a detailed description of the mourning wife (which follows Forsyth's very closely), see *ibid.*, 329-335.

63. Although no mention is made by any of Forsyth's contemporaries, ethnologists and others mention an "Adoption Feast" that followed a person's death by six months to four years. In this ceremony another person of the same age and sex as the deceased is adopted into the dead man's family. The ceremony served both to free the deceased's spirit permanently and formally to bring an end to the period of mourning. For details, see Joffe, "Fox of Iowa," 267; Skinner, Observations on the Sauk, 15; Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox," 65; and Michelson, ed., "Fox Woman," 333-335.

64. Others give slight variations on this story, but all versions involve getting across a stream. One interesting difference between Christians and Indians going to their respective "heavens" and "hells" was pointed out by Black Hawk: "The whites may do bad all their lives, and then, if they are sorry for it when about to die, all is well. But with us it is different: we must continue throughout our lives to do what we conceive to be good" (Autobiography, 99).

65. Jonathan Carver says that Indians care more for their children than anyone he has ever seen (Parker, ed., Journals of Carver, 83-84).

66. It was probably more than a few days after a child was born. When a woman went into labor she retired to a small hut away from the rest of the tribe where she gave birth. She was then isolated there for several (possibly twenty to forty) days after the birth. (See Joffe, "Fox of Iowa," 268.)

67. It was a custom in many Sauk and Fox feasts that the person giving the feast did not eat.

68. This was known as the "Dog Feast." Marston says it was not always attended to by the Sauk and Fox (to Jedidiah Morse, Nov. 1820, in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 168).

69. In his Autobiography, Black Hawk's name is spelled "Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak." He does not say what band he is from.

70. For a very detailed description of this training of a young girl, see Michelson, ed., "Fox Woman," 297-309. Every aspect of the training that Forsyth mentions, this woman went through.

71. William Clark implied that the annuities were also used to pay for depredations committed by young men of the tribes (see Wallace, "Prologue," 33).

72. Black Hawk says the Indians left their old people with their traders when they left for the winter hunt (Autobiography, 107). During the summer the old people often stayed in the summer villages and tended the crops while the other Indians left for the hunt or the mines.

73. Adoption, which is mentioned throughout this essay, seems to have been very important to the stability of the continually warring Sauk and Fox. After the war of extermination that the French waged on the Fox in the early 1730s, the Fox population may have dipped below 100. It seems improbable that the Fox population could have reached Forsyth's estimate of 1,600 in 1824 without the use of adoption.

74. According to the story told in "Fox Woman," even talking to a man by an unmarried girl was considered wrong (Michelson, ed., 311).

75. Black Hawk tells of another way of obtaining a wife: At a feast following the planting of the corn "our young braves select the young woman they wish to have for a wife. He then informs his mother, who calls on the mother of the girl, when arrangement is made, and the time appointed for him to come. He goes to the lodge when all are asleep, (or pretend to be,) lights his matches, which have been provided for the purpose, and soon finds where his intended sleeps. He then awakens her, and holds the light close to his face that she may know him—after which he places the light close to her. If she blows it out, the ceremony is ended, and he appears in the lodge next morning, as one of the family. If she does not blow out the light, but leaves it to burn out, he retires from the lodge. The next day he places himself in full view of it, and plays his flute. The young women go out, one by one, to see who he is playing for. The tune changes, to let them know that he is not playing for them. When his intended makes her appearance at the door, he continues his courting tune, until she returns to the lodge. He then gives over playing, and makes another trial at night, which usually turns

out favorable" (Autobiography, 102-103).

76. Jonathan Carver said exactly the same thing about the Sioux in 1766 (Parker, ed., Journals of Carver, 106).

77. Peter Pond saw the Sauk women differently: "In General the Women find Meanes to Grattafy them Selves without Consent of Men" ("Journal," SHSW Collections, XVIII, 335).

78. In this instance Forsyth's observations differ from the account in "Fox Woman," but these differences can be explained by the fact that the "Fox Woman" account is from a later day. The Fox woman does divorce her husband, although there is no official action, she just leaves. She also says that it is important to find a husband who will not beat his wife. (Michelson, ed., 321-325.)

79. Masco was one of the Indians that Morrell Marston tried to interview to get information for Rev. Jedidiah Morse (Marston to Morse, Nov. 1820, in Blair, ed., Indian Tribes, 141).

80. In 1763.

81. Paul de la Marque Marin was commandant at Green Bay for several years until his removal in 1742. He returned to the upper Mississippi in 1750, where he built a fort and engaged in a very profitable fur-trading business for the French government. He was recalled in 1753. (Louise Philips Kellogg, The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest [Madison, 1925], 374, 379-381.)

82. Forsyth is implying a child mortality rate of 50%.

83. In his correspondence Forsyth says that the Sauk and Fox

Indians did use the doctor at Fort Armstrong. Every fall many Indians were treated for "dysentary" from eating green corn and squashes. He says two-thirds of the children would die without this medical attention. He also suggests to Secretary of War Calhoun that it would be a "humane act" to establish a kind of old age home for the Indians. (See Forsyth to Clark, May 17, 1828, Draper Papers, T6, and to Calhoun, July 7, 1823, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.)

84. I have not been able to find out who became medicine men in the Sauk and Fox nations. There is almost no mention of this position in the contemporary literature. Skinner does describe the practices of "shamans," who are the same as Forsyth's "jugglers" (see Observations on the Sauk, 54-55). Perhaps a juggler was one who claimed to communicate with the Great Spirit; Forsyth called the Main Pogue a juggler, and the Main Pogue himself made such a claim.

85. It is said that the Shawnee Prophet won over unbelievers by correctly predicting an eclipse of the sun in 1806. To many this established his sacred powers. For more on manitous, see p. 111.

86. According to Frederick W. Hodge, "the music of each ceremony has its peculiar rhythm. . . . An Indian can determine at once the class of a strange song by the rhythm of the music" (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico Washington, D.C., 1907, I, 959).

87. According to Skinner, the conception of one great spirit was not a product of missionary work, "there can be no doubt as to the antiquity of the Great Spirit among the Central Algonkians" (Observa

tions on the Sauk, 34). Eventually, certainly, the Sauk and Fox did incorporate some ideas from Christianity into their religion, i.e., the Great Spirit becoming "an old white-headed man of majestic appearance who sits everlastingly in the Heavens smoking" (ibid.).

88. The Sauk and Fox believed that the spirit of a dead person stayed around for four days after death and if an adoption feast was not held within a given amount of time the spirit would again return (see Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox," 29).

89. Forsyth here and below implies that there was only one such society for both the Sauk and Fox tribes. Ethnologists and historians of the Fox and of the Sauk have mentioned such a society for each tribe, but perhaps during the period the two tribes lived together the societies merged.

90. Even in later years information on the society remained shrouded in secrecy. In 1934 Margaret Welpley Fisher, the editor of Jones's "Ethnography of the Fox," wrote excitedly of a document Jones had supposedly written describing this society (pp. viii-xi); the document was never found. Skinner gives some information about the Sauk society that was obtained from a guard at the ceremony, which she calls the "Medicine Dance" (Observations on the Sauk, 37-47).

91. In 1830 Forsyth told Thomas L. McKenney that Keokuk had achieved all four roads in this society (May 8, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW).

92. Jones says these witches were Indians within the tribes,

especially those of the Bear gens among the Fox ("Ethnography of the Fox," 26-27).

93. For more details on these differences between the Sauk and the Fox, see Forsyth to Gov. Lewis Cass, May 12, 1822, and to Thomas L. McKenney, Aug. 28, 1824, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.

94. Elm bark was usually used. One observer described these houses as looking like New England barns (Spencer, Reminiscences, 16).

95. Called wickiups.

96. The Fox gave such importance to corn that they considered it a "manitou" (Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox," 17).

97. Tribes in central and northern Wisconsin.

98. This was a kind of field hockey.

99. This may be the game described by Hodge: "women had a game with a double or tied ball which was tossed with long slender rods. . . . Among the Plains tribes the women played with a small buckskin-covered ball of buffalo hair" (Handbook, I, 184).

100. Skinner says this dance was held by those of the Buffalo gens in June or July (Observations on the Sauk, 48-49), but Forsyth does not mention a Buffalo gens, yet his description of the dance matches Skinner's.

101. This is the dance held for the initiation of a member into the "Great Medicine Society"; it is rather unusual that Forsyth was able to observe this dance as it was meant to be guarded and kept secret from all except those in the society. For a fuller description of the dance, see

Skinner, Observations on the Sauk, 40-46.

102. The sides were based on a person's moiety.

103. Nicholas Boilvin, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, said that the Sauks, Foxes, Iowas, Sioux, and Winnebago met yearly at Prairie du Chien for their "council" (to William Eustis, Feb. 11, 1811, Platteville MSS, Vol. 1, SHSW).

104. For the previous forty years the Fox and Sauk hunting grounds had been expanding rapidly westward. When the Sauk and Fox first moved to the Rock River area in the 1760s, they hunted both sides of the Mississippi River, but by the turn of the century almost all hunting east of the Mississippi had stopped because of the westward migration of white settlement. In the early decades of the nineteenth century they extended their hunting grounds westward toward the Missouri River in Iowa and Missouri. The scarcity of game near the Mississippi forced this movement.

105. Forsyth, as an Indian agent, licensed those trading with the Indians (see Draper Papers, T3, SHSW). For more information on the traders, see Gilman, "Fur Traders," WMH, LVIII, 3-18, and Way, "Factory System," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VI, 220-235.

106. Also in the spring many of the Sauk and Fox engaged in sugaring.

107. Dogs were eaten in many ceremonial feasts. It was considered the greatest sacrifice to offer up one's dog.

108. According to Skinner, "this painful process, called monagesh-

waug, or 'pulling out the hair,' was accomplished as follows: The hair was collected in locks about the thickness of the little finger, and the ends knotted. The warrior or boy was held by his uncle, and his mother or father seized the knots one by one and pulled out the locks by pushing away the victims head. A standing roach was left from forehead to nape, and this was evened up by grating with mussel shells or burning off with a glowing brand. The bare portion of the head was then painted with vermilion" (Observations on the Sauk, 149).

109. This was a complaint dating back at least to the turn of the century when the Shawnee Prophet had hoped to establish independence from the whites and their goods.

110. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who saw the Fox in the 1820s, believed that they were physically the best-formed Indians in the Northwest (see Hodge, ed., Handbook, I, 278).

111. Forsyth often estimated the Sauk and Fox populations in his writings, always considering one-fourth of the population to be warriors. He estimated the Sauk population at 4,000 from 1817 to 1822. In 1824 he first estimated the population at 4,800. In each of these estimates the Fox population was always 1,600, describing it in 1824 as a "static population or decreasing. (See Forsyth to Clark, June 3, 1817, and May 2, 1821; to Lewis Cass, May 12, 1822; and to Thomas L. McKenney, Aug. 28, 1824, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW.)

112. The only other early vocabulary of the Sauk and Fox language was made by Cutting Marsh during 1834 when he lived with the Sauk.

Marsh's vocabulary is three times as long as Forsyth's. It includes verbs, adverbs, prepositions, and many phrases, in addition to the nouns and adjectives that primarily make up the Forsyth list. The words that both lists have in common usually bear a resemblance to one another—the more common the word, the more the resemblance. Marsh's vocabulary does abide by the rules of the language as laid down by Forsyth—i.e., letters used, way of making the plural.

Although not as complete, Forsyth's vocabulary shows a fuller understanding of how the language worked. Forsyth shows how to conjugate a verb; Marston gave only one form. Forsyth knew how to make the singular and plural, possessive, feminine and masculine, and knew where the accent was placed. There is some indication that Marsh did not really know the language and was just making a list of words. Marsh often wrote an English word and left a blank where the Indian equivalent should have been. But Marsh's vocabulary does verify Forsyth's to a large degree.

It is also interesting to note that the words Forsyth chose to put in his vocabulary are words relevant to Indian ways and culture. Marsh's vocabulary has a great many words that relate to white culture—tablecloth, barn, teapot, coffee, pepper. (For Marsh's vocabulary, see Cutting Marsh Papers, Wis. MSS, AU, SHSW.)

113. Clark must have thought enough of this description to send it to Washington, D.C., as it shows up there in the Indian Office Files, although without credit to Forsyth (Indian Claims Commission, Docket 158, Def. Ex. 57).

1832

ACCOUNT OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR

This document is in the Draper Papers, Series T, Volume 9, in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It is an undated document, but from internal evidence it can be dated 1832, with addenda from 1833. It is written entirely in Thomas Forsyth's hand. It is followed by a description of the religious character of a group of Kickapoo and Winnebago that Forsyth encountered in Missouri in the 1830s that is not included below.

Original causes of the troubles with a party of Sauk and Fox Indians under the direction or Command of the Black Hawk who is no Chief.¹

The United States Troops under the command of Major Stoddard² arrived here and took possession of this country in the month of February 1804. In the Spring of that year a White person (a man or a boy) was killed in Quivre Settlement by a Sauk Indian.³ Sometime in the summer following a party of U. States Troops were sent up to the Sauk village on Rocky River and a demand made of the Sauk Chiefs for the murderer. The Sauk Chiefs did not hesitate a moment, but delivered him up to the Commander of the troops then there, who brat him down and delivered him over to the civil authority in this place.⁴

Sometime in the ensuing Authumn some Sauk and Fox Indians came to this place and had some conversation with General Harrison⁵ (then Governor of Indianna Territory and acting Governor of this State then Territory of Louisiana) on the subject of liberating their relation then in prison in this place for the abovementioned murder.

Quashquame a Sauk Chief was the headman of this party, and has repeatedly said, that, "Mr. Peter Choteau^{*} Senr. came several times to

* Peter Choteau would in this case, have done the most menial act, to ingratiate himself with Governor Harrison, and was about this time appointed Indian Agent for the Ossage Indians,⁶

my Camp, offering, that if I would sell the land on East side of Mississippi River Governor Harrison would liberate my relation," (meaning the Sauk Indian then in prison in this place for the abovementioned murder) to which proposition I at last agreed too, and sold the lands from mouth of Illinois River up the Mississippi River as high as mouth of Rocky River, and East to the Ridge that divides the waters of the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, but I never sold any more lands." Quashquame also said to Gov. Edwards, Governor Clark and Mr. Auguste Choteau⁷ then Commissioners appointed to treat with the Chipeways, Ottowas and Pottawatimies of Illinois River in the summer of 1816 for lands on West side of Illinois River "you White people may put on paper what you please, but again tell you I never sold any lands on Illinois River or higher up the Mississippi River than the mouth of Rocky River.["] In the Treaty the line commences opposite the mouth of the Gasconade River, and running in a direct line to the head waters of Jeffreon^{*} River, thence down that River, to the Mississippi River, thence up the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Wisconsin River, thence up that River thirty Six miles, thence in a direct line to a little Lake in Fox River of Illinois down Fox River to Illinois River, down Illinois River to its mouth, thence down the Mississippi River to mouth of Missouri River, thence up

* Jeffreon River there is no such River in this Country therefore the Treaty is null and void and of none effect in equity. this was the opinion of the late Genl. Howard--⁸

that River to the place of begining. See the Treaty dated St. Louis 4th November 1804. The Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians were never consulted or had any hand or knew any thing about this Treaty, made and signed by Two Sauk Chiefs, one Fox Chief and one warrior.⁹ When the annuities were delivered to the Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians according to that Treaty (amounting to \$1,000 per annum) the Indians always thought the[y] were presents, (as the annuity for the first twenty years were always paid in goods, sent in from George Town District of Columbia, and poor articles of merchandise they were, very often damaged, and not suitable for Indians.) untill I as their agent convinced them to the contrary in the summer of 1818. When the Indians heard that the goods delivered to them were Annuities for land sold by them to the United States they were astonished, and refused to accept of the goods, denying that they ever sold the land as stated by me as their Agent,¹⁰ and the Black Hawk in particular (who was present at the time above stated) made a great noise about this land, and never would receive any part of the annuities ever afterwards, and always denied the authority of Quashquame and others to sell any part of their lands, and always told the Indians not to receive any presents or annuities from any American otherwise their lands would be claimed at some future day. As the United States do insist and retain the lands accoring to the Treaty of the 4th November 1804, why do they not fulfill their part of that Treaty so far as equity demands. The Sauk and Fox Nations are allowed according to the Treaty abovementioned to live and hunt on the lands so

ceeded, as long as the aforesaid lands belong to the United States. In the Spring of the year 1827 about twelve or fifteen families of Squatters arrived and took possession of the Sauk Village near the mouth of Rocky River,¹¹ the squatters immediately commenced destroying the Indians bark huts, some were burned, others torn to pieces and when the Indians arrived at their Village and found fault of the destruction of their property, they were beat and abused by the Squatters. The Indians made complaints to me as their Agent, I wrote to Genl. Clark stating to him from time to time what happened, and give a minute detail of every thing that passed between the Whites (Squatters) and the Indians.¹² The Squatters insisted that the Indians should be removed from their village, saying as soon as the land was brought into market they (the Squatters) would buy it all.¹³ It became needless in me to shew them the Treaty and the right the Indians had in remaining on the lands as they insisted on the Indians going off to their own lands.¹⁴ The squatters tried every method to annoy and trouble the Indians, by shooting their dogs, claiming horses not their own, complaining that the Indian horses broke into their cornfields selling Indians whisky for the most trifling articles against the wishes and request of the Indian Chiefs and particular the Black Hawk who solicited and threatened the Squatters not to sell any whisky to Indians, but all to no purpose. I very well remember that a Whiteman told me in the summer of 1829 that a man named Gardiner was selling whisky to Indians in a cornfield, that the Black Hawk with some other Indians went into the cornfield broke the Whitemans barrel and spilled

the whisky on the ground, but all this was to no purpose, the squatters continued to traffic whisky to Indians in a clandestine manner, contrary to law, as also to the wishes of the Indians.¹⁵ The President directed those lands to be sold at the land office in Springfield (Ill.) accordingly when the time came that those lands were offered for Sale (in the autumn of 1828¹⁶) there were then about twenty families of Squatters at and in the vicinity of the old Sauk village on Rocky River, the most of whom attended the sale of those lands, and but one who could purchase a Quarter Section (if we except George Davenport a Trader who resides on Rocky Island) therefore all the land not sold still belonged to the United States, and the Indians had a right according to Treaty to hunt and live on those lands, but that right was not allowed the Indians, they must move off.¹⁷ In April 1830 the principal Chiefs and others of the Sauk and Fox Indians who then resided at the old village near Rocky River acquainted me that they would remove to their village on Ihoway River and those Chiefs advised me to write to General Clark Superintendant of Indian Affs at this place to send up a few Militia and the Black Hawk and few followers would then see every thing was in earnest, and they would remove to the Westside of Mississippi on their own lands.

This letter as requested by the Indian Chiefs, was written and sent by me as Indian Agent to General William Clark S. I. Affs at this place,¹⁸ but he did not think proper to answer it, therefore every thing remained as formerly and as a matter of course the Black Hawk and party thought the whole matter of removing from his old Village had

blown over, and the whole of the two nations of Indians knew it, and in the Spring of 1831 the Black Hawk and party were augmented by many Indians from Ihoway River. This augmentation of forces made the Black Hawk proud and supposed nothing more would be done about removing him and party. General Gaines visited the Black Hawk with a force of regulars and militia and compelled him and party to remove to the Westside of Mississippi River on their own lands.¹⁹ When the Black Hawk and party crossed over to the Eastside of the Mississippi River in the Spring of 1832 they numbered 368 men,²⁰ they were hampered with many women & Children and had no intention to make war.^{21*} While this party of the Black Hawks were encamped at the sweet ground, a few miles above the old Sauk Village on Rocky River, a Pottawatimie Indian arrived there with a Speech of some length to the Black Hawk and party, now I would ask the Indian Agent at Chicago, as also the Indian Agents on the Mississippi, and also the Superintendant of Indian Affairs in this place, what was the purport of this speech so delivered by the Pottawatimie Indian to the Black Hawk and party, why did the Indian Agent at Chicago²³ say in his letter to the Editors of the Missouri Republican that

* The intention of the Black Hawk and friends was to go up Rocky River to the Winnebago Prophet's village,²² where the land was easier worked by their women, than the hard sod at or near their village, on the banks of Ihoway River. Corn is every thing to an Indian, without corn, and plenty of every thing else an Indian says he is starving.

no Pottawatimies joined the Black Hawk's party. The Indian Agent at Pirarie des Chiens²⁴ might say the same thing as respects the Winnebago Indians, but it is very well known, that there were Chipeways, Pottawatimies, Kicapos and Winnebagoes who joined the Black Hawk's party and the number of Winnebagoes were great. Out of one hundred Kicapos who were with the Black Hawk, only four or five are now living, the others being all killed in the different battles,²⁵ But as I said before the Black Hawk and party had no intention to make war against the white people when they crossed over to the Eastside of the Mississippi River, but when attacked by Major Stillman's²⁶ detachment, they defended themselves like men, and I would ask who would not do so likewise, thus the war commenced, and every one knows the number of lives lost since then, as also the great amount of money expended during this warfare, and all through the negligence of General William Clark. S. of I. Affs at this place. If General Clark had taken my advise contained in my letter to him of the 30th of April 1830, nothing of the war that has taken place would ever have happened, but he choosed to do otherwise, and the people see the consequences. The Indians have been defeated, dispersed and some of the principals are now in prison and in Chains at Jefferson Barracks.²⁷ It certainly appears singular and inconsistant, that the Government of the United States should compel the different Indian Nations to make peace with each other, and demand of the Fox Chiefs those Indians who retaliated on the Minnominnies at Pirarie des Chiens in the summer of 1831;²⁸ some of those Fox Indians were given up by their

Chiefs, the others were with the Black Hawk and could not be delivered up according to the Treaty made at Pirarie des Chiens in the summer of 1830 by Colonel Morgan²⁹ and General Clark as Commissioners. All the Indians at that Treaty, were told by the commissioners "You shall not make war with one another, otherwise your Great Father the President will punish you for so doing," yet General Atkinson employs a number of Sioux, Minnomnies, Winnebagoes and other Indians, to assist him against the Black Hawk and party, was there not a sufficiency of Militia in the State of Illinois to fight and defeat the Black Hawk and Party, without employing Indians to butcher the* women and Children of the Sauk &

* when it was known that some of the Black Hawk's party, consisting principally of women and Children, had crossed over to the Westside of the Mississippi above Pirarie des Chiens, General Street the Indian Agent at Pirarie des Chiens, employed a Mr. Marsh³⁰ to go up to the leaf's (a Sioux Chief) village and employ the Sioux Indians of that village, to follow the trail of the Sauk and Fox Indians, and kill &c. every one the[y] overtook. The Sioux Indians did so, and as the[y] overtook a party of ten or more or less of women and Children, they (the Sioux Indians) would tomahawk them, and push on butcher another party, untill they (the Sioux) came to the waters of the Wabesipinnecon where were some few hunters providing provisions for the women and Children, they were overpowered some 4 or 5 got away about 70 or 80 men women and Children were massacred in that affair³¹

Fox Indians fie on such cruel policy, General Atkinson's³² Army consisted of from three to four thousand men, surely that was enough, and if it was not, were there no more men to be had without employing Indians as Allies.³³ It is very well known to all who know the Black Hawk that he has always been considered a friend to the Whites and often has been the time that he has taken into his lodge a wearied White man giving him good victuals to eat a good blanket to sleep on before a good fire, many a meal of victuals has the Prophet given to people traveling past his village and very many stray horses has he found and received from other Indians and had them delivered to the proper owners, without asking any recompence whatever, but alas they with some others of their Nations are now in prison and in Chains, among a civilized people who have no pity, and for no other fault then defending themselves like men when attacked by a worthless drunken set of fellows under Major Stillman,* we have the power, but what right have we to tell any people you shall not cross the Mississippi River on any account whatever, when any of the Sauks or Fox Indians wished to cross the Mississippi River to visit their

* When Major Stillman set out with his detachment to find and attack the Indians, it was sundown, and most of his party were drunk, so much so that many could hardly sit on their horses, and one was to be helped on his horse, and when attacked, they made no resistance but run to their camp, crying murder. The two Indian prisoners were murdered on this occasion

relations among the Pottawatimies of Fox River of Ill. they are prevented by us, because we have the power. President Jackson no doubt will shew those unfortunate prisoners (altho Indians) as much pity as he shews to Tobias Watkins or the Missionaries of Georgia.³⁴ God preserve every good man from his Clutches.*

St Louis 1st. October 1832

* Black Hawk and the other Indian Prisoners, at Jefferson Barracks, were sent on to, and put in confinement at Fortress Munroe³⁵ in spring 1833 for a short time, afterwards they were liberated and shewn the different cities in the U.S. loaded with presents sent home with many promises, never to be performed³⁶

Note. General Clark was advised in June last (1832) by a relation of his, to write me a letter, requesting my services, to assist the army under the command of General Atkinson, but General Clark would not do that, because it would be shewing that he had written falsely to the Government against me, and also it would be shewing the Government and the people in this Country, that my services could not be dispensed with. General Atkinson being altogether the particular friend of Genl. Clark he would not ask my assistance because it might offend Genl. Clark. Had either of these great Generals asked me for my assistance in this war against Black Hawk and party, I would have given it Cheerfully, It is very well known and publicly said by many white people, as also the peace party of the Sauk and Fox Indians, that if I had remained at Rocky Island as Indian Agent no trouble would have ever taken place between the White people and the Indians, and all the lives lost and money expended in the troubles with the Black Hawk and party would have been saved and no other person is to blame but Genl. William Clark S. I. Affs³⁷

T.F,

A newspaper clipping pasted into the margin of Forsyth's letterbook read: "General Clarke is a tall, robust, grey-headed old man, with beetle-brows, and uncouthly aspect: his countenance is expressive of anything but intelligence; and his celebrity is said to have been gained principally by his having been the companion of Lewis to the Rocky mountains."

ENDNOTES TO 1832 ACCOUNT

1. Forsyth is correct about Black Hawk not being a chief, but there was much confusion about this at the time. J. W. Spencer, who lived in Saukenuk from 1829 on, says Black Hawk was born a chief (Reminiscences, 39). The confusion to whites seems to result from Black Hawk being the leader of a band of Indians. Even William Hagan, writing in 1958, refers to Black Hawk as a war chief (Sac and Fox, 8), but it is doubtful that this honor was ever given to Black Hawk (he does not mention it in his Autobiography).

2. Capt. Amos Stoddard, who was then acting governor of the District of Louisiana.

3. On the Cuivre River a few miles north of St. Louis. Three men were killed, not one.

4. There were other Sauks involved in the murder who were not delivered to St. Louis.

5. Gov. William Henry Harrison.

6. Pierre Chouteau was appointed Indian agent of Upper Louisiana in July 1804.

7. Ninian Edwards was governor of the Illinois Territory. William Clark was governor of the Missouri Territory and had been Meriwether Lewis's partner on the Lewis and Clark expedition. August Chouteau, a wealthy land-owner and fur trader, was the half-brother of Pierre Chouteau.

8. Benjamin Howard was governor of Louisiana Territory. Forsyth is correct that there was no such river. There is not even a similar river name in the area. It seems reasonable to assume that the Salt River was meant.

9. In his edition of Black Hawk's autobiography, Milo Milton Quaife identifies the four signers as Sauk chiefs (Life of Black Hawk, 39), and Hodge says the Fox blamed the Sauk for the sale of the land (Handbook, II, 476). I believe, however, that Forsyth's statement that both Sauk and Fox were involved (in agreement with Wallace, "Prologue," 13) should be relied on as he knew the participants personally.

10. Forsyth was sent to deliver the Sauk and Fox annuities in 1817. In a letter to William Clark he states that the Indians were genuinely surprised when he told them what the annuities were for, and they did at first refuse them, although he eventually convinced them to accept the annuities (June 3, 1817, Draper Papers, T4, SHSW).

11. Forsyth in his correspondence does mention white settlers in the area of Rock Island as early as 1827 (to Clark, Aug. 2, 1827, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW), but not until 1829 did the settlers take over the Sauk village (Forsyth to Clark, May 17, 1829, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW).

12. See Forsyth to William Clark, May 17 and 22, June 17, 1829, and Apr. 28, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW. Clark, in a letter to the Secretary of War, complains that he has no authority to do anything to remove the squatters (June 1, 1829, Indian Office Files, Box 2, SHSW).

13. See the letter of the settlers to Gov. Ninian Edwards, May 10,

1829, Indian Office Files, Box 2, SHSW.

14. Forsyth does not mention here that he was trying very hard at this time to get the Sauk and Fox to move. He told them the move was for their own good and that he would not listen to the complaints of the Indians who remained on the Rock River (to William Clark, May 24, 1828, and May 17, 1829, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW).

15. It was against the law to sell liquor in Indian territory or on land owned by the United States government.

16. This should be 1829.

17. The land that was sold in 1829 was the land in and around the Sauk's village a mile up the Rock River.

18. "It would appear to me that nothing but a show of a few troops will make them move . . . and should the arrival and appearance of all the troops then here, have no effect in removing those munitous Indians, I would strongly advise that a party of three or four hundred militia, under the command of Judicious officers whose appearance would (in my opinion) have the desired effect" (Forsyth to William Clark, Apr. 30, 1830, Draper Papers, T6, SHSW).

19. Black Hawk crossed to the west side of the Mississippi after General Edmund P. Gaines made a show of considerable force and threatened Black Hawk with it. After this removal Black Hawk and his band signed a treaty acceding to the validity of the 1804 treaty.

20. For a discussion on the varying estimates of the size of Black Hawk's party, see Wallace, "Prologue," 39, which cites references for

estimates up to 500 warriors and 1,000 total people.

21. It is certainly a debated point whether Black Hawk did plan to make war on the whites when he crossed the river, but he certainly did know he would likely have to fight. He was headed for the Winnebago Prophet's village, to which he had been invited.

22. The Winnebago Prophet was the head of a rebel band of Winnebago Indians living up the Rock River from Fort Armstrong. He was half Sauk, half Winnebago. He preached a return to moral purity and claimed to have communicated with the Great Spirit. He had many followers among the Sauk and Fox.

23. Thomas Owen.

24. Joseph Street.

25. Most contemporary writers on the war did not deny that other tribes joined the mutinous Sauk and Fox (see John A. Wakefield, History of the War [Jacksonville, Ill., 1834]).

26. Major Isaiah Stillman.

27. In St. Louis.

28. Here Forsyth is referring to the demands of the U.S. Indian agents that the Fox Indians who massacred twenty-five Menominee in 1831 in retaliation for the previous summer's killing of an unarmed Fox peace party, be delivered to the U.S. authorities.

29. Col. Willoughby Morgan.

30. Forsyth may have meant the Rev. Cutting Marsh, who was then living at Prairie du Chien, but Marsh's papers make no indication that he

made this trip (Cutting Marsh Papers, Wis. MSS, AU, SHSW).

31. Sixty-eight scalps were brought back by the Sioux, but it is doubtful that the United States, which had employed the Sioux, meant to have the massacre take place. Hagan says that Gen. Atkinson was trying to negotiate a surrender at the time of the massacre (Sac and Fox, 190-191).

32. Gen. Henry Atkinson led the troops that followed Black Hawk through Wisconsin.

33. It would have been very difficult for the Americans to capture the remnants of Black Hawk's party. The Americans had had a great deal of trouble following the full party of Indians through southern Wisconsin. The territory to which Black Hawk was heading was unknown to them, very overgrown, and difficult to carry supplies through. Many of the militia men had only signed up for short tours, and they were going home. And a cholera epidemic was crippling many of the military posts along the Mississippi.

34. Watkins was Fourth Auditor of the United States preceding the Jackson administration. He had defaulted on \$7,000 he owed the government. He was pursued, tried, and convicted as part of Jackson's campaign to clean up government. The Georgia missionaries were northern missionaries found guilty of breaking a Georgia law forbidding whites to live on Indian land (the law had been passed to exclude white friends of the Indians who might encourage the Indians not to sell their lands). The conviction was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, where

Georgia refused to appear, and Chief Justice John Marshall eventually ruled against Georgia. President Jackson refused to execute the ruling, and the missionaries remained in jail. Jackson favored ridding Georgia of Indians. This case started a long feud between Jackson and Marshall.

35. Fort Monroe on the Chesapeake Bay.

36. This is purely speculative as Forsyth died before Black Hawk returned from his east coast travels.

37. John Reynolds, who was elected governor of Illinois in 1830, wrote: "if he Forsyth had been continued in the office it is not very probable that Black Hawk would have attempted the war against the government. Forsyth had such an influence over the Indians that it is quite certain he would have quieted their feelings and no blood would have been shed" (Pioneer History, 252).

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