



WABAUNSEE, POTTAWATTAMIE CHIEF

From a portrait in colors as reproduced in McKenney and Hall's "History of the Indian Tribes of North America."

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WABAUNSEE, THE INDIAN CHIEF (A FRAGMENT)

Some notes, historical and legendary, of Wabaunsee, principal War Chief of the Pottawattamie Indian Nation, collected and prepared by Seth Dean of Glenwood, Iowa, with the assistance of other parties as noted.¹

In collecting material for a sketch of the life and character of Chief Wabaunsee² who for some years lived within the bounds of and had a part in the early making of what is now Mills County, Iowa, I find accurate information in detail very limited. With no opportunity to converse with the Chief and get his story at first hand it is apparent that the only available sources of information are the written statements of parties who knew him in his day and the oral testimony of others who have met him. In the preparation of this paper I have tried so far as possible to state only facts, fully realizing that history to have any value must be truthful.

Of the many pioneer settlers who knew him personally, Mr. Moses W. Gaylord now residing in Tabor, Fremont County, is the only one living in Iowa, so far as I can learn, and I am indebted to him for many facts noted in this article. Other

¹Although Mr. Dean began work on this article two or three years ago, the arduous duties of his profession prevented him from completing it. He was a natural research worker and historian, giving the same thoroughness and accuracy to it that he gave to his work as civil engineer. He even visited a year or so ago the descendants of Wabaunsee on their reservation in Kansas. He doubtless came to know more about the noted chief than any one else had ever learned, and it is greatly regretted that he did not live to bring this study to a conclusion. A short biographical sketch of Mr. Dean will be found in the "Notable Death" section of this number of the ANNALS.—Editor.

²The name is spelled in various ways by parties who have written of him, sometimes apparently to please the imagination of the person using it. Authorities have written it in the following manner: Thomas L. McKenney in his great work, "Indian Tribes of North America," "Wa-baun-see"; A. R. Fulton in "Red Men of Iowa," "Wau-bun-see"; Elliott in "Notes of Sixty Years," "Wah-bon-seh"; Rev. William H. Goode in "Outposts of Zion," "Wau-bon-sa"; Mills County History, "Wau-bon-shey"; a county in Kansas is named for him, "Wa-baun-see"; the United States postal service for some years maintained an office in the vicinity of the Indian village and was named for the Chief, "Wagh-phon-sy"; in 1846 Rufus Hitchcock in a suit against the Chief, "Wa-bon-chey"; by E. R. Ferguson, attorney of Shenandoah, name for a state road, "Wau-bon-ic." The writer selects the form used by McKenney as being probably most nearly correct.

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sources of information I have given credit for at the proper places in this article.

To get a clear understanding of the character of Wabaunsee, the environment in which he lived, and circumstances that shaped or controlled the course of action in his public career, a short preliminary account of the Pottawattamie Indians during the time successively covered by the French, the British, and last, that of the United States, with an outline of the governmental policy pursued by each, as factors in explaining the resulting action of both the Pottawattamie and the neighboring Indian nations or tribes with whom they were confederated, seems necessary.³

POTTAWATTAMIE NATION

The Pottawattamies (called by the French "Pouks") were a part of the great Algonquin family and were related by ties of consanguinity to the Ojibwas or Chippeways and the Ottawas. The name Pottawattamie means "Makers of Fire" and was expressive of the fact that they had assumed separate sovereignty by building a council fire of their own, meaning thereby that they were an independent people.⁴ But notwithstanding this separate tribal relation their laws required that before a legal sale or transfer of any portion of their hunting grounds could be made it was necessary that a majority of the chiefs of all

³Articles consulted in preparing this article are "Indians of North America" by Thos. L. McKenney and J. Hall; "Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa," by Rev. John Todd; "Forty Years Among the Indians on the Eastern Border of Nebraska," by Rev. Samuel Allis, published in "Transactions of Nebraska State Historical Society," Vol. XI, 1887; "Border Wars of Two Centuries," by A. C. Pennock; "Red Men of Iowa," by A. R. Fulton, published by Mills & Co., Des Moines, Iowa, 1882; "Deportation of the Pottawattamies," by F. B. Stuart, *Magazine of History*, September, 1922; "Notes Taken in Sixty Years," by Richard Smith Elliott, U. S. subagent to the Pottawattamie Indians at Council Bluffs, 1843 to 1846; "Outposts of Zion, with Linnings of Missions," by Rev. William H. Goode; "North American Indians," by Geo. Catlin (1832); "History of the Ojibwa Indians," by Kah-kewa-quo-naby (Rev. Peter Jones); "History of Missouri," article on Pottawattamie Indians, by Louis Houck, 2 Vols.; "The Chicago Indian Treaties," by Sue I. Silliman, *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, page 194; "History of Iowa," article on Pottawattamie Indians, by B. F. Gue; "History of Chicago," by A. T. Andreas Co.; "History of Illinois," "History of Indiana," "History of Kansas," by A. T. Andreas Co., 2 Vols.; "Indian Tribes of Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes," by Emma H. Blair, 1911, 2 Vols.; "The Mississippi Basin," by Justin Windsor, 1895; "History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa," Baskin & Co., Chicago, 1883; "History of Mills County, Iowa"; "History of Fremont County, Iowa," by L. Lingensfelde, 1876; "Reminiscences of Pioneer Days," by C. P. Tolles in *Glenwood Opinion*; "Removal of the Pottawattamies from Indiana," by Daniel McDonald.

⁴"Red Men of Iowa," by A. R. Fulton, p. 163; also "Indian Tribes of North America," by Thos. L. McKenney.

the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamie nations be secured.⁵

Just when and where this council fire was kindled and the assumption of separate national rights and privileges occurred, and the number who seceded from other tribes to form the new one, history does not state.

The following description of the Pottawattamie Indians is given by Thomas L. McKenney as they appeared in 18—, probably when the nation was about its best. "In personal appearance the Pottawattamies were among the best of the different tribes inhabiting the country east of the Mississippi River, and while they were courageous and capable as warriors they excelled as traders and generally were on peaceable terms with their white neighbors."

Prior to and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Pottawattamies occupied jointly with the Ottawas and Ojibwas or Chippewas, territory claimed by the Miamis who permitted these tribes to occupy it in common.⁶ Their holdings were bounded on the east by Lake Erie, on the west by Rock River and the Mississippi, on the south by the Wabash River and on the north by Lake Michigan, and Grand and Detroit rivers, the tract being about 250 miles east and west by about the same north and south, being included within what is now the states of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. A greater portion of the territory occupied by the Pottawattamies being prairie, they were classed as prairie Indians or maskoutins and at this time were quite numerous, the best estimates saying there were about 6,500. Prior to 1763 the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains was claimed and actually under French control with the central government at Quebec. The French established trading posts at most of the strategic points for the Indian trade. By the conquest of Canada in 1763-64 the French rights and privileges were taken over and held by the English government, until the treaty of 1783 at the close of the Revolutionary War, when the territory west of the Alleghenies and south of the Great Lakes passed into the hands of the United States.

During this period, 1750 to 1800, the Pottawattamies with other kindred tribes annually visited Fort Malden on the Cana-

⁵"*Michigan History Magazine*," Vol. VI, p. 194; also "History of the Ojibwa Nation," by Rev. Peter Smith, pp. 35, 105.

⁶McKenney's "Indian Tribes of North America," Vol. III, p. 34.

dian side of the boundary, received presents from the Canadian government, sold their furs and other productions to, and purchased their supplies from the British or French traders. It nowhere appears so far as my information goes that either the French or British governments ever purchased or otherwise secured land from these Indians. The governmental policy of both the French and British at this time seemed to have been to assimilate them with other peoples and eventually make citizens of them in the localities where they had been living for generations, and this policy seemed to have been satisfactory to the Indians and well calculated to make them peaceable allies of either nation.⁷

It is frequently stated by writers of the history of the wars between the Indian and the American settlers from 1763 to 1800 that the Indians were mainly instigated by the French and English traders and the fur companies' agents to retain and increase their trade with the tribes south of the Great Lakes. Probably this is partly true, but the writer believes a more potent cause existed.

A review of the past two centuries shows that tribal wars and personal feuds between members of the different Indian nations kept their numerical strength about stationary, the annual birth rate being about equal to the deaths, while in the seaboard colonies the birth rate of the white families with immigration from Europe very greatly outnumbered the increase in the Indian population.

At this time the pursuit of the settlers was almost wholly agricultural, and as fast as the increased population absorbed the lands in the immediate vicinity of the coast they began taking over the Indian lands to make homes for themselves, purchasing the Indian title for a nominal sum if it could be done and letting the Indians move off, but if this method failed they took possession by conquest and either exterminated the tribe or compelled the survivors to move on and be taken up by other Indian tribes, which in turn were in time doomed to meet the same fate.

Prior to the Revolution the policy of the English government toward the American Colonies was to discourage manufacturing

⁷In this connection see speech of Little Elk, also "History of Ojibwa Nation," by Peter Jones.

industry, requiring the Colonies to purchase manufactured articles from England, for which they exchanged food stuffs, lumber, and other raw materials, thus making the Colonists largely a class of farmers, and if near the coast many of the men became sailors.

As the land suitable for farms was taken up it naturally followed that each generation had to migrate and make homes westward from the seaboard, so that by 1750 the wave of settlers had reached the Allegheny Mountain Range and had in a few places established settlements in the Indian country to the westward.

In 1750 the wave of homeseekers had reached the Allegheny Mountain Range and in numerous cases had penetrated beyond into the Ohio country and was taking possession of the Indians' hunting grounds to make farms for themselves. This proceeding was resented by the Indians, but no single tribe was strong enough to offer successful resistance and the result was a sort of guerrilla war where a few whites and Indians would come to actual combat, and some on both sides were either killed outright or taken prisoners.

In 1749 the Ohio Company was organized, composed mostly of Virginia planters, and given a grant of 500,000 acres of land in western Pennsylvania but wholly west of the Alleghenies, and was the first intrusion by Colonial settlers into the Ohio Valley under a claimed legal right. Both the French government and the interested Indian tribes resented this attempt to take possession of their lands and hunting grounds, resulting in the French and Indian War of 1753-54. Virginia authorities now called on England for help, and two regiments of war tried veterans from England under command of Braddock, an able and experienced European general, were furnished. This force was reinforced by Colonial troops under George Washington as second in command and a campaign to drive out the French and punish the Indians for holding onto their lands was entered upon in 1754.

At this time, 1750, the great war chief, Pontiac, becomes the principal factor in the drama for a time. He was born about 1715, the son of an Ottawa chief, his mother an Ojibwa woman. Thus Pontiac claimed descent through the two tribes. He was

a man of uncommon energy, courage, resolution, and native eloquence, and was endowed with a natural talent for uniting the scattered Indian forces and successfully commanding them in action. His exceptional talents were early recognized by the French military officers who gave him military instruction that he later successfully adapted to Indian tactics.

At this time the Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Pottawattamies were united in a sort of confederacy with Pontiac as both civil and military leader, but his influence extended far beyond these tribes and was almost unbounded wherever his voice had been heard. History does not say that Pontiac ever visited the country and Indian tribes east of the mountains, but I feel safe in assuming he had, and learned from first hands the policy pursued by the Colonists toward the Indian nations. And he had seen even the Iroquois warriors, the traditional enemies of the Ohio Indians, conquered and largely dispersed at this time, and fully realized that the cunning skill of the Indian was no match for the inventive genius and administrative ability of the whites, and that unless the wave of white settlers was permanently stopped at the Allegheny range the Indian nations to the westward were doomed one after another to extinction, and that the only plan to secure this result was by uniting all the tribes in a war of extermination for all Americans that ventured into that country.

The grant of 1749 to the Ohio Company resulted in Pontiac joining forces and interests with the French as noted above, the French government sending Montcalm, one of their ablest generals, to command their forces and Pontiac bringing in the Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and Ojibwa warriors. The crisis came with the invasion of the French and Indian country by the English troops under Braddock in 1755. Pontiac brought his Indian forces to oppose him and in the battle of July 9, 1755, the Pottawattamies were the attacking party, and the result was the complete rout of the English and Colonial forces and the death of Braddock, leaving Colonel Washington to gather up the remains of the army and retire from the field. The Indian war continued through 1756. In 1757 a peace treaty was concluded that lasted about five years.

By the conquest of Canada, Great Britain in 1760 acquired all

the landed rights and interests held by the French east of the Mississippi River and Major Rogers in September, 1760, was ordered to take over the French posts at Detroit and elsewhere.

It was a surprise to Pontiac and his chiefs to see the French officers, after they had repeatedly pledged support to his cause, surrender the posts without resistance. This confirmed his belief that the English intended to drive them from their lands and that he would get no help from the French. He at once began again uniting all the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi for a general war against the white settlers and called a great Indian council near the Maumee River in 1762. The Pottawattamies with other tribes took part. This was the prelude to a general Indian war. Pontiac detailed minor chiefs with their Indian bands of warriors to capture the weaker posts and drive out or murder the settlers, while he personally undertook the capture of Detroit.

The Pottawattamies were included with other tribes in Pontiac's force that attacked the post at Detroit May 9, 1763. The war raged with fury during 1763-64 and it is said that 2,000 settlers were slain and most of the army posts taken by the Indians. Pontiac however was unable to capture Detroit and after a siege of five months was forced to retire. His army was defeated and Pontiac and his chiefs made a peace treaty with Sir William Johnson at Oswego in 1764 fixing a boundary between the white settlers and the Indians. This settled the Ohio trouble for a time. Pontiac was assassinated by an Illinois Indian near Cahokia in 1769.

In April, 1775, the war of the American Revolution came on. Hostilities however were largely confined to the territory east of the Allegheny Mountains. Some of the Canadian Indians took part with the British under Burgoyne, but in general the western tribes were passive as immigration into their country practically ceased during this war.

The next change of owners was by the treaty of September 3, 1783, at the close of the Revolutionary War when England relinquished all claim to territory south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River.

It was under the above described political factors and turbulent environment that the Pottawattamie war chief, Wabaunsee,

was born in or about 1765 in northwestern Indiana, where the town of Terre Coupee, on a northern branch of the Kankakee River, in St. Joseph County, is now located.⁸

Of his father or mother we know nothing, there being no mention of either of them by any writer so far as I have discovered, but the family must have been of more than average ability, and quite probably the office of chief was hereditary in the family, as an elder brother of Wabaunsee, named Mu-ca-da-puck-ee,⁹ meaning in English "Black Partridge," by which name he is generally spoken of in the histories of his time, was also a Pottawattamie chief and with Wabaunsee took a very active part in the stirring times of the Tecumseh War and of the Fort Dearborn massacre August 15, 1812. Black Partridge was probably the civil chief of the nation or tribe and inherited his office, but the date and place where he was given this official rank is not known. I think it very certain that Wabaunsee could and did acquire his office only by actual merit fully justified by events.

It is both surprising and I doubt if a similar case can be found in Indian history where two brothers become contemporary chiefs and hold the offices for such length of time and administer the business matters of the tribe as did Black Partridge and Wabaunsee. I have been unable to learn when, where or under what circumstances Black Partridge died, but think it reasonably certain that he did not come to Iowa with his tribe.

Wabaunsee was probably given a name in childhood according to the Indian custom, his parents giving a feast in honor of the event,¹⁰ but this name whatever it was seems to have been repudiated by the chief himself who states¹¹ that he chose the name Wa-baun-see, meaning "Break of Day," or as he expressed it, "Day a Little," probably chosen at the time he was made a war chief, his greatest heroic act having been performed just as the day began to break, and referred to the slaying and scalping of one or more Osage warriors when inside an American stockade with sentinels on guard outside to prevent entrance. I have no means of fixing the date of this event but it must have been

⁸Authority of Earl R. Ferguson, attorney of Shenandoah, Iowa, published address on Wabaunsee, p. 2.

⁹Authority of Earl R. Ferguson.

¹⁰"Life of Peter Jones," Ojibwa chief. Samuel Allis' "Forty Years Among the Indians."

¹¹Elliott's "Notes of Sixty Years," p. 200, spells Shah-be-nay, another chief.

when he was a young man, possibly on his return from a visit to the Spanish post at Cape Girardeau in 1794.¹² He was then about twenty-nine years of age and from this time forward he seems to have taken an active part in the councils of his nation.

In the "Proceedings of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society," page 92, it is stated that Wabaunsee with two other Pottawattamie chiefs, was present at the Fort Dearborn (afterward Chicago) massacre August 15, 1812, and that Wabaunsee advised the tribe not to attack the post, but that his advice was disregarded, and that at the attack on the fort Wabaunsee with the other two chiefs stationed themselves on the porch of John Kinzie's house and saved the family from slaughter.¹³

The earliest personal description I have found of Wabaunsee is by Thomas L. McKenney in his work, "Indian Tribes of North America"^{13a} and is as follows: "He is a very distinguished man, the principal war chief of the Pottawattamies of the Prairie, and resides on the Kankakee River in Illinois. It is regretted that so few anecdotes of him have been preserved, but his general character, which is well known, is that of a warrior of uncommon daring and enterprise, and a chief of great intelligence and influence. His tribe take pride in recounting his numerous feats in war, and the agents of our government who have met him in council speak in high terms of his capacity for business. Though cool and sagacious, he was a bold orator who maintained the interests of his people with untiring zeal and firmness."

McKenney gives a portrait of the Chief copied apparently from an oil painting but does not give the name of the artist, the date, nor circumstances under which it was made, but adds that this is an excellent likeness. This shows the Chief in the uniform of an American army officer with blue coat and a regular gilt epaulet on each shoulder, but there is nothing to clearly indicate his rank. He is further adorned with a yellow scarf

¹²Louis Houck's "History of Missouri," Vol. I, p. 8.

¹³While we have not been able to find and verify the reference given above, we do find in "History of Chicago," by A. T. Andreas, Vol. I, page 74, that the Kinzie family were "saved from the fury of the Indians who had come from a distance to participate in the massacre, and to whom the family were unknown, by the strong personal friendship and tireless vigilance of the neighboring chiefs, Black Partridge, Wabaunsee, and Caldwell the Sauganash, who proved in this emergency that an Indian can be a faithful friend."—Editor.

^{13a}Vol. III, p. 31, published by the Indian Bureau of the government.

around his neck, and attached thereto suspended on his breast is a medallion medal with a raised profile figure, probably of the president.

A large metal ornament is suspended from each ear and the Chief is wearing his headdress of feathers, black and white, with other ornaments not easily identified or described. On each side the headdress is ornamented with a bow of red ribbon. A streak of crimson paint commences at the edge of the hair over the left eye, passes downward between the eyes, bends to the right under the right eye and over the right cheek bone, then downward to the neck under the right ear.

It seems probable to the writer that this portrait was painted by Catlin about the time of the Greenville Treaty (July 22, 1814) when Wabauunsee severed his allegiance to the British and took on that of the United States, and in so doing gave up the red coat of England for the blue one of the United States, and Gen. Harrison would certainly give him at least the same rank as an American that he had previously held with the British. He was then at least forty-nine years old, of mature mind and great influence with the tribe.¹⁴

Note that Catlin does not positively state that he painted Wabauunsee's portrait but he was at Greenville about this time, and shows portraits of chiefs of other tribes, and states that during the time he was engaged in this work (18—to 1832) he visited 48 different tribes, painting 310 portraits in oil and 200 other paintings, only a portion of which are shown in his published work.

Referring to the Wabauunsee portrait Mr. Gaylord says, "It does not resemble him as he looked when living in Iowa. It lacks the square chin and bold features that he then had. He was about 5 feet 10 inches in height, very straight and square built, weighing about 180 pounds and having an unmistakable air of fearlessness in his manner."

It is more than probable that other artists have made por-

¹⁴In confirmation of this, see "History of the Ojibwa Nation" by Chief Peter Smith, page 216, where he shows cut of a British medal. On the obverse side is a profile portrait of King William IV, and on the reverse side "Presented in the year 1832 by His Majesty King William IV to Ka-Kwa-gunn-obi (Rev. Peter Jones) a chief of that portion of the great Chipuray nation located at the River Credit in Upper Canada." See also speech of Little Elk confirming custom of British in commissioning chiefs as British army officers.

traits of Wabaunsee but the only evidence I have found is Elliott's statement that a daguerreotype was made by Plummer on the visit of the chiefs to Washington in 1846. An unsuccessful search by the writer hereof has been made for this picture through Charles H. Babbitt of Washington, D. C.

Wabaunsee participated in the treaty of Greenville, Illinois, July 22, 1814, by General Harrison with the Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Kickapoos, and Ojibwas. At this time he formally severed his allegiance to Great Britain and in his own language says he "took the seventeen fires¹⁵ by the hand and buried the tomahawk," and ever afterward was an undeviating friend.

A treaty was signed at Chicago September 26 and 27, 1833, by which the Pottawattamies, with other Indians, exchanged the last of their lands in Indiana and eastern Illinois for a permanent home on lands bordering the Missouri River in [what later became] Iowa, Wabaunsee taking part in the treaty making. Under this agreement the Pottawattamies began to move in the fall of 1835, others following in 1836.

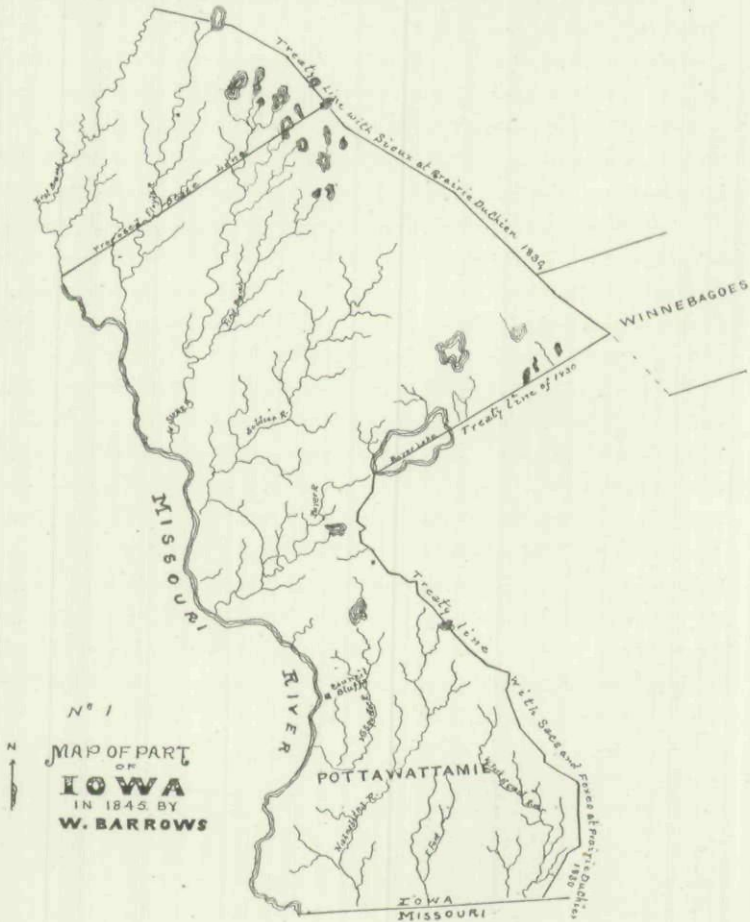
The removal was under supervision of the War Department and by a blunder of some one they were located on the Kansas reservation nearly opposite Fort Leavenworth. Wabaunsee as head chief, with Shabonee and Shatee, subchiefs, and possibly others, came with him. The Indians to the final number of about 1,200 were on this reservation in the spring of 1837.¹⁶

Almost as soon as the Pottawattamies were settled in Missouri it became evident that a great mistake had been made by the government. The adventurous pioneer white men were already coming into the territory to hunt, fish, and sometimes to make homes, without regard to either the rights of the Indian or or-

¹⁵This is explained by McKenney as meaning that the Chief then recognized the Federal government as consisting of seventeen undivided states, all united under the one Great Father at Washington.

¹⁶Missouri was admitted and became a state by proclamation of President Monroe August 10, 1821. The western boundary of the state was the eastern border of the Kansas Indian reservation, which commenced at Fort Brown, opposite the mouth of the Kansas River, and ran north about 150 miles to the southern boundary of the Sac and Fox Indian reservation, thence west about 70 miles to the Missouri River, and thence south along the Missouri River to the point of beginning, containing about 1,000,000 acres of land. This left Missouri without the advantages of about 200 miles of navigation privileges, steamboats being at this time on the river engaged in the Indian trade, and as soon as the state government was in successful operation politicians got busy and memorialized Congress to purchase the Indian rights and add this triangular tract to the state. The Federal Government adopted the plan and by treaty with the Kansas Indians June 3, 1825, secured all rights the Indians had therein, the tract being thereafter known as the Platte Purchase.

ders of the government, and appeals for relief made by the Indians went unheeded by the government. It became certain that some measures had to be taken to prevent trouble between the Indians and the intruding whites. The governor and legislature memorialized Congress to remove the Indians and to annex land lying adjoining to the state of Missouri. A bill for that



purpose was passed by Congress in June, 1836, authorizing the purchase of the Indian rights and removal of the Indians.

It was in 1837 that the band under Wabaunsee were removed

from their temporary Missouri home to Iowa, where they were given a tract of about 5,000,000 acres. This was an ideal Indian land, consisting of forested areas and prairie soils, with steep rugged bluffs and level bottoms, with natural lakes and both large rivers and small creeks all stocked with fish. The buffalo and elk had practically disappeared but deer, antelope, cayotes, wild turkeys, and in the spring and fall millions of geese, ducks and migratory fowl stopped here for rest and food.

I am not clear how the Missouri Pottawattamies came to Iowa. One writer says they were loaded onto a steamboat and carried up the river to Council Bluffs. Another writer says that the women and children were conveyed by steamers and that the men went overland with an escort of United States dragoons. This seems most probable. At this time ——— was Indian agent and Peter A. Sarpy an Indian trader of St. Louis had a store at Traders Point, bought furs and supplied the Indians with goods.¹⁷

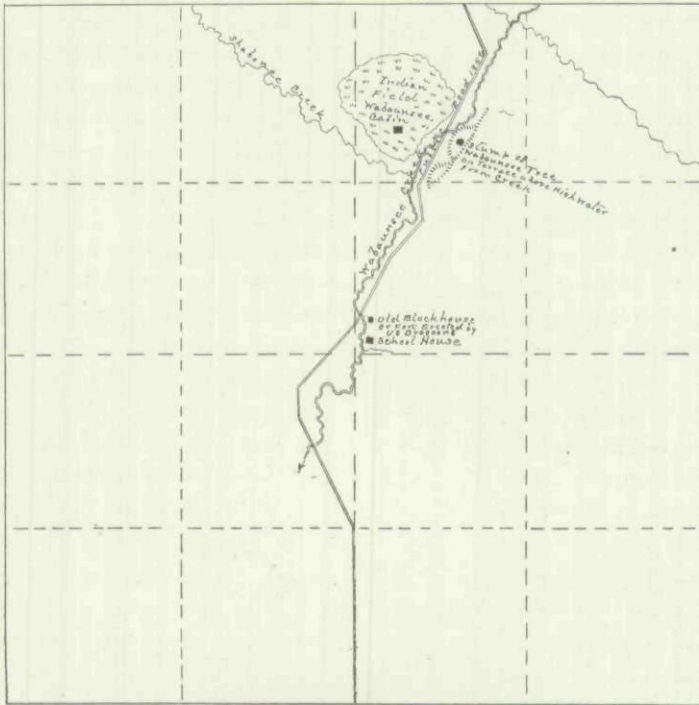
About 3,000 Pottawattamies were collected on this reservation. They separated into small bands and formed villages under leadership of some chief. In 1838 they seem to have become pretty well established. The general place of business and authority recognized by the government was at Council Bluffs, where Chief Billy Caldwell (Sa-go-nash), a half-breed, was located. Wabaunsee chose a location thirty miles south of Council Bluffs, on what afterward became the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 25, Township 71, Range 43 of the United States land surveys. Here the government built him a double log house on the high ground at the confluence of a small creek (afterward named Shabonee Creek) with a larger stream (named Wabaunsee Creek in honor of the Chief). Here a small field was put into cultivation and corn, potatoes, pumpkins and vegetables were raised.

About 300 Indians lived at this village which extended for about a mile north and south and perhaps a mile east and west. The area was mostly forested with some small tracts of prairie where farming was done—about 100 acres probably—was tilled after the Indian system. Across the creek south from the Wa-

¹⁷"History of Pottawattamie County" by Field and Reed, page 6, says Davis Hardin was appointed by the government to instruct the Indians in farming, and came with them with his family and located at a point that is now on East Broadway, Council Bluffs.—Editor.

baunsee house about one fourth mile distant, the government built a log blockhouse, where a few soldiers were sometimes quartered. This house remained and served as a residence for many years for the pioneer, Ezekiel Lambert, who purchased the land from the government. The writer has often been at this house, but did not know that it was a fort until in course of removal some years ago when, on the outside weatherboarding being removed,

Map of Sect. 25 Town 71 Range 43 Mills County, Ia
Showing Conditions about 1848.



MAP OF ENVIRONS OF WABAUNSEE'S HOME
Drawn by Seth Dean

the loopholes were disclosed. This with Mr. Todd's account, located it as one of the two he mentions. The other one, if it really existed, may have served for a time as a schoolhouse, prior to the regular organization of district schools.

There seems to have been few if any complaints from the con-

duct of the Pottawattamie Indians for several years. The whites began coming into the reservation both with and without consent of the government.

In June, 1843, a great council was called by the Nebraska Indians themselves that met at Tahlequah, Kansas. Twenty-two tribes sent delegates and 3,000 to 4,000 Indians were present. The Pottawattamies of Iowa were invited to attend and Wabaunsee with a few braves was selected to represent the nation in this council. Rev. William H. Goode, a Methodist Episcopal missionary, attended by invitation and in his book, "Outposts of Zion," page 73, he gives this description of the Chief as he appeared at that time: "Wabaunsee, a Pottawattamie chief, said to be eighty-seven years old, treated with great respect by those of his tribe present; in complete Indian costume, with the skin of a cow split in the middle, through which his head was thrust, covering his shoulders and back, and the tail hanging down before." Mr. Goode also says on page 78, "Wabaunsee listened with seeming solemnity and occasional approval to the first missionary sermon he had ever heard," and on page 79, "This band of Pottawattamies then (1843) resided on the Missouri River near Council Bluffs."¹⁸

AFFIDAVIT OF MOSES GAYLORD

STATE OF IOWA, COUNTY OF PAGE, ss:

I, Moses W. Gaylord of Tabor, Fremont County, Iowa, being first duly sworn, on my oath depose and say that I am a son of Elijah B. Gaylord and was born at Macedonia, Hancock County, Illinois, January 8, 1842, and came with my parents with the Mormons from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Council Bluffs, Iowa, then called Kanessville, in 1846, and in

¹⁸It seems that Wabaunsee visited Washington at least twice, once in 1835, about the time the tribe began to remove to their home in Missouri. This was for the purpose, as he said, "of taking his Great Father by the hand," see McKenny's "Indian Tribes of North America," Vol. III, p. 35. He again visited Washington in November and December, 1845, together with several other chiefs of his tribe when they arranged for the sale of their lands in Iowa, as verified by Charles H. Babbitt, Washington, D. C., who examined the records of the proceedings of the council, which records are in the department at Washington, as shown by his letter to Mr. Dean of March 10, 1925. It appears (History of Mills County, page 379) that the Pottawattamies began their removal to their new home in Kansas during 1846.

We have now reached the end of the material Mr. Dean had prepared for his article. Under date of March 2, 1925, he writes to us that he is seeking illustrations for his text, which otherwise is ready, however, from his notes we judge he had more in mind to write concerning Wabaunsee's last days. His visit to the descendants of the Chief who reside on the reservation in Jackson County, Kansas, doubtless yielded him interesting material. We are ending the article by the affidavits of Moses Gaylord and A. L. Wolfe, the speech of Little Elk, and verses from McKenny's "Indian Tribes of North America," which we think was Mr. Dean's plan.—Editor.

October of that year moved with my parents to a village or settlement called Lacey Grove about six miles south of the town of Tabor, or rather where the town of Tabor now stands, and that I have lived in that locality constantly every since.

I further say that the Pottawattamie Indians, or at least a portion of them, were living in that locality at that time, and seemed to be divided into villages and one of the villages was located at Lacey Grove over which a subchief, called Shatee, ruled. The main chief, however, of this tribe of Indians in this section south of Council Bluffs was "Old Man Wabaunsie," who lived at Wabaunsie village which was located on the south bank of Wabaunsie Creek in Mills County, about four miles northwest from where Tabor is now located. The village was constructed of wigwams made of buckskin or other hides and of little houses made of bark that they took from the neighboring trees. I have visited this village twice when Wabaunsie was alive, and on one occasion shortly after he died.

I remember Wabaunsie as a big, strong, burly man and talked very little English and his hair was as white as snow and that he wore no whiskers. But in this connection I further state that the Indians, in those days at least, did not shave but pulled their whiskers from their faces if they did not desire to wear them. I remember Wabaunsie as wearing a crown of very beautiful and extra fine feathers of beautiful colors; he also wore leggings of elk hide, and also wore a brilliantly colored blanket. Another characteristic of Wabaunsie that I remember is that he smoked a pipe incessantly. Of course he did not always smoke tobacco, for it was not always obtainable. When he or his fellow tribesmen could not get tobacco they would smoke the bark from the red willows that grew abundantly along the creeks of southwestern Iowa, which was dried and pulverized, and made a very delightful smoke, for I myself have tried it. This smoking preparation was called in Indian language "kinne-ke-nick," at least that was the Pottawattamie term for this preparation. I am absolutely sure that I saw the old Chief as late as 1848, and I believe as late as 1849.

It was the custom of the Pottawattamie Indians to take their dead and wrap them carefully and securely in the Indian blanket of brilliant colors and fasten the blanket around the corpse with rawhide straps or a string, and then place the body thus prepared on a little platform constructed of bark up in the limbs of a tree as a symbol of offering the body to the Great Spirit. After the body would remain in the tree for six months, or maybe as long as a year and a half, they would take the body down and bury it in the earth with a mound above, much the same as is our custom. I know this because I have seen it done by the Indians on many occasions.

I remember perfectly well, with a definite and fixed recollection, of visiting the Wabaunsie village with my father after the year 1849, and the Indians directed to the tree and showed, pointed out and explained,

that the body of Wabaunsie, their beloved and illustrious chief, was there wrapped in the death blanket of the tribe, securely fastened about him with rawhide straps, reposing on the platform of bark in the crotch of a bur oak tree on the north bank of Wabaunsie Creek, opposite the village. Of course, I did not see the body because it was wrapped in the blanket, but the Indians explained who it was to my father in my presence and hearing, and they were greatly grieved, and my father talked about it to them in my presence, and he talked about it returning home, and there can be no mistake but that the Indians identified with certainty and definiteness that this was the body of Wabaunsie, their chief.

In this connection, and at the request of Earl R. Ferguson* of Shenandoah, I will tell of the medicine man of the Pottawattamie village that lived at Lacey Grove under the rule of Shatee. The medicine man of this village was "Indian George," or "Medicine George," who was the medicine man of that camp. He really had performed remarkable cures and he actually doctored our family. There was a squaw who became very ill and with a lingering sickness that they seemed not able to diagnose. Medicine George treated her in every way known to him for several years and gave it up unless he could resort to some miraculous cure. So he ordered an Indian medicine powwow to be held that night. He came to our house and asked for a dog. We gave him an old hound. He took it to the village and there prepared a great stew out of this dog and when the stew was done it was placed out in the open and this sick squaw was brought from her tepee and placed near the pot containing the dog. Before I go further I wish to say that the Indians invited us to this powwow and we attended but we refused to eat the soup, which rather displeased the Indians, but we told them we were not hungry. The dance began and was a sort of a circular affair surrounding the sick woman. There was shouting, laughter, and singing. Each time the Indian would come to the pot of dog soup he would take a spoonful from the pot and give it to the sick patient and then point heavenward and say "kio-o-widney" which was their name for the Great Spirit. This is the song they sang:

Ki-o-widney
 Ki-o-widney
 Ki-Ki-Hi-o-way-up-to
 Ki-o-widney

This performance kept up until midnight when we went home and the strange thing to say is that the squaw got well.

I am here today in Shenandoah as a guest of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Shenandoah, and a guest of the public schools of Shenandoah, who are celebrating Indian life and customs under the name of Wabaunsie powwow. My attention has been called today to the statement of Richard Smith Elliott in his book entitled "Notes taken

in Sixty Years," published by Studley and Co., St. Louis, Missouri, in 1883, wherein he says that Wabaunsie was killed in a stage wreck on his return trip from Washington in 1845. I also note the fact that Mr. Elliott did not witness this accident and that it is purely hearsay with him. I am very certain that this is an incorrect statement, for I personally saw Wabaunsie in southwestern Iowa on two occasions after that event.

This affidavit is made at the request of Earl R. Ferguson, John A. Cutter, and R. R. Cunningham at Shenandoah, this day, that the story of the event referred to may be perpetuated and that the history may be preserved after I am gone, for there are very few people now living who were alive during the days of Wabaunsie.

MOSES W. GAYLORD.

Subscribed and sworn to by Moses W. Gaylord, at Shenandoah, Iowa, this 14th day of May, A. D., 1924.

BURNET FERGUSON,

Notary Public in and for Page County, Iowa.

AFFIDAVIT OF A. L. WOLFE

A. L. Wolfe being sworn on oath states: I am a son of William Wolfe who came to Mills County, Iowa, in the spring of 1849 from Missouri, and settled on what became after the public land surveys of 1851 the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 24, Township 71, Range 43, Lyons Township, Mills County, Iowa, where he continued to reside until his death in 1893. I was born at that place April 5, 1856, this place being about one mile from the Wabaunsee cabin where the Pottawattamie chief lived and died, the cabin with a small enclosed field of perhaps five acres that the Indians cultivated being located on the southwest corner of the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 25 of same township.

Soon after my birth a public schoolhouse was built and a school established on the southwest corner of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of said Section 24, about one and a fourth miles south of my home, and one-fourth mile south of the Wabaunsee cabin. The public road led by both the Chief's cabin and the schoolhouse. I attended this school several years traveling this road twice a day during that time.

My father has repeatedly told me that Wabaunsee died at his cabin some time in the year 1848 prior to the Indians removing to their reservation in Kansas.

At the time of his death the Indians wrapped the Chief's body in a blanket with peeled bark outside and placed it with his personal effects consisting of a flintlock musket, a tomahawk, beads and other ornaments in a box of thick boards split or hewn from logs. This was placed in the fork of a large oak tree about twelve or fifteen feet

above the ground, the box being secured to the limbs of the tree by a chain that passed round them.

This was a bur oak and stood on the east side of and near the road, across Wabaunsee Creek and about 400 feet southeast from the Chief's cabin. This tree was cut soon after the Civil War but the stump, much decayed, still remains and I have clearly identified and pointed it out to Seth Dean for use in preparing his paper. It was the only large tree in that locality and I am sure that I cannot be mistaken in its location.



SETH DEAN WITH WABAUNSEE'S SPEAR

Some time after the Indians had left, the box was opened by whites and the contents scattered. The musket was claimed by a Mr. Abe Burger and by him taken to California in early days. The tomahawk my father secured and is now in my possession, having been in our family continuously for more than seventy years, and has been photographed by Seth Dean. The skeleton, I do not know what become of it.

I further say that I well knew the old log blockhouse erected at or near the time the Pottawattamie Indians came here. It stood on the western part of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 25, near the schoolhouse above referred to, and was occupied as a dwelling house by a Mr. Ezekiel Lambert. It had been ceiled inside and weatherboarded

outside. After removing the outside covering before tearing down, the loopholes in the sides for musketry fire were plainly visible. This was one of the houses referred to by Rev. John Todd in his book. The other blockhouse I know nothing of.

A. L. WOLFE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me by A. L. Wolfe this 9th day of May, 1925.

CARRIE I. WRIGHT, Clerk District Court.

By GLADYS SCOTT, Deputy.

(SEAL.) District Court.

On page 21 is a photograph of the weapon or utensil (probably a lance and boat hook combined) taken from Wabaunsee's burial box and now in possession of A. L. Wolfe of Glenwood, Iowa, and called a tomahawk in his affidavit. The instrument is made of steel, apparently hand forged by a blacksmith. It measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches on the edge and is 3 inches in length to the base of the hook which is 3 inches long. The shank or socket is 7 inches long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches outside diameter at the end. Into this is inserted a wooden handle or pole of unknown but probably convenient length for the purpose. There is a piece about 8 inches long, nicely smoothed up, yet in the steel head.

SPEECH OF LITTLE ELK

The following is the speech of Hoo-wa-ne-ka, or Little Elk, a Winnebago chief, made in the council held at Prairie du Chien, July 1, 1829, to negotiate a sale of lands. The speech appears in the "Magazine of American History," 1880, Vol. V, p. 212.

I use it in this article as a good example of Indian logic but more especially to show the contrast in the policy pursued toward the Indians of the Great Lakes country by the French and English officials and agents, and those of the United States who succeeded the first. Little Elk said:

The first white man we ever knew was a Frenchman. He lived among us as we did. He painted himself, smoked his pipe with us, sang and danced with us, and married one of our squaws, but he never wanted to buy our land.

The Red Coat came next. He gave us new coats, leggins and shoes, guns, traps and knives, blankets and jewels. He seated our chiefs at

his table to eat with him; he fixed epaulets on their shoulders and put commissions in their pockets. He suspended large medals on their breasts, but he never asked us to sell our country to him.

Next came the Blue Coat—the American. No sooner had he seen a portion of our country, than he asked for a map of the whole of it. Having seen the map he wanted to buy it all. Governor Cass last year at Green Bay urged us to sell all our country to him, and now you, fathers, make the same request. Why do you want to add our small country to yours which is already so large?

When I went to Washington City to see our Great Father, I saw great houses all along the road, and Washington and Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York are great and splendid cities! So large and beautiful was the President's house; the tables and chairs, the mirrors and carpets were so beautiful that I thought I was in Heaven, and that the old man there was the Great Spirit. But after he had taken us by the hand and kissed our women I found him like ourselves, nothing but a man!

You ask us to sell our country and wander off into the boundless regions of the West. We do not own that country, and the deer, elk, bison, and beaver there are not ours, and we have no right to kill them. Our wives and our children, now seated behind us, are dear to us, and so is our country where rest in peace the bones of our ancestors. (Here he spoke with great emotion) Fathers, pity a people few in number, poor and helpless! Do you want our wigwams? You live in palaces! Do you want our horses? Yours are larger, stronger, and better than ours.

Do you want our women? (And now, pointing to the wives of the American officers present, and to the wife and daughters of the agent of the American Fur Company, he said,) Yours are now sitting behind you, and they are handsomer and better dressed than ours. Once more I ask, my fathers, what can be your motives? Why do you want to rob us of our land?

The following verses are taken from McKenney's "Indians of North America," and is made a fitting finale to this paper. The author is unknown.

Ye say that all have passed away—
 The noble race and brave—
 That their light canoes have vanished
 From off the crested wave;
 That 'mid the forests where they roamed,
 There rings no hunter's shout;
 But their name is on your waters,
 Ye may not wash it out.

Ye say their conelike cabins
 That clustered o'er the vale,
 Have disappeared like withered leaves
 Before the autumn gale;
 But their memory liveth on your lands,
 Their baptism on your shore;
 Your ever rolling rivers speak,
 Their dialect of yore.

DANIEL BOONE'S LAST DAYS

The account of Col. D. Boone's death, published in a Chillicothe paper, is entirely a fabrication, probably framed for the purpose of introducing the fanciful incident of the heroic woodsman, breathing his last with his cheek pressed against the butt of his favorite rifle. We have lately seen a gentleman who was at Col. Boone's house in August last, when the old gentleman was perfectly healthy, and wore the appearance of not being over 65 years of age, although he is between 80 and 90. His sight has failed him so much as to unfit him for his accustomed amusement and business of hunting. This is almost the only symptom of old age which appears to affect him. The chase with him was a passion which he indulged to extravagance. When the periodical hunting season arrives, he represents himself as laboring under the most restless anxiety for some days, and he declares that nothing can compensate him for the pleasure he is deprived of in not being able to pursue the buffalo and deer as formerly, to the center of the Missouri deserts.

The family of Col. Boone, consisting of his sons and daughters, with their wives and husbands, live near each other, and form a most interesting group. So far from the characteristics of savage life which they have been represented to possess, the sons are described to us as well-bred gentlemen, distinguished by some of those grand features of mind which are so often found in our native sons of the forest. They own a fine estate of land granted to the individuals of the family by the crown of Spain. They are eminently useful to strangers who explore the lands on the Missouri and Osage, and the hospitality of every branch of this family is the theme of every traveler who extends his journey to the neighborhood of the settlement. The *Register* copies the foregoing from the *Pittsburg Gazette*.—Niles' *Weekly Register*, Baltimore, Md., Dec. 26, 1818. (In the State Library, General Department, Des Moines, Iowa.)

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