



Robert Lucas

First territorial governor of Iowa, 1838-41. From a photograph of the oil painting by Mary F. Murray in the Portrait Gallery of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department.

INDIAN AFFAIRS OF IOWA IN 1840¹

[From "Letters From the Correspondence of Robert Lucas, John Chambers and James Clark, Territorial Governors and Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1846."—In the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.]

Executive Department, Iowa Tc'y.
Burlington, October 23, 1840.

Sir:

In accordance with the regulations of the Department, I have the honor to submit my annual report.

The report of the agent of the Sac and Fox Indians, have been forwarded to the Department, which contains the views of Captain Beach² with regard to the condition of his agency. Instructions were given to Colonel Bruce to transmit to this superintendency a full and lucid report of the condition of the Sioux Indians within the St. Peters agency exhibiting the condition of each band, the number of schools within his agency, by whom taught with the number of scholars at each school, together with a report of missionary operations within this agency; but owing to the great distance of the agency from this city, and the tardiness of the mails between this place and St. Peters, his report has not yet been received.

Mr. Lowry,³ the agent of the Winnebagoes, has not yet officially reported to this superintendency, and probably may make his report through the superintendent of Wisconsin. For the want of sufficient reports from the agents of the Sioux and Winnebago Indians, I am unable to give as detailed an account of the condition of these two tribes as may be desirable. But I will report as far as the information in my possession will warrant.

The confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians residing immediately on our border, I have visited in person, and endeavored to obtain correct information as to the true position and feelings of these Indians toward our government, their neighboring tribes, and among themselves.

¹Our territorial governors, Lucas, Chambers, and Clark were superintendents of Indian affairs under the War Department in the area over which they were the chief executives of statute law. Their manuscript reports and communications to the War Department were by Senator Allison procured to be released from the government archives to the Historical Department of Iowa, where they remain on file. The accompanying report of Governor Lucas is pertinent and indispensable to an understanding of the situation of the time and subject with which it deals. It has not heretofore been printed so far as we are aware, and is not on file in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We present it because of its value to students of Indian affairs in Iowa, but more especially to afford the Bureau the benefit of it in printed form.—Editor.

²Major John Beach was a son-in-law of General Joseph M. Street, and soon after the latter's death, May 5, 1840, succeeded him at Agency, Iowa, as agent of the Sac and Fox Indians.

³Rev. David Lowry, agent of the Winnebagoes, was located at Prairie du Chien, later at the Winnebago Mission near Fort Atkinson.

Finding an excitement to prevail among them, which has prevailed with some warmth for the past year, I will submit to the Department a history of such facts, as in my opinion lead to this excitement, together with a statement of the condition of things as I found them in the Indian country, and as they exist at the present time.

The first complaint communicated to the Superintendent by any of the Indians was soon after the payment of the annuity by General Street last year, when a number of the braves and warriors sent word by a messenger that they were displeased with the manner in which the annuity had been paid and disposed of. They asked permission to have a talk on the subject, and were desirous that their complaint should be forwarded to the President, through the Superintendent. The messenger was informed that their request would be attended to after they returned from their fall hunts if they desired it. A few days after the receipt of the foregoing message from the braves and warriors, a letter was received from General Street, their agent, dated October 15, 1839, in which the General states that on the 15th of September, Keokuck,⁴ Wapello and Appenoose (three of the principal of the Sac and Fox chiefs) came to the agency and desired to have a talk with him; that they were accompanied by a number of citizens who had been at the payment with large accounts that were not paid by the Indians; that he acceded to the desires of the Indians, and went into the council house with the chiefs mentioned and some braves. The Indians said they were in great distress, and wished to tell him the cause. They said they owed money to the citizens that were along, who mostly lived near the line, and that they were at a loss what to do and desired to speak to him. They said when they received their annuity from him (General Street) they intended to pay all their debts, and particularly their small traders then standing around them. They said they told their regular traders, P. Chouteau & Co., so the evening before they received their money; that J. A. Sanford, and S. S. Phelps and Wm. Phelps said to them, the Indians, "When you receive your money from General Street, hand it all over to us and we will immediately pay all you direct us to." The Indians observed that when he, General Street, paid them the amount of annuity that came on, which was \$42,000, that they, the Indians, handed over the money directly to J. A. Sanford, as they had agreed, and expected their debts to be paid by him; that he, Mr. Sanford, handed over a large amount in notes to Messrs. S. S. and Wm. Phelps and went out of the house; that Messrs. Phelps then presented a paper on which they said the names of persons they, the Indians, owed were written and paid by that paper, saying it contained the agreement between P. Chouteau & Co. and the Indians, as made the evening previous. The Indians complained that when they came to examine the list they found it was less by half than they owed. They said they were deceived by Messrs. San-

⁴We have followed Governor Lucas' spelling of all Indian names, but have made corrections of other errors of spelling, and have generally adapted the capitalization and punctuation to the style of this publication.—Editor.

ford and Phelps, and then desired before the men then standing by to say so to him (General Street) and requested that he would write down their talk and send it to the President. General Street further observes in his letter that at the time of this council the two Messrs. Phelps and J. A. Sanford had gone out of the Indian country; that in a few days thereafter Wm. Phelps returned and came to the agency with Keokuck and Appenoose and some braves and desired to have another talk with him; that they commenced by saying they came to recall the talk they desired him to send to the President on the 15th of September. General Street states that he had it read and interpreted to them, Keokuck and Appenoose (Wappello was not present); that they acknowledged that he had reported it correctly, but said they wished him not to send it to the President. What we then said, observed Keokuck and Appenoose, was untrue—we made the statement in the presence of those who held claims against us to keep friends with them. Mr. Phelps has returned and we wish to recall our former talk. P. Chouteau & Co. said they did not deceive us. They paid all they promised to pay, and it is our desire that our former talk should not be sent to the President.

The original letter of the 15th of October, 1839, from which the foregoing facts are collected was transmitted to the Department some time last year. The transactions therein detailed are of an important character. They point the most superficial observer to the malign influence that controls the actions of two of the principal chiefs, viz., Keokuck and Appenoose, and explain in a great measure the cause of the excitement that has, subsequently to the transactions therein detailed, existed among the Indians with regard to the payment of their annuities. These with similar proceedings in subserviency to mandate of the American Fur Company have lost to these chiefs the respect and confidence of the majority of their nation, as well as the confidence of the citizens of the territory who have had intercourse with them.

In January last about fifty of the chiefs, braves and warriors of the Sac and Fox Indians came to this city and requested a talk on the subject of their affairs. They were the same who had formerly sent me word that they were displeased with the manner in which the annuity had been paid and disposed of. Some of them composed part of the delegation at Washington in 1837, and appeared to understand the provisions of the treaty made at that place. I met them in council in compliance with their request, the proceedings of which council have heretofore been forwarded to the Department. They complained of the injustice that had been done them in the application of their annuities. The money chiefs, as they called them, received all the annuities that was promised them when they sold their lands and had distributed it among a few persons, and that a great part of the nation received nothing. This they thought was injustice. They wished the annuities to be distributed generally so that their women and children might be supported. They requested me to communicate it to the President as their wish to have the annuities thereafter paid to the heads of families, so that each

could draw an equal share. They complained of misconduct in some of their chiefs and said they were under the control of the American Fur Company, and acted to their interest to the prejudice of their nation.

In reply I told them that the laws of the United States secured to them the right to have their annuity paid in such manner and to such persons as a majority of the tribe should from time to time direct—that as to the misconduct of their chiefs, that was a matter that rested with themselves. If the chiefs had betrayed their trust, they of course were accountable to their own people according to the custom of their nation; that they must settle all their local difficulties among themselves, that our policy was to do strict justice to the whole nation, that I could take no part in their local difficulties but would at all times present their wishes and wants to the President of the United States, and that I had no doubt that if it was the wish of a majority of the nation to have the annuities paid to the heads of families, as it had been done to the Sioux and other Indians, that the payment would be so made in accordance with such wish. Being satisfied with the laws of the United States and regulations of the Department as explained to them by me, they returned to their villages on the Des Moines River, and some time in February those Indians who were in favor of having their subsequent annuities paid to the heads of families held a council and determined to require their annuity for the year 1840 to be so paid, and fifty of the chiefs, braves, and warriors signed a public notice, which they caused to be published in a newspaper printed in this city, notifying all persons of their determination, and warning the public not to trust Keokuck, Appenoose, Wappello, and Pow a sheak as the representatives of the nation, declaring that debts created with their chiefs would not be acknowledged as national debts by them. A few days after this notice was published, a council was called at the trading house of the American Fur Company. The object of calling the Indians together at that place was stated by Appenoose, one of the chiefs in the interest of the company, to be for the purpose of receiving goods from the company. At this council several speeches were made in which Mr. Phelps, the agent of the company, was warned against giving out his goods to the chiefs and charging them to the nation, as they had previously done. (Copies of these speeches, together with a copy of the public notice, above referred to, was some time since transmitted to the Department.) From this period the nation appears to have divided into two parties, which will be designated in this report as the "independent party" with We-she-ko-me-quet and Pashapahow at their head, who are contending for an equitable distribution of their annuities to the heads of families; and the other, the "company's party," with Keokuck and Appenoose at their head, who are contending for their annuities to be paid to a few of the chiefs in subservency to the views of the American Fur Company.

About the last of March, We she komequet (or Hardfish), with a

party of twelve braves and warriors, arrived in this city with a letter from General Street, which informed me that they had been sent as a delegation from the Sac and Fox nation to the Winnebagoes in order to arrange the difficulties then existing between the two nations; that they had descended the Des Moines River, and would wish to get a passage to Prairie du Chien in a steamboat, and requested me to render them such assistance in their passage as I could, stating that the expense of the passage would be paid out of the annuity. I had, just at the moment of being presented with General Street's letter by these Indians, received intelligence from Mr. Lowry, agent of the Winnebagoes, informing me that the Winnebagoes were not prepared to receive a delegation from the Sac and Fox Indians, and recommending that the meeting be postponed until after the removal of the Winnebagoes west of the Mississippi. I communicated the intelligence I received from Mr. Lowry to the Indians, and advised them to return to their villages and wait until the agents of these tribes had made an arrangement as to the time and place of meeting, and I wrote to General Street to have such an arrangement made with Mr. Lowry.

I about the same time received a letter from General Street informing me that there would be a general council of the Sac and Fox Indians held at the agency on the 15th of April, and desired me to attend it. I made inquiry of Hardfish and his party about the council. They said they had heard nothing about it before they left their villages, but said they would go home and if it was a general council of the nation they would attend it. I wrote by Hardfish to General Street that I would attend the council on the 15th of April as requested by him, but was, in a few days after the receipt of my letter by Hardfish, informed by another letter from General Street that the council intended to be held on the 15th of April had been postponed, assigning as a reason for postponing the council that the Indians could not get together at that time, but subsequently informed me that the council would be held on the 4th of May following. Having been absent from my family upwards of a year, I had previously made arrangements to start to Ohio after them about the 1st of May, and having become satisfied in my own mind that the postponed council, to be held on the 4th of May, at the agency, was intended to be an ex parte council got up by the members and friends of the American Fur Company for the purpose of counteracting the proceedings of the independent party, who had declared their wish to have the annuity distributed upon principles of justice and equity to the heads of families, I determined to have nothing to do with it, and I informed the Indians that I would not attend any council at the agency unless it was a general council of the whole nation.

While preparing to start to Ohio, I received a letter from General Atkinson advising a delegation from the Sac and Fox Indians to be immediately sent to Prairie du Chien to meet the Winnebagoes in council, with a view to reconcile the difficulties between them growing out of the murder of some Winnebago Indians by a war party of the Sac and

Fox nation. I forthwith transmitted General Atkinson's letter to the agent, and requested that a delegation might be immediately sent in accordance with General Atkinson's request. A few days after the transmission of General Atkinson's letter to the agent, Hardfish and the same party of Indians who had been reported to me by General Street, in March, as a delegation from the Sac and Fox nation, and who had at my request returned to their villages to await further arrangements, arrived in this city on their way to the Winnebago country, in compliance with General Atkinson's request. They informed me that the members and agents of the American Fur Company, with a number of the company party of Indians, were in council at the agency as they passed. They did not know what they were doing, but were informed by some of the company Indians that other delegates would be appointed at that council. Knowing the anxiety of these Indians to have an amicable arrangement effected with the Winnebagoes, I wrote by them to General Atkinson on the 9th of May and transmitted to him the letter of General Street which was handed to me in March by these Indians, with their names endorsed thereon as delegates. I also stated that I had heard that other delegates would be appointed and would probably be on in a short time. But having made arrangements to start to Ohio after my family in the first steamboat, it would be inconvenient for me to remain till they arrived. I informed him that I should be absent from the territory between three and four weeks. The next day, May the 10th, a steamboat came down and I started to Ohio, and returned to this city with my family on the 4th of June.

I have stated the foregoing facts for the purpose of drawing the attention of the Department to the council held at the agency on the 4th of May. The character of that council, the proceedings at the same, the publications of part of these proceedings and the transmission of them to the Department by a member of the American Fur Company, the order of the Department of the 18th of August founded on these proceedings, and the effects produced thereby on the Indians are all subjects worthy of reflection.

On my return to the territory I learned that a few days after my departure for Ohio a large party of Indians, accompanied by Wm. Phelps of the American Fur Company, J. Smart, the interpreter for the agent, and J. H. D. Street of Wisconsin, who it is said is in some wise connected with the American Fur Company (the last named individual by what authority I know not, appears to have assumed the functions of agent, during the late sickness and after the death of General Street, which occurred on the 5th of May, the day of the council) arrived in this city; that Phelps and Smart, finding that I was absent on their arrival, were quite vociferous in their abuse of the Governor of Iowa; that the fabricated speech of Keokuck that was said to have been delivered at the council had been published in the Federal newspaper printed in this city, and had been copied into several other newspapers in the territory and elsewhere; that this party of Indians, with the agent of the American

Fur Company and their adherents, took passage in a steamboat to Prairie du Chien, and recruited their party on the way by the addition of S. S. Phelps and Antoine LeClaire, two members of the American Fur Company; that this company party of Indians returned in a few days without their attendants without effecting anything towards reconciling the difficulty with the Winnebagoes. The independent party, with Hardfish, whom General Street had reported to me in March as delegates to settle the difficulty with the Winnebagoes, went up at the same time, but were not permitted to go on the same boat with the company party. These Indians remained in the upper country till after I returned from Ohio. On their return they called on me in this city and stated that they had been among the Winnebagoes, that they had talked friendly to them, and declared it as their opinion that were it not for the interference of the American Fur Company the difficulty with the Winnebagoes could be easily arranged to the satisfaction of both nations. They complained that the company delegation had treated them unkindly, and were not willing that they should go up with them in the same boat.

I also found in my office on my return from Ohio a bundle of papers purporting to be the proceedings of an Indian council held at the Sac and Fox agency on the 4th and 5th of May. On looking over these documents I found them to contain some speeches said to have been delivered by the Indians at that council, also a petition addressed to the President of the United States in the following words: "Sac and Fox agency, May 5th, 1840. To our great Father the President of the United States. We, the undersigned chiefs, braves, and warriors and hunters of the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians, in consequence of a difference of opinion of a small party of our nation as to the manner of receiving our annuity, would respectfully ask our great Father to have them, our annuities, paid as heretofore, to our chiefs."

To this petition there were annexed 503 names, if the copy in my possession be correct. These papers had not been transmitted in duplicate according to instructions, neither were there any official notes of their character, or request to transmit them to the Department. I found the name of J. H. D. Street (who is a citizen of Wisconsin, and I have been told was a member of the legislature of that territory, and a warm adherent to the interests of the American Fur Company) signed the papers, as acting for Joseph M. Street, United States Indian agent, but from whom this authority was derived I know not. It was without the knowledge or approbation of the Superintendent, and consequently his official character could not be legally recognized. Notwithstanding the spurious character of the papers and the absolute perversions of truth in the reported speech of Keokuck in every particular when reference was made in that speech to the Superintendent, I transmitted them to the Department on the 6th of August, with sundry other documents, disproving the statements in Keokuck's speech. In my communication I made allusion to an observation Major Sanford was understood to have made in this city relative to a copy of Keokuck's speech. The Department

promptly corrected the erroneous impression and informed me by letter of the 26th of August that it appeared from the files in the office that no report of the proceedings of the council of the 4th and 5th of May last had been received by the Department until the 2d of June, when copies of the papers marked "B," one of which is Keokuck's speech, now forwarded by you (me) were received from Major Sanford, with information that the originals were to be sent by, and through, Governor Lucas to your (this) Department. Thus it appears that in this case J. H. D. Street of Wisconsin, a friend at least of the American Fur Company, acted as United States agent without the knowledge or any authority from the Superintendent, and Major J. A. Sanford, a member of the company, assumed the prerogative of superintendent by transmitting these documents to the Department at Washington at a time when it was known the superintendent was temporarily absent from the territory, and what is to me the most surprising is that the Department should permit documents thus transmitted to be filed in the office as authority and acted upon as such, which was evidently the case as appears by the instructions of the 18th of August directing the annuities to be paid as therein required, and in which instructions reference is made to the speeches of Keokuck at said council. On the receipt of these instructions, I stated to the Department my views thereon. I have subsequently taken some pains to ascertain the true character of the council of the 4th and 5th of May, as alluded to, and the genuineness of the signatures to the petition addressed to the President, upon which your order of the 18th of August to pay the annuity to the chiefs as heretofore, I presume was predicated. I am satisfied in my own mind that the whole affair was a maneuver of the members and agents of the American Fur Company to procure the control of the annuity, and that in procuring names to the petition and forwarding it to the Department as genuine, a deception was practiced both on the Indians and the Department.

My reasons for this opinion are briefly these: Soon after the independent party of Indians with Hardfish at their head declared their determination to have the annuity paid to the heads of families, a council was appointed to be held at the agency on the 15th of April, when at the same time Hardfish and eleven others of his principal men were dispatched to the Winnebago country without being informed of such council; that when these Indians returned to their villages and were in a situation to attend the council it was immediately postponed to a period when it was known that I could not be at it.

I have recently conversed with gentlemen of intelligence and veracity that were present at the council on the 4th and 5th of May, who declared to me as their opinion that there could not have been much more than one hundred Indians present at that council. They said they heard Keokuck's speech. He did not open the council as had usually been his practice—that Appenoose spoke first and Keokuck followed. Mr. S. S. Phelps, one of the active members of the Fur Company, and an active

operator at that council, admitted in conversation with me that the Indians whose names were to the petition were not all present at the council. He said their names were obtained at the towns. Mr. Phelps also said that a gentleman from Illinois, who was there residing at the agency, took down Keokuck's speech in shorthand at the time, and I presume this gentleman had it written out to suit their own views, as things are stated therein that I am satisfied never originated with Keokuck himself.

While recently in the Indian country the petition forwarded to the Department, with the proceedings of the council of the 4th and 5th of May, was introduced by the Indians when at the upper town on the Des Moines River. This is the principal Sauk village and at which were then encamped the greater part of the Fox band that reside on the Iowa River. The chiefs and braves both of the Sacs and Foxes requested the privilege of examining the petition that had been sent to the President, with so many names to it, to have the annuities paid to the chiefs. They insisted that there could not be so many, and if there were, they said they had obtained them by deception. A number of the Indians there present said they had been at the council, and that their names had been put to the paper without their knowing its contents. Some said they had been told that on account of the difficulties with the Winnebagoes the annuities would be withheld, and that it was necessary for them to sign the petition to the President before their annuities could be paid. In compliance with the request of the Indians I gave them a copy of the petition with the names to it, as it had been communicated to me by Captain Beach, and requested them to examine it carefully and to mark thereon all whose names had been procured without their knowing the contents of the petition, as well as all spurious or fictitious names that might be found thereon. The interpreter attended with them and marked the names according to their direction, first with the Sacs, and then with the Fox Indians, and returned the paper to me, marked as follows: Names of Indians found to the petition who either never signed it or knew not its contents—Sacs, 106; Foxes, 70. Names of children found to the petition—Sacs, 32; Foxes, 39. Fictitious names found to the petition for which there are no Indians in the nation—Sacs, 47; Foxes, 49. Names of Indians residing on the Missouri found on the petition—10. Names of women found on the petition—3. Whole number of spurious or fraudulent names to the petition—356. Whole number of names to the petition—503, from which deduct the foregoing, will leave 147 names to the petition that are supposed to be genuine.

The foregoing statements are taken from the paper now before me as marked by the direction of the Indians after a careful examination of it. I have but little doubt but that it contains a statement of facts, and I am under the impression that at this time there could not be 150 names found in the whole confederated tribe that would advocate the payments being made as prayed for in the petition.

A correct census of these confederated tribes was taken last summer

by direction of the independent chiefs and the census book is now in my possession, from which it appears that the whole confederated tribes gave in their names by the heads of families except three lodges in Keokuck's village, eight in Wappello's, three in Appenoose's, and four in Pow a sheak's—in all eighteen lodges not taken, these being estimated at 20 persons to a lodge (which is a large estimate) will amount to 360 persons. The actual number enumerated by the heads of families—1,939, to which add the estimated number of the lodges not taken will make the aggregate number of the whole confederate tribes at this time 2,299—a small trifle over one half their number as reported by General Street last year. This rapid decrease in the number of this tribe presents a gloomy picture. In 1837 they are reported at 6,400, in 1839 General Street reports them at 4,396, and they are now by actual enumeration in 1840 found to number but 2,299. The mind is naturally led to enquire, Why this rapid decrease? They formed a gallant band of hunters a few years since, and brought into market upwards of \$50,000 worth of peltries annually.

The annuities and other moneys paid to these Indians have amounted to hundreds of thousands of dollars. Their annuity at this time amounts to \$47,000, and still they are a miserable people, sometimes suffering for want of food and clothing. But what is remarkable in this nation is their opposition to the introduction of schools and missionaries among them. They have never had a school or missionary established within their nation. They have hitherto in their intercourse been under the control of the American Fur Company, and their present condition is a living commentary upon the paternal policy of that company towards their interests. This company has for many years controlled this tribe without a rival. I have heard some of the members of that company boastingly declare that they had broken down all persons who had hitherto dared to oppose their interests, and that they could, and would continue to do so. A part of this tribe has lately become sensible of the blighting policy of this company, and are now struggling to burst the fetters by which they have been bound by declaring their independence of the company, and their determination no longer to permit them either to control their actions as a people, or to grasp their annuities as a pretended right.

The excitement among the Indians appears to have been increased subsequently to the appointment and arrival of Captain Beach among them as their agent. His interference with the inhabitants of the new town, his attachment to the interests of the American Fur Company, and the preference that he on all occasions shows to the company chiefs (as they are called) frequently insulting and abusing those of the independent party, and his request for troops to prevent [trouble] at the payment of the annuity, all tended to influence the minds of the Indians against each other. The company party, having been led to believe that they would be sustained by the agent and company in their pretensions to supremacy over the independent party, became arrogant

towards their neighbors, while the independent party contends that they had a right to an equal proportion in the benefits of the nation's annuity, and had determined not to yield that right.

This was the state of feelings among them when the order of the 18th of August was received, with authority to the agent to call for a detachment of troops to be present at the payment. On the receipt of this intelligence in the Indian country, that part of [the] Sac tribe who were in favor of an equitable distribution of the annuities held a council on the Des Moines River and determined to petition the Superintendent to be present at the payment of the annuity. The petition forwarded to this office was signed by six principal chiefs, and 104 braves, councillors, and warriors. (The original petition with the names thereto as it was handed to me by two Indians I herewith transmit to the Department, marked "A.")

A few days after the receipt of the petition I received a letter from Captain Beach informing me that Major Pilcher had arrived at the agency with funds to pay the annuity. He stated that the detachment of troops had been advised to be at the agency on the 25th of September, that on their arrival the payment would take place, or in default thereof that the Indians would be assembled for payment on Monday, the 28th. On the receipt of this letter I became satisfied that my presence was necessary to preserve order in the Indian country and immediately repaired thither and put up with Major J. Smith, one of the millers, with whom I had been acquainted for many years. On my way to Major Smith's I passed by the agency house. I informed Captain Beach and Major Pilcher that I would be at the agency house on Monday, the 28th, the time appointed for paying the Indians. On my arrival in the Indian country on the 27th I found the Indians encamped in two encampments. The independent party who wished the annuity distributed upon principles of equity among the families, were encamped with Wa she Kome quet, Pash a pahoo, Kish ke kush and other chiefs, and the company party, who wished the annuity paid to the chiefs, were encamped with Keokuck, Appenoose, Powasheak and other chiefs. On the evening of the 27th several of the independent chiefs called to see me at Major Smith's, but none of the company chiefs came near, and next morning when they were assembled at the council house none of the company party came near me, as was the usual custom, but situated themselves on my left in sullen mood, and after I had addressed them, when they came to reply to my speech, they would first come to Captain Beach and give him their hand before they came to me. This I mention as an evidence of the exertions that have been made to excite a prejudice in the minds of the Indians under the control of the American Fur Company against the Superintendent.

On the morning of the 28th I arrived at the agency house, and after an interview with Major Pilcher and Captain Beach, the Indians were assembled at the council house for payment. In consequence of the difference of opinion among the Indians, I determined upon holding a

friendly public council with them, so that all the Indians as well as the white people who were present might hear what I said to them. The Indians were assembled and seated outside of the council house. They arranged themselves in two parties, with as much apparent determination as any two political parties in the United States. The independent party were seated on my right, and the company party on my left, with their respective chiefs at their heads. As they sat before me I cast my eye over the parties to satisfy my own mind as to their relative strength, and my impression was that the independent party as they sat before me contained nearly double the number that the company party did. I did not count them, but a gentleman of intelligence and veracity informed me that he counted the parties as they marched to their seats and that there were 256 in the independent party and about 130 in the company party, as nearly as he could ascertain by a hasty count. I mention this as my impression of the strength of the two parties as they were arranged before me at the council. This is done more particularly in consequence of a statement I saw in Captain Beach's report, when he stated it as his opinion that the company party was the stronger. In that particular I am confident that Captain Beach labours under a mistake, as I am satisfied from personal observation, as well as from frequent conversation with gentlemen of intelligence that could have no motive to misstate facts in the case, and who were well acquainted with these people, that there is not at this time one-third of the Sac and Fox nation that are opposed to an equitable distribution of the annuity to the heads of families, but that a decided majority of the nation are now in favor of that mode of payment.

Captain Beach opened the council by stating that he had assembled them for the purpose of paying to them their annuity, and informed them that their father the Superintendent would address them.

I commenced by addressing them all as brothers. I told them that I had come as the friend of all the nation for the purpose of reconciling the difficulties among them. I called to their minds the remembrance of what I told them at their towns the May in 1839. That having been appointed by the President their Superintendent, I felt one interest in the peace, happiness and prosperity of the whole nation; that they might at all times consider me as their common friend, and that should they at any time have any grievance to communicate to the President, that my ears would be open to listen, and that I would at all times transmit to him their desires. I stated to them that in compliance with this promise I met about fifty of them in council last January in Burlington; that their complaints were taken down in writing and had been forwarded to Washington; that I had from time to time transmitted to the Department all communications that had come intrusted to my care; that I had at all times declined taking any part in their local affairs but had repeatedly told them that they must reconcile their local difficulties among themselves; that the chiefs should act towards their people as kind parents would towards their children; that if the chiefs did wrong

they were accountable to their own people according to the customs of their nation, and that we did not wish to interfere in such matters. I then read and explained to them the various treaties showing that the annuities were by treaty stipulations to be paid to the tribe and not to the chiefs, as some had supposed. I stated to them that the annuity was the property of the whole nation, and explained to them the laws of the United States and the regulations of the Department relative to paying annuities. I informed them that it was their right to have the annuities paid either to the chiefs or to the heads of families, as a majority of the nation might determine, when assembled to receive them. I told them that by the regulations of the Department it was made the duty of the proper superintendent or agent to inquire of them, when assembled, to whom they wished the payment to be made, and it would be his duty to have it made to such persons as a majority of them might require; that I should consider it my duty to pursue that course therein to have the payment made as a majority might direct, had not an order from the Department directed a different course. I then explained to them the order of the 18th of August, and informed them that according to that order the money must be paid to the same chiefs and braves that received it last year. I then had the names of those chiefs and braves whose names were signed to the last year's receipt roll read publicly, and then addressed myself to these chiefs and braves particularly. I stated to them that in consequence of the petition that was made out at the council held at the agency on the 4th and 5th May last and forwarded to the President of the United States, he was lead to believe that it was the wish of the majority of the nation to have the annuity paid this year to the chiefs and braves as it had been paid last year. Whether the petition expressed the real wish of a majority of the nation or not, was best known to themselves. It had been forwarded to the President with upwards of 500 names, and was supposed by him to express the wishes of a majority of the nation, in consequence of which he had directed the payment to be made to them as it had been made last year. Some of the Indians asked the number of names to the petition. Captain Beach stated the number. They said there could not be so many, and that there were children's names to it. Captain Beach checked them by observing that it was witnessed by respectable men and that it was genuine. After these desultory remarks I again pressed upon the consideration of the chiefs and braves, to whom the money was directed to be paid, the importance of their trust. I reminded them of their responsibility to the nation, that the money they were about to receive was the property of the nation and not their own, that it was their duty to distribute it upon exact principles of justice toward each other, that the money when paid to them would be under their exclusive control, and that no white person had any right to interfere with them in its application. I advised them to pay as far as they could all just debts. I stated to them that when they had contracted just debts to citizens of the territory, that they were bound in justice to pay them. I

explained to them the law relative to licensed traders; informed them that no person was permitted to trade within the Indian country without license; that all persons of good character were entitled to license to trade with them and that when license was obtained no preference was given by law to one licensed trader over another, but that all licensed traders stood upon the same footing; that they were freemen and had a right to trade with whom they pleased; and that in paying their just debts they should endeavor to do strict justice to all their creditors without special favor to any one of them over another. I advised them to retire into the council house without the influence of any white person and to counsel as brothers relative to the distribution of their annuity, and for each to act toward his brother as he would wish his brother to act toward him. I told them that so soon as they agreed among themselves and were ready to receive the money, that it would in pursuance of the order of the Department be paid to the same chiefs and braves that received it last year; that they alone had the right to dispose of the money after it was received; that the troops that had been expected were not intended to coerce them into submission to anything that was wrong, or to interfere with their local affairs, but were intended to protect them against any improper interference from the white people, and to preserve peace and order among themselves during the payment. I told them that I had pledged my word to Major Pilcher, the disbursing officer, that there would be no difficulty among them during the payment; and as the friend to all of them I then stood between them and insisted that they should reconcile difficulties among themselves, and to do justice to each other as brothers. I told them in continuance that I had been an old chief; that I had by a long experience found the straight path of truth and exact justice toward all with whom I had been officially connected to be the best; that if chiefs expected to retain the confidence and affections of their people that they [should] listen to their wants and wishes and never deceive or betray them.

When I concluded I thought there were indications of good feelings among both parties, and I wished the chiefs and braves to retire immediately into the council house by themselves as I had previously recommended them to do; but Mr. Le Claire, the interpreter for the company's party, observed that they would according to their custom wish to reply, to which I acceded. After waiting some time Wis she Kom e quat commenced by observing that when they sold their land they considered that the money that had been promised them belonged to the nation; that he had pity on their women and children and wished the annuities paid to the heads of families so that the women and children could receive their portion. He stated that heretofore it had been paid to certain chiefs who disposed of it in a manner that deprived a great portion of their people from receiving any part of the money, or any other benefits therefrom; that, he thought, was wrong and therefore desired that the annuities might be paid to the heads of families so that justice could be done to all. Several other chiefs and braves spoke to

the same effect. Some of them declared that they had heretofore been the friends of Keokuck, but his conduct in the receipt and disposition of the annuities had been so injurious to the nation at large that they could not sanction him any longer in his course, and had therefore left him and his party and attached themselves to those chiefs and braves that wished justice done to all their people—women that had no husbands, the old and decrepit, as well as the chiefs and braves. There were some speeches made in reply, but not one attempted to contradict the justice of distributing the money to the heads of families. They all acknowledged that I had given them good advice. It commenced raining, and the council adjourned to meet next morning. Before separating I desired the chiefs and braves who were authorized to receive the money to meet in the morning in friendly council and determine among themselves as to the receipt and disposition of their annuity, advising them to meet as brothers, with a spirit of compromise and determination to do strict justice to each other.

After the parties had withdrawn to their respective camps friendly messages were exchanged, and previous to leaving the agency house for my lodgings I received intelligence that Keokuck and Was she Kom e qut had agreed to meet as friends and compromise the difference between their respective parties, and to divide the money among the respective lodges upon equitable principles. With this intelligence I was much gratified and I left the agency house for my quarters at Major Smith's under the firm belief that next morning all difficulties would be reconciled, that harmony would be restored to the Indians, the annuities paid and distributed equally among them, and all their just debts paid to the satisfaction of their creditors under the direction of the Indians themselves. But it appeared in the sequel that there was a secret malign influence in operation that disappointed all these pleasing anticipations. There had been in attendance at the agency during the council numerous representatives of the American Fur Company, to wit: Messrs. Choteau, Sanford, and Mitchel from St. Louis, two Messrs. Davenport and Le Claire from near Rock Island, and Mr. S. S. Phelps of Oquaka, Illinois, also Wm. Phelps of the Indian country. This formidable array of personages were, the greater part of them if not all, at the agency house when I left the evening of the 28th September, and some of them were at the agency when I returned on the next morning. I observed that they were the principal associates of Captain Beach, who appeared to be very assiduous in his attentions to the views and interests of these gentlemen.

Early in the morning of the 29th of September Captain Beach came to Major Smith's where I lodged and informed me that in the night Keokuck sent for him, Captain Beach, to attend his camp; that he attended accordingly and was informed by Keokuck that no arrangement could be made with Wes she comequet as to the distributing of the annuity; that Keokuck had requested Major Pilcher to leave the Indian country with the money, and that he apprehended some danger if the

money was not taken away. By request of Captain Beach I accompanied him to the agency house and in conversation with Major Pilcher learned that he had been requested to remove the money from the Indian country; that it had been brought on in paper, supposing it to be the most desirable, as that kind of funds had been selected last year by the agent in preference of [to] specie. Major Pilcher also observed that under the present state of excitement it might be best to have the funds changed for specie, as some of the Indians preferred it; that in about three weeks the funds could be replaced in specie, and if in the mean time, if the proper exertions were made to reconcile the difficulty that then existed among the Indians, that harmony might be restored among them by the time the funds would be on. In this opinion I concurred, under the impression that Captain Beach had stated to me facts with regard to the refusal of the Indians to meet in friendly council that morning, and their disagreement as to the distribution of the annuity. But a different impression was forced upon my mind a short time after Major Pilcher had returned with the money. From what I subsequently saw and heard, together with facts obtained on inquiry from different individuals, I was constrained to believe that this whole affair was a trick designed to prevent the Indians meeting in friendly council that morning, and thereby break off any equitable arrangement that might have been agreed upon with regard to the receipt and distribution of the money. That such an arrangement would have been made by the Indians had they met in council as was expected, I have not the least doubt. This the gentlemen of the American Fur Company must have been sensible of, and to prevent which Keokuck appears to have been used as an instrument and a deception practiced thereby upon Major Pilcher and myself, as well as the Indians, for I inquired of Wappello and Appenoose, two of the principal chiefs of the company's party, when at their towns, and they both told me that they expected to meet the other chiefs in friendly council that morning, and that neither of them heard anything about sending the money away until they heard it was gone. All the chiefs of the independent party say the same, and Wes she Komequet said that he was in Keokuck's tent when Captain Beach came there in the night, that he neither heard Captain Beach nor Keokuck say anything about sending away the money or suspending the council, that he left Keokuck's tent that night expecting to meet in council next morning.

A short time after Major Pilcher had returned from the agency with the money—probably not more than half an hour—while standing in the door of the agency house, I discovered a number of the Indians of the independent party approaching the agency. I discovered by their movements that they were exasperated. I met them outside of the yard. Wes she Komequet asked me if the money had been taken away. I informed him that it had, and explained to him the cause as it had been stated to me by Captain Beach. He at once replied that it was a trick of the company, meaning the members and agents of the company who

had been in attendance, Captain Beach and Keokuck, to prevent the payment being made, and expressed a disposition to pursue Major Pilcher and bring the money back.

I told him that must not be done, to which he replied that he would submit to anything I said. I informed him that the money that had been taken away was paper, that it would be changed for specie and that in about three weeks I had reason to believe it would be ready for payment. The interpreter told me that he heard warm expressions in the crowd of Indians both toward Captain Beach and Keokuck with regard to the trick, as they insisted it was, in sending the money away to accommodate the wishes of the company. When I told Wes she Komequet what Captain Beach told me with regard to their disagreement, he said it was not so. He said they were to meet in friendly council that morning, and expected to have settled all their differences. He said that Keokuck and himself had changed friendly salutations; that he had visited Keokuck in his camp; that Captain Beach came to Keokuck's camp in the night while he was there, but said nothing to him, neither did he hear Captain Beach say anything to Keokuck about the annuity or postponement of the council, neither did Keokuck say anything to him about any disagreement as stated by Captain Beach. He said he parted with Keokuck that night under the impression that the chiefs and braves, who were under the order of the Department authorized to receive the money, would all meet as friends in the morning; that all difficulties would be compromised in a manner satisfactory to all their bands. He said he heard nobody object to the council to be held that morning as it had been recommended by me the evening before.

I had previously told these Indians that I intended to visit in person their new town; that I had been requested by the Department to ascertain the situation and condition of that town, who were their chiefs, and what kind of people lived at it. With the intelligence of my intention to visit their new town they appeared much pleased, and I took advantage of their solicitude on this subject to hurry them away from the agency. I discovered that some of them were much enraged at what they considered a trick played upon them by the company through the instrumentality of Keokuck and Captain Beach, as they thought, in preventing the council of chiefs that morning and sending away the money; and I was apprehensive that if they continued in the vicinity of the agency and came in contact with the company party of Indians that their enraged feelings might burst beyond the bounds of restraint, and that if a collision ensued that it would endanger the peace of our frontier. I told them that I was going to their new town, and wanted to see them all at home the next day. They promised to meet me there, and shortly after this promise they raised their encampment near the agency and proceeded to their new town, accompanied by a party of Fox Indians from the village on the Iowa River that had attached themselves to the independent party. I proposed to Captain Beach to accompany me to the new town, but he declined, stating that he had some vouchers to prepare for provisions delivered to the Indians. I in-

formed him that I would call at the agency on my return. Previous to starting I visited the encampment of the company's party and informed them when I was going, and told them that I would call at their towns on my return from the upper village.

On the evening of the 30th of September in company with Major Smith I arrived at the new town (or what is called the upper village) situated on the Des Moines River between twenty and thirty miles above the agency, where I met with Messrs. Labashure and Goodall, interpreters. The Indians had generally returned and were preparing to meet in council next morning. On the 1st of October I met them in Was she Komequet's lodge. There were upwards of 100 chiefs, braves and warriors present. I communicated to them the object of my visit. They with promptness and apparent good feeling gave me a list of the names of their acknowledged chiefs, braves, and councillors, the number of lodges in the village, the number of families, with the aggregate number of inhabitants, which list is as follows, to wit:

CHIEFS—7

We she Ko maquet, Pa-sha-pa-ho, Ah pah wah min ne, Peash Kan an na, An no wa, Shak que quat, Pic man she ke.

BRAVES AND COUNCILLORS—22

Ka caw we we na, Nah nah e ke, Nack eat ta we naut, Kal wessa, Mal a ta wa, Mauk e na, Sha wa ke, Mack eat ta nin nah weter, Apipapissa, Wah sam missah, Am mo wa, Wa pi sha quam muck, Wah pah quah, Ma ke naw, Wah we an na, All a ttak, Sha kee quapit, Na eah e qua kah, Ne kak lak quah hack, Nas he wash kuck, Sha kee, Ack ne kah nepat.

Twenty seven Lodges, 124 families, and 527 inhabitants, as taken by censurers. This village is on a beautiful prairie on the north bank of the Des Moines River, and is the neatest looking village I have seen in the Indian country.

In answer to the question whether they had sent out any war parties from that village, they replied, "Look at our town; it is our custom to raise war poles when we go to war. We have never had a war pole raised in our town. When the war party started from the lower towns last summer, we tried to prevent them, and when they returned with a scalp we would not let our people interfere with them in the scalp dances." They said they wished to live in peace with all their neighbors; that there was so much drunkenness in the lower towns that they wanted nothing to do with them; that there had not been any whiskey in their town but three times last summer, and then it was sent up from the lower towns.

I made some inquiries relative to the establishment of schools among them. They observed that it would be a good thing, and some of them expressed a desire to have their children taught. I requested them to think on the subject, and told them that if after mature consideration they should think it advisable to have a school established among them

that we would endeavor to send some good man to live with them who would not want their money or their land, but whose whole object would be to do them good, and to instruct their children. I am firmly of the opinion that this band of Indians will in a short time solicit the establishment of schools among them, unless a contrary influence is exerted to prevent it, which seems to have been the case with this tribe of Indians heretofore. I was much disappointed in the appearance of this village and its inhabitants. It had been represented to me as well as to the Department as the residence of a set of seceders from the confederated tribes, the remnant of the war party who were endeavoring to establish themselves in violation of the treaty of 1832 under chiefs specially precluded in said treaty, when in fact I found it to be the most thriving and populous village in the nation and inhabited by the most sober and orderly Indians, many of whom declare that they came there to get away from the scenes of dissipation that were constantly carried on at the lower towns. We she komequet (or Hardfish) is the acknowledged head chief of this town. He has been objected to by Captain Beach, but more particularly by the members of the American Fur Company, as one of the proscribed chiefs. I have examined the treaty and do not find his name mentioned in it. I find by reference to the treaty of September 28th, 1836, concluded by Governor Dodge with this tribe, that We she ko mequet sat in council as a recognized chief by Governor Dodge, and his name appears signed to the treaty immediately after that of Keokuck's and Pashapahoo's and before that of Appenoose, one [of] the recognized principal chiefs of the American Fur Company's party. There appears to have been no objection at that time to Hardfish as a chief. If there had been, Governor Dodge, who was familiar with all their customs, would have objected to him. This was not done. He was recognized by government as a legitimate chief in this and subsequent treaties, and it seems to me that the company, as well as Captain Beach, is now too late in their objection to him. After a careful examination of this subject, I consider I am bound as superintendent to recognize We she Ko mequet (or Hardfish) as the principal chief of his village, so long as he is acknowledged as such by the inhabitants of that village. Napope, nor any of the other hostages named in the treaty, are acknowledged as chiefs in WesheKomequet's village, as will be seen by the names of the chiefs returned to me and which are included in this report. I have made some inquiry into the history of We she Ko mequet and learn that his father was formerly the principal chief of the Sac tribe who died when he was young; that an older brother was among the chiefs that were murdered by the Menominees some years since; that according to the ancient custom of these Indians We she Ko mequet is now the legitimate head chief of the Sac tribe. He is acknowledged as such by all the tribes except such as are under the influence of the American Fur Company, to whom he has rendered himself obnoxious by his exertions to have the annuity distributed to the heads of families, and his refusal to trade with them. As far as I have

been enabled to ascertain the views and feelings of We she ko mequet, they are entirely of a friendly character toward the government and people of the United States. He appears to be struggling for the rights of his people against the frauds of the American Fur Company. He appears conscious that he is right in advocating an equal distribution of their annuity, and is determined to persevere in that demand until it is distributed.

I have reflected much on the condition of these Indians and am clearly of the opinion that any interference on the part of the government with their local policy or internal regulations would have a deleterious effect and ought to be carefully considered, and I would in this place state to the Department my firm conviction that a longer continuance of the restrictive clause in the treaty of 1832 disfranchising certain families of Indians would be bad policy. Some of the members of these proscribed families are among the most intelligent and responsible Indians in the nation—and which [who, as] by a treaty clause they are deprived of the privilege of participating in the honors of the nation, they cannot be expected to possess those feelings of friendship and regard for the government and people of the United States that they otherwise would if these restrictions were removed. I would therefore recommend that whenever an opportunity may offer, or a treaty be held with these Indians, that the restrictive clause be expunged from the treaty, so that all the Indians in the nation may be placed upon the same footing.

When about to return from the upper village I advised the Indians to meet the chiefs of the company party as friends, and compromise matters among themselves so as to do justice to all. They said it was their wish to do so, that they wanted nothing more than their portion of the annuity, and that they considered it to be their right and would not yield it. I told them that I would not advise them to yield their rights to the company party, but to compromise matters in a friendly manner. They assured me that it was their wish to do so. On my return I met Major Sanford and S. S. Phelps, two of the active members of the American Fur Company, going to the new village. They made inquiry about the opinions of the Indians. I told them what the Indians said. They replied, "They ask too much, we cannot agree to it." I told them that I was satisfied they never would agree to anything but an equitable distribution upon principles of justice to all; that it was in their power to settle all difficulties upon these principles, and if they pushed matters to extremities so as to disturb the peace on the frontier, the company would have to account to the American people for it. They rather tantalizingly replied that "Perhaps Governor Lucas would have to account for it." This conversation took place in the presence of Major Smith and Mr. Goodell.

On my return I crossed the Des Moines River to Appenoose's and Wappello's villages. I intended to visit Keokuck's also, but the Des Moines River had swollen and carried away the canoe so that I could

not cross over. These three villages are situated in the vicinity of the American Fur Company's trading house. They present a dilapidated appearance. The lodges are many of them unoccupied and torn to pieces, and the avenues grown up with weeds. Each of the villages had their complement of war poles standing, but everything about them have evident marks of dissipation and its destructive effects. A gentleman who resides in the vicinity informed me that during the summer there appeared to be an almost constant scene of dissipation and revelry, that whiskey by the barrel had been landed on the bank of the river at Keokuck's town, and that from the noise and confusion kept up at the towns he supposed that upwards of fifty barrels must have been used by them the season. There were but few families with Appenoose in his village, and some of them said they intended to move to the upper village soon. Wappello's village contained more inhabitants than any of the three towns, but many of the lodges on his village had gone to rack. Keokuck's village I was not in, but from appearances across the river it was in no better condition than Appenoose's. Indeed these two chiefs, in consequence of the part they took last year with the members of the American Fur Company in the disposition of the annuity, appear to have driven from them the greater part of their former adherents, and those that have not joined We she Komequet's village are settled for miles along the north bank of the Des Moines River, and live in lodges near where they raised corn. Wappello, I understand, is generally esteemed by his band, and has more inhabitants in his village than Appenoose and Keokuck both. These two chiefs, after declaring publicly that the American Fur Company defrauded them by receiving their money and not paying their debts according to promise, were overawed by Wm. Phelps a few days afterward to go with him to General Street and attempted to recall what they had said. Wappello stuck to his integrity, and would neither rescind or deny what he had publicly said on the subject, hence the continued confidence of his band.

There is a mystery that hangs over the proceeding of the night of the 28th of September, that prevented a council of the Indian chiefs on the morning the 29th as I had recommended, and caused the removal [of] the money from the Indian country. I have inquired of all the chiefs I have seen except Keokuck, and they all said they expected a council in the morning. None of them had heard anything about sending the money away until after it was gone, and I am myself inclined to the opinion that Weshe Ko maquet was right when he said it was a trick of the company, Captain Beach, and Keokuck.

A man who could have no interest in misstating facts (and one whom I understand has subsequently been employed by the company) stated to me in conversation with Major Sanford on the morning of the 29th, in which was expressed the expectation that matters would be compromised and the money paid that day, that Major Sanford replied to him, "We were too quick for you."

On my return from the upper town I met some Indians who informed the interpreter that after I had left the agency there was a secret council held by the members of the American Fur Company, Captain Beach and the four principal chiefs of the company party, to wit: Keokuck, Appenoose, Wappello, and Pow a shiek. The Indians did not know the result of the council, but understood that they had drawn up some writing to send to the President. On my arrival at the agency young Mr. Street handed me some documents. Among them I observed a sealed package, endorsed "On service," directed to the "Commissioner of Indian Affairs." I handed it back to Mr. Street and informed him that it was contrary to the regulations to transmit documents to the Department without the Superintendent knowing their contents. These documents were undoubtedly of a character that Captain Beach did not wish [them] to be seen by the Superintendent. I presume they have been forwarded to the Department by him.

When I consider the difficulties and troubles that have grown out of the spurious documents that were transmitted last May by Major Sanford of the American Fur Company to the Department, and filed as genuine on the 2d of June last, upon which an order of the Department of the 18th of August issued, which has lead to great excitement among the Indians and may finally terminate in difficulty and bloodshed among them, I must protest against the Department receiving any documents that relate to the duties of superintendent of Indian affairs without their having been first submitted to the superintendent for inspection, while I occupy the station of governor of Iowa Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs therein. The people of the territory look up to me as the guardian of their safety and protection against Indian hostilities, and for the faithful discharge of this trust imposed on me I consider myself at all times accountable to the government and people of the United States, and not to the American Fur Company.

(See detached sheet.)

The excitement that had existed among these Indians for the last year has been greatly increased by the late postponement of the payment of the annuity. In answer to the inquiries of the Indians, I told them that the annuities would probably be on for payment in about three weeks (as stated by Major Pilcher when he left the agency). I have been told that the members of the American Fur Company are industriously asserting among the Indians that the annuity will not be paid till spring. This was increasing the excitement and was calculated to dissatisfy the Indians with the government.

Being convinced in my own mind that if the payment was much longer delayed that blood would be shed among the Indians and probably the peace of our frontier be disturbed, I issued an order to Captain Beach, dated the 15th inst., a copy [of] which is herewith transmitted to the Department, marked "B."

The Indians before I left the new town complained greatly of Captain Beach's treatment of them, the particulars of which, in connection

with that branch of the American Fur Company who are trading with the Sac and Fox Indians in the name of P. Chouteau & Co., will be specially communicated hereafter. They insisted on my being present at the payment of the annuity when the money came on. They said they feared if I were not present that the money would not be distributed justly, and that blood would be shed. They said they were ready to compromise with the company party and divide the annuity justly among them. They wanted nothing but their own, and their right they were determined not to yield to the company, Keokuck or anybody else. I advised them as a friend to compromise the difficulty. They said they were willing to do so, and I have little doubt of their sincerity, and I now declare to the Department my firm conviction that if blood is shed among these people and the peace of our frontier be thereby disturbed, that the sin will lie at the door of these members of the American Fur Company, who have been instrumental in producing this state of things. They have the chiefs of their party so completely under their control that they have only to consent to an equitable distribution of the annuity to the different bands upon principles of justice to each, and the difficulty will be settled.

Captain Beach in his report has made unfavourable allusions to Mr. J. P. Eddy, who obtained license last summer as an Indian trader. In justice to Mr. Eddy I must say that he is a man that has sustained a good character for honesty and fair dealings. I know that when the Indians came to this city last spring naked, he clothed them, and when they were hungry he fed them. I was at the trading house of Mr. Eddy⁵ at the upper Sac village. The Indians there informed me that Mr. Eddy furnished them with goods of a better quality and at lower prices than the American Fur Company had done. At the request of Mr. Eddy I looked at his books. They present on their face fair accounts charged to Indians individually, with the price of every article specified. I know nothing of the extent of Mr. Eddy's business. This was a matter that I did not think it my duty to inquire into. I know as far as his influence can extend with the Indians, it will be exerted to promote the views of the government, and the suppression of intemperance among them, and I have been assured that the unfavourable allusion made to him in Captain Beach's report was gratuitous and not warranted by facts.

I have extended this report to an unusual length, but the peculiar circumstances under which it is made has induced me to lay the facts therein contained before the Department without disguise. I am well

⁵J. P. Eddy is the man for whom the town of Eddyville was named. The "History of Wapello County," edited by S. B. Evans, and published by Biographical Publishing Company, Chicago, 1901, and the "Portrait and Biographical Album of Wapello County," published by Chapman Bros., Chicago, 1887, both say Mr. Eddy came there and opened a store as a trader in 1841, but this hitherto unpublished report of Governor Lucas shows he was on the ground the summer of 1840. Mr. Eddy's trading stand was in or adjacent to the village of Hardfish's band of Indians. Hardfish is called by his living relatives "Wes-co-mac."—Editor.

aware of the responsibility I incur by doing so. I am not ignorant of the power and influence of the American Fur Company, or the vengeance with which those who oppose their interests have been threatened by some of their adherents, but none of these things shall deter me from an independent discharge of duty.

In my last year's report I stated that the benevolent designs of government toward the Indians could never be consummated until the power and influence of the traders were counteracted; that they exercised a power and control over the chiefs; that their interests were opposed to the policy of government; that frequently their influence was exerted to embarrass the officers of government in the discharge of their official duties; that the laws were not only evaded but violated by persons in their employ.

The facts detailed in the foregoing report must satisfy the most skeptical mind of the truth of these statements.

The Sac and Fox Indians, from once being warlike and a terror to their enemies, are fast progressing toward extermination. And it seems to me that nothing but emigration from their present residence can wrest them from the avaricious control of the traders, and the blighting effects of intemperance, which combined are fast hastening them to the lowest degree of degradation. I would therefore respectfully solicit the attention of the Department to this subject. I am under the impression that the ensuing year would be peculiarly favourable for treating with them for a cession of their whole country and their removal south of Missouri. The situation of their country has hitherto been described to the Department and need not be repeated. Could a treaty be held with them, in their own country, and the influence of all traders be excluded from such treaty, I have little doubt but that a cession of their whole country could be obtained upon terms advantageous both to the government and these Indians.

The difficulties between the Winnebagoes and the Sac and Fox Indians caused by the murder of some Winnebagoes last year by a war party of the Sac and Fox tribes, and the subsequent murder of two Fox Indians by Winnebagoes, have not been finally arranged. By a treaty concluded between these two tribes last July, the Sac and Fox Indians agreed to pay the Winnebagoes \$5,000 to cover the dead (as they call it) but soon after the termination of the treaty some Winnebago Indians visited the Sac and Fox country as friends, and on their return in company with some Fox Indians, treacherously killed two of them. This murder suspended the fulfillment of the treaty of July, and the money agreed to be paid to the Winnebagoes has been withheld to await the final arrangement of the latter difficulty. While in the Indian country I conversed with several of the Sac and Fox chiefs on this subject. Those of the independent party appeared anxious to have the matter settled. They expressed their wish to have paid over to the Winnebagoes \$4,000 and to retain \$1,000 to be paid to the friends of the

murdered Fox Indians. They thought this course preferable to a demand for the surrender of the Winnebago Indians who committed the murder. I conversed with Wappello, the chief of the band to whom the murdered Fox Indian belonged, and he was in favour of paying the friends of the deceased Fox Indian, but said that according to their custom the relatives of the deceased Indian had the control of the matter. The relatives being in the village, the interpreter inquired what they wished to be done. They said they did not want the Winnebagoes surrendered, that it would do them no good, that they were poor and if the arrangement could be made to pay them \$1,000 of the money that was to be paid by their nation to the Winnebagoes, that they would be satisfied, but observed at the same time that if the money was paid to cover their dead relatives that they wanted it paid to themselves, that they did not wish it to come either into the hands of the chiefs or the company, lest it might be withheld from them.

The letter of the Department on this subject was communicated to Captain Beach, with directions to correspond with Mr. Lowry, agent for the Winnebagoes. I expressed to him my impressions that to demand the surrender of the Winnebagoes would be more likely to create difficulty than to settle the matter the other way, by retaining a part of the money to be paid them. I have not yet learned the result of this correspondence, but trust that the matter finally may be arranged to the satisfaction of all parties.

When I view the present situation of the Winnebago Indians, placed as they are upon a narrow strip of land only forty miles wide situated between the two belligerent tribes of Sioux and Sac and Fox Indians, and bounded in part by the white settlement on the northern frontier of our territory, and consider the unfriendly state of feelings that exists between many of these Indians and the Sac and Foxes, I am firmly impressed with the belief that they cannot long remain in their present situation without collision with the Sac and Fox Indians and perhaps with the inhabitants of the northern frontier of the territory.

While troops are stationed in their country, they may be restrained to remain in it, but no longer, and whenever they begin to wander beyond their own boundaries we may expect a collision to ensue between them and their neighbouring Indians, and probably with the white settlements near the line.

I am therefore of the opinion that a proper regard to the peace of our citizens on the frontier of the territory, as well as the welfare of the Indians, calls upon [the] government for prompt measures to remove them from their present temporary residence to a permanent home south of the Missouri River. The consideration of which I consider it my duty to press emphatically upon the consideration of the Department.

Until I receive the report of Colonel Bruce, agent of the Sioux Indians, I have no information to communicate to the Department further

than was contained in my last year's report, and the report of Major Taliaferro.

To the suggestions in my last year's report relative to a cession of Sioux land south and east of Blue Earth River, as well as the suggestions relative to the laws regulating Indian affairs, I would respectfully solicit the attention of the Department.

Very respectfully

Your obt. svt.,

Robert Lucas, Gov. of Iowa Territ'y
and Superintendent of Indn. Affairs

Hon. T. Hartley Crawford,
Comm'r Indn. Affrs.,
Washington City,
D. C.

COUNCIL BLUFFS FERRY ACROSS MISSOURI RIVER

This Ferry chartered by the Legislature of the State of Iowa, and licensed by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, has been in successful operation for the last year. We are now prepared with good boats and experienced watermen to cross emigrants with safety and despatch. The location and facilities of this crossing are too well known to require a description at our hands. The fact of its being under the eye of the Agent and approved by the Indians to whom we make Semi-Annual payments for the privilege of having a road through their country, ensures their good will towards the Emigrants. The North side of the Platte River is now acknowledged to be the Healthiest, Nearest and Best route to the gold mines. We can cross at Council Bluffs, one hundred or more teams per day having three good boats.

Council Bluffs, April 17, 1850.—2m Wheeling, Townsend, Clark & Co.

The Frontier Guardian, Kaneshville (Council Bluffs), Iowa, June 12, 1850. (In the Newspaper Division of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.)

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