1863 TREATY

OLD CROSSING OF RED LAKE RIVER

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C., January 8, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a treaty made at the Old Crossing of Red Lake river, in the State of Minnesota, on the 2d day of October, 1863, between Alexander Ramsey and Ashley C. Morrill, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, headmen, and warriors of the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians, and recommend, if it meet your approval, that it be laid before the Senate for the constitutional action of that body.

A communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of the 5th instant, and copies of Mr. Ramsey's report and journal relating to the treaty, and a map showing the territory ceded, are herewith enclosed.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. P. USHER,
Secretary of the Interior.

The PRESIDENT *of the United States.*

38TH CONGRESS, 1st Session. [CONFIDENTIAL.] EXECUTIVE, P.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY

MADE AND CONCLUDED AT THE

OLD CROSSING OF RED LAKE RIVER,

IN

The State of Minnesota, on the second day of October, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-three, between the United States of America, by their commissioners, Alexander Ramsey and Ashley C. Morrill, agent for the Chippewa Indians, and the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewas, by their chiefs, headmen, and warriors.

ARTICLE I.

The peace and friendship now existing between the United States and the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians shall be perpetual.

ARTICLE II.

The said Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians do hereby cede, sell, and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to all the lands now owned and claimed by them in the State of Minnesota and in the Territory of Dakota within the following described boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the point where the international boundary between the United States and the British possessions intersects the shore of the Lake of the Woods; thence in a direct line southwestwardly to the head of Thief river; thence down the main channel of said Thief river to its mouth on the Red Lake river; thence in a southeasterly direction, in a direct line towards the head of Wild Rice river, to the point where such line would intersect the northwestern boundary of a tract ceded to the United States by a treaty concluded at Washington on the twenty-second day of February, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-five, with the Mississippi, Pillager, and Lake Winnebagoshish bands of Chippewa Indians; thence along the said boundary line of the said cession to the mouth of Wild Rice river; thence up the main channel of the Red river to the mouth of the Shayenne; thence up the main channel of the Shayenne river to Poplar grove; thence in a direct line to the Place of Stumps, otherwise called Lake Chicot; thence in a direct line to the head of the main branch of Salt river; thence in a direct line due north to the point where such line would intersect the international boundary aforesaid; thence eastwardly along said boundary to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the foregoing cession, the United States agree to pay to the said Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians the following sums, to wit: Twenty thousand dollars per annum, for twenty years; the said sum to be distributed among the Chippewa Indians of the said bands in equal

amounts per capita, and for this purpose an accurate enumeration and enrolment of the members of the respective bands and families shall be made by the officers of the United States: *Provided*, That so much of this sum as the President of the United States shall direct, not exceeding five thousand dollars per year, shall be reserved from the above sum, and applied to agriculture, education, the purchase of goods, powder, lead, &c., for their use, and to such other beneficial purposes, calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of the said Chippewa Indians, as he may prescribe.

Article IV.

And in further consideration of the foregoing cession, and of their promise to abstain from such acts in future, the United States agree that the said Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians shall not be held liable to punishment for past offences. And in order to make compensation to the injured parties for the depredations committed by the said Indians on the goods of certain British and American traders at the mouth of Red Lake river, and for exactions forcibly levied by them on the proprietors of the steamboat plying on the Red river, and to enable them to pay their just debts, the United States agree to appropriate the sum of one hundred thousand dollars; it being understood and agreed that the claims of individuals for damages or debt under this article shall be ascertained and audited, in consultation with the chiefs of said bands, by a commissioner or commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, and that after such damages and debts shall have been paid, the residue of the above sum shall be distributed among the chiefs. Furthermore, the sum of two thousand dollars shall be expended for powder, lead, twine, or such other beneficial purposes as the chiefs may request, to be equitably distributed among the said bands at the first payment.

Article V.

To encourage and aid the chiefs of said bands in preserving order and inducing, by their example and advice, the members of their respective bands to adopt the habits and pursuits of civilized life, there shall be paid to each of the said chiefs annually, out of the annuities of the said bands, a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, to be determined by their agents according to their respective merits. And for the better promotion of the above objects, a further sum of five hundred dollars shall be paid at the first payment to each of the said chiefs to enable him to build for himself a house. Also, the sum of five thousand dollars shall be appropriated by the United States for cutting out a road from Leech lake to Red lake.

Article VI.

The President shall appoint a board of visitors, to consist of not less than two nor more than three persons, to be selected from such Christian denominations as he may designate, whose duty it shall be to attend at all annuity payments of the said Chippewa Indians, to inspect their fields and other improvements, and to report annually thereon on or before the first day of November, and also as to the qualifications and moral deportment of all persons residing upon the reservation under the authority of law; and they shall receive for their services five dollars a day for the time actually employed, and ten cents per mile for travelling expenses: *Provided*, That no one shall be paid in any one year for more than twenty days' service, or for more than three hundred miles travel.

Article VII.

The laws of the United States now in force, or that may hereafter be enacted, prohibiting the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors in the Indian country, shall be in full force and effect throughout the country hereby ceded until otherwise directed by Congress or the President of the United States.

Article VIII.

In further consideration of the foregoing cession, it is hereby agreed that the United States shall grant to each male adult half-breed or mixed blood who is related by blood to the said Chippewas of the said Red Lake or Pembina bands who has adopted the habits and customs of civilized life, and who is a citizen of the United States, a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of land, to be selected at his option, within the limits of the tract of country hereby ceded to the United States, on any land not previously occupied by actual settlers or covered by prior grants, the boundaries thereof to be adjusted in conformity with the lines of the official surveys when the same shall be made, and with the laws and regulations of the United States affecting the location and entry of the same.

Article IX.

Upon the urgent request of the Indians, parties to this treaty, there shall be set apart from the tract hereby ceded a reservation of six hundred and forty (640) acres near the mouth of Thief river for the chief "Moose Dung," and a like reservation of six hundred and forty (640) acres for the chief "Red Bear," on the north side of Pembina river.

In witness whereof, the said Alexander Ramsey and Ashley C. Morrill, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, headmen, and warriors of the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians, have hereunto set their hands, at the Old Crossing of Red Lake river, in the State of Minnesota, this second day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

ALEX. RAMSEY,
ASHLEY C. MORRILL,
Commissioners.

Mous-o-mo, his x mark, Moose Dung, chief of Red Lake.
Kaw-wash-ke-ne-kay, his x mark, Crooked Arm, chief of Red Lake.
Ase-e-ne-wub, his x mark, Little Rock, chief of Red Lake.
Mis-co-muk-quoh, his x mark, Red Bear, chief of Pembina.
Ase-anse, his x mark, Little Shell, chief of Pembina.
Mis-co-bo-noy-a, his x mark, Red Rob, warrior of Red Lake.
Ka-che-un-ish-e-naw-bay, his x mark, The Big Indian, warrior of Red Lake.
Neo-ki-zhick, his x mark, Four Skies, warrior of Red Lake.
Nebe-nequin-gwa-hawegaw, his x mark, Summer Wolverine, warrior of Pembina.
Joseph Gornon, his x mark, warrior of Pembina.
Joseph Montreuil, his x mark, warrior of Pembina.
Teb-ish-ke-ke-shig, his x mark, warrior of Pembina.

May-zhuc-e-yaush, his x mark, Dropping Wind, head warrior of Red Lake.
Min-du-wah-wing, his x mark, Berry Hunter, warrior of Red Lake.
Naw-gaun-e-gwun-abe, his x mark, Leading Feather, chief of Red Lake.

Signed in presence of—
PAUL H. BEAULIEU, *Special Interpreter.*
PETER ROY, *Special Interpreter.*
T. A. WARREN, *United States Interpreter.*
J. A. WHEELOCK, *Secretary.*
REUBEN OTTMAN, *Secretary.*
GEORGE D. CAMP, *Major 8th Regiment Minnesota Volunteers.*
WILLIAM T. ROCKWOOD, *Captain Company K, 8th Minnesota Vols.*
P. B. DAVY, *Capt. Com'y L 1st Regiment Minnesota Mounted Rangers.*
G. M. DWELLE, *Second Lieutenant, 3d Minnesota Battery.*
F. RIEGER, *Surgeon 8th Regiment Minnesota Volunteers.*
L. S. KIDDER, *First Lieut. Com'y L, 1st Minnesota Mounted Rangers.*
SAM. B. ABBE.
C. A. RUFFER.
PIERRE X. BOTTINEAU.

SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA, *October*, 1863.

Having, in compliance with your instructions, succeeded in effecting a treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians for the extinction of their title to the large and important district of country known as the Red River Valley, I have the honor to make the following report of the circumstances connected therewith:

My departure from Saint Paul was postponed, by various causes, to a much later date than I had anticipated or desired. The treaty goods, forwarded by the department, did not arrive till the latter end of August, and the arrangements for an escort for the expedition, which was necessary to the safety of the train, as well upon its route—which lay through a country liable to be infested by hostile Sioux—as when it reached its destination, involved still further delays. Your letter of instructions had led me to rely for this purpose on the cavalry battalion of Major Hatch, of whose experience and influence with the Indians I should have been glad to avail myself. But the unexpected delays in the organization and equipment of this force compelled me to apply to General Sibley, then opportunely returning from his expedition against the Sioux, for a detachment of the mounted troops under his command, which, with whatever other assistance could forward the objects of the commission, was promptly and cordially furnished by that obliging officer.

All arrangements having been completed, I started from Saint Paul on the second of September, taking the route *via* Saint Cloud to Fort Abercrombie, where we were to receive a part of our escort and a quantity of provisions destined for the Red Lake and Pembina Indians, and which were stored there last year, when the outbreak of the Sioux prevented their reaching their destination.

From this post our route lay along the eastern bank of the Red river, through the wide and rich savannas which border this remarkable stream, over a track of our own making, till we crossed the Sand Hill river, whence we diverged to the northeast, reaching the crossing of the Red Lake river on the twenty-first of September.

This place, which, by the route travelled, is about four hundred miles from Saint Paul, was selected as the most convenient rendezvous for the contracting parties, as it was nearly equidistant between the Red Lake and Pembina Indians, and some time before I left Saint Paul messengers had been despatched to notify the chiefs and principal men of those Indians to meet the commissioners at this point. Accordingly, the Red Lake Indians were already encamped on the ground, this unexpected punctuality being doubtless due to the personal supervision of my associate, Mr. Morrill, who had accompanied them from Red lake, and who was now awaiting my arrival.

The Pembina Indians, however, had not yet arrived, and it was determined to postpone the opening of negotiations till they came in, as I deemed it important, for obvious reasons of policy and convenience, to unite both communities in one treaty, and to avoid, if possible, the separate negotiations to which it was found they were inclined.

On the next day, Tuesday, the Pembina Indians arrived in greater numbers than had been anticipated, bringing in their train, as parties to the business in hand, nearly all the half-breed population of Pembina and Saint Joseph, whose attendance was not expected or desired at all. I had explicitly instructed the messengers sent to summon the Indians to the rendezvous, that I desired the attendance only of their chiefs and principal men—though it was hardly expected this injunction would prevent the Indians bringing their families.

By an enumeration carefully taken on the 28th day of September, as a basis for the distribution of provisions, there were found to be present, as the guests of the government—men, women and children—of the Red Lake bands, 579 Indians, 24 half-breeds; and of the Pembina bands, 352 Indians and 663 half-breeds, or 1,618 Indians and half-breeds in all, not more than a hundred of whom, at furthest, would strictly come within the actual terms of my invitation.

It will be seen that nearly two-thirds of the whole Pembina delegation were half-breeds, who came unbidden, under color of their relationship to the Indians, to billet themselves upon the hospitality of the government, and probably to appropriate the lion's share of whatever presents or provisions might fall to the lot of their Indian friends. The messenger or agent who had been authorized to furnish subsistence for the Pembina Indians on their way to the treaty ground, gave as his excuse for bringing so large a number of uninvited guests that the Pembina Indians are completely under the control of their half-breed relatives, and could not have been induced to come unless accompanied by the latter, who have long been accustomed to consider themselves, to a certain extent, the real owners of the soil, and as having even a greater interest in any treaty for its purchase than its far less numerous or powerful aboriginal occupants.

It was now too late, as it would obviously have been impolitic at this juncture, to have disputed this pretension; and it became necessary, therefore, to provide them with subsistence from our inadequate stores, hoping by an expeditious despatch of business to accomplish the objects in view before exhausting our stock of provisions, which, of course, could not have been replenished at that distance from the source of supply. Another powerful motive for hastening the negotiations to as rapid a conclusion as possible was the lateness of the season, the heavy frosts which were unusually early and severe, even for this northern latitude, having already nearly destroyed the grass on which the animals of our cavalry escort and supply train depended mainly for forage. Fortunately, the Indians themselves were equally anxious to return home in time to prepare for the coming winter, and they evinced as much disposition to press the business before them to a speedy conclusion as could reasonably have been expected, considering the laggardness, timidity, and indecision, which ordinarily characterize their deliberations.

Accordingly, on Wednesday, the third day after my arrival, we held our first general council, a report of which, as of all subsequent proceedings, carefully prepared by the secretary of the commission, will be found in the annexed journal. I addressed them at length upon the object of our visit, endeavoring especially to impress upon them the fact that their Great Father desired to make a treaty with them—not in order to obtain possession of their lands, but chiefly with a view to their benefit, and to prevent the recurrence of difficulties between them and his white children passing through their country, and which might end, if not obviated by some timely understanding, in consequences to his red children which he would greatly deplore. I was aware that they were possessed with the belief, partly arising from the fact that several previous efforts had been made to purchase their country, and partly from the misrepresentations of interested parties, that the government was very anxious to obtain possession of their lands, and placed a great value upon the acquisition. I endeavored to disabuse them of this impression, which I anticipated would lead to extravagant demands, and, agreeably to the tenor of your instructions, while emphatically ignoring their right to interrupt or molest the travel and trade passing through their country on any pretext, offered them twenty thousand dollars for a right of way over the roads and rivers of the country, which I regarded as a fair equivalent for a concession which really deprived them of nothing they now enjoyed, and still left them in full occupancy of the country.

I had not the slightest expectation that this offer would be accepted, and was, of course, not disappointed when, at the council held next day, it was emphatically and unanimously rejected. Indeed, it was obvious, from the circumstances of the case, that a satisfactory treaty for a right of way merely could not be effected except upon terms for which they would be equally willing to cede the country itself. It was, in their view, a matter of much less consequence what they surrendered, than what they obtained in exchange for the surrender.

They had long been accustomed to look to a treaty as a means of obtaining comfortable annuities, of the amount of which they had formed the most extravagant expectations, and they very readily apprehended that by merely selling the right of way for the small sum of money they would necessarily receive for it, they would indefinitely postpone the prospect of a more lucrative arrangement, and, perhaps, as they may have fancied, seriously impair the strength of a title on which they had relied as the prolific source of future revenues.

Besides, as these Indians had assumed the right to levy contributions of goods as a toll, or tax, upon merchants or steamboats passing through the country, the formal purchase of a right of way would have implied that such a right did not already exist, and thus have sanctioned an assumption on their part, and inaugurated a precedent on ours, at variance, it seemed to me, with sound policy.

Moreover, it was not unlikely that their vague understanding of the nature of such an arrangement would lead to new complications, which could only be remedied by new expenditures, and, in a very few years at furthest, necessitate a treaty for the absolute extinction of this title. At any rate, it was apparent that such a necessity would very soon be pressed upon the government from another quarter, by the rapid advance of settlement throughout the valley of the Red river. Finally, in view of the unruly disposition manifested by these Indians in consequence of their isolation from the control of the government, it seemed to me of great importance that they should be brought into more intimate relations with its representatives, and more directly under its supervision.

For all these reasons, looking at once to the best advantage of the government, of the Indians, and of the white communities interested in the development and trade of these regions, I deemed it advisable, under the discretionary powers conferred upon me by your letter of instructions, to direct the negotiations with

a view to an absolute purchase of their lands—at least of such of their lands as could, for many years, fall within the possible exigencies of trade, emigration, or settlement.

The failure of previous negotiations for this object warned me that its accomplishment was a task of considerable difficulty and delicacy, owing to the preposterous expectations formed by some of the Indians, the stolid indifference of the large majority to the business before them; and when these were overcome, to the timid reluctance of the chiefs to take the responsibility in a matter deemed by them of momentous importance. The progress of negotiations also developed some elements of sullen opposition to a treaty—small in numbers, but influential and obstinate—consisting of parties who had been concerned in the depredations of 1862, who prided themselves on having frustrated all previous attempts to make a treaty, and who had, therefore, personal reasons of their own, perhaps, for not wishing to be brought into close official relations with the government.

The deliberations of their councils were at first so far controlled by these adverse influences, that their most extravagant wishes were presented as their ultimatum, and they positively refused at one time, with an appearance of unanimity and firmness, to treat for a cession of their lands except for the enormous annuity of one hundred and fifty-five dollars and sixty-two and a half cents ($155 62½) per head for fifty years—equivalent, in the aggregate, to from ten to twelve millions of dollars; and even then the proposed cession embraced but little more than half the area they afterwards relinquished for the thirtieth of the sum first named. Eventually these intemperate views were overruled by the wise councils of the older and more influential men, who wished by a treaty to condone for the past offences of their bands, and prevent future difficulties, and by the general voice of the younger men, the traders and half-breeds, who desired the more substantial fruits of the arrangement.

Persuaded that they could do no better, they were finally satisfied to accept the terms proposed by the commissioners, and this satisfaction was largely increased by some concessions of no great importance, which they gratefully placed to the credit of their own diplomacy.

The treaty was signed, on the third of October, by six out of seven of the recognized chiefs of the Red Lake and Pembina bands—the one dissentient who had led the opposition to a treaty on this as on previous occasions giving a verbal assent, but refusing his signature from motives of pride.

The event, it may be added, was received by all the bands with great satisfaction, which was at least not lessened by their first experience of its substantial benefits in the distribution of goods and provisions which took place on the next day.

The tract of country ceded by this treaty embraces all the American valley of the Red River of the North, except a small portion previously ceded, and is estimated to contain over eleven million (11,000,000) acres of land, equal to half the area of the State of Ohio, though, as the lateral boundaries are defined by the heads of streams, the position of which is imperfectly known, its exact area cannot now be ascertained. The whole of this area may be regarded as ultimately available for agriculture and settlement, the soil being generally of extraordinary fertility and finely adapted to the production of the small grains, though portions of it along the banks of the Red river are imperfectly drained, and are subject to occasional overflow. It embraces all the present paths of commercial travel, and the designated routes of projected railroads and telegraphs between the settlements of Minnesota and the British colonies of northwestern America.

On the east of this tract the Red Lake Indians still reserve a small strip of unceded territory, enclosing the basin of Red lake. With the exception of a narrow border of fertile "hardwood" lands around the shores of that lake,

where these bands now have their homes and raise small crops of corn and potatoes, the tract reserved for their future occupancy, while abounding in game, fish, fields of wild rice, and other resources adapted to the primitive wants of the Indian, is, from the nature of the surface, which may be generally described as a series of impassable swales, entirely valueless to a civilized people.

The Pembina bands, who subsist by buffalo hunting, also retain for themselves a tract of country claimed by them, embracing some of the present favorite pastures of that animal north and northwest of Devil's lake.

The sum stipulated to be paid in consideration of this cession is twenty thousand dollars ($20,000 per annum for twenty years, making, with other expenditures, about five hundred and ten thousand dollars ($510,000) in all.

The amount agreed upon was not, of course, regulated by any supposed standard of value applied to the land, though it is believed that no territorial acquisitions of equal intrinsic value have been made from the Indians at so low a rate per acre, or on terms so advantageous to the government. Terms even more advantageous might have been secured, if the exaction had befitted the dignity, the duty, or the established policy of the government in its dealings with these ignorant savages. But the explicitness of your instructions on this head saves me the necessity of vindicating, on grounds of justice or expediency, the considerations which led me to frame the provisions of the treaty as far as possible for their benefit. With this view their annuities were fixed at a rate per capita nearly uniform with those granted to other bands of Minnesota Chippewas, and for a term of years which ought to witness such an improvement in their social condition as will place them above the necessities which the annuity system is designed to meet.

The stated rate per capita is presumed to be an adequate compensation for such losses as they may be supposed to sustain from the encroachments of the white man, by the diminished range or resources of their hunting grounds; and experience has proved it to be sufficient, if prudently used, to supply some of their most necessary wants, while it is not sufficient to release them from the necessity of exertion, or to support them in a state of idleness.

The amount of annuities was fixed on the assumption that the bands who were parties to the treaty numbered from twelve to fifteen hundred souls, though upon this point it was impossible to obtain any accurate information. From the best data I could collect, it is believed that the Red Lake bands number between eight hundred (800) and one thousand (1,000.) The Pembina bands claim from four hundred (400) to six hundred (600) more, but as the latter Indians live close upon the British border, and make their homes indiscriminately on either side of the line, it is impossible to say how many of their number belong properly to the jurisdiction of that government; and if this treaty should be carried into effect, it would be necessary to institute a careful enrolment, with a view to the ascertainment of this important fact, as, otherwise, a large accession of British Indians, affiliated with the Pembina bands, may be expected to claim a participation in the provisions of the treaty, and thus seriously affect the standard of annuities among the rest, and inflict a gross wrong, especially upon the Red Lake bands.

It is stipulated that three-quarters of the amount of annuities are to be paid in money. This form of payment was regarded as at once the most convenient for the government, considering the great trouble and cost of transporting goods to such remote points, while experience has proved it to be far better for the Indian, as he is proverbially far more prudent in his expenditures of money than in the disposition of articles susceptible of barter. He will often quite as readily exchange a blanket as a half-dollar for an article he desires, especially if that article be whiskey.

An important object of the treaty was the improvement of the Indians. One-quarter of the amount of annuities is to be reserved as a fund for this purpose,

to be converted into such articles, or to be applied to such beneficial objects, as the President may direct; this general phrascology, which admits of such adaptation to special circumstances as may be required from time to time, being regarded as more expedient than a number of provisions directing the specific application of this fund.

The Indians insisted with great urgency, as one of the conditions of the cession that such provisions should be made as would save them harmless in the future, from any responsibility to the injured parties, or to the government, for the depredations and robberies committed by some of their number in 1862 on the property of British and American traders, and they were solicitous that the treaty should embrace some arrangement for the liquidation of their outstanding debts to their traders. It was, therefore, stipulated that one hundred thousand dollars ($100,000) should be appropriated for the payment of those liabilities; and to guard against peculation, it was provided that all claims for damages or debt under this article should be ascertained and audited, in consultation with the chiefs, by a special commission to be appointed by the President. The chiefs requested that Hon. H. M. Rice should be the commissioner, to which I ventured to give my assent, in the belief that no other appointment would be more satisfactory to the department or to the Indians.

It is believed that the provisions of the treaty, if faithfully carried out, will redound greatly to the advantage of the Indians. The peculiar geographical isolation of the Red Lake Indians, especially, affords a rare opportunity for training these simple children of the wilderness in the habits and pursuits of civilization, undisturbed by the corrupting influences which usually counteract all efforts for their improvement, and it was to protect them as far as possible from the destructive agency which has hitherto sealed nearly every Indian treaty with the curse of doom to their wretched race, that the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors on the ceded lands is interdicted by the terms of this treaty until the President shall otherwise direct.

The position of the ceded tract, embracing all the routes of travel, commerce, and emigration between the Mississippi valley and the prosperous British colonies of northwestern America, renders the extinction of the Indian title thereto a matter of the first consequence to the people of this State, and essential, indeed, to the development of the northwest.

The British settlements on the Red river, established fifty years ago by Lord Selkirk, already contain a population of from ten to twelve thousand souls, and are rapidly advancing in numbers, wealth, and importance. The immense fur trade of this region, extending northward to the frozen seas, and westward to the Rocky mountains, finds its outlet through Minnesota over the lands acquired under this treaty. Hundreds of carts are constantly employed, during the summer months, in the transportation of merchandise from Saint Paul to Fort Garry, and recently a steamboat has been placed upon the Red river to accommodate the rapidly growing commerce with this region.

The Hudson Bay Company, whose jurisdiction over these immense territories dates back to the time of Charles the Second, has recently been reorganized on a plan more consistent with the progressive civilization of the age than the exclusive and monopolizing spirit in which its charter has heretofore been administered. This plan contemplates the extension of settlement, of mail, telegraph, and eventually steamboat and railroad communications throughout the whole belt of fertile valleys which span the west half of the continent, from the Red river to the magnificent harbors of Vancouver's bay, and the development of the rich gold and other mineral discoveries on the slopes of the Rocky mountains.

A line of transcontinental telegraph is about to be constructed, under the auspices of the great corporation, from Pembina to the Pacific coast, which will, undoubtedly, be continued by American enterprise to Saint Paul on the east, and, before long, by a submarine chain through the islands of the North Pacific,

to connect on the Asiatic coast with the great lines of telegraph which Russia is establishing from St. Petersburgh to the mouth of the Amoor.

The line of the Saint Paul and Pacific railroad, now in course of construction, runs for two hundred miles northwesterly across the ceded tract, as located by Congress, by which it was endowed with a valuable land grant, with a view to its ultimate extension to the Pacific coast. And it is not the least of the advantages of the treaty that it will now make these lands available for construction.

It was my good fortune, while on my return homeward, to meet Mr. Dallas, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, who expressed the greatest satisfaction that an arrangement had at last been effected with the Indians on the route, which would not only put an end to the annoyances which had heretofore proved a serious check upon the commercial intercourse between the British and American settlements, but remain a great obstacle to the development of the important enterprises above referred to.

Though the original motive to the treaty was the pacification of the Indians occupying the Red River valley, and the removal of the obstructions which their presumption had placed in the way of travel and trade through that region, you will perceive that it was really demanded by considerations of far wider scope, and that its ratification would not only promote the local interests of the communities concerned in the commerce of the valley, but advance the general development of the northwest and strengthen the bonds of international comity.

In further pursuance of your advice, on my return from Red Lake crossing I visited the agency at Crow Wing, with a view, if possible, to adjust the difficulties growing out of the alleged dissatisfaction of some of the Mississippi Chippewas with the treaty concluded at Washington last winter. Advised by Agent Morrill that the chiefs were not then present, but would be assembled at the time of the payment some ten days afterward, I proceeded to Saint Paul, and returned at the time indicated. My arrival was opportune, for the Indians were hesitating about receiving their payment under the apprehension that it would be regarded as a final acceptance of the terms of the treaty, and exclude them from any right of protest in the premises. But upon my assurance that such would not be the case, and that the government would gladly listen to any representations they had to make, and as far as possible modify the execution if not the terms of the treaty, so as to be agreeable to them, their objections ceased, and they at once consented to receive their pay.

By referring to the notes of the council held with the chiefs, it will be seen that their complaints had reference chiefly to the character of the reservation set apart by the treaty; but as I had no information which would lead me to suppose it was not reasonably adapted to their wants, I did not encourage them to expect any change in this respect. If the commissioners then on their way to visit the tract in question shall have found, as I expect they will, that it contains a sufficient amount of cultivable land for the limited agriculture they can be induced to engage in, I should think it unadvisable to place the several bands, as now, upon separate reservations.

But as there is no present exigency which demands their immediate removal, at least from several of their reservations, I would advise that they be permitted to remain thereon for the present, but that the Indian agency be removed, as soon as convenient, to Leech lake, and the Indians taught to look upon it as their future home.

My impression is, that their dissatisfaction is in some degree the mere effect of wounded pride, arising from their not having been consulted in framing the provisions of the treaty. This feeling might be readily removed by some slight concessions, in addition to that above indicated, and for this object I would recommend that two or three of the more influential chiefs be invited to Washington. The intimation that I would urge these points in their favor was received by them with great satisfaction, but no circumstance of my interview with the Indians had a happier effect in assuaging their discontent than the address made by Hole-in-the-Day, of Gull lake, to the chiefs, and which was marked by a breadth and elevation of views which are rare among his race. He advised them to submit cheerfully to the provisions of the treaty, since their Great Father willed it. The chiefs who signed the treaty undoubtedly did so from the best of motives, and he recommended them, by all means, to adhere to it as if they had been original parties to it. A reference to the accompanying journal will more fully explain the position taken by the several chiefs. I need hardly recommend, in conclusion, that compensation be paid to Hole-in-the-Day for the destruction of his house, which is alleged to have been committed by white men during the disturbances of last fall, if, as he believes, a promise to that effect has already been made him by the Secretary of the Interior.

In conclusion, it is proper to say throughout all these negotiations at Red Lake crossing and at the Chippewa agency, I was greatly indebted to the cordial co-operation and advice of Agent Morrill, who was associated with me on this commission. And I regret that the necessity of separating from him at Crow Wing has prevented him from uniting with me in this report.

I omitted to mention in its proper place that after the treaty was signed a written request was prepared by the chiefs of Pembina, that the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars be appropriated for the Pembina half-breeds, who had not succeeded in engrafting on the treaty the provisions for their benefit, which they had desired, and that of this, five thousand dollars be granted to Pierre Bottineau as a token of their esteem, and in return for the obligations which he had placed them under by past services. In accordance with my promise, this paper is respectfully submitted to the department.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

ALEX. RAMSEY.

Hon. WILLIAM P. DOLE,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE NEGOTIATION OF A TREATY WITH THE RED LAKE AND PEMBINA BANDS OF CHIPPEWAS, CONCLUDED AT THE OLD CROSSING OF RED LAKE RIVER, ON THE SECOND OF OCTOBER, 1863, BY ALEXANDER RAMSAY AND A. C. MORRILL.

September 4.—Commissioner Ramsay and the gentlemen accompanying him arrived at St. Cloud last evening *en route* for the proposed treaty rendezvous at the old crossing of Red Lake river. The teams, with provisions and goods to be used in making the treaty, had been sent ahead, and to-day was occupied in completing necessary preparations for the journey.

September 5.—The party left St. Cloud this morning, and met General Sibley's expedition encamped at Richmond, twenty-five miles from St. Cloud. The afternoon was spent in arranging with General Sibley for an escort and transportation for the expedition, and the general's hospitalities were accepted for the night.

September 7.—Reached Sauk Centre yesterday, and to-day was occupied in the organization and outfit of a cavalry detachment under Lieutenant ———, which was to form a part of our escort.

September 8.—We reached Alexandria, where a company of mounted infantry was added to our escort, of which Captain Rockwood took command.

September 11.—Reached Fort Abercrombie to-day, where, although it lay out of a direct route, it was necessary to go in order to obtain a lot of flour and other

articles which were designed for the contemplated treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Indians last year, but which were arrested on their way to the treaty ground by the Sioux outbreak and stored at this point. We were also to obtain here a portion of our escort, of which Major George H. Camp now took command. Our escort and train had now grown to imposing proportions, the former consisting of 180 mounted men, and the latter of 58 army (six-mule) wagons, 13 ox wagons, and half a dozen other vehicles.

September 21.—We reached our destination at the crossing of Red Lake river this morning, having started from Fort Abercrombie on the 13th instant, and taken a route heretofore untravelled, beyond Georgetown, near the east bank of the Red river. This course was followed till we crossed Sand Hill *cou'ée*, whence our route diverged in a northeasterly direction to this point. North of the Wild Rice river, the country over which we passed, bordering on the Red Lake river, for ten or fifteen miles back, may be characterized as a series of low swampy savannas, liable to overflow, and which, in ordinary seasons, would be impassable for times, though the clayey soil was now so hardened by the intense heat and drought of the past summer that our heavy trains made scarcely any impression on its brick-like surface. The soil, however, is extremely fertile, and if reclaimed from overflow, would be equal to the bottoms of the Nile in its productiveness of the cereals.

On reaching the crossing we found Agent Morrill and his party already encamped on the ground, and awaiting our arrival. He had come by the way of Leech lake and Red lake, bringing with him the Red Lake Indians, whom we found encamped in the adjacent woods. The Pembina Indians had not yet arrived. We pitched our tents on a fine broad plateau formed by the widening of the valley of the Red Lake river, which equals the main stream in breadth and volume. The following persons formed the staff of the commission: Secretary of the commission, J. A. Wheelock; assistant secretary, R. Ottman; commissary, Benjamin Thouson; guide, Pierre Bottineau; interpreter, Paul Beaubien; assistant interpreter, Peter Roy. In the afternoon the four chiefs of the Red Lake band, with a considerable number of their braves, came with Agent Morrill to greet Mr. Ramsey, which they did with great cordiality, some of them recognizing him as an old acquaintance, having been parties to a treaty negotiated by him with the Red Lakes and Pembinese at Pembina in 1851.

The commissioner addressed them, telling them that he was very glad to see them, but that he did not wish to enter into council with them till the arrival of the Pembina Indians, as he wished them to act jointly in the matters to be brought before them. He told them that, in the meanwhile, he would endeavor to find them something to eat, an announcement which was received with a grunt of decided satisfaction.

September 22.—To-day the Pembina Indians arrived, bringing in their train nearly twice their own number in half-breeds from Saint Joseph, who insisted on regarding themselves as individually and collectively the guardians and attorneys of the Pembina Chippewas in all matters touching the disposition of their landed interests. Mr. Ramsey also had an interview with the two chiefs of these bands, ending, like the other, in a distribution of provisions, and an engagement to meet the representatives of all the bands in a general council to-morrow, the firing of a howitzer to be the signal of the gathering. The presence of Hole in-the-Day and several other chiefs from Leech lake, who were not parties to the proposed treaty, gave great umbrage to the Red Lake chiefs. They were especially distrustful and jealous of Hole-in-the-Day, whom they suspected of coming there with a view to influence the proceedings in some way for his own benefit. They carried this feeling to such an extent that they refused to speak to or recognize him in any way, and set spies upon his track. Hole-in-the-Day complained of this churlish treatment to Mr. Ramsey, who advised him to go home.

September 23.—At 2 o'clock p. m. the Indians assembled in council in front of the commissioner's headquarters to the number of perhaps a hundred, comprising the chiefs and principal men representing all the bands. The chiefs were named as follows:

Red Lake chiefs.

Monsomo, or Moose dung.
Haw-wash-ke-ne-kay, or Broken Arm.
Little Rock.
May-dwa-gun-on-ind, or He that is Spoken to.
Leading Feather.

Pembina chiefs.

Misco-muk-quoh, or Red Bear.
Ase-anse, or Little Shell, otherwise called Little Chief.

Mr. Ramsey addressed them through the interpreter, Mr. Beaulieu, as follows:

GOVERNOR RAMSEY'S SPEECH.

Chiefs and headmen of the Red Lake and Pembina bands of the Chippewa nation: Your Great Father, the President of the United States, has sent us here as his commissioners to transact some business with you, which he regards as of great importance to your welfare. His people, red, white, and black, are very numerous, and are spread over an immense country, and require a great deal of care.

For all these people, of all these various shades and complexions, he has a great heart. He has a heart big enough to embrace them all, and he would feel very bad it, through any neglect of his, any trouble should grow up between his white and red children. The bad and treacherous Sioux, your enemies and ours, by despising his counsels, have got themselves into trouble; by the murder of your wives and children, and of our wives and children; they have called down upon themselves a vengeance which will surely be visited upon them. They will soon receive the just punishment of their crimes. The Great Spirit has already avenged, in a measure, the wickedness and perfidy of the Sioux; for whereas, a little more than a year ago, they had pleasant homes, blankets to keep them warm, and provisions to fill their bellies, and money to buy what they needed for themselves and families, they have now been driven forth wanderers and outcasts in strange lands, stripped of everything, among tribes who do not want them in their country—without homes, without land of their own, many of them without food, clothing, ammunition, or even lodges. I mean, of course, the Sioux of the Mississippi, those who were engaged in the outrages last fall. Worse things are yet in store for them. Those that sympathize with them, or aid them in any way, will be attended to in good time. The conduct of the Sioux was without any excuse or apology. If they had wrongs, they had only to represent them to their Great Father, who would have promptly redressed them. He lives, it is true, a great way off from them, and has a great many cares; but he is always careful to listen to the complaints of all his children, white or red, and to remove their troubles as soon as possible. The Sioux have not only behaved badly, but they have destroyed all confidence in their faith. They have shown that treaties and pledges, however solemn, have no binding force with them. Hence, hereafter, they will never be believed or trusted. They have proved themselves before all the world a base and treacherous people, and good men and good spirits must hereafter be against them.

I am glad to meet you here, because you have never violated the solemn faith

of treaties, and because, whatever other difficulties have arisen, no white man's blood has been shed by a Chippewa. Now, I repeat it, that the Great Father has an extreme desire that all his people, white and red, should live together on friendly terms. You know that, within the last fifteen years, all the country south of you has been peopled by whites. In those years, in places then as naked of people as the prairies we have passed over, many large and small towns have grown up. Where only a few thousand Indians roamed, now over two hundred thousand people are living in comfort. These people manufacture, buy and sell blankets, clothes, knives, guns, and provisions, &c. They must carry what they buy and sell from one place to another. This gives rise to a great deal of travelling and trade. Steamboats in great numbers, and more and more, from year to year, pass over all the rivers of the country, doing the business of these people. Railroads and wagons pass over all the roads of the country, doing the business of the country, and more of them are employed every year, and greater numbers of people are engaged, and more houses are built, and more farms cultivated, and more blankets made from year to year. This is what we call progress—going ahead—improvement—and all the men in the world could not stop it, any more than they could stop the sun from setting by trying to put their hands upon it.

Now, there is growing up a trade of considerable importance between the British settlements on the north and the American settlements on the south. It is of the highest importance that this trade should be uninterrupted. If that trade goes on without interruption, and grows as it has done, in a short time goods would be furnished them at half the prices they now cost. In twenty years from now, where one cart now passes up and down the road, and one steamboat on the river, a hundred will be seen, and before many years the railroad with the "fire-wagon" will be passing over the country, when they will get into one of those fire-wagons in the morning and reach Saint Paul in the evening.

Now, this is a trade which cannot and must not be interrupted. And their Great Father, feeling this, and desirous to prevent any trouble between his white and red people, has sent us here to come to some understanding with you about it. Their Great Father has no especial desire to get possession of their lands. He does not want their lands at all if they do not want to part with them. He has more land now than he knows what to do with. He simply wishes that his people should enjoy the privilege of travelling through their country on steamboats and on wagons unmolested.

Their Great Father was deeply pained to learn that peaceable merchants passing up to the British settlements were stopped on the way and despoiled of their goods; and once or twice, again, their steamboat on the Red river had been interrupted, and a levy made upon it. He fears that if this is not arranged, trouble will grow out of it beyond his power to prevent. He now appeals, through us, to their chiefs, and to their sages and thinking men, to take measures now to prevent the trouble that will otherwise be sure to arise.

Now, your Great Father thinks that the passing of steamboats and carts through the country does not harm you in any way. It does not deprive you of anything; you have no steamboats nor carts; you lose nothing by it; you can still hunt and fish throughout your country as usual. Now, your Great Father does not want to deprive you of any of this by force or violence. He is willing to give you something to satisfy your reasonable demands, and to take away any pretext for trouble in the future. He is willing to buy the right for his white children.

Now, for this privilege of passing over the country with carts and steamboats, your Great Father is willing (for the sake of a good understanding) to pay you liberally, though it takes nothing from you which you possessed. And though I have not thought much about it, I am willing to give you what I consider a

very liberal price, say twenty thousand dollars; or, if you want to sell your lands and retain a reservation for yourselves, say so. That is all we have to say at present."

No answer was made to this address; but, at its close, *Hole-in-the-Day*, who had been sent for by the Red Lake chiefs, came in and seated himself, as requested by the latter, on the ground between the commissioners and the other chiefs. Then *Little Rock*, the spokesman for the Red Lakers, arose, and, shaking hands with the commissioners, spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF LITTLE ROCK.

My Friends: I hope that you will listen to me once more. I have a few words to say. My friend, I have listened to you before, and I have not listened to you enough. Your words are wise, and we will think of what you say. My friend, it is impossible for me to give any reply to the words you have spoken at present. My friend, I am very sorry to say that there is something squeezing me very hard, and filling me with great grief since I have been here. My friend, I am very sorry to say that what fills me with grief is something which you have along with you. We never would have expected it. I thought that we had a friendly feeling between us, and that we could lay our views openly before you; but it is now impossible to speak freely before you. My friend if you will help me to remove out of the way the thing that is filling us with grief, I shall be grateful. I have never done any wrong that would fill the palm of my hand. My friend, I am afraid that one who talks my own language is the weapon you are going to use against us. My friend, when any negotiations have been had with any other bands of Indians we have never troubled them. We have never been to any of the villages when negotiations were going on. We have never troubled them, and do not want them to interfere with us. That is all I have to say."

At the conclusion of this speech, *Hole-in-the-Day* entered into conversation with the chiefs, and told them, in explanation of the object of his visit, that he had no design to interfere in their negotiations, but came to see the country, and the concourse of strangers. *Little Boy*, a warrior, then replied to *Hole-in-the-Day* as follows:

SPEECH OF LITTLE BOY.

My Nephew: I have a few words to say to you. Last winter, when the messenger came through on his way to Pembina, I said that the government need never fear that the Red Lakers would join the Sioux to fight the whites. That the whites thought that the Red Lakers were siding with you during your raid at Crow Wing, which was false. There is not a single instance where we raised a hand against the white man. The white man has always supported us, and every time I have met any white man or half-breed I have shaken hands with them. We do not do as you have done, go and shake hands with the Sioux, and then come back and shake hands with the white man. We never would assist you nor any other man to raise hands against the white people, and we do not want such a notion to be abroad. My nephew, we have heard that you were coming here for the sake of raising trouble amongst us. We have heard from the prairies that you were in correspondence with *Little Crow* and his bands. We want it distinctly understood that we want nothing to do with you or with your plans. Now I have uttered the words that were reported to our bands. Let those that have heard the words from the Sioux speak.

Several of the Pembina Indians here responded: "Kaget, that is true; we heard it ourselves from the Sioux."

Hole-in-the-Day responded, "that whoever said these things were liars," and the council broke up. This incident, illustrating the state of feeling between *Hole-in-*

the-Day and the Red Lake chiefs, though irrelevant to the proceedings of the treaty, is deemed worth recording in view of the suggestions contained in the instructions of the department to Mr. Ramsey, that it might be expedient or feasible to set apart a reservation for *Hole-in-the-Day* and his band in the Red Lake country.

Thursday, September 24.—The chiefs sent word that they would be ready to meet us at noon. They accordingly came at the time appointed, with some fifty or sixty of their principal men. Mr. Ramsey having announced that he was ready to hear what they had to say, *Little Rock*, of Red Lake, who it appears had been appointed spokesman for the Red Lake Indians, arose, and after the usual ceremony of shaking hands with the commissioners, spoke as follows:

LITTLE ROCK'S SPEECH.

My Friend: I shall, in the first place, state to you how my thoughts are. What I am to say I speak with truth and confidence. I want the earth to listen to me, and I hope also that my grandfather may be present to hear what I have to say, and I invoke the Master of Life to listen to the words I have to speak. I hope there is not a single hole in the atmosphere in which my voice shall not be heard. My friend, the question you have laid before us is of great importance to us. We have heard the words you have uttered, and understand them partially. Now I am going to speak on that subject.

My father and my friend, in looking at me and at my body, you see that I am an Indian of veracity. There is nothing that sticks to my skin in the shape of crime—that which you detest the most. I hate lying and theft just as you do. I have never done any wrong.

My friend, I do not consider myself a chief. These (pointing to the Indians behind him) are the chiefs, and those are their braves. I am but going to interpret their words. In the same light in which your Great Father sent you as a representative, I meet you as the representative of these chiefs and young men. I responded to the words of our Great Father, and I hastened to meet you at your request. It is impossible, when your Great Father sends you on an errand, for you to dispute his words. In the same way, it is just as impossible for me to dispute the words of those for whom I speak.

Now, my friend, I am going to show you how we came to occupy this land. The Master of Life placed us here, and gave it to us for an inheritance.

You can see far towards the east where our grandfather comes from. Our grandfather's tracks are perfectly plain and visible, not only here, but they strike away off to the west. My friend, it is very often that we have heard your voice, (that is to say, the voice of the government agents sent to make a treaty,) on the matters you have presented to us, and now we listen to you once more.

Whenever I look around I see, and I suppose you see it also—I see gold glittering on the soil we inherit. The land belongs to us. We should be very sorry for you to set a value upon the land for us and make us an offer as you did yesterday, before you heard our offer. I want to give you an answer to one thing you said yesterday about the road which passes through here and the river. You told us they were not of much importance to us. The Master of Life gave us the river and the water thereof to drink, and the woods and the roads we depend on for subsistence, and you are mistaken if you think we derive no benefits from them. The Master of Life gave it to us for an inheritance, and gave us the animals for food and clothing. I suppose that you are like myself—you hate everything that is bad. You hate crime; you hate lying; you hate theft. It is just the same with me. My heart, *it is made of silver, and the earth that I tread on is silver also.* That is enough for the present.

Little Rock here resumed his seat, when *Red Bear*, representing the Pembina bands, advanced and said:

RED BEAR'S SPEECH.

I do not see any obstacle on my back track toward my village. I look upon myself in the same light as you do upon yourself. You are here upon a visit to lands that do not belong to you. It is just the same with me. I am on a visit on lands that do not belong to me. I did not bring my land with me to lay it before you. I am borrowing the use of the house where I am come to meet you. When I said that there was no obstacle in my back track towards my village, I meant that there was no blot on my character. I have been guilty of no crime, and that is the reason why I feel I have a right to speak freely to you. That is all I have to say at present.

Red Bear did not participate in the depredations committed by the Pembina Indians on the steamboats on Red river, but used every exertion to put a stop to them, and it was probably to this he alluded.

Mr. Ramsey, to the interpreter: Say to the chiefs that we have listened with respect and pleasure to them as the representatives of those who have occupied the country for many ages, and because we believe them to be honest and honorable men, as they have told us they were, and we shall always listen to them with respect during the progress of these negotiations.

In the history of our race we also recognize the Master of Life. We have no doubt the Master of Life placed them upon the soil where we find them. He also placed other Indian tribes upon the soil in the regions adjacent to them. Many of these Indian tribes have evidently forgotten the lessons which the Great Spirit impressed upon them, and because they have not listened to his voice have come to trouble. We cannot tell what are the motives of the Great Spirit, but, for some reason which we know to be wise and good, he has brought another race with different habits and different ideas from theirs around and about them. It is possible they may not be making the best use of the lands which the Great Spirit has given them. They have broad lands here, occupied by about a thousand men, that the system of cultivation and settlement adopted by the white race would support a thousand times, and perhaps ten thousand times, that number. They were great hunters when the Master of Life placed them here, but they were very destitute of many things necessary to their comfort, and even to their subsistence, and the Master of Life placed around them a race, made and brought to them guns, powder, shot, lead, blankets, cloth, and a hundred things which they could not make themselves, and without which they would perish from starvation and cold. It is probable that the Great Spirit had in view the mutual advantage of both races in bringing them together. They have lands here which many of them never see, and from which they derive nothing whatever, which, if occupied by white men, would yield them abundant food, blankets, and whatever else they need.

The Great Spirit finds them and their women and children cold and miserable for want of blankets and other comforts, and he evidently designs that they shall depend less upon the gun and more upon the hoe. So, while he takes away some of the animals on which their ancestors subsisted, he sends in their place a people ready to furnish them all they need for their subsistence, the means of greatly improving their condition, and through us he opens an opportunity for them to accept these new comforts, these gifts of the Great Spirit. They cannot help seeing the hand of the Master of Life in this. When I spoke to them yesterday I simply stated to them the wishes of their Great Father, and that, from a sincere desire to promote their welfare, and to prevent difficulties such as had already arisen, and were likely to arise again, he wished to take away a subject of contention between them and his white children, by buying a right of way through their lines, and to take them more immediately under his care.

As I wished to be honest and frank with them, I stated to them about what

I thought it would be worth to us. I stated to them very plainly, that if the offers were not agreeable to them they should make another proposition. The Great Father had several times offered to purchase the land, not because he wanted it for settlement—at least during the lifetime of the youngest of them, but because he wanted a free passage over it in order to avoid quarrels between them and his white children, which he feared might get beyond his control. By selling it they insured their own peace and security, and an annual supply of money, goods, and other things of which they were now in want, while they deprive themselves of nothing of any value to them. If they sold the land they could still occupy and hunt over it as heretofore, probably for a long time. It would not probably be wanted for settlement before the youngest man among them was a grey-headed old man. Now, I wish them to take my propositions into consideration, to talk them over among their chiefs and young men right here, and to give some sort of an answer before we part, or at any rate to come here with an answer to-morrow. When the advantages are so obvious to them, it surely cannot require much reflection to come to a conclusion. It certainly was a large price I offered them for the privilege of passing over their territory. It is not the custom of the Great Father to ask his children, white or red, for the privilege of passing over their lands; but I made them this offer, as I said before, because their Great Father wished to prevent difficulties between them and his white children, and out of his concern for their interest and welfare.

Tell them, that in listening to the chiefs, when they said that no crime rested upon them—which I am willing to believe—I was very sorry that they did not offer some explanation or excuse for the violence committed by some of them upon some of the traders at the Grand Forks, and on the steamboats passing up and down the river. I have voluntarily abstained from saying much about this heretofore, because I hoped they would offer some apology voluntarily for it. As I said before, with the exception of these depredations on property, the whites and Chippewas of this country have heretofore lived in peace. No blood has been shed between them, and in order that no difficulties occur in future leading to this deplorable result, let them now come to some understanding before we separate. If they do not like my proposition, let them make one for themselves. I have candidly given them my views. Now let them as frankly give theirs. We are all friends together here, and there ought not to be any difficulty in coming to some conclusion before we separate. Tell them also that it was the desire of their Great Father, in the event of their making a treaty, that their half-breed friends should have homes upon the ceded tract—each one a farm, which should be secure to himself and his children.

When the commissioner had concluded, *Little Rock* again arose, again shook hands, and responded as follows:

LITTLE ROCK'S RESPONSE.

My friend, you have spoken the truth. My friend, the reason that I have spoken in the way I have, comparing my heart to a piece of bright metal, is this: that I am without crime; and I have always desired to secure for myself and all our bands perpetual peace and friendship with the whites. This is true, my father, that you cannot point out a single instance in which any of our chiefs, young men or braves, have shed a white man's blood, and that is the reason why I spoke as I did, and thought we had a right to speak with perfect freedom of speech. About the road and that river which flows in that direction, which the Master of Life has given me, there is where I get my living. My dependence is upon that prairie. The Master of Life has placed upon these prairies animals from which I live. Their meat is my food, and their skins are my clothing It seems now that the white man is passing backward and forward, and wresting these prairies from our hands, and taking this food from my mouth. I

My friend, when we take anything which has been left upon the ground, even though it be of small value, we feel bad. We are afraid to look the owner in the face until we restore it. Now, about committing depredations and stealing: you are aware that the Great Spirit has given us the animals for our support. When your young men steal anything, you make them pay for their depredations. That is the way we look upon those white men who drove away the animals and the fish the Great Spirit has given us for our support.

(It will be observed here, as in the whole tenor of his speeches, Little Rock ingeniously justifies the depredations alluded to, without acknowledging that any were committed.)

Do you suppose we are ignorant that the amount of money you offer us is a mere handful, and would not go but a little ways towards paying for what I think you alluded to. (Compensation for depredations, probably.) My friend, we have counselled together, and found a basis of action, and directed our young men how to proceed. It may be, my friend, that you will be pleased to listen to the proposition which I have to make to you. Spare us a little more time, that we may think the matter over again.

We want you distinctly to understand that the proposition you made us yesterday (twenty thousand dollars for the right of way) we do not accept; we do not think of it at all. My father, I stand before you as one chosen out of the whole to speak. There is one thing I wish to bring to your notice. The sun shines clear to-day, and everything is beautiful. I do not know whether there are any enemies prowling about, but it is possible there may be, and our young men should be supplied with ammunition that they may be ready to meet them. That is one thing you have not thought of; if they should come here they would disturb our council; and another thing, when we come into council we smoke all the time, and we have consumed all the tobacco you have given us.

MR. RAMSEY TO THE INTERPRETER.

Tell them I recognize the fact that the business before them is of great importance to them, and I do not wish to press it with unreasonable haste, but that the weather is growing cold, the grass is getting withered up, and we have long journeys to make before it is entirely eaten up by the frost, so that the business before them should be attended to with all possible despatch.

In reference to what he says about the Sioux, tell him that our war chief here would wish nothing better than to see them; and if they will bring them here, or let the war chief know where they are so that he can get at them, we will issue them an extra ration of flour, beef and pork. As to tobacco, if he remembered rightly, a large supply was given them a few days ago, which they could not have used up. There must be some mistake about it.

Little Rock, (sitting and tapping the empty bowl of his pipe,) "There is a mistake, but the place where it is is in the bottom of my pipe."

Mr. Ramsey then explained to them that he had great difficulty in issuing rations in the proper proportions to the different bands, from the want of any accurate knowledge of their numbers, and they agreed to his suggestion to gather their bands in their lodges, in order that their numbers might be counted. The council then broke up to receive a supply of provisions and tobacco.

Saturday, September 26.—One object of these notes of the treaty proceedings is to preserve the highly characteristic and original specimens of Indian rhetoric and diplomacy, which were brought out in the course of the negotiations. These illustrations of Indian oratory have at least one merit, which does not always belong to the current and popular specimens of aboriginal eloquence—they are genuine. We were fortunate in our interpreter, Mr. Paul Beaulieu, whose thorough acquaintance with the Chippewa language, and ready command of English, enabled him to give as close and faithful a rendering of the Indian

forms of expression, and the current of his ideas, as is possible in so different an idiom. There are two reasons which give a special interest to the speeches made in behalf of the Red Lake Indians, who alone took an active part in the proceedings: the first of which is, that the Red Lakers are among the purest representatives extant on the continent of the Indian race in its original characteristics—a fact which they owe to their geographical isolation from the influences which have corrupted the blood and modified the manners of other Indian communities; and another reason is, that the occasion was one of extraordinary importance to the Indians concerned, constituting a supreme crisis in their history, and especially fitted, from the nature of the topics involved, to call out all their mental resources, and all their political and ethical ideas.

On Friday the wind blew so furiously, and raised such clouds of the black ashes which a succession of prairie fires had mingled with the light sands, that the intended council was necessarily postponed until to-day, when, at a late hour, the Indians assembled on the council ground. Commissioner Ramsey having announced that he was ready to hear what they had to say, *Little Rock*, after the usual exordium of hand shaking, treated the commissioner to the following oracular, and therefore somewhat enigmatical exposition of the lofty mythological or theosophic grounds on which the Red Lakers rest their title to the soil as against the intrusive whites, and which are interspersed with some explanatory comments kindly furnished me by the interpreter.

LITTLE ROCK'S ORATION.

Well, as it is, my friend, I could not make up my mind to give you an answer on the questions that you asked me. Just in the same capacity in which you are, so am I. I am going to talk for the chiefs here and the young men. The reason that I say we are alike, is that you are representing one party, while I speak for the other. We cannot act hastily. Even in matters of little importance it takes a great deal of deliberation before we can arrive at any conclusion. But this is a matter of great importance to us, as I infer from what you said, and requires a great deal of thought lest we go wrongly. This is the way that I am. Sometimes when we look around, we hear sounds coming from all directions, but when we look around for them we do not understand what they are, or whence they come. When I hear these sounds early in the morning, I get up and look around and make a circle that I may find where they come from. When I make that circle I invariably find the tracks of something, either a wild animal or an enemy, and I follow him up till I find him. That is the way I have done. I have heard a sound which I did not understand. I have gone out and made a circle, and found the tracks of one who wanted to see me. I have followed the path I was requested to follow to find the person I was requested to meet. (By all which he means he was invited to meet the commissioners, and had accordingly come.)

My friend, I am like you, I like cleanliness. (The boast, I regret to say, was hardly sustained by the appearance of his shirt.) Generally, when I am going to meet my friends in council, I have my wigwam swept so that no dirt may stick to their garments. It is impossible for me to speak in a dense forest. I must speak in the open air. That is the reason my lodge is swept. (He means by this that in order to talk freely, past offences must be overlooked and forgotten.)

My friend, I have been hunting for the track. I have found the track of the person who made that sound, but I do not yet understand what he means by that sound. In looking in that direction (pointing towards the west) I do not know where I should stumble against anything. Looking on that side (pointing to the east) I stumble upon something that issues from the ocean, and I see from whence the foot-prints come which I am now following. In looking back on my trail that I have made in following them from the other side of the ocean, I find the tracks of that foot-print everywhere, and the ravages it has made, (meaning the white race and its aggressions on Indian territory.) I will follow him, and never leave him at rest till he builds me a house in the place that my grandfather came from. I will follow him, and never leave him at rest till I get to the place where my grandfather lives, (meaning that he wishes to attain the same security, and be restored to the same independence he enjoyed by the favor of the Deity before the white man came.) And I have followed the trails till I have reached the place where I now stand. I have followed it to this place, and here I now stand before him who made the tracks; but before I know whether he is the one who made the tracks, I look down to the ground to see whether they have not sunk into the ground, (whether he has not vanished under ground.) I see nothing there. Then I look up into the air, (to see whether he has taken flight in that way,) and I see no traces of him there. So it must be the one who stands before me.

My friends, in looking at the tracks of the person I have been following, I see a great many things in the tracks that he has made. (He has brought a great many people, and different kinds of people with him.) But I do not see any of my children that have been given to me to live in the house that my grandfather built for me. I do not see any of my children that the Master of Life has given me, (meaning the white people have brought no Indians with them to give a claim to the lands.) I look around me and see many things. I see animals that are not the kind of animals that were given to me when I was first put here, (a sly hit at our mules.)

That is the reason you have not understood me in my talk before. I wanted to follow the footsteps to the end, (meaning that he was not understood before because he had not developed his theory of the Indian title to the soil as its original possessors.)

Now, my friend, I am going to show you a little. You know partially what I am going to say. Here, on this track, is where my grandfather was placed—the one who made the soil. The Master of Life, when he put you here, never told you that you should own the soil; nor, when the Master of Life put me here, did he tell me that you should own the soil. I see the place that was made for you on the other side of the great sea. At the time my grandfather was put on the soil there were two creatures of every kind, of different sexes, that were put along with him, from which he was to get his food and clothing. The words that were told to my great-grandfather you shall hear, but shall not comprehend. At the time that I speak of there was a big stake planted with a torch at the end, so that there should be perpetual light over that soil, and it is that light that the great-grandfather has spread over the land.

And now that which he has given to his children for an inheritance has been shaken to the winds. You have trodden it under your feet. My friend, at the time I speak of they put four doors (pointing to the four cardinal points) for my great-grandfather's house. They put persons to guard the doors—a guard at each door. This is what was spoken by my great-grandfather at the house he made for us. He was the one who spoke it. And these are the words that were given to him by the Master of Life: "At some time there shall come among you a stranger, speaking a language you do not understand. He will try to buy the land from you, but do not sell it; keep it for an inheritance to your children."

My friends, if you want to understand me more thoroughly, take away from me what squeezes me—what afflicts me in my feelings. Take away that which squeezes me, and then you shall hear different words. You shall hear the words you want to hear. (He means, in this obscure manner, to ask that they be not held accountable for the depredations committed on Red river; and what follows is a prudent protest against extending to them the laws and penalties

for crime which obtain among the whites, probably inspired by a sense of deserving some punishment for past offences, and by a recollection of the trial and execution of the Sioux.) My friend, my young men are not all of the same disposition, nor are your young men of the same disposition. We cannot always control them. My friend, I was not higher than that (lowering his hand to the height of a small boy) when I last said "father" to the one I used to call my father. When I was young and nothing but a child, I was crazy and foolish as a child. When my father cut a switch and broke it over me, I did not resent it. Now, it would be hard for the child to take the switch and strike his father in return for his kindness. And another thing: my father never made a deep hole in the ground that he might take me and lock me up in it. This is a thing that I hate. And another thing my father never did: he never put up a stick with a cord attached to it around my neck for any mischief I have done. That is also a thing which I hate.

My father, we know that you are powerful, because you tread the ground with power. There is so much dignity in the power that is vested in you, and you are such a great chief, that you would not even dare to kill a little bird for fear you should think it harm. That is the way with me, too. I am almost as high as the heavens. My voice is heard everywhere. I am unimpeachable. My friend, I should have been at great loss what to say if you had not awoke my grandfather (*i. e.*, consulted the Deity.) My father, this is all I have to say. If you will take away that which I hate, (*i. e.*, the imputation of crime and liability to punishment incurred by their depredations, and the prospect of subjection to the restraints of civilized law,) you shall have an answer immediately. My father and friend, you know very well that we also are not without work to do. We might sit here without understanding each other till snow falls, but it is impossible to come to an understanding without removing the thing we hate. I want to hear your views, that we may come to an understanding. I have not gone to your house, but you have come to mine, (*i. e.*, the meeting is of your own seeking, and the proposition is to come from you.)

Our minds are made up to this: that until the thing is removed which we hate we shall not come to an understanding. Our young men and children have made up their minds to that.

My friend, formerly when I looked at myself I did not consider myself poverty-stricken at all, because there was plenty of game in the country. The reason I spoke of my poverty is because the evil spirit has taken away all the animals which used to live in the country.

All this I have said, not in a bragging spirit. We do not wish to give you offence. We are just stating our minds. We meet here as friends. Every now and then, when we come to see you, you are always pleased to give us plenty to eat. I know that the season is far gone. You shall go and tell your Great Father what you have said, and I shall go and tell my Great Father what I have said.

This ended the speech of *Little Rock*, who now resumed his seat. The prospect began to grow dim that a title derived from sources so metaphysical and supernal, and fortified by claims so exalted and traditions so sublime, could be bought by any such terrestrial dross as money and blankets.

MR. RAMSEY TO THE INTERPRETER.

Tell the chiefs that when we last met here I expected some business would be done, or at any rate that something would be done this meeting. In our first council I made them an offer for the free use of roads and rivers, and they declined it. I asked them for some compensation for the wrongs they had committed on the whites, and I have no answer to that. When I go to see the Great Father I must take him back an answer on that subject certainly. Tell

them that the silver voice which *Little Rock* heard was the sound of the twenty thousand dollars that I offered them for the road and rivers. That is undoubtedly the sound which took him on the trail. Tell him that we know very well that the Great Spirit originally placed them here, and our ancestors on the other side of the ocean. But the Master of Life saw they were in want of many things; in want of powder and shot and guns, of knives and axes and blankets, of leggins, tobacco, clothes, and many other things, and he sent a new race over here to supply their necessities. Tell him that we have a new revelation on that subject. They have come to be entirely dependent upon this race for all the articles I have mentioned, and a great many more. If they were now to turn over this land—which subsists scarcely a thousand Indians in poverty—it would support in comfortable homes ten thousand times that number of people, who would add to their comfort also by supplying them with the articles they want. For some wise reason which we cannot comprehend, the Great Spirit is pressing these white people all over the country.

We cannot help it; no one can help it; it is the work of the Great Spirit. As I told them before, the Great Father at Washington, with a sincere desire for their welfare, and a big heart, wishes to prevent the difficulties that might occur by the meeting of these two races without some mutual understanding. I told them plainly before that we do not care so much about the land; all we wanted was security for the travelling over it, which we could not help, but which would go on. They would not sell this right of way. Then I told them if they preferred to sell the lands to say so. I addressed their old men and chiefs, and expected an answer immediately. I may say to them now, that in selling the land they may reserve as much as they choose within reasonable limits for hunting and agriculture, and that a farm will be given to each of their half-breed friends. Now, if they want to sell, I want them to tell me where they want that reservation, and how much land they want. Probably the Red Lake Indians will want one reservation, perhaps, at Red lake, and the Pembina Indians another on the other side of Red river. From what we give them for this land, which is worthless to them, they would get provisions, powder, lead, blankets, &c., every year. In addition to that, they would have the privilege, for many years at least, of hunting over these lands as before. They would thus lose nothing they now have, while they would gain much they have not. Then they have debts to pay and compensation to make for wrongs done to travellers. I surely cannot go home without an answer to that. Then think what a pleasant thing it would be at the opening of winter for them to take home a blanket for their wives and children, and to do that every winter. Tell them that I know the difficulty of doing business in a large council like this, and it would be better for the chiefs to meet me and agree upon something which they could afterwards submit to their people.

Little Rock now rose again, and requesting permission to be seated on the ground, as he was exhausted by his previous efforts of eloquence in front of the commissioners, spoke in a much lower tone than before, as if it was graduated to the humility of his posture, as follows:

LITTLE ROCK'S REPLY.

My friend, this is true. There is not a word of what you said but what I understand thoroughly. I will tell you frankly what I think, what the chiefs think, and all our young men. My friend, I will tell you frankly. Put aside that which I have spoken of, and you will see that our words will be different. My friend, these three things which I have marked upon the ground (he traced some lines on the ground with a stick) you do not want very much. If you had wanted a right of way over the roads and rivers you would have consulted us first before you took it. We know you hate crime, you hate lying, you hate

theft, and all wrong-doing. That is just the way with us. We hate these things. My friend, it is a candid fact, there is not an instance of that kind which can be brought against me. I hate crime, I hate lying, I hate theft, just as much as you do.

My friend, it is only twenty boxes of money you want to give me for that road and river; and how long before you will cease from using it? Ever since I can remember, and perhaps since the world was made, the river has given me sustenance. Since steamboats were put in it they have driven away the game and made me poor. You say that the land is not of much value to us. It *is* of great value to us. By your use of it you have made a great deal of money. If it had not been for your travelling over it, it would have been of great use to us. Before you began to travel on these roads, or to put anything in that river, we might have come to an understanding. I do not know who opened that door. That river furnished me a living. I drank its water. The beasts that engendered on its shore gave me the clothing that I wore. You say it was of no value to us. It is there we used to get everything we had. I have finished.

Little Rock here rose from the ground, where he had been sitting in front of the commissioners, and took his seat among the chiefs.

Mr. Ramsey: Then I understand him to say that he does not want to do anything. Is that it?

Little Rock, (from his seat:) I told you if you would not press that thing upon me (again referring to their liability to punishment for depredations mentioned by Commissioner Ramsey) you should see that I wanted to do something.

Mr. Ramsey: Very well; tell him that I have made several propositions, and am waiting for an answer to them.

Little Rock: I expect you to understand that I speak the truth, and that I will do what I say when our demands are granted.

A pause of several minutes ensued, during which the interpreter explained to the commissioner the meaning of Little Rock's enigmatic speech, and the nature of his demands. He required to be assured that they should not suffer punishment for their depredations on the commerce of the Red river, and should not, if a treaty were made, come under the operation of the white man's laws for offences committed among themselves.

Mr. Ramsey: Tell him that if he really desires to make an agreement with me, all those matters of which he speaks, as I now understand them, may be satisfactorily adjusted.

As soon as this was interpreted, Little Rock rose hastily, with a gratified expression of countenance, and, again shaking hands with the commissioners and interpreter, said:

Little Rock: My friend, I shall say a few words to you. I have told you of my way of thinking. Do you intend to do what I heard in the last words you uttered—that my children shall not be troubled hereafter about the past?

Mr. Ramsey: Say to him yes; I intend to do what I promised.

Little Rock, (with gratified eagerness of manner:) Now the obstacle is away from our path. In the humor in which I now am, I can speak all day. Now, my friends, the council is adjourned. We will go alone and consider the business before us, and give you an answer immediately. My friends, there is a kind of wild beast roaming about here that I don't like to see.

Mr. Ramsey: Tell him I will kill them.

Little Rock: I know that you are a good hunter, and I would like to see if you couldn't kill some of these wild beasts for us.

In accordance with the notification made to the Indians at the last council, an enumeration had been taken in the morning of their various bands, by several military officers and other gentlemen who volunteered their services for the occasion. They were counted in their lodges, when they were assembled by their chiefs for the purpose, with the following result:

By whom numbered.	Name of chief.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Lodges.	Total.
Mr. Thomson	Little Chief	109	119	214	.....	442 half-breeds.
Do	....do	7	10	10	.....	27 Indians.
Mr. Ottman	Red Bear	98	91	136	40	325 Indians.
Do	....do	59	62	100	.....	221 half-breeds.
Capt. Rockwood	Moose Dung	62	65	83	27	210 Indians.
Capt. Davy	Little Rock	92	.....	.....	.....	92 Indians.
Do	May-dwa-gun-on-ind	.....	.....	.....	28	193 Indians.
Do	....do	.....	.....	.....	.....	24 half-breeds.
Do	Broken Arm	.....	.....	.....	11	84 half-breeds.
						1,618

Pembina Indians	352
Pembina half-breeds	663
Red Lake Indians	579
Red Lake half-breeds	24

The Indians were now apprized of the result of this enumeration, which was to form the basis of future issues of rations.

Mr. Ramsey explained to them that to-morrow, Sunday, was a sacred day among the whites, and he could do no business with them in council, but if any of the chiefs wished to see him, they were free to visit him during the course of the day. He would meet them again in council on Monday morning, when a big gun would be fired as a signal for the gathering.

In the evening great alarm prevailed in the camp of the Red Lake band, occasioned by reports that Sioux were in the vicinity. Late in the evening the Red Lake chiefs came over to the commissioner's camp, accompanied by Mr. Morrill, to request an interview with Commissioner Ramsey. They represented to him, through *Little Rock* and *May-dwa-gun-on-ind*, that they felt certain that Sioux were in the neighborhood—that their camp being in an exposed situation, would fall an easy prey to their foes; and, for this reason, requested a supply of powder and lead. They referred to the fact that, on a previous occasion, when they had intimated their suspicions that Sioux were about the encampment, Commissioner Ramsey had requested them, if they found any signs of Sioux, or anything to indicate their whereabouts, to communicate the fact to him. They now came, they said, to tell him what they had heard, and why they thought Sioux were in the vicinity. One of their young men, they said, had come in from Pembina, bringing the intelligence that, before the departure of the half-breeds from Saint Joseph, they had agreed with the Sioux to pitch their camp below that of the whites, and all others on the river; and that in the event of making an attack on the whites and Indians, they would respect the half-breeds' camp thus indicated by the locality. This intelligence they professed to have derived through parties in communication with the Sioux. They also stated that they heard yesterday that a half-breed, who had been down the river, had met some Sioux, and had agreed with him that, as a further protection, a white flag should be displayed at the half-breed camp, which they were to pass by in their proposed onslaught on the whites and Indians, including the Pembina Indians, encamped on the prairie and in the woods above. They represented themselves as entirely without ammunition, and in an exposed situation, and too far outside the lines of a military camp to avail themselves of the promised protection of our soldiers in case of an attack. To the suggestion that they should send out scouts to hunt for traces of Sioux, they

responded that that was just what they wanted to do. A small supply of ammunition was given them, and they returned to their camp. Soon after, a party of their young men went out in the bright moonlight on a scouting expedition, and, for further security, they put a patrol around their camp.

Monday, September 28.—On Monday, at a late hour, the Indians again assembled in council. Little Rock made another of his enigmatical and noncommittal speeches, as follows:

LITTLE ROCK'S SPEECH.

My Friends: I cannot give you a very positive answer to the questions you asked me the other day, and about the matters you came here for at present. From the place whence I arose, I started and heard something which led me to believe that the earth which was given me was now shaken and in trouble. And on looking back I cannot find the reasons why the earth shakes around me. I turned my back to my grandfather at the time I left my place to come to this. Maybe my grandfather may have learned the reason why the earth shakes around me. I took him up, and he told me all about the creation, and all about the land he has given me. My grandfather told us all about the creation of this land, and why he had placed us upon it. When my grandfather had got ready and told me all these things, he girded my loins so that I might be ready to meet you. For that reason we wanted to have everything clear before us, and that is the reason we wanted our wigwams swept clean, and why I thought it would be impossible for me to utter a word, if I should utter it in a thick forest. I told my grandfather to light up the fire. So he got up, and when the fire was stirred he looked around him and saw tracks, and no obstacle to those tracks. It is for that reason, my friend, I have been unable to give any meaning to my words and what I have said to you. It is not very hard for you to do what we asked you the other day. If you should do it, it would not be hard to come to an understanding.

Just so, my friend; I had nothing to do with my being; that was the work of my forefathers, and I am not responsible for what they did. My grandfather made my heart, and he also made my mouth, that all the land and the inheritance may listen to my voice when I speak his words. See, he has not put anything in my hands that would blot them; he has not put anything in my hands to do harm with. Those were his feelings when he put his heart in my body—when he gave me the big heart of a chief. Now you can look back, and you can see no harm committed by any of my people. I speak this over again. You answered "Yes" to the question I asked you the other day; I do not entirely believe that yet. We have made reference heretofore in our talks to the Master of Life; we speak of him again. He is present now, and hears what we have to say.

MR. RAMSEY'S REPLY.

To this Mr. Ramsey replied: Tell him that he has said nothing at all this morning that he has not said before; that to my direct propositions he has returned no answer at all. He will recollect that I have done nothing in the dark; I told them frankly we did not want to buy their lands, but only the right of way. This they have refused to sell. When they refused to sell the right of way, I told them that we would buy their lands, which were of no benefit to them, and which the Great Father knew were of no value to them; that in payment for these lands we would give them money and blankets, ammunition, and other things which would be of great value to them. In reference to the depredations which they had committed, I told them that if they did not make a treaty they would be held answerable for the wrongs they had done;

but that in the event of an arrangement being made, all the past would be blotted out; that the arrangement I wished to make with them came from the Great Father, who foresaw that unless an arrangement should be made, troubles will come upon them. Tell him that the way to make an arrangement is to come at once to the point with a direct answer to my proposition. Let them select a chief to come to me for that purpose, or let all the chiefs come and hold a council with me apart from all these people. That is the short way, and the only way to do it. There is no use in all this talk; I cannot afford to spend my time in listening to all Little Rock's old-womanish nonsense.

LITTLE ROCK'S REPLY.

Little Rock here advanced, and sitting on the ground in front of the commissioners, spoke as follows:

I am now speaking for the whole. You told me in the first place that this was a matter of great importance. Our people think so too; they have thought over the matter. The reason they do not give you a definite answer is because they are feeling their way to it. It has been a long while since this treaty has been in contemplation; I have thought over it often before, and am trying to come to an understanding. I wanted to try and make the best bargain possible for my children. Even when it is a business matter between man and man, they weigh the matter well on both sides; so it is with us. My father and my friend, as I told you before, we have weighed this matter well, and I have heard you speak three times on this matter, and believed what you say. If you will do away with what troubles us, we shall be out of our trouble. If you will promise us that you will not erect in this land what I call *a bad tree*, (meaning the gallows) for any of our people, or make a dark hole in the ground, with a lock to lock us in, (a dungeon,) we shall come to an understanding. And another thing—if you will promise us to bring with you inside of the house nothing but such wholesome things as you now bring with you, (wishes the introduction of spirituous liquors prohibited,) if you will promise us that, then I have something to say to you.

(Mr. Ramsey here pledged himself to make the treaty satisfactory to them in these respects.)

And if you will promise to keep everlasting peace and friendship—for I am afraid your war-club is raised behind me, ready to fall upon me—(the Indians had heard that a detachment of troops, forming an escort for a train, was on the way, and they perhaps thought it might be intended as a menace to them)—if you will promise us these things, then I will be ready with an answer.

(Mr. Ramsey promised to put this in the treaty, and Little Rock resumed.)

I have heard you. It is what our young men have waited to hear. Now for my proposition. I shall make the weight for my land.

Here Little Rock rejoined the circle of chiefs, and entered into conversation with them, as if discussing the proposition they were to make.

Mr. Ramsey to the interpreter: Tell them that I have told them so often, that I don't like to repeat it again, that their Great Father is their sincere friend, and wishes them nothing but good; and that, because I had met them often before, and because their Great Father knew I was their friend, sent me here to treat with them; and as I know my own heart, I pledge myself, in the presence of all these young and old men, white and red, that I see about me, that I would not, if I could, take any advantage of them. I know all about the troubles that have existed here in past years, and I am anxious to wipe it all out. I am the friend of their young men as well as of their chiefs, and I am anxious to blot out all the difficulties and offences of the past, and to remove any cause of difficulty in the future. I promise also that the "tree" of which he speaks, with the cross-stick on it, and the "dark hole" in the ground, shall not, if they

will make a treaty and live up to it, be known hereafter; that there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the whites and them, and that no bad liquors shall be allowed to come among them if the government can prevent it, and with their assistance it can be effectually prevented.

Tell them I should like, in whatever arrangements we may make, that each man, woman, and child of their bands should receive about the same that other Chippewas, the Pillagers for instance, have received heretofore. This I think is fair and just. The Pillagers and other Chippewas sold more, and more desirable lands than any that they have to sell, and it would be unreasonable in them to ask any more than the Pillagers receive. Besides, though they cede the land to the government, they will continue for many years to have the privilege of hunting over it as heretofore. When a man sells his horse, he loses the use of him, and has to do without a horse or buy another; but in this case we pay them the value of the horse, and then give them back the horse, to use as much as they choose. So we buy their land, and then permit them to use it as heretofore, to hunt for game in the woods and prairies, and to fish in the streams. So that they lose nothing whatever by the arrangement which they now possess, while they will gain many things of great value to them which they do not now have.

I have do doubt that we think alike, and that we could make an arrangement if we could make each other understand. All that is necessary is that they should come directly to the point and say what they will do, and have it written down. Tell them that I shall in after times pride myself far more in having done them a substantial service, than in having made an advantageous bargain with them, and that they may be assured I would offer them no terms not intended for their good.

Little Rock now wished to know whether the commissioners would have any objection to their going into council themselves. Receiving a negative answer, they retired into a group apart by themselves: but soon after dispersed to their camps.

THURSDAY, *September* 29.

The Indians again assembled in council at about 10 o'clock a. m. Little Rock spoke as follows:

LITTLE ROCK'S SPEECH.

MY FRIEND: The way you understood me yesterday, what I told you yesterday, is what you are about to listen to. I want to speak in behalf of the chiefs, braves, young men, women, and children. My friend, I hope you have had rest enough on the talk you had yesterday, and now I wish to say something on some few points that led me to believe you would succeed in your mission. I have made up my mind, and fixed all the points as to the things about which you want me to answer you. I hope, my friend, that my voice will be heard afar. I invoke the Master of Life, and hope he will listen to me, while I speak about the inheritance he has just given me. I hope he will listen to me. My father, I have set the value, and what I think is the worth of the land you are forever coveting from us. It has been a long time since we have made up our minds what we are going to do and to say—not only myself, but all the chiefs and braves. My friend just over there, one mile from this road, (pointing to the Pembina trail, crossing the river,) is the line I have fixed for the house of my children, and beyond that line we will live. From the line of that cession that my relatives have ceded to you, there is where I have fixed my stake. I follow the line I have stated to Tamarack creek; and from there I go in a straight line to the Lake of the Woods, and I call that my line. That piece of land (pointing eastward) is the place where I intend to live. I follow that line down the Tamarack river; and from there I follow it up to Salt river to the head of Salt river; and from there I follow it to the Place of Stumps; and from there I strike down to Poplar Grove; and from there I go to the Sheyenne, and follow he Sheyenne river down its channel to its mouth; which I claim as our line.

Now, my friend, if you pick up courage to buy that piece of land, that is the piece I intend to cede to you, and I think, my friend, that the price I intend to ask is small enough for this piece of land.

(At this point Little Rock turned to the chiefs, and, as by preconcerted signal, all the chiefs and several of the principal braves arose and stood by his side, as if to support him in the immense responsibility of making a decisive offer for the sale of the land. Little Rock, with great energy of gesticulation and in a louder tone of voice than usual, even, proceeded:)

I do not want that you should make any separation of what I shall ask, or that I shall see anything different from what I shall ask. And I do not want the amount I shall ask to be put in a box. I want to stipulate that each individual shall receive so much. It is true, my father. You think we are very poor, but we do not think we are very poor. The reasons that I say we are not so poor, I see the soil all around me, and I see it glittering with gold, the thing you so much want. You have told us you would have pity on us, and help our children to get a living, and furnish them clothing. Now, my friend, I have stated to you the boundaries. Now, I want to show you the weight I want for the piece of land I intend to cede to you. Our proposition is this:

We demand, per head, one hundred dollars in money, and fifty-five dollars and sixty-six cents in goods, per annum.

After delivering himself of this, Little Rock and his fellow chiefs retired to their seats. A moment afterwards Little Rock said that he had forgotten something: "It is for fifty years."

Mr. Ramsey. Well, then, tell them I am glad they have made up their minds to something. What do they mean by proposing to sell me a country which does not belong to them? To my certain knowledge the Sioux are on the Sheyenne more than they are. Now I want to hear from the Pembina chiefs.

RED BEAR, OF PEMBINA.

My friend, I do not want to say anything to you; but I want to find fault with you because things do not go right. My friend, what is the reason that when we want to talk with you, there are a great many here who trouble us with their breaths? We have been in council before, but we were never so hard pushed by the whites. I always had plenty of room. The reason that I say so is not because I have any enmity to my fellow-beings, but because things do not go right. I do not want to talk now about the country, but because things do not go right. Another thing, whenever any one comes to talk with us there is always a little flag stuck in the centre, and not stuck on a big pole like that. Then the Master of Life is present and looks on all of us. Another thing, there are a great many things I don't see. A great many things that are sent here go back. Whenever there is anything to be sold, the last place to be ceded is always the strongest. We have the last place, and we claim that we have a pretty strong thing. I always see that whatever is sent here never goes clear to the place it is sent to, but goes back along the route. Another thing I do not find as usual. We used to take a string and lead the ox to our wigwams, so that the old women could get the guts.

Mr. Ramsey, (interrupting.) Tell them that is not the business I came here for at all. I came here to get a right of way through their lands, and compensation for damages committed by them. Now, what are they going to do about it? That is what I want an answer to. Tell Red Bear this. He and his friends are better friends to the Sioux than to the whites. They harbor the Sioux, and the gold that was red with the blood of the whites was traded in their country. While our men and women were murdered in cold blood by the Sioux, the assassins were received and harbored in the lodges of the Pembina Indians and half-breeds, and the gold and horses which the Sioux had stolen were traded in their camps.

Red Bear. I do not harbor them.

Mr. Ramsey. He does not harbor them? They are in his country, on friendly terms with his people—receiving all their supplies from his country. If he cannot keep them out, why do they come here to make a fuss about a country which they don't own, but which is occupied by our enemies? And all their people I see about me (meaning the half-breeds) feeding upon our beef. If they cannot keep the Sioux out of their country, but are obliged to pay them tribute and furnish them with ammunition to use against the whites, what are they doing here? Why do they not send the Sioux here to treat for the country? Both the Pembina and Red Lake Indians are coming here to sell a country that the Sioux own more than they do, and ask ten times as much as it would be worth if they owned it themselves.

Now, tell them that I have been here quite long enough, too long already—I have heard enough of their views. They must wash their hands of the blood that has been spilt by the ammunition they have furnished the Sioux, and of the robberies committed by their own people. I have been here long enough. It is time now to talk of business; and if they have any disposition or capacity to do business, it is time to show it.

Red Bear. I have not said anything about business yet. That is what I am complaining of. I want to wait until the Red Lakers get through.

Mr. Ramsey. That is the first time he has said to me he wished to do business separate from the Red Lakers. I should prefer that they would work jointly with the Red Lakers; but I don't care how they go at it, so they do something, and do it at once, We have a long journey before us, and the weather is growing cold. The grass is failing. Their Great Father has sent here a large train of cattle and horses out of kindness to them; and now, in addition to the other wrongs they have committed, do they want these cattle and horses to die of starvation on the plains? If they want to make a treaty, I will meet the chiefs where they won't be disturbed by the breath of a crowd of white men or red men. If they have any authority to make a treaty, and desire to do so, I will meet them at any hour they may say.

Little Rock. My friend, I want to tell you about that tract of country you spoke of, occupied by a tribe that speak a different language. My friend, I want you to fully understand how we came to own this land. Yes, my friend, you told the truth: this land used to belong to the Sioux, and so did the (Red) lake. While the Sioux were in quiet possession of that country my ancestors had not laid down the tomahawk. We drove them, as it were, towards the Rocky mountains; and when we had driven them off, then we claimed the land as our own. Talk about the Sioux owning that land more than we do! We can show you our camps all along the Sheyenne river; we hunt down there always. It is so still; we still own that land, and we never want to shake hands with the tribe you have mentioned. It is only because you have driven them away in confusion that we cannot now reach them.

Mr. Ramsey. Say to the Pembina chiefs that they have certainly been here long enough to know whether they want to sell or not. I do hate to say to them what I have said so often, that we do not care about the lands. We want a right of way. This is addressed to the Pembina chiefs. The others say that they want to sell their lands. They have been encamped on the ground, they have met with us in council, and they know all that has been said here; and they know enough about business to know that it must come to an end sometime.

Little Chief. If you will give an answer to the Red Lakes, then *we* will take up the business.

Mr. Ramsey. We do not recognize any order of precedence in this thing. We are buying it as a whole, and want to know what they offer in order to know what to do about it.

Red Bear. I did not harbor any Sioux.

Mr. Ramsey. Tell him I did not speak of him personally. I have a great respect for him personally. I spoke of those who occupy the country.

Red Bear. I was absent, and knew nothing about those matters until I got home.

Mr. Ramsey. He knows that a tax was levied several times by his people upon the steamboats upon Red river?

Red Bear. I did not know that all these things were going to be talked about before I left home. I left in something of a hurry. I ask for time to think over these things.

Mr. Ramsey. Tell him at that rate we will all die here. Tell him if any of the chiefs want to see me, and bring these matters to a close, and put the particulars in writing, that I will do that after we adjourn the council.

Little Chief. Have patience with my talk. The reason that I have not spoken heretofore is that I thought I would be in the way of the Red Lakers. But just as soon as you get through with the Red Lakers is about the time I want to get through with you too.

Red Bear. My friend, you were a little too hasty in judging what I wanted to say. You put me out so that I can't say much. As far as I am concerned, I can see nothing back of me of which I am ashamed, and with all my band it is the same. My band has not been guilty of any depredations. The reason that he spoke so was not because he had not yet come to any conclusion. The reason was, he thought that his brethren—he might call them brethren, as they belong to the same tribe—had cleared the track before him, and that he might now speak freely, and that was the reason he asked to go home and consider the matter.

Mr. Ramsey. Ask him whether he does not consider it very unreasonable? They have been in council here every day, and heard everything, and ought to be prepared to give an answer now, or to go into a private council with him upon the subject, apart from the crowd.

Red Bear. I don't want to keep the lands from you. I want a little time to talk it over after hearing the Red Lake Indians make their offer. It won't take me long to make a bargain after you get through with the Red Lake Indians.

Mr. Ramsey. Tell them that I came here with the expectation of being able to settle all their troubles. I told them that the roads and rivers must be unobstructed. They must be travelled over. There is no power on earth to stop it. We cannot help it. It must be so. The world is going ahead, and those that can't go with it must stand aside. Now they pretend to be very fond of their lands, and they don't want to part with them except at an extravagant price. I told them at the beginning that I did not want their lands. They are not the kind of lands that white men want at all. I am told that a great deal of the land we travelled over in coming up here is often under water. I am also told that the pine that used to grow at the head of some of the streams has been burnt off. The land is too far away to be needed for settlement for a long while yet. For these reasons the Great Father desired me merely to arrange with them for a right of way, not because they had any right to stop or tax the travel on the route, but because he wished to prevent them getting into trouble. Well, they told me they would not sell the right of way, and then they offered the lands at a price they knew would not be given. They don't receive the offer of the Great Father at all in the spirit in which it was made. The Great Father would regard the price at which they offer their lands as ridiculous. He would compare it with the prices given the Pillagers for a much larger tract of country, and laugh at it. It shows that they either don't want to make any treaty at all, or that they have been misled into making a very absurd proposition by parties who are trying to prevent them making a treaty.

Now, though the Pillagers sold us a very much larger and more valuable

tract of country, we are willing to put them upon the same footing, as regards annuities, with the Pillagers. That is the utmost we can do, and I want their answer upon that. Tell them I find all this councilling comes to nothing. It is all talk, talk, talk, and no business. This is now the ninth day since our arrival, and these people from Pembina are not even prepared to make an offer. The Red Lake Indians have not done much better. I am afraid they are simply trifling with us. The council is adjourned to hear from the Pembina Indians, but a day or two is the furthest that I can remain here.

Tuesday evening.—The chiefs of the Red Lake band signified their willingness to meet the commissioners in a private council that evening. They accordingly came, and here Mr. Ramsey repeated to them all the arguments he had previously used in favor of his proposition to purchase their lands on such terms as would secure to them annuities, per capita, at the same rate as were given to the Pillagers. He again urged upon them the necessity of making a treaty as a means of settling past offences, and avoiding difficulties in the future. He showed them how unreasonable it was for them to ask a greater annuity per capita than the Pillagers, and reiterated the argument that by selling their lands at the rate he offered, they really lost nothing they now possess, as they would still retain for a long while the privilege of hunting over the country. He added, that he was now going to tell them something which it was proper for them to know. The bad conduct of the Sioux had created a prejudice in the minds of a great many whites against all Indians, and the people and the chiefs who formed the council of the Great Father had all begun to place a lower estimate upon Indian titles than heretofore. There was a growing disposition to disregard their claim to own the soil which they did not use themselves. Besides, their Great Father had had a great war upon his hands for nearly three years. It was now, it is true, coming to a triumphant close, but it had cost a great deal of money, and when it was ended he would look a great deal more closely to money than now, and the people from whom the money came would also look much more closely to their money. It was safe to say, then, that now, if ever, was their time to make a treaty if they wished to make one. It would probably be their only opportunity for many years. No chief need apprehend any trouble for the part he took in the matter, if the treaty should be opposed by the young men, as the government was going to have a force up here, and would extend them every necessary protection. They should remember also, that if any trouble arose the government would hold the chiefs responsible. Their young men don't care about that. Their Great Father was desirous to give the chiefs a position in accordance with their responsibility. He wished to give them something to make them respectable, to improve their condition—and thus by their example to confirm and extend their authority over their young men, and to elevate the condition of their bands. He had not sought this interview, because he had no secrets, but because experience had shown them that it was entirely impossible to do business in a crowd. The chiefs must either assume authority to do business, or the government must do it. If the chiefs do it, they retain their authority. If the government does it, they lose their authority. Their Great Father is every day doing business that meets with the disapprobation of many of his people, but the business must be done. A nation cannot exist, and a tribe cannot exist, unless somebody takes the responsibility.

I can anticipate that if they made a treaty which was reasonable, some of their people would be dissatisfied. I would answer them in this way: "Our Great Father has sent to us, as the representatives of the tribe, to make a treaty. Somebody must do business. We older men, having more experience, understand this thing better than you young men, and we understand that trouble is coming. You may say we have done wrong; but when trouble comes where will you be? We will have to stand and meet it." I don't say they should say this; but if I were a chief of one of their bands, and one of their young men should talk to

me against the treaty, that is the way I should answer him. I would say to them, "Though you young men did this mischief down here, it is left for us to settle, and you ought to be glad that it is done, and that instead of resenting your depredations immediately, the Great Father has sent a commissioner to reason with us." Mr. Ramsey also urged the necessity of hurrying up business on account of the danger that the mules would starve. He also informed them that he was a member of the Great Council at Washington, where, if they made a treaty, he would be glad to see some of them. He would try to get permission for them to come and see the country. He would like to get their description of boundaries, with a view to a treaty. He always supposed they claimed up to the English line on this side of the river, and never knew they claimed over to the Sheyenne on the other.

A lengthy discussion was had in reference to the boundaries, especially their claim to the Sheyenne as a boundary, and the treaty of Prairie du Chien, in 1825, was produced in proof that the boundary between the Sioux and Chippewas was Goose river. One old chief was present who had been a party to that treaty. He said the chiefs of the different tribes there assembled—Sioux, Chippewas, Winnebagos, &c.—were set opposite to each other, and sand spread on the ground between them. On this sand each chief marked the line he claimed. When the Chippewa marked his line the Sioux erased it, and so on, when an arbitrary line was fixed by the commissioners as a compromise between the parties.

Little Rock grew eloquent in defence of the claim of the Red Lakers to the Sheyenne as a boundary. He said: "Whenever our people go to hunt for the Sioux they do not find them on the Sheyenne, but have to go clear beyond. The bones of the Chippewas are scattered all along the Sheyenne river, and that is the reason we consider it belongs to us. But you have scared the Sioux so badly we have reason to suppose there will be no dispute about boundary."

A good deal was then said about the eastern boundary of the tract they proposed to cede, Mr. Ramsey insisting that the line fixed by them would not answer the purpose at all, as it would include country liable at any time to be traversed by roads. They consented finally to push their line back as described in the treaty.

The council then broke up, late at night, promising to renew its session next day.

Wednesday, September 30.—An interview was this morning had in the commissary tent with the chiefs and a few head men, eight in number, of the Pembina band. He addressed them generally in the same terms he last evening used to the Red Lake chiefs, dwelling, in addition, upon the irritation created among the people by the friendly intercourse of some of their people with the Sioux. This, with the prejudice created against all Indian tribes by the horrible conduct of the Sioux, in murdering our women and children, have very much weakened the popular respect for Indian titles. The immense expenses of the war, now being brought to a triumphant close, had made the people very close with their money. For these and other reasons now was the best time to sell. He impressed upon them the fact that the Great Father did not desire their lands for settlement, but to prevent the troubles arising between their young men and travellers on the roads. Their Great Father foresaw that worse troubles would arise, and, like a prudent chief, he wishes to provide against these troubles, and protect them from the consequences of a collision. He argued the necessity of the chiefs taking the responsibility, regardless of the complaints of the young men, and told them what, if he were a chief, he would say to the young men. He would tell them that "a treaty is no new thing. All Indian tribes make treaties. We lose nothing that we now have, and we would be foolish not to take what they offer us for our lands, when we can hunt over them as usual. We foresee that difficulties will occur if we don't make

this treaty; and, if troubles arise, where will you be? It is we who will have to bear the responsibility. We foresee, also, that if we do not sell now, we may never have so good an offer again."

Inquiries were made as to the boundaries of the country claimed by them. It was found that they had, until recently, held the country in common with the Red Lake Indians; but when they were assembled at the Grand Forks last year to make a treaty, they had agreed upon a dividing line. They claimed also the country north of the line described by Little Rock as the northern boundary of the Red Lake Indians, and extended west to Devil's lake, to the Missouri Coteau and Mouse river. A more particular description of the country claimed by them is as follows: From the point where the British boundary intersects the Red lake, to the head of Tamarack river; thence down said river to its mouth; thence up the Red river to Salt river; thence up the main channel of Salt river to its head; thence in a direct line to the Place of Stumps, (Lake Chicot;) thence in a direct line to Poplar Grove; thence in a direct line to the Sheyenne river; thence up the main channel of the Sheyenne river to a point about which they could not agree among themselves, to Dog House, a hill of the Missouri Coteau; thence north to the Mouse river; thence along Mouse river to the British boundary; thence to the place of beginning. They proposed to reserve all the country west of a line running from Poplar Grove to the head of Salt river; and thence due north to the British boundary, as a hunting ground.

Red Bear wished to speak in answer to the scolding Mr. Ramsey had given him the day before. He said: "We were trying to make peace when you interrupted it. You have counselled us to make peace, and we were trying to do so. The words of our Great Father came to us in favor of peace. The British authorities also added their weight in favor of peace. We respected their words, and respect them now. It is not our fault if we have had to harbor the Sioux. You drove them towards us, and we had to entertain them. There is no blood upon my hands. None of my people have shed the blood of white men."

Mr. Ramsey explained that what he said yesterday had no personal reference to *Red Bear*, whom he knew to be desirous to preserve and promote friendly relations between his people and the whites. He had referred more particularly to the trade going on between the Sioux and the half-breeds at St. Joseph, whereby the former were supplied ammunition and the means to continue their war upon the whites. But he wanted them now to attend to business.

Red Bear said he had always lived at the mouth of Pembina river; his father had lived there before him. He wanted a spot there. He wanted to make his line one mile east of the road he had followed to come here, and from thence to the mountains. That is the country he is willing to cede.

Little Chief had made up his mind to treat the matter, he said, as it had been treated before. He had a right to talk about the Pembina country, as his father owned all that country, but had come here with his mind made up to cede the country from the timber on the Red river, on both sides, to the heads of the streams, as had been done before when he (Mr. Ramsey) made a treaty with them at Pembina. After some further conversation it was agreed to adopt the line referred to.

Red Bear was asked what sort of a reservation he wanted. He described a strip of land running along the north side of the Pembina, from Red river to St. Joseph, which in fact includes the most valuable portion of the country, covering the site of Pembina, and many valuable farms occupied by settlers. The many objections to this were explained to them; also that the country west of the western boundary would be held in common by both bands. A reservation of 640 acres was offered the chief. A great deal of discussion was had upon this point, and it was finally agreed to.

Little Chief said he was going to speak, but as the weather is blustery, it is better to be in here where it is warm. He had, he said, picked out a soldier of his who could speak for him.

Little Chief's Soldier. He said, I am just the interpreter of the words of Little Chief. We have had a smoking council together, and discussed the subject. Now we want to ask you (the commissioner) for clothing for ourselves and children, and to tell you the amount of money they had made up their minds to ask. They would ask that the sum of fifty dollars should be paid into each individual's hands, and they also wanted to ask you for fifty horses, half mares and the rest stallions, and for as many cattle, half oxen, the rest cows, and to furnish also the harness and tackle that is used on the horses and oxen for fifty years.

Mr. Ramsey. If it rested wholly with me, I would give them almost anything, I am so well pleased with them. But when I have made up their papers, and carried them two thousand miles to where I meet the Great Father, and sit in the Great Council, I will have to render to him and to the other great chiefs an account of what I have done. There I will meet with many men who have come from two thousand miles south, east, and west, and they will look at these papers and at those that have been made before, and when they have compared the amounts you ask, if I should concede them to you, they will say, "How is it that you give so much more for this small bit of territory away off there, where it is of no use to us, when we get a much greater amount of land from the Pillagers for a much less sum?

Even if I give you what I propose to give, they will ask me why I give you for a country which we shall not want for fifty years, if at all, as much as we gave for the Pillager's country, which is so much nearer, and so much more desirable. Then I will say that these people lived so far north, in so cold a country, that I felt kindly disposed towards them; that I wished to help them all I could, and I will also say that the troubles which arose from depredations on steamboats ought to be forgiven them, because I believe the chiefs and soldiers whom I see around me are good men.

It was then agreed to give a farm to each of their half-breed relations.

Mr. Ramsey then asked them if the things he had said should be written down.

Red Bear thought the commissioner had not given a very clear answer to the proposition.

Mr. Ramsey thought he had. He had offered to put them on the same footing as the Pillagers. What more could they ask? After more conversation on this point, the council adjourned.

Thursday morning, October 1.—Another private council was held with the Red Lake chiefs in the morning, in the commissary tent. Mr. Ramsey addressed some general remarks to the chiefs, to which Little Rock replied:

Little Rock's Speech.

You see the chiefs who are here present: I speak for them, and the young men and braves who are out. As far as I am concerned, I do not consider myself a chief, but as I am the one that is appointed to utter their words, I stand before you to make known what they all think. My friend, what you said just now is the truth. We have been on friendly terms, and hope so to continue. It is true that the things which have been under discussion ought to come to pass, but I don't want to deceive you. The amount of stuff you are furnishing us here is very pleasing to me and to my body, but you should also take into consideration the animals that you kill, and the wood that you burn. You are very anxious that thing should be closed up. So are we. I have now fully explained to our young men everything which you said to us. I have explained the nature of your mission, and the offer that you made to us. I

instilled into their minds, too, a point that we had gained, that all the past should be forgotten and wiped out. I showed them also the propositions that you had made, and their voice was unanimous that it was good, and they have left it all to be settled by their chiefs. Now is the time to come to an understanding. Now I want to make a proposition to see if we cannot agree. I don't want to withhold what you came after.

About the line. As much as we mentioned in our first proposition is what we are willing to cede. I do not believe, as you say, that our land is worthless. All the chiefs here say they cede to you that portion of land. The great reason they cede to you that land is for the purpose of putting behind them all the past, and stand without any crime whatever. And I think the amount I asked of you at the council then is nothing but a fair equivalent for the land we cede to you. My father, we respect your words, and the words of our Great Father, and that is the reason we have made up our minds to this cession of land. And now all that we have to wait for is the answer that you shall give upon this proposition. We shall soon have the matter all fixed, if you will comply with the request we make of you. I have taken everything into consideration. I have invoked the Master of Life; if you want to better my condition, you should give me enough to make me comfortable.

Mr. Ramsey. In agreeing to sell their lands they have done a very wise thing. Their Great Father has certainly shown a great deal of consideration and kindness to them, and a great deal of patience and forbearance also, in sending a commissioner here to discuss this matter with them for the second or third time. But this patience cannot last forever. Heretofore they have defeated a treaty by asking extravagant prices for their lands, which they knew would not be accepted. They can prevent a treaty again in the same way. It is another way of saying that they don't want to make a treaty at all. Now, they had better think of it well before they refuse the offer I have made to them. It is probably the last opportunity they will have to make a treaty for many years; possibly it is the last opportunity they will ever have; certainly it is the most favorable opportunity they will ever have. By refusing to make a treaty they deliberately deprive themselves and their families of all the articles—the money, blankets, ammunition, and a hundred things which are necessary to the comfort of themselves and families. By refusing to make a treaty they send word back to their Great Father that they will not make any atonement for the offences they have committed on the property of his white children; that they prefer to remain with that stain on their character; that they do not wish to settle old difficulties, nor to avoid new ones in the future.

Now, in buying their lands, I do not wish to treat them any worse than their neighbors, the Pillagers, were treated, who sold a much larger tract of country. They are no worse than the Pillagers, and they are no better.

Mr. Ramsey repeated again the arguments used to induce them to accept his proposition, which he stated in detail. He was willing to give them what the Pillagers got per head—$150 annually to each chief, from the annuity fund; $500 at the first payment to each chief to enable him to build himself a house; all the goods here; which in their country are worth $10,000.

MOOSE DUNG'S SPEECH.

Moose Dung, who had heretofore remained silent, now rose and said:

My friend, it is not because I am afraid of anything, that I never speak when there is a council. I should be very glad to be able to speak, and to be heard when there is a council. I don't want to say much of the reasons why I have got up to speak. I sometimes think that when I speak to a man of rank that he shall listen to me with pity. My father, is this the last proposition you have to make? Is this all you can give to your children? I wish to see it clearly before my eyes. I wish to know if you cannot change it a little, and make it a little nearer what would make us comfortable?

It here should be explained that *Moose Dung*, who was really the most influential of all the chiefs, stood at the head of a party embracing the large majority of all the bands who were favorable to and even anxious for a treaty, while May-dwa-gun-on-ind led a small and surly minority, who were determined, for reasons of their own, that no treaty should be made. May-dwa-gun-on-ind had heretofore succeeded in procuring the assent of their councils to the enormous demands of which *Little Rock* had been made the mouth piece, well knowing that they would not be accepted. And this speech of *Moose Dung* was the first step of the opposite party towards abandoning the ground occupied by May-dwa-gun-on-ind, which they found to be untenable, with the view of making a treaty on the best terms they could obtain.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind saw that the tide was beginning to turn against him, and though greatly adverse to speaking, for which he thought he had little talent, he determined to make a bold attempt to arrest the action of *Moose Dung*, and thereupon made the following speech:

MAY-DWA-GUN-ON-IND'S SPEECH.

My friend and father: This is the time you shall hear from me for the first time. My father, I must say that my heart is bleeding when I hear you talk. I am sorry, for the reason that the Great Father thinks so lightly of our land. My heart is right towards the Great Father, and towards you also. I do not want this at all, my father—not this little you offer me. I want enough that my children shall all be benefited. The reason that my price looks large to you, you forget that the land will be yours as long as the world lasts. If you want to make a bargain upon the proposition you have made to me, I tell you frankly that I do not accept it, and shall go home instantly.

Mr. Ramsey, (after consultation with Agent Morrill.) Tell them I have consulted with the other commissioner, and conclude to divide equally per head between them and the Pembina Indians the sum of $16,200 per annum, and, in addition to what I have previously mentioned, to give them at the first payment $2,000 worth of ammunition. Tell them that if they are prepared to make a treaty upon these terms I will make out the papers. If not, there is another matter of business I propose to talk about. Tell them we have offered them what other Indians as good as they get for their lands, and more of them; and that they had better accept it, and make an end of it. I am their friend, and am advising them for their interest.

Moose Dung. The old man (Broken Arm) could not speak for himself, because he was deaf. But what I said was meant for him. He agrees with me.

Mr. Ramsey reiterated some of the arguments he had used.

Moose Dung said that when he had spoken it was with reference to the first proposition in regard to boundaries. He did not mean to give up the country east of a mile beyond the road if they accepted the proposition of the commissioners.

Mr. Ramsey proceeded to show the liberality of his last offer, enlarging upon the benefits that would result from making a treaty on these terms.

Moose Dung resumed: "My father, I have one word more to say, and these are my own thoughts. My father, it is not for the mention of the goods that I want to speak. It is not for the sake of using good words to get goods. They are not very tempting; nor is it for the purpose of cheating our father. And it is not the lines nor the measure of the land that I now talk about, but to hear you make a more liberal proposition than the others. This makes me feel very

much thankful. We were very glad to hear you make so good an offer over and above what you offered for the country east of the line we had fixed. As to the country west, he expected another offer. That was all he had to say to that. Now I want, he continued, to speak of another thing. I do not mention the name of any chief that I see around me. The idea that I had, and that I always have, is this, and this is the reason that my thoughts run in this way. I have taken the mouth of Thieving river as my inheritance. I do not ask the chiefs here where I shall go. I make my home there. I wanted it for a reservation for myself, but I see you are ahead of me.' You want to take these too. I should have been very much gratified to have had one employé there to work for me. Whether the old man acts with me on this matter I do not know. I used to think that that was the proper place for me to settle; that it would be an inheritance for my children; where all my children could have enough to live on in the future."

Mr. Ramsey explained the reasons why he desired to push the line further east, to take in the mouth of Thief river. It was in order to cover all the roads through the country.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. My father, there is no use in having many words about this. I never give up what I am once working at. I want to see my children, (*i. e.*, want to go home.)

Mr. Ramsey. All that can be said of the matter is, that the chiefs who are trying to defeat a treaty do not understand their own interests. I have made them the most liberal offer they will ever get. In after times their children will rise up and say that, but for their chiefs, they would have had a good arrangement.

Little Rock. Now, my friend, I will tell you what we think. It is very pleasant that we show each other our mode of thinking. My friend, I do not speak any more, nor take any interest in the business transacted here. I am very glad to meet you here, and that you have treated us so well—that you have put aside everything which squeezes me. I was very much pleased that you put that aside at the time my chiefs put that burden upon me. We should gratify all our young men if you should accept our proposition. There is where my chief has stood for fifty years. There is a little in your proposition which we don't like. I wish you could concede something to our chiefs. I am afraid there is something which comes from another fire, and not from our fire, which has got into our friend. There is something that arises from there at the time we held our first council. You can see what he thinks that it arises from.

Mr. Ramsey. What does he mean?

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. At the time of our council we brought an Indian before us. He means that he is the cause of it.

Mr. Ramsey. I do not consult him at all. This is childish nonsense.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. *Hole-in-the-day* said that he owned all land to the Pembina river, and that the Red Lake Indians did not own as much land as they could put in the palm of their hands. That was the matter.

Mr. Ramsey, taking no notice of this, which was merely a pretext for refusing to make a treaty, repeated the liberal terms of his offer. No answer was made by any of the chiefs, and he resumed: "If I understand them, then, they are not willing to make a treaty, and now I wish to know what answer I shall take back to the Great Father in reference to the depredations committed on our merchants?"

Little Rock. Now, we don't yet know what to calculate on. We have not yet come to an agreement. I should consider myself a chief could my requests be complied with. The offer we made was a good one.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. Once more I should consider myself doing good to my children if I could get more than you offer. If I could get some more I should think I was benefiting my tribe, as a chief should try and benefit his tribe.

Moose Dung. My father, I arise once more. I come here to meet you as a chief. I do not consider myself a chief as high as you are, but I have a right to speak freely. My father, I think when I look upon this land, and compare it with other lands, that I have a very fine tract, and that the soil is good. It used to be my idea that we should be benefited by this treaty, and that you should not go far away unsatisfied. If we could agree on a price, all will be well. I know that I am no liar—no coward, and that there is nothing against me. That is the reason I demand that you should open up your heart a little. I ask for more, and beg for more. It had been my intention to ask for the good land about Thieving river—that I wanted my children to live upon—one million dollars in addition to what I have already asked.

Mr. Ramsey. Tell them that they can't expect the patience of their Great Father to last forever. If they suppose an expedition is to be fitted out at a great cost every year to send commissioners here merely to hear their talk, I am afraid they will be mistaken.

Moose Dung. When I spoke just now, I merely wanted to state the value I put upon the mouth of Thieving river.

Mr. Ramsey. Tell him I don't care anything about the mouth of Thieving river. He can have it if he wants it.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. Father, let us take a rest.

Mr. Ramsey. When shall I see them again?

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. Father, it is impossible for me to say a displeasing word to you. That matter has been fixed among themselves.

Mr. Ramsey. Very well, then, go, and come back this afternoon, and let us make an end of this business.

The session was resumed in the afternoon. Mr. Ramsey hoped that the chiefs had now come prepared to make a treaty which would not only confer lasting benefits upon them, but save them from a great deal of trouble in the future.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind rose with great promptitude, and replied as follows:

I salute my Great Father very hard. Don't let my Great Father's heart be turned against me when he hears what I have to say. I salute you also, my father. Do not let your heart be turned against me as you listen to my words. I salute all your soldiers, also, and the whites that are here. Do not let them think hard of me. The Master of Life has listened to our words. He has listened to us, and has granted that we should part from here as friends—that on our side of the earth should be perpetual friendship. Now, I want to tell you, my father, it is impossible. There would not be enough that my children should be benefited by it. Now I am ready to return to my home. There shall be no bad thoughts on either side.

Little Rock. And also, my father, in the very same words I salute you. His words and my words are one. It is true, my friend, that I do not want to retain that land from you. I do not. That is all.

Mr. Ramsey to the interpreter. Ask the other chiefs what they have to say upon the matter. No response.

I understand them, he continued, that they adopt the language of the first chief, and that they refuse to make a treaty. Everybody, in all countries, will know the prices I offered them, and it will be a wonder to everybody why they rejected an offer which all will admit to have been not only fair, but liberal. The plain inference will be that their hearts are not right towards their Great Father. Now, again, as they have concluded not to sell their lands, I should like to know what answer I shall take back to the Great Father on the subject of the depredations committed by them down here at the Grand Forks.

Little Rock. I shall give you a history of the affair at the mouth of Buffalo river.

Mr. Ramsey. I don't want a history of that affair. I want an answer on the subject of the depredations. That is all. The Great Father is required to compensate the injured parties for the damages inflicted by the Indians on their property. Now, what compensation are they going to make him? That is what I want to know.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. We were going to give a history of that matter.

Mr. Ramsey. Tell him that the whole history of the matter is that the goods were taken by his people. Compensation is demanded by the owners of the goods. All I want to know of them is, where the compensation is to come from?

May-dwa-gun-on-ind I have spoken to my Great Father, through you. He must not feel hard towards me. And to you, also, I have spoken. You must not feel hard towards me. I esteem myself so low that I do not want to talk loud. I respect you too much All winter I have sent word to the whites that the Chippewas of Red Lake would never meddle with the Sioux.

Mr. Ramsey. Tell him that all that is out of the question; the Great Father has treated them very gently about a great wrong committed by them. He has sent to them at great expense, and now he wants an answer. The wrong is done, and there must be some compensation one way or the other.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind. This is the last word I have to say. After this word I have done. Concerning the trouble at the Grand Forks: I was there at the time. I saved a great deal of metal there at the Grand Forks. I went there at the time this happened. Some one asked me if the iron would be taken also; I told him I could not use the iron. There was no pillage. I was there when the man delivered the things. My father, I have nothing that I can pay away. *There is where you have me at a loss.* What I said of the Master of Life you ought to accept.

Mr. Ramsey. There are persons here now who were witnesses of the robberies committed, and who testify that the goods were delivered in consequence of threats of violence.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind, (somewhat abashed.) I did not see that.

Moose Dung. The reason that I have come here is this: I should not have consented at all to what has been said, if I had known any of their transactions, (referring to May-dwa gun-on-ind and his party,) because they keep secret from me what they want to do. When I call my young men together, I never hear any one speak. I am the only one who is always to work for my band. It had been my idea to talk of the matter you are talking of now, had there been a good understanding. What I wanted to ask you, in the name of all the chiefs, braves, and young men, was to settle all these difficulties for us, because we have nothing ourselves. I suppose our men think that nothing will be left if they undertake to pay these things; and perhaps that is one reason why they don't want to make a treaty. All the whites look upon me and respect me on account of my good behavior. That is always the way with me; also the traders. It was my idea to have thought of them and to have paid them what I owe them. My friend, I am speaking to you because you are my father. I am sad at heart that you are about to be turned away. I have met you before when we made a treaty. I have always looked back to that transaction and thought we might be benefited by it, but I see it cannot be. My friend, think a little more before you decide. Have pity on them. May be they think there will not be enough for their children. May be that's what they think. If I was in your place, and had all your powers, and was a great chief like you, I should feel very much ashamed if I couldn't accomplish anything. I always think that when we meet we can come to an understanding, and make everything satisfactory to you. I speak about this line and what they want to give you. I myself think it is too small a sum. There would not be enough for my children. There, my father, I have spoken these few words that you

may not be displeased with me. I speak loud when I want to gain a point. That is my way of doing when I want to gain a point. I like to fight it to the end. I have made up my mind that in speaking to you I shall always speak with respect. I know that our Great Father is strong. I know that you are strong. That is the reason I pressed it. I thought you would offer me a little more. It is always my way of thinking and speaking. It is always my way.

Mr. Ramsey. They can't tell their young men that I have not made them a reasonable offer. They are no better than the Pillagers. I have offered to them more money for less land. They have not only refused it, but have fixed a price upon their land so extravagant and ridiculous as shows that they come here with no purpose to sell, but only to trifle with me, and to treat their Great Father with disrespect. Under the circumstances, their proceedings show a determination not only not to wipe out past offences, but to persist in them.

Mr. Ramsey followed this line of argument at length, and presented the subject in every possible aspect.

Little Rock. My father, I dont know anything about the trouble that happened there. May be you are speaking about the boat that used to be on the river while our young men used to look to that river for their support. They used to look there for their living, but the steamboat drove it away. I was never present when pillaging was going on, and was never benefited by it in any way. It was about this he was working. He wanted to be at peace.

Mr. Ramsey. I am very glad, indeed, to be at peace with him personally, but their bands must be held responsible for what they do.

Broken Arm, (in a broken voice, leaning over the table.) Father, I am old, and do not consider myself a chief any longer; but our chiefs have marked their road and do not want to vary from it, and you have marked your road and do not want to vary from it. How, then, can you expect to come together?

Mr. Ramsey. I have marked a road by which, if your people will follow it, they can escape from past troubles and keep out of future difficulties. There is a blot upon their character which they have refused to wipe out. I have pointed out an easy way to do it. I have shown them how they can make ample compensation for the injuries they have done. They refuse to make compensation for the injuries they have done. They refuse to make any compensation, and now the Great Father must get it in such a way as he thinks proper. For whatever consequences may happen to them, they cannot now blame me or the Great Father. I have done the best I could for them. Their Great Father has been at great expense and trouble to help them out of their difficulties. They refuse his kindness, and the responsibility must now rest wholly upon them.

Silence ensued for a few moments. May-dwa-gun-on-ind finally rose, shook hands with Mr. Ramsey, and without saying anything, went out of the tent. The rest remained a few moments, but, without imitating the ceremonious leave-taking of May-dwa-gun-on-ind, left one after another, and the prospects of making a treaty seemed to be at an end.

Friday, October 2.—When the council broke up last evening, all hope of effecting a treaty with the Red Lake Indians seemed to be at an end.

May-dwa-gun-on-ind, however, it was evident, was the only obstacle in the way. He was evidently a man of stern decision of character, and had inherited his repugnance to a treaty from his father, who had died the year before, and whose precepts and example on this subject he considered himself bound to follow. Moose Dung, Broken Arm, and Leading Feather, on the other hand, had from the very first taken an equally decided stand in favor of a treaty, and in this position they were supported by the most influential men and the general public sentiment of the several bands, though they had so far yielded in their councils to May-dwa-gun-on-ind's influence as to agree upon exorbitant demands as a tentative proposition, in the hope of inducing the commissioners to make them a more liberal offer. But they were by no means willing to lose the oppor-

tunity to make a treaty by too obstinate a persistence in their first demands. One after another of the chiefs was won over to Moose Dung's side by the arguments of the commissioner. On Thursday they held long and earnest councils among themselves, and in the morning it was announced that they were again ready to meet the commissioners.

They all appeared at the time appointed, except May-dwa-gun-on-ind, who sent word that he had bidden the commissioners good-bye, and was not coming again. Moose Dung now took the leading part in the negotiations. He spoke as follows:

MOOSE DUNG'S SPEECH.

My father, since I have made up my mind to speak, I shall, in the first instance, make a circle in order to come to the point I want to reach. As long as I have lived to attain to my present age, it has always been my aim to procure peace and a friendly understanding, and whenever there was anything wrong I have always worked with all my might to set it right. Father, when I think of the past and of the future, how sorry I should be if I should not be able to swallow in the future what would happen if we did not accept your offer. It would have been the same with me if I had swallowed what some have swallowed. It may be I shall be loth to accept what you offer, but I will do my best to come to a friendly understanding. It may be you shall hear nothing bad or wrong from me. I do not want to speak in any way that might cause offence. My way of doing business is, when I commence I always like to carry it through. My young men all know me—how persevering I am. My father, let me fully understand the line that was pointed out to you—that which we made up our minds to cede to you. Father, I am very much afraid. I am not a coward. I am sometimes alone, but I am not afraid; but something may sometime arise which it makes me afraid to think of. I was afraid that hereafter the chiefs, the young men, and the children would point to me and say, "He told a lie." I have all trust in you that things may be fixed in such a way that things will go right, and that no blame will be thrown on me. I wanted to speak about the tract of country we talk of ceding to you, and that which you talk of. You must not be grieved at me because I cannot express my views as I feel. Father, I do not want you to feel grieved. I want you to feel glad. I don't want to fix a price. I want you to help us, so that we will feel proud and satisfied that we did our utmost to benefit our tribe. I do not exactly understand whether the term of our annuities is twenty or twenty-five years. We are just changing face with our legs. It is not necessary to turn about to talk over the subject.

A long conversation was now held as to the terms of the proposed treaty. Moose Dung wanted something additional, but did not insist on it. He was also solicitous that the treaty should provide for wiping out all past offences by making compensation to the parties who had been robbed by their young men. He was also desirous that something should be done for their traders. He always tried, he said, to pay his traders, but when their season's hunt failed he sometimes found it impossible; and these debts had been growing for many years; and it had always been his idea that when a treaty was made they should be paid.

Mr. Ramsey. I have been induced to vary my proposition considerably, in consideration of the good feeling and respect shown me by the chiefs. But because, out of my regard for them and for their interests, I have been thus generous and made this proposition, I do not want them to press me more. I contemplate a treaty signed by both the Red Lake and Pembina Indians, because it would be a much more convenient and imposing paper. He then said that he had been induced to offer them $20,000 per year, to be divided among them in equal amounts per head; $100,000 to pay damages for the robberies committed

by their young men, and for their debts to their traders; $150 annually to their chiefs, to enable them to maintain their dignity, to be taken out of the annuity fund; $500 to each chief to enable him to build a house, and to set an example of industry and comfort to their people; and $2,000 to be distributed among them in powder, lead, twine, and anything they might wish. A provision would also be inserted in the treaty to keep liquor out of the ceded country, as it was this which was the cause of all the troubles in other annuity-receiving bands.

Moose Dung. Father, you have hit my heart in the right spot, in speaking of the liquor as you did. That is what I don't want in my land, because it is the source of trouble and poverty. Father, I accept of the propositions, because I see that I am going to be raised from want to riches, to be raised to the level of the white man. Father, I hope you will do what is right with me, and my young men. I have always found that in holding in, I sometimes get more from my traders. You and the government have used every exertion for a great many years to bring about a treaty; I do not want you to exert yourself in vain; I now give up the tract of country; I hope you will have pity on me, and see that these terms are carried out to the letter, so as not to lead to trouble hereafter.

The colloquy continued for a long time between Mr. Ramsey and the chiefs of Red lake and Pembina. They made a request that $5,000 should be appropriated to cut out a road from Leech lake to Red lake. As the proposed improvement seemed to be as beneficial to the government as to the Indians, a stipulation was inserted to that effect. It was also requested that honorable H. M. Rice should be one of the commissioners appointed to audit claims for debt and damage. The Pembina half-breeds made a strong effort to procure the insertion of a provision for the appropriation of an extravagant sum for their benefit. At the end of a session of three and a half hours' duration, Moose Dung, who had stood for an hour weighing and deliberating upon every separate provision of this treaty, asking for this explanation and that modification, appearing to labor under a serious sense of the great responsibility he was taking, at last touched the pen which was to affix his vicarious sign manual to the treaty. He was followed by Broken Arm, and one after another all the chiefs of Red lake and Pembina came up and touched the pen, except May-dwa-gun-on-ind, who, true to his resolution, did not again make his appearance.

When the chiefs and principal men had signed the treaty, the beautiful medals provided by the department, were distributed to the chiefs. During the night the consummation of the treaty was celebrated with great rejoicing in the Indian camps.

Saturday, October 3.—To-day the treaty goods and what remained of the provisions were distributed to the Indians, under the supervision of Mr. Benjamin Thompson, Major Camp, and others. The presents were received with great satisfaction. May-dwa-gun-on-ind made his appearance during the distribution, and received his allotted share of the goods, in the course of which he expressed himself satisfied with the treaty, but said that he had always declared he would not sign a treaty, and he could not break his word.

And finally the flags provided by the department for the purpose, were presented to the chiefs, at the request of Mr. Ramsey, by Major George H. Camp, who accompanied the presentation with suitable remarks to each chief.

During the course of the afternoon and evening, the chiefs came to talk with Mr. Ramsey. Non-so-mo or Moose Dung, who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the treaty, urgently requested that some of the Red Lake chiefs, himself among the number, might be invited to Washington. He was desirous, also, that the same privilege should be extended to May-dwa-gun-on-ind, for the reason, as he said, that when he saw the power of the Great Father, he would come back with a greater respect for the whites than he now had. May-

dwa-gun-on-ind himself, it was understood, was anxious to go to Washington, and Mr. Ramsey so far assented to these requests, as to promise to use his influence to procure the permission of the President.

Sunday, October 4.—Early this morning, on the fourteenth day from our arrival at the treaty ground, the expedition started on its return home. It is arranged that the chief part of our escort and train shall take what is called the middle road, which parts from the Crow Wing road near Buffalo river, for Fort Abercrombie, Alexandria, and other posts on that route, while the commissioners, with an escort of forty men under Lieutenant Larned, take the road to Crow Wing, homeward.

Sunday, October 11.—We reached the Chippewa agency to-day, where Mr. Ramsey was to have transacted some business with Hole-in-the-day and other chiefs of the Mississippi bands, under instructions from the department. But as the chiefs were not present, it was arranged, by the advice of Agent Morrill, that Mr. Ramsey should return in some ten days, when the chiefs would be present at the payment.

Wednesday, October 14.—Arrived in Saint Paul.

Conference with the chiefs of the Mississippi bands.

October 29.—A conference was to-day had by Mr. Ramsey with the chiefs of the Mississippi bands at the Chippewa agency, Mr. Paul Beaulieu acting as interpreter. The following notes of the conference were taken by Mr. Benjamin Thompson:

Mr. Ramsey. Say to the chiefs that I came here at the request of their Great Father, and as they have asked to meet me, if they have anything to say, I am willing to listen to them for a short time, and will report it to him if they wish me to do so.

Berry-Hunter, from Sandy Lake. My friend, we are very happy to see you here. We are very happy to hear that you have come here to look after our interests, and as we have done a great deal of business with you in old times pleasantly, we have confidence that you will make our difficulties lighter than they appear to us. I wish to say a few words to you, and I wish you to treasure up what I say for the good of my children.

Last winter some of the Chippewas went down to Washington. When they returned, and I heard what was done I was very sorry, and I could not sleep at night, it distressed me so. At the time that my nephew went down in 1855 to Washington, they made a treaty which gave us reservations. I cannot see, or I do not know, that I have forfeited the one which was given to me. My nephew (here pointing to Hole-in-the-day) when he was down, had a reservation set aside for me that I have wished to pass my days and be buried on. I wish to ask one favor from our Great Father—to allow us to remain on our old reservations. There are several years yet for our annuities to run, we were satisfied, and I wish to remain until they are out.

We are always glad to listen to our Great Father, and to do as he wishes us to. The Master of Life gave us a home. We have sold what we did not want. I did not help make the last treaty, and I cannot, as I understand it, approve of it. I am getting to be an old man, and shall not do much more business, &c. I leave it all to my nephew and son. What they do I will consent to, and be satisfied. We have all of us one mind. We all wish it left with those I have named. It is too late to talk much about it, but we trust it all to you, and the one I have spoken of. The last treaty we are not satisfied with, and we know that what was done there was done through fear. The country they gave us is not a good country for Indians, and is of no account to us. We leave it all with our Great Father, and trust all to your having things made right. We have great confidence in you, as we have known you long as our friend.

Little Frenchman, from Pokegama. My father, what that old man has stated as his feelings, are my feelings and views exactly. We have not been able to learn what was done at Washington. One of the reasons we feel bad is, the chiefs that made the last treaty have never told us what they did at Washington. Through respect to our Great Father, I wish to live up to his treaties and do what is right; but we do not know what to do. Perhaps we would not murmur much if we knew all that was done then. You know all about it, and we all wish you to explain to us what was done.

Drum Beater, of Pokegama. I have a few words I wish to say. I think I have a right to be heard, and I agree with these older chiefs. We wish to know where the new reservations are. We have never wished to part with our old reservations, and still wish to hold them. If others sold them, we did not wish to part with them, for our father told us never to part with the one we have. We are not satisfied. That is all.

Mauh-ose-o-grad, of Pokegama. I also have a few words I wish to say. I have never seen you before, but hope you can make things better for us, as we are very much to be pitied, since the treaty was made last winter. It would be well to give us some of the new reserve with our old one. We do not wish to be driven off our old reserve. Father, we are already very poor, and that would make us much worse off.

Nay-groon-a-he, of Mille Lac. There are great disaffections at Mille Lac in regard to the late treaty. The treaty made at Washington has made constant trouble among us. If I could tear it to pieces, I would do so for that reason, if for no other.

Hole-in-the-day, of Gull lake. It has pleased the Master of Life to let us meet a person we are all glad to see, that our Great Father has sent to us. What we speak of to-day are subjects of the greatest importance to us; they are matters of life and death to us. Father and friend, what these old men say to you are the sentiments of all of us that did not go to Washington last winter, and of many of them that did go. What we think of this past transaction I will not now say, as out of respect to the government we will submit without now complaining. I am sorry that by the terms of the treaty no clause was left so that we would be allowed to amend it. The consideration of these things makes it a matter of life or death to us, for when we look at the treaty, we have only about a stone's throw that is good for anything, and we see no way of bettering ourselves. We hope that you will use your influence for us. We respect the government, and wish our Great Father to make it better for us. We speak to you, and we wish to say to you that we do not flatter, but we have known you a great while, and we all know you have a great deal of influence, as you should have, here and with our Great Father, and we ask you to do what you can to help us. I must not now be misunderstood. I might say much more, but I must now shield myself. If I have ever committed any errors, I wish to correct them, and my young men all feel the same way. I am willing to sacrifice myself for my band, and die for them.

Father, I have to look to you. I told my friends you would come here. We have heard that you would not come, and it made us feel bad to think that we would not be able to talk to you, but now we feel much better.

Mr. Ramsey. I have heard what they have said, and will communicate it to the Great Father. I have always had confidence in the Chippewas, and last year, when the Sioux committed such horrible offences, and destroyed themselves, many others thought the Chippewas also would be bad. I said they would not, and constantly stated they would not throw away all of the good name they had so long been endeavoring to acquire. I know their Great Father has the kindliest feeling for them, and if their treaty, which they complain of, is hard on them, he will make it as easy as possible. I am glad to hear the

chiefs say they will live up to it, and be content with such modifications as their Great Father may be willing to concede, as the best thing they can do now.

Now, if I understand them, they have appointed two chiefs to carry out their wishes, if the President will consent, and that this is the wish of all of them. If this is consented to, I will endeavor to have all things made right, through their representatives. I think I understand their wishes, and will endeavor to see their Great Father, and secure his compliance with some of their requests.

Hole-in-the-day, (addressing the chiefs:) I now say to all of you, I will do what I can to arrange our difficulties; but if you entrust it to me, you must be satisfied. (Addressing Mr. Ramsey:) We are all like sick men, and you are our doctor. We feel much better since we have seen and talked with you.

Mr. Ramsey. I shall soon go down to Washington. There are many weighty matters of business to attend to, but I will attend to these things you have spoken of, as soon as I can, and I think there is a good opportunity for a satisfactory arrangement.

After some further conversation the conference ended, and Mr. Ramsey returned next day to St. Paul.

MESSAGE

OF THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

A despatch from the minister of the United States to the Secretary of State, relative to the modification of the 21st article of the treaty between the United States and China.

JANUARY 25, 1864.—Read, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in confidence for the use of the Senate.

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit to the Senate a copy of a despatch of the 12th of April last, addressed by Anson Burlingame, esq., the minister of the United States to China, to the Secretary of State, relative to a modification of the 21st article of the treaty between the United States and China of the 18th of June, 1858, a printed copy of which is also herewith transmitted. These papers are submitted to the consideration of the Senate with a view to their advice and consent being given to the modification of the said 21st article, as explained in the said despatch and its accompaniments.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, *January* 23, 1864.

Mr. Burlingame to Mr. Seward.

No. 34.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Peking, April 12, 1863.

SIR: I have to inform you that on February 6, 1863, I received a despatch, marked A, from Prince Kung, in which he expressed a desire to have article 21 of the treaty so modified as to permit duties to be paid when goods are re-exported at the port into which they are finally imported, and that, in such case, it would only be necessary to get port clearances. The object of this change which was suggested by Chunghow, the superintendent of the three northern ports, was to secure a fairer distribution of the revenue.

I answered that I would examine the subject, and, if possible, meet the desires of the prince. I accordingly did examine the subject, and found that there was no objection to the change; but to make the system more perfect, it was submitted, through Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister, that drawbacks should be substituted for exemption certificates at all the ports.

Prince Kung replied in a communication, marked B, in which he assented to the change. In my reply to this communication, marked C, I assented to the