LIFE OF
HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

Fraser C. Paterson

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THE LIFE

of

HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT

by

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C O N T E N T S

P R E F A C E

As long as there are American schools and American school children, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha will undoubtedly continue to be read and re-read countless times. Possibly in the future, even as in the past, some inquisitive pupil will ask, "Where did Longfellow get the story of Hiawatha?"

Either the notes to the poem or the teacher will probably state that Longfellow obtained his material from a man named Schoolcraft. To the succeeding and perfectly natural question, "Who was Schoolcraft?" it is doubtful whether teacher or notes will give conclusive answers, because, unfortunately, except for brief and often inaccurate[1] encyclopedia accounts, little has been written about the life and works of this early American literary figure.

This study, therefore, will attempt to give between one set of covers such collected information and interpretation of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft as can be found elsewhere only through the arduous perusal of many volumes. If from examining these salient facts of his life and writings the reader is better able to realize Schoolcraft's worth and place in the field of American literature, this thesis will achieve its purpose.

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1. Even such a learned work as the Dictionary of American Biography (Vol. XVI, p.457) makes the error of stating that Schoolcraft's first wife was a quarter-breed Indian. According to Schoolcraft (Memoirs, p.431) she was a half-breed, being the daughter of O-she-wush-ko-da-wa-qua, a full-blooded Chippewa Indian squaw and John Johnston, a white man.

CHAPTER I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

To the American people of today it hardly seems possible that only a century ago the middle western regions of the United States were still frontier. Only small groups of log cabins huddled closely to stockaded forts marked the sites of the now teeming cities of Detroit and Chicago. The fact is that in 1812 the territory of Michigan contained scarcely five thousand white people.[1] This figure takes on new meaning when it is recalled that the Michigan territory of that day included not only the present upper and lower peninsulas, but also all of what is now the state of Wisconsin.

The other inhabitants of this great region were Indians--Indians of a thoroughly heterogenous mixture of tribes and nations.[2] For many years the steady settling of the seaboard states had gradually forced the eastern tribes to the west and north. The migratory routes followed were the waterways of the Ohio, the St. Lawrence, the tributary streams of the Great Lakes, and the Great Lakes themselves. As a result, the original tribes of Michigan became considerably augmented by the encroaching eastern Indians, thus giving Michigan a numerous and diversified Indian population.

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1. Richard Hildreth, History of the United States of America, Vol. VI, p.338.
2. H. M. Utley, Michigan as a province, territory and state, Vol. II, p.155.

Several settlements, chiefly those of Detroit, Michilimackinack, and Sault Ste. Marie, became prominent as focal points in the administration of Indian affairs as then practiced by the Federal government. It was customary to establish agencies at these points under the supervision of a white man called the Indian Agent. His duties centered about the task of keeping the war-loving aborigines at peace with both their red and white neighbors. It was as one of these Indian Agents that Henry Schoolcraft spent twenty[3] years of his life living and travelling throughout the Northwest until he came to know the Indians and their ways better than any other white man of his time.

It is the recordings of his observations of Indians made while at Sault Ste. Marie and Michilimackinack, together with the narratives of adventures that befell him on many trips of exploration that constitute the bulk of Schoolcraft's literary efforts.

Too often Schoolcraft's contribution to American literature has been considered only in the light of his having provided Longfellow with the raw material for the Song of Hiawatha. Paradoxical as it may seem, not only have the critics seen fit to limit Schoolcraft's worth to this supplying of the raw material, but they have also seen fit to heap opprobrium upon his head for confusing the Iroquois statesman, Hiawatha, with the Ojibway deity, Manabazho[4] and thus causing

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3. Memoirs, p.702.

4. Stith Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. XXXVII, pp.128-40.

Longfellow to make the same error.

It cannot be too strongly stressed that Schoolcraft's writings do not need the aid of Longfellow's Hiawatha to endure, for they played an independent and important part in the awakening of the American consciousness that took place during those early years of the nineteenth century when Schoolcraft lived and wrote.

It was Schoolcraft who first popularized the scientifically written travel narrative. Until he published his A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri in 1819, no such work had ever been attempted. In this respect, if in no other, Schoolcraft was truly a pioneer, and as such, deserves the credit that later generations of critics seem reluctant to give him. To the twentieth century the scientific search for knowledge is purely a matter of course, but to the early nineteenth century scientific research was scarcely known. A statement of Schoolcraft's made at the time he was asked to lead the scientific corps of a proposed United States Exploring Expedition to the South Seas will illustrate admirably the temper of the scientific knowledge of that day:

> The experiments of Dr. Maskelyn denote a greater specific gravity in the central portions of the globe, than in its crust, and consequently do not favor the theory advocated by Mr. R., of an interior void. Yet we are advertisied, by the phenomena of earthquakes, that this interior abounds with oxygen, hydrogen gas, caloric, and sulphuric; and that extraordinary geological changes are effected by their action. It does seem improbable that the proposed expedition will trace any open connection with such

> an interior void; but it may accumulate facts of the highest importance.[5]

When it is seen that people on a high level of learning were still toying with the possibility of an existing passageway to the interior of the globe, the quality of the average man's thinking of that time appears a little more understandable.

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5. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Personal Memoirs (1851), p.283.

CHAPTER II

YOUTHFUL DAYS AND EDUCATION

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft[1] was born on March 28, 1793, somewhere in the southern part of Albany county, New York.[2] After he had spent ten years of boyhood little different from that of the average lad of his time, his family moved further north in the same county to the village of Hamilton, at which place Henry was to remain for the next six years. At the time Schoolcraft's family arrived in Hamilton the village was noted for its extensive glass manufacturing works,[3] the direction of which was to become the charge of Henry's father, Colonel Lawrence Schoolcraft,[4] veteran of many a Revolutionary skirmish.[5]

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1. Originally the Schoolcraft family name had been Calcraft and it was as such, in the person of James Calcraft, soldier, that the line came to America early in the reign of George the Second. After campaigning against the French of Canada, Calcraft settled in Albany County, then frontier country, raised a family, and became the master of the first English school of that region. It was probably on account of James Calcraft's schoolmastering, that succeeding generations of the family came to be known as Schoolcraft.

2. Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, p.1951.

3. Memoirs, p.xxxiii.

4. Ibid., p.xxxiv.

5. One of these exploits was later to become the subject of Henry's Siege and Defense of Fort Stanwix(1848).

The village of Hamilton was beautifully situated upon one of the tributaries of the Towasentha and was surrounded on three sides by a picturesque range of the Catskill Mountains called the Helderberg.[6] Not far from Hamilton passed the ancient Iroquois war and trading path, and although in 1800 it was no longer used by the Indians, they having migrated to the north and west, its signs and traditions were still fresh enough to deeply interest young Henry Schoolcraft. Although Henry loved to roam the mountainsides, it was not to the neglect of his studies. In fact he was so diligent at his schoolwork that by the time he was twelve the village schoolmaster, a Mr. Robert Buchanan,[7] was forced to confess to the boy's father that he had taught the lad all that he was able to and that any further time spent in the local school would be unavailing. Therefore, Colonel Schoolcraft at once took steps to secure a tutor to prepare Henry for entrance to Union College.[8]

At the age of thirteen Henry commenced the writing of poetry, but as he grew older he destroyed the manuscripts[9] of this early verse because he thought them too juvenile. In addition to studying and writing poetry, he also found time

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6. Schoolcraft has two poems inspired by the landscapes of this region. The Heldergergia (1855) and The Iosco, or Vale of Norma (1838).

7. Memoirs, p.xxxiv.

8. Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, Vol. II, p.1951.

9. Memoirs, p.xxxiii.

to become very skillful in the art of water color painting. In fact, young Schoolcraft showed so much ability in this line, that he attracted the attention of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer,[10] who, in addition to being the owner of the glass works and Colonel Schoolcraft's employer, was also Lieutenant Govenor of New York. Although Van Rensselaer was more than willing to stand the entire expense of placing Henry with a master for training,[11] the prospect of a life spent in painting did not appeal to the boy, who soon gave up his art in favor of the more rigorous study of mineralogy and geology.[12]

At that time, 1808, mineralogy and geology were fields of knowledge about which comparatively little was known in the United States. Consequently, young Schoolcraft, who quickly grasped the fundamentals of these sciences made a name for himself as an authority on scientific research. At first his interests were confined to the rocks and minerals of the Catskills.[13] Later, while living in Vermont, he was able to extend his explorations considerably.

At the age of sixteen, Schoolcraft organized a literary society in the village of Hamilton for the purpose of studying the learned sciences.[14] It mattered little to Schoolcraft that he was the youngest member of the group. With characteristic

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10. Memoirs, p.xxxiv.
11. Ibid., p.xxxiv.
12. Ibid., p.xxxv.
13. Ibid., p.xxxv.
14. Ibid., p.xxxiv.

enthusiasm he devoted himself assiduously to the building up of a personal library and a collection of mineral specimens.[15] It was also during his sixteenth year that he wrote his first articles for the local newspapers upon the various rock formations of Albany County.[16]

It was only natural that Colonel Lawrence Schoolcraft, engaged in supervising the construction of a glass works in western New York, should send for his eldest son.[17] Consequently, in the fall of 1809, Henry, at the age of seventeen, left Hamilton, and after four and a half days of stage coach travel, arrived in Vernon, New York.[18] Since Vernon was only a few miles distant from Oneida Castle, home of the ancient Oneida tribe of the Iroquois, it was daily visited by bands of Indians.[19] Here, therefore, Henry had his first opportunity of observing the manners and customs of the Red Man at close range. Little did he then dream that the Indians, both as a race and as individuals, were to play such important parts in his later life.

The next year, young Schoolcraft, in the company of Mr. Alexander Bryan Johnson[20] of Utica, journeyed through the Genesee Country, a large area adjacent to Lakes Ontario and

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15. Memoirs, p.xxxv.
16. Ibid., p.xxxvi.
17. Ibid., p.17.
18. Ibid., p.17.
19. Ibid., p.17
20. Ibid., p.18.

Seneca. The purpose of this trip was to find a suitable location for a new glass manufactory that was being subsidized by the State legislature. The site chosen was on the shore of Lake Seneca, not far from the town of Geneva. Many years later Schoolcraft wrote about this trip:

> It is many years since I accompanied you[21] to the Genesee Country, which was, at that time, a favorite theatre of enterprise, and called the "Garden of the West." This step, eventually, led me to make deeper and more adventurous inroads into the American wilderness.[22]

As soon as work on the new plant was under way, Schoolcraft established his residence at Geneva for the purpose of supervising the construction. Soon, however, the war of 1812, its hostilities centering in the vicinity of Geneva, forced the work on the new plant to be suspended. Since the advent of the war had cut off completely the importation of British products, a great demand for domestically manufactured goods arose. The demand for window glass, indispensable in the building operations necessary to the establishment of new settlements, was especially great, making it imperative that new glass manufacturing plants be built.[23]

As Colonel Lawrence Schoolcraft was the acknowledged American authority on glass making, it was to him that the merchants and capitalists of New York and New England turned for aid. The Colonel, however, engrossed with the more exciting details of mustering into service a regiment of vol-

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21. Alexander B. Johnson.

22. Memoirs, dedicatory foreword.

23. Ibid., p.18.

unteers,[24] had little time for the prosaic demands of business, and so delegated many of his industrial cares to his son Henry.

As a result, it was as his father's personal representative that young Schoolcraft left Geneva[25] during the early days of the war and went to Vermont, where he at once took up the task of directing the erection of several large glass manufacturing plants. His new position was very important and carried with it the impressive salary of eighteen hundred dollars per year.[26]

His Vermont residence, in addition to offering him new minerals to study, presented an opportunity to attend Middlebury College, even though, according to his own statement,[27] this attendance was "ex academia." Under the tutelage of the Middlebury professors he studied chemistry, natural philosophy, and medicine, the latter of which was to prove valuable to him during his explorations among the Indians. On his own initiative Schoolcraft picked up the rudiments of Hebrew, German, and French.[28] He also set up an experimental chemical furnace with which he conducted many experiments regarding the

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24. Memoirs, p.xxxii.

25. Ibid., p.18.

26. Ibid., p.18. This salary is more impressive when it is noted that at that time the governor of Vermont received only eight hundred dollars per year.

27. Ibid., p.18.

28. Ibid., p.xxxv.

fusion properties of various minerals.[29] The results of these investigations were incorporated into his first published book Vitriology,[30] which, although planned to be one of a series was destined to have no companion pieces added to it, either immediately or later.

Since his business duties obliged him to travel extensively[31] throughout New England, Schoolcraft was daily brought into contact with new scenes and new acquaintances. From many of the latter he heard such favorable accounts of the country west of the mountains that he began making plans for a trip to the Mississippi valley.[32]

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29. Memoirs, p.xxxv.

30. Utica (1817).

31. Ibid., p.18.

32. Ibid., p.18.

CHAPTER III

WESTERN TRAVELS AND NARRATIVE JOURNALS

Early in the spring of 1818,[1] in fact, so early that snow still lay upon the ground and ice still choked the streams, young Schoolcraft went to the town of Olean, near the source of the Allegheny river, from where he embarked upon a journey which was to carry him over six thousand miles of land and water before he returned to New York.

Western migration, practically at a standstill during the war of 1812,[2] was again increasing and Schoolcraft found Olean, normally little more than a village crowded with men, women and children eagerly awaiting the break-up of the ice so that they could start floating down the Allegheny upon great clumsy-looking flat-boats.[3] Needless to say, Schoolcraft was a passenger upon the first boat to attempt a descent of the river.

Although the exact date of departure from Olean is not given in either his A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri or his Personal Memoirs, it undoubtedly must have been very early in the year because he reached Pittsburgh, three hundred miles below Olean, March 28, a day doubly significant to Schoolcraft as it was his twenty-fifth birthday.[4]

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1. Memoirs, p.18.
2. Ibid., p.19.
3. Ibid., p.19. Schoolcraft calls them "arks".
4. Ibid., p.20.

After several days in looking about the thriving town of Pittsburgh, Schoolcraft engaged passage upon another, but larger flat-boat, one of a group making ready for the trip down the Ohio. During this second leg of his journey he made the acquaintance of several prominent men[5] who were quick to see that Schoolcraft was no ordinary young man. Consequently, many pleasant hours were spent in intelligent conversation on board ship, and many instructive walks were taken along the banks of the Ohio near the little towns at which the flotilla of boats invariably tied up for the night.[6] Five hundred miles down the Ohio and Cincinnati was reached where Schoolcraft, in company with several of his friends, went ashore for a stay of several weeks.[7]

When the possibilities of Cincinnati were exhausted, Schoolcraft began looking about for transportation, other than flat-boat, to Louisville, Kentucky. Happening to meet a man from Baltimore named Willers who had the same idea and destination in mind, Schoolcraft joined him in the purchase of a light skiff.[8] Putting their baggage into their boat, the two men floated down the Ohio. As it was early May and warm, the trip was pleasant, though hazardous.

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5. One of these friends, Senator J. B. Thomas of Illinois, was later instrumental in securing Schoolcraft's appointment as Indian Agent. Memoirs, pp.22 and 87.

6. Ibid., p.21.

7. Ibid., p.22.

8. Ibid., p.25.

Louisville was reached in about four days. While there Schoolcraft discovered some fossil formations and published an account of them anonymously in the Louisville paper.[9] Several weeks later he was very pleased when he found that a number of the eastern papers had copied his article.

For the next state of his journey, Schoolcraft took passage upon a freight boat owned by Messrs. Kemp and Keen. Immediately upon leaving Louisville it was necessary for the boat to pass through some rather rapid water. The owners of the boat chose to walk along the bank during this passage, but the intrepid Schoolcraft, wishing to miss nothing, remained on board and enjoyed the experience.[11]

After several days of travel little different from days similarly spent along the upper reaches of the same river, the flat-boat stopped at Smithfield, a little town at the mouth of the Cumberland river. Here, in order to shift the cargo from the flat-boat to a keel-boat, a type better suited for ascending the Mississippi,[12] they spent two days. While waiting for the transfer of the cargo, Schoolcraft followed his usual custom of tramping about the surrounding country. On one of these walks he met and talked with soldiers who had just returned from campaigning with General Jackson against the Creek and Seminole Indians.[13]

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9. Memoirs, p.26.

10. Ibid., p.26.

11. Ibid., p.26.

12. The Mississippi was only a day's distance from Smithfield.

13. Schoolcraft used these stories in his Alhalla, or the Lord of Talladega; a Tale of the Creek War, (1843).

The first day of July, Schoolcraft had his first glimpse of the Mississippi river, of the ultimate source of which he was to become the noted discoverer, fourteen years later.[14] The ascent of the Mississippi was a task with an empty boat; with a boat heavily laden with cargo, it was a task to be undertaken only by the strong of heart. In the setting down,[15] as he saw it, of this struggle of man against the force of the great Mississippi, Schoolcraft writes some of his most effective prose. This writing, although merely in the form of a journal, achieves a totality of effect that some of his later efforts lack.

The struggle up the Mississippi was slow work with poles and ropes.[16] Five, six or seven miles were all the weary boatmen could gain by a day's toil in the heat of the July sun. Such slow progress, however, gave Schoolcraft ample opportunity to familiarize himself thoroughly with the topography of the country passed through.

On July 23, the boat reached the little town of Herculaneum and in order to give the boatmen a much needed rest,[17] stopped for several days. Impatient at the delay, Schoolcraft decided to cover the remaining thirty miles to St. Louis entirely on foot. When he was ready to set out the Messrs. Kemp and Keen joined him.

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14. July 13, 1832.

15. Narrative Journal of a Tour into Missouri....(1821).

16. Schoolcraft, Scenes and Adventures of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri, pp.23-38.

17. Memoirs, p.38.

After spending one night at a settler's cabin the little party reached St. Louis without trouble or adventure. Schoolcraft was delighted with the location of St. Louis and predicted that it was bound to become one of the great inland cities of the world.[18] From St. Louis, Schoolcraft returned by skiff to Herculaneum and from there travelled westward to Potosi which was in the very heart of the lead mining country. At. Potosi he found lodgings for a few months with a former Kentuckian, Mr. W. Ficklin.[19]

In October, Schoolcraft decided to push his explorations westward into the Ozark Mountains and set about making the necessary preparations. At first, several of his friends desired to go with him, but when the day of departure[20] finally arrived, only one, Pettibone, was able to go.

After four months of adventure and hardship, the two men returned to Potosi late in February, much to the surprise of its residents, who had heard from hunters that both Schoolcraft and Pettibone had been killed by the Indians.[21] Immediately upon his return to Potosi, Schoolcraft began drawing up a description of the resources of the mining country of Missouri.

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18. Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mountains, p.41.

19. Ibid., p.46. From Ficklin, Schoolcraft obtained valuable information about woodcraft.

20. November 6, 1818.

21. Ibid., p.145.

The sudden change from a completely outdoor life to one of indoors seriously affected Schoolcraft's health, with the result that he contracted jaundice[22] and was laid up for several months. To hasten his recovery from the illness he went to Herculaneum for treatment. While there he witnessed the departure of a United States expedition to the Yellowstone river.[23] This suggested to him that the subject of mines was a problem that should be given Federal aid. He said:

> It occurred to me, after my return to Potosi, that the subject of the mines which I had been inquiring about, so far as relates to their management as a part of the public domain, was one that belonged properly to the United States Government. I determined to visit Washington, and lay the subject before the President. As soon as I had made this determination, everything bowed to this idea.[24]

Convinced that he could accomplish nothing more in Missouri, Schoolcraft took passage at St. Genevieve for New Orleans.[25] From there he travelled by steamer to New York, where he arrived in time to be quarantined on Staten Island for two weeks because of a threatened outbreak of yellow fever. It is typical of Schoolcraft that he spent the two weeks in making a thorough study of the island's geology.[26]

His reception in New York literary circles can best be

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22. Memoirs, p.39.

23. Ibid., p.40.

24. Ibid.,p.40.

25. Ibid., p.40. It required only two days to descend from St. Genevieve to the junction of the Ohio, the distance that had required twenty days to ascend the previous summer.

26. Ibid., p.42.

told in his own words:

> I had now completed, by land and water, a circuit of the Union, having travelled some 6000 miles, My arrival was opportune. No traveller of modern times had thrown himself upon the success of his scientific observations, and I was hailed, by the scientific public, as the first one who had ever brought a collection of the mineral productions of the Mississippi Valley. My collection was the means of introducing me to the men of science of New York, and elsewhere.[27]

Under such favorable circumstances, Schoolcraft proceeded enthusiastically with the writing of his book, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri.[28]

As soon as it was published, November 25, 1819, Schoolcraft took copies of it and went to Washington. He was favorably received by Secretary of War Calhoun, Secretary of the Treasury Crawford and also by President Monroe.[29] Secretary Calhoun informed Schoolcraft that General Cass was planning to explore the sources of the Mississippi with an expedition and needed the services of a naturalist conversant with mineralogy. To Calhoun's proposal that he let the matter of the Missouri mines rest temporarily in order to accompany Cass, Schoolcraft was agreeable. He said:

> He tendered me the place, and stated the compensation. The latter was small, but the situation appeared to be one which was not to be overlooked. I accepted it. It seemed to be the bottom step in a ladder that I ought to climb.[30]

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27. Memoirs, p.43.

28. Wiley and Co., New York (1819).

29. Ibid., p.43.

30. Ibid., p.44.

Although Schoolcraft was unaware of it at the time, his acceptance of this position was a turning point in a career that in the next few years was to concern itself less and less with such inaminate things as rocks and minerals and more and more with the human race, especially with the American Indian.

CHAPTER IV

EXPLORING WITH GENERAL CASS

To the twenty-six year old Schoolcraft the first few weeks of 1820, although filled with gay days spent in Washington and New York,[1] passed all too slowly. He was anxious to be off to the wilds with General Cass. The first of May, therefore, found him at Niagara Falls, ready to take passage on the steamer[2] for Detroit, which place he reached seven days later. He and a companion, Captain D. B. Douglass of West Point Academy,[3] were cordially received by General Cass.

Since complete arrangements for the start of the expedition had not been made, Schoolcraft had time to become accustomed to the life of a military post and to take care of the voluminous, but unsolicited correspondence that the publish- of his book had inaugurated.[4]

On May 24, the expedition started up the Detroit river with the northernmost points of the Northwest territory[5] as their destination. The party travelled in birch bark canoes of Indian manufacture that were manned by Chippewa Indians and Canadian voyageurs. A small detachment of soldiers, under the command of

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1. Memoirs, p.45.
2. Ibid.,p.45. It was the "Walk-in-the-water", the first steamer on the Great Lakes.
3. Ibid., p.45. Douglass was topographer of the expedition.
4. Ibid., pp.46-48.
5. Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, p.48.

Lieutenant Mackay,[6] accompanied them as an escort. Upon entering Lake Huron, the company of canoes followed closely the western shore line. After ascending the St. Mary's river the southern shore of Lake Superior was followed to Fond du Lac, from where the party went up the St. Louis river to the highlands of the divide between the water-sheds of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.[7] By portaging they entered the Mississippi system and eventually traced it to a point much further upstream than Lieutenant Pike had done several years before.[8] As the water was now unfavorable for further progress the expedition retraced their path to the falls of the St. Anthony. They then went east to the shores of Green Bay, at which place they divided; some going directly to Michilimackinack; and the others, including Schoolcraft, tracing the entire shore-line of Lake Michigan.[9]

When Detroit was finally reached some four thousand miles of waterways had been successfully traversed and mapped. The account of this trip that Schoolcraft published in 1821[10]

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6. Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the Mississippi River, p.48.

7. Ibid., p.110.

8. Memoirs, p.50.

9. Ibid., p.50.

10. Its complete title is: A Narrative Journal of Travels through the American Lakes to the sources of the Mississippi River, performed as a member of Governor Cass's expedition, 1820.

served to establish more thoroughly his reputation as an accurate and scientific traveller and observer. A later writer makes this statement:

> For many years, beginning with 1817, Schoolcraft stirred up a zeal for natural history from one end of the land to the other. In short, no exploration had before been made which so completely revealed the features and physical geography of so large a portion of the public domain. A new interest in mineralogy and geology was awakened by this expedition, and Mr. Schoolcraft's narrative was hurried into press under the pressure of public clamor for its results.[11]

Before leaving Detroit for New York Schoolcraft was a guest for several weeks at the home of General Cass.[12] In New York he spent the winter working on his narrative and receiving the homage of literary people who seemed determined to lionize Schoolcraft for having seen so many of his country's farthest frontiers.[13]

In the spring came a letter from General Cass requesting Schoolcraft's company on another trip of exploration.[14] As the project had been discussed many times during the earlier journey and as he had been expecting the invitation, Schoolcraft quickly accepted it.

This second trip with Cass began on July 4,1821. And although it did not traverse such an unsettled country as the earlier one had done, it nevertheless proved very interesting.

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11. Popular Science Monthly, Vol. XXXVII, pp.113-121.

12. According to A. C. Mclaughlin, Lewis Cass (New York, 1891) General Cass had the finest library in the west.

13. Memoirs, p.56.

14. Ibid., p.64. The expedition was planned to trace the courses of the Wabash and Miami rivers and to treat with the Indian tribes of the Chicago district.

While approaching Chicago by the means of the Des Plaines river, Schoolcraft found the fossil tree that had been reported as being imbedded in the bottom of that stream.[15] When the time arrived for the signing of the treaty with the Potowattomie Indians, Schoolcraft was too ill with the fever to sign with the rest.[16] He was also forced to remain in Chicago for several months after the remainder of the expedition had returned to Detroit.

It was late fall when Schoolcraft reached New York. During his pro-longed absence a heated controversy[17] had been raging in the daily papers over the merits of his previously published works. If the public had clamored for Schoolcraft's narrative of the 1820 expedition,[18] popular enthusiasm must have cooled quickly, for the journal of the 1821 trip was not published until 1825. Three more years passed before it was noticed in the North American Review.[19] When it is recalled that the Narrative Journal published in 1821 was reviewed in the North American Review as early as July, 1822, it appears evident that by 1825 interest in travel narratives was already decreasing.

The 1822 review begins with references to De Soto,

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15. Described in American Journal of Science, Vol. IV, (1822) p.285.

16. Memoirs, p.69.

17. Ibid., pp69-71.

18. Ibid., p.53. See also note 11 to this chapter.

19. North American Review, Vol. XVII, pp.224-50.

Hennepin, Baron la Hontan, and Charlevoix,[20] who had covered the same general route many years earlier than Schoolcraft. In speaking of Schoolcraft's first glimpse of Lake Superior, the writer of the review[21] says that it would be an injustice to describe it, the grandest event of the whole expedition, in any language, but Schoolcraft's own. And then quotes:

> The morning was clear and pleasant, with a gentle breeze blowing up the river, which while it filled our sails and relieved our men at the oars, produced an exhilirating effect upon our spirits, by its refreshing coolness, and we approached the lake with a feeling of impatient delight. The most enchanting views were presented in every direction and we fully realized the justice of the remark made by Carver, that the entrance to Lake Superior affords one of the most pleasing prospects in the world. This entrance was now in full view, presenting a scene of beauty and magnificence which is rarely surpassed even amid the rugged seenes of the north. The lake spread like a sea before us; toward the north we could discern the highlands of Canada, while on the Superior bay side, the mountain chain extending from the head of the river St. Mary, westward, towered majestically into the air and presented a fine contrast with the boundless expanse of water at its base.[22]

In the description[23] that he gives a little further along in this same book, of the pictured rocks along Superior's shore, Schoolcraft writes some of his best prose.

> Surprising groups of overhanging precipices, towering walls, caverns, waterfalls, and prostrate ruins, which

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20. North American Review, Vol. XVII, pp225-228.

21. J. G. Cogswell.

22. Narrative Journal of Travels in 1820, p.236.

23. This description is often used in vacation booklets.

> are here mingled in the most wonderful disordef, and burst upon the view in ever varying and pleasing succession.[24]

Enough has been given to show that Schoolcraft was sensible to the beauties of nature and could describe them in a pleasing, if not powerful, manner. According to Cogswell, "The narrative beyond Lake Superior becomes totally barren of interest, but its dulness is no fault of the author, but is wholly chargeable to the country where he travels, which was very aptly called by la Hontan, the 'fag end of the world'."[25]

Cogswell also found much in the narrative that displeased him. For instance:

> If it were reasonable to complain of one who has done so much as Mr. Schoolcraft, because he has not done everything, we would say that his descriptions are too loose and indefinite; we are not sure that he has seen one new animal or plant, or mineral, as he has never marked those, which he supposes to be new, by any characters which decide them to be so. As to language his work is highly defective, and every page he writes is marked by a sin against the King's English. We complain not of such words as 'snags' and 'bluffs' -- which we consider legitimate, because they are technical; but we consider that 'progressing' and 'progress' as they are used by him in addition to 'sundown', 'schute', 'eventuate', do not belong to our language. We are independent Americans it is true but we have no right to corrupt the English language.[26]

From these statements it can be deduced that Mr. Schoolcraft must have depended too much upon observation of usage to suit a purist like Mr. Cogswell.

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24. Narrative Journal of Travels in 1820, p.237.

25. North American Review , Vol. XVII, p.242.

26. Ibid., 247-248.

The reviewer[27] who criticises Schoolcraft's Travels in the Mississippi Valley commences by making the following remarks about his earlier work:

> Mr. Schoolcraft's View of the Lead Mines of Missouri has been for some years before the public, and it excited expectations, which subsequent events have fully justified. Some of the peculiar opinions advanced in the work require confirmation, and the arrangement of the facts is injudicious, but it evinces a precision and accuracy in its details, and a power of observation which will render it valuable as a permanent book of reference.[28]

And then, after remarking how Schoolcraft, like numerous other Americans, had made his way to distinction without any adventitious aid, the article continues, "There has been a visible improvement in his successive works, and that for the most part their diction is pure and the arrangement happy."[29] The concluding statement is not so complimentary:

> There is, at times, an evident search after words, not always sanctioned by the best usage. Mr. Schoolcraft should recollect, that he will express himself most forcibly, when he expresses himself most easily.[30]

Another interesting article in the North American Review of July, 1825,[31] points out the fact that Major Long's

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27. Lewis Cass, North American Review, Vol.XXI (April, 1828), p.358.

28. Ibid., p.358.

29. Ibid., p.358.

30. Ibid., p.358.

31. North American Review, Vol.XVI, p.186.

later expedition[32] to the north was able to find some of Schoolcraft's earlier observations incorrect. The following illustrates the tone of this article:

> One important service rendered by Major Long and his party is deserving of particular note. They have pursued their inquiries and examinations in such a manner, as to show that some authors, who have enjoyed an unmerited degree of confidence and reputation, are unworthy of such respect. This is especially applicable to La.Hontan, and to his humble, but ungrateful copyist and garbler, Carver.[33]

> Mr. Schoolcraft, whose reputation as a traveller is well known, has also been corrected in some particulars by the researches of the present expedition. With this we are the more satisifed as the standing and merited respectability of Mr. Schoolcraft are well suited to confer permanency on any accidentally erroneous statements made by him. The narrative of Schoolcraft's contains an undeserved censure of Pike, who is reported to have estimated the Falls of St. Anthony as being sixteen and one half feet high; Schoolcraft magnifies this to forty feet; Major Long, by measuring, determined that the height is between fifteen and sixteen feet.[34]

From the few examples cited it can be seen that Schoolcraft's writings were subjected to many attacks during the late 1820's by the learned critics and periodicals of the Atlantic

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32. Schoolcraft had expected to lead this expedition. In his Memoirs, p.177, he says, "I have for some time relinguished the expectation of being selected to conduct the exploring party to the region of the St. Peter's. A letter of this date(May 29, 1823) terminates the uncertainty.'An exploring party has been ordered to make the tour that was intended for you. Through the necessity of placing a military officer at the head, Major Long has been chosen' thus falls another cherished hope, that of leading an expedition to the North."

33. North American Review, Vol.XVI, p.185.

34. Ibid., p.186.

seaboard literary centers.

Schoolcraft, however, was far removed from the points of strife, having gone, after spending the winter of 1821-22 in comparative idleness, to take up his permanent residence at the very outpost of civilization, Sault Ste. Marie.[35]

35. Memoirs, p.88.

CHAPTER V

SAULT STE. MARIE AND THE INDIANS

On the eighth day of May, 1822, the United States Senate confirmed President Monroe's nomination of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft for the new position of Indian Agent for the frontier post of Sault. Ste. Marie.[1] In speaking of his reaction to this successful attempt to gain a position in the government service, Schoolcraft said:

> I had now attained a fixed position; not such as I desired in the outset, and had striven for, but one that offered an interesting class of duties, in the performance of which there was a wide field for honest exertion, and, if it was embraced, also of historical inquiry and research. The search for natural history might certainly be transferred to that point, where the opportunity for discovery was the greatest.[2]

So once again the month of June found Schoolcraft hurrying across the state of New York and then up Lake Erie in order to get to Detroit in time to go north with an expedition. The only difference was that this time he faced the far from inviting prospect of remaining there throughout the long cold winter. When the steamer left Detroit on July 2, it contained, in addition to Schoolcraft and several other private citizens, a battalion of Infantry under the command of Colonel Brady, whose objective was the establishing of a military post and fort at Sault Ste. Marie.[3]

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1. Memoirs, p.87. The closing of the agency at Vincennes made it possible to create the new one at the Sault.

2. Ibid., p.87

3. Ibid., p.88.

The steamer landed its passengers at Sault Ste. Marie on the morning of July 6. Because of the presence of the military, the landing proceedings were carried on with a good deal of pomp and ceremony in order to impress the Indian, French, and Canadian inhabitants with the power and dignity of the United States of America.[4] The first thing done was the hoisting of the American flag. Then the troops were paraded around an empty field to the east of Mr. Johnston's house.[5] Mr. Johnston, the most influential resident of the little community, invited Schoolcraft and Colonel Brady to become his guests until they had arranged for permanent quarters.[6]

While on the steamer, Schoolcraft, in looking over some papers given to him by General Cass, came upon a printed list of queries regarding the Indians that the General was endeavoring to work out the answers. They seemed so interesting to Schoolcraft that he decided to undertake the task himself while in his new surroundings at the Sault.[7]

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4. Memoirs, p.92.

5. Ibid., p93. "We found in Mr. Johnston a man of singular energy and independence of character, from one of the most refined circles of Ireland; who had pushed here about 1793; he engaged in the fur trade; married the daughter of the ruling Ogima or Forest King of the Chippewas; raised a large family, four sons and four daughters; had a library of the best English works; lived in the best residence in the town; and had the manners and conversation of a man who could be classed only as a perfect gentleman with the sentiments of a man of honor, and the liberality of a lord."

6. Ibid., p.94.

7. Ibid., p.89.

The second day at Sault Ste, Marie, Schoolcraft made a speech to the assembled Indians of the neighborhood. He was followed by Colonel Brady who announced that the troops would not disturb the ancient burial ground of the Indians in the building of the new fort.[8] The speeches of both men were translated to the Indians by means of interpreters. Schoolcraft says:

> This announcement was received with great satisfaction, as denoted by a heavy fesponse of approbation on the part of the Indians; and the council closed to the apparent mutual satisfaction of all. I augured well, from all I heard respecting it, as coming from the Indians, and was resolved to follow it up zealously by cultivating the best understanding with this powerfull and hitherto hostile tribe, namely the Chippewas, or, as they call themselves, Od-jib-wa. To this end, as well as for my amusement, I commenced a vocabulary, and resolved to study their language, manners, customs, and so forth.[9]

With that resolve, Schoolcraft commenced a program of studying the Indians that was to result in his becoming the fore-most ethnologist of his day. When a week later he took up permanent residence in the household of Mr. Johnston, the learning of the language suddenly changed from a task to a pleasure, because his teachers became the beautiful and welleducated grand daughters of Wabojeeg, celebrated war chief of the Chippewas. Their mother's name was O-sha-wus-co-da- wa- qua, and she also taught Schoolcraft many things about the Indians.[10] Schoolcraft says:

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8. Memoirs, p.97.

9. Ibid., p.97.

10. Ibid., p.100.

> It is refreshing to find a person who, in reference to this language, knows the difference between the conjugation of a verb and the declension of a noun; it has been intolerable for me to converse with Indian traders and interpreters here who know none of these.[11]

As the days went by and Schoolcraft, in the discharge of his official duties, had the opportunity to see and interview the Indians that came and went daily, he became convinced that it was of paramount importance that he thoroughly familiarize himself with their tongue. Under date of July 28, he wrote:

> But as I find in my intercourse, the growing difficulties of verbal communication with the Indians on topics at all out of the ordinary routine of business, I begin to greatly wonder that the numerous misapprehensions of the actual character, manners, and customs of the Indians, which are found in books, are not more exaggerated than they are. As to literal exactitude in such communications, my inquiries have already convinced me that there must be other and higher standards than a hap-hazard "I-au-ne-kun-o-tau-gade," or trade interpreter, before the thing can be attempted. Fortunately, I have, in my friend, Mr. Johnston and the several interesting members of his family, the means of looking deeper into the powers and structures of the language, and am pressing these advantages, amidst the pauses of business, with all my ardor and assiduity. The study of the language, and the formation of a vocabulary and grammar have almost imperceptibly become an absorbing object. The plan interests me so much, that I actually regret the time that is lost from it, in the ordinary visits of comity and ceremony, which are, however, necessary.[12]

With an increasing knowledge of the Indian language, Schoolcraft was soon able to talk with the Indians without an interpfeter, and consequently began to hear many legends and stories

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11. Memoirs, p.100.

12. Ibid., pp.106-7.

of Indian folk-lore in a form that was unspoiled by clumsy attempts to render into English ideas and expressions that were characteristically Indian in nature and origin.

Schoolcraft kept a journal while in the north and set down in it everything of any importance that he heard or saw. Many of these items that he recorded were later used as materials for his books. An excellent example of this is the treatment that he gives to the subject of Whitefish in his Memoirs. The observations were made at the Sault:

> The white fish is taken only in the swift water at the foot of the last leap or descent.
>
> The fishing canoe is of small size. It is steered by a man in the stern. The fisherman takes his stand in the bows with a scoop net. This net has a long slender handle, ten feet or more in length.
>
> The flesh of the fish is perfectly white and firm with very few bones. It is boiled by the Indians in pure water, the kettle hung high above a small blaze and thus cooked it is eaten with the liquid for a gravy.
>
> It is also broiled by the inhabitants on a gridiron after cutting it open on the back, and brought to the table slightly browned. It is most delicious when immediately taken from the fire and connoisseurs will tell you, by its taste at the table, whether it is immediately from the water or has lain any time before cooking.[13]

Schoolcraft was very fond of white fish for dinner as is evidenced by this passage:

> It is sometimes made into small ovate masses, dipped into batter, and fried in butter, and in this shape, it is called petite pate. It is also chowdered or baked in a pie. It is the great resource of the Indians and the French, and of the poor generally at the falls,

13. Memoirs, p.123.

> who eat it with potatoes, which are abundantly raised here. It is also a standing dish with all.[14]

Having thus described the palatability of the white fish as food and also the economic importance of it to the Indian, Schoolcraft next gives the Indian name of the fish:

> The Chippewas who are ready to give every object in creation, whose existence they cannot account for, an allegorical origin, call the white fish, "attikumaig" compounded of "attik", a reindeer, and "gumee" meaning water, an evident acknowledgement of its importance in the means of subsistence. Who can say, after this, that the Chippewas have not some imagination?"[15]

Even this remark about the Indian name does not completely exhaust Schoolcraft's stock of information about this subject. The Indians had about the white fish, as about every animal, a legend, and Schoolcraft sets it down just as heard it.

> The legend about the origin of the white fish is founded on the observation of a minute trait in its habits. This fish, when opened, is found to have in its stomach very small white particles which look like roe or particles of brain, but are, perhaps, microscopic shells. They say this fish itself sprang from the brain of a female, whose skull fell into these rapids, and was dashed out against the rocks. A tale of domestic infidelity is woven with this, and the denouement is made to turn on the premonition of a venerable crane, the leading Totem of the tribe, who, having to carry the ghost of a female across the falls on his back, threw her into the boiling and foaming flood to accomplish the poetic justice of the tale.[16]

This ends the information about white fish under the date of October 4.

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14. Memoirs, p.123.

15. Ibid., p.12

16. Ibid., p.124.

This item from his journal will well illustrate his early studiousness and sincerity of purpose:

> Acting as librarian for the garrison during the season, I am privileged to fill up many of the leisure hours of my mornings and evenings by reading. The difficulty appears to be, to read with such reference to system as to render it profitable.[17]

It was late in the fall of 1822 that Schoolcraft received the following letter from a friend:

> I am extremely anxious that Mr. Johnston and his family should furnish full and detailed answers to my queries, more particularly upon all subjects connected with the language, and, if I may so speak, the polite literature of the Chippewas. There is no quarter from which I can expect such full information upon these topics as from this. I must beg you to aid me in the pursuit. Urge them during the long winter evenings to the task. The time cannot be more profitably or pleasantly spent, and, as I am told you are somewhat of an aboriginal scholar, you can assist them with your advice and judgment. A perfect analysis of the language is a great desideratum. I pray you, in the spring, to let me have the fruits of the exertions.[18]

With the prospect of such study and investigation in the offing, Schoolcraft dreaded less the advent of the long winter. The entries he made in his journal during the rapidly shortening days of November and December give a vivid picture of how winter settled down on the little trading post of Sault Ste. Marie.

> Nov. 1st. We have snow, cold and chilly winds. On looking to the north, there are huge piles of clouds hanging over Lake Superior. We may say, with Burns, "The wintry wind is gathering fast."
>
> Nov. 20th. We are now shut out from the world. The season of navigation has closed, the last vessel has departed...for some weeks past, everything with the

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17. Memoirs, p.130.

18. No name is given, but it probably was from Cass who was making a study along these lines.

power of motion or locomotion has been exerting itself to quit the region....Nature has also become imperceptibly sour tempered, and shows her teeth in ice and snows. We have witnessed the long-drawn flight of swans, brant, and cranes, towards the south. Singing birds have long since gone. Ducks, all but a very few have also silently disappeared...the last mail has been sent...Our population has been thinned off by the departure of every temporary dweller, and lingering trader, and belated visitor, till no one is left, but the doomed and fated number whose duty is here.

Dec. 1st. We have now plunged into the depths of a boreal winter. The blustering of tempests, the whistling of winds, and the careering of snow drifts form the daily topics of remark.

Dec. 4th. A meteor, or fire-ball, passed through the village at twilight this evening. The weather, which has been intensely cold for the last three days, indicates a change this evening.

Dec. 12th. Snow covers everything. We are shut out from the civilized world, and thrown entirely on our own resources. I doubt, if we were in Siberia, or Kamschatka, if we could be so completely isolated.

Dec. 22nd. The River St. Mary's froze over during the night of this day. The stream had been closed below, for about a week previous.

Dec. 28th. Ice, snow, winds, a high range of the thermometer, or a driving tempest, are the almost ever present topics of remark.

Dec. 29th. The days are still very short, the sun having but just passed the winter solstice. We do not dine till four; Mr. Johnston, with whom I take my meals, observing this custom, and it is dark within the coming hour.[19]

Although New Year's day was spent in feasting and receiving visitors at his quarters, including numerous Indians who came looking for presents, Schoolcraft began the year 1823 determined to devote every possible minute to his study of the Indian language and customs. In fact, according to his journal,

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19. Memoirs, p.126-36.

there was a period during which this study almost amounted to an obsession.

> Jan. 10th. I have employed the last three days, including this, very diligently on my Indian vocabulary and inquiries, having read but little. Too exclusive a devotion to this object is, however, an error. I have almost grudged the time I devoted to eating and sleeping. And I should certainly be unwilling that my visitors should know what I thought of the interruptions created by their visits. One of my visitors, a couple of days since, made me waste a whole morning in talking of trifling subjects.[20]

With practically every minute of the day filled with study, reading and work, Schoolcraft found that the winter passed quickly enough. Hardly before his work was well under way it was spring and maple sugar time again. To both the Indian and White residents of the North country the making of maple sugar was of such importance that during the period in which the sap was flowing the villages were almost deserted. Everybody packed up and went by dog team or horse-drawn sleigh to the maple sugar camps. Not only was this a season of hard work, but it was also a season of social activity. Under date of March 28, Schoolcraft wrote:

> I joined a party visiting one of the camps. We had several carioles in company, and went down the river about eight or nine miles to Mrs. Johnston's camp. The party consisted of several officers and ladies from the fort, Captain Thompson and lady, Lieutenant Bicker and lady and sister, the Miss Johnstons[21]...We pursued the river on the ice the greater part of the way, and then proceeded inland about a mile. We found a large temporary building, surrounded with piles of ready split wood for keeping a fire under the kettles, and

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20. Memoirs, p.142-43.

21. Schoolcraft married Miss Jane Johnston, Johnston's eldest daughter in October, 1823.

> large ox hides arranged in such a manner as to serve as vats for collecting the sap...The custom on these occasions is to make up a picnic, in which each one contributes something in the way of cold viands or refreshments....The principal amusement consisted of pulling candy, and eating the sugar in every form. Having done this, and received the hospitalities of our hostess, we tackled up our teams, and pursued our way back to the fort, having narrowly escaped breaking through the river at one or two points.[22]

On May 8, 1823, Schoolcraft made this entry in his journal:

> It is a year since I received from the President a commission as agent for these tribes; and it is now more probable than it was then that my residence here may assume a character of permanency. I do not, however, cease to hope that Providence, has a more eligible situation in reserve for me.[23]

His marriage to Johnston's eldest daughter, Jane,[24] and the resulting favorable connections with the Indian tribes, were links of a chain of events, however, that seemed forged for no other purpose than to keep him in the North country and ultimately to make him the great authority on Indians and Indian manners.

The winter of 1823-24 passed much as did the previous one. Schoolcraft really welcomed it as it gave him release from many of his official duties of the summer months and left him free to continue his reading and study.[25] An entry made

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22. Memoirs, p.162.

23. Ibid., p.176.

24. Jane was half Indian; her Indian name, the English meaning of which was "the sound which the stars make rushing through the sky" was "O-bah-bahon-wah-ge-zhe-go-qua".

25. A list of what Schoolcraft read during this time included: the works of Dr. Johnson, Hennipin's travels, and books by Schlegel, Silliman, Thiebault, Harmon, Mackenzie and Carver.

on May 30, 1824, gives clearly the germ of what was later to become his Algic Researches and Myth of Hiawatha.[26]

> Having found, in the circle of the Chippewa wigwams, a species of oral fictitious lore, I sent some specimens of it to friends in the lower country, where the subject excited interest. That the Indians should possess this mental trait of indulging in lodge stories, impressed me as a novel characteristic, which nothing I had ever heard of the race had prepared me for . I had always heard the Indian spoken of as a revengeful bloodthirsty man, who was steeled to endurance and delighted in deeds of cruelty. To find him a man capable of feelings and affections, with a heart open to the wants, and responsive to the ties of social life, was amazing. But the surprise reached its acme, when I found him whiling away a part of the tedium of his long winter evenings in relating tales and legends for the amusement of the lodge circle.[27]

Further evidence that Schoolcraft considered the study of the Indian's unwritten tales and legends important in the understanding of the Red Man's place in the field of American culture is contained in the report of an address that Schoolcraft gave before the Historical Society of Michigan.

> Two centuries have but little abated the curiosity with which we regard a people, whose origin is involved in mystery, and whose prominent traits, of features and character, are so widely different from our own. They are identified with the history of our settlement, with the expansion of our moral and political institutions. American scenery owes to them, one of its most permanent moral associations. Their mythology has peopled our lakes and forests with an invisible creation of super human existences. And their fate and fortune has interwoven throughout our history, many of the most attractive scenes of peril and achievement, which makes its pages.[28]

A little later in the same speech he crystallized into

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26. The Myth of Hiawatha was a revised edition of the Algic Researches.

27. Memoirs, p.196.

28. A Discourse Delivered on the Anniversary of the Historical Society of Michigan, June 4, 1830, p.5.

a few words the justification of his and his associate's study of the Indians:

> The accululation of facts and materials on all, and each of the points which serve to illustrate their history and character, is an object of enlightened research. And it is a species of research which commends itself particularly to our attention, situated as we are, in the vicinity of numerous, and some of them, populous tribes, who preserve the traditions, customs and institutions of their ancestors. Other societies are favorably located to preserve the materials of our national history. It is our province to glean upon the frontiers.[29]

His mere residence upon the frontier, however, was not what made Schoolcraft's position so ideally favorable to the study of the Indians. Much importance must be given to the fact that he married Jane Johnston. He wrote the following during a canoe trip taken with a band of Indians to the Tacquimenon Falls:

> Being connected by marriage with an educated and intelligent lady, who is descended, by her mother's side, from the former ruler of the Chippewa nation, I was received on this trip, with a degree of confidence and cordiality by the Indians, which I had not expected. I threw myself, naked handed into their midst, and was received with a noble spirit of high regard and hospitality. The incidents of this trip revealed to me some of the most interesting scenes of Indian domestic life.[30]

When in the fall of 1824, Schoolcraft received leave of absence and went back to New York, he took with him, not

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29. Discourse Delivered June 4, 1830, p.9.

30. Memoirs, p.195.

only an Indian wife and an infant son, but also facts about the Indians that no other white man had previously taken out of the wilderness. A few samples of Indian legends that Schoolcraft included in his Travels in the Mississippi Valley which was printed during 1825 were well received by the public.

The early months of 1825 were spent agreeably in Washington and New York with old and new friends. All were amazed at the charm and education of Mrs. Schoolcraft,[31] and Schoolcraft received many compliments upon his Indian bride. As his position in the field of letters was now well established he was beseeched with requests for contributions by many learned journals.[32] When he returned to Michigan in May, he did so well satisfied with his Indian undertakings.

The westward trip was hurried because of the arrival of a letter from General Cass urging him to arrive at Sault Ste. Marie in time to join an expedition that was scheduled to depart early in June for Prairie du Chien, at which point there was to assemble a great delegation of Indians for the purpose of negotiating a new treaty with the United States.

With this journey to Prairie du Chien, Schoolcraft entered upon another chapter of his interesting career.

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31. She was called the "Northern Pocahontas". Memoirs, p.208.

32. The more important journals to which Schoolcraft contributed includes The North American Review, The Democrat Review, Southern Literary Messenger, Knickerbocker Magazine, American Journal of Science, as well as several important foreign periodicals.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORACLE OF PA-WA-TING[1]

Twenty-one days after leaving Mackinack the expedition of 1825 reached Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi River. The Indians were already there and Schoolcraft thus describes the gathering:

> We found a very large number of the various tribes assembled. Not only the village, but the entire banks of the river for miles above and below the town, and the island in the river, was covered with their tents. The Dakotahs, with their high pointed buffalo skin tents, above the town, and their decorations and implements of flags, feathers, skins and personal "braveries", presented the scene of a Bedouin encampment. Some of the chiefs had the skins of skunks tied to their heels, to symbolize that they never ran, as that animal is noted for its slow and self-possessed movements.
>
> A kind of war flag, made of eagle's and vulture's large feathers presented quite a martial air. War clubs and lances presented almost every imaginable device of paint; but by far the most elaborate thing was their pipes of red stone, curiously carved, and having flat wooden handles of some four feet in length, ornamented with the scalps of the red headed woodpecker.[2]

The detail with which Schoolcr ft describes the dress and manners of the various tribes, many of which he was seeing for the first time, indicates clearly how avidly he must have feasted his eyes upon their dress and how eagerly he must have endeavored to acquire the meaning or interpretation of every

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1. The Chippewa name for the village of Sault Ste. Marie.

2. Memoirs, p.214.

curious symbol or totem of the different tribes. In addition to the Dakotahs, there were present, Yanktons, Winnebagoes, Chippewas, Menomonies, Potawattomies, Ottowas, Iroquois, Iowas, Sacs, Foxes, and Sioux.[3]

After about a month the treaty was signed. The return trip was unfortunate in that some miserable weather was encountered that seriously delayed their progress. Schoolcraft was especially anxious to arrive home quickly, because this was the first time that he had been separated for any length of time from his wife. His notes indicate his anxiety:

> While making these notes I have been compelled to hold my book, pencil and umbrella, the latter being almost indispensable to keep off the almost tropical fervor of the sun's rays. As the umbrella and book must be held in one hand, you may judge that I have managed with some difficulty; and this will account to you for many uncouth letters and much disjointed orthography.[4]

A few days later he made this entry:

> Why should I relate to you our dull progress through fields of rice, through intricate channels, and admidst myriads of ducks and wild water fowl. This day has been hot, beyond any experience on the journey. I sank back in my canoe, in a state of apathy and lassitude, partly from the heat, and partly from indisposition. My thoughts were employed upon home. A thousand phantoms passed through my head. I tried to imagine how you were employed at this moment, whether busy or sick in your own room. It would require a volume to trace my wandering thoughts. Let it suffice that another day is nearly gone, and it has lessened the distance which separated us, about seventy miles.[5]

His anxiety increased daily as wind and weather connived to hold him back. Premonitions as to the well-being of his wife and child urged him to press on rapidly. The straits of

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3. Memoirs, pp.214-216.

4. Ibid., p.221.

5. Ibid., p.223.

Mackinack became so rough that Schoolcraft's party was forced to take shelter at Outard Point, a desolate place at which the next three days were spent in wind and rain.

The entries that Schoolcraft made in his diary during those three days convey a striking picture of their despairing situation.

> Sept. 6. Here have I been encamped since noon, with a head wind, a dense damp atmosphere, and the lake in a foam. I expected the wind would fall with the sun, but, alas, it blows stronger than ever. It has pleased the All-wise Being to give me an adverse wind, and I must submit to it.
>
> Sept. 7. Daybreak brought with it no abatement of the storm, but presented to my view a wide vista of white foaming surge as far as the eye could reach. It is a real equinoxical storm. My ears are stunned with the incessabt roaring of the water and the loud murmuring of the wind among the foliage; thick murky clouds obscure the sky, and a chill damp air compells me to sit in my tent with my cloak on.[6]

The plight of the little party was so great that Schoolcraft felt compelled to commismerate his companions with some verse. The following lines are typical:

> If to the lake I cast my longing view,
> The curling waves their noisy way pursue;
> That noise reminds me of my prison-strand,
> Those waves I most admire, but cannot stand.
> If to the shore I cast my longing view,
> There broken rocks and sand commingled lie,
> Mixed with the wrecks of shells and weeds and wood,
> Crushed by the storm and driven by the flood.

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6. Memoirs, pp.232-33.

The poem closes with:

> He who can feel one lonely ray of bliss,
> In such a thought-appalling spot as this,
> His mind in fogs and mists must ever roll,
> Without a heart, and torpid all his soul.[7]

The next day the wind abated and the flotilla of canoes was able to leave Outard Point for the mouth of the St. Mary's river. There Schoolcraft heard news that assured him of his family's good health, and so, as he puts it:

> I landed here, fatigued, wet, cold, but, from the effects of a cheerful fire, good news from home, and bright anticipations for to-morrow, I feel quite invigorated. "Tired nature's sweet restorer" must complete what tea and whitefish have so successfully begun.[8]

The next day Schoolcraft reached his home and was joyously welcomed by his family and friends.[9]

A tremendous pile of correspondence demanded his immediate attention. Many letters contained favorable remarks about his recently published book[10]. Others were from close friends urging him to continue his studies of the Indians. Mr. Conant of New York wrote, "I hope you will not fail to prosecute your Indian inquiries this winter, getting out of them all the stories and all the Indian you can."[11]

During the winter of 1826, Schoolcraft, in an attempt to foster a literary movement among the residents of Sault Ste. Marie, started a little manuscript newspaper, which,

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7. Memoirs, pp.233-4.
8. Ibid., p.235.
9. Ibid., p.236.
10. Travels in the Mississippi Valley, (1825).
11. Memoirs, p.239.

since the one copy was sent from house to house, was called The Literary Voyager. The promotion of this project, together with his other studies helped Schoolcraft to pass many a pleasant hour.

With the arrival of spring preparations had to be made for an expedition to Fond du Lac. It was July before this expedition, much more pretentious than the one of the previous year, got under way. Schoolcraft describes their embarking:

> The military element of the party consisted of a company of the 2nd Infantry, with its commissariat and medical department, numbering, all told, sixty-two men. It was placed under the command of Capt. Boardman. They embarked in three twelve-oared barges, and formed the advance. The provisions, presents of goods, and subsistence supplies of the commissioner's table, occupied four boats, and went next. I proceeded in a canoe "allege" with ten men, with every appendage to render the trip convenient and agreeable. The whole expedition, with flags and music, was spread out over miles, and formed an impressive and imposing spectacle to the natives, who saw their "closed lake" as Superior was called in 1820, yield before the Anglo-Saxon power. The weather was fine, the scenery enchanting, and the incidents such as might fill a volume.[12]

Upon the successful completion of the negotations with

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12. Memoirs, p.244. The account of this expedition was written up by T. L. McKenney, Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes and of Incidents connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac, Baltimore (1827). In a review of this book in the North American Review (October, 1827) the statement is made that "he adds little to the facts stated by Mr. Schoolcraft; who, in his turn, copied them with due credit from Carver." During the trip McKenney was a boat mate of Schoolcraft (Memoirs, p.243) so it is not surprising that he should be acquainted with Mr. Schoolcraft's work and method.

the Indians at Fond du Lac, the expedition returned to Sault Ste. Marie where Schoolcraft resumed his regular duties again. He made this note under date of October 2, 1826:

> I amused myself this fall by keeping notes of the official visits of my Indian neighbors. They may denote the kind of daily wants against which this people struggle.[13]

He then lists the daily visits of the Indians and the stories they had to tell. These items are typical of the many shorter entries:

> Dec. 2. Oshawano and his youngest son. Said he had three daughters who had to cut wood every day, and had no axe of their own; that he was in want of an ice-chisel; fever in family. Gave him twenty rations. Thanked me and bade me good-day.
>
> Dec. 4. Caubamossa, nephew, wife and child. Twelve rations.
>
> Dec. 9. Namewunagunboway. Twelve rations.
> Dec. 9 Merchand. Twenty rations, five persons.
> Dec. 9 Meesho.
>
> Dec. 17. Naughitchigome called at house. Sent off with a reprimand never to call on Sunday.[14]

Most of the items are considerably longer. Many of them contain from two to three hundred words and are pathetic records of the miserably poor Indians.

As an alternate pastime to the getting out of the Literary Voyager, Schoolcraft composed, during the year 1826

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13. Memoirs, p.247.

14. During 1823 Schoolcraft adopted the rule of refusing to see the Indians on the Sabbath or when they were under the influence of liquor. See Memoirs, p.146, footnote.

an essay on Indian character which he entitled the Man of Bronze, but made no effort to publish.[15]

On January 13, 1827, Schoolcraft's little son, not yet three, died of pneumonia.[16] This tragic blow so affected Schoolcraft and his wife that, not being able to stand the emptiness of their home, they moved in with the Johnstons.[17]

Mrs. Schoolcraft expressed her grief in a heart-rending series of triolets in the Chippewa tongue, a translation of which Schoolcraft gives in his Memoirs. These stanzas are typical:

Who was it nestled on my breast,
And on my cheek sweet kisses prest,
And in whose smile I felt so blest?
Sweet Willy.

Where is that voice attuned to love,
That bid me say "my darling dove?"
But, oh! that soul has flown above,
Sweet Willy.

But soon my spirit will be free,
And I my lovely son shall see,
For God, I know did this decree!
My Willy.[18]

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15. In 1851 Schoolcraft submitted a poem by this same name to W. C. Bryant for criticism. See "Schoolcraft, Bryant, and Poetic Fame." American Literature Vol. V, pp. 170-72.

16. Memoirs, p.260.

17. Ibid., p.263.

18. Ibid., pp.261-262.

This sudden death of his son was one of a series of happenings that ultimately caused Schoolcraft to seek the comfort of religion. He said:

> Idolatry such as ours for a child, was fit to be rebuked, and the severity of the blow led me to take a retrospect of life, such as it is too common to defer, but, doubtless, wise to entertain. Why providence should have a controversy with us for placing our affections too deeply on a sublunary object, is less easy at all times to reconcile to our limited perceptions than it is to recognize in holy writ the existence of the great moral fact.
>
> Such, at least, has been the current of my thoughts since the 13th of the present month, and they were deeply felt when I took my Bible, the first I ever owned or had bought with my own money, and requested that it might be placed as the basis of the little pillow that supported the head of the lifeless child in his coffin.[19]

The summer of 1827 marked the signing of another great treaty with the Northwestern Indians. This was accomplished through the efforts of an expedition, of which Schoolcraft was a leading figure, to Butte des Morts. [20] Immediately upon the signing, Schoolcraft hurriedly returned to the Sault to be with his wife who was expecting the arrival of a child.[21]

The remainder of the summer, Schoolcraft devoted to supervising the construction of a new residence and agency.[22] When in the fall they were completed, Schoolcraft left the home of the Johnstons and took up permanent residence in the new

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19. Memoirs, p.263.

20. The treaty is known as the Treaty of Butte des Morts.

21. The second child was a girl.

22. Ibid., p.274.

Elmwood. In their new home the Schoolcrafts were very happy. The birth of a daughter assuaged greatly the pangs occasioned by the loss of the little boy.

The fact that the Indians were peaceful and apparently satisfied with the conditions that had been imposed upon them by the Treaty of Butte des Morts led Schoolcraft to write in his diary:

> I had now attained that position of repose and quiet which were so congenial to my mind. The influence I exercised; the respect I enjoyed, both as an officer and as a scientific and literary man; every circumstance, in fact, that can add to the enjoyment of a man of moderate desires, seeking to run no political race, was calculated to insure my happiness.[23]

Late in 1827 Schoolcraft was doubly honored, first, by his election to the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan;[24] second, by the invitation of the editor of the North American Review asking him to contribute to its pages facts and reflections on Indians and Indian character.[25]

The North American Review was by far the most influential and important periodical of the time[26] and Schoolcraft was more than pleased that it should solicit him for articles. One of his early contributions appeared under the title of "Civilization and Conversion of the Indian".[27] It was a satirical

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23. Memoirs, p.275.

24. Ibid., p.276.

25. Ibid., p.277.

26. In the foreword to the North American Review Index (1878) Oliver W. Holmes said, "With this index the North American Review will constitute a library in itself by which the wisest and most learned may profit, but will be especially interesting to all American students, as the best correct record of the growth of native thought and scholarship."

27. Memoirs, p.277.

criticism of the methods employed in the converting of the Indians to Christianity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[28] Schoolcraft particularly found fault with the three objectives striven for by the Spanish priests,[29] and followed with the remark that the policy pursued by later day Protestant missionaries was not much better.

After asking the question as to what steps could be taken to avoid the impending extinction of the country's aboriginal population, Schoolcraft said:

> Where are the children of the 80,000 souls who inhabited New England territory alone, on the landing of the Pilgrims? A few still survive upon small and solitary reservations of their ancient patrimony, like those rays of the sun which linger behind, after the setting orb has sunk beneath the horizon. The physical supremacy of the wasted tribes is past away, no more to be renewed. Whether it be possible to fulfil the wishes of philanthropy for the miserable remnant, by shedding moral and spiritual illumination upon their minds and hearts, is a point of more uncertainty.[30]

With the above thought well in mind, Schoolcraft next quoted Brainerd[31] as saying that the main difficulties encountered in the attempted converting of Indians to the Christian faith were:

> The influence of bad example set the natives by the white population in their immediate neighborhood.

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28. North American Review, Vol. XXVIII, p.356. (April, 1829).

29. Ibid., p.357.

30. Ibid., pp.364-65.

31. Edward's Life of Brainerd, published by Scottish Society for the propagating of Christian knowledge, London,(1818).

> The strong attachment of the natives to the customs, traditions, and fabulous notions of their fathers.
>
> The erratic and dispersed state of the Indians which induced habits exceedingly unfavorable to periods of active preaching on the part of missionaries.[32]

With his facts well marshalled to emphasize his points, Schoolcraft closed his article by asking this question of the North American Review's learned readers:

> Is it just that persons should be licensed to preach the gospel to Indians, who should not be deemed suitable or promising candidates to preach among the whites?[33]

In the light of existing practices of that day it can be imagined that such an embarrassing question aroused considerable antagonism among the zealous contributors to foreign and domestic mission funds of the various American religious organizations.

In similar fashion Schoolcraft continued to carry the torch for the Indian as long as he lived. The same sentiment that he expressed so admirably in 1829 in the North American Review was again set down thirty years later by Schoolcraft in the preface to his monumental History of the Indian Tribes of the United States. The words are different, more polished, perhaps, but the thought is the same:

> It was the dark age of Indian history. The Indian was not the only one who lacked moral powers; the uncouth frontiersman, as well as the mere buyer of beaver and muskrat were not overstocked with it. Had the aborigines always been taught that, between nation and nation, as between man and man, duplicity was wrong; finesse and

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32. North American Review, Vol. XXVIII, pp.365-66.

33. Ibid., p.367.

> and trickery, contemptible; deception, dishonorable; and treachery, abominable; there might have been better results. With him, war was a passion; he loved to see blood flow. But when he warred for others, he did so for nothing: a dupe at the outset, he was doubly a dupe at the close.[34]

In connection with this first mention of Schoolcraft's great History of the Indian Tribes which was carried to completion at the direction and expense of the United States government, it seems appropriate to mention that as early as 1826,[35] the possibility of such a piece of research was in the mind of Schoolcraft as he went about his various duties at Sault Ste. Marie. In speaking of a letter received at that time from Colonel McKenney, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Schoolcraft said:

> I had mentioned to him, while here[36] the fact that the time and labor necessary to collect information on Indian topics of a literary character, imposed a species of research worthy of departmental patronage; that I was quite willing to contribute in this way, and to devote my leisure moments to further researches on the aboriginal history and language, if the government would appropriate means to this end.[37]

And although government subsidy did not materialize at that early date, Schoolcraft continued his investigations and study, well pleased with the labor, notwithstanding. As he said in November, 1827:

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34. History of the Indian Tribes (Philadelphia, 1853-57), Vol. VI, part 1, p.192.

35. Colonel McKenney had been in Schoolcraft's boat on the trip to Fond du Lac in 1826.

36. Memoirs, p.254.

37. Ibid., p.255.

> My study of the Indian language and history has not only enlarged my own sources of intellectual gratification, but it has, without my seeking it, procured me a number of highly intellectual philosophic correspondents, whose letters operate as an aliment to further exertion. The Editor of the North American Review inviting me to write for its pages, says: "Your knowledge and experience will enable you to say much concerning the western country, and its aboriginal inhabitants, which will be interesting to the community of readers."[38]

The first entry in his journal for 1828 shows conclusively that Schoolcraft desired to give up his traveling to remote spots in favor of remaining at home for the purpose of furthering his studies of the Indian customs:

> During ten years, omitting 1823, I had now performed, each year, a journey or expedition of more or less peril and adventure in the great American wilderness, wilderness, west of the Alleghanies. I had now attained a point, ardently sought for many years, where I was likely to be permitted to sit quietly at home and leave traveling to others.[39]

Within a month, however, he received the first of several invitations which urged him to accept the directing of the scientific corps of a proposed United States expedition to the South Seas.[40] In accordance with his resolve to remain at Sault Ste. Marie, however, Schoolcraft felt it imperative to refuse all invitations, even when expressed in such glowing terms as Mr. Reynolds wrote under date of May 14:

> It is probable that an expedition to the South Seas will sail from the City of New York in September next. I wish, and so do several members of the national cabinet, that you would join it, and be the head of the scientific corps. Your salary shall be almost anything

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38. Memoirs, p.276.

39. Ibid., p.278.

40. Ibid., p.279.

> you ask, and your relation to the general government shall not be prejudiced by a temporary absence. The Expedition will be absent about eighteen months or two years. Will you not feel some ambition in being in connection with the first American expedition of discovery?[41]

On June 10, Mr. Reynolds wrote:

> Mr. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, has expressed deep regret that you will not be able to go on the expedition.[42]

And since Schoolcraft still remained adamant, Mr. Reynolds wrote again on June 22:

> I had a conversation today with the Secretary of the Navy in relation to your joining the expedition. He informs me that the President is anxious that you should do so; and that in case you did, an Assistant Agent might be appointed to your duties as United States Agent, and thus reserve your office until your return.[43]

Even the expressed desire of President Adams was not sufficient to cause Schoolcraft to accept the position. The following extract from his journal indicates Schoolcraft's stand with regard the matter:

> Nothing, certainly, could exceed this spirit of liberality and kind appreciation. No reasons for altering my prior decisions appeared, however, weighty enough to change them.[44]

Needed it be added that when the expedition finally sailed under the command of Captain Charles Wilkes, United States Navy, Schoolcraft was not on board any of the ships? Had he gone the Indians would have perhaps become secondary in his interests.

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41. Memoirs, p.281.

42. Ibid., p.284.

43. Ibid., p.284.

44. Ibid., p.284.

As a member of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, Schoolcraft was required to go to Detroit[45] in 1828 to be sworn in by the governor.[46] Upon receiving appointments to the committee on expenditures, and as a member of the judiciary, Schoolcraft directed his attention to the incorporation of a Historical Society and to the preparation of a system of Township names based on the aboriginal language.[47] He also took an active part in proposing legislation to make it a penal offence to sell or give Indians ardent spirits in any form.[48]

During his long winters of study and reflection at Sault Ste. Marie, Schoolcraft had ample time to formulate theories about the literature of the frontier regions. When he began writing for the North American Review, it was natural that he should take advantage of the opportunity to put his views before the reading public. This is what he said in an early article:

> Few travellers would be found to explore distant regions, when life was the forfeit of every intrusion into Indian territories, and when whole settlements were frequently crowded into temporary wooden forts, to protect themselves from the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. It is doubtless attributable to these circumstances, superadded to the low state of printing, that so few travellers appear in the records of our colonial literature.[49]

The hardy explorer contented himself with verbal narra-

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45. Detroit was the seat of Michigan's government at that time.

46. Memoirs, p.284.

47. Ibid., p.285.

48. Ibid., p.285.

49. North American Review, Vol. XXVII, pp.89-114, (July, 1828). The article is entitled "La Decouverte des Sources du Mississippi, et de la Riviere Sanglante, by J.C.Beltrami (Nouvelle Orleans, 1824). Beltrami was a member of Colonel Long's expedition of 1823.

> tions, which were repeated from neighborhood to neighborhood. The first descriptions of those regions were gleaned from the accounts of hunters. That intrepid race of pioneers were free from the mania which has been somewhat too prevalent in our day. They kept no journals, and wrote no books. Travellers there were, indeed, in the infant days of our settlement, but their remarks were almost wholly confined to the portions of territory situated along the Atlantic border. Their works were published and intended for the information of readers in Europe, and appear to have had but little circulation here, and are now rarely to be met with. The work of Smith alone, is sufficient to make us regret that our ancestors did not more frequently record the interesting events of those times.[50]

In like vein, Schoolcraft mentions favorably the work of Thomas Jefferson,[51] Bartram,[52] and Carver.[53] He next stresses the importance of reading with discriminating care the works of such missionary travellers as D'Ablon, Lescarbot, and Charlevoix. In regard to these last he says:

> The burden of these works is the conversion of the Indians. This was the first and the last object of the government which sanctioned their labors;[54] of the religious orders who employed them; and of the missionaries themselves. To acknowledge a failure in their mission, was to prepare the way for their loss of prestige; and hence, we may conclude, is one cause of the exaggerated accounts which were published of their success, in bringing within the pale of the Catholic church whole villages, and even tribes.[54]

With the addition of several more pages on these early explorers, Schoolcraft then shows how, in 1800, during the presidency of Jefferson, a movement began that was to lead to the explorations

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50. North American Review, Vol. XXVII, p.89.

51. Ibid., pp.92-93.

52. Ibid., p.92.

53. Ibid., p.92.

54. Ibid., p. 95.

of Lewis and Clark, Pike, H.M. Brackenridge, and others, including those to the Upper Lakes region made by Long and Cass.[55]

The rest of the article is devoted to a rather lengthy treatment of the Chippewa language.

The autumn months of 1828 passed rather quietly for Schoolcraft.[56] Early in 1829 news arrived that it was possible that Governor Cass would leave Michigan to take a place in the Cabinet that the newly elected President Andrew Jackson was about to form. In May, Schoolcraft journeyed to Detroit for the purpose of attending sessions of the Territorial Legislature and the Historical Society of Michigan,[57] the latter of which he was scheduled to address at its annual meeting.

The year 1830 was also very quiet for Schoolcraft and his friends. Another session of the Legislature was attended during the summer and a trip to Niagara Falls was taken when the meetings were over. Schoolcraft was accompanied on this trip to the Falls by his wife and it was taken purely as an excursion.

The Indian affairs became so quiet that Schoolcraft remained in Detroit during the winter of 1830-31. While there he delivered several lectures before the Historical Society that were later printed in pamphlet form.

With the spring of 1831, however, the Indians of the

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55. North American Review, Vol. XXVII, p. 97.

56. Schoolcraft's father-in-law, Mr. Johnston, died in October. In the same month Schoolcraft hired as interpreter the notorious John Tanner, who had been a captive of the Indians for many years.

57. Memoirs, p.334.

Northwest became restless. This was partly due to the influence of their neighbors to the south, the Saucs, who, under the leadership of their great chief, Blackhawk, were about to begin hostilities against the United States. Consequently, Schoolcraft, acting on instructions received from the War department, began to organize an expedition for the purpose of going into the Northwest to ascertain the temper and numbers of the various tribes. Since smallpox had long been the scourge of these tribes, Schoolcraft took with him the necessary supplies for vaccinating as many Indians as possible.[58]

The expedition left Point Iroquois, the entrance to Lake Superior, on June 27. The party included Schoolcraft, Dr. Douglass Houghton, Mr. M. Woolsey, Lieutenant Robert E. Clary, and a small detachment of the Second U. S. Infantry for protection against any sudden uprising of the Indians.[59]

The trip was taken in a leisurely manner, and many side excursions were made to examine interesting geological features of the country. Six days were spent coasting about the Keweena Peninsula. From its furthermost point they could faintly see the distant peaks of Isle Royal, that great island which is, according to a Chippewa legend, the home of the Indian deities, or manitous.[60]

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58. Many times an epidemic of smallpox would sweep through an entire village, leaving hardly a single person alive.

59. Memoirs, p.350.

60. Ibid., p.353.

For the most part, all the Indians were found to be friendly. A few of the observations that Schoolcraft made in his journal show rather pointedly the manner with which the white traders of the region were accustomed to treat the Indians:

> We found several Chippewa Indians encamped. They brought a trout, the large lake trout, and were as usual, very friendly. We saw a fresh beaver's skin stretched on the drying hoop, at the Buffalo's son's lodge. But the women had secreted themselves and children in the woods, with the dried skins, supposing that a trader's canoe had landed, as we had landed in the night. This may give some idea of the demands of trade that are usually made, and the caution that is observed by them when a trader lands.[61]

Another entry gives a picture of how Schoolcraft's party was received at a certain village:

> At two o'clock the wind somewhat abated, so as to allow us to take the lake, and we reached and entered the Ontanogon River at half past four o'clock. Mr. Johnston with the store canoe, and Lieut. Clary with his boat, came in successively with colors flying. Kon-te-ka, the chief, and his band saluted us with several rounds of musketry from the opposite shore. Afterwards they crossed to our camp, and the usual exchange of ceremonies and civilities took place. In a speech from the chief he complained much of hunger, and presented his band as objects of charitable notice.[62]

Upon completing the survey of the tribes along the southern shore of Lake Superior, the expedition travelled up the St. Croix River and entered the streams tributary to the Mississippi system. Schoolcraft made the following entry

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61. Memoirs, p.357. Frequently the traders bartered banned whiskey for skins and furs.

62. Ibid., p.359.

in his journal on August 1:

> We reached the Yellow River, and found the chiefs Kabamappa, Bwoinace, and their bands awaiting my arrival. I pitched my tent and erected my flag on an enimence called by the Chippewas "Pe-li-co-gun-au-gun" or The Hip-Bone.[63]

Several days were spent at the Yellow River in making speeches to the Indians and in listening to their complaints. When everything was satisfactorily settled Schoolcraft wrote in his diary:

> Having concluded the business with the Indians, I distributed presents of provisions, ammunition, and tobacco. I purchased a canoe of small draft from the Indian named Shoga, and immediately embarked on my return up the St. Croix. That night we lodged in our camp of the 31st. The next morning we were in motion by five o'clock, and reached the grand forks by nine. We entered and began the ascent of the Namakagun.[64]

It was September 4 before Schoolcraft and the expedition concluded their travels and landed at St. Mary's.[65] Upon his arrival at home, Schoolcraft found a letter waiting for him which told that General Cass had been transferred to the War office at Washington, and that the new governor of Michigan was to be Mr. George B. Porter.[66]

Late in the fall of 1831, a young man by the name of Jeremiah Porter arrived in Sault Ste. Marie. He was a graduate of Princeton and Andover and was reputed to be a lineal descendant of the great Jonathan Edwards.[67] He was sent to

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63. Memoirs, p.371.

64. Ibid., p.372.

65. Ibid., p.396.

66. Ibid., p.396.

67. Ibid., p.398.

the Sault by the Home Missionary Society of Boston for the purpose of establishing a church. Schoolcraft generously took the young minister into his home and did everything to make him comfortable. The following paragraph is Schoolcraft's description of how religion came to the Sault:

> The lordly "wassail" of the fur-trader, the long-continued dance of the gay French "habitant", the roll of the billiard ball, the shuffle of the card, and the frequent potations of wine "when it is red in the cup" will now, at least, no longer retain their places in the customs of this spot on the frontier without the hope of having their immoral tendencies pointed out.[68]

The winter months of 1832, therefore, saw carefree Sault Ste. Marie in a new role, that of a zealous, church-conscious community. A glance at the entries that Schoolcraft made in his journal of the next few years indicates how his attitude toward religion changed from one of honest questioning to one of complete acceptance. It is significant that he, unlike so many of the shallow-minded, did not join the church immediately upon its arrival in Sault Ste. Marie. When he finally professed his faith it was only after long and careful weighing of the facts and principles.

It was natural that a person of Schoolcraft's intellect, interested as he was in the phenomena of things such as rocks and minerals as well as plants and animals, should be vitally concerned with the Christian conception of the creation of earth and man. Long winters spent in the

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68. Memoirs, p.398.

solitude and quiet of the North gave Schoolcraft ample time to ponder over the merits of the Christian faith. These following remarks are typical of many similar:

> December 30:[69] Continue my biblical readings, with a view of noticing the coincidences of passages referred to by clergymen who have visited me. Quite satisfied that "day" in Gen. i, 5, means, in that place, a natural day of twenty-four hours, the context cannot be read without it.
>
> December 31: No thawing today. There has been quite a blow on the lake. Began some sketches of biblical geology.
>
> January 5:[70] Sunday. Cold. Mr. Barber[71] preached on the character and trials of Noah. The old New England devines loved to preach from texts in the Old Testament.
>
> January 20: I received a visit from Mr. Barber. Conversation on the state of religious knowledge. Do geology and the natural sciences afford external evidences of the truth of God's work?
>
> January 29: The temperature still rises. Gave each of my children a new copy of the Scriptures. If these are important, as is acknowledged, they cannot too early know them.[72]
>
> January 31: This being Mrs. Schoolcraft's birthday, I presented her a Bible.
>
> February 7: I wrote to my sister Catharine, in the prospect of her dying of consumption; directing her mind to the great moral remedy in the intercession of Christ.[73]

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69. 1833.

70. 1834.

71. Pastor at Michilimackinack where Schoolcraft now lived.

72. This statement indicates that the scientifically trained Schoolcraft was not yet ready to accept entirely the dogmas of the established church.

73. Memoirs, pp.457-62.

> February 18: Engaged in pursuing Mr. Ferry's lectures, delivered at a prior time, on the character and differences between the Protestant and Romish churches.
>
> February 28: Finished the perusal of Mr. Ferry's manuscripts.[74]

But although Schoolcraft read and thought a great deal about the Church of Christ, he never failed to believe that the religion of the Indians was not without its redeeming virtues. For example:

> March 16: Sunday. "Anni-me-au-gee-zhich-ud" as the Indians term it and a far more appropriate term it is than the unmeaning Saxon phrase of Sunday.[75]

This vigorous observation was made by Schoolcraft several years later:[76]

> A soldier, in garrison at Fort Mackinack, writes to me, wishing, on the expiration of his term of enlistment, to become "a soldier of Christ" and to enter the missionary field. That is a good thought, Sergeant Humphrey Snow! Better to fight against human sins than to shoot down sinners.[77]

In February 1832, Schoolcraft took the initial steps to form the "Algic Society" of friends and others who were interested in the cause of the reclamation of the Indian. Later, Schoolcraft was chosen as the Society's first president, an honor that he certainly deserved.[78] During this

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74. Memoirs, pp.466-67.

75. Ibid., p.469.

76. 1836.

77. Ibid., p.530.

78. Ibid., p.403.

same month a letter from Washington advised Schoolcraft that steps should be taken to consolidate the agencies of Sault Ste. Marie and Michilimackinack. The letter also stated that Schoolcraft should assume the direction of the combined agencies with the privilege of living at either the Sault or Mackinack, as he saw fit.[79]

In May, instructions arrived from Washington to the effect that Schoolcraft should drop all other business in order to organize and command an expedition to the upper Mississippi river country for the purpose of further pacifying the Indians, who were again becoming restless.[80]

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79. Memoirs, p.404.

80. Ibid., p.405.

CHAPTER VII

TO THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI

It was June 7, 1832, that Schoolcraft ordered the boats and canoes of his expedition into the water of Lake Superior and set out on his last and greatest trip of exploration to the headwaters of the Mississippi. Before returning he was to undergo many hardships and adventures, but he was also to experience the satisfaction of being the first white man to see the ultimate source of the "Father of Waters."

The party included, as usual, a detachment of military. It was under the command of Lieutenant James Allen of the Fifth U.S. Infantry.[1] The notice that Schoolcraft took of the expedition's departure, as set down in his journal, included the following:

> It was not until this day (June 7) that the expedition was ready to embark at the head of the portage at St. Mary's. The military and their supplies occupied a large Mackinack boat; my heavy stores filled another. I travelled in a "canoe-elege" as being better adapted to speed and the celerity of landing. Each carried the national flag. We slept the first night at Point Iroquois.[2]

Fifteen days later the upper limits of Lake Superior were reached and the party passed into the St. Louis river for the purpose of ascending to the Sandy Lake summit, which

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1. Memoirs, p.406.

2. Ibid., p.409.

marks the dividing line of the Mississippi and Lake Superior water sheds. On the ninth of July the expedition reached the island in Cass Lake that marked the limit of the known exploration of the Mississippi.[3] Schoolcraft describes their next action as follows:

> This being the point at which geographical discovery rests, I decided to camp the men, deposit my heavy baggage, and fit out a light party in hunting canoes to trace the stream to its source. The Indians supplied me with five canoes of two fathoms each, requiring but two men to manage each, which would allow one canoe to each of the five gentlemen[4] of my party. I took three Indians and seven white men as the joint crew, making, with sitters, fifteen persons. We carried a flag, mess-kit, tent, and other necessary apparatus. We left the island early the next morning and reached the influx of the Mississippi into the Lake at an early hour.[5]

After several days of hard going the little party finally arrived within a day's journey of the lake which the Indians claimed to be the real source of the Mississippi. To get to it more quickly, Schoolcraft and several other members of the party left the river and cut across the country on foot.[6] According to the Indian guides this act saved them many hours. The hike through the forest and up the rugged hill sides was a trying feat of strength and endurance, but finally, as Schoolcraft notes:

> The glittering water appeared, at a distance below, as viewed from the summit of one of these eminences. It was declared by our Indian guide to be Itasca Lake, the source of the main, or South fork of the

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3. Narrative of the Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, p.226.

4. Schoolcraft, Houghton, Johnston, Boutwell, and Lieut. Allen.

5. Memoirs, p.410.

6. The canoes were carried on their shoulders.

> Mississippi. I passed him, as we descended a long winding slope, and was the first man to reach its banks. A little grassy opening served as the terminal of our trail, and proved that the Indians had been in the practice of crossing this eminence in their hunts. As one after another of our party came, we exulted in the accomplishment of our search. A fire was quickly kindled, and the canoes gummed, preparatory to embarkation.[7]

The rest of that day, June 13, was devoted to a hasty exploration of the shores of the newly discovered lake.[8] Upon the insistence of the entire group, a pretty little island in the lake was named "Schoolcraft's Island." The following ceremony was observed:

> I caused some trees to be felled, pitched my tent, and raised the American flag on a high staff, the Indians firing a salute as it rose. This flag, an evidence of the government having extended its jurisdiction to this quarter, I left flying, on quitting the island.[9]

Toward nightfall of the same day the travellers began the descent of the Mississippi. Schoolcraft described their departure thus:

> The outlet lies north of the island, Before reaching it, we had lost sight of the flagstaff, owing to the curvature of the shore. Unexpectedly the outlet proved quite a brisk brook, with a mean width of ten feet, and one foot depth. The water is as clear as crustal, and we found ourselves gliding along, over a sandy and pebbly bottom, strewed with scattered shells, at a brisk rate.[10]

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7. Narrative of the Expedition to the source of the Mississippi, p.247.

8. The name "Itasca" is a compound from the Latin "veritas caput", the true head. This expression was uttered by Mr. Boutwell upon first seeing the lake. See Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI, p.121.

9. Memoirs, p.414.

10. Narrative of the Expedition, p.247.

In the light of future developments, a minor incident of the next day's travel deserves mention:

> Lieut. Allen had halted to make some observations, when his men incautiously failed for a moment to keep his canoe direct in the current, water dashed over the gunwales, and swept all to the bottom. He retrieved his fowling piece, but irretrievably lost his canoe-compass. Fortunately I had a fine small land-compass, which General Macomb had presented to the late Mr. Johnston of St. Mary's, many years before, and thus I measurably repaired his loss.[11]

From a rapid investigation of the Indian situation at such focal points as Leech Lake and St. Peters, Schoolcraft observed that the Northwestern tribes were fairly well satisfied with the restrictions imposed upon them by the United States. The Sioux Indians at St. Peters emphatically disclaimed having any connection with the Sauks and Foxes who, under the leadership of Blackhawk, were causing so much trouble in the neighborhood of Prairie du Chien.[12]

Leaving St. Peters on July 26, Schoolcraft returned to the Lake Superior region by means of the rivers St. Croix and Burntwood. After twenty days of hard travel, the water in the upper reaches of the those streams being very low, he arrived once more at Sault Ste. Marie.[13]

With his discovery and mapping of the true source of the Mississippi, Schoolcraft reached the peak of his fame as an explorer. He was soon to give up the hardships of the field and trail for those of the desk and pen. Not only was he the

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11. Memoirs, p.417. This friendly gesture of Schoolcraft's does not seem to merit the treatment which Lieut. Allen gave in return by severely censuring Schoolcraft in his official report to the War department.

12. Ibid., p.420.

13. Ibid., p.421.

first white person to reach the ultimate source of the Mississippi, but he was also the first person to traverse its entire length.[14] The results of his discovery Schoolcraft gave to the public in a three-hundred-page book, published by Harper and Brothers, in 1834.[15] A number of years later[16] it was revised and combined with the narratives of his earlier explorations in the same regions under Cass.[17]

In view of what has already been stated, it will undoubtedly appear contradictory to say that Schoolcraft was wrong in assuming that Lake Itasca was the final source of the Mississippi. Several years later, the explorer Nicollet visited Lake Itasca, and although confirming Schoolcraft's findings, also extended them somewhat. In a Report on the Mississippi River,[18] issued by the Government Printing Office,

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14. Taking into consideration his trip from St. Louis to the Gulf of Mexico, in 1819.

15. The full title is Narrative of an Exploration Through the Upper Mississippi, to Itasca Lake, the actual source of this river, embracing an exploring trip through the St. Croix and Burntwood Rivers; in 1832, under the direction of H. R. Schoolcraft.

16. 1855, published by Lippincott, Philadelphia.

17. Narrative of an Expedition to the sources of the Mississippi in 1820, resumed and completed by the discovery of its origin in Itasca Lake in 1832, with appendices, reports on copper mines of Lake Superior and geological observations of its region.

18. Humphreys and Abbot, Professional Papers No. 13, 1864, (revised 1876).

Washington, there is the following summary:

> The source of the Mississippi, according to Schoolcraft, who in the year 1832, in company with Lieut. Allen, USA, was the first to visit it, is a lake named by them, Itasca. Mr. Schoolcraft surmised that this lake was fed by invisible springs, but Mr. Nicollet, who visited it in 1836, and determined its geographical position as now laid down on the maps, considers this supposition unnecessary. He says, "There are five creeks that fall into it, formed by innumerable streamlets oozing from the clay beds at the bases of the hills. Of the five creeks, one empties into the east bay of the lake, four others into the west bay; and among the latter there is one remarkable above the others, inasmuch as its course is longer, and its waters more abundant, so that in obedience to the geographical rule, 'that the sources of a river are those which are most distant from its mouth' this creek is truly the infant Mississippi; all others below it, feeders and tributaries. The day on which I explored this principal creek, August 29, 1836, I judged that at its entrance to Itasca Lake its bed was from fifteen to twenty feet wide, and the depth of the water from two to three feet."[19]

The report also gives the information that Nicollet followed the large creek for six miles and found that it rose in numerous little streamlets, "which form a small pond, from which the Mississippi flows with the breadth of a foot and a half and a depth of one foot."[20] Judging from that evidence it appears that Schoolcraft fell about six miles short of his true objective.

In 1841, when Nicollet published the results of his explorations, he made no effort to detract from Schoolcraft's earlier discoveries, but declared himself satisfied at being

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19. Report on the Mississippi River, p.54.

20. Ibid., p.55.

able to add to and verify Schoolcraft's findings. When Schoolcraft revised his early maps for a later edition of his Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the Mississippi,[21] he drew in Nicollet's Creek as running into Lake Itasca. In this edition he also quoted at some length from Nicollet's Hydrographical Report.[22]

Other people were to appear later, however, to claim that they were the first to reach the source of the Mississippi. The outstanding and most presumptuous claim of all was that put forth by Captain Willard Glazier,[23] in 1881. To settle the confusion that arose from the claims of Glazier and the others, the Minnesota Historical Society instructed James H. Baker to make a thorough investigation of all the claims in order to determine the authentic discoverer of the Mississippi's source.

The results of his research were published by the Society under the title, "The Sources of the Mississippi, Their Discoverers, Real and Pretended."[24] For many of his facts, Baker referred to a book written by Henry D. Harrower.[25]

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21. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1855.

22. Published in 1841 at the direction of the United States government.

23. Captain Glazier had been in the cavalry during the Civil War. See Sword and Pen or Ventures and Adventures of Willard Glazier, J. A. Owens, Philadelphia, 1844.

24. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI part 1.

25. Captain Glazier and His Lake, New York, 1886.

Harrower's work is a remarkable study of one of the most flagrant cases of literary plagiarism in the field of American literature. In his capacity as editor of the Educational Reporter, Harrower had been urged to recognize Captain Glazier as the discoverer of the source of the Mississippi river. Firmly believing that Glazier's claim of having discovered a lake to which he gave his own name was fraudulent, Harrower set about to disprove it. In the furtherance of this task he made a study of all the expeditions to the Itasca Lake region. Harrower's findings, as published, constitute a scholarly and highly commendable piece of literary research.

Baker's report to the Minnesota Historical Society is prefaced thus:

> In pursuance of a resolution of the Minnesota Historical Society, dated December 13, 1886, your committee herewith present a summary of their investigations and conclusions, touching the validity of any and all claims to the discovery of the head waters of the Mississippi river, together with a determination of what waters constitute the true and ultimate sources.[26]

The report, in stating the case against Glazier, states:

> Captain Willard Glazier in 1881 assumed to have discovered a lake, new and unknown, and called it Glazier Lake, and gave it as the ultimate source of the great Mississippi. It appears that he wants to displace Schoolcraft and Nicollet.[27]

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26. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI, p.192.

27. Ibid., p.194.

From the tone of Baker's report it is evident that Glazier's claims aroused considerable indignation among the members of the Society. The following is typical:

> Society owes it to the honored dead to make a candid, unbiased, and if possible, conclusive exposition of the whole matter. Mapmakers and geographers, have followed Schoolcraft for fifty years in accepting the Itascan basin as the authentic source as it was confirmed by Nicollet, July 13, 1832. Nicollet says with noble courtesy and loyality to historic truth: "The honor of having first explored the sources of the Mississippi belongs to Mr. Schoolcraft and Lieut. James Allen. I came only after these gentlemen; but I may be permitted to claim some merit for having completed what was wanting for a full geographical knowledge of those sources."[28]

Baker's report concludes with the statement that all evidence points to Schoolcraft and Nicollet as the real discoverers of the Mississippi source.

For the best account of Glazier's bold attempt to wrest from Schoolcraft and Nicollet what few honors their toil against great odds had brought them,[29] it is necessary to examine the facts that Harrower gives in Captain Glazier and his Lake.

Harrower does not deny that Captain Glazier may have visited Lake Itasca, but he does take exception to the activities and remarks that he indulged in upon his return. Harrower considers the biggest affront to be the petition, which Glazier addressed to all geographical societies at large,

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28. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI, p.196.

29. Neither Schoolcraft nor Nicollet received any tangible reward for their work of discovery except the placing of their names upon the map of Minnesota.

urging them to accept Lake Glazier as the true source of the Mississippi river. It is interesting to note that the petition was signed by Glazier's brother and three Indians.[30]

Harrower then relates how Glazier afterwards voyaged down the Mississippi, receiving undeserved homage at every stopping place. When he reached New Orleans he met John A. Owen. A little later Owen wrote up the story of Glazier's travels and published it under the title Sword and Pen.[31] Harrower is especially indignant because Owen held up Captain Glazier as a model for the youth of America to follow.

Upon exhausting the possibility of further honor in America, Glazier sent a selected file of newspaper clippings regarding his exploits to the secretary of the Royal Geographical Society of England.[32] Harrower also tells how Glazier attempted, in several instances successfully, to induce the publishers of geographical texts and atlases to change their maps of Minnesota so as to show the Mississippi river as rising in Lake Glazier.

The next step that Harrower takes in building up his proof of Glazier's fraud is to note the observations of well-know travellers which show that Lake Glazier is merely a renamed lake, its original name being Elk Lake, and as such,

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30. The petition was headed "Schoolcraft's Island, Lake Itasca, July 27, 1881."

31. Sword and Pen or ventures and adventures of Willard Glazier, Philadelphia, 1884.

32. The Royal Society, gullible as the rest, thanked Glazier for his clippings and even went so far as to publish some of them.

present on all maps based on the data compiled by the United States Survey. Harrower considers the following facts as definite proof that Glazier did not discover a new lake:

> In 1836, Nicollet found Elk Lake, but considered it only as an extension of Lake Itasca.
>
> In 1872, Julius Chambers of the New York Herald noted the existance of Elk Lake in the story of his explorations of the Lake Itasca region.
>
> In 1880, O. E. Garrison also explored the shores of Elk Lake.
>
> In 1884, C. M. Terry visited the same lake, but failed to see any of the primitive conditions that Glazier claimed to have observed about the Indians of that region during 1881.[33]

Harrower further states that since on good authority Captain Glazier is known to have spent no longer than seven hours in the vicinity of Lake Itasca, he must have "Somewhere, somehow, discovered a copy of Schoolcraft's Narrative and imagined he was the original and only discoverer and possessor of that work."[34]

James H. Baker takes a similar view of the situation:

> Did Glazier think he was plundering neglected and forgotten books? No American scholar will forget Schoolcraft, no more than he will neglect Audubon. More and more as the Indian perishes, will Schoolcraft be recognized as authority and classic. Glazier struts in all his borrowed plumage, oblivious to every chance of discovery and dead to every sense of shame. Though his rank plagiarisms have long been made public he never modifies his story or abates his pretensions. It seems useless to further unmask and displume so stolid a man.[35]

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33. Captain Glazier and his Lake, pp.23-8.

34. Ibid., p34.

35. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI, part 1, p.198.

Plagiarism is a severe charge to bring against an author, but in the case of Glazier, which Baker calls "the boldest and most flagrant literary piracy to be found in the curiosities of all literary history",[36] the charge seems to be well founded. The surprising feature of the entire affair is that Glazier was either too lazy or too sneeringly disdainful of the American public's intelligence to bother about concealing his borrowings.

Harrower points out that Glazier made a big mistake when he failed to take into consideration the tremendous change of conditions that the passing of fifty years had brought to the frontier. Glazier's description of the Sioux and Chippewa Indians that he observed at Leech Lake in 1881 as he was on his way to Lake Itasca is identical with Schoolcraft's observation of the same Indians made in 1832. The queer thing is that several decades after Schoolcraft's visit, but several decades before Glazier's, all the Sioux Indians were removed from the State of Minnesota to a point much farther west.[37]

The following quotation illustrates how Harrower shows the similarity between Glazier's and Schoolcraft's work:

> At Leech Lake Schoolcraft accepted the invitation of Aish-Kihug to breakfast where "a salt-cellar in which

36. "Discovers of the Mississippi, real and pretended", Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI, p.163.

37. Captain Glazier and his Lake, p.45.

> pepper and salt were mixed in unequal proportions, allowed each the privilege of seasoning his fish with both or neither."
>
> At Leech Lake Glazier accepted the invitation of Flat-mouth to dinner where "a birch bark salt cellar in which pepper and salt were mixed in unequal proportions, allowed each the privilege of seasoning his fish with both or neither."[38]

In like manner Schoolcraft's description of Aish-Kihug of 1832 is identical with Glazier's description of White Cloud in 1881. Little did Glazier realize that the Leech Lake Indian of 1881 no longer wore the breech-clout, but dressed in the manner of their white neighbors. As James H. Baker put it, "Glazier puts the girl of today in grandmother's clothes."[39]

In stressing the point that Captain Glazier's knowledge of American explorers seems to have begun and ended with what he gleaned from the pages of Schoolcraft's narratives, Harrower quotes Glazier as saying:

> There would be something almost sad in Schoolcraft's coming so near and yet missing the mark at which he aimed, if it were not that he lived and died in the belief that he was right in the assertion that the Father of Waters rose in a lake, which he, oddly enough, named Itasca.[40]

Likewise the following indicates that Glazier erred in assuming that Schoolcraft followed Nicollet:

> Beltrami, Nicollet and Schoolcraft have each in turn claimed the goal of their explorations. Schoolcraft finally locating a lake that he named Itasca.[41]

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38. Captain Glazier and his Lake, pp.50-3.

39. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI, p.198.

40. Captain Glazier and his Lake, p.55.

41. Ibid., p.56.

Although Glazier was unwilling, according to Harrower, to credit Schoolcraft with accomplishing much in the line of exploration, he was perfectly willing to copy exactly a table of meteorological observations that Schoolcraft had carefully and patiently compiled sixty-one years previously.[42] It is interesting to note that Schoolcraft stopped making entries at two o'clock on August 2, 1820, because of an accident to his meteorological instrument and Glazier made his last entry at the same hour on August 2, 1861, for no apparent reason other than that Schoolcraft gave him nothing more to copy.[43]

Harrower, in his conclusion, says rather sharply that not only does Glazier pick Schoolcraft's pockets, but he also condescendingly pats him on the back at the same time as is shown by this passage:

> I christened it Schoolcraft river, as a tribute to its discoverer, who, although he failed to reach the goal of his explorations, rendered valuable service in the department of geography.[44]

The story of Schoolcraft's trip to Lake Itasca would not be complete unless mention is made of his differences with Lieutenant Allen with regard to certain happenings on the return from St. Peters to Sault Ste, Marie. Perhaps the matter seems trivial at this late date, but at the time Lieutenant Allen incorporated the facts into his official report to the

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42. Schoolcraft made his observations at Big Sandy Lake in 1820.

43. Captain Glazier and his Lake, p.58.

44. Ibid., p.61.

United States War department, the matter influenced to some extent, the treatment of Schoolcraft by the officials of that department a little later.

On April 12, 1834, a document[45] entitled A Map and Report of Lieutenant Allen and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's visit to the Northwest Indians in 1832 was read before the House of Representatives of the first session of the twenty-third United States Congress. The following letter accompanied the report:

> War Department
> April 11, 1834
>
> Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 28th of March, 1834, I have the honor to transmit a copy of the map and report furnished this department by Lieut. Allen, who accompanied H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq. to, and beyond, the source of the Mississippi river, on a visit to the Northwestern Indians, in the year 1832.
>
> Very respectfully
> Your most obedient servant
> Lewis Cass
>
> Hon. A. Stevenson
> Speaker of the House of Representatives.[46]

It seems hardly possible that Secretary Cass could have approved the criticism the report contained of his friend, Schoolcraft. The following constitutes Allen's case of complaint against Schoolcraft's action:

> July 29, Sunday: Mr. Schoolcraft had made it a rule not to travel with his party, on this expedition, on

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45. War Department Document No. 323, Twenty-third Congress.

46. Ibid., p.1.

> Sunday, and, supposing he would observe the same on this day, I confidently expected to overtake him before night. I was particularly anxious to do so, inasmuch as I had no gum for the repair of my canoes, and I knew he had an abundance, and I wished, moreover, to get, through his means, at the first Indian village, two Indians to steer my canoes. I accordingly urged forward as much as possible and got to the site of Mr. Schoolcraft's encampment in the afternoon, where I learned, by a note left for me by Dr. Houghton, that the whole party had left, goods and all, two and one half hours before, with an intention on the part of Mr. Schoolcraft not to wait for me anywhere on the route, but to proceed home with all possible speed, giving as a reason for this measure, that the river[47] was falling, and any delay but increased the difficulty of ascending it.[48]

In the following passage Lieutenant Allen objected strenously at Schoolcraft's apparent desertion:

> I was dissatisfied with this proceeding of Mr. Schoolcraft's and deemed it unwarrantable by the official relations in which we stood to each other, inasmuch as I was thereby deprived of the services of the surgeon and interpreter, to which I considered myself rightfully entitled within the intention of the department, so far as these services might be necessary for the safety of the detachment, and to enable me to execute my instructions. These gentlemen had been employed for the purposes of the expedition, and as the execution of certain of these purposes had been separately assigned to me, I had a right to expect that the means provided for their execution should not be with-held from me by the power to whom they were entrusted by the department to control; but by this sudden and unadvised withdrawal of those means out of my reach, I was not only embarrassed in the performance of an appropriate duty, but placed in a situation of extreme inconvenience, and even danger, which could not have been anticipated or intended by the department in the project of the expedition.[49]

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47. The St. Croix river.

48. War Department Document No. 323, 1834, pp.57-8.

49. Ibid., p. 58.

The situation, in a way, was laughable. The military escort, whose duty was the protecting of the non-combatant representatives of the government, immediately it was deprived of the company of the non-combatants, became helpless. Undoubtedly, however, Lieutenant Allen was perfectly justifiable in complaining about the departure of the surgeon. The heat and humidity of the swamps that lay in their return path offered possibilities of fever that would be hard to cope with unaided by a physician. In view of this Lieutenant Allen wrote the following:

> It is not to be supposed that the department would require soldiers to travel through such a country as this, and encounter the extraordinary exposure and danger incident to their transporting themselves, without some provision of medical aid; and still less could it be deemed practicable for a detachment of troops to effect a journey through an unknown, wild, inhospitable Indian country, without guides of any kind to direct, or an interpreter, through whose means to obtain guides or necessary geographical information. But such was my situation now; I had this route to travel; of which I neither knew the length or direction, the quantity or character of its difficulties, or the time and means that would be required to overcome them. For supposing that I was to travel with Mr. Schoolcraft, who had guides, I had not made any useful inquiries respecting it.[50]

After a good deal more of similar criticism, Allen sums up his grievances in the following:

> By a strange interpretation or disregard of his official relation to the escort, Schoolcraft has led it, ignorant of such a contingency, into a situation of difficulty not compatible with its separate means of resistance, and there left it to encounter the difficulty as it best might.[51]

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50. War Department Document No. 323, p.57.

51. Ibid., p.58.

Without a doubt the soldiers spent a miserable night cursing Schoolcraft for abandoning them. Their vehement censuring was a little pre-mature, however, for Lieutenant Allen records that on July 30:

> Two Indians arrived this morning with a note from Schoolcraft, by which it appeared that they were sent to guide and assist me up the rapids, for which service I was to pay them in provisions. They returned with me to this, their village, and signified that they would go no further, this being as far as their father, Mr. Schoolcraft, had asked or employed them to go.[52]

Since Allen was unable to persuade the Indians to change their minds, the expedition continued on its way with only the river for a guide. It is questionable, though, if Schoolcraft had instructed the Indians to turn back so quickly. Naturally lazy, they never exerted themselves for a party of soldiers unless actually forced to do so.

When within a day's voyage of Lake Superior, two more Indians, sent by Schoolcraft, met the soldiers and guided them down the final stretch of the Brule river.[53] Eventually they reached the Sault safe and sound and only a few days later than Schoolcraft himself.[54]

Schoolcraft's decision to push on and leave the military detachment to follow at its own slower pace was not due to any personal animosity towards Lieutenant Allen. Throughout the trip they had been friends. Consequently Schoolcraft was

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52. War Department Document No. 323, p.63.

53. Ibid., p.68.

54. Ibid., p.68.

not only surprised, but indignant when it came to his attention that Lieutenant Allen had written into his official report to the War department such a long and detailed account of the affair.

In a footnote appended to his publication of the expedition,[55] Schoolcraft defended himself against Allen's charges with the following:

> United States soldiers are not adapted to travelling in Indian canoes. Comparatively clumsy, formal, and used to the comforts of good quarters and shelter, they flinch under the activities and fatigue of forest life, and particularly of that kind of life and toil, which consists in the management of canoes, and the carrying forward canoes and baggage over bad portages, and conducting these frail vessels over dangerous rapids and around falls. No amount of energy is sufficient on the part of the officers to make them keep up on these trips, with the gay, light and athletic voyageur, who unites the activity and experience of the Indian with the power of endurance of the white man. Lieutenant Allen deserves great credit, as an army officer, for urging his men forward as well as he did on this arduous journey, for they were a perpetual cause of delay and anxiety to me and to him. They were relieved and aided by my men at every practical point; but having the responsibility of performing a definite duty, on a fixed sum of money, with many men to feed in the wilderness, it was imperative in me to push on with energy, day in and day out, and to set a manful example of diligence at every point.
>
> Instead of carping at my rapidity of movement, as he does in his official report of the ascent of the St. Croix, Lieutenant Allen, having every supply within himself, and being, moreover, in a friendly tribe, where there was no danger, should not have evinced a desire to control my encampments, but rather given his men to understand that he could not countenance their dilatoriness.56

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55. Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the Mississippi, New York, 1834.

56. Ibid., p.270-71.

From the facts already presented it is evident that the various incidents, with their later developments, of Schoolcraft's expedition to Lake Itasca in 1832, were events of considerable importance in keeping the name of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft before the public for many years.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ISLAND OF MICHILIMACKINACK

The entry in Schoolcraft's diary of May 20, 1833, contains the following:

> I had now performed my last labor at St. Mary's, which was the preparation of my narrative of the expedition to Itasca Lake. I looked, in parting, with fond regret at the trees I had planted, the house I had built, the walks I had constructed, the garden I had cultivated, the meadow lands I had reclaimed from the tangled forest, and the wide and noble prospects which surrounded Elmwood. All was to be left, and I only waited for a suitable vessel to embark, bag and baggage, for the sacred island whose formal polysyllables had formed the dread of my spelling days at school, Michilimackinack.[1]

A week later, Schoolcraft, his family, and all their possessions were firmly ensconced in their new home. It was, as he remarked later,[2] a step back towards civilization. The Straits of Mackinac, at that time, as they are today, were constantly filled with passing steamers and boats plying their trade between the great inland seas of Michigan and Huron.

The Island of Michilimackinack was rich in tradition and Indian legend. To it came many visitors[3] for vacationing and business. As a resident of the Island, Schoolcraft gained

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1. Memoirs, p.440.

2. Ibid., p.442.

3. Among the distinguished visitors that were to stop at Schoolcraft's Michilimackinack home were Washington Irving and Francis Parkman.

many advantages that he had not possessed at the more remote and isolated post of St. Mary's. Although reluctant to leave Elmwood, Schoolcraft nevertheless spent little time in regretting his removal from that point, but attacked his duties at his new location with all his accustomed vigor. From the Indians who frequented the Island[4] he gathered many different versions of the legends that he had heard before from the Indians of the Sault district. The white settlers had interesttales to tell, also, of the massacre of 1763, in which the Indians, suddenly rising against the whites, surprised and killed practically the entire garrison of the British fort on the tip of the lower peninsula.[5]

Schoolcraft spent his first winter at Michilimackinack rather quietly, most of his attention being given to the duties of the Agency and the working into final form his collection of Indian legends. Spring at Mackinack was a busy season. Many boats arrived, stopped, and if they found the conditions of the lakes favorable, pushed on to their destinations.

In the spring of 1833, Schoolcraft made the following entries in his journals:

> March 14th. About eight o'clock this morning, a vessel from Detroit dropped anchor in the harbor, causing all hearts to be gay at the termination of our wintry exclusion from the world. It proved to be the "Com-

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4. Since the Indians regarded Michilimackinack as sacred, they did not live on the Island, but visited it only for the purposes of trade and ceremonials.

5. The fort was later removed to the Island.

modore Lawrence" of Huron, Ohio, on a trip to Green Bay.

March 19th. Messrs. Biddle and Drew finish preparing their vessel, and anchor her out.

April 5th. The mission schooner "Supply" leaves the harbor on her first trip to Detroit.

April 9th. The schooner "White Pigeon" enters the harbor with a mail from Detroit. "A mail! a mail!" is the cry.

April 16th. A party of Beaver Island Indians come in, and report the water of the Straits as clear as could be expected of ice, and the navigation for some days open. The schooner "President" from Detroit, dropped anchor in the evening.

April 17th. The schooners "Lawrence","White Pigeon" and "President" left the harbor this morning, on their way to battle the waves of Lake Michigan. The "Lawrence" it will be remembered, entered the harbor on the 14th of March, and has waited thirty-two days for the Straits to open.

April 20th. The "Austerlitz" and "Prince Eugene", two of Mr. Newberry's vessels, arrived during the afternoon.

April 21st. The schooner "Nancy Dousman" arrived in the morning from below. A change of weather supervened. Wind N.E., with snow.

April 22nd. This morning develops a north-east storm, during which the "Nancy Dousman" is wrecked, but all the cargo saved; a proof that the harbor is no refuge from a north-easter.

April 23rd. Wind west, cloudy, rainy, and some sleet. About midnight the schooner "Oregon" came in, having rode out the tempest under Point St. Ignace.

April 27th. A boat reaches us from the Sault, showing the Straits and River St. Mary's to be open.

April 30th. The schooner "Napoleon" and the "Eliza" from Lake Ontario, come in. The Indian world, also, seems to have awaked from its winter repose. Vessels and canoes now again cross each other's track in the harbor.

May 3rd. The"Huron" departs up the lake, the "Austerlitz" returns.

May 5th. The schooner "Lady of the Lake" comes in, without a mail. During the afternoon, the wind also brings in the "Marengo" with a mail, and in the night, the "Supply."

May 10th. The schooner "Mariner" our old friend comes into port with forty emigrants for Chicago. During the evening the "Commerce" and "America" join her.[6]

Just the reading of the above entries gives vividly a hint as to the romantic flavor with which the days at Michilimackinack were crowded. It is no wonder that Schoolcraft enjoyed living and working there. A mighty commerce passed before his doors. Vast areas of forest stretched in every direction on the mainland. A voluminous correspondence brought to him the thoughts and ideas of many learned minds and carried his ideas to the outside. In addition there was much reading to be done and many magazine articles to write.[7]

For some time Schoolcraft had been deliberating as to what use to make of his collection of material that denoted the existence of an oral literature among the Chippewa Indians. He at first believed that the legends were so grotesque and often so fragmentary that in order to be made ready for publishing they would have to undergo considerable revising. With regard to this Schoolcraft wrote to his friend,

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6. Memoirs, pp.469-83.

7. Ibid., p.515. Under date of June 2, 1834, Schoolcraft wrote, "The editors of the Knickerbocker Magazine solicit contributions to its pages." This request is typical of many that Schoolcraft received from various magazines.

Washington Irving, who replied as follows:

> The little I have seen of our Indian tribes has awakened an earnest anxiety to know more concerning them, and, if possible, to embody some of their fast-fading characteristics and traditions in our own popular literature. My own personal opportunities of observations of them must, necessarily, be few and casual; but I would gladly avail myself of any information derived from others who have been enabled to mingle among them, and capacitated to perceive and appreciate their habits, customs and moral qualities. I know of no one to whom I would look with more confidence, in these respects than to yourself; and, I assure you, I should receive as high and unexpected favors any communication of the kind you suggest, that would aid me in furnishing biographies, tales or sketches, illustrative of Indian life, Indian character, and Indian mythology and superstitions.[8]

Schoolcraft, however, undoubtedly well aware of Irving's penchant for borrowing, did not take kindly to the idea of turning over his cherished collection of legends to another writer, even though that writer was as distinguished as Washington Irving. To this end he remarks:

> I had never regarded these manuscripts, gleaned from the lodges with no little pains-taking, as mere materials to be worked up by the literary loom, although the work should be done by one of the most popular and fascinating American pens. I feared that the roughness, which gave them their characteristic originality and Doric truthfulness, would be smoothed and polished off to assume the shape of a sort of Indo-American series of tales; a cross between the Anglo-Saxon and the Algonquin.[9]

If the fact that Schoolcraft had a change of heart and heartily approved of Longfellow's use of the same legends

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8. Memoirs, p.514.

9. Ibid., p.515.

a decade or so later as the source material for his Song of Hiawatha, seems rather inconsistent in view of his previous attitude toward Irving's suggestion, it must, perhaps, be attributed to Schoolcrafts deeply rooted fondness for self expression through the medium of poetry.[10]

Late in 1835, Schoolcraft went to Washington to be present at some important Indian negotiations.[11] Since the business did not actually get under way until the following spring, Schoolcraft remained in the cities of New York and Washington during the winter of 1835-36.

Upon the successful completion of the Indian affairs, Schoolcraft returned to Michilimackinack. He said:

> My winter in Washington had thrown my correspondence sadly in the rear. Most of my letters had been addressed to me directly at Mackinack, and they were first read several months after date. Whilst at the seat of government my duties had been of an arduous character, and left me but little time on my hands. And now, that I had got back to my post in the interior, the duties growing out of the recent treaties had been in no small degree multiplied.12

Schoolcraft spent the next winter in Detroit, acting as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the entire territory of Michigan.[13] While in Detroit he took an active part in the proceedings of the Michigan Historical Society and also devoted considerable time to his writing. With regard to

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10. Schoolcraft's own attempts at poetry are treated with in Chapter IX.

11. Delegations of Michigan Indians were present at these negotiations in Washington.

12. Memoirs, p.537.

13. Ibid., p.538.

this latter, he noted in his journal under date of April 26, 1837:

> I have filled the pauses of official duty, during the season, by preparing for the press the oral legends which have been gleaned from the Indians since my residence at Sault Ste. Marie, in the basin of Lake Superior, and at Michilimackinack, under the name of Algic Researches.[14]

The first volume of this work was published in 1838. Since it was the first of Schoolcraft's books devoted wholly to Indian material, it merits separate and fuller treatment later.[15]

During the years 1838 and 1839 Schoolcraft lived rather quietly, but made numerous official trips from Michilimackinack to Detroit and Washington. On one of these trips to Washington he placed his children in eastern schools.[16]

The winter of 1840 was the last that he spent in the north and it was occupied in the old manner:

> Having determined to pass another winter (some ten weeks of which are past) at Mackinack, I have found my best and pleasantest employment in my old resource, the investigation of the Indian character and history.
>
> The season of the New-year has been as usual a holiday, that is to say, a time of hilarity and good wishes, with a number of the Indians in the vicinity visiting the office.[17]

The next winter was spent in Detroit, but Schoolcraft and his family returned to Michilimackinack for the summer months. This proved to be the last summer that he was to enjoy

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14. Memoirs, p.540.

15. Chapter X.

16. Memoirs, p.560.

17. Ibid., p.674

the companionship of his "Northern Pocahontas."

The last entry in Schoolcraft's Memoirs is as follows:

> August 10th, 1841. I determined to remove from Michilimackinack to the city of New York. More than thirty years of my life have been spent in Western scenes. So much of my time had been given to certain topics of natural history, antiquities, manners, and customs of the Indian tribes, that I felt a desire to preserve the record of it, and, in fact, to study my own materials in a position more favorable to the object than the shores, however pleasing, of these vast inland seas. The health of Mrs. Schoolcraft having been impaired for several years, furnished another motive for a change of residence. Beyond all, it was a return to my native State after long years of travel and wandering, adventure, and residence, which would bear, I thought, to be looked at and reflected on through the mellowed medium of reminiscence and study.18

Immediately upon establishing his residence in New York, Schoolcraft set about securing a publisher for his contemplated works on the Indians.[19] The publishing companies, however, were not nearly as enthusiastic about Indian material as was Schoolcraft, and so he was forced to wait for more favorable circumstances.[20]

While waiting, he took a trip to Europe. During his absence, his wife, whom he had left with her sister in Ontario, Canada, died.[21]

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18. Memoirs, p.702.

19. The Oneota series on Indian customs, manners, etc.

20. Memoirs, p.703.

21. Ibid., pxli.

CHAPTER IX

THE MAN OF BRONZE AND OTHER POETRY

While only a lad, Schoolcraft had been wont to write verses about the beautiful Catskills over which he daily roamed. As he approached manhood and his judgment ripened, however, he came to the realization that these early attempts at poetry were extremely juvenile and destroyed all his manuscripts. Years later he again turned to writing verses and although it is questionable whether these later efforts were any less juvenile in tone and quality than their boyish predecessors, they were not destroyed. At least not by Schoolcraft himself, who busily bent every effort to secure a publisher daring enough to venture printing them.

Schoolcraft's poetry has been aptly described as "very conventional."[1] It is just that. For example, take this passage from the lengthy Rise of the West:

> A sterner toil, the prospect now demands
> Where drear Savanne, or lone Cassina stands,
> Conmingling glooms besetling all the way,
> The day's long tail, the night's longer still dismay,
> Woods, where the sun is scarcely seen on high,
> And streams that haste to quit a polar sky.

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1. W. B. Cairns, A History of American Literature, p.218.

Lakes, choak'd with rushes, hardly own a tide,
And grassy wastes immeasurably wide,
Where earth and wave a mix'd dominion brings,
And Mississippi draws his infant springs.[2]

Schoolcraft then follows with a description of how the Mississippi gradually grows from a mere trickle of water oozing out from a Minnesota hillside to a mighty, surging torrent where it meets the Gulf of Mexico.

Proud swelling stream! from sources such as these,
Thou gatherest force to pierce remotest seas,
Supreme example to the sons of fate,
How small effects are gathered into great.
Pride of the land! unequalled in thy course,
What matchless waters swell thy onward force.
Ohio teeming with a thousand floods,
Missouri, nurtured in Pacific woods,
The rolling Arkansas, whose wreck and tide,
From Ietan plains, from Mexic mountains glide;
These are but parts of thy stupendous stores,
What oceanplains, illimitably great
Spread from thy banks, and raise thy sullen state
What cataracts tremble--ricy lakes abound,
A maze of waters, peerless and profound.[3]

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2. The Rise of the West or A Prospect of the Mississippi Valley, Detroit, 1830. p.3.

3. Ibid., p.5.

Although Schoolcraft's poetry has never gained much praise as a whole, some of his passages do have merit as examples of good description. The trouble with Schoolcraft, however, was that he was prone to intrude much unrelated material. For example:

> Yet, though no rhyme, thy banks to fame prolong,
> Beyond the warrior's chant, the boatman's song
> More happy in thy fate than Ganges' tide;
> No purblind millions kneel upon thy side!
> Beyond the Nile--Beyond the Niger blest,
> No bleeding Parke, no dying Ledyard prest,
> Or if one fate foredoomed the Gaul to bleed
> Success o'er paid, and cancelled half the deed.
> Not in hot sands, or nameless deserts lost,
> A healthful vigor blooms along thy coast
> And ever blest above the orient train,
> No crouching serf here clanks the feudal chain!
> E'en the poor Indian, who in native pride,
> Serenely scans thy long descending tide,
> Turns in his mind thy course 'twixt sea and sea,
> And owns with joyous shouts thy tribes are free.[4]

When Schoolcraft did write a few lines of good poetry he usually spoiled their effect by making some inferior additions. This is shown in the following lines:

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4. The Rise of the West, p.7.

As seasons wane, the Indian foe retires,
Faint and more faint becomes his battle fires,
Faint and more faint resounds his battle roar,
Till lost in woods, he wields the blade no more; [5]

To which he added the following, which strike a wholly false note:

Joy claps her hands, the sounds of mirth prevail,
And peace and population fill the vale.[6]

The poem undoubtedly would have been vastly more effective if Schoolcraft had left off those last two lines. It hardly seems fair of him to require his readers to try to visualize a cherubic Joy clapping her hands immediately they have begun to sympathetically sigh for the vanishing Red Man.

The difficulties that Schoolcraft encountered in securing a publisher for his verse were not entirely due to their evident lack of quality, but also to the fact that poems dealing with Indian material were not exceedingly popular with the reading public. In support of this is the fact that one of Schoolcraft's long poems, Transallegania, which described the advance of the pioneers into the Missouri country was published. A later day writer described it as follows:

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5. The Rise of the West, p.11.
6. Ibid., p.11.

> It is an awkward, extravagantly fanciful account of the ire of the King of metals when awakened by the sounds of mighty currents of immigration surging across the Missouri country. A council of the metals from all the Western country is called to discuss resistance. The clash of the stones in the debate which ensues is so great that New Madrid, which once had been devastated by an earthquake, sinks, and the encroaching immigrants are so frightened that their advance is delayed, at least for a time.[7]

That Schoolcraft was aware of the dubious quality of his poetry, even while continuing to write it, is shown by a letter he wrote to William Cullen Bryant in 1851.[8] In the letter he enclosed a poem entitled The Man of Bronze and said that it was the work of a friend of his, William Hetherwold, who would greatly appreciate any criticism that Bryant would offer.

Knowing that Schoolcraft had written an essay on Indian character under the identical title while at Sault Ste. Marie, it is not difficult to conclude that Hetherwold and Schoolcraft were the same person. Bryant undoubtedly perceived the identity because he couched his reply to Schoolcraft very tactfully, saying that although he liked the poem, he did not believe that it would be successful if it appeared under such an unknown name as Hetherwold.[9] After adding that the form of the poem was twenty to thirty years out of date, Bryant tempered his criticism by saying:

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8. F. Smith, "Schoolcraft, Bryant and Poetic fame." American Literature, Vol. V, p.170.

9. Ibid., p.170.

7. R. L. Rusk, The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier, p. 242, Vol. II. The full title of this poem of Schoolcraft's mentioned is Transallegania, or the Groans of the Missouri.

> I have thus written to you frankly what I think on the subject of your letter. It is a delicate matter to advise a poet, but you are also a man who knows the world, and are more easily dealt with. My opinions in such matters are not of much value, but such as they are, you have them.[10]

Schoolcraft's papers in the Library of Congress contain two drafts of an unpublished poem entitled Michillimackinack. The final draft, although in Schoolcraft's writing, is under the crossed out name of William Hetherwold.[11]

In his article in American Literature, Frank Smith censures Bryant for not telling Schoolcraft that the Man of Bronze was of no value as poetry.[12] The small praise that Bryant gave it by saying that he personally liked it encouraged Schoolcraft to publish it. Like his other poems, it failed utterly. The theme of the poem is as follows:

> The Man of Bronze is an ambitious versification of the leading ideas of Schoolcraft's prose works; that the Indian is fallen from grace, proud, inherently slothful yet quick to fight, worthy of humane treatment and reform by Christianity.[13]

Smith criticises the poem in the following:

> These notions are not poetry and do not achieve poetry in the decadent Popeanism of stilted couplets and immemorial cliches, "frolic train," "noisy mirth", "kindly ardor", "festive sounds", etc.[14]

An important fact in estimating the worth of Schoolcraft's poetry is that neither Transallegania, 1821, The Rise

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10. F. Smith, American Literature, Vol. V, p.171.

11. Ibid., p.171.

12. Ibid., p.171.

13. Ibid., p.171.

14. Ibid., p.171.

of the West, 1841, Helderbergia, 1855, The Man of Bronze, or any of his other published poems[15] went through more than one small edition. Neither did critical notices of them appeared in such critical periodicals as The North American Review, The Boston Quarterly Review, The Knickerbocker Magazine, The Democratic Review, The Southern Literary Messenger, and the American Whig Review.[16]

When it is remembered that practically all of these periodicals solicited and welcomed Schoolcraft's learned articles and reviews, this evidently deliberate slighting of his poetry speaks volumes for its lack of merit.

But rebuff after rebuff could not persuade Schoolcraft t cease writing poetry, even though it was seldom published. One of the last things he wrote, perhaps the very last, was a poem entitled Reminscences of the Tawasentha Valley.[17] In it he commemorated the scenes of his childhood as he had previously done in Helderbergia.

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15. F. Smith, American Literature, Vol. V, p.172.

16. Ibid., p.172.

17. It never was published, but the manuscript is included in the papers of the Schoolcraft Collection, Library of Congress, Washington. The manuscript is dated 1862, only two years before Schoolcraft's death in 1864.

CHAPTER X

THE ALGIC RESEARCHES AND ONEOTA

On May 30, 1839, Schoolcraft noted in his journal, "Harpers, New York, send me two copies of the first issue of my Algic Researches." The entry is hardly two lines in length, yet it marked the consummation of long years of toil and effort on Schoolcraft's part to present to the public the information about the Indian mythology that he had garnered while on the frontier. His actual work had been completed over a year previously, as is shown by this entry:

> January 26, 1838. Completed the revision of a body of Indian oral legends collected during the many years I have spent on the frontier. These oral tales show up the Indian in a new light. Their chief value consists in their exhibition of aboriginal opinions. But, if published, incredulity will start up critics to call their authenticity in question. There are so many Indian tales fancied, by writers, that it will hardly be admitted that there exist any real legends. If there be any literary labor which has cost me more than usual pains, it is this. I have weeded out many vulgarisms. I have endeavored to restore the simplicity of the original style. In this I have not always fully succeeded, and it has been sometimes found necessary, to avoid incongruity, to break a legend in two, or cut it short off.1

The collection was made, as Schoolcraft says, "during the leisure hours of many seasons in the solitude of the wilderness and with the very best interpreters."[2] He also states

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1. Memoirs, p.585.

2. The interpreters to whom Schoolcraft refers were his wife, her parents, and her brothers and sisters, as well as others.

that if the style of writing appears to be bold and simple, it is because the original legend or tale is characteristically bold and simple and would lose its effectiveness if presented in any other way. This fact is evidently overlooked by many of the critics, who, after making a cursory examination of Schoolcraft's writings, brand them as simple to the point of being plain.

It was a source of wonderment to Schoolcraft that no writer had previously discovered the existence of the Indian legends. He said:

> I have heard, "Who would have imagined that these wandering foresters, should have possessed such a resource?" What have all the voyagers and remarkers from the day of Cabot and Raleigh been about not to discover this curious trait, which lifts up indeed a curtain, as it were, upon the Indian mind, and exhibits it in an entirely new character?[3]

In commenting upon the refusal of a Mr. A. E. Wing to deliver the annual address before the Michigan Historical Society he expressed the same thought:

> Few men who have capacity are found willing to devote the time necessary for the preparation of a literary address, even where the materials for it would appear to lie ready. Another reason is, that the materials and framework of an address are sought for at too great a distance, and are thought to be too deeply buried, to be disinterred by any but extraordinary hands. This is a mistake. The subjects are at home, and exist not only in exploring old literary mines, but in the very circumstances around us.[4]

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3. Memoirs, p.584.

4. Ibid., p.584.

Schoolcraft's Algic Researches was the direct result of his possessing the ability to see the possibilities of his surroundings.

There is no better introduction to the Algic Researches[5] than the review by Henry Whiting, a close personal friend of Schoolcraft's. He begins with this statement:

> Several years since, a few gentlemen of intelligence in the Northwest associated themselves for the purpose of collecting facts relating to the Indian character, condition, etc., and putting them into a shape to be preserved. The first suggestion of this society came, we believe, from Mr. H. R. Schoolcraft, who was very properly placed at the head of it, and who gave the name "Algic" by which it was known.
>
> Mr. Schoolcraft at once set himself at work to fulfill the purpose for which this society was formed, or rather, began to arrange his past labors, and proceeded to further researches with new zeal. We have not heard what was done by others. It is probable that Mr. Schoolcraft alone has produced any useful result, though other members may have encouraged his zeal, and urged on his progress.[6]

In the foreword to the Algic Researches,[7] Schoolcraft said that the "Oral Tales" that he was presenting constituted only one phase of the material that he had on hand and that subsequent volumes would treat the Indians' hieroglyphics, music, poetry, language and vocabulary. With reference to support of his project he said:

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5. The word Algic was coined by Schoolcraft from a combination of Alleghany and Atlantic.

6. North American Review, Vol. XLIX, Oct., 1839, pp.354-5.

7. Schoolcraft, Algic Researches.

> We cannot admit, that the opportunity to acquire such valuable stores is likely to be lost, through lukewarmness or want of proper patronage, on the part of the reading public.[8]

Schoolcraft's fear that the proper patronage for a study of the Indians would not develop was disspelled ten years later when he was chosen by the government to direct the writing of a large and inclusive History of the Indian Tribes.

Whiting says the following with reference to the manner in which Schoolcraft treated the Indian material that he had included in his previous works:

> His books of travels all contain much information relative to the tribes he saw; but this information was necessarily superficial, excepting as to externals, numbers, etc. In this respect he was like his predecessors, excepting, perhaps, that he did not profess to have seen so much as they.[9]

After stressing the importance of the peculiar advantages that Schoolcraft enjoyed as the husband of an Indian princess, Whiting adds this observation regarding the value of the oral legends:

> Schoolcraft saw unfolding a view of the past, as well as the present, he was catching glimpses of revolution, physical, moral and national, of the bearing of which the narrators themselves were probably but imperfectly, if at all aware. A rude people, who have no records, no literature, no outward monuments, preserve the knowledgement of events, by traditions, stories, narratives, or tales, which

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8. Algic Researches.

9. North American Review, Vol. XLIX, p.356. Whiting is here taking a fling at the earlier travellers such as Hennepin, La Hontan, and Carver. In the North American Review of July, 1839, Vol. XLVIII, there is the statement that Hennepin's Narratives were fabricated in Europe. In the Democratic Review of April, 1839, Hennepin was defended from the charge that he had copied Marquette's maps. Such controversies were common in the magazines of the day.

> pass down from father to son, ever changing, no doubt, in form and expression, but essentially the same. The main fact, the original event, still glimmers like a spark beneath smouldering embers or ashes.[10]

The appearance of anything new in literature invariably means that a question will be raised by the incredulous as to the authenticity of the material. The usual cry is that of "fake" and "imposter", and Schoolcraft was not spared such ignominious treatment, even though he did not deserve it.

It was in an attempt to silence such criticism that Whiting wrote:

> In the first place, we must endeavor to feel satisfied, that they are genuine, that they have been rendered faithfully, with only such modifications as are inevitable in the course of interpretation, or were required to purge them of the grossness which often intermingles with the narratives of a barbarous people. If we had not confidence in Mr. Schoolcraft's integrity, which would restrain him from palming upon the public a series of stories as aboriginal, which were mainly of his own invention, there is much internal evidence of their being unadulterated offspring of untutored minds of savages. They are often disjointed, extravagant, and repulsive, and most of them could, with a little art, have been improved in all these respects, if the plan had been merely to make them the groundwork of an attractive work of imagination.[11]

Whiting gives Schoolcraft extremely high praise when he states:

> The standard which we now have for measuring Indian intellect, and judging of Indian imagination and power of invention,, of Indian mythological notions

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10. North American Review, Vol., XLIX, p.359.

11. Ibid., p.360.

> and superstitions, a true standard, as we are fain to believe, would have been falsified and erroneous. We should still have been left a prey to the fancies of authors, who could paint the Red Man, en beau, with little chance, among their readers, of discriminating the creatures of the brain from the realities of the forest.[12]

At the risk of borrowing too much from Mr. Whiting's article, the following statement is also his:

> We have indeed regarded the tales, themselves, as of secondary importance. It is true they have an intrinsic merit, a merit such as a child[13] would discover, who saw or thought nothing of the bearing they have on a most interesting and deep problem, connected with a portion of the human race.[14]

But even if the tales themselves are of secondary importance as stories, they nevertheless deserve examination with reference to their worth as entertainment. According to Whiting:

> After reading the Arabian Nights Entertainments, and a thousand and one other Oriental Stories, we are inclined to place these Occidental Tales not far behind them in all that does not depend on wealth and refinement for its effect.[15]

Many of the tales are about animals.[16] This is because the Indian knew that many of the animals were wiser than he, and more industrious, especially in providing against the wants of winter, and many times, braver. These

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12. North American Review, Vol. XLIX, p.360.

13. In 1860, and again in 1916, there were published children's editions of Indian Fairy Tales, selected from Schoolcraft's Myth of Hiawatha.

14. North American Review, Vol. XLIX, p.362.

15. Ibid., p.363.

16. In "Ojeeg Annung, the Summer-Maker" the wolverine, the symbol of Michigan, plays the leading role.

characteristics of the animals command the respect of the Red Man and consequently bulk large in tale and legend. Many of the best tales in Schoolcraft's work are about animals. Take, for example, the tale of the Celestial Sisters.

In this tale, a white hawk called Waupee,[17] who who lived as a hermit, is the hero. Originally an Indian with the magic power to change his shape to that of any animal, he had wooed and won the heart of a Star Maiden who was accustomed to come down to earth to dance. After bearing a child, the Star Maiden returned to the heavens. Waupee, disconsolate at losing his wife and child, contrived to enter heaven also. With him he took the tails of birds and the feet of animals. Suddenly, during a feast of the stars, these segments of the earthly animals took shape. They can be seen to this day in the various constellations in the sky.

Iamo, or the Undying Head,[18] is an Ottawa tale of horrors that well exhibits the extravagant manner in which the Indians were prone to exaggerate in their stories to the utmost limits of their imagination. In this story, a monster she-bear was beaten to fragments by the combined assault of ten brothers. The death of the big bear was of little use, however, since every fragment of her body became a cub bear, and thus perpetuated and increased the race of bears.

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17. The poet Cowper has a reference to "a lodge such as Waupee's in some vast wilderness."

18. This tale is included in both the Algic Researches and the Myth of Hiawatha.

In explanation of the allegory of this tale Whiting says:

> This suggests to Schoolcraft the aboriginal notions concerning the dead, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, etc.
>
> It can be inferred from these tales, that there are certain impressions stamped on the human mind, bespeaking the common origin of men, and their common subjection to influences arising from certain great moral and physical changes, that no time, no climate, no dispersion, no degradation can wholly obliterate. Enough ever remains to tell the great truth, that "in the beginning" we were all the same.[19]

Another tale that requires mention, as it is invariably included in the Indian Fairy Tales for children, is Mon-dau-min, or Origin of Indian Corn. In substance it is the age-old tale of Ceres, but in a western setting. Unfortunately the Indians drew no moral from the story, but continued their policy of lazy indifference to productive tilling of the soil.

In many of the tales, there is a character Manabosho,[20] the great incarnation of the North. In one of Schoolcraft's travel narratives it is stated that the Indians believed that Manabozho lived in the mist over Isle Royale, which was neither heaven nor earth, but something of an indefinite quality even as was Manabozho.

The resemblance of the Indian tales to those of Greek mythology is striking. In the Red Swan there is a descent into

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19. North American Review, Vol. XLIX, p.367.

20. This is the deity that Longfellow confuses with Hiawatha, the Iroquois statesman, in his Song of Hiawatha.

the regions of the dead that is comparable to that taken by Orpheus. To the Indian a distinction was clearly made as regards the ultimate disposition of the"good" and the "bad." The former were supposed to continue dwelling in the "light", but the latter spent eternity in the shadow of a "dark cloud."

The tales are too numerous and lengthy to be given further notice here.[21] It would profit anyone to examine them.

It hardly seems necessary to state that the Algic Researches were tremendously successful. Schoolcraft received many favorable comments upon them from the various critical journals and newspapers. His friends, too, congratulated him warmly for making such a notable contribution to American literature.[22]

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21. The better known tales include: The Son of the Evening Star, which is an allegory that gives an interpretation of the name of Michilimackinack. The Enchanted Moccasins, in which a boy is pursued by the irate brother of two enchanted sisters. The boy eludes his pursuer by hiding in the body of a dead moose, while his moccasins keep on making tracks to the end of the world and thus continue to lead the brother farther and farther away. Puck Windj Inines which gives a glimpse of the deluge and how a new earth was created by Manabozho with a little mud that was brought up to the surface by the muskrat. The Weendigoes is a tale about people that are similar to the Poluphemi that Ulysses struggled with on his long voyage.

22. Memoirs, pp.650-53. The Detroit Daily Advertiser's notice is typical: "He has been honest in his renderings of the aboriginal sense, whether pointed or mystical, of the Indian's mythology, whether intelligible or obscure; of their shadowy glimpses of the past and the future; of the beginning and end of things, without alteration or embellishment. Such a work was wanted, and such a work was expected from Mr. Schoolcraft."

Henry Whiting, whose very favorable comments on the Algic Researches had much to do its success, sums up his impressions of the work in the following:

> The tales render all nature social, endowing its various products, its birds, beasts, fishes, and trees, with the faculties of reason and speech, and powers of transformation, that give them peculiar influence over the fortunes of man, for good or for evil. Nearly all of them are undoubtedly of an early origin, as most of their allusions show an ignorance of modern arts and events. With few exceptions, not a hint is found in them that refers to improvements derived from the whites. They belong to the "era of flint arrow heads, earthern pots, and skin clothes." Nature is untouched, not a tree is cut down.[23]

Encouraged greatly by the success of his Algic Researches Schoolcraft began issuing a series of popular priced, paper covered books on the characteristics of the Indians. During the years 1844-45, eight numbers were printed and were well received by the public. In 1845 the entire eight numbers were bound into one volume and issued as Oneota; or Characteristics of the Red Race of America, from original notes and manuscripts.[24] For several years no more of the papers were published, until in 1848 The Indian in his Wigwam[25] appeared. This was followed by The Red Race of America, The American Indians, and Western Scenes and Reminiscences.

Fundamentally the same, these publications contained little that was different from the material of the earlier Oneota.

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23. North American Review, Vol. XLIX, p.361.

24. Published by Wiley and Putnam, New York, 1845.

25. Published by Graham-Burgess, New York, 1848.

CHAPTER XI

HISTORIAN OF THE RED MAN

With his reputation as an Indian authority firmly established, Schoolcraft soon received an appointment from the government of New York to conduct an extensive study of the Iroquois tribes.

From the data gathered while thus engaged, Schoolcraft produced a volume for the popular trade with the title Notes of the Iroquois,[1] which contained, according to its subtitle, contributions to American history, antiquities, and general ethnology. With its publication, Schoolcraft was further strengthened in his position as the foremost Indian authority of the day. The North American Review noticed the Notes of the Iroquois as follows:

> Ordinarily, the book of travels that comes out of the publisher's hands is as unlike the notes which came out of the valise at the end of the journey, as a specimen of lead ore is unlike the pewter dish into which it may have subsequently been converted.
>
> No one would be more likely than Mr. Schoolcraft, himself, to consider his books of travels among the Indians as mere highway and byway sketches. These hasty glances, however, led him to desire further and better opportunities of investigating their condition, character and history. Even his cursory views had convinced him that they were a peculiar people, and in no one thing more so than in their incommunicative deportment before strangers; the appearance of such persons among them was a signal for assuming an impassive and inexpressive aspect, that marked them, for the time being, as children of the mist.[2]

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1. Published by E. H. Pease and Co., Albany, 1847.

2. North American Review, Vol. LXIV, p.295.

The article continues by criticizing Schoolcraft's choice of Notes of the Iroquois as his title as being most unfortunate, because considerable of its content deals not merely with the Iroquois tribes, but with the entire Indian race. The following statement is made with regard Schoolcraft's previous choice of titles:

> His Algic Researches, which will, at some future date, be regarded as the broadest and clearest mirror of the red man's intellect that has ever been set up before the public eye, suggested nothing as to the bearing or purport of the volumes. The title is hardly equal to the old sign, "Inquire Within." And "Oneota" called for as much explanation. A novel may play bopeep with its readers in this way, as such readers generally delight to be puzzled. But all Mr. Schoolcraft's works have deserved a right name.[3]

With the expression of a hope that Schoolcraft be offered opportunities to continue his work, the article closes by saying:

> These materials have been collected in his hands to a rare and valuable amount. We call them rare and valuable, because they have all the stamp of genuineness, and will hereafter aid more in constructing a monument to a perishing race of human beings, than any other that are in the white man's possession. Some of them have been spread before the public eye; but much, we believe, yet remains behind. There has not been an encouragement to give them to the public.[4]

Mr. Whiting, the author of the above, was soon to have his worry as to Schoolcraft's need of encouragement relieved, for late in the same year, 1847, Congress passed

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3. North American Review, Vol. LXIV, (April, 1847), p.296.

4. Ibid., p.296.

a bill which authorized Schoolcraft to begin writing a history of the American Indians. He was voted a sizeable grant of money by Congress and given "carte blanche" as to what to include in his work. Working under such instructions was exactly what Schoolcraft desired and he commenced his task with all his customary zeal. In order to be near to the headquarters of the Indian department, he moved from New York to Washington.[5]

The path to a successful consummation of his project was not an easy one. The initial appropriation was soon exhausted and Congress had to be petitioned more than once for additional sums. Charges were made that Schoolcraft was not accomplishing as much as he should. Such criticism, especially when it came from old friends like Francis Parkman, hurt. Parkman said, "I consider the work was quite inadequately done in view of the unusual facilities that were placed at his disposal."[6]

When the previous dependence of Parkman upon Schoolcraft for many details of Indian lore is noted, the above statement appears quite unkind.[7]

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5. Memoirs, p.xlvii.

6. The Americana, Vol. XXIV, p.393.

7. In Parkman's preface to his Conspiracy of Pontiac, he thanks Schoolcraft for contributing material. Likewise through the book there are numerous footnotes of material taken from Schoolcraft. Parkman also carried on an extensive correspondence with Schoolcraft through which he received a great deal of information from Schoolcraft's knowledge of the Indians.

There are many items in the Congressional Globe, and the Congressional Record, which show that the subject of Schoolcraft and his History of the Indian Tribes was frequently the business of the day on the floor of the House. For example, take this report of the proceedings of April 16, 1850:

> Mr. Sebastian submitted the following resolution, which was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to: Resolved, that the Committee on the Library inquire into the propriety of causing to be printed, in suitable form, the statistical information collected under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian affairs, in pursuance of special acts and appropriations for that purpose, and report.[8]

It is interesting to not that the Thirty-first Congress, in session during 1849, contained as a member, John L. Schoolcraft of New York. Lewis Cass was also a member.[9]

After one volume of Schoolcraft's work was off the press, a heated debate occurred in the House of Representatives as to the worth of continuing the project. According to the Globe, Mr. Dunham of Indiana said, "I move to strike out the clause of the bill for continuing the collection, and for publishing the statistics, and other information authorized by the act of the third of March, 1847, and subsequent acts, $17,000."[10]

In support of his motion, Mr. Dunham offered the following reasons:

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8. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXI, part 1, April 16, 1850, p.743.

9. Cass was a senator from Michigan.

10. Ibid., Vol. XXIV, part 2, March 27, 1852, pp.875-6.

> There has already been expended for the purpose for which this appropriation is asked, in 1847, $5,000, in 1849, $5,000, in 1850, $10,000, in 1851, $15,000 and they now ask for $17,000 more. They have but just begun the work. It is another of those publications fastened on Congress, and that go on increasing year after year like the Archives and various other works that have been published here.

With increasing vigor, Mr. Dunham mentioned the already printed first volume:

> The committee will recollect that the gentleman from Arkansas, but a little while ago, offered an amendment to reprint the first volume of this very work for distribution to the new members of Congress.

Then he attacks the work itself:

> Any gentleman who examines the work must say that it does not contain that kind of information that ought to be procured and published at the public expense, however valuable it may be as a literary work. Members of last congress, not here now, with volume I, will want volume II. This is another of those speculations which are becoming so common in this country.

As a final uncomplimentary comment on Schoolcraft's results, Dunham added:

> Why, Sir, you can go into half the book stores of the country and buy all the information at half the price.11

Such a slanderous remark brought Mr. Johnson of Arkansas to his feet with a defense of the appropriation and the work itself. For a few moments the debate waxed, as is customary in the halls of Congress, fast and furious:

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11. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXIV, pp.875-76.

Mr. Johnson, "Did the gentleman oppose it during the last congress?"

Mr. Dunham, "Most certainly I did."

Mr. Johnson, "Well, I suppose the gentleman took his book as a matter of course?"

Mr. Dunham, "To be sure I did, so did everyone else."

Mr. Johnson, "I took one, and I took it in obedience to the policy adopted by the act of 1847 that provided for the collection and publication of the history and statistics of this peculiar race and the distribution of them. The object is to preserve them, and hand them down to posterity. Sir, these works will furnish facts through ages to come, when not only shall we be gone and forgotten, but when, perhaps, there will be no rememberance that there ever was such a Congress as the thirty-second."

At this point Mr. Johnson was interrupted by Mr. Tuck of North Carolina, who asked, "Is the appropriation to pay for expenses already incurred, or for expenses to be incurred in the future?" He was replied to as follows:

Mr. Johnson, "I will thank Mr. Tuck to refrain from breaking into my train of remarks with irrevelant questions. The United States owes a debt to the land to preserve these statistics. Sir, there is no subject connected with our history, that will in future years be of deeper or more thrilling interest." 12

At this point in the debate, Mr. Venable gained the floor and delivered the following long speech:

"Mr. Chairman, not quite 300 years since, whitemen first placed foot upon this continent. Those then in possession have perished and passed away before his agressive march, like the snows before the rays of the sun. The memorials of a race, manly, fierce, and warlike, are fast fading away, and tradition becoming diluted with fabulous narrative, is losing all claims to credibility. In this state of things; our

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12. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXIV, pp.875-76.

> government directed by law that the remnants of these memorials be collected."

And then he gave this tribute to Schoolcraft:

> "To perform the work, one was selected whose personal knowledge of the peculiarities and the history of the Indian Race was combined with high literary attainments, and yet a higher moral qualification. A life spent in association with, and a profound sympathy for, the aborigines, qualified him to perform the task in a manner which commends his work to the confidence and admiration of the world; and by it the name of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft will descend to posterity, canonized as the friend and historian of a most interesting people." [13]

At the suggestion of Mr. Johnson, the House then passed the appropriation and Schoolcraft was thus enabled to continue work on his great project.

The magnitude of the History of the Indian Tribes in its final form is hard to realize unless the six massive volumes of it are actually examined. The following paragraph from the North American Review adequately describes the external appearance of this work:

> Each of these volumes is thirteen inches long, eleven broad, nearly three inches thick, and weighs exactly ten pounds; these volumes are as attractive in appearance as they are ponderous. All the resources of the paper-maker, the designer, and the engraver, have been lavished upon them. It is a luxury for the eye to rest upon the large expanse of their faultless pages, whose virgin whiteness is broken only by the firm impression of the well cut types, every letter standing out with as much clearness and precision as if engraved in agate. On the whole, the volumes are the most sumptuous that have yet appeared in our country, and their publication may fairly be said to form an era in the art of American bookmaking.[14]

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13. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXIV, pp.875-76.

14. North American Review, Vol. LXVII, July, 1853, p.245.

In the same article there is expressed considerable surprise that Congress was so liberal with Schoolcraft. As the author, Frank A. Bowen, states, similar projects such as that of Nicollet and Fremont, were allowed such scanty funds that their findings had to appear in the form of very dingy pamphlets.[15] In the words of Bowen:

> What lucky accident or skillful management has rescued Mr. Schoolcraft's Indian Researches from a similar fate, we cannot tell.[16]

Undoubtedly Schoolcraft's ready access to the public funds was due, not to luck, but to very skillful management and planning, both on his part and that of his influential friends.[17]

In the History of the Indian Tribes are collected a large amount of data about the Indians and much material that has little to do with the Indians. As in Schoolcraft's Memoirs, the facts are there, but the arrangement is poor. In this respect Parkman's criticism was well founded, even if in bad taste. Mention must be made, however, that Schoolcraft was forced through ill health, to delegate some of his work to assistants.

Frank A. Bowen's[18] criticism of the History of the Indian Tribes was extremely derogatory in tone. This passage, for instance, is typical:

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15. North American Review, Vol. LXXVII, p.247.

16. Ibid., p.245.

17. Especially Lewis Cass.

18. Bowen was the foremost critic of the N. A. Review.

> It contains little or nothing that is new, as a collection even of materials previously well known, it is very incomplete, and not even an attempt is made to systematize the information, or to deduce from it any general conclusions or theories which may throw light upon the ancient history of the Indian race, or the revolutions which it may have undergone.[19]

It also berates Schoolcraft for including such unrelated material as an essay on the gold deposits of California. The article with regard this is quite caustic:

> Of the whole essay, chapter, or section, whichever the author may please to call it, we may well say, "The thing itself is neither rich nor rare;" and when we find it interpolated into a huge volume about the native tribes of North America, we have no feeling "But wonder how the devil it got there."[20]

Mr. Bowen also takes exception to the inclusion of mineralogy:

> Next, in the order of or disorder of Mr. Schoolcraft's first volume is a section purporting to be "Mineralogical and Geographical Notices, denoting the value of aboriginal territory;" a magnificent title for a small collection of scraps, which appear to have been cut out of the newspapers, about tin on the Kansas river, lead ores in Wisconsin and Iowa, native silver in Michigan etc. The astonished reader may well ask, What has all this to do with the North American Indians?[21]

The six volumes of the History of the Indian Tribes are filled with pictures and engravings. In fact to one who examines the books today, they are, perhaps, the most striking feature. Most of the pictures were by Captain Eastman, of the United States Army, one of the foremost artists of his day. To Bowen, however, these numerous drawings were of little

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19. North American Review, Vol. LXXVII, p.247.

20. Ibid., p.248.

21. Ibid., p.249.

value. He says:

> Mr. Schoolcraft grossly exaggerates when he claims that this picture writing of the Indians is art. We find over one hundred pates, and about a score of colored engravings devoted to a detailed exposition and discussion of this profitless theme. Sheet after sheet, covered with sprawling outlines of man, bird, and beast, smeared with bright yellow or dirty red, add nothing to our knowledge of Indian character or Indian history.
>
> This whole series of plates, and the letter-press with which they are accompanied, might afford amusement to infants, but certainly could impart no instruction to a child five years old. Indeed, we are compelled to believe that one of the principal objects in getting up the work was to afford a profitable job to the engravers.[22]

In view of the fact that the North American Review was never illustrated, Bowen's criticism of Schoolcraft's profusely illustrated texts appears slightly prejudiced. Especially when he said:

> We are compelled to believe, in most of the cases, the text was written in order to illustrate the plates, instead of the plates being designed to elucidate the writer's meaning.[23]

Likewise the following remarks are similar in nature:

> Volume one seems order when compared with "the confusion worse confounded" of parts two and three. A reference, near or remote, to the North American Indians is generally perceptible, but not always. The whole work forms only a huge repertory, in which are jumbled together all the materials that the editor can lay his hands upon, letters from correspondents, abstracts of old books, vocabularies, statistics, any matter to illustrate a fine engraving, etc. Due to Schoolcraft's life and marriage, we were led

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22. North American Review, Vol. LXXVII, p.256.

23. Ibid., p.257.

> to expect some interesting traditions of the Indians. We were disappointed. The few legends and mythical stories that are narrated, seemed to have received so much factitious embellishment in the translation, that they throw little light upon the history or the intellectual habits of those among whom they originated.[24]

Included in the six volumes are many pages of tables that are merely outlines with no figures listed. It seemed that Schoolcraft had intended to fill these with vital statistics for all the tribes, but had gone no further than the Iroquois, which tribe, it will be remembered, he had studied extensively before.[25]

Bowen's estimation of Schoolcraft's accomplishment, or lack of accomplishment, is embodied in this summary:

> We have spoken very plainly, but not from any feeling of unkindness towards their author or editor, who has gained some reputation for his extensive acquaintance with Indian affairs, and some credit for his former publications. This is a work of lofty pretentions upon a matter of great interest to men of science. If allowed to go forth to the world unchallenged, it will be the means of casting a reproach upon American science. We have the highest authority for stating that Baron Humboldt[26] said it was a crude and worthless compilation, and his great surprise was that it was allowed to appear with the sanction of the United States government.[27]

Over and against this comment of Baron Humboldt can be balanced the constructive criticism of the celebrated and esteemed Chevalier Bunsen, who, in his Outlines of the

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24. North American Review, Vol. LXXVII, p.257.

25. Notes of the Iroquois, 1847.

26. Humboldt had visited Schoolcraft at Michilimackinack.

27. North American Review, Vol. LXXVII, p.262.

Philosophy of Universal History,[28] says this about Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes:

> It may fairly be said that by this great national and Christian undertaking, which realizes the aspirations of President Jefferson and carries out to their full extent the labours and efforts of a Secretary of the Treasury, the Hon. Albert Gallatin, the Government of the United States has done more for the antiquities and language of a foreign race than any European Government has hitherto done for the language of their ancestors. Certainly scarcely any single man has done more for collecting and digesting the materials than Mr. Schoolcraft, whose own observations and inquiries form the most important part of that publication.[29]

If that statement does not equalize the criticism of Bowen and Humboldt, the following remark of Bunsen's will:

> The History of the Indian Tribes by H. R. Schoolcraft is the most invaluable contribution to Universal History made in the nineteenth century.[30]

But what of Schoolcraft's work in the compiling of these monumental volumes? Did he merely use what material he had on hand, or was he forced to collect it in a difficult and painstaking manner? Judging from the following statement of Schoolcraft's it was most assuredly the latter:

> Owing to inherent difficulties the statistical inquiry has, from its inception, been one of "ora et labora". Both the Indian and the local officials have been either adverse to the object, imprecise in their statements, or generally indifferent to the investigation, but yet, notwithstanding every dis-

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28. Published in London, 1854.

29. Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, Vol. II, p.iii. Quoted in Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, Vol. II, p.1952.

30. Christianity and Mankind, London, 1854.

> couragement, the tables now submitted, which are the results of elaborate researches, are believed to be more accurate and comprehensive than any previously obtained.[31]

In the preface to the History of the Indian Tribes, Schoolcraft made some very favorable statements regarding the Indians. As he had been so close to the Indians for so many years, his statements about them carried considerable weight. Contrary to the popular supposition of considering the Aztecs of Mexico as having been the most cultured North American aboriginal race, is the following statement of Schoolcrafts:

> Compared to the Indian tribes that occupied the southern parts of the continent, the vesperic tribes were characterized by greater personal energy, manliness, eloquence, and power of thought. They were were remarkable for greater vigor of constitution and character than the southern tribes. Nationality had not exerted, as it did in the tropics, such impropitious influences on individuality. They were bold and free. Private and not municipal or public works absorbed their energies. No impersonal Inca had arisen to place on their necks the dynastic yoke of either ecclesiastical or civil despotism. The voluntary labor expended on the construction of an earth mound by the population of a village, and the compulsory toil exacted by the erection of a pyramid, are the examples of the two extremes of the Indian Polity.[32]

Schoolcraft also points out that the Northern Indians were even superior in culture and religion to the races of Asia:

> Horrific idols there were none. No victim of superstition plunged himself into a sacred stream; no widow sacrificed herself on the funeral pyre of her husband; no mother was the cruel murderess of her own female infant. The Great Spirit was adored as the

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31. Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, October 30, 1857.

32. History of the Indian Tribes, Vol. VI, preface.

> Giver and the Taker of life. Even their demi-gods, Manabozho, and Hiawatha, were the impersonations of kindness and benevolence, and were regarded as having come down among the human race, with the feelings of men, to teach them arts and knowledge.[33]

In reference to statements of Schoolcraft's similar to the above, Rusk, a twentieth century historian, says:

> Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, in his books primarily devoted to travel, seldom failed to include important digressions on antiquarian subjects. Much credit is due to this western ethnologist for opening up a new source for American poetry. Although incredulous in his attitude towards the work of contemporary antiquarians, Schoolcraft, nevertheless advanced theories of his own regarding the prehistoric Indians.[34]

Another statement of Rusk speaks of Schoolcraft as follows:

> He was attacked as the henchman of Governor Cass, and his books were ridiculed as the fruits of executive patronage; but it is certain that his equipment as a student and his opportunities as an observer, of Indian customs and folk lore were such as few writers on these subjects could boast.[35]

Most of Rusk's contemporaries in the field of American criticism take the same general view of the worth of Schoolcraft's work. They admit that his writings are valuable, even if somewhat crude and unpolished. Spiller says that Schoolcraft initiated the broader study of Indian culture, but also points out that many of his conclusions have since been proved erroneous, the chief mistake, being the confusion of Hiawatha and Manabozho.[36]

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33. History of the Indian Tribes, Vol. VI, preface.

34. R. L. Rusk, The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier, Vol. I, pp.241-42.

35. Ibid., p.242.

36. Robert E. Spiller, The Roots of National Culture to 1836, p.163.

W. B. Cairns, in his general history of American literature says this in a hasty treatment of Schoolcraft:

> Western writers give the material for history rather than the finished work. Schoolcraft was especially interested in Indian folk lore, and prepared two collections of tales. He also wrote a number of rather conventional poems on Indian subjects. The interest of his prose work lies chiefly in the subject matter, but his style is simple and usually adequate.[37]

The most appreciative treatment of Schoolcraft by any of the present day writers is that made by Keiser in his The Indian in American Literature. Keiser who made a thorough study of all early American writers who used the Indian as subject matter, states emphatically that it is certain that Longfellow would never have been able to write The Song of Hiawatha, if he had not had acess to Schoolcraft's Algic Researches.[38]

According to a theory advanced by Dondore, the pioneers of the West, or as she terms them, "the sons of the West", were motivated by a burning desire to make all other people realize the advantages possessed by the Western country.[39] Miss Dondore says that this avid feeling for their home regions resulted in the development of a rich sectional literature and that Schoolcraft, Timothy Flint, and Judge Hall were the leaders of the movement.[40]

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37. W. B. Cairns, A History of American Literature, p.373.

38. Albert Keiser, The Indian in American Literature, p.192.

39. D. A. Dondore, The Prairie and the Making of Middle America, p.206.

40. Ibid., p.207.

Little more need be said about Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes. Its six volumes repose on the shelves of many libraries, silent witnesses of a day long past, when the fast vanishing Indian and his culture was a subject of moment, not merely idle curiosity. Regardless of whether they are used much any more by the average reader, the History of the Indian Tribes remains the authoritative record book of the American Indian.[41]

41. A random examination of the books in the Indian collection of any fair sized library will show the frequency with which the authors of books about Indians consult Schoolcraft's great work. For example, all of the following books contain references from Schoolcraft: The Indian Miscellany, W. W. Beach, Albany, 1877. Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes Region, E. H. Blair, New York, 1911. North American Indians, George Catlin, London, 1876. The Mississippi River and Its Wonderful Valley, Julius Chambers, New York, 1910. The Indian Fairy Book, F. Choates, New York, 1916. The Indian Today, Charles A. Eastman, New York, 1915. Historic Michigan, George N. Fuller, New York, 1924. Travels Among the Northern Indians, Thomas L. McKenney, New York, 1846, Historic Mackinac, E. O. Wood, New York, 1918.

CHAPTER XII

THE SONG OF HIAWATHA

A treatment of Schoolcraft's life must certainly include a least a cursory discussion of Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha, because it is in connection with this poem that the mention of Schoolcraft's name occurs most frequently today.

The North American Review welcomed Longfellow's new poem in the following manner:

> The old favorite has sung us his new song. He has broken the silence of four years. He has lighted up the old legends, he has given zest and voice to them quite new.
>
> We could not have written a better Indian poem and we do not think Mr. Longfellow could, and we do not think anybody else could.[1]

Because of the following statement of Longfellow's, there has never been any doubt as to the source of his material:

> I pored over Mr. Schoolcraft's writings nearly three years, before I resolved to appropriate something of them to my own use.[2]

Consequently the adverse critics have had to content themselves with suggesting that the metre scheme of the Song of Hiawatha was plagiarized from the Finnish epic, Kalevala,[3] and

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1. "The Song of Hiawatha", North American Review, Vol. LXXXII, p.272, (January, 1856).

2. Albert Keiser, The Indian in American Literature, p.192.

3. Ibid., p.193.

with discovering that Schoolcraft, in unwittingly confusing a Chippewa deity and an Iroquois chieftain, had led Longfellow to make the same error.[4]

In spite of such minor flaws, however, Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha achieved such a success[5] that Schoolcraft was encouraged to put out a new edition of his Algic Researches under the title The Myth of Hiawatha.[6] Putnam's Magazine reviewed its publication in the following:

> There is getting to be a Hiawatha literature, as there is a Shakespearian and Goethean. But none of the works occasioned by that American epic are so permanently valuable as The Myth of Hiawatha and oral legends of the North American Indians, collected by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. This volume is a reproduction of the Algic Researches with additions and revisions, and must always be regarded as having a high place in our literature. In this collection and in the poem Hiawatha, the Indian tradition will be preserved and perpetuated. We shall never know much of the Indians. Cooper leads us all astray with his Adonis, Uncas. Mr. Schoolcraft knows more about them than anyone else, and their mythologic and allegoric traditions, as he heard them from themselves, he has given us in this volume.[7]

In another article in Putnam's Magazine the relationship of Schoolcraft's writings to Longfellow's Hiawatha, is shown:

> The accentuation of the Indian syllable is so marked, that they lend themselves to the metrical forms of the Greeks more fitly than those of any living European tongue. Such hexameters, make a poet wish to develop the musical wealth of the Indian languages.

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4. Stith Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha" PMLA, Vol. XXXVII, March, 1922, pp.129-37.

5. Keiser, The Indian in American Literature, p.193.

6. Published by J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1856.

7. Putnams' Monthly Magazine, Vol. VIII, July, 1856, pp.103-4.

> A mine, too, almost unwrought, of legends and traditions, exists in the results of the researches that have been made, but recently, into the history of the tribes, and particularly by Mr. Schoolcraft.[8]

The article continues with the following:

> Mr. Longfellow, who, as all his friends know, is a most diligent worker and an assiduous student, has ransacked the pages of Schoolcraft and weighed the Indian words, and now after two years comparatively barren, he comes to us again with a poem of three hundred pages entitled the Song of Hiawatha. And, pray, who was Hiawatha? Hiawatha was the Manco Capac, the Cadmus, the Cecrops, of the North American Indians. He was known among the tribes by various names, of which Hiawatha was by far the most agreeable.[9]

Schoolcraft was well pleased that Longfellow had used his Algic Researches as the raw material of Hiawatha. On December 19, 1855, he wrote to the poet:

> Dear Sir: I have received the copy of Hiawatha with which you have favored me, and have read the poem with equal avidity and high gratification. One of the great faults of authors; it appears to me, has been the treating of the Indian as a stoic through every scene, thus disconnecting him from human sympathies. The Indian must be treated as he is. He is simple as a child, yet with the dignity of a man in his wigwam. There has been no attempt, my dear sir, before Hiawatha, to show this.[10]

In addition to his private expression of approval to Longfellow, Schoolcraft publicly commended him in an open letter prefixed as a foreword to his The Myth of Hiawatha, the revised

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8. Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. VI, pp.578-81.

9. Ibid., p.581.

10. Samuel Longfellow, Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Boston, 1887, p.45.

edition of his Algic Researches. It states:

> Permit me to dedicate to you, this volume of Indian myths and legends, derived from the story-telling circle of the native wigwams. That they indicate the possession of mental resources, by the Vesperic tribes, of a very characteristic kind, furnishing, in fact, a new point from which to judge the race, and to excite intellectual sympathies, you have most felicitously shown in your poem of Hiawatha.[11]

From the evidence presented, the close relationship of Longfellow's Hiawatha and Schoolcraft's writings must be clear. Regardless of the relative merits of the two writers, their names will always be associated when the subject at hand is Indian legends.[12]

> Should you ask me, whence these stories
>
> Whence these legends and traditions?
>
> I should answer, I should tell you:-
>
> "From the forests and the prairies
>
> From the great lakes of the Northland,
>
> From the land of the Ojibways." [13]

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11. Dedicatory foreword to Myth of Hiawatha, 1856

12. Historic Michigan, Vol. I, p.401, states: In the realm of poetry, Hiawatha becomes one of Michigan's honored citizens. In Mackinack Island and Sault Ste. Marie, p. 167, is the statement that a drama of Hiawatha was presented for several summers at Point Kensington near Sault Ste. Marie by a group of Indians, some of whom were descendants of Shinwaukance, who gave the story to Schoolcraft. On one occasion the play was repeated for the especial benefit of twelve members of the Longfellow family who were summering in the north.

13. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Song of Hiawatha.

CHAPTER XIII

C O N C L U S I O N

The story of Schoolcraft's life after 1841, the year he left Michilimackinack[1] and returned to the east, is quickly told. His numerous and voluminous publications that have been discussed in the previous chapters of this work indicate to what use he made of his time. A few important incidents, however, merit further attention.

In 1846, the College of Geneva conferred upon Schoolcraft the degree of LL. D.[2]

During the same year he received word from Sault Ste. Marie that his brother James had been murdered by John Tanner.[3] This happening takes on new meaning in view of the following entry in Schoolcraft's Memoirs:

> July 31, 1838. While at Sault St. Marie, John Tanner followed me one day unperceived into a canoe-house, where I had gone alone. Lifting my eyes to meet his glance, I perceived mischief in their cold, malicious, bandit air, and, looking him determinedly in the eyes, and instantly raising my heavy walking-cane, confronted him with the declaration of his secret purpose with a degree of decision which caused him to step away and leave the premises.[4]

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1. Memoirs, p.702.
2. Ibid., pxlii.
3. Ibid., p.601, footnote.
4. Ibid., p.601.

Tanner's history is interesting:

> He had been stolen by the Indians when a mere boy. He grew into manhood and learned the arts of hunting from the Indians on the Red river in the Hudson Bay region. He came to Mackinack with traders in 1825. He could not tolerate whites, but became U. S. interpreter at Mackinack. The elements of his mind were morose, sour, suspicious, antisocial, revengeful, and bad.[5]

According to an early resident[6] of Sault Ste. Marie, Tanner killed James Schoolcraft for taking improper liberties with one of his daughters. After the murder Tanner fled to the woods and was never seen again.[7]

In 1847, Henry Schoolcraft married Miss Mary Howard of South Carolina. She was a very talented and a very well educated woman.[8] In later years, when, on account of a stroke of paralysis, Schoolcraft became confined to a wheel chair, she did practically all of his revising and copying for the press.[9]

In view of the large appropriations of money that Schoolcraft directed the spending of when he was compiling the History of the Indian Tribes, the following reports of what

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5. Memoirs, pp.315-16.

6. Ann Adam, "Early days at Red River Settlement" Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. VI, p.114.

7. A skeleton near a gun, identified as Tanner's was found in the woods many years later. Still later, however, an army officer from Fort Brady confessed that he had killed James Schoolcraft for making advances to his wife and had then killed and burned the body of John Tanner in order to pin the murder of Schoolcraft upon Tanner.

8. Memoirs, p.xlvii.

9. Ibid., p.xlvii.

transpired in the United States Senate on January 19, 1859, are interesting:

> Mr. Sebastian, "There is a bill for the relief of Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft that has just passed the House of Representatives now lying on the Secretary's table. I hope I shall be indulged by the senate in taking up that bill, and passing it now. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate for that purpose.[10]

There was no objection and the bill passed without amendment. It provided the following:

> The Secretary of the Interior shall issue a copyright to Mrs. H. R. Schoolcraft, securing to her, her heirs, assigns and legal representatives, the exclusive right to republish the book entitled The History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, heretofor published under the order of Congress.
>
> The Secretary of the Interior shall also transfer and deliver to her all the plates, the property of the United States, used in the printing of this book. This is to be accepted in full satisfaction of all manner of claim for compensation for work, time or money, expended in the collection of materials for the book, by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.[11]

A week later the bill became official when as is recorded in the following:

> The message from the House further announced that the President of the United States had approved and signed on the 25th instant, the following acts and joint resolution: An act for the relief of Mrs. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.[12]

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10. Congressional Record, Thirty-fifth Congress (1858-59), p.511.

11. Ibid., p.511.

12. Ibid., p.621.

Possessed of the necessary plates and manuscript, Schoolcraft and his wife were able to publish as a private venture, in 1860, an edition of the History of the Indian Tribes.[13] It proved to be Schoolcraft's last publication. Rapidly failing health during the next few years soon forced him to stop writing.

He died in Washington on December 10, 1864.[14]

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13. Published by J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia.

14. The New York Evening Post (December 14, 1864) said: "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft died at Washington on Saturday, last, in his seventy-first year. Mr. Schoolcraft besides being an active explorer and a diligent antiquary, had devoted considerable attention to the more poetical aspects of aboriginal life. His "Indian Legends" are charmingly written, and have furnished Longfellow with the themes of several of his admired verse. By the death of Mr. Schoolcraft, American literature has lost a shining light."

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY OF SCHOOLCRAFT'S LIFE

1793

Born March 28, Hamilton, Albany County, New York State.

1808

Formed a village literary society. Began writing poetry.

1809

Travelled to Utica. Had his first contact with Indians.

1810

Attended Union College.

1813

Supervised the construction of various glass works in New England. Attended Middlebury College "ex academia".

1816

Began writing a work on vitreolgy.

1817

Travelled extensively through western New York.

1818

Journeyed down the Ohio. Explored the Missouri Ozarks.

1819

Published A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri.

1820

Accompanied General Cass on an expedition to Lake Superior.

1821

Published Journal of Travel to the Northwest Regions.
Explored the Wabash, DesPlaines, and Illinois rivers.

1822

Appointed Indian Agent for the Northwest frontier. Took up residence at Sault Ste. Marie.

1823

Married Miss Jane Johnston of Sault Ste. Marie.

1824

Started to collect Indian legends. Became the father of a son.

1825

Visited New York and Washington. Planned an Indian magazine. Went with Cass to Prairie de Chien. Published Travels in the Central Mississippi Valley.

1826

Went to Fond Du Lac to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. Wrote the Man of Bronze, and several other essays.

1827

Published Rise of the West. Travelled to Green Bay to sign the treaty of Butte des morts. Suffered the loss of his son. Became the father of a daughter.

1828

Became a member of the Michigan Territorial legislature. Organized the Historical Society of Michigan. Refused a position with the United States South Seas Expedition.

1830

Delivered several lectures before the Historical Society of Michigan. Published Indian Melodies, a group of poems.

1831

Travelled extensively in the regions southwest of Lake Superior. Is threatened with death by John Tanner.

1832

Discovered Lake Itasca, the actual source of the Mississippi river. Organized the Algic Society.

1833

Moved from Sault Ste. Marie to Michilimackinack. Published Narrative of an Expedition to Lake Itasca.

1834

Delivered an address before the Algic Society at Detroit. Published the Man of Bronze, and Iosco, poems.

1835

Travelled to New York, Washington, and Philadelphia. Continued contributing to various magazines.

1836

Acted as superintendent of Indian affairs at Detroit.

1837

Appointed as Regent of the University of Michigan. Elected president of the Michigan Historical Society.

1838

Prepared his collection of Indian legends for publication.

1839

Published Algic Researches.

1840

Returned to Michilimackinack from Detroit.

1841

Moved from Michilimackinack to New York City. Helped to establish the American Ethnological Society.

1842

Journeyed to Europe. Death of wife occured during his absence. Travelled in Virginia, Ohio, and Canada.

1843

Published Alhalla, or the Lord of Talleqeda, a poem.

1845

Appointed as a historian of the Iroquois tribe.

1846

Published Plan for Investigation of American Ethnology, and The Siege of Fort Stanwix. Awarded degree of LL. D. by Geneva College.

1847

Published Notes of the Iroquois. Married Miss Mary Howard of South Carolina. Was authorized by Congress to compile a history of the American Indians. Moved from New York to Washington.

1848

Re-issued the Oneota papers as The Indian in his Wigwam. Published Outlines of the Life of General Cass.

1851

Published Personal Memoirs of Thirty Years on the Frontier, also first volume of Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge.

1852

Published second volume of the Archives.

1854

Published third and fourth volumes of the Archives, also a new edition of The Discovery of Lake Itasca.

1855

Published the fifth volume of the Archives. Re-issued the Algic Researches as the Myth of Hiawatha.

1857

Published the sixth and last volume of the Archives.

1860

Published as a private venture an edition of the Archives under the title of History of the Indian Tribes, etc.

1864

Died December 10, in Washington, D. C.

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