

Journal of An Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834

By Jackson Kemper, D.D.¹

¹ Jackson Kemper, D. D., was born at Pleasant Valley, Dutchess county, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1789. His grandfather (born at Caub, on the Rhine) had been an officer in the army of the Palatine, and emigrated to America in 1741, soon after settling in Dutchess county; his son, Daniel Kemper (father of our diarist), was a colonel in the Revolutionary army. The future bishop (baptized David Jackson, but later dropping the first name) was graduated from Columbia college in 1809, as valedictorian of his class. As soon as he had reached the canonical age of 21 (in 1811), he was ordained deacon in Philadelphia, and became assistant to Bishop White, having charge of three parishes in that city—a position held till June, 1831, a period of twenty years; he had been ordained priest in 1814. In vacation periods (1812, 1814, 1819, and 1820), he served as border missionary, doing excellent work for the church in the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and eastern Ohio. In June, 1831, he became rector at Norwalk, Conn., there losing his second wife (Nov., 1832); his first wife, Jerusha Lyman, of Philadelphia, had lived but two years after their marriage in 1816; the second, Ann Relf, also of Philadelphia, he married in October, 1821—she left a daughter and two sons. In 1834, he undertook for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a trip to Wisconsin, to report on the establishment founded by Rev. Richard F. Cadle, the record of which is contained in the present journal. At the general convention of the American church, in 1835, Dr. Kemper was elected its first missionary bishop, his field being the "Northwest," out of which have since been formed the dioceses of Missouri, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. Early in the winter of 1835, he reached St. Louis, which was his headquarters—he can scarcely be said at that time to have had a home, and indeed throughout much of the remainder of his life he wandered far and wide upon his laborious mission; "his saddle-bags contained his worldly goods,—his robes, his communion service, his Bible, and his prayer-book." He removed his headquarters to Wisconsin in the autumn of 1844, purchasing lands adjacent to the newly-founded church institution at Nashotah; here, in a humble cottage, he gathered his children to him, the first time since the old home had been broken up in 1832. In 1854, he was elected bishop of Wisconsin, but still insisted on remaining a missionary, and for four years thereafter traveled much in Indian Territory and Kansas. He died May 24, 1870, in the 81st year of his age, and was deeply mourned by his people throughout the country, especially in the West.

In publishing the diary of Dr. Kemper, on his visit to Wisconsin in 1834,—previous to his consecration as missionary bishop of the Northwest,—we have deemed it best to eliminate some portions as being of too private a nature for publication here; otherwise, however, the journal is given exactly as in the original note-book before us. The entries were written in lead pencil, now somewhat blurred in places, and evidently always in a hurry—hence the numerous contractions and often jerky style; but despite these, this journal is of great value as a contemporaneous picture of the times, and forms an interesting contribution to the existing material for Wisconsin history. All of the bishop's journals, covering a period from 1834 to about 1850, are the property of his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Kemper Adams, of Nashotah, who has temporarily deposited

1834 July 3d. Started for Green Bay from home soon after 9. Conversation with Lownsbury conc[erning] Abbott. at New York (say 55 miles) by 2. at Dr. Milnor's² met Van Pelt³ at Swords. Recd from Blake letters etc & a bundle for the Cadles. Started at 5 in Ohio crowded boat—introduced to Col. Stone & wife, ed. of N. York Commercial. Saw Rev Mr Nichols at boat. Poor berth—little sleep—bad arrangement of captain

4. Boots cleaned very near us. at 2 oc[lock]—little boy dressed up in full costume of a highlander. At Albany, 145 miles by 7 oc[lock] breakfast at Crittendens, Eagle tavern. Started at 9 in railroad cars 15 miles to Schenectady at ½ past 10 Gen. Stevenson & Major Tuttle on car. 15 miles. Waited here some time & then started in a stage most heavily loaded with mail bags—with Major Kirby of Brownsville, Prof. Beauford of West Point & M [George W.] Lay & wife of Batavia, member of Congress.

7 started at ½ past 4—this an uninteresting country—a poor breakfast at Genesee falls—— miles—then—— miles to Geneva on its beautiful lake. Canandaigua lake yet more beautiful. Cayuga & Geneva lakes 40 miles long Mr Lay's statements of slavery in the district—3 Talbooths, he implored to purchase a man & his family. A rich man 7 miles from Washington

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sale of slaves—of own children—of dgs [daughters] for licentiousness—Plummers purchase Afternoon very hot. Mrs Davis from Liberia in stage—her story doubtful. Mr Snow & two ladies. Heard that Goold Hoyt & family at Avon, arrived at Le Roy near 8 oc[lock].

8 Started early from Le Roy Story of Mrs. Davis not very consistent—the landlord refused to take any money for her.

the most of them in the archives of this Society. We hope, in later volumes of these Collections, to present further installments thereof. In the *Nashotah Scholiast*, Dec., 1883-July, 1884, were published such extracts from the Kemper diaries (years 1841-49) as touched upon the beginnings of Nashotah; in the same journal, Oct., 1884-June, 1885, were given extracts covering some of the bishop's missionary trips in the southwest (1837-38). The present journal of 1834 has not heretofore been printed.

² Rev. James Milnor, D. D., of New York, one of the trustees of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was Kemper's companion on this trip.

³ Rev. Peter Van Pelt, secretary of the D. & F. M. Society.

An inhabitant of Le Roy in the stage with us who affirmed that the Jackson, but not Jackson Van Buren party was increasing in his & the neighboring counties. He thinks the opposition to the Bank in this part of the State is likewise on the increase

10 Slept but little last night, owing I think to pain in the stomach from drinking too much water in consequence of the heat. Rose early & wrote to Lilly, Jane,⁴ & Ingrahim for whom I will leave 8 dollars to be laid out in specimens & an herbarium for the children. Called after breakfast on Rev Mr Shelton & at the post office, but no letter. We started at 9 in the Michigan,⁵ 470 tons built at Detroit & made there except the cylinders, travels generally 12 miles per hour, but today, owing to head wind did not go so fast. Has two engines each 80 horse power. Dr. Milnor] & I have berths N° 1 & 2, we each pay to Green Bay 25 dollars. AD upper deck extends the whole length of the boat affording a fine promenade. The boat is by no means crowded, about ½ are steerage passengers. The meals are very good, there was no drinking at table or sitting after dinner was over. Dinner at 1 & tea at 5. About 6 we stopt at Erie & landed a few passengers. The light houses & harbour. The place appears inferior to B. [Buffalo]. We have onboard Mr & Mrs Wadsworth & Miss Fisher, Gov Clark,⁶ Gen Ashley⁷ of St Louis & lady, Mr & Mrs [Daniel] Whitney of Green Bay, the Drs nephew, Hoffman, St. Clair, Murray of New York, Dr. Beaumont⁸ &c. Dr. B. states the natural temperature of stomach to be 100.

⁴ Dr. Kemper's three motherless children, Elizabeth (then aged 10), Samuel (aged 7), and Lewis (aged 5), were at Norwalk, Conn., in charge of their maternal grandmother, Mrs. Relf. Elizabeth is referred to in the diary by the pet names, "Lill" and "Lilly;" she now resides at Nashotah, the widow of Rev. Dr. William Adams, one of the founders of Nashotah House. Samuel Relf Kemper is now living in Milwaukee. Rev. Lewis Ashhurst Kemper, D. D., died in 1886. Col. Daniel Kemper, father of our diarist, was then living at New Brunswick, N. J., with his two unmarried daughters, Jane and Eliza; the former is the "Jane" here referred to.

⁵ The same boat on which Captain Marryat sailed, three years later.

⁶ Gen. William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and associated with Capt. Merriwether Lewis in the Rocky Mountain expedition of 1801. At this time (1834) he was superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. He died in 1838.

⁷ Gen. William H. Ashley (born about 1778, died 1838) had been an enterprising fur-trader, who in 1822 organized a company of 300 men which conducted trade with the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. He retired with a fortune, and at this period (1834) represented Missouri in congress.

⁸ Dr. William Beaumont was an army surgeon. While stationed at Mackinac in 1822, he was called to treat a young man named Alexis St. Martin, who had received a gunshot wound in his left side. The wound healed, but there remained a fistulous opening into the stomach, two and a half inches in diameter, through which Beaumont could watch the process of digestion. His experiments regarding the digestibility of different kinds of foods, and the properties of the gastric juice, were continued through several years—

His description of his patient & the interior of his stomach. Mrs. A. a descendent of Pocahontas. The Holland land company purchased Rob[ert] Morris' preemption right⁹ to 3 ½ miles of acres, being the N. W. corner of the State—belonged to Senecas, which include Cattaragus, Buffalos &c. A black eagle on board as large as a turkey & only a month old. A band of music. Brilliant sunset. New Moon & venus. Water ruffled all day, but now very quiet. Appearance of deck in the evening. The band consists of six Learnt the other day from Major Kirby that he knows of two most promising officers & good. scholars, who were the sons of privates, taken up & prepared by officers & then sent to West Point This fact is a proof that it is not an aristocratic institution. Buffalo had 9 years ago 6,000, now 12,000 inhabitants. Chautauqua Lake 15 miles from Dunkirk is 726 feet above lake Erie.

11. I find there is already a map of Chicago. There is to be on the British side of the falls a city to be called the City of the Falls. We have on board about 60 cabin & 70 steerage passengers—the latter have the full privilege of the decks, there are among them several families with children—all of them slept on the deck. I walked thro them after 10 oc[lock] They pay 1.00 to Detroit & find themselves. This morning at ½ past 4 we left Fairport on Grand river where we were detained some time taking on wood. I slept but little, the rolling or rather pitching of the boat & the constant jar caused by the machinery near to wh[ich] our berths are kept me awake or at least caused me often to rouse up.

Conversed with Gen Ashley he was anxious a strip of land say 30 miles wide sh[oul]d separate the Indians in their new settlements from the whites, this has not been done & the settlers are already doing injury—he hopes it still may be. All the Indians S of the Missouri & W of the Miss are if possible to be gathered there, that at least is the design of Government. Gen A. has never been to the Pacific, but to the great salt lake between the Colorado of the West wh[ich] empties into the Gulf of California & the Columbia. Many rivers pour into the salt lake. West of it for 80 miles the land is barren & encrusted with salt. The Buffalo are not yet so far W. In Gen Clarks times (his travels, he is now on board a stout, white haired man) they had not reached the Rocky Mountains. 80 miles from Salt lake is a chain of mountains covered almost the whole year with

indeed, until Beaumont's death (1853); but the first publication of results was made in 1833, and at once gave Beaumont an international reputation among scientists. Through several years, Beaumont (who resigned from the army in 1839) was stationed at Fort Crawford, where many of his experiments were conducted.

⁹ For particulars of the disposition of "Morris's Reserve," see Turner's *History of the Holland Purchase* (Buffalo, 1850), pp. 396 et seq.

snow. The Gen[eral] had in that country 200 hunters & 700 horses The most valuable skin is the beaver Some of the hunters have been in that country 9 years & will never return There small tribes of Indians are to be found. Some are very remarkable, living on roots, going naked &c for instance the black feet. Ashleys company do not purchase from the Indians but obtain the skins by their own hunting. In August 3 men & 7 horses loaded with hay &c crossed the mountains spoken of & were almost starved; 4 of the horses died & the stout men & the rest of the horses were reduced to skeletons.

At Cleveland after breakfast walked thro the town, delivered letters went to the Canal which] commences here. This place increasing rapidly. Now perhaps 3000 inha[bitant]s, doubled in 2 or 3 yrs. The trade of the lake has increased 15 fold in the last 6 years. No good harbours on this lake. This, & Buffalo, Erie & Huron artificial.

Dr Beaumont on board—his book, bot it at Cleveland

At Huron between 3 & 4, a small & very new place, but increasing

Looked over our papers. We shall have much to do. Whitney on board has at least kind feelings towards Williams,¹⁰ & thinks the school shd not be removed from Green Bay & that it is near enough to the Indians

Talked with Gen Clark concerning his Tour, 30 yrs since, when Louisiana was ceded to U. S. Talked with Mrs. A conc[erning] Chaderton & religion. Does not know C. but respects him—has a pew in his ch. Spoke well of Howly.

My map very good & much used. At Huron went S. part of lake, then came to bay of Sandusky, Croghans scene of victory.¹¹ Then nearly N. W. passed Cunningham's Island, then 3 Bass Islands, in the S of wh is put in Bay where Perry was when he heard the British had sailed. Then the 3 sisters, near the middle of wh the Battle took place.¹² Beautiful sunset but not so brilliant as last night. Emotions of awe, gratitude & praise. Approaching Detroit river. Many of those who thought of going on will leave us at Detroit. A son of Charles King, an engineer on board from Cleveland, intelligent. Maumee river near the end of the lake. Expect to be

¹⁰ Eleazer Williams, who in 1826 had been admitted to deacon's orders in the P.E. church, and was at this time serving as missionary to the Oneida Indians, under license from the D. & F. M. Society. He was, however, looked upon askance by many of the officers of the church. This was several years before Williams posed as the dauphin of France. For a clear and conclusive account of Williams's singular career, see Wright's "Eleazer Williams," *Parkman Club Pubs.*, i, pp. 133 et seq.

¹¹ Aug. 1 and 2, 1813, Col. George Croghan gallantly defended Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, against a superior force under the British General Proctor.

¹² Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's celebrated victory at Put-in-bay was won Sept. 15, 1813.

at Detroit at midnight. Care of the sick Englishman a coppersmith, gave him 1.00

12 I walked the deck again last night & saw the people sleeping there but not so many as the night before. About 11 oc[lock] the boat arrived at Detroit & was immediately visited by many of its inhabitants, the meeting of friends was loud & boistrous & much drinking apparently & some swearing took place. I was in my first slumber & was greatly disturbed. At half past 3 I again awoke in consequence of loud talking. The river appeared about a mile wide, two steam ferry boats are constantly crossing & re-crossing, the banks were bold, perhaps 20 feet high. Learnt from Gov Clarke that Gen Rullon¹³ on board & now an inhabitant of St. Louis, was born & brot up near Detroit, & in the last war had his wife & children murdered by the Indians. This is his first visit here for 18 yrs. Gov C. thinks Hull was not a coward but was afraid for the peoples sake of the cruelty of the Indians. Many however think Hull was overcome by fear. Mr. Whipple says he knows he turned pale while the tobacco juice ran out of both corners of his mouth when the force of the enemy was mentioned.

After breakfast Dr. M. & myself walked to Mr. Searles,¹⁴ who recd us very aff [ab]ly. He keeps bachelors hall and has two men servants. We walked out with him to Judge—— Mr. [John] Biddies, Trowbridges, the cathedral, Pres minister, Major Whitney, Norvels &c. Mr. [Charles C.J Trowbridge, Mr. Whittier, [John] Norvel &c called upon us. Saw Mr. [Stevens T.] Mason Sec. of Territory & acting Gov in consequence of death of Gov [George B.] Porter buried last week. A long broad street forms the principal part of the town. 6 yrs. ago it had 2500 inhbs, now 6 [thousand]. Value of property & no [number] inhabs increasing rapidly. Founded in 1607,¹⁵ improved however but little until lately. The inhabs quite polished. The ch[urch] is enlarging & now cannot be used. All we have seen speak highly of Cadle¹⁶ & were delighted with Bp McIlvaine's¹⁷ visit. Saw some Potawatamies, a few were gaily dressed & painted, but most of them looked wretched & poorly clothed. We dined with Mr. Searle & took tea with Mr. Trowbridge. Politeness & hospitality with city

¹³ Apparently John Ruland, who was a Detroit volunteer under Governor Cass, in 1814.

¹⁴ Rev. Addison Searle was then rector of St. Paul's church, the first P. E. parish in Detroit.

¹⁵ A slip on the part of our diarist. Detroit was established by Cadillac in 1701.

¹⁶ Rev. Richard Fish Cadle, whose missionary establishment at Green Bay, Kemper and Milnor were going to inspect and report upon, had organized the parish of St. Paul's in Detroit, Nov. 22, 1824, and remained in charge until June, 1828, when he left because of failing health, and assumed the care of the Green Bay mission.

¹⁷ Dr. C. P. McIlvaine, bishop of Ohio.

manners are evident every where. Rode up & down the river saw some ancient mounds, had a beautiful view of the city & went to Pontiac's or bloody bridge.¹⁸ The Indians we saw live on the American side but go over occasionally to Maiden to receive presents. The french Canadians do not change their habits. Their farms consist of long strips of land thus enabling them to reside near each other in case of danger. The R[oman] Cath[olic]s are making great efforts here with respect to colleges & schools. They have a B[ishop] & 8 or 9 clergy. A lady says 13 years ago she saw one of their processions—but they do not take place now—it was the Fete de Dieu.¹⁹ Dr. M says that in France the farms are long and narrow with no fences or hedges dividing them or even securing them from the road. A traveller told Dr. M. he once saw an old woman tending a goose, while it was feeding.

There is a beautiful wide straight street called Jefferson parallel with banks of the river where most of the houses are to be found.

13 Sunday. This day has been very warm, particularly during the afternoon. We returned to the boat last eveng soon after 9 oclock] & I took the first opportunity of going to bed. But I am told the boat did not start until near morning. We passed thro Detroit river into St. Clair Lake & then entered St Clair river & stopt soon after 9 at the Warner Hotel of W. Hall for wood. Here we were detained some hours & in the mean time we had Public Worship in the Gents Cabin, I read all the service omitting the Articles on account of the few who assisted us & the heat, & Dr. M preached. The R. C. Bp Resè²⁰ was on board but neither he nor the R. Cs attended our Service. Indeed I think that many who would call themselves Prot[estant]s absented themselves. The River St. Clair has many clearings & houses on both its banks, wh are rather level—the land on the American side is said to be the best. We passed one or two log villages, one a country town of Michigan. The current as we approached Lake Huron became strong & at the extreme of the lake is said to be 7 miles in an hour. On the British side about a mile below fort Gratiot we passed a Missionary establishment erected within two years by the British Government]. Major Forsyth²¹ says for the benefit of the Chippeways. There were log huts along the bank for the residence of the parents, a large school house,

¹⁸ See Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, i, pp. 310 et seq., for description of the fight, July 31, 1763, at the bridge over Parent's Creek, ever since called Bloody Run.

¹⁹ For account of French Creole life at Detroit, consult Hubbard's *Memorials of a half century* (N. Y., 1887).

²⁰ Frederick Resé, newly-appointed bishop of the R. C. diocese of Michigan Territory; he was on his way to visit the church at Green Bay. See frequent references to him, *ante*, in documents relating to the Green Bay Catholic church.

²¹ Maj. Robert A. Forsyth, army paymaster.

teachers residence &c. The Rev Mr Jones is the superintendent. Fort Gratiot has 2 comps of infantry under Major Hoffman,²² whose wife & youngest son about 7 came on board. Mrs. H. goes with us to Macanaw to visit a married dg [daughter]—she looks old and has it is said 12 or 14 chldn—her husband has spent his life in the army. There was no appearance of cannon at the fort—the buildgs were enclosed with palasadoes & white washed. The flag was flying. We stopt in the stream & sent our boat ashore. Here the rapid current, the fort, entrance into the Bay &c presented a beautiful view. We could not on account apparently of the heat get the people to request a sacred service. We have now 120 cords of wood & some coal wh will not do much more than carry us to Mac. 240 Miles. This boat requires 100 cords wood from Buffalo to Detroit. We now do not expect to stop until we reach Mac, & when opposite Saganaw Bay, tonight, we shall be out of sight of land. Major F. has examined my Canada Map & pronounces it very incorrect with respect to the neighbourhood of Mac & Green Bay. There are two Potawatomie chiefs on board dressed pretty much like english servants (a little livery). All the lands of the Pots are sold to gov. & they are under obligation to remove beyond the Miss within 5 yrs of the signing of their treaty. But some who are R. C. [Roman Catholics] are [going] with the Bp. to examine the land at Arbre Crux [l'Arbre Croche]²³ & have permission from Gov. to settle here if they choose. The Leopold foundation it is said sent 25,000[dollars] to Ohio & 20,000 to Michigan²⁴ Bp. R has enlarged his Cathedral an odd looking cupola with 5 porches & is to build a college 3 miles above Detroit. They have a nunnery & opened last winter a school with public promises of not interfering with the religious principles of Prots. Many Episc[opalians] sent their children.

Dr M's story of Capt Kerr & the Abbott in Spain. Lent some books of a religious nature. Gen. [Hugh] Brady on board. An intelligent amiable man. Has a company in Maine, 2 at Gratiot others at Mas & the Saut [Ste Marie]—visits them yearly. Lives at Detroit.

14. We had a beautiful eveng last night, the moon about a week old. No clouds, venus bright, the air cool. Soon after entering the Lake, indeed from fort Gratiot, the steam was put on & we travelled at the rate of 12 miles an hour. One man appeared to be constantly employed in pouring

²² Brev. Maj. William Hoffman of the 2d infantry.

²³ Now Harbor Springs, Mich., where the Franciscans have a strong Indian school.

²⁴ Father Francois Hätscher, who was on his way to Green Bay about this time, was a priest of the Congregation of St. Leopold. See his statement of the purposes of the association, *ante*, pp. 189, 190.

water on the beams &c sometimes with a hose, & then with a bucket, & sometimes oil to keep them cool & make them work well. Went to bed with some anxiety from fire, slept badly, rose at 4, on deck soon, no land to be seen, approach Saginaw bay 60 miles deep & where a wind is almost always felt, but now we had nothing particular. Came to thunder bay isle on wh there is a light house, supposed to be 75 miles from any dwelling. Several passengers on board has often passed here but never heard thunder. Here we were soon after breakfast. The day most beautiful. The mirage or looming, often in this lake. It is supposed by it we saw the Canada shore say 40 miles off. Gen. Brady says he has seen that distance by it. Recd from J Milnor a present of an Indian ornament for a female from near [the] Cap[tain's] old house in Detroit on the spot (Forsyth says) where there was formerly a Wyandott village. Supposed to have belonged to a woman who was burned 200 years ago. It a species of red soap stone obtained from the neutral ground near the head waters of the Mississippi] or west thereof. Ex[amined] Fowler's Map of Michigan published in 31 at Albany much better than mine. Gen. Ashley's story of his voyage down the Colorado In skin canoes with 5 men—his meeting with his 100 &c—then ran ground his return—attacked when with 20 he went after his buried Beaver skins & lost 50 out of 52 horses. These stolen by the Black feet. The attempt of the Crows to steal horses, 2 killed—make peace—smoke with the dying man. His safety on the waters of the Colorado with 5—his manner of going among them—their honesty—Ward from Marion hotel with us—a yankee—his voyage to N York—his voyages to Green Bay—with us as a pilot. Dr Beaumont's map of Fox & Wisconsin rivers. Forsyth was with Cap up Lake Superior. The country is very barren.

About noon we passed the Ohio steam boat which left Wards 13 hours before us. It is now ascertained that the water is not deep enough to permit our boat to go to the Saut. Some on board hope to get the Ohio to take them there tomorrow. There is I am told a tide at Green Bay,²⁵ but the general opinion is, there is no tide on these lakes. Some think the waters gradually rise & then fall. The lowness of the water towards the Saut is not accounted for.

The distance from Green Bay to fort Winnebago is 215 miles—then a portage of 1 ½ takes you to the Wisconsin. Major Forsyth went from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien in a boat with a good oarsman in 9 days.

The gen[eral] Government is now making 5 roads from Detroit thro' different parts of the Territory.

²⁵ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 62; vi, p. 169; vii, pp. 230, 267. Cf. also, Grossman's *Chart showing fluctuations of water surface*, etc., from 1858 to 1888 (Milwaukee, n. d.).

Many appear to doubt whether Chichago will be as great as often asserted.

It was at Fort Gratiot the colera burst out with great fury among the army Gen Scott was leading from New York two years ago against Black Hawk²⁶

Lieut. Barnum's²⁷ story of the Creek whose father was guide to Jackson in the Seminole war. Graduated well at West Point, recd a commission—had a furlo to visit his friends—returnd at once to the dress & manners of a savage. Became a drunkard; & altho many young officers in his neighbourhood sought to reclaim him they do never meet him altho being but a few miles from their fort

It was the Eutaws who treated Gen Ashley with so much kindness Ferry²⁸ in perplexity at the Macanaw school concerning a female. Very few full bloods in that school

At Mac but few mails in the winter. A man walked last winter from the Saut to Detroit on the borders of the Lake & in most places where the ice was overflowed 6 or 8 inches. He walked with the mail carrier say 25 miles a day. They encamped at night on land—built a fire, cooked—dried their fuel—& took no cold.

When ten miles from Mac we were opposite a fine large light house on Blois blanc island, Mac Is & round isl were in view, about 4 oc[lock]

The R C school at arbre de croix Capt Ward says is the best establishment of that people in this country. They have a village on a large bay, no whites living among them—are sober, honest, civil, & observe the Sabbath. He has spent 2 or 3 Sundays there. About 40 miles from Mac on mainland, towards Green Bay

Gen Ash[ley] made an estimate last summer. 315 steam boats on waters of Miss averaging 200 tons (some 600) averaging 25 trips per season & with other craft carrying 2,000,000 tons of goods. One steamer that was lost near the Ohio had a cargo valued 350,000 dollars (had the beaver skins from St. Louis for that year)

Ward in his trip to N Y took some things from Greenbay. His return load 70 tons but was too large for the vessel. Could not carry a full

²⁶ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 261.

²⁷ Ephraim K. Barnum was at that time a captain in the 2d infantry.

²⁸ Rev. William Montague Ferry organized a Presbyterian church on Mackinac island, in 1822, which later developed into a mission school. After suffering many trials and disappointments, he was released from service Aug. 6, 1834, at once settling at Grand Haven, Mich.—his being the first white family at that place. He died Dec. 30, 1867. See Williams's *The old mission church of Mackinac island* (Detroit, 1895).

load or go quick. From his home to N Y & back again was 2 Mos.

Nearly all our immense load of wood is gone already.

With colours flying & music playing we entered the harbor of Mac. All was novel & interesting. The village near the water, the tents of the voyagers, the lodges of chippeways & otawas, the fort half way up the hill & the highest peak on wh is fort Holmes in ruins. The wharf was crowded with various people, particularly voyagers & Indians. We accompanied Gen. Brady to the fort by a steep, ascent, entered the barracks, & passed on to the highest ground where is the old fort. Stopped in going up a skull cave, took a piece of the rock & collected some flowers. The view most beautiful. The fort below & its cannons & white barracks, round isld & bois blanc & the peninsular &c, the Ohio coming into the harbour &c. Went with Mr [Robert] Stuart of Amer Fur Com to Mission House & conversed with Mr Ferry. Been here 11 yrs—has had 110 pupils, now to be reduced to 40 or 50. Cost of building 5000. Shd have a steward. Has one male & one female teacher. chld shd not be old[er] than from 10 to 12 when they come to the Mission. Mission has been beneficial—about 23 xans [Christians] are now establishing Mission families & day schools not boarding ones among native villages. Can now do it in consequence of beneficial effects of their Mission. Have had a tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, blacksmith & farrier—cook, washwoman, &c. Thinks the plan of both our schools necessary at beginning. May now do otherwise—at least they can. He invited us to breakfast tomorrow—is a good looking and interesting man. Going to the school examined lodge of Chippeways & a bark canoe.

15. When we returned to the boat last night, some of our folks were dancing on the upper deck & some were playing cards in the cabin. We rose early this morning & found the boat lying off in the stream, the wharf being too insecure to afford protection in case of stormy weather. The water of the lake is exceedingly clear—we can see 4 fathom & a large white substance might be seen 7 or 8 fathom deep. We went to the Mission house soon after 6 & found Mr F ready to recive us. Ex[amined] the whole establishment & found every thing simple plain & well arranged. 150 have been accomodated in the house, wh consists of two houses connected by a low narrow one. The children sleep two or three in a bed—the boys in one room & the girls in another. The teachers have a parlour to themselves, 2 or 3 in a bed room &c. We saw the whole at breakfast in one room at several tables. There was a tailors room, a shoe makers, a kitchen, a medicine room, a store room &c. The 2 school rooms are in the basement story of the Ch[urch]. The Government] has given land, a farm &c & now allows 300 & formerly 500 Dolls. Mr F's fam[ily]

appear to occupy the right home—they have 5 chld—she appears to be a judicious woman. Mrs. Johnson, wife of an officer at the Saut breakfasted with us. She considers the Saut dreary—there is there a methodist, a baptist (Mr Bingham²⁹) Missionary among the natives, & who officiate at the fort where there are 2 comps. Bible Classes both at Mac & the Saut are held among the soldiers. At the Saut the mercury often freezes. Here peas are not yet ripe—potatoes in season are very fine & the best crop the island yields. There are 1 or 2 good farms, & good winter apples are produced. The opinion appears to be that Cadle was authorized to do what he did, & if he had treated the indictment with contempt the difficulty wld soon have been over.³⁰ The expense of this mission was say 3500 now less, say 2500.

We went to the barracks & saw Gen Brady review 2 comps under Major (we brot the report of his being a Col) Whissler³¹ & Capt Kantz³² & Capt —. The comps about 52 men each—5 mus[icians] in all—good in tactics. The Gen ex[amined] every gun, & cartridge box & invited us to attend him in the inspection—we did so—& then went to the soldiers qrs, examined their beds, knapsacks &c. The rooms were perfectly neat, with flowers &c in them for the occasion. Saw the bread wh looked excellent, the kitchen, the utensils thereof, the medical department, &c. Went to the Majors & took a glass of wine—declined inspecting the provisions & went to see the Arched Rock under the guidance of Mr. Stuart an old Canadian gentleman & took with us Morris & his sister & Porter. It is most beautiful, near the shore, perhaps 100 feet high & 30 wide, forming a very correct arch—with a small one connected with it at right angles. We then went to Sugar loaf rock, a lofty rock in the middle of a plain calcareous (all the island is limestone) with holes, & caves some feet deep—tapers to a narrow ridge, & perhaps 75 feet perpendicular or almost so. In Scull cave wh we visited last night Harvey a British soldier saved a chief from the Massacre of old Mac in '63 wh was taken by the ball stratagem, was hid 14 days, 3 of wh while the chief was drunk, he was left without food. This island is peculiarly romantic. The lodges we visited last night were of mats—saw in one of them a pappoose tied to a board. We returned to the

²⁹ Rev. Abel Bingham; he was at Sault Ste. Marie as early as 1831. See Davidson's *Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 152.

³⁰ See post, for statement of the origin of this trouble at the Green Bay mission.

³¹ William Whistler's commission as lieutenant-colonel of the 7th infantry was dated July 21, 1834. Whistler (as major of 2d infantry) had been commandant at Fort Howard, and to him Red Bird had surrendered in 1827. See numerous references to him in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*

³² An error for John Glitz, captain in the 2d infantry. The other company commander at the fort was Captain Barnum, one of our diarist's fellow passengers.

shore our boat was gone to the mainland for wood, & Dr Beaumont & Gen Ashley had sailed in the Ohio for Chicago without our having an opportunity of bidding them good by, wh I regret. We dined at the little hotel in the place & I bot some Indian curiosities for the children, & secured some specimens of the stones & flowers of the Island. Before returning from our walk we went to a bluff near fort Holmes from whence we had a fine view of the Sugar loaf on the plain & of the lake & surrounding islands. In the afternoon about 4 ½ our boat having returned we started on a beautiful, clear, & comparatively cool day for Green Bay the distance of 180 miles. Ward continues our pilot. Had a farewell & most enchanting look of Mac, its hills, fort, antique village & cannons & lodges. Passed 20 miles from Mac, a floating vessel as a light house & entered Michigan Bay. Saw Beaver island &c. The B[isho]p continues with us & we have Capt Klitz, [and] a congregational] clergy[man] going for a few months to the Stockbridges on the Pox about 17 miles above Green Bay &c. Saw at Mac Judge [J. D.] Doty who is there to hold a court. Recd attention from Mr Stuart an agent of the Fur Com of Astor wh has lately been sold to a new com. Mrs Stuart says she knows my sisters—her name was Sullivan. A trout wh sometimes is as large as 70 Ibs & the white fish about 7 lbs frequently met with here. Old Mr Stuart introduced the subject of Mr Ferry's late difficulties wh it appears took place last winter & tho believing Mr F an innocent man considers his usefulness at an end. We saw Miss Skinner & I considered her & some of the other members of the family rather strange in their appearance³³

The Indians whom we saw yesterday & today were dressed most fantastically. Some in dirty blankets without shirts, some with one legging blue and the other red, some painted red & another brown around the eyes, with rays say of white and red. Some with red on the cheek bone with black stripes. Two had hats. The hair of all black & shining & thick. Some had several long plaits in front tied at the end with ribbons. Some with ear rings & nose rings—& one with worsted hoops more than 3 inc[he]s wide. Some had calico shirts—most had blue cloth rappers edged with red—the leggings were generally red. Some had turbans of dark party col[oure]d handkerchiefs on their heads—most were without any covering on the head but were ornamented by ribbons or feathers stuck together most fantastically, generally eagle feathers—sometimes a profusion of ribbons with them. The few women we saw we're modest in their appearance & dress & had not many colours—their heads were uncovered. Some of the

³³ Miss Persis Skinner, one of the mission teachers, who later married Rev. Samuel Denton, a Swiss, who in 1835 established a mission where is now Red Wing, Minn. See Davidson, pp. 134, 135.

boys had only a piece of an old blanket & made a great display of their naked legs. A chief called Old Wing made his appearance with the skin like that of a cat in his hand. He is said to be 80 yrs old & was the Ottawa chief that assisted the Americans during the last war. He looked very old & comical—cleaner than any of the rest—had on a round hat with a silver band—a large medal on his breast &c. Almost all the men looked very ugly & very dirty. Very few spoke to us or were noticed by any one. It appears they might very generally take up the expression, No one cares for my soul. Wrote a letter to Mrs Relf since tea. My Map continues to be very bad. We have pretty much determined to stay while at Green Bay at the Mission School.³⁴

16. Last evening was very beautiful & delightful. The air cool. I cannot sleep well on board the boat and long for a sleep on land. The towels, basins &c here are not what they ought to be. The police of the boat is bad. Plenty of servants, all white—they wash with us, use the common comb & brush, &c & sleep in the cabin on Matresses. A negro servant of Major Forsyth slept in the cabin on his own bed. When I. rose this morning we were entering Green Bay. Louse or Potowatamone Island (The Ps called Lice by the french on account of their dirty habits) on our left—Bower's [Bowyer's] bluff ahead & Green island just passed on our

³⁴ The school had been opened in 1827 by Richard F. and Sarah B. Cadle in the unoccupied barracks at Camp Smith, on the east side of Fox River, at "Shantytown." During the winter of 1828-29, land was obtained from the government, "adjoining the military reservation on the north," and on this a building was erected; other buildings followed, in the summer of 1829. The Indians were either indifferent to the scheme, or bitterly opposed to it, objecting to rigid discipline being applied to their children. The French, too, disliked the enterprise, both because it was a Protestant mission, and because it did not accord with their notion of the fitness of things. Solomon Juneau, the founder of Milwaukee, once wrote: "As to the little savages whom you ask about for Mr. Cadle, I have spoken to several, and they tell me with great satisfaction that they are much happier in their present situation than in learning geography."—*Historic Green Bay*, pp. 233, 234. Tired out, with patience gone and health failing, Cadle wrote, June 16, 1832, to the executive committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, begging to be relieved "from a burden by which I am bowed down greatly." In October, however, the committee induced him to promise to continue his work on the condition of being more heartily supported by the society. The *Proceedings* of the society, held in New York in October, 1832, pp. 21-29, contain an interesting detailed account of the condition and needs of the Green Bay mission. The present journal describes the investigation of the establishment by Kemper and Milnor, as representatives of the society, on account of the trouble which had arisen from the severe punishment of some of the Indian boys. Cadle continued in charge until 1838, when he was succeeded by Rev. Daniel E. Brown, who continued the work for two years longer; but it finally—although at first incorporated as the "Wisconsin University of Green Bay," and later as "Hobart University"—succumbed to the discouragements with which the institution was from the first beset.

right. About 8 oc[lock] we went to Eagle bay or harbour formed by an island off the mainland on the left. The bay is safe on all sides & deep. From there Chambers island was ahead about five miles on the right—& we pass on the left, the main land came to Sturgeon Bay. We go slowly because the wind wh is pretty high is right ahead, and the wood is bad.

24 July. We are yet at Green Bay. Many days are passed since I wrote in this journal. I will now, tho I have scarcely time, endeavour to make up for the past neglect. This day & the 3 preceding have been exceedingly hot—the ther at the fort was 93 on the 22 & at Navarino at 23 it was 97. Recd from Mr Groom³⁵ some specimens of copper &c from the river S of this & wh empties into L. Michigan—from Miss Cadle³⁶ some specimens from Magura & from Judge [John P.] Arndt a piece of copper taken by an Indian from the grand chute³⁷ of Pox river 6 miles below L. Winnebago. Saw some stones on the shore from the Bay Settlement 6 miles below Navarino wh consisted apparently of Marine shells and mud petrified—obtained specimens of them. Met Mr. [Jean Baptiste] Laborde bro of Mrs. Douceman³⁸ of the R. C. Mission, spoke in the plainest terms of the influence of the traders * * * in preventing children from coming to it. * * * Recd from Miss Cadle specimens of porcupine quills in natural & colored state. Mr Cadles paper concerning Mr. Mazzuchelli³⁹ &c. One of the little girls who has been at the school from the beginning goes to day & came to bid us good bye. She spoke English well but with a foreign, I wld say, a french accent. She is only 12 now, but her Mother who is married again, has a young infant & requires her at home. She leaves here two bros. The girls appear kind and affec[tionate] to each other & attached to their teachers. If we give up this school we not only afford a triumph to its enemies the traders & the R C but we abandon a station of great

³⁵ Leonard Groom was one of Cadle's assistants at the mission.

³⁶ Miss Sarah B. Cadle, sister of Rev. R. F. Cadle, and "female superintendent" of the mission.

³⁷ Grand Chute is the fall, or rapids, at what is now the city of Appleton. Going up Fox River from Green Bay, the names of natural obstructions are as follows: Rapides des Pères (Rapids of the Fathers, so named because here was established by Father Alloïez, the Jesuit mission of St. Francis Xavier), at what is now De Pere; Little Kakalin, now called Little Rapids; the Croche,—above the present Wrightstown; Grand Kakalin (with some fourteen different spellings), where is now the city of Kaukauna; Little Chute, still preserving the name (the village there, was originally settled by Iometa's band of Winnebagoesi; a mile farther up, the Cedars, where the Indian treaty of 1836 was held, and where is now the village of Kimberly; then Grand Chute, at the present Appleton.

³⁸ Mrs. Rosalie Dousman, wife of John, and in charge of the Ro man Catholic Indian school. See *ante*.

³⁹ See *ante*, pp. 155 et seq., for account of Father Mazzuchelli's work at Green Bay and elsewhere.

importance. Is it nothing to have rescued more than 200 ch[ildren] from degradation & vice & ignorance & death—to teach them the arts & feelings of civilized life and the principles of the Gospel? * * * Many of these chld are real Inds born in our ch, but who wld be ignorant of knowledge & our language were it not for this school. And many born heathen exhibit by their conduct & writings an evidence of the Gospel upon their souls. Here, in this mission the Ch is exerting herself & has an opportunity of doing good to heathen. If we give up this, we abandon the only post we have among the heathen. We have more Indian chld here than they have at Macanaw—& the schools of the ch[urch] Miss[ionary] Soc[iety] among the N W Indians are principally composed of the children of white traders. Some of the chld here in 2 yrs have in addition to a knowledge of the language acquired as much school information i. e. made as much progress in spelling, reading, writing, composition, geography, grammar & arithmetic as chld of similar age in the district school of Conn^t.

Mr. Cadle this morning submitted to our perusal many papers relative to his trials & duties. He has been with a meek & devoted spirit most faithful to all his duties—& his sister has laboured beyond her strength—& they both assure us that for the last 6 mos no persons could be more interested in the welfare of the Mission & ready to spend & be spent in its service than Mr Gregory & Miss Crawford.⁴⁰ But Mr C's feelings are too sensitive—we require a man of sterner stuff than he is made of to be at the head of the Mission.

Dined at Mr. Whitneys at Navarino—there besides we 3 & Mr & Mrs [S.] W. Beall⁴¹ Arndt W's nephew & nearly a doz officers from the garrison in full uniform—pitcher full of lemonade & port, madeira & champaign wines—roast pig, veal, ham, venison, & veal pie—sallid—cranberry (abound here) tarts & floating islands—cheese, raisins, almonds, english walnuts, filberts. The 2 Drs of the fort drank no wine—have established a Soc which now included 80 odd on principle of total abstinence. Lieut Clary⁴² belongs to it likewise. A conversation concerning] voyageurs & bark canoes. They go 100 Miles in 24 hours & paddle 22 hours. When they stop the man who is carried cooks—that is boils the Indian corn with tallow while the men sleep. He sleeps in the boat while they work. One, who receives 1/3 more pay than the rest sings, all join in chorus—in this way they are kept awake. Sometimes 8, sometimes 15 men. Gov [Lewis] Cass travelled in 12 days in this manner

⁴⁰ Almon Gregory and Sarah Crawford, teachers at the mission.

⁴¹ Samuel W. Beall was one of the vestrymen of Christ Church parish, at Green Bay.

⁴² Robert E. Clary, 2d lieutenant of the 5th infantry.

from here to St. Louis by Fox & Wisconsin—then to Chicago & then here. The use of tallow has led many chld to eat the candles of the house. Once Mr C had to publish a law to this effect, that no child should eat bark, or candles or snow. Returning from Navarino a Meno[monee] woman drunk, a large boy with only a cloth on, & others, especially men, nearly naked, some with nothing apparently but a dirty ragged blanket. The greater part of them look most wretched & miserable. When going to dinner we saw a whole family—women, children &c going to bath. They kept all their clothes on, & in that way, wash them. 2 yrs ago there were great apprehensions that the Sacs & Foxs wld be here. A cannon was planted near the river opposite the Mission House, patrols were kept about the settlement, the whites in the neighbourhood of Lake Winnebago moved down—& the cannon on the river was to be the signal when fired for all the inhabs to go to the fort. From the fort on the first alarm, a company had been sent to f. Winnebago leaving here but 17 men & the post in almost a defenceless state in consequence of its undergoing repairs.⁴³ It was supposed that the Mission house wld be the first object of attack on a/c of the no of scalps to be obtained. The alarm continued 3 weeks—some nights the large boys did not go to bed. A girl with long hair requested it might be cut off so that she cld not be scalped.

The state of society has been & continues wretched.

* * * * *

Mrs Grignon has Indian dresses that wld cost 80 or 100 dollars.

Nav[arino] 1 ¼ miles up the river—at Nav & Mission perhaps 3/4 [of a mile] wide—banks at first low—gradually rise—both sides of shore almost filled with rushes—& at mouth & in bays of the river there is wild rice

The land between this & lake Michigan said to be bad—the soil, particularly S. E. very good.

Temperen[ce] Soc^{es} among soldiers to do any good must be for total abstinence. They will otherwise get drunk on beer, cider or wine.

16. We arrived at Navarino about 5 oc[lock]. The bay had for some time looked narrow & the channel was very crooked. Entering the river Pox fort Howard on right & Navarino about 20 houses on left. Land looked low & unpromising. Might suppose that fevers abounded but it is not so. The banks of the river are healthy, owing it is supposed to the frequent agitation of the water by winds, & a rise & fall wh occasionally

⁴³ See documentary history of the Stambaugh expedition, in Black Hawk War, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266 et seq.

takes place & is not easily accounted for but is attributed to the wind. Gave Phillips X^{an} [Christian] experience to Mrs. Morris, she promising to be less careless in future. Her mother in law is quite unwell. Many persons & officers came on board but no one for us. Mr Whitney promised to send our baggage to the Mission House, & Mr [Alexander J.] Irwin offered to take us there, a distance of 3 miles. Kindly recd. Mr C there—not expected. My letter & Mr Van Pelts announcing our coming came with us. Went down with Mr Cadle to the boat to invite the passengers to visit the Mission. Miss C is now the superintendent—Mr Chas engaged to officiate to the Oneidas.

There is much to admire in the school—but it is scarcely comfortable to its inmates—it has been very expensive—the constant cry from Phila has been *more economy*, & in order to obey, & being never in fact beforehand but constantly obliged to get mt only goods but money from the store—the whole economy has been so frugal as to be scarcely comfortable. The barn is good but there is nothing in it—they buy flour & pork by the single barrel—they have not had for weeks any fresh meat. They have no molasses, no Indian meal, & but little milk. Much has been done even with the farm, but it is evidently requisite to have a handsome sum of money to be laid out at once for the Mission before it can become comfortable & economical.

17. Were visited by several of our passengers—Milnor, Lawrence &c. Milnor intends buying a bark canoe to take to Batavia. So cold this night we asked for blankets. Wrote on board the boat to Mrs. R. & after I landed to [name illegible]. The boat started for Chicago this afternoon, & we know not when we shall be able to return—for all arrangements & promises with respect to steamboats will it is said henceforth fail.

18. Visited Gen Brooke⁴⁴ & gave Gen Scotts letter—pretty wife, beautiful child.

26. rose early after sleeping 2 hours. We had a most sad time of it last night. I must now mention however lest I forget it that the Oneidas have 500,000 acres—it extends some distance on the Pox river about ten miles & then in a N W direction. All their land lies together forming 2 paralalograms. The Stockbridges who have been here for 12 yrs have sold their land to Government, reserving 2 tws [towns] & 23,000 dolls for the tw [town] here at Grand Kakalin. The 2 tws to wh they are to remove are beyond the Misspi This country of theirs was purchased by them from the Menominees & Winnebagoes.

Mr Whitney walked from St Peters to Detroit from Dec to Feb

⁴⁴ Brev. Brig. Gen. George M. Brooke, colonel of 5th infantry.

1250 miles by way of Green Bay & Chicago—he camped out 42 nights—spent 18 days at G B

At Grand Kakalin on west side a large red cross, a painted cock on top & attached to a horizontal beam of cross a spear, scourge, crown of

The fall at G. Kakalin 24 feet in the course of the rapids—150 from Lake Winnebago to foot of rapids & L Winnebago to Lake Mich 170 feet descent.

28. Hope deferred makes the heart sick. But I will not murmur or repine. No boat as yet, one however it is supposed will appear today or tomorrow. I long most anxiously to see my little ones—& I desire to say thy will be done. We are detained here I trust for beneficial purposes. Yesterday 27 I officiated in M[orning] at fort—aft[ernoon] at Navarino & 5 oc[lock] at Mission. The band of music, the flags around the wall, the dress & orderly appearance of the soldiers gave a very imposing appearance. The general was present but not his lady who was detained by the sickness of a child.

Lieut. Clary thinks that the bay flies wh are yet very numerous arise from what I consider their carcasses, not those from which they creep, but their own dead bodies. Dr. Satterlee⁴⁵ promised me a mem[orandum] of the heat of the last week, it yet continues very warm. Dr M & myself took our dinner with Mr Whitney. He offers to paint the Mission a dark colour like his own house in wh he is now lodging, inside & out, for 350 dollars—will subscribe ten & thinks the Bay people wld give 100.

Mr Ellis⁴⁶ has returned from surveying, & gives a bad report of the mosquitoes. His story of the intended pamphlet—refused admittance in his paper—in Detroit paper—50 dolls paid to Detroit editor—As first offered to him it contained the basest & most malignant insinuations. Is daily expected from D—⁴⁷ thinks it will almost destroy Mr C. Conversed freely with Mr Beall after the 3^d service—stated the evidence of the boys (the disgrace attached to a crop arises from the military custom).

The assertion of Pouquette⁴⁸ in conversation with Mr C— Mr C almost crazy when informed of Conduct of boys—left the whipping pretty much to judgment of assistants. Mr C violent passions—wished Smith to

⁴⁵ Richard S. Satterlee, assistant army surgeon, the post doctor.

⁴⁶ Andrew G. Ellis had been an assistant at the Episcopal mission. At this time, he was proprietor of the Green Bay *Intelligencer*.

⁴⁷ From documents published post, Joseph Dickinson appears to have been the author of this pamphlet attack on Cadle.

⁴⁸ Joseph Paquette, a cousin of the famous Pierre. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 402, note 5.

commence a suit—instigated the paper controversy, persuaded Beall to write.⁴⁹ The Mission might be better managed & at 1/3 less—the buildings

⁴⁹ It appears from a letter signed “Civis,” published in the Green Bay *Intelligencer* for Feb. 19, 1834, that in December previous, “a great fault was committed by several of the boys belonging to the Mission, for which they were severely chastised.” Two of the boys were induced to complain “on behalf of the United States, of a violent and malicious battery perpetrated on their persons by the superintendent and male assistants, who [in January] were arrested upon a warrant, and brought before a magistrate,” who bound them “to appear at the next term of the circuit court for trial.” The correspondent condemns these proceedings as casting a reflection on the school; whereas, under the provisions of the territorial statute organizing the establishment, the teachers have a right properly to coerce the pupils, their respective relations being that of master and apprentice. “Civis” alleges that the teachers were not given an opportunity in the justice court of Louis Grignon, to introduce proofs of justification.

In the *Intelligencer* for March 5. “Civis” is charged by “Orion” with misrepresentation. He says: “In the evening of the 24th of Dec. last, eleven of the School boys attending the G. B. Mission were called from their beds (after having retired to rest) and for some supposed offence were conducted to a school room adjoining their lodgings, where by the orders of the assistant teachers, they were stripped of their outward garments and severely, cruelly and unreasonably punished by the infliction of some 15, others 20, and 25 stripes upon the bare back. They were then put in confinement, and on the day following were again called into the presence of their inhuman masters, when the same violence was repeated on their persons, lessening only the number of the blows, but with equal severity, and adding to the sum of shame and cruelty the barbarous and disgraceful outrage of shaving the head. The sufferings of these children may more readily be imagined than described when we are informed that these severities were endured at a season of the year when the mercury ranged from 5 degrees to 20 degrees below zero. After the enactment of this summary vengeance they were sent to the Hospital, and as they gradually recovered of their wounds, were put to task in the Mission service. Some 10 or 20 days having elapsed, the guardian of Theodore Lupient and Peter Bazille (two of these unfortunates) visited this place, and having called upon the superintendent for the purpose of acquainting himself with the facts was fully informed. He immediately withdrew his wards from their confinement and from the care of the Superintendent and applied to the civil authorities for redress.” The correspondent further alleges that the superintendent and one of the assistants had been discharged by the magistrate—two assistants only “were bound in recognizance to the next term of the court.”

March 19, the editor of the *Intelligencer* (Ellis) himself takes a hand in the quarrel, heartily indorsing Mr. Cadle. In the same issue, “Civis” and “No Mistake” attack “Orion” in three columns of fine type; they allege that the heads were not shaved, the hair being cut with scissors. Mr. Cadle himself also appears in the controversy with the following card, dated March 15: “The undersigned having noticed an article in the G. B. *Intelligencer* of the 5th inst, signed ‘Orion,’ thinks proper to state that he will in due time satisfactorily prove the writer to be a calumniator. He has directed the attention of the Society by which he is appointed to those allegations; and requested the benefit of a TRIAL; and further solicited that he may be dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the ecclesiastical laws to which he is subject if the charges should be substantially proved to be true, or, if shewn to be false, that they will publish the name of the author as a

shd have cost 1/3 less. Smith cleared 1100, Olds 800. Mr C too honourable & not able to contend with crafty men. The destitution of horses, carriage, food &c—the payment sometimes of 20 dolls a barrel for pork, all wrong. Mr B's wife speaks highly of Mr Garvin's qualities. Mr B, highest opinion of integrity, purity & piety of Mr C—at same time is sensible of his faults, wishes this conversation to be secret. Mr B thinks Dr M. & myself shd investigate the late affair.

I am this morning (28) much fatigued with preaching, heat, mosquitoes &c. We are apparently to have another warm day. My neck, ears, face, legs & body yet show marks of the Grand Kakalin expedition.

26. Garvin's house where we slept (I not more than 2 hours) is at foot of Grand Kakalin about 18 miles above Navarino. A log cabin with 2 or 3 rooms. The 4 got a room to themselves. C & I in same bed & Mr & Mrs W had a room. G. will sell whiskey & has therefore been separated from the Stockbridges with whom he had united himself—but he himself is a Naraganset. We found they were acquainted with Aaron Konkapot & that he is known as a drunkard. With the aid of what Mrs W brot in the boat we made out a breakfast—no milk, no butter—but tea, bread & chickens & currant sweatmeats. After a short walk we got into a wagon & passed over a most perilous road about a mile to the Mission House of the Amer[ican] Board among the Stocksbs. As they the S are now moving to the lands they have got in exchange on L Winnebago, this house &c will be abandoned. It was only intended for the residence of the families of the Clergyman and teacher. The school house was about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile off in the woods—only a day school, & but poorly attended in summer, it had not in it apparently as we passed, more than 12. The teacher Mr Hall⁵⁰ is sick at present, we conversed for a few minutes with Mr. Barber⁵¹ at the Mission door, but did not get out.

Mr. Whitney has a store on left hand side going up wh he established at request of the Stockcb—it is a temperance store,—& is now to be broken up. It has been kept for some time past by Mr W's nephew whose family with that of the Mission is the only white family in the settlement. Here we stayed and dined. The Stocks are more civilised and

SLANDERER. R. F. CADLE."

Here the newspaper war appears to end. It will be noticed that Dr. Kemper ascertains that Cadle himself started this controversy, which no doubt greatly injured the mission. Further light is thrown on the matter, by the documents published *post*.

⁵⁰ Rev. Chauncey Hall, coadjutor of Rev. Cutting Marsh. Davidson gives an account of the mission.

⁵¹ For biographical sketch of Rev. Abel Lester Barber, "the first resident minister in Wisconsin to labor under commission from the American Home Missionary Society," see Davidson, p. 209.

converse more in English than the Oneidas. There Miss & Mrs—— started some weeks ago with some of their people beyond the Mississippi] to look out for new Miss[ionar]y stations. All the nation, altho it was rainy, assembled to bid him good bye, he prayed &c. Passing from Garvin's to the store we met with several Menomenee lodges—at one, a fellow nearly naked was climbing up the roof to seat himself on the top, wh he did before we passed by (For want of foresight Mr Beall thinks we have pd extravagantly for wood & shoes besides the other things mentioned. We must have the wood for one winter cut the winter before, on our own lands. The Mission has often pd Irwin 1.75 per pr. for shoes wh cost him say 75 cts). From the store (having had a dinner of salted venison, tea, cucumbers, dried apple sauce &c) we went down the stream 1 ½ miles in a log canoe—comical & somewhat alarming. All of us seated on the bottom in a row—commanded to sit still & under no circumstances to lay hold of the sides. Mr W. & a voyageur paddled—6 of us in the canoe. We landed on the opposite side & walked to the house of La Charme⁵² an old batchelor who was engaged in washing his check shirt. He had horses, cattle & fowls about his door & his employment is to transport goods at this portage of the grand K. A cross and beads were hanging on the walls, picture of Gen Jackson, & bright brass shovel poker &c for coal grate. After some hesitation he agreed to take us in his cart to the boat. Dr M & Mr & Mrs W got in, & were in peril. C & I walked. Du Charme not far below his house on a prairie w[h]ere there were several cross roads has erected a large red cross perhaps 30 feet high, about ½ way up a small painting of Madonna & child. On the top of perpendicular beam a wooden cock painted—a little before a small piece of wood with I. S. H. [I. H. S.] on the horizontal beam a heart, ladder, crown of thorns, scourge, hammer, spike &c. In his zeal he once cut down a cross at Green Bay that had been erected by a priest whom he considered a bad man & was fined by the court 50 dolls. A Mr Grignon whose wife is a Meno[monee] & whose dg[daughter] is wife of Childs the sheriff claims a great deal of land here & has a saw mill at the rapids. At the mill the view of the rapids is very fine. G's son was attending the mill, dressed well with leather gloves on, & a wild dressed Meno well grown lad assisting.⁵³ Here Arndt joined us.

⁵² Du Charme is meant. Paul du Charme was the only one of that family who lived at Kaukauna for any length of time. His brother Dominic was the first settler, and Paul succeeded him. He is undoubtedly the one here referred to; he was the only bachelor among them.

⁵³ The Mr. Grignon here referred to must be Augustin, third son (born June 27, 1780) of Pierre Grignon and Louise de Langlade. Augustin's wife, whose maiden name was Nancy McCrea, was from a Scotch father and Menomonee mother; their daughter Margaret married Ebenezer Childs. The son mentioned, was undoubtedly Charles A.

He it is said has an interest in Garvin's inn In walking over the meadow from the mill to the landing passed an indian burial place, 2 poles with white flags flying a pale fence partly surrounding the place & thick sticks of wood covering some of the graves. The boat at Grignon's landing was ready for us—awning-sail, soon put down—started after 4—went very pleasantly—rowed—lemonade. A short distance from Garvin's below a roman cath chapel built by Menos of logs. Mr E. Williams house at little K. half way between G K & Navarino. Claims land 3 miles sq. Does not officiate—in no estimation—greatly in debt owes Whitney 1500—has had two executions of him lately when some of his cattle were seized & sold. Had many of the Canadian boat songs—home at dark.

Whitney expects early in Aug to go to [the] Misspi—has a shot tower near Galena wh his nephew now at G K is to superintend.⁵⁴ W engaged in many things. Bo[ugh]t on sat[urday] 79 head of cattle just come up from Illinois—is to supply fort & Mission with beef.

29. Big Wave an old chief of the Menominees with a few other Menos & 2 Chippeways from Sturgeon Bay, came to the house with Col Boyd⁵⁵ & [Richard] Prickett U. S. Interpreter.⁵⁶ Dr M addressed them concerning the school & the advantages of sending their chld to it & ag[ainst] intemperance. Big Wave with a regimental coat & a large medal of Washington was the principal speaker on the other side. The chiefs seated themselves on the floor evidently not knowing the use of chairs, & were much attracted by the clock. B W & 2 others well dressed * * * & have abandoned drunkenness. One poor fellow, said to drink, & badly dressed, with his face painted black, was eloquent & affected. They promised their endeavours to persuade their people to send their children—acknowledged the advantages of education—alluded to our differen[ce] of colour as an intimation from the Alm[igh]ty that we were designed for different stations & employments—blamed the whites for the

Grignon. The land claim at Kaukauna rapids was derived by Augustin Grignon in part by purchase from Dominic du Charme, and in part by actual settlement by his wife. Du Charme was the first settler at the rapids; Grignon came next (July 1, 1812), settling on land adjoining Du Charme's claim; later, he bought a part of the latter's land, and occupied Du Charme's house, repairing and enlarging it. Then, in 1816, he built a grist mill on the property. This was on the north side of the river. The first permanent settlement on the north side was made in 1822, when fifty Christianized Stockbridges located there, on land previously ceded to the New York Indians by the Menomonees. The mission established among them was in charge of the Presbyterian church, and is described by Davidson as "the first Puritan church in Wisconsin."

⁵⁴ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 338.

⁵⁵ Col. George Boyd, U. S. Indian agent at Green Bay.

⁵⁶ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, for various references to Prickett.

introduction of whiskey wh is destroying the Indians & wh they cannot resist—& said that the first whites they were acquainted with did not sell them rum (the french)—the British sold them some but not much—but the Amers will sell it to them as long as they have any furs. Dr M gave them from the store room some red flannel & cotton &c as presents—we shook hands, & separated. Prickett the Interpreter] was taken a prisoner when a boy 14 yrs old in what is now called Green County, Penn & taken to the present Chillicothe, Ohio, by the Stockbridges. He in time found his way to Mac & was 20 yrs in fur com[pany]. Has gone from [Grand] Portage of L Superior to Montreal in bark canoe in 6 days, 14 rowers, bark canoe, carrying 8 tons. Is said to be a boaster—married first a Chip & then a Menom. Living near Col Boyd's, like an Indian.

Mr C stated to me that his own taste & judgment wld have led him to settle himself as a Missy in the midst of the Indians, but that here he had been obliged to act in obedience of orders,—the plan of the school, its location &c were settled by the Ex Come.

28 A long visit from Mr Beall. He is anxious we shd enter into a scrutiny of the late affair, thinks the honor of the Mission & the credit of Mr C demands it. It is known that Mr. C demanded an investigation; if we go away without holding one it will be said by the R. C. that we were afraid to do so. Dr M on the contrary says we have no authority to enter into an impartial inquiry, to summon witnesses &c—that we ought to let the subject sleep if possible as it is too delicate for public discussion—that we have the full & decided opinion of all the respectable inhabitants of the excellency of Mr C's character & the correctness of the punishment, & that the whole affair is the effect of malignity, & ingratitude. * * * Nothing but necessity shd compel us to bring it before the public—for then it will be seen acc[ording] to the rules of the house, the boys were too old to be whipped & that the cutting off the hair was not authorized—& some wld say if there had been a teacher sleeping in the room with the chid, as there ought to have been, this sad affair cld not have happened. Mr C asserts, justly I think, that with respect to the punishment, there was no provision in the laws for such a crime, it was not to be thot of, & was therefore acc[ording] to the right of every parent (as he viewed himself) or master, to be punished in an unusual way—I think that the statement of the assistants Gregory, Smith & Groom who denounced the crime & punished it—& of Beall and others who were present shd be put on paper

This morng 5 Oneida boys ran away. One of whom had run away twice before since we have been here. We want these Oneidas because they are full bloods, & yet it will not I think do to go in pursuit of them every time. Ought we not to threaten they shall not come back—or at least

write to the Chiefs & solicit their interference to induce the parents when they run home to whip them & send them immediately back

Col. Boyd thinks the sickly appearance of many of the children is owing to the salt pork on wh they almost live

Mr Groom goes today with two hired men & one of the boys near to the little Kakalin about 9 miles off to cut hay from an Oneida prairie, permission having been obtained from the Chfs for that purpose.

Cobus Hill brot to day the Oneida P. B. [prayer book] to be reprinted in N York Dr M. promised his aid. I will propose this plan to Bp O.⁵⁷ for his two C P Book Soct—offer a premium of say 500 dolls for the best translation of the whole P. B. in the Oneida—& print an edition of the best translation that is offered.

Spent aft & took tea at Col. B. with Mr C. Col agrees in the impropriety of further investigation, & thinks the testimonial signed by himself & others⁵⁸ sufficient to cover the whole ground—will make

⁵⁷ Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk, of New York, chairman of the committee for domestic missions, D. & F. M. Society.

⁵⁸ In the Green Bay *Intelligencer* for Feb. 19, 1831, appears the following card, doubtless the testimonial here referred to:

“We the undersigned of Green Bay and its vicinity, having attended this day at the Mission House by invitation and heard the reasons assigned by the Rev. R. F. Cadle which have induced him to withdraw from the immediate Superintendence of the Green Bay Mission at the present time, take pleasure in stating our entire approval of his conduct. While we bear testimony to the zeal and unremitting labor with which Mr. Cadle has at all times during the term of his agency in this establishment discharged his arduous and irksome duties, we hope that he will find in his retirement that rest and contentment which he so much deserves and so earnestly seeks after. We hope that Mr. Cadle will still continue to exercise towards that institution a fostering care. And we doubt not but the wounds which have by recent occurencies been inflicted, will be healed by the reflection of having faithfully discharged his duty.

“Mission House, Green Bay Feb. 5, 1831.

“(Signed)

GEO. M. BROOKE, Bt. Brig. Gen. U. S. A.
GEO. BOYD, U. S. Ind. Agent.
J. LYNDE, Lt. U. S. A.
E. WORRELL, M. D. Asst. Surg. U. S. A.
R. S. SATTERLEE, Surg. U. S. A.
R. B. MARCY, Lt. 5th Inf.
R. E. CLARY, Lt. 5th Inf.
St CLAIR DENNY, U. S. A.
HENRY BAIRD.
HENRY S. BAIRD.
J. V. SUYDAM.
ALEXANDER J. IRWIN.
HORATIO MINUSE.

exertions to collect the Menos of the neighbourhood tomorrow at 10 oc[lock] at the Mission for Dr M. to address—is willing to add something to Mr. C's statement conc[erning] the benefits wh have resulted from the school

He says the Amer Fur Com at Mac have advertised yearly for 15,000 gallons of whiskey—that 100 barrels of it are sent every year to Green Bay to Judge [John] Lawe & the other members of the fur Com who are located here—that he refused at Mac belonging to a Temperence Society because Mr Stuart one of its warm advocates wld continue the agency of the fur Com^y

He says the Stocks get for their improvements 25,500 dolls & 2 township of 24,000 acres each instead of one—the Brother to [w]ns get 1600 dolls for their improvements & one township. They are to be located on North of Lake Winnebago adjoining each other & the object of the exchange was to keep if possible all the Whites to the S & E of Fox & Wisconsin

Saw at the Cols [Boyd's] Long's travels in this country printed in London 1791 with vocabularies of Menominee, Chippeway & other Indian languages.⁵⁹

A little Menominee boy who had been wandering about the house with his parents came to school to day as a day scholar—his mother cannot part with him at night. He will probably however get all his meals here. A suit of clothes was given him & he was sent behind the barn, he soon appeared with the new clothes on & the old blanket wrapt around him. This I believe is the boy who said a few days since in answer to Mr Labord's question Why he did not come to the school, That there they whipt too much

This evening the wind came to the North & it became cool after 9 very hot days

SAMUEL RYAN.
M. E. MERRILL, Lt. 5th Inf.
N. PERRY.
J. W. CONROE.
A. G. ELLIS.
S. W. BEALL.
DAVID WARD."

⁵⁹ J. Long's *Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader among the N. Amer. Indians, with a vocabulary of the Chippewa and other Indian languages* (London, 1791). A French translation was published in Paris in 1794.

17. Called at Mr Bealls, Irwins, Col. Boyds, Beard.⁶⁰ So cold that we requested blankets. Col. Boyd indian agent—said to receive intelligence by our boat that his office is abolished.⁶¹ Find him & family warm hearted & attached to Mr C. & Mission. He is quick tempered. She sister to Mrs John Q. Adams.

18. Called at Mrs Smiths (Miss Kellogg that was)⁶² intended going with him about a mile up Hill creek, but was prevented by our stay at the fort. Gen B[rooke] from Vir[ginia]—Bp Hobart a tutor in his family introd[uced] by C. P. Mercer—plain & unostentatious—showed us a most admirable garden. Learnt [that he is] not religious—tho fitted up Commissary's room for us with flags & benches & kept it so during our stay & attended whenever we officiated there. Mrs B considered religious, was a Methodist, commun[ion] with Mr C—the dg [daughter] of the lady with whom the Gen lodged when recruiting at Boston. Splendid shell work from New Providence W. I. at Lieut Clary, a pious Pres (—Dr Satterlee, do[ctor] Birnam, Chapman adj⁶³), (Capt Cruger⁶⁴—Capt Scott,⁶⁵ a hunter). 4 comps here. Satterlee & Clary hold worship & Bible Class with soldiers

Tea at Mr Ellis—Dr M preached at Navarino, I read prayers.

19. We have long conversations with the family concerning the Mission—& with all the gentlemen we meet with

Walked thro the grounds to Devil river⁶⁶ about a mile from Pox river—our land extends 2 miles beyond—very little on this side cultivated, about 14 acres—none on other. Saw place where they shoot deer—many pretty flowers—mounds, opened last winter, conchs &c found in them—marshy at times—very little large timber this side. Wood 250 cords pr year 22 fires. 3 wash room, 3 kitchen &c We must have it cut one winter

⁶⁰ So spelled throughout the journal, but the Baird family is meant—Henry Baird and his son Henry S. Tradition in the Baird family has it that Dr. Kemper always pronounced the name as he here spells it.

⁶¹ He continued in service until 1840, when he resigned. See biography of Boyd, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266-269.

⁶² Mrs. John Y. Smith, when Miss Anna Weed Kellogg, was a missionary teacher to the Stockbridges. Her husband, a Presbyterian, arrived in Green Bay in May, 1828, being employed in erecting the Stockbridge mission buildings; he married Miss Kellogg in 1832, and at the time of Kemper's visit was, in company with Asa Sherman, running a saw-mill on government lands near Green Bay. See biography in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 452-459.

⁶³ William Chapman, 2d lieutenant, 5th infantry.

⁶⁴ William E. Cruger, captain, 5th infantry.

⁶⁵ Martin Scott, captain, 5th infantry.

⁶⁶ Now East River.

for next. Went to Camp Smith⁶⁷ where the Americans had a fort soon after the last war—a good view from it. Mr C left us to officiate at Duck Creek. In evening I preached in Mission. House. There is a Congregation organized here at Menominiville⁶⁸ & likewise at Navarino.⁶⁹ The latter place has sprung up within 3 yrs & threatens to destroy the former

20. I officiated at 10 & at 2 in the School House. The day exceedingly hot. Col & Miss Boyd, Mr & Mrs Beard, Mr Beall, the Irwins &c present in morg. Went and officiated at fort at 5 in aft—at Ellis'—& officiated at 8 at Navarino. Conversed with Ellis concerning the Mission, Mr C, Mr Suydam⁷⁰ and the late difficulties. Mr C has laboured most faithfully, but perhaps not exactly calculated for the difficulties of the station.

21. The Dr or myself lead in morng & even[ing] worship in the fam[ily]. We assemble in school house at 6 & at 7 ½. The Psalter, a hymn & then prayers, principally from Cotterill. I am looking over the papers we brot, the laws, & the list of students—Dr M is preparing the report

Dined with the Gen [Brooke] at 1 oc with Dr. Satterlee. Exceedingly hot. Mrs B looked overcome. * * * When the Gen & Gen Brady get together they tell over a bottle long stories of the last war. Gen Brooks was with Gen Smyth, Wilkinson &c on the Canada frontier. At 3 we started from the forb for Oneida say 9 miles Dr. M in a waggon driven by Neddy & for a companion Cobus Hill. I mounted on a Green Bay pony belonging to adj. Chapman—an easy racking horse. Dr S, Mr C & a soldier likewise on horse-back. Two miles of the road had just been

⁶⁷ The site of Port Howard, on the west side of Fox River, had been selected in 1816 by Maj. Charles Gratiot, of the engineer corps; he prepared the plans of the fort, and was present during the earlier portion of its construction, its completion being left to the superintendence of Col. Talbot Chambers. When, however, in 1819, Col. Joseph Lee Smith, of the 3d infantry, took charge of the garrison, he became dissatisfied with the low, sandy site, wishing a broader outlook, and commenced work upon fortifications on the east of the Fox, three miles farther up the river and half a mile back from the shore. These new quarters were styled Camp Smith, and were occupied from 1820 to 1822, when the site was condemned as undesirable, and the garrison returned to Fort Howard. Cf. *Historic Green Bay*, pp. 154-166.

⁶⁸ Menomoneeville (alias "Shantytown" and "Bellevue") originated in the shanty settlement formed between Camp Smith (see preceding note) and Fox River. In Vol. B, p. 146, of the books in the Brown county register of deed's office, Green Bay, is registered (Jan. 24, 1829) a plat of Munnomonee (John Lawe, proprietor). But the settlement is now merely a suburb of Green Bay.

⁶⁹ Navarino, the nucleus of the modern Green Bay, was platted in 1830 by Daniel Whitney, proprietor.

⁷⁰ John V. Suydam came to Green Bay in 1831 as an assistant teacher at the mission. Two years later, he became a partner with Ellis, in editing and publishing the *Green Bay Intelligencer*.

opened by the Oneidas the week before. Dr M & Mr C took off their coats. The ride upon the whole was pleasant to me. Stopt within 2 miles of D. C. [Duck Creek] & drank from a spring. Found Dr S. pleasant & intelligent. He had placed in the wagon several mosquito nets & a quantity of ice—& promoted by his attentions our comfort in a great degree. After riding thro the woods 6 miles we came to the settlement—log houses scattered on each side of the road, with perhaps 400 acres cleared—the crops looked promising. At parsonage about sun set.

The building had been much improved during the day. A shed had been erected for a kitchen where several Oneida women prepared the meals. A porch had been placed in front &c. The house had 2 rooms besides a large pantry. At tea we had venison &c. Two fires were kindled in front of the door to keep off the musqs & notwithstanding the heat I found the smoke attractive compared with the bite of those venomous insects. The ice was very refreshing not only to ourselves but to all visitors. Dr M was placed in the bed room—in the other we 4 slept with all doors & windows open. I had a good bed on the floor under a window & surrounded with a net—& slept pretty well.

The ch[urch], a log building is near the Parsonage. It has in a recess a chancel &c with a vestry room behind—an unfinished gallary in front—benches with backs. We walked there in the eveng & heard several of the Congregation practising music for next day with a good & well played bass viol

The morng of this day before we left the Mission was devoted to an examination of the girls school. It was very satisfactory. Girls who have been here two yrs only & who when they came knew not a word of English or a letter now equal in school learning girls of the same age in our District Schools in Conn. Some recited Hurrays Eng Grammar, Olneys Geo[graphy], Colburns Arith—read, spelled & wrote well. They appear obedient to Mr Crawford & affectionate to each other

We must buy some books for those children who have washed for us &c.

22. Col [George] Croghan whom I once knew & is now Inspector Gen of the Army is expected at fort Howard soon.

* * * * *

We assembled in ch at 10 oc. The people pressed to it until all seats were occupied & more benches had to be brot in. The men on one side the women on the other. About 10 infants in their peculiar cradles were kept in excellent order. Cobus Hill read part of the Service in

Mohawk, & hymns in that language were sung from books prepared by Methodists. The whole audience quiet & very solemn in their deportment. Mr C read Com[munion] Ser[vice]—Dr. M preached—then I said a few words from C H's [Cobus Hill's] reading desk on Lord's Supper—what we said was interpreted sentence by sentence by John Smith, born among them, but apparently the son of a negro by an Indian woman. John interpreted boldly but we far not correctly. The Lords Supper was then adm[inistered] to 69—say 3 Chi[lldren], 3 visitors (Dr S, Mr Suydam & Methodist School teacher) & ten Methodists, leaving 53 Com[municants] of the ch. After the Com[munion] Dr M read Bp O's letter & addressed the Os[Oneidas] on various subjects & particularly Temperence. Between one & two we went to the Parsonage, examining by the way the Cradles, one of wh had a profusion of silk shawls &c. The 9 chiefs came to us & delivered an address as an answer to Bp O's letter &c wh address was very poorly interpreted by Smith. To this Dr. M replied. Hill then thro Smith gave us an acc[ount] of the Coms[commandments?] & of a temperence Soc^{ty} (See report) and we all 8 chiefs C Hill, & Methodist teacher sat down to dinner consisting of 2 dishes of pork & beans, 2 chicken pies, squashes, potatoes, peas & rice pudding afterwards. Rather a deficiency of seats, spoons & tumblers—but upon the whole did admirably. Shook hands aff[ectionate]ly with all & started at 5 as we came.

Took tea with Dr S to whose politeness much indebted. Mr Whitney lent Dr M & myself his chaise & we got home ½ past 9

23. Wednesday. Nearly tired out. Rode with Miss Crawford & little Phebe Warren as far as Beards to give the child some fresh air. An amusing affair last Sunday between Mr B & myself about my being an Irishman. He insisted upon it, & shook me warmly by the hand. The weather was too warm for the child—a little Meno orphan fast sinking into the grave with scrofula wh has carried off several chld from the Mission this yr & wh is a very common disease particularly among the half breeds. Towards Sun set Miss C, her br & myself with 5 of the boys & a young Meno man as guide took a bark canoe & went to Navarino. I paddled part of the way. This mode of conveyance appears very attractive to all who have experienced it. Visited Whitney some stores &c & returned same way after 10 oc.

In the morning of this day we ex[amined] the school of the boys—were gratified—some passed—many acquainted] with Geogra[phy]—many wrote—but five of the present in arith—but boys have gone thro here with Dabolls & have commenced surveying, Nat Philoro &c. Dr. M ex[amined] in the Cat[echism]. One of the boys concerned in the late affair remains. None have been sent away—but their friends were

requested to take them. Presumptive evidence that the house was set on fire by some of those who were punished.⁷¹

24. (See above) 2 yrs ago when expecting Sacs & Foxes they had spies thro this country, even visiting the Mission. Reason why the french were not frightened.

The dinner today at Mrs. Ws was very formal—a written note was sent to each of us.

25. Wrote a letter to Mrs. Relf wh goes of course by Galena I hope I will get home before it—for it may be weeks in going—yet by writing I relieve at least for the time my anxiety about my precious ones at home.

Yesterday morng recd a note to each asking us to dine at Col Boyd's. Consented if at one for we had promised to go to-day with Mr W. to Grand Kakalin. A very good dinner roast venison with currant jelly—boiled chickens & ham &c. Although very hot we had a fine breeze in front of [the] Cols house where we remained until 5 oc when the boat at last appeared with 7 men & Mr. & Mrs. W. & Arndt—the boat leaked much. About a mile above Col B's the settlement ceases where on the left side used to be the E. C. Mission—we went on rowing, very pleasantly till dark when we came to the little Kakalin rapids near to wh Mr. Williams resides 9 miles above Navarino. From here the rest of the way 9 miles the men had to pole, & consequently to keep very near the shore. We were assalted in a most terrible manner by 1000s of mus from wh apparently nothing could defend us. This continued until 2 oc. My face & neck & hands & my legs between the top of boots & knees were bitten all over. The Moon rose at 11. by it Mr C could see my face swollen all over The irritation was intolerable. It affected the mind. And I could easily imagine a man driven to desperation by these insects. The heat was great yet a degree of chiliness & in order to keep off the mus we put on our cloaks & wrapt our faces in our handkerchiefs. About Midnight a slight breeze sprang up & revived us. The boat was well supplied with lemons, lemon surup, cold meats, bread & cheese. Mr W acknowledged in all his travels he had not experienced such an attack from Mus. Arndt had a net for the hat wh he loaned Dr M & was a great protection to him

30. Wrote up journal this morning Examined the pupils of the girls

⁷¹ In the Green Bay *Intelligencer* for Feb. 19, and successive issues, appeared the following advertisement, dated Feb. 6, 1834: “\$200 REWARD.—The undersigned, believing that an attempt was made by some incendiary on the evening of the 5th inst. to destroy the buildings occupied by the Protestant Episcopal Mission at this place, hereby gives notice that the above reward will be given to any person or persons who shall disclose and furnish such proof as will lead to the full detection and conviction of the incendiary as aforesaid.—RICH'D F. CADLE, Sup't.”

school upon the ch[urch] cat[echism], Scrip[ture], & hymns—& was much gratified.

Report of a schooner in the Bay. Here Dr. S. decides that Mr Gregory must not teach again, & and that he must go off with us.

Dr M. stories of England. Dinner at the house of the Father of the teacher of deaf & dumb he brot out with him a little of each dish at a time sent around on plates to each guest by the lady at the head of the family. His story of Williams the broker—16 servants, prayers—of Drummond, praying & expounding before 4 clergymen—of Bp of Winchester—hymn after dinner.

31. No schooner in sight now, the report of yesterday referred to a boat going to a Mill, It is now 4 weeks since I left my own dear home & precious children. About this time I expected to be there again, & here I am at the farthest distance from Norwalk, with no prospect for more than a fortnight yet of returning! God's will be done. Dr M is going on with his report. Last evening a shower. This morng cool & cloudy.

When the Foxes & Sacs were expeled, 2 yrs ago, a little boy at school who had a good suit of clothes begged permission to have them on every day as he expected soon to be killed & wld then have no opportunity of wearing them out.

Pishe was considered all but dying yesterday—but is now better. She will not talk about religion but assents to proper questions. She is of course childish & occasionally fretful.

I have recd from Miss Cadle a little Indian cradle &c for Lill, & a bundle of bark, a canoe & an indian hat

The 39 scholar admitted as a boarder into the school 13 Jan^Y 1831 a full menomenee, Makkemetas was named Jackson Kemper. His fathers name was Kakononequut. He was to be supported for 6 yrs. He deserted Oct 4, 1831.

Mr Cadles donations to the Mission to June 2d 1834 including 2 yrs salary (\$400 per ann) amount to \$1087.47 ½.

The day after we came here we drew the following orders, viz. for

Almon Gregory for 6 mos to May 7/34	\$125
Sarah Crawford do April 16/34	75
Leonard Groom do do 24/34	150
John Smith in full at rate of \$250 per ann	66.70

So cold today we had fire in the parlour for several hours.

Here Gen B & Dr S. The latter gave a certificate to Mr Gregory in favor of a temporary absence on ac [count] of ill health

At Navarino bot for Pishe a little watch & some raisins.

The water here is bad with out ice. It has both in the well & in my pitcher, a screen upon it.

August 2. Yesterday two more schooners were reported in sight,—the report was confirmed to us last night by Mr Whitney who came to see us. The one has about 50 Oneida Indians on board—the other has the mail—& this morng I was gratified by recg a letter from home dated 10 July, all well.

Among other papers Mr C has shown me one containing a statement of the boarding children admitted into the school by Roman Catholic parents or guardians & who have been gratuitously taught, clothed & supported. The support of a child is estimated at \$40 per ann, clothing 20, instruction 8—no charge for medical attendance or buildings. The period included is from Oct 25-29 to Jany 15-34. The result is, 148 years 11 mos & 10 days at rate of \$68 per ann= \$10,128 22-100.

Obtained yesterday some Menominee rice & specimens of the plant, flower &c. The grain looks like oats and is called Menominee by the Indians. Pine specimen of lead ore from Galena county by Mr. Whitney. Two fans from Miss Cadle—a wild goose & a prairie hen.

Yesterday I thought & dreamp't much of home & of Annest.⁷² How great the loss! How vivid the recollection! Mr. Ellis spoke of her beauty & appearance & said she was the most youthful woman to be the mother of children he had ever met with.

Judge Arndt promised to send me some rice to plant.

I asked Mr. Beall to put on paper his recollections of Mr. Cadle's trial.⁷³ This I consider a necessary caution against accidents.

I have finished reading this day Gutzlaff's voyages along the coast of china⁷⁴ p. p. 332. My want of facility in acquiring languages, my actual ignorance of every language except my own, my young & motherless children, my age—would it appears to me unfit me for the important & sacred station of being at the head of a Mission to china. I must write to Mr E. Newton to this effect. The door apparently opening is wonderful. G. considers the inhabitants of China at 362 Millions 1/3 of the people of the earth.

3. Dr M. complaining, will not leave the mission today. He has devoted himself for some days past to the report, & finished it yesterday. Yesterday was exceedingly sultry—today it will probably be as much so—

⁷² A pet name for his deceased wife.

⁷³ See *ante*.

⁷⁴ Rev. Carl. Gutzlaff's *Journal of three voyages along the coast of China, 1831-33*, published in 1834.

I have three services before me.

Col. Boyd & young Mr Beard⁷⁵ here yesterday. Prospects yet gloomy—the first schooner came in full of Oneida Indians, she is very filthy and offensive—the other goes to Chicago. A 3^d is expected—but when?

Commenced a letter yesterday to Mrs. Relf. Mr Gregory gave me a Sioux arrow. Mr. Groom returned at 11 last night from the Oneida prarie near little Kakalin & in neighbourhood of Mr. Williams. He has secured about 10 ton of hay

Visited yesterday with Mr. Cadle Mr Perry & Mrs. Irwin.

5. Aug tuesday 11 oc a. m. I am now in Lake Michigan on board the Sheldon Thompson steam boat on my way home. God be praised! Let me bring up my journal to the present. As Mr. Groom & I were going down to Navarino on Sunday mornig we heard there was a steamer in sight, but as none was expected presumed it was a mistake. Owing to a mistake in Mr Ellis paper wh appeared again yesterday after a silence of 3 mos & wh he promises to send me, I did not begin to officiate at the fort until 11, & sat some time with Lt Denny⁷⁶ & fam who I found were from Pitts[burgh]. He is br[other] to the member of congress. In the midst of the service before I got to the Litany, the Steamer I now am on passed the fort. My feelings were greatly excited for the moment & before the ante Com[munion] Ser[vice] I called Dr Satterlee up, who assured she could not under any circumstances leave here for some hours. I crossed after service to Mr. Whitneys & begged him to make inquiries concerning the sailing of the boat. Dined with Mr. Ellis and spent some time with Mr. and Mrs. [John Y.] Smith con[versing con[cerning]] baptism & particularly infant baptism. They expressed themselves satisfied & that their difficulties were removed—but did not bring their child to baptism. Mr. S in reference to the Mission & to the time that he & his wife were there said, the assistants were so few & were so occupied in daily concerns that they had no time to give to the religious education of the children. Officiated at 3 at Navarino & at 5 at the fort. Mr. Ellis, Groom & Crawford the Methodist teacher of the Oneidas at the fort in the Mornig—& they & Smith & Whitney in the afternoon. Dr. & Mrs. Satterlee who had just arrived in the Steam boat, Rev. Mr. Porter⁷⁷ Pres[byterian] clergy[man] of Chicago likewise are on Steam boat, Lt. Clary, some soldiers, & serjeant Watkins & wife & child (the latter I bap^d) came to the

⁷⁵ Henry S. Baird, then 34 years of age.

⁷⁶ St. Clair Denny, first lieutenant, 5th infantry.

⁷⁷ Rev. Jeremiah Porter, "the first resident Protestant pastor in Chicago."—Davidson, p. 154.

service at Nav. The S. T. has come from Buffalo with 150 soldiers recruited at New York, with their officers & other passengers. The recruits are left at their different stations as they are wanted, 13 are to remain here & the rest will go to the other posts—at fort Winnebago, the Mississippi &c. Having obtained some whiskey some of them became intoxicated and insubordinate. They were taken towards eve on the other side of the river & encamped in tents south of the fort. There has been today a melancholy display of Indians in Nav[arino]. Many wild Menominees fantastically dressed were about—but the Oneidas who have just arrived⁷⁸ were met most imprudently by their friends from Duck Creek & a scene of great intoxication and degradation ensued. The new comers were considerably civilized—had been industrious and frugal at home, & some had brot with them considerable sums of money i. e. a few hundred dollars. They were well, prettily, & neatly dressed—the women with men's hats ornamented with ribbons &c. But whiskey was cheap & plenty—& too many fell victims to its direful effects. I saw a man holding an infant in a cradle knock his wife prostrate twice—others rolling in the sand unable to rise. The whiskey was generally got I suppose from the shanties near Smiths. Crawford came down with the intention of hastening their departure to Duck Creek. They are all or most all professing Methodists. Happy wld it have been for them could they [have] been induced to travel with their goods today instead of spending the day in this awful manner. Not one at ch—Crawford attended all my services. 400 [dollars] were pd for the transportation or carrying of 110 Oneidas (Men, women & chid) from Buffalo to G. B. They behaved badly on board—when sea sick, vomited whenever they were on deck, in the hold over the baggage &c.—& the vessel, the Indiana, became contaminated, & soon after they landed some had premonitory symptoms of colera. There is by a law of the Territory a fine of 200 dolls for selling ardent spirits to Indians—& yet it cannot be inforced for magistrates, traders & it is said all the french. besides others will sell to them—& consequently no jury would convict a man of this crime.

Saw Col Croghan at the fort. I wld not have known him. He recollects me & said it was 17 yrs since we met. He arrived with Judge Doty, Mr Beard &c in the Nancy Dawson. Is Inspector Gen: of the army.

* * * * *

He married a Miss Livingston. He assured me he wld have been at Ch had

⁷⁸ A part of the Oneidas of New York, who were shipped to Wisconsin by the general government.

he not been expecting for some hours to start for fort Winnebago. He, Lt. Chapman & a soldier are going on horseback. From there he goes up the Misspi & is to locate a new fort &c & is behind his time.

Took tea with Judge Doty & spent an hour very agreeably. We are invited to dine with them tomorrow, provided they can get any thing to give us to eat.

Called for Mr Cadle at Judge Arndts where I found he had taken tea. Introduced to Judge Irwin⁷⁹ who holds the station Doty had before he was turned out by Jackson.

Milnor read our report to the Mission family—all, & particularly C & his sister appeared to approve of it.

We determine with grateful hearts to embrace the opportunity afforded by the Steam boat.

4. On friday eveng I made a short address to the children at family prayers, & now took leave of them, exhorting them to love one another. We packed up immediately after breakfast. Talked with Suydam about his becoming a candidate, directed him & promised to send him Horn's Intro. He gave me two MSS maps one of Green Bay, the other of Pox river—& a menomenie war club. Started from Mission house before 9 bidding all & affect[ionate] farewell. Found on our arrival at the boat she does not sail till 4 oc. Called at Whitneys, Smiths, Ellis—& crossed to the fort & called at Gen Brookes, Lt. Clary & Dr. Satterlees. B's youngest child very ill, it was on this ace Mrs. B not at Ch yesterday. S[mith]s were out. At Lt C's met Mr Porter.

Dined at Dotys—two chickens, whips, &c. They were at school together—Ives was with them—the butt of the boys & laughed at by the girls, to whom he used to show his compositions. I[ves] was never a common soldier & if in the army at all it must have been for a short time, perhaps he marched as a drafted militiaman to Sacketts harbour for a week or two. When I[ves] grew up he was sometimes supposed to be deranged. Doty knew Dr Satterlee when he was a frivolous dandy & cannot think much of him. To us he appears a noble minded active X^{an} gentleman. Capt & Mrs Croghan are it is said the only persons in the fort belonging to our Ch—& yet they have never step'd forward or invited us or crossed over to

⁷⁹ David Irwin. Henry Merrill, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 368, speaks of meeting him in Green Bay in the spring of 1834, and describes him as “a Judge of the Territory, one of the executive lights, sent out from the East to decide upon the law and evidence among the benighted inhabitants of this far-off and wild country. He was boarding with Judge Arndt.” See further characterizations of Irwin in *Id.*, vi, pp. 378, 446, 447. He succeeded Doty as U. S. district judge, in 1832, holding office until the formation of Wisconsin Territory (1836).

hear us—nor was I until yesterday introduced to her—& then she gave me the tips of her three fingers. D[oty] has travelled much thro this country—been to Lake Superior—up the Miss river to source &c Has a fine collection of specimens & bestowed several upon me, of agates, copper ore &c a sioux pipe, a deers head &c. I gave Cadle my Gutzlaff. We started before 4 oc—eleven cabin passengers—the boat & its accomodations vastly inferior to the Michigan. [Joseph] Rolett[e] the trader from Prairie du Chien, [Hercules] Dousman educated by Dr Rudd & son of the rich [Michael] Dousman of Mac—the son intelligent & living at the Prairie, Lt. Lacey,⁸⁰ a surveyor of the Territory lands, Winant collector of Mac⁸¹ &c Cadle, Doty, Groom, Smith, Whitney, Satterlee, Dr Worrell,⁸² Clary &c saw us off. The wind being a head blew the steam in our faces, no awning on upper deck—the heat was therefore great—almost impossible to pass to bow of the boat. Suydam's maps examined & pronounced incorrect—particularly Little Sturgeon Bay & the names of several of the islands. About 9 oc a fog coming up & being near some islands we stopped for several hours. It appears we waited for the accomodation of Roulet & his party from 10 to 4—& now we are to stop at Louse island to accomodate the collector.

5. My berth proved a sad one—bed bugs &c & very rocking—slept very little. Rose at day break when the boat started. Many passengers complain of dirt & vermin of the boat. Passed the beautiful eagle harbour—grape islands. Death's door the N: part of the Peninsula between L Mich & Green Bay, Bouers [Bowyer's] bluffs a most splendid display of natural fortifications—high perpendicular wall, angles & apparently port holes. When at Potawatamie or Louse island the Capt took the Collector ashore to fix upon a scite for a light house the Gov [ernment] has ordered to be built. With others went along. The water wonderfully transparent. The cliff nearly 100 feet in perpendicular height. We could land but that was all a shore was apparently formed by the gradual crumbling of the cliff—but it was only 2 or 3 feet wide. There were occasional ravines, but too steep to be ascended. The cedar trees crowned the cliff & were occasionally seen on the sides. After a vain attempt to ascend, we returned to the boat & coasted the cliff for some distance. It was a splendid and delightful scene. The cliff some times leaning beyond a perpendicular & disposed apparently in horizontal strata as if erected by the hand of man, looked like ruined castles or forts. It was a light gray

⁸⁰ Edgar M. Lacey, 2d lieutenant, 5th infantry.

⁸¹ Our diarist appears to have mistaken the name. Abraham Wendell, was at that time collector of customs at Mackinac.

⁸² Edward Worrell, assistant army surgeon.

limestone. The clearness of the atmo & the transparency of the water increased the brilliancy & picturesqueness of the scene. Finding the cliff extended a great way & concluding it wld require a day instead of an hour to examine the island &c we returned. Much is said of the clearness of these waters—certain subjects can be seen at a great depth say 6 or 7 fathoms—a white towel for instance tied to the line.

Doty spoke of the farming establishment for the Menominies. The two who are said to be appointed farmers are Arndt who even now when a judge sells whiskey * * * & Perry who is said to be lazy & who when he wants to have the garden of one of the farms hoed, after waiting a week there doing nothing, made a bee & treated the Indians to whiskey while they hoed the garden on a Sunday. It is doubtful however whether either of these men have been appointed. The death of Gov Porter is not considered a calamitous event for the Territory or the Indians. * * * All parties appear to be unanimous in the opinion that the Indians are injured on all sides. The government, the army, the traders, the agents (& the Missionaries to a certain extent) accuse each other. Many agents appear to prey upon them & have grown rich. The Government forces them to give up land wh it the Gov does not want. Some conscientious officers assert that traders have come within musket shot of their forts & sold without reserve, & that they cannot obtain from Gov the authority necessary to repress their efforts & drive the traders away. Rolet & others appear to think that all the efforts pledged to the Menos for their lands will be made without producing the least good. 5 good farm houses have been erected on cleared land for farmers who are to receive 500 [dollars] & their wives 300—and huts for the Indians in the woods—wh they say they will not live in. A saw mill is erected & a grist mill, both of wh it is feared will go to ruin—for no timber is cut, & the Menos have not yet learned & it is supposed they never will learn to plough &c.

Rolet an intelligent shrewd man has been 30 yrs an Indian fur trader—has lived for yrs among—a Canadian of french descent. Speaks severely of our Gov's conduct towards the Indians. He has a son at a presbyterian school & a dg[daughter] at a quaker sch near New York. He was educated at the Catholic college of Quebec. Appears tolerant perhaps deistical in his sentiments. He says Mr Cadle might have wiped [whipped] the boys till the blood came & starved & confined them for mos & there wld have been no complaint, but the cutting of the hair is a disgrace to the Indian not to be forgiven. He has authority & money from two fathers to prosecute Mr C—but he will not do it for he esteems both C & his sister. Even in his own case he says he cld not have forgiven the cutting off the hair. The boys were taken away last winter by Pauquette without

authority—Mr C ought not to have suffered them to go. R says the Mission has many enemies at Nav he was written to to prosecute &c. Dousman says the Mission has done much good, has been a great blessing & produced considerable effect at Green Bay. When he heard the heads were not shaved but only the hair cut short, he thot the affair quite changed. R has told me much concerning] the Indians & their lands. The wilder they are the better in his estimation—at all events they are free from many of the vices of the whites. The Sioux are yet in a wild state—men & women dress in Buffalo skins—the men have boot moccasins, the hair inside. Their robes are painted with figures of animals &c on outside. In hunting &c they often guide their horses by bearing their bodies to the side they wish to go. Their lodges are rendered very comfortable in winter by having Buffalo robes hung up in them. In hunting the Buffalo they go with their families in parties of 1 or 200. Two or 3 of the young warriors of the first families are appointed soldiers of the lodge. When they find a herd they fix a stake with a tuft of grass on the top beyond wh no hunter is to go. The men then, in two parties surround the herd, & having formed their circle approach & fire their arrows. Some of the animals when enraged will break thro but most are slain. Each warrior knows his own arrows, & is entitled to the skin & tongue of the animal he slew. The meat is in common. If ardor leads some of the hunters beyond the boundary stake, they can be punished by the soldiers by having their sugar kettles broken or their lodges torn down &c. A scalp is a cause of great joy—they dance frequently for half a year and then bury it. Lt. Lacy states that at fort Winnebago a woman supposed to be 90 danced incessantly for 2 days and nights when her son then an old man had obtained three scalps, & died in consequence of the fatigue. A family with a scalp does not hunt. It is a mark of distinction for a Sioux to have killed a man. An indian can fast a long while, but when he has plenty he is constantly eating, & they eat an immense deal. Their meat particularly the Buffalo roasted before the fire & cut off in thin slices as it is cooked & eaten is far more delicious than beef and more juicy. They will rise several times in the night & eat. Altho the Sioux have salt in their country particularly at Devil Lake they never use it except for their horses. Their meat is dried in the sun. Stratagem, or to take by surprise is their great object in war. If they know they are expected 300 will turn away from 3. They think more of the loss of ten men than we do of 1,000. The Sioux have shields made of Buffalo sinews joined together which will break the force of any ball. And the Assiboins once a tribe of the Sioux but now at war with them dress on horseback with a complete armour of sinews—even the whole head is covered except the eyes. R. has been along Green Bay &c at least 40 times. Along the

greater part of the Ouisconsin it is prairie land along wh a gig can travel. Prairie du Chien is 4 miles above mouth of Wisconsin. 300 miles above is St. Peters river, fort snelling & 4 above St. Anthony's falls. R's traders pass thro an immense country almost entirely prairie to buy skins. It is 1200 miles from Prairie du Chien to Selkirks settlement—where one could almost go in a gig, R was the first to take cattle there & he got 150 dollars a head.

Canoe (bark) of Chippeways this morng to sell fish & took bread. Passed a sch from Chicago—& Marshall Ney & Capt Ward. His wife, & idiot boy chained on board.

R's men sometimes covered with snow & remain in that situation uninjured for 24 hours.

At Mac at 11, at night.

6. When I arose at day break found we were still at Mac wh we did not leave until 7 this morng. Saw an Indian boy spearing fish & saw large trout & some white fish.

Sad reports concerning Perry—he has gone to Boston.⁸³ Rolet * * * smoked 25 cygars & drank 8 glasses brandy & water yesterday. Used to smoke 250 cygars per week, only learnt 11 years since.

A delightful but warm day. Passed one or two rapids going up. Our accommodations here have been bad enough, but we are apparently getting used to them. No subordination as we can see among the men. Sailors &c come & sleep in the cabin day & night. Bed bugs, dirty towels & a whole host of disagreeables. Mr. Oakes, wife & 2 chld from Lake de Flambeau where he has resided 4 yrs as a trader, on board. His first wife mentioned in treaty of fond du Lac.⁸⁴ He states that in winter of 32, 83 several lodges of Chippeways who had gone after Buffalo were starved to death, including about 60 persons. The Sioux had driven away the animals & the people perished before they could return. Before dark began to cross Saginaw bay.

7. Slept well last night thank God. Took this morng a sedative & was soon relieved from a slight head ache wh attacked me last night & wh I suppose was caused by living so much upon white fish & trout since we left Mac. The water was quite shallow as we approached the termination of the bay about 10 oc we could see most distinctly the bottom Delighted to see fort Gratiot, Wards &c & now & then many signs of cultivation

⁸³ "Mr. Ferry's health failed and 6th August, 1834, he was released from missionary service."—Davidson, p. 50.

⁸⁴ Charles H. Oakes. By the treaty at Fond du Lac of Superior, concluded Aug. 5, 1826, his wife Teegaushau, a Chippewa, and each of her children, were awarded a section of land.

vessels often appeared & one steam boat the Gen Gratiot. Finished McKenney's voyage⁸⁵ & Hoggs life of Sir W Scott.

8. Arrived at Detroit yesterday at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5—went to post office and saw Mrs Norvill—who stated there were 5 or 6 cases of colera daily I learnt afterwards the average rate of deaths daily of that disease were 4. Here Gregory left us. Recd 1[etter]s from Mrs Relf & Nichols. Started at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ & at 3 this morng arrived at Huron. A stage started for Mount Vernon before 4 in wh Dr M. went. Steerage passengers occupy best seats on deck, sleep on them night & day, one slept last night on the chain cable. A foolish fellow with essences for sale, ate a water melon before breakfast & during the day took every now & then some essence. Stopt at Cleveland at 11 & staid an hour—at Fairhaven or grand river & left it at 5. Deeply agonized today by the letter of yesterday. Got a new captain at Huron. Took on board some ladies, & things consequently assumed a better appearance. Know no one now but Lt. Lacey.

9. The boat stopt last night while I was asleep at Erie & to day we arrived at 11 at Buffalo. Not a storm or accident during the whole of the trip on the upper Lakes. Thanks to God thro X[Christ] my Red[eemer] for all his mercies. Pound that 9 had died of the colera here yesterday. Dined with Shelton—Mr Rathbone with whom he lives ill with the colera. 3 fam[ilie]s moving could not find Farmers Map of Michigan. Nothing from Ingraham for my 8 Dolls. Proof of the bad state of the Sheldon Thompson. Saw Morris & Porter. Old Mrs M not yet recovered from her Mac walk. Lts [letters] 2 from Mrs R. 1 from Lill. Mrs R perseveres. Started at 9 in the Stage for Batavia.

10. Rode all night very slow in a crowded stage & arr at Batavia at 8. Buel along—not polished. Dinner at Evans[ville]—called at Lays. Attentions of J. Milnor. Officiated twice. Rev. Mr Ernst—his opinion of Garvin. Milnor's presents—pd the bill—sat up to wake me.

11. Started at midnight alone—breakfast at Canandaigua. Dinner at—— Rev Dr Mills. An impudent observation.

⁸⁵ T. L. McKenney and James Hall's *Sketches of a tour to the lakes; character of the Chippewa Indians, and of incidents connected with the treaty of Fond du Lac* (Baltimore, 1827).