

**Planning for an Ethnographic Study of the Indigenous Heritage of the
City of Duluth**

Minnesota Historical Society Grant # 1208-12553

Comprehensive Final Report

September 2013

Abstract

This is the comprehensive final report of a project funded by the Minnesota Historical Society's Minnesota Historical and Cultural Grants with money from the Minnesota Legacy Amendment. The funding was requested by the Duluth American Indian Commission, now called the Duluth Indigenous Commission. The process, which was facilitated by historian and anthropologist Bruce White, took place over eight months and is intended to plan a grant application for funding of an ethnographic study. Based on planning meetings and activities, the study will employ oral tradition, document research, and archeological survey. Themes arising from the planning process include the following:

- Making Indigenous People and Places Visible
- Viewing the Land with Indigenous Values
- Asking for the Stories
- Duluth—Indigenous Metropolis
- Indigenous Women and Their Leadership Role in Duluth

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1. Goal of the Planning Grant

This grant funded a community-based planning process for an extensive ethnographic study of the Indigenous heritage of Duluth, with a long-term goal of making that heritage more widely known and appreciated.

In September 2013, a second grant proposal will be submitted for Legacy Amendment support to provide funding to conduct the ethnographic study.

Future grant proposals are anticipated to fund distribution and interpretation of the study. Another potential grant request may be to help fund protection of Indigenous sites identified as significant in the ethnographic study.

2. Background of the Planning Process

This project began in 2012 through meetings and discussions among members of the Duluth American Indian Commission, as it was then called, about initiating a process to raise the visibility of and knowledge about the Native American heritage of the city of Duluth, known to Anishinaabeg as "Onigamiinsing." (For more on the commission's history, see Appendix I.) In August 2012, Gabriel Peltier, who had been working with the commission, contacted Bruce White at the suggestion of Minnesota Historical Society SHPO staff to help formulate a process for conducting an ethnographic study of Native Americans in the city. White met with members of the commission and with members of the City of Duluth's Planning Department. With Peltier's help, White then drafted a proposal that requested a small grant from the Legacy Amendment Fund through the Minnesota Historical Society's grants office.

The grant proposal was approved by the Minnesota Historical Society and after negotiations between the Historical Society and the City of Duluth, a contract was issued. The City of Duluth approved the project in December 2012. The city contracted with Bruce White to manage the planning process as described in the grant; work began in January 2013. After the first meeting, at the end of January, Gabriel Peltier, who had expected to continue with the planning process, had to withdraw from working on the project. Because of Peltier's withdrawal, commission chair Ricky Defoe and ethnographer Bruce White jointly took over the role of project director. Skip Sandman, who is widely known as a spiritual leader in the Duluth area, agreed to act as cultural advisor to the project. Mike Flaherty, a local Duluth historian who has ties to the Indigenous community, provided information he has gathered over many years on Native places in the Duluth area.

From January to July, Bruce White and members of the Duluth American Indian Commission (which by March had voted to change its name to the Duluth Indigenous Commission) held a series of meetings at Gimaajii. Several meetings were attended by Charles Froseth, of the Duluth City Planning Department. In addition to small planning meetings, a wider community meeting was held on April 27. Invitations were issued through local media, Facebook, and a website, IndigenousDuluth.net, which Bruce White created for the project.

3. Work Completed in the Planning Process

To determine what elements should be included in an ethnographic study of the Indigenous heritage of Duluth, meetings were held with Indigenous community members and groups, as described in more detail in Appendix II. These meetings included regular gatherings of the Duluth Indigenous Commission, a commission-sponsored community meeting, and meetings held by Bruce White with community members and other knowledgeable people in Duluth and elsewhere. Those consulted were asked to help define the scope of future research, suggest questions to ask elders, identify sources of information, and describe ways to use the information collected.

Preliminary research on historical and archaeological documents and maps was conducted at the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office. Research into the presence of Indigenous people in Duluth was carried out online in relevant censuses, at the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center at the University of Minnesota Duluth Library, and in project ethnographer Bruce White's extensive research collections relating to his work into Anishinaabe and Dakota history in Minnesota.

It was determined during the planning process that there were many possibilities for interpretation to help educate Indigenous people about their own heritage (and educate the wider public as well). It was concluded that the ethnographic research should be undertaken before making decisions about how to use the information acquired.

For details on meetings and activities, see Appendix II.

4. Themes Emerging through the Planning Process

Throughout the planning process, a number of themes have emerged that appear to be fruitful avenues for further research and a means for educating the public about the Indigenous heritage of Duluth. These interwoven themes will provide a guide for the ethnographic study and possibly for later education and interpretation resulting from it.

Making Indigenous People and Places Visible

Throughout the planning process, the feeling has been expressed by many Indigenous people living in Duluth that they, their heritage, and their connection to the city are invisible. There appears to be little understanding that Duluth is an Indigenous place or that Indigenous people are connected to the history of the city.

As Ricky Defoe put it at an early project meeting, "The identity of the city of Duluth is carefully crafted but it does not include the Indigenous experience." The city's Viking heritage is noted, with Viking motifs found throughout the city. Attempts to mark the Anishinaabeg connection to the place have been less successful. An eagle staff placed at the Duluth Civic Center to mark the Indigenous connection to the city has been vandalized several times and the reason for its placement questioned. Determining the best ways to mark and interpret sites related to Indigenous heritage in Duluth is one of the challenges of this project.

Viewing the Land with Indigenous Values

Another recurrent theme is the belief that Duluth as a whole would benefit from understanding the perspectives on the land of Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous people. Such understanding has in the past and can continue to lead to taking a stewardship approach on issues, for example, protection of sacred cultural sites such as Spirit Mountain; the village and harvesting sites; natural features such as Lake Superior, the harbor, and the St. Louis River; and many animal populations. It is important to communicate Indigenous values relating to the land and to cultural places in the area. It is also important for the Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous people to communicate the spiritual meaning of the Duluth area.

Asking for the Stories

From the beginning of the planning process, it has been recognized that one of the most important parts of any ethnographic study would be interviewing elders with a connection to the Duluth area. Toward the end of the April 27 community meeting, commission member Carol Deverney spoke about the thoughts of her friend Mindimooye Eunice Lightfeather, a native of Red Lake who lives in Duluth. She suggested that the goal of this project could be expressed in a phrase in the Ojibwe language:

Gi-dan Adoodan Adizookana.

You should go ask for the stories.

The knowledge of those interviewed during the project will guide all other aspects of this project, including archival research, an archaeological survey, and the interpretation resulting from this project. A number of people were suggested for interviews, although they were not contacted during the planning process. Throughout the meetings it was emphasized that the interviews must be done in a respectful way. Tobacco must be given to request the interview. Those interviewed should be given an honorarium and, if they are required to travel, mileage money. It was also agreed that the information from the interviews should be initially for the exclusive use of this project and the wider community, unless determined otherwise by the commission. More on the interviewing process is provided in the outline of the ethnographic study, below.

Duluth—Indigenous Metropolis

While federally defined reservation communities are often the focus of historical research about Indigenous people in Minnesota and elsewhere, the history of Indigenous people outside those communities is also an important part their history and culture. All of this land was the land of Indigenous people long before the arrival of Europeans. Emerging from discussions and from research undertaken during the planning process is an understanding that the western end of Lake Superior, and the City of Duluth, have been gathering places for Indigenous people for hundreds of years.

When Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Lhut, after whom the city of Duluth was named, came to this place in 1679, it was in part to draw together all the tribes around Lake Superior.

In the 20th century, Duluth served as a central city to which tribal members from northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, and other more distant places, came to live and work. Their names are included in U.S. censuses from 1900 to 1940. Those to be interviewed in the ethnographic study

must include not only people with roots at the nearby Fond du Lac Reservation, but also people from White Earth, Nett Lake, Red Lake, Red Cliff, and many other places.

Indigenous Women and Their Leadership Role in Duluth

A recurrent theme in discussions throughout this planning process concerned the leadership role of Indigenous women, originally from many different places, in shaping the Duluth community. An August 12, 1926, article in the *Duluth News-Tribune*, for example, discussed the leadership of a Duluth Ojibwe woman named Jennie Beaulieu, a Duluth resident, in calling for reform of federal policies towards the Ojibwe bands in Minnesota. Further research must be done on her role in the Duluth community and Ojibwe affairs in Minnesota.

By the mid-20th century, Indigenous women had helped create some of the important social service agencies instrumental in fostering the Indigenous community in Duluth. More recently, they have created the American Indian Community Housing Organization, known as AICHO, which as discussed elsewhere in this report has worked with the Indigenous Commission on various community activities. See Appendix I.

5. Outline of the Proposed Ethnographic Study

The planning process revealed the desire of Indigenous people to be more visible and to have their heritage in Duluth more widely appreciated. To do this first requires gathering information about local Indigenous heritage through a collaborative, community-based approach, similar to the pattern employed in the work *Mni Sota Makoce* (2012), by Gwen Westerman and Bruce White. They researched the connections between people and the places they lived through oral traditions, archival records, and archaeology.

The ethnographic study to be undertaken on the basis of the planning outlined here will involve a community-based process, led by the Duluth Indigenous Commission, involving three main components: oral history, archival research, and an archaeological survey. Coordination of these project components will be done by the commission itself and by the project ethnographer, who will direct the project.

Interviewing Process

The interviewing process will be conducted under the supervision of the project ethnographer with the aid of commission chair Ricky Defoe and possibly an assistant/consultant knowledgeable in the Ojibwe language. Interviewees will be chosen on the basis of several criteria, including their knowledge of Indigenous traditions relating to the Duluth area, the length of their residence in the Duluth area, and their participation in the Indigenous community over the years. Questions to interviewees will seek information about place names in the Duluth area, events and traditions, sacred places, the knowledge that should be passed on to young people about Duluth, and many other topics relating to the themes discussed above.

Interviews will be undertaken following guidelines suggested in the Minnesota Historical Society's "Oral History Project Guidelines" (2001 or later updates). The interviews will be recorded on a digital audio recorder and in some cases with a digital camcorder. The completed interviews will be transcribed by a qualified oral history transcriber, following accepted

procedures. The project ethnographer will edit these transcripts and compile the information contained in them for the use of other project participants. Those interviewed will be informed of their rights and asked to sign an agreement form allowing their interviews to be used by the project and stored in an archives for later use. The agreement form used for interviews and the archives in which the oral history interviews and transcripts are to be stored will be a subject to be discussed in the early stages of the project. See below for discussion of archiving of project records.

Archival Research

Research will continue from the outlines in this report. During the planning process, the following outline of specific research topics was compiled, appearing here in historical/chronological order of topics to be researched:

- Origins: Traditional accounts of the origins of the geography and human presence in the Duluth area; cultural sites in the city related to that heritage.
- The geography of Duluth and its key location at the western end of Lake Superior; seasonal resources, habitation sites, and traditional technologies.
- The long presence of Dakota and Anishinaabeg at the western end of Lake Superior; interaction with other tribes at this location.
- The arrival of the French in the mid-1600s: The Jesuits, Sieur du Lhut, French fur traders; exercise of European hegemony in the region.
- Duluth in the British period; fur-trade posts and Native villages; later posts during the period of American control of the trade.
- The Treaty of 1826 at Fond du Lac; the later Treaties of La Pointe in 1842 and 1854; Chief Buffalo's reservation in the latter treaty.
- European-American settlement in Duluth, beginning in the 1850s; interactions with Native people.
- Railroad construction, shipping, mining, and development of the Duluth harbor; their impact on Indigenous people and Indigenous places.
- Views of Indigenous people in archival sources, including newspapers, manuscript documents, U.S. census information, and other public records, 1880–2010.
- Personal accounts of Indigenous people in Duluth in the 20th century.
- Social institutions serving Indigenous people in Duluth from 1940 on; the role of Native women in these institutions.

Archival research will be done by the project ethnographer and an experienced historical researcher who will assist him. Research can largely be conducted in Minnesota through online resources and at such locations as the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center, the Duluth Public Library, and the Minnesota Historical Society.

However, given the federal involvement with Minnesota Indian tribes through treaties and their aftermath, and the carrying out of Indian policies through various federal Indian agencies, it may be necessary to do some research at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., which contains many records on Minnesota Indian tribes never microfilmed. It is known, for example, that delegations of Minnesota Indians from the Duluth area—such as one led by the Ojibwe Methodist minister Frank Pequette, who lived in Duluth around 1900—went to Washington to deal with issues important to tribal groups in the Duluth area. Such records are not available on microfilm. In any case, research in Washington will be carefully planned to maximize the time available and minimize travel expenses.

The archival research will be summarized in the final project report, discussed below.

Archaeological Survey

During the planning process it was determined that an initial archaeological survey was needed to identify the potential for Indigenous sites within the boundaries of the city of Duluth. The goals of this survey would be to summarize what is known about Native American archaeological sites in Duluth; identify potential locations of unrecorded Native American archaeological sites to expand the general knowledge of the presence of aboriginal cultures within the city; and suggest sites that may need protection from future development.

Among other activities, this archaeological survey will include the following steps:

- Consult with Indigenous Commission, project ethnographer, and historical researcher to examine information already compiled on Indigenous sites in the Duluth area.
- Conduct an intensive literature review of the known site records and reports on file at the Office of the State Archaeologist (OSA) and State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO).
- Visit and examine artifacts from the city held in institutional collections at the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), tribal offices, universities, and local historical societies, as well as review any additional literature on archaeological sites held by these institutions.
- Work with a geomorphologist to reconstruct the paleo-environment of Duluth, including the locations of past lakeshores and river/stream meanders.
- Review aerial photographs, historical maps, soil surveys, and other environmental information to identify areas with intact landforms.
- Review contact-era maps, accounts of early explorers, and other relevant primary documents for indications of locations used by Native Americans.

- Using this data, plot the reported sites on a map of the city (both by associated period, e.g., Archaic, and cumulatively) together with areas of intact landforms to illustrate what is known about the presence of Native American sites and where additional sites may be located.
- Visit the locations of recorded and reported archaeological sites located on public land to document their current condition. No subsurface testing or collection of artifacts survey will be done, but a work plan will be developed for future archaeological surveys.
- Record new site locations identified during the completion of this study on standard OSA site forms. Complete updated forms if a field visit reveals the site has been destroyed or seriously impacted since its initial recording.

A detailed report of the archaeological survey will clearly explain the research design and summarizes the findings of the literature search, collections research, collector interviews, fieldwork, and analysis, as well as recommendations for future research. The report will contain historic contexts for the relevant cultural complexes and their manifestation in the Duluth area. The report will also contain a stand-alone section, suitable for use by non-archaeologists, explaining the findings and potential for archaeological sites in the city.

Final project report

The final project report, to be written by the project ethnographer in consultation with the members of the Duluth Indigenous Commission and project participants, will summarize the oral history, archival research, and archaeological survey, with a goal of making this information available to the wider Duluth community.

To facilitate the later use of this information for interpretive purposes, the final report will consist of a readable non-technical narrative describing the history and the heritage of Indigenous people in the Duluth area, a detailed compilation of information about individual places of Indigenous importance in Duluth, and a list of sites in need of protection and preservation. The completed report will provide the basis for interpretation and education the long-term goal of making Indigenous people more visible and their heritage better known can be pursued through.

Archiving of Project Records

For many Indigenous communities the storage and use of records produced from oral history interviews and other research relating to their communities is a sore spot. Many view research projects as involving taking something of value from their communities and using it in ways that are not beneficial to them. As noted earlier the question of the use of oral histories and other the materials compiled in the project—and making sure that the materials collected are used for the good of the project and of the community before any other uses are made—is of some concern to members of the Indigenous Commission. Guidelines and procedures for this project will have to be formulated during the initial stages of the ethnographic study. However, initial discussions have already taken place with Patricia Maus, archivist with University of Minnesota Library's Archives and Special Collections about placing the materials from the project in the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center. She stated that she had an interest in acquiring these materials but

she advised that it was "prudent to wait" to negotiate such a transfer of materials until the project was well underway.

6. Evaluation of the Planning Process

The success of the planning process currently funded by a grant from the Minnesota Historical Society was to be measured by the completion of specific products:

- a plan for ethnographic study of the Indigenous community in Duluth,
- a list of key individuals to be interviewed for oral history, and
- a compilation of places of importance to Indigenous heritage in the Duluth area.

A plan for an ethnographic study of the Indigenous community appears above.

A list of key individuals to be interviewed for the oral history has been started, and it was decided to include at least 15 individual narratives for the ethnographic study. Individuals will be chosen based on their length of residence in Duluth, their participation in Indigenous activities in the city, and their knowledge of oral traditions about the region. To preserve the confidentiality of the individuals identified so far, and the flexibility of the research process, it was felt to be important not to include their names in this report.

A compilation of places to include in the Indigenous heritage study has been started. This compilation is attached as Appendix III. Through discussion and research, it has become clear that further archival research needed to be done on this list, both to expand it, and to provide additional information for an archaeological survey. It is also necessary to do broader research in order to place the history of these sites within the context of the full history of Indigenous people in Duluth.

The planning process has reinforced the Indigenous community's conviction that there is a rich history of Indigenous culture in Duluth to be uncovered in an ethnographic survey that comprises oral history of elders, research of written documentation, and examination of archaeological sites.

Two changes in have emerged from the planning process:

- In the grant proposal, the term "American Indian" was used to define the ethnographic study group. It became clear, as reflected in the recent process undertaken to change of the name of the Duluth American Indian Commission, that this community prefers being referred to as "Indigenous." This term will be used in future grant proposals and reports, along with occasional use of the term "Native American" where appropriate.
- The original geographic focus was the City of Duluth. During the planning process, it was noted that to document various aspects of the Indigenous presence in Duluth, such as seasonal activities and the history of Indigenous use of the Duluth-Superior bay and harbor, it will sometimes be necessary to make reference to the wider area of the head of Lake Superior, including the St. Louis River and surrounding regions of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

7. Enduring Value of the Ethnographic Study Planning Process

The enduring value of the planning process is dependent on following through on the ethnographic study described above. The Duluth Indigenous Commission will have a continuing role in the conducting of the ethnographic study and in the development of interpretive projects. The Commission will also carry out any recommendations that result from this planning project, be involved in applying for additional grants, and advise on carrying out future interpretive projects.

It is important to the enduring value of this planning process and the ethnographic study that information gathered during the study be made available to the public so that Indigenous heritage can be better understood and appreciated, both by the Indigenous community of Duluth and by the wider Duluth community.

As discussed above, during the planning process, the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center at UMD Library was identified as a place to house and make accessible information gathered, including research notes, oral histories, and transcripts. This will be a subject for decision in the early stages of the ethnographic study. Other Information can also be accessible online through the City of Duluth's Indigenous Commission website and on the website created during the planning process: IndigenousDuluth.net.

Appendix I

History of the Duluth American Indian Commission/Duluth Indigenous Commission

Creation and Goals of the Duluth Indigenous Commission

The Duluth American Indian Commission was created in April 2002 by the Duluth City Council (Ordinance No. 9529, 4/8/2002; Article XXVIII, Chapter 2 of City Code). Its purposes, as stated on the City of Duluth's website, are as follows:

- To ensure that the views of the American Indian community are incorporated in the decision making, future planning, and stewardship of the city of Duluth.
- To endeavor to act as a guide in the development of public policy, planning and services so that the American Indian community is adequately represented in these processes and increase understanding and acceptance of the American Indian community and culture.
- To increase American Indian community involvement in all aspects of community affairs in Duluth.

The website, noting that "American Indians are the single largest minority group in Duluth," states that the commission was formed to help facilitate communication between citizens of American Indian descent and the city. The commission attempts to achieve its objective through three methods:

- Increasing public understanding and acceptance of the American Indian community and culture.
- Developing [a] process to institutionalize dialogue with the City Council, Mayor's office and City Departments.
- Creating American Indian community involvement in other aspects of City and community affairs.

In March 2013, and during the course of this planning study, the commission voted to change its name to the Duluth Indigenous Commission and to adopt new bylaws:

As a commission we are committed to building alliances with governmental, Tribal, and community partners that will support the restoration of Indigenous cultural values and principles, thereby creating collaborative relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous citizens.

We utilize natural laws in the stewardship of the land and its resources. We reclaim cultural beliefs, prioritizing self-determination and Indigenous worldviews relevant to all these relationships.

The commission further commits to addressing concerns pertaining to the Indigenous community, providing a forum to secure an Indigenous voice in decision making. We look to promote and develop leadership by advocating and formulating policy to its implementation.

The standard we will utilize is The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted Sept. 13, 2007.

Duluth Indigenous Commission Concerns and Activities

The Duluth Indigenous Commission actively pursues comments and opinions from the Indigenous community of Duluth. Among the Commission's major concerns are assisting in housing development, supporting a community center to facilitate services, improving relations with the police department, protecting significant Indigenous sites in the City, and protecting Lake Superior.

Community Representation

Since its inception, the commission has held monthly meetings and, since 2007, an annual Feast and Forum. The Feast and Forum is an event at which free food is served, followed by an informal public forum. According to the city website, "This allows commission members to listen to comments and opinions of citizens. The intent is to hear directly from residents, especially those who would not normally attend official public hearings."

Members of the commission have acknowledged that to accomplish its mission, Indigenous people have to have a more active role in educating the public about the heritage of Duluth, which would increase the pride of Native people themselves and improve relations with the non-Indian public. At the commission meeting in June 2012, a commission member stated that "the Native population should have more representation and recognition, i.e., in local parades and events such as Grandma's Marathon (being at the open and closing ceremonies) and drum groups at the schools. Need to have more opportunity to reach the community."

Housing Development Assistance and Community Center

Over the years, the commission has provided an opportunity for Indigenous people in Duluth to raise issues of importance to the community. The commission helped the American Indian Community Housing Organization (AICHO) in the planning for, purchasing, and remodeling of the former Duluth YWCA building and the adjacent Trepanier Hall to provide housing and a community center for Native people. The building is called "Gimaajii Mino Bimaadidizyann" (or simply "Gimaajii"), meaning "Together we are beginning a good life." As stated in AICHO's 2009 grant application,

The American Indian Center component of the project was also developed at the request and with the assistance of the Duluth American Indian Commission. Native Americans, Duluth's largest population of color, lack a location to gather for community events, groups, meetings, and social and recreational opportunities. Traditional practices such as burning sage and tobacco, which are often a part of gatherings and events, are not allowed in many public locations, including Duluth's community centers. The American Indian Center was created to fill the need for a culturally specific community space and to serve as a centralized location for American Indians and low-income people to access needed services.

Improvement in Police Relations

An ongoing concern of the commission is the interactions of police and Native people. In 2012, the commission pushed for the establishment of the Duluth Citizens Review Board for the purpose of "fostering relationships and strengthening trust and communication between the police department and citizens of Duluth in furtherance of the best interests of the city and all of its residents." The commission has also pushed for the hiring of Native officers by the police department.

Protection of Sites Important to Indigenous People

The protection of cultural sites of importance to Indigenous people in the Duluth area has been another commission priority. Spirit Mountain in particular is viewed as a site of spiritual and cultural importance. At many points the commission has emphasized the importance of protecting the site, preventing additional development on it, and ensuring that Indigenous people are involved in making decisions about it.

The marking of sites of Indigenous importance in Duluth has also been an ongoing concern of the commission. Members of the commission were involved in the effort to rename the Highway 23 bridge across the St. Louis River. Built in 1919, the Fond du Lac Bridge was renamed in 2008 after the famed Ojibwe leaders and warriors named Biauxwah (father and son) to honor all Native American veterans. Members of the commission were involved in the creation of signage at both ends of the bridge and participated in a dedication ceremony.

Over the years members of the commission have pointed out that statues and markers in Duluth commemorate the Vikings and other aspects of European heritage but that far fewer commemorate the city's Indigenous heritage. At the commission meeting in September 2008, Warner Werta noted that he had visited a replica of one of Columbus's ships that had been brought to Duluth. According to the minutes of the meeting, Werta said he did not understand "why the dominant culture doesn't recognize the pain these things cause."

Protection of Lake Superior

The pollution of Lake Superior has also been viewed as an Indigenous issue. In March 2006, the commission voted to express its concerns about barrels containing hazardous waste that the U.S. Department of Defense had placed in Lake Superior during the Cold War years. On the same issue, at a commission meeting in June 2007, Ricky Defoe noted, "Lake Superior is a sacred site." At a meeting in May 2010, he noted that one of the purposes of the commission was "the stewardship of the land."

Appendix II

Planning Meetings and Activities

The major goals of this project have been to do the planning necessary to complete an ethnographic study of the city of Duluth, involving oral history, archival research, and archaeology; to use the information gathered to identify and protect Native American sites in Duluth; to interpret those sites and full Native history; and to educate the broader public about Duluth as a Native American place.

This planning has taken place during a series of meetings and one-on-one discussions involving members of the commission and other stakeholders in the Indian community of Duluth.

Dr. Bruce White, ethnographer and project director, attended all project meetings and submitted the following meeting notes.

January 31, 2013

The first meeting of the commission subcommittee dealing with this project involved discussion of the process to be undertaken and the reasons for doing so. As an important first point, it was noted that when people visit the city and see explanations of its history, there is very little to indicate that Native American people have been here before. As Ricky Defoe put it, "The identity of the city of Duluth is carefully crafted but it does not include the Indigenous experience." Yet Indigenous people have always been associated with the western end of Lake Superior. The elders going back generations have been in Duluth. But when people talk about Duluth they do not mention "the Old Ones" who used to be here.

Over the years various disputes have arisen about the Native American presence in the city of Duluth. Places like Park Point, Spirit Island, Spirit Mountain, and Fond du Lac, all within the boundaries of the city, are known to have been associated with Native people, yet Native people are not always heard in public discussions about these places.

This project is important because it will be guided by the interests of Indigenous people. The research that is conducted should be designed to achieve the goals of Indigenous people themselves, not the interests of outside academics or non-Indian people and institutions. For this reason, and because some of the work done may disclose information about sacred sites significant to Indigenous people and groups, those who work on the project should be required to sign an agreement not to disclose the information collected except in a manner guided by the members of the Indigenous Commission.

Mike Flaherty, who is a historian and a member of the Duluth Indigenous community, agreed to provide information he has gathered over the years about important sites in Duluth. He said he could begin work at any time. Flaherty discussed the information he has already compiled about the Chief Buffalo reservation, a square-mile area set aside in Article 6 of the Treaty of 1854:

The Ontonagon band and that subdivision of the La Pointe band of which Buffalo is chief, may each select, on or near the lake shore, four sections of land, under the direction of the President, the boundaries of which shall be defined hereafter. And being desirous to provide for some of his connections who have rendered his people important services,

it is agreed that the chief Buffalo may select one section of land, at such place in the ceded territory as he may see fit, which shall be reserved for that purpose, and conveyed by the United States to such person or persons as he may direct.

Buffalo's reservation was selected within the present city limits of Duluth and has been the subject of litigation. Fully researching this topic and provide information on it to the public should be part of any ethnographic study.

March 7, 2013

Prior to this meeting, Mike Flaherty completed a draft of his description of Indigenous sites in Duluth, which was then distributed to those in attendance. This and a later addition are contained in Appendix III.

The meeting began with a discussion about compiling a list of elders for the oral history project, but its focus changed to planning for a meeting with the Indigenous community of the city and the region to inform people of the planning process and get ideas about how to proceed. It was decided to hold the meeting in Trepanier Hall, located next door to AICHO. The hall will hold up to 150 people. Tables could be provided for serving a feast. Various food options were suggested and options for the event and for publicizing it were discussed. The agenda will be publicized and will include explaining the importance of conducting the survey and inviting people to contribute ideas. It was decided that the afternoon of Saturday, April 27, would be the best time for the event. (Following this meeting in March, Michelle LeBeau and Nicole Olson of AICHO helped make arrangements for the community gathering.)

There was further discussion of the rationale for the ethnographic study. As commission member Carol Deverney put it, "We want to make people aware of our heritage because right now we are invisible. We want to make Indigenous people visible."

March 26, 2013

Bruce White and Chris Soutter visited the Minnesota State Historic Preservation office in St. Paul to survey the files relating to cultural and archaeological sites in the city of Duluth. A 1976 *Duluth-Superior Harbor Cultural Resources Study*, conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society Archaeology Department, lists seven "Indian sites," including three cemeteries or burial grounds, two portages, one trail, and one village site. While the possible locations of these sites have been mapped, it does not appear that this has been done with precision. Accurate mapping could be accomplished during the ethnographic study.

The purpose of identifying these sites would not be to find artifacts, but to identify and protect those that are sacred, sites that predate written history. In doing so, it is important to use discretion, but this has to be balanced with the need to tell the Indigenous story and change the collective consciousness of the wider public about the Indigenous heritage—not only of the Anishinaabeg, but also of the Dakota, whose remains and dust are part of the land. Too often whites view Indigenous people as stereotypes, a practice embedded in American culture. Reclaiming the Native American identity of Duluth is important, both for the city and for Indigenous people themselves.

March 28, 2013

The meeting began with a discussion of the spirit that needs to guide the ethnographic study. It was felt that it should be inspired by Anishinaabe ways. It is important to say to people, "We are still here." The heritage of Duluth "needs to be remembered."

Possible archaeological sites were discussed, including a rumored ancient copper mine and various maple sugaring camps dated from the 1860s and earlier. Ancient trails crisscrossed the city and were turned into roads. Streams that nourished Indigenous communities now flow through city parks.

Ricky Defoe brought up the theme of sustainability. Throughout the country, Americans are looking for their roots, seeking that which has been taken from them. Making people aware of Native American heritage must be seen as part of this process. This includes making people aware of Indigenous meanings and Indigenous thought about the place, the environment, the world.

The message to be conveyed about the community meeting on April 27 was discussed. It is important to let people know that "the Duluth Indigenous Commission is interested in your stories." A possible website was discussed. The meeting itself could go on for three hours, starting with a program, including a speaker, followed by lunch and further dialog. A decision was made to ask a local deli to cater a meal and to get a drum group to play. The money to pay for this would be raised outside of the funds provided by the grant since they were not part of the original proposal.

Various publicity outlets were discussed:

- Press releases—reservation newsletters, Duluth and Superior newspapers, *Duluth Budgeteer*
- Posters—libraries, community centers, churches, Indigenous Center, medical clinics
- Announcements at meetings for seniors and youth
- Web—Commission website, Bruce set up project website, MNIN listserve

Also discussed were potential projects that would use the ethnographic study's narrative and data base to educate the community. These ideas included developing a curriculum for schools and community groups; identifying important indigenous sites; creating informational material such as highway signage, a pocket guide, a historical tour guide, and newspaper articles; and protecting culturally important land from development, perhaps in a trust

April 8, 2013

With the aid of his colleague Chris Soutter, Bruce White wrote a press release for the community meeting, which was then sent out to various media. White also obtained the use of the domain name IndigenousDuluth.net, put the press release there, and created an event page on Facebook. Subsequently Ivy Vainio at Fond du Lac helped publicize the event to her wide circle of Facebook friends. This is the text that was sent out and put online:

April 27 Community Meeting—Recovering Duluth's Indigenous History

The Duluth Indigenous Commission (formerly the Duluth American Indian Commission) wants to hear the stories of Native people with connections to the Duluth area. On Saturday, April 27, 2013, at 1:00 p.m., the Duluth Indigenous Commission is sponsoring a meeting of members of the community to begin to recover Duluth's Indigenous history and culture. The meeting will be held at Trepanier Hall, 212 W. Second St., next door to the Gimaajii-Mino-Bimaadizimin building in downtown Duluth. The meeting will include speakers, a drum group, food, and the opportunity for Duluth's Indigenous community to have its voices heard.

In September 2012 the Indigenous Commission, under the auspices of the City of Duluth, received a planning grant from the Minnesota Historical Society, through the Legacy Amendment Historical and Cultural Heritage Grants program, to plan an ethnographic study of the contributions of Native Americans to the history and culture of Duluth.

The goal of the planning grant is to write a grant proposal for a larger project to study the Indigenous heritage of Duluth, and to suggest goals for such a study. What places in Duluth are important to Indigenous heritage? Who are the elders who should be interviewed for the study? Should an archaeological survey be done to identify and protect Native American burial places in Duluth? What are ways to tell the Indigenous story to the larger Duluth community? These are just a few of the questions that the Indigenous Commission wants to ask at the community meeting on April 27.

Among the speakers at the meeting will be David Mather, Archaeologist with the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office in St. Paul, who will speak about the possibilities for identifying, preserving, and interpreting Native American archaeological sites in the Duluth area.

For more information, contact Ricky Defoe at rdefoe@indigenouduluth.net or 218-340-4148. Also visit the Indigenouduluth.net website for more information or to leave messages about the project.

The Duluth Indigenous Commission is committed to building alliances with governmental, tribal, and community partners that will support the restoration of Indigenous cultural values and principles, thereby creating collaborative relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous citizens.

April 16, 2013

Bruce White met with Jill Doerfler of the University of Minnesota Duluth Native American Studies Department to discuss the project. Later in the afternoon, Ricky Defoe and Skip Sandman met with Bruce White at Trepanier Hall to discuss the details of the community meeting on April 27. The next day Defoe and White made arrangements with the nearby Fourth Street Deli to provide food for the meeting.

April 26, 2013

Bruce White met with Linda LeGarde Grover to discuss aspects of the project planning. Grover spoke favorably of the idea of using historic markers and other means to highlight Indigenous heritage in Duluth. She suggested Oneota, Fond du Lac, and Minnesota Point/Park Point as possible sites for signage. Many other locations could be identified, but she stressed that it is important not to make sacred sites public. In addition to markers, cellphone tours could be a way to educate people about Indigenous history. Grover also mentioned several women's social service agencies that are part of the Native American heritage in Duluth, helping Indian people who were relocated to Duluth without resources. It would be good to tell the stories of these agencies and the women who led them. She also noted that in addition to the story of Chief Buffalo and his land grant contained now within the city of Duluth, Chief Buganageshig, the chief from Leach Lake whose trial in Duluth contributed to the so-called Leech Lake Uprising in 1898, may also have had other associations with the city.

April 27, 2013

A community-wide meeting was held at Trepanier Hall from 1 to 4 p.m. A meal was served by the nearby Fourth Street Market and beverages were supplied by AICHO staff. The drum group Little Horse—which includes commission member Terry Goodsky—played. David Mather, archaeologist with the State Historic Preservation Office, spoke at the meeting. People who entered Trepanier Hall had the opportunity to sign in. A total of fifty did so, though more than sixty people were present at the meeting.

The meeting began with smudging. Ricky Defoe then greeted everyone, explaining the origin of the project, the stewardship role of the commission, and the desire to provide an alternative to the European view of the region. He then conducted a pipe ceremony.

Skip Sandman spoke about what happened after he was brought tobacco and asked to be part of the project. The spirits came and gave him a long dream. The dream was about the migration of the Anishinaabeg when they came to this area. It was not just a migration of people but also had a sacred part. The spirits revealed to him that there were originally three lodges in the Duluth area but through time, two of the lodges were lost. "The thing is that they don't lie. The Old Ones don't lie." The Duluth area was the place where the Anishinaabeg stopped in their migration west from Madeline Island. He said that he hoped the ethnographic study would aid in recalling some of the important places and that through this process it will be possible "to have those Old Ones heard again."

Long before the French were here, we were here. Long before we were here, Sioux people were here. And as the progression goes, things are lost to history, but they don't want to be lost. They want to be remembered. They said that people will always remember you for three generations. But we're talking about ten generations back . . . It's our responsibility as Anishinaabeg people to bring that forward.

Bruce White then spoke about his role in the project. He said that except for what people told him, he did not know anything about what was important in the Indigenous heritage of Duluth. He was asked to come and be part of this project so that Indigenous places in Duluth could be seen, so that Indigenous people could be seen and not be invisible. He spoke about the different

roles of oral history, written records, and archaeology in doing this work. He said that the whole project would be guided by the community itself.

David Mather spoke next. He said that he was excited to hear about this project and that if it is carried forward, it would be a model for other communities, because no one else has done a project like this one. He spoke mostly about archaeology, but he noted that archaeology is just one way to connect with the past. He described various kinds of archaeological surveys, the role of which is to identify and protect archaeological remains and the sites where they are found. It is good to do a project like this in which historical interviews were done first, as part of the research strategy, to learn where things were and whether it was appropriate to dig at all. Mather described several ways of preserving sites, including the National Register of Historic Places, the Minnesota Historic Sites Act, the Field Archaeology Act, and the Minnesota Cemeteries Act; each provides a different degree of legal protection. He gave examples of various kinds of sites that have been explored or surveyed using ground-penetrating radar and a new system called LIDAR, a laser-guided form of surface imaging, the acronym of which is sometimes said to stand for "Laser Imaging, Detection and Ranging."

Ricky Defoe concluded the program by saying that the vision of the commission was not to find further examples of European sites, but rather to "solidify and clarify" the Indigenous heritage, then seek examples of those things that are Anishinaabe and from the Dakota even earlier. This place was Indigenous land from the beginning. It was important to lend credence to the oral histories, all those stories, the *adizookanag*, told for generations. Today was an opportunity to ask questions but also to carry something from the meeting to talk about with our families. He concluded:

We have connection to the past. The Old Ones said that we had connection all the way back to Original Man. When we do things with perseverance and honor and ceremony . . . we just have to access that . . . Everything begins with that tobacco in this way. It starts in the Anishinaabe way with tobacco.

Dr. Robert Powless, former chair of the commission, spoke briefly. He said he was pleased by how many people came to the meeting. "This is something that is going to grow and prosper," he said.

After this, people ate. Toward the end of the meeting, Carol Deverney spoke about the thoughts of her friend Mindimooye Eunice Lightfeather, native of Red Lake, living in Duluth. She suggested that the goal of this project could be expressed in a phrase in the Ojibwe language:

Gi-dan Adoodan Adizookana.
You should go ask for the stories.

May 30, 2013

The purpose of this meeting was to discuss what happened at the community meeting on April 27, what must be done to complete the current planning grant, and what questions must be answered to submit a new application once the new round of Legacy Grants begins this summer.

Ricky Defoe began by discussing the need to base any future project on the connection to the land. The soil of Duluth is made up of the blood and bones of Indigenous people, deep in the ground.

Bruce White noted that one of the important questions that will be asked both in relation to this grant and to any new grant proposal has to do with sustainability. Is the applicant group capable of following through on the proposal? Is the project sustainable? Defoe responded by noting that the evidence of sustainability is simply that "We are still here." After all that has happened in the last 200 years, the Anishinaabe and Indigenous people in general are still here, in Duluth and elsewhere.

Whatever is done in Duluth cannot be just modeled on what has been done elsewhere. Duluth must have its own model. It must fit Duluth, the geography, the institutional setting, and everything else that is characteristic of this place and that is necessary to change the collective consciousness of people here.

The question of signage as one means of interpreting the information that is gathered was raised. Signs with QR codes and cellphone tours could also be helpful in making use of newer technology to interpret information. The meaning of street names would be useful, such as the meaning of many Ojibwe names used in Duluth: Mesaba (and other variations), which is the name of a street, a railroad, and a building, and Kitchi Gammi, which is the name of a club in the city, a variation on the Ojibwe name *Gichigami*, for Lake Superior. The location of the original Chief Buffalo Reservation created in the Treaty of 1854 could be identified through street signs, a pocket guide, or a map distributed to the public. The information collected could be also be used in curricula. A long-term goal could be an interpretive center located in the Duluth area. In the meantime, the information gathered, including research notes, oral histories, and transcripts, could be housed temporarily in the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center at UMD Library.

Carol Deverney proposed locating four signs or markers at important Indigenous sites at the four directions people enter and leave Duluth: on the west, a marker at Fond du Lac; on the north, at Highway 61, a memorial to John Beargrease; on the south, City Hall and the Chief Buffalo Reservation; and on the east, the Indian village on Minnesota Point. Ricky Defoe noted that something like this had already been done in a spiritual way, which of course would not be part of the interpretive markers.

It was noted that the aims of the research, to make Indigenous people visible and to reclaim the Native American heritage of the city, is in keeping with the role of the American Indian Commission—now Indigenous Commission—since its creation by the city more than ten years ago.

It was decided to try to complete a draft of the report on the current planning process by the end of June and that another planning meeting would take place just before the meeting of the commission on June 17 in City Hall. Bruce White will attend both meetings.

June 17, 2013

For various reasons, the planning meeting did not take place. Bruce White gave a presentation at the regular meeting of the commission. He summarized the planning process and discussed the themes that have developed during that process. Ricky Defoe asked what remained to be done to plan for the next grant. White stated that the idea of doing research, oral history, and an archaeological survey were clear, but that what was not clear was what should be done with the information that is gathered. What form of interpretation should communicate the information to the general public: signage, interpretive guides, cell-phone interpretation, or (in the future) an interpretive center? This will have to be decided before a new grant proposal can be written, unless it is decided to make the next proposal simply for a research phase.

Commission member Tina Olson raised questions about the grant process, suggesting that it is sometimes difficult for communities to have their voices heard and their interests represented in what gets funded. White stated that it was up to the commission and the community to determine what project it wanted to pursue and that he would write a new grant proposal that represented that.

Commission member Terry Goodsky announced that after discussion with the organizers of Grandma's Marathon, there would be a ceremony to mark this year's race, on Friday, June 20.

June 18, 2013

Bruce White met with Tadd Johnson, a lawyer and former solicitor general of the Mille Lacs Band, who currently hosts the television show *Native Report* and teaches at the University of Minnesota Duluth. Johnson made several suggestions for the project and discussed possible elders to interview.

White also spoke on the phone with several contract archaeologists and met with them later in the week. White received suggestions for an archaeological survey that might be done in Duluth, including coverage and possible cost. It was emphasized that such a survey would not likely include any shovel testing, since it would be necessary to first do a thorough literature search and examination of records relating to the likely location of Indigenous archaeological sites in the city.

July 15, 2013

At the regular monthly commission meeting Bruce White spoke about his progress in drafting the application for a grant to do an ethnographic study. Staff present provided information about city requirements for such grant proposals. Because of a lack of a quorum, the commission could not vote on whether to go ahead with the proposal, but plans were made to have a special meeting for that and other purposes the following week.

July 24, 2013

The commission held a special meeting to deal with several issues, including the grant application to the MHS. Bruce White answered questions from the commission about the application process and city staff provided further information about city requirements for grant proposals. After discussing the draft that Bruce White had sent to commission members, the commission voted to go ahead with the application. Commission member Tina Olson agreed to provide help in giving more detail in the proposal's budget.

August 2, 2013

A pre-application for a mid- to large-size grant was submitted to the MHS.

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Appendix III

Places of Importance to Indigenous Heritage Located within the Duluth Area

Compiled and researched by Mike Flaherty, February 2013, with additions June 2013

Duluth Area Archeological Discoveries:

Minnesota Point: This site is located just west of the ruins of the historic Minnesota Point Lighthouse. Richard Moore, who grew up in the area during the 1860's, said that he had seen a number of Indian graves on Minnesota Point during that time. He reported seeing graves with spirit houses and broken fencing around them along with exposed skeletons. He said that he and other youngsters used to look around the area and gather Indian beads and other artifacts from the burial ground. Moore described the location as being between the old lighthouse and the end of Minnesota Point, but closer to the lighthouse. This burial ground appears to have been abandoned sometime before the lighthouse began construction in 1855.

The old burial ground was once again discovered during the spring of 1876. The site was found after a strong 60-mph wind blew through the sandy area and exposed the graves. Local residents noticed an unusual flock of pigeons in the area so they ventured out to find what the birds were doing. That is when they found the burial site. The wind had exposed many bones and artifacts including many beads and even bits of food that were left for the dead. They also discovered that a number of skulls had been blown across the ice clear over to Superior, Wisconsin. The pigeons had been seen swallowing some of the artifacts. A number of those pigeons were shot and artifacts were found inside their stomachs, including medals and a small cross. These items may date back to the 1820's and 1830's, when medals were given out during local treaty negotiations and when the first Christian mission was established in the Fond du Lac Neighborhood.

In October of 1902, a skeleton was discovered in a shallow grave about 200 feet from the old lighthouse ruins. The bones had belonged to a large-framed man who was over six feet tall. The skeleton had a broken rib that would have been located near the heart. An old musket-type bullet was found with the skeleton, which led people to believe that the man had died from a gun shot wound. It wasn't clear if the man who was in that grave was Native American; however, Native American style beads were found with the skeleton along with other beads that may have been from a Catholic rosary. (ESLCHS pg. 9) (DNT 4-27-1947) (DUL Oct. 1970) (DNT 5-17-1903) (DNT 11-2-1902) (DNT 11-25-1902)

Canal Park: This location is at the base of Minnesota Point, several miles from the larger Minnesota Point burial ground that is near the old lighthouse ruins. On the morning of July 3, 1888, some men were preparing to move a house that was located at 204 St. Croix Avenue (now known as Canal Park Drive) in Duluth. The men were digging a hole near the home's foundation when they unearthed a grave. Further digging revealed a full large-framed skeleton with an unusually large jaw that measured 6 5/8 inches across at its ends. The grave appeared to be in the style of a traditional Chippewa burial. The grave also included parts of an old musket, a stone pipe, steel flint, and a tomahawk. The body was believed to have been there for at least 25 years at that time and probably much longer. The current location of the grave site would be about the vicinity of the Inn on Lake Superior's parking lot at 350 Canal Park Drive. It is unknown if any

other graves are located in that same area or if that location was only picked for a special purpose. (DDT 7-4-1888) (DDN 7-4-1888)

Park Point: This location is about mid-way down Minnesota Point. In early May of 1910, a man named Cranston F. Almy was digging in his garden, which was located near his home at 2832 Minnesota Avenue in Duluth. He unearthed the shallow grave of a Native American. Along with the skeleton was a stone pipe. It is unknown if any more graves are in that vicinity. Note that a stone pipe was also found several miles away at the Canal Park burial site. (DNT 5-15-1910)

Connor's Point: This location is in Superior, Wisconsin; however, it is only a very short distance across the water from the Park Point burial ground. For many years, area residents believed that Connor's Point was used as a Native American burial ground. That was confirmed on the afternoon of August 25, 1908. A crew of workers with the Soo Line railroad unearthed a grave at the base of Connor's Point near Fifth Street. The grave consisted of a skull with high cheek bones, leg bones and other bone fragments, and some hair that was described as being "dark and straight." The local coroner took possession of the bones and indicated that he would re-bury them. The grave was believed to be from sometime before the 1850's. (DNT 8-26-1908)

Island Lake Site: In the summer of 1958, a family living on the shores of Island Lake discovered a number of artifacts on a small island. The island had been submerged, but low water levels caused it to appear near their home. The family found arrowheads, scraper stones, many flint chips, and axe and spear heads. Many other artifacts have been found in that area since that time. Island Lake is located very close to Fish Lake, where artifacts have also been found. (ESLCHS pg. 11)

Fish Lake Dam Site: Sometime prior to 1947, workers from Minnesota Power & Light Company from Duluth were digging at Fish Lake in order to construct a dam. The lake is about 20 miles northwest of Duluth. They discovered "more than a hundred copper arrowheads, spear heads and copper knives as well as some pieces of flint." The discovery was made at the dam site where the Beaver River meets Fish Lake. A number of other artifacts have been found at Fish Lake over the years. (MA Vol. 31 No. 1)

Rice's Point: A Native American burial ground was unearthed by a crew of workers who were building the Lake Superior & Mississippi Railroad in January of 1870. At least seven graves were disturbed. The location is where the railroad tracks pass through the base of Rice's Point near Railroad Street in Duluth. Artifacts found at the burial site included seven skeletons, a corroded brass kettle, rusted wire, and iron tomahawks. There were ten-inch wide pine trees that had grown over the graves, so it was estimated that the graves were at least 100 years old at that time.

Alfred Merritt, who moved to Duluth in 1856, wrote about the Rice's Point burial ground. He indicated that Chief Buffalo chose that location under the 1854 treaty in order to protect Rice's Point. Merritt wrote, "By that rating the Indians would have control of their large burying ground at the foot of Rice's Point. The Indians, as you know, guard their burying places sacredly and the Treaty was originally worded for the protection of the Rice's Point ground." (DM 1-29-1870) (AM)

Fond du Lac Neighborhood: This neighborhood had a cemetery that was shared by both early white settlers as well as by Native Americans who lived in that area. The burial ground probably dates back to at least the late 1700's and was likely used by Native Americans much earlier than that. It was completely abandoned in the late 1860's, when the Lake Superior & Mississippi Railroad made plans to run through that area. The Roussain family owned some land in what is now Jay Cooke State Park. The family used part of their land to make a new cemetery. They moved some of their family's graves to the new location before the railroad was built. An unknown amount of graves still remain at the Fond du Lac location. The old graves were generally hidden and forgotten about since the wooden markers had long since rotted away.

In early August of 1921, two men were digging near 133rd Avenue West. They were there to install water pipes to a newly constructed building at that location. The men unearthed the badly decayed graves of two Native American children. The bones were obviously very old and in poor condition. There were a few corroded nails, so it was believed that the children may have been buried in coffins. One skeleton appeared to have been wrapped in a blanket, which was now moldy and severely decomposed. The graves were shallow, only about three feet deep, which was typical for Native American burials. Local residents indicated that it was common to find skeletons in that area while digging. A boy who was living in Fond du Lac in 1921 had busted a tooth out of one of the dead children's skulls. He then attached it to a necklace, like a charm, and wore it around his neck. (DNT 8-7-1921) (DNT 4-27-1947)

Rare Arrowhead: A rare flint arrowhead was discovered in the soil across from a home located at 4427 Luverne Street in Duluth. The 3¾ inch point was found in mid May of 1931. Most of the arrowheads that had been found in this area were made of copper and not flint. This spear point may date back to the early 1600's or earlier and may have belonged to the Sioux Indians who were at war with the Chippewa in this area during that time. (DH 5-25-1931)

Wisconsin Point: Wisconsin Point was once the home of an Indian named Joseph Osaugie. He was born in 1802 and served as chief of a village of Chippewas who lived on Wisconsin Point, which was part of the Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa. Osaugie passed away in Superior on December 13, 1876.

Wisconsin Point has a large burial ground that is located just a short distance across the canal from the Minnesota Point burial ground. It is located in the vicinity of Wisconsin Point Road, about halfway down Wisconsin Point in Superior, Wisconsin. It is unclear when Indians actually began burials on Wisconsin Point, but a local man indicated that one such burial had occurred there in about 1869. A Superior man was studying to become a physician and he had heard about the large Indian burial ground on Minnesota Point. He and a friend took a boat over to Minnesota Point and dug up a skeleton and placed it into a box. When they got back to the Wisconsin shore, they were met by a group of Indians who somehow found out about the grave theft. The Indians demanded the skeleton and re-buried it in the Wisconsin Point burial ground.

In 1904, the *Duluth News-Tribune* reported that some of the more recent graves in the old Indian burial ground had modern headstones, including an eight-foot-tall Wisconsin red granite marker for the Denomie family.

In 1914, the federal government made plans to dig up the burial ground so that the land could be used by industry. Congress supplied \$5,000 to be used for such a project. Many Chippewa Indians from around the region fought against the removal of the burial ground. Joe Levearsh and his wife were a Native American couple who lived in a house on Wisconsin Point near the burial ground. The two had served as caretakers of the burial ground since about the 1860's. They had owned the property under old squatter's laws, but were ordered to leave their home in 1914. The Interstate Railroad Company claimed that they had purchased the land and wanted the elderly couple to move along with the burial ground. Joe told the *Duluth News-Tribune* that "I will die fighting" and implied that after his death his spirit would continue to protect the sacred burial ground.

By 1918, the U.S. Steel Corporation wanted the land to build new docks. In early October of that year, workers began to dig up the burial site. The plot was measured to be 85 feet by 137 feet. They removed 198 Indian bodies and re-buried them in a special section of St. Francis Xavier Cemetery in Superior. Most of the bodies were skeletons, but some were said to be "well preserved." It is unknown how many graves may still remain on Wisconsin Point. In 1920, the Lemieux family filed a lawsuit to recover Wisconsin Point from U.S. Steel. The Lemieuxes were a Native American family who had lived on Wisconsin Point since 1853. The family claimed that a man had defrauded them out of their property.

During the 1950's, Wisconsin Point was an active area for powwows. It remains a popular gathering place for Native Americans to this day. (DNT 11-25-1902)(DNT 9-5-1904)(DNT 8-24-1914)(DNT 9-7-1914)(DNT 9-11-1914)(DNT 9-14-1914)(DNT 9-22-1914)(DNT 10-24-1918)(DNT 6-17-1920)(DNT 6-22-1920)(DNT 7-4-1920)(DNT 8-2-1920)(DNT 8-8-1920)(DNT 3-29-1921) (SUP 8-12-2011)

Native American Burial Grounds:

Canal Park: This site is located at the base of Minnesota Point near Lake Superior in Duluth. The approximate location would be in the vicinity of the Inn on Lake Superior's parking lot at 350 Canal Park Drive. (DDT 7-4-1888) (DDN 7-4-1888)

Connor's Point: This site is located at the base of Connor's Point in Superior, Wisconsin, near Fifth Street and the railroad tracks. (DNT 8-26-1908)

Fond du Lac Neighborhood: This abandoned cemetery is located in the vicinity of 133rd Avenue West and Highway 23 in Duluth. The cemetery is believed to extend both below Highway 23 and above it up towards the hill. (DNT 8-7-1921) (DNT 4-27-1947)

Jay Cooke State Park: This burial ground is also known as the Roussain Cemetery. The Roussain family once owned the land where the cemetery sits. After Francois Roussain heard about the Lake Superior & Mississippi Railroad's plan to cut through the old Fond du Lac cemetery in the 1860's, he set aside part of his property for the purpose of making a new cemetery. The Roussains were a blended-race family made up of whites, Native Americans, and mixed Natives/whites. Francois was half Chippewa. The Roussain Cemetery includes both Native Americans and whites. The last burial at this location was in 1918. The site was once

maintained by the City of Duluth Parks Department, but is currently maintained by the state park service. One section of the cemetery looks much like a traditional white cemetery with very old stone markers. Many of the Native American graves are currently unmarked due to advanced decay of the original wooden markers. Originally there were spirit houses and fences around the graves in the Native American section of the cemetery. (ESLCHS pg. 6) (HFDL pgs. 39-40)(DNT 9-29-1940)(FDL 2-2010)

Minnesota Point: This site is located just west of the ruins of the historic Minnesota Point Lighthouse in Duluth. (ESLCHS pg. 9) (DNT 4-27-1947) (DUL Oct. 1970) (DNT 5-17-1903)

Park Point Site: This site is located in the vicinity of 2832 Minnesota Avenue on Minnesota Point in Duluth. (DNT 5-15-1910)

Rice's Point: This site is located at the base of Rice's Point in what is now Duluth's Lincoln Park Neighborhood. (DM 1-29-1870) (AM)

Wisconsin Point: This burial ground is located in the vicinity of Wisconsin Point Road, about halfway down Wisconsin Point in Superior, Wisconsin. (DNT 11-25-1902)(DNT 9-5-1904)(DNT 8-24-1914)(DNT 9-7-1914)(DNT 9-11-1914)(DNT 9-14-1914)(DNT 9-22-1914)(DNT 10-24-1918)(DNT 6-17-1920)(DNT 6-22-1920)(DNT 7-4-1920)(DNT 8-2-1920) (DNT 8-8-1920)(DNT 3-29-1921)(SUP 8-12-2011)

Significant Sites:

Lake Superior: Lake Superior served as a significant source of travel for the local Indians, who often used canoes to go from one Indian village to another. The lake and the St. Louis River, which flows into Lake Superior, were also a major source for food. In 1867, a local Indian reportedly caught a 127-pound sturgeon while fishing out of his canoe.

Minnesota Point: Minnesota Point is the world's longest natural freshwater sand bar. Native Americans had lived along the seven-mile-long peninsula for an untold number of centuries. An early Duluth resident named Alfred Merritt wrote about his first visit to this area on October 28, 1856:

"I wish that you could have seen how beautiful the Head of the Lakes looked at that time. It was practically in a state of nature. The Indians were there with their wigwams scattered up and down Minnesota and Wisconsin Points, with the smoke curling from the top of the wigwams, and their canoes skimming along the waters of the bay or hauled up on the shore. Fish and game were in abundance. Tall pines and hard wood trees were growing on the hillsides and down to the water's edge, and with the leaves of the hardwood trees turned as they were in the fall, what a beautiful sight it was." (DNT 1-25-1925)

Spirit Island: Many hundreds of years ago, the Chippewa Indians were living in the northeastern part of North America. The tribe was given an urgent warning via prophesy which indicated that they must move westward in order survive a coming invasion. According to the ancient prophesy, they would encounter seven sacred stopping locations along their route. The sixth stopping place was a small oval shaped island in the middle of Spirit Lake near the Morgan

Park Neighborhood of Duluth. It was named Spirit Island by the Chippewa because they believed it was haunted. Early accounts of Spirit Island's ghosts were recorded by the *Duluth Minnesotian* in 1869 and by the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Cincinnati Daily Inquirer* in 1872.

According to legend, bloody battles between the Sioux and Chippewa were fought near the island. These battles likely occurred in the early 1600's. The spirits of those killed in the battles were believed to reside on the island. Around that time, two young lovers from opposing tribes were said to have secretly met on the island. The tribal elders strictly forbade this and followed the lovers to the island. The personal possessions of the young couple were found, but the lovers had completely vanished without any explanation. The elders then heard strange music echoing throughout the island. This was a sign to the elders that the lovers were taken away by the Love Spirit. Some people have claimed to have seen the ghostly couple haunting the island.

Soon after the incident with the two lovers, the island gained a reputation as a place where the spirits of dead people could be contacted. It is said that the island is "haunted by shadow-forms of the departed." In the early 1800's, a "pretty Indian girl" was reportedly in love with a man who was part African American. One day, the man was killed while working along the St. Louis River. The girl traveled to Spirit Island in the hopes that she would be able to talk to the dead man's spirit. She was not able to find his ghost, but it is said that her spirit now haunts the island, still seeking her dead lover. In 1798, Stephen Bungo became the first African American born in Duluth. He was half African American and half Chippewa Indian. It is likely that the African American man in this story was from the Bungo family.

In 1927, an old Duluth attorney named S. George Stevens recalled the early days of Duluth, when Indians still had wigwams along the shores of the St. Louis River. He said, "Only under greatest pressure of need would an Indian land on Spirit Island in those days, and under no conditions or circumstances would one land on the island at night. They held the island in great fear, believing that evil spirits dwelt there."

While on vacation in July of 1928, President Calvin Coolidge visited the area around Spirit Island. The *New York Times* reported about the presidential visit to the haunted Island and told about the legend of the two Indian lovers.

The only known building to have existed on the island was the Jacoby cottage in 1908. Since that time, the island has been abandoned and receives few visitors. In May of 1983, the U. S. Government sold the island for \$3,374 to a man named C. Rufus Gaut of Amarillo, Texas. In August 2011, a year after his death, the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa purchased Spirit Island for \$150,000. (DNT 8-16-2011) (DNT 8-10-1908) (DNT 5-24-1983) (DH 9-6-1927) (NYT 7-7-1928) (ESLCHS, pg. 7) (DNT 7-16-1939)

West Duluth Indian campsite: There was once an Indian camp located on what would later become known as Aaron Crosier Point, near the St. Louis River at South 62nd Avenue West. The site served as a stop along an old Indian trail that was located between Minnesota Point and Duluth's Fond du Lac Neighborhood. The camp was apparently abandoned sometime prior to the mid 1850's, before Crosier owned the property. (ESLCHS, pg. 7)

Bardon's Peak: The peak is located along Skyline Boulevard in the far western end of Duluth. It served as a lookout point for both the Sioux and Chippewa Indians who lived in the area. A 1762 map indicates that there was a principal Native American settlement located there. James Bardon, who moved to the area in 1857, indicated that there were still significant Native American markings there at that time. He believed that the markings told some sort of story. Bardon's Peak makes up part of a larger area that was known to the Chippewa as Spirit Mountain. (DNT 1-4-1925) (Duluth Weekly Advertiser 5-27-1926)

Spirit Mountain: The large hill that extends for several miles along the far western end of Duluth was called Manitouahgebik (Spirit Mountain) by the Chippewa Indians. They believed that the Great Spirit resided within in the forest at the top of Spirit Mountain. The first known recorded reference to Spirit Mountain was on a map dated 1762. Famous English geographer Thomas Jefferys created the map for the use of fur traders who made deals with the local Chippewa Indians. Even as late as the 1860's, Chippewa maple syrup camps continued to dot the hillside of Spirit Mountain. Local judge and postmaster John R. Carey reported seeing a number of these camps along Spirit Mountain in 1866. Some local Native Americans believe that the area was used as a burial ground. There are a number of unusually shaped large mounds in that area that do not appear to be natural.

A large powwow was held at Spirit Mountain in August of 1984. It was the first ever gathering of all of the Chippewa nations, including people from Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Michigan, Canada, and other parts of the United States. (ESLCHS, pg. 7) (DNT 7-20-1984) (DNT 8-17-1984) (DNT 1-4-1925)

Ely's Peak: Ely's Peak is a large outcropping of rock that overlooks the New Duluth Neighborhood. The top of the peak sits at 1,250 feet above sea level. It was named after Reverend Edmund Franklin Ely, who founded a Christian mission in the area in 1834. Mr. Ely was born in 1809 in Wilbraham, Massachusetts. He was credited with naming the village of Oneota, which is now part of West Duluth. In 1906, the Ely School on Central Avenue was named after him. Edmund Ely later died in Santa Rosa, California, in 1882.

For centuries, young Chippewa boys who were about to become men used Ely's Peak for spiritual vision quests. They would fast for days and sleep on the large flat rock at the top of the peak. After a time, they would be visited by the Great Spirit and would see visions from their future. These sacred visions would guide the paths of the young men through the rest of their lives.

The Chippewa Indians who lived in the area also told stories about seeing a mysterious man near the peak. They described him as wearing a blue hat and red pants. They also said that he carried a "new gun."

In 1911, the Duluth, Winnipeg & Pacific Railway blasted a 520-foot tunnel through the middle of Ely's Peak. The railroad tunnel was used until the mid 1980's. The track has since been removed and the old rail bed is now used as a hiking trail. (ESLCHS, pg. 7) (DH 9-26-1911)

Indian Point: This site was the home of an early Chippewa Indian camp. It is located along the St. Louis River at the very end of Pulaski Street in Duluth. The property is currently owned by the City of Duluth and is used as an RV park and campground.

Chief Buffalo Reservation: As part of the 1854 Treaty with the Chippewa, Chief Buffalo, of the La Pointe band, was allowed to pick a special reservation of land. He chose a section of land, much of which would later become the City of Duluth. One of Buffalo's main purposes in selecting that location was to protect areas like the Indian burial ground on Rice's Point from being disturbed. Chief Buffalo died a short time after signing the treaty. Through schemes and illegal dealings with local business men, the Buffalo reservation was improperly sold and forgotten about.

The issue came up again three decades later when a business man named Frederick Prentice began lawsuits to recover the reservation land that he felt had belonged to him. He had purchased part of the Chief Buffalo property in 1856. Two of these cases ended up being heard in the U.S. Supreme Court. Once local businessmen realized that they had built on an Indian reservation, they began to panic and development in Duluth came to a sudden halt. This situation repeatedly made national headlines throughout the 1880's and 1890's. A July 4, 1884, headline in the *New York Times* simply read "The Ownership of Duluth." Six years later on July, 8, 1890, another headline in the *New York Times* read, "He Wants Part of Duluth." To this day, no Native American has ever been a party to any lawsuit that attempted to recover the Chief Buffalo Reservation land.

Fond du Lac (Duluth): This was the site of an early fur trading post and village. It was also the location of the historic summer of 1679 visit of famous explorer Daniel Greysolon and the site of the signing of the August 5, 1826, Treaty with the Chippewa. Territorial Governor Lewis Cass was present for this signing. Famous explorer Henry Schoolcraft visited Fond du Lac in 1832.

After the 1862 Sioux Uprising in southern Minnesota, the St. Louis County board became unreasonably suspicious of the Chippewa Indians living in the Fond du Lac Neighborhood. They appointed an Indian Agent and authorized him to employ a spy to watch the local Indians. A man identified only as a French-Canadian was paid \$30.00 to live among the Indians and report any suspicious activity.

Hilma Peterson, a Fond du Lac school teacher who grew up in Fond du Lac during the 1870's, told of how the white children of the neighborhood used to steal food items that were left on nearby Native American graves. She said that each Indian grave had a spirit house over it and the local Indians would leave items like maple sugar and cake at the graves. She also said that one of her brothers was very friendly with the local Indians and had even learned the Chippewa language and ate with them in their wigwams. Peterson indicated that in the 1870's, there were about 50 white people and about 150 Indians living in Fond du Lac. The Peterson home, located at 13328 West Third Street in Fond du Lac, was built in 1867. It is currently the oldest existing house in Duluth.

Even as late as 1898, the Fond du Lac Neighborhood still retained a small population of Chippewa Indians. Many of them voted against the Duluth city charter. All 30 registered white

voters favored the charter and all 8 registered Chippewa voters were against it. A Duluth tourist booklet from 1901 indicated that the Fond du Lac Neighborhood was a good place to see Indians. The booklet stated, "To many people who come to Duluth, an Indian is a curiosity. Everybody wants to see one of the original copper colored inhabitants of North America. To study their complexion, their dress and their peculiarities is interesting." The booklet went on to state, "Several half-breeds can be seen at Fond du Lac and a few full bloods". (DH 8-3-1926) (DNT 9-18-1898) (DNT 8-7-1921) (ESLCHS, pg. 7) (DNT 7-29-1956) (DNT 1949)

Mesaba Avenue: The original Mesaba Avenue was part of an old Indian trail that went up the side of the hill in what is today's downtown Duluth.

Area Earth Mounds:

[Added June 2013]

Connor's Point Mound: A number of Duluth area mounds were built by the Chippewa Indians. One of these mounds was located on Connor's Point in Superior, Wisconsin. This point was used as a burial ground for the Chippewa, but it is unknown if the mound was used for burials as well. Alfred Merritt, who moved to the Duluth area in 1856, indicated that the mound was located at the end of Connor's Point. He said that it was very round and symmetrical and appeared to be man made. He indicated that it was about 40 feet tall and that the south side of the mound was covered in "scrub Norway Pine." The growth of trees on the mound may be an indicator that the mound was quite old at that time. Merritt said that the mound began to significantly erode away in 1865, caused by strong winds and water. A Native American grave was unearthed at the foot of Connor's Point on August 25, 1908. (AM) (DNT 8-26-1908)

Spirit Mountain Mounds: There are a number of unusually shaped large mounds on Spirit Mountain in Duluth. Some local Native Americans believe that this area was used for burials. (MF) (DNT 9-15-2001) (DNT 5-5-1998)

Big Lake Mounds: Several mounds are located on the southern end of Big Lake on the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation. Members of a nearby CCC camp made mention of the mounds in 1934. According to local Native lore, these mounds were built to commemorate the battles between the Sioux and Chippewa Indians. There was specifically one legend in which a number of these Native warriors were killed by an exploding gun powder keg. It is said that both Chippewa and Sioux were killed in the explosion and that the earth settled down on top of their bodies, creating the base for the mounds. The legend also states that there are guardian spirits protecting the mounds and that one person was killed after attempting to disturb the site. (DNT 5-20-1934)

Mound Exploration: In October of 1912, a meeting was held in Superior, Wisconsin, with regards to locating and preserving mounds in northern Wisconsin. The research group consisted of Charles E. Brown, who was chief of the Wisconsin state historical museum, and Alfred T. Flint and Albert O. Barton from Madison, Wisconsin. The group had previously located mounds near the Wisconsin towns of Hudson, New Richmond, Osceola, St. Croix Falls, Amery, Cumberland, and Shell Lake. The group surveyed the mounds at these locations, but made no excavations. The group indicated that the mounds that were found in northern Wisconsin were generally "conical" in shape and were used for burials, usually containing just a few skeletons. (DNT 10-5-1912)

Ancient Copper Mines:

[Added June 2013]

Two ancient copper mines are believed to be located just outside the northeastern city limits of Duluth. This location makes sense because the local Native Americans were known for using copper arrowheads. In the 1940's, many Native American copper tools were discovered at the Fish Lake Dam site, north of Duluth.

In 1921, the *Duluth News-Tribune* described the two copper mines as being located along the bank of the Talmage River on the Walter Turle property. A 1922 St. Louis County plat map indicates that Walter Turle owned 80 acres of land in Township 51 North, Range 13 West, Section 14. Turle's property consisted of the northern half of the southeast quarter of Section 14. The *Duluth News-Tribune's* photographs and description indicated that the mines had pit-style openings that were dug out of the ground and that they contained old and decaying timbers that were used by the ancient miners. In 1921, the timbers were in such poor condition that it was feared that the mines would soon collapse. It was speculated that the mines may have been 500 to 3,000 years old.

A 2012 St. Louis County plat map indicates that the former Walter Turle property is divided in half and is currently owned by James L. Woodard and Gregory Bressler. The property is a quarter-mile north of the Flynn Road and is bordered by the McDonnell Road on the West and by the Cant Road on the East. (MA Vol. 31 No. 1) (DNT 11-20-1921)

Canoe Coves:

[Added June 2013]

Duluth had a number of natural coves along the St. Louis River that were used by Native Americans to park their canoes. Duluth's Chippewa name came from one of these coves/portages. It was located near the foot of Minnesota Point where the *William A. Irvin* ship is currently parked. Other coves were located on Park Point, Rice's Point, and in Fond du Lac where early trading posts were located. One such trading post was located on **Birch Point**, which was described as being at the foot of 22nd Avenue West in Duluth. This was on the southern part of Rice's Point. Another cove was described as being located near 17th Avenue West on the northern part of Rice's Point. It was called **Ellis Harbor** and was said to have smooth rocks that were ideal for beaching birch bark canoes. It was used as a trading place and a location where news was exchanged. An old Indian trail connected villages along the North Shore of Lake Superior with the trading posts along Minnesota Point and Rice's Point and out to Fond du Lac. The trail extended over the Point of Rocks in the summer in order to avoid the lower swamps. In the winter, the trail went over the ice. Much of Ellis Harbor was destroyed in 1921 to make way for the Duluth Pattern Company garage. (DNT 9-25-1921)

Local Ojibwe Place Names:

Bardon's Peak: Kitchi-Manitou (DNT 1-4-1925)

Duluth: O-ney-gay-me-sing (or) Onigumins (DNT 2-16-1913) (MA Vol. 35 No. 4 pg. 28)

Duluth Harbor: Sib-e-ghan (DNT 2-16-1913)

Fond du Lac (Duluth): Nah-jah-je-won-nong (DH 8-3-1926)

Lake Superior: Kitchi Gammi (DNT 2-16-1913)

Lester River: Busabika-zibi (MA Vol. 35 No. 4 pg. 28)

Minnesota Point: Ne-i-a-shi (or) Shagawamik (DNT 2-16-1913) (MA Vol. 35 No. 4 pg. 31)

Name of an old village that became part of Duluth: Endion (MGN pg. 482)

Rice's Point: Wubishingweka (MA Vol. 35 No. 4 pg. 31)

Rock cliff at top of 46th Avenue West in West Duluth: Oneota (ESLCHS pg. 7)

St. Louis River: Key-tchi-gah-me-sip (or) Kitchiigumi-zibi (DNT 2-16-1913) (MA Vol. 35 No. 4 pg. 30)

Spirit Mountain: Manitouahgebik (DNT 1-4-1925)

Wild Rice Lake (near Duluth): Megwewudjiwmanominikan (MA Vol. 35 No. 4 pg. 31)

Historical Native People in Duluth History:

Chief Buffalo: Chief Buffalo was a Chippewa Indian chief from La Pointe, Wisconsin, who signed the 1854 Treaty with the Chippewa. This treaty included a section of land that would later become part of the City of Duluth.

Chief Joseph Naganab: Chief Naganab was born in 1795 and later became chief of the Fond du Lac band of Lake Superior Chippewa. He originally lived along the St. Louis River in the Fond du Lac area of Duluth. He later moved to the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation after he signed the 1854 Treaty with the Chippewa. Naganab was so famous that his obituary appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* on June 8, 1894. The *Times* called Naganab a "Venerable Chippewa Chief." His signing of the 1826 Treaty was credited for the development of the cities of Duluth and Superior. Chief Naganab's daughter, Lizzie, also became famous after her death, in October of 1931. Her ghost was reportedly seen by thousands of people, including police officers and newspaper reporters in the Holy Family Cemetery on the Fond du Lac Reservation. The story repeatedly made headlines in Duluth as well as all across the nation. (DNT 1-1-1894)

Chief Bugonaygeshig: One of the most famous prisoners ever to be held in the old St. Louis County Jail in Duluth was a Chippewa Indian chief from the Pillager band. This particular incident would end up leading to the famous last war between Native Americans and the U.S. military.

His name in the Chippewa language was Bug-o-nay-ge-shig which is translated as Hole-In-The-Day. The government officials in Duluth called him "Old Bug" after he was arrested in April of 1895 and brought to Duluth to face charges of illegally selling alcohol. Old Bug spent six months

in the St. Louis County Jail before the charges were dropped due to a lack of evidence. Old Bug was left to make the long journey home by himself in the middle of winter without any money. He arrived home weak and ill and vowed that he would never again be taken by a white man. In those days, officers used to get paid extra for each arrest that they made so it was a regular practice to arrest Indians on little or no evidence. This injustice upset Old Bug and many other Natives.

In 1898, government agents again wanted Old Bug to be brought back to Duluth to be a witness in another alcohol bootlegging case. Agents from the White Earth Indian Agency arrested Old Bug; however, he was able to escape with the help from several Chippewa women. The battle that would become the very last military vs. Indian war ever fought in the United States was now brewing.

On October 5, 1898, the headlines in the *Duluth News-Tribune* were "WAR ON RED MEN," "Bear Island Indians Refuse to Surrender and Will Now be Forced," and "BLOOD WILL FLOW TODAY." In a stunning defeat, the only blood that flowed on that day was that of the government soldiers.

Ninety-nine soldiers under the command of General John M. Bacon and Major Melville Wilkinson were called in to capture Old Bug. On October 5, 1898, the soldiers made their way to Sugar Point, on the Leech Lake Reservation, where they thought Old Bug was hiding. One of the soldier's guns accidentally fired which caused the Pillager Indians to return fire. By the end of the day Major Wilkinson was dead, along with six soldiers and two police. Sixteen other soldiers were wounded. The Indians had no casualties.

On October 6, 1898, the headline in the *Duluth Evening Herald* screamed out "DESPERATE FIGHTING." Over 200 Minnesota militia troops arrived with a Gatling gun in an attempt to restore law and order. Nearly the entire front page of the *New York Times* on both October 6th and 7th was devoted to the war with headlines like "TROOPS BATTLE WITH INDIANS," "UPRISING OF PILLAGERS," and "INDIANS BESIEGE GENERAL BACON."

The War Department in Washington D.C. received General Bacon's urgent message on October 7th. An emergency conference was held at the White House and President William McKinley ordered that ample reinforcements be sent to General Bacon at once. The *Duluth Evening Herald* reported on October 10th that 100 Duluth soldiers had been called out to protect the towns around the Leech Lake Reservation. By this time, the tensions were winding down and the battle had really ended on October 5th; however, rumors of more fighting were rampant.

A group of Pillager Indians who were involved with the battle were rounded up and taken to Duluth, where they would stand trial in the U.S. District Court. On October 22, 1898, Judge William Lochren sentenced the Pillager Indians to between two to ten months in jail. On January 3, 1899, President William McKinley gave pardons to all of the Pillagers involved in the battle.

Of the many newspapers that covered the war, the *West Duluth Sun* and the *New York Times* were among the few newspapers who spoke of the real reason behind the war, the terrible treatment of Old Bug by the authorities in Duluth. Old Bug was 80 years old when he passed

away, on May 27, 1916. A school in Bena, Minnesota is named in honor of the brave old Pillager chief. The original jail in Duluth is gone now, but it was located on the corner of Sixth Avenue East and Second Street.

Gurnoe Family: Three members of the Gurnoe family were among the last of the Duluth Indians to live a traditional Chippewa lifestyle. The trio included Daniel Gurnoe (Flamingo Feather) and the two elderly Gurnoe sisters. For many years, they lived in a wooded area on the outskirts of Duluth in Rice Lake Township, Minnesota. When the disastrous Cloquet Fire reached Duluth in October of 1918, the Gurnoe family was forced to flee further into the city. The fire ended up killing 453 people, including dozens of people living in Rice Lake and other areas around Duluth. The Gurnoe family acquired an acre of land and set up a traditional campsite near Duluth's Woodland Neighborhood. While living there, they resided in a teepee-style home, hunted, and gathered herbs for medicine. Daniel Gurnoe passed away on November 4, 1920, at the age of 70. His sudden death left the aged Gurnoe sisters to fend for themselves during the harsh Minnesota winter. Although the family had prepared for the winter season, the two sisters were left with few options after their campsite was robbed in early January of 1921. Two weeks later, at the ages of 90 and 95, the Gurnoe sisters packed up their camp and decided to walk the long journey to their sister's home in Brookston, Minnesota. They put on their home-made snowshoes and began their trek. (DNT 10-14-1918) (DNT 11-5-1920) (DNT 1-17-1921) (DNT 1-19-1921)

Stephen Bungo: Stephen was a local voyager and fur trader. He was born in an Indian village near the mouth of the St. Louis River in June of 1798 and was the first known person of African American ancestry to be born in the Duluth area. His father was African American and his mother was Chippewa Indian. Stephen worked as a government interpreter and signed the Treaty of St. Peters on July 29, 1837. He passed away in Superior, Wisconsin, on January 29, 1884, and is buried in Saint Francis Cemetery in Superior.

Roussain family: Eustache Roussain was a white man who moved to the Fond du Lac Neighborhood in 1799. According to the terms of the 1826 Treaty, Eustache had children with at least three different Native American women. One of his sons was Francois Roussain, a successful businessman and community leader in the Fond du Lac Neighborhood. He later allowed part of his property to be used as a burial ground for his family and friends, along with other Native Americans. Francois passed away on June 3, 1885. (FDL 2-2010)

Vincent Roy: Vincent was born in about 1826 on the U.S. side of the Rainy River near Fort Frances. His father was French-Canadian and his mother was Chippewa Indian. His family moved to Superior, Wisconsin, around 1850. Vincent built a number of trading posts while working for the Hudson Bay Company and eventually built his own very successful trading post in Superior. People described Vincent as being honest, reliable, and intelligent. Vincent's brother, Peter Roy, served several terms in the Minnesota Legislature and was later elected County Attorney of Morrison County, Minnesota, in November of 1874. Vincent passed away in Superior, Wisconsin, on April 2, 1896 at the age of 70. He is buried in the Catholic cemetery near the Nemadji River in Superior. (DNT 1-21-1945) (DM 11-14-1874) (DM 3-2-1872) (DNT 4-3-1896) (DNT 4-6-1896)

John Beargrease: John was born in 1862 and was the son a Chippewa Indian chief. He was known for delivering mail between Duluth and the communities along Minnesota's north shore of Lake Superior. He passed away in Beaver Bay, Minnesota, on August 10, 1910. The annual John Beargrease Dog Sled Marathon was named in his honor.

Alfred Aitkin: Alfred was born in Duluth's Fond du Lac Neighborhood in 1816. His father was of Scottish ancestry and his mother was a local Chippewa Indian. He was probably the first person with white ancestry to be born in the Duluth area. Alfred's father was William Aitkin, for whom the city and county of Aitkin, Minnesota, were named. On September 6, 1836, Alfred was shot and killed near Cass Lake, Minnesota, by a fellow Chippewa Indian named Che-ga-vey-cum. There were no courts in the area at that time, so a trial was held at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, in 1837. The alleged killer ended up being acquitted. Alfred Aitkin's body was brought back to the Fond du Lac Neighborhood, where he was buried on February 25, 1837. His grave is believed to still be located somewhere in the Fond du Lac Neighborhood.

John Lagarde (Ak-i-wen-ci): John was an early Chippewa trapper and a pioneer resident of Duluth. He was born in about 1811 in the area that would later become the Red Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota. In 1834, John and his family moved to the Fond du Lac Neighborhood of Duluth and resided near the fur trading post. For several decades, John and his wife, Liola, resided on 80 acres of land in what would later become the Gary-New Duluth Neighborhood. That property was later purchased by the United States Steel Corporation, where a "Monster" steel plant was built between 1910 and 1915. John passed away on February 27, 1911. He was about 100 years old at that time and was buried in the Chippewa cemetery on the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation in Carlton County, Minnesota. He was remembered for being an honest and peace-loving man. (DH 2-28-1911)

Significant Events:

September 1661: Famous explorers Radisson and Grosselliers are believed to have visited the Duluth area, including Minnesota Point. (DNT 2-16-1913)

1679: Famous explorer Daniel Greysolon visits Fond du Lac. He attempts to make peace between the Sioux and Chippewa Indians.

August 5, 1826: Treaty signed at Fond du Lac.

1832: Henry Schoolcraft visits Fond du Lac and writes about his experiences with the Chippewa Indians there. Longfellow's famous poem *The Song of Hiawatha* was based on Schoolcraft's writings.

1837 Treaty of St. Peters: This treaty was signed by Chiefs Spruce and Loon's Foot of the Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa on July 29, 1837.

1854 Treaty with the Chippewa: This treaty was signed at La Pointe, Wisconsin, on September 13, 1854. The treaty created several Indian reservations including the Fond du Lac Reservation in Carlton County, Minnesota, and the Chief Buffalo reservation in what would later become the

City of Duluth. Fourteen leaders of the Fond du Lac band signed the treaty, including Chiefs Naganab, Balsom, and Loon's Foot.

Jay Cooke visits Duluth: A wealthy banker named Jay Cooke visited Minnesota Point and the downtown area of Duluth in 1868. Cooke met with the local Indians and told them about his plan to bring a railroad into the city. He handed out various coins to the Indians, depending upon their ages. He gave silver quarters and dimes to the older ones and nickels to the youngest ones. With Jay Cooke's financial backing, the Lake Superior & Mississippi became the first railroad into Duluth in 1870. Unfortunately, the railroad construction would end up plowing straight through two Indian burial grounds in Duluth.

Wano-bo-sho Club: The Wano-bo-sho Club of Duluth was formed in 1921. The purpose of the club was for local Native Americans to discuss and act on issues that were important to the local Native community. One of their first discussions involved grievances against the Indian Bureau in Washington, D.C. (DNT 4-22-1921)

Duluth American Indian Commission created: In 2002, the City of Duluth formed the Duluth American Indian Commission. (ST 03-26-2002) (DNT 4-9-2002)

Native Population of Duluth

1928: 150-200 (estimated)

1960: 402

1970: 615

1980: 1,344

1990: 1,837

2000: 2,122

Sources

NOTE: These are some of the sources for the information provided above. Below is a source key.

AM = Merritt, Alfred *Reminiscence of Experiences at the Head of the Lakes from 1856 to 1894*, 1915, (Duluth Public Library)

COOL = Cooley, Jerome Eugene *Recollections of Early Days in Duluth*, 1925, published by author

DH = *Duluth Herald* (newspaper)

DDN = *Duluth Daily News* (newspaper)

DDT = *Duluth Daily Tribune* (newspaper)

DM = *Duluth Minnesotian* (newspaper)

DNT = *Duluth News-Tribune* (newspaper)

DUL = *Duluthian* (magazine)

ESLCHS = Aguar, Charles E. *Exploring St. Louis County's Historical Sites*, 1971, St. Louis County Historical Society

FDL = (Fond du Lac Reservation newspaper)

HFDL = Fritzen, John *The History of Fond du Lac and Jay Cooke Park*, 1978, St. Louis County Historical Society

MA = *Minnesota Archaeologist*

MF = Flaherty, Mike (personal observations)

MGN = Upham, Warren *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 1969, Minnesota Historical Society

NYT = *New York Times* (newspaper)

ST = *Minneapolis Star Tribune* (newspaper)

SUP = *Superior Telegram* (newspaper)