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Among the first white men to challenge the wilderness in what is now Minnesota were two small parties of Frenchmen, moving from two directions. One was led by Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut, who first planted the banner of France at the head of Lake Superior in 1679. The other was directed by La Salle, but actually conducted by Michael Accault, whose aides were Antoine Auguelle and Father Louis Hennepin.

Accault and his men were moving up the Mississippi in 1680 on a voyage of discovery and exploration, when they were seized by a band of Sioux Indians and held in light captivity, at a broad expanse of land-locked water now called Mille Lacs. Du Lhut, learning at the mouth of the St. Croix that white men had been seen with a hunting party of the Sioux, came upon the captives and ^{joined them in petitioning for their release} rescued them in the district called a Thousand Lakes, or Mille Lacs which he had already claimed for his king.

The majority of these thousand lakes about the larger body ^{of water that is today called Lake Mille Lacs} lie in a district early called Crow Wing, and from which the present county of that name in Minnesota was taken. The larger area of settlement has been called for many years Old Crow Wing, in contradistinction to the present incorporated county. But it can scarcely be called old as history is reckoned, for the major events recorded even in Old Crow Wing occurred in the Nineteenth century.

The contending forces in the historical drama, ^{being played in this area} before the entry of Du Luth, were two ^{but} major tribes of American Indians struggling for supremacy, and ^{with} both under pressure from ^{the advancing white civilization.} a disturbing element, the white forerunners of what has been called civilization. - Continue on, no new 91, with what is 92, page 2.

The actual hero of the story, were it to be told in dramatic form, is a Chippewa chief who tried to follow the white man's Christ, was blocked when he was told he must reduce to one thenumber of his wives and, caught between powerful forces greater than himself, tried to fight his way out and to save his people.

What is sound authority for choosing this spelling?

Continue this with first 3 of 92 chap 2

Paul Robert Carlier, Sieur de

No man looms larger in this historical setting than Hole-in-the-Day the Younger, worthy son of a great Chippewa leader and tremendous influence in a band now declared to have reached a higher point in civilization and culture than any other aboriginal tribe in North America.

Both of these Indian nations have ^{alternate} many names. The Ojibways, an Algonquin people, are called the Chippewa^N, ^{misprominence} apparently a contraction of the true name which eventually became current usage among the whites. The Dakotas ~~or Nadouessioux~~ are commonly called the Sioux, ^{the contraction of an early, uncomplimentary nickname given them by their enemies, Nadouessioux.} though it is said that this contraction was resented by the great western nation.

The geography of the country which became the setting for this drama is unique. Situated almost midway between the Arctic Circle and the Tropic of Cancer, the Atlantic ocean and the Pacific, this ^{area} county has been profoundly affected by its relation to the great life zones of the earth.

Maps of the biogeographical zones cannot be bounded by survey lines, but on many published by authoritative sources the line of demarcation between the Boreal zone to the north and the Transition zone below it is shown as passing through Crow Wing County on a line with the great westward bend of the Mississippi River. The Transition zone is subdivided into the Alleghany, or eastern division, and the Prairie, or western division. On some maps these two regions are divided by the Mississippi River, while on others the Alleghany division extends on to the Red River valley. Whichever is correct, it is certain that the county is a borderland containing within its boundaries characteristics of each of these great life zones.

The southern, or Canadian, division of the Boreal zone is marked by innumerable lakes, rivers and marshes, and when first seen by white men ^{contained} was characterized by vast forests of white pine, the ~~most remarkable~~ stand of this valuable timber known to the civilized world. In the lumbering days, the "pineries" were said to begin at Pine River. Although there were immense stands far to the south of that, they were mixed with hardwoods; while north of the river the hardwoods practically

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disappeared.

The principal characteristics of the Alleghany division were its great hardwood forests, cut across by grassy valleys; and the western division was marked by ~~its~~ broad, level prairies.

The white pine in Crow Wing County, as well as most of the hardwood, was logged off many years ago, but the lakes, rivers, marshes and grassy valleys remain~~ing~~ and there is even a touch of prairie in the southwest corner of the county. The Crow Wing Prairie, just east of the mouth of the Crow Wing River, is the extension of a strip that led from St. Anthony Falls to Belle Prairie~~—~~ the Prairie Percee of ^{first name?} the early traders. In 1832, when Lieut. James Allen visited B. F. Baker at his post ten miles below Crow Wing, the latter told him that open prairie led to St. Anthony Falls, and that one could drive up from there without clearing a road. (1)

Lying where two great life zones meet, the region is naturally blessed with a great variety of plant and animal life. Before the lumberman came, the forests sheltered animals that furnished meat, ^{and} clothing, and furs, ^{the primitive} medium of exchange. From the trees came ^(bark and branches for wigwams and) ~~teepees, for shelter,~~ canoes for transportation and travel, fuel for warmth, and that ~~great~~ wilderness luxury, maple sugar. The lakes and streams teemed with fish, and many of them were ^{covered} rimmed with ~~great~~ beds of wild rice. Bird life was particularly abundant. Lying in the fourth great migratory bird path, ^{old} Crow Wing was not only the home of birds indigenous to the Canadian, Alleghany and Prairie regions, but it was a regular stopping place for great flocks of many transient species. Strawberries, raspberries, blueberries and cranberries grew in almost unlimited quantities. This was a veritable happy hunting ground. And underneath a surface so literally spread with the good things of life lay even greater treasures ^{deposits} vast quantities of iron and manganiferous ores.

(1) Expedition to Northwest Indians, Schoolcraft & Allen, p. 53.

Full citation?

The first evidence of human activity in the vicinity of Old Crow Wing is the ~~discovery of~~ ^{discovered} artificial quartz chippings at Little Falls, now in Morrison County.

Is this synonymous with "chippings"?

~~This work was supposed at first to have been not only earlier than the so-called mound builders but earlier than the glacial period. The age of these artifacts is now placed a thousand years or so after the retirement of the great glacier or about six or seven thousand years ago. The workers have, accordingly, been considered to be the ancestors of the present Eskimo. (2)~~

From here to end of P. 2, p. 1, Condense to 1 or 2 paragraphs of local interest

The presence in this county as well as in much of Minnesota and other states of a great number of strange mounds has long been a subject of study and discussion. For many years it was supposed that, prior to the various Indian tribes known to have lived in North America, a still more primitive people of great size and of entirely different characteristics inhabited the country. This theory finally broke down of its own weight and because it could not be substantiated. Some four thousand of these mounds have been numbered in Minnesota alone, a great many of them in the Crow Wing vicinity.

J. V. Brower believes the ~~Dakota or Sioux~~ nation or their ancestors were the mound-builders of Minnesota. His conclusions in his own language, as referring to the Mille Lacs mounds, are here set forth as of great interest to Crow Wing residents.

"It is now stated as an ascertained fact that the flint implements and pot shards recovered from explored mounds at Mille Lacs, resting in contact with bundled skeletons on the original surface under the mounds explored, are identically the same in every essential particular as the flint implements and pot shards recovered from the adjacent village sites. That ascertained fact concludes an ident-

(2) The Aborigines of Minnesota by N. H. Winchell, p. 17.

Full citation

ification of the builders of the mounds as the people who occupied the ancient settlements. Now, to perfect an identification of the ancient villagers, there is only one certain, undeviating, narrow and beaten path to follow: Who were first found there and what were they doing when discovered? What customs and habits and artifacts were observed as characterizing the nation of men who were originally discovered at Mille Lacs? History discloses an indisputable answer.

"Radisson described the Sioux as a populous nation resident in the region west from Lake Superior in 1660. They used bows and arrows, cultivated corn and hunted the buffalo. The fact that they wore copper crescents as ornaments is distinctly stated in the first book ever written concerning the Northwest.

"Duluth visited the Sioux in July, 1679, and found the principal village at Kathio, on Mille Lacs, then named Lac Buade.

"Hennepin, in 1680, living at a Sioux village, found them cooking their food in earthen vessels, using stone hatchets, bows and arrows, and they appropriated his brocade chasuble, in which they rolled up a dead man's bones, preliminary to a burial custom now known to have been usual there. The Sioux Indians furnished Hennepin with a clay pot, in which to cook his food, on his departure from Mille Lacs.

"Captain Carver illustrated stone implements used by the Sioux in 1766, and described the act of transporting the bones of the dead to the mound group now known as Indian Mound park, at Dayton's bluff, on the Mississippi.

"Catlin described a Sioux chief who built a mound ten feet high over the remains of his deceased son, illustrated the mound, and described stone images made by the Sioux.

"Warren states in his history of the Ojibwas that Sioux Indians constructed an earthen enclosure on Thief River, and another on Sunrise River.

"Franqueline's map charted the Sioux villages at Mille Lacs in 1688, exactly where they were observed in 1899 and 1900.

"Hundreds of stone implements and pot shards have been gathered at those sites. The only island in that region where the Sioux had a village is overspread with broken pottery. At or immediately adjoining every Sioux village site there is a mound group, and at one of them an enclosure. No evidence of any kind whatever, obtained at Mille Lacs, surely indicates that any other ancient nation of men resided there. A series of mounds and of village sites, overspread with stone implements and pot shards, extends from Dayton's bluff to Rum River and up that river to Mille Lacs, on Hennepin's line of march in 1680; and thence down Mud River to Aitkin and thence up the Mississippi to Itasca lake, all of one identical character. The Sioux Indian, it is plausibly urged, knew no land of nativity, except his ancient home in the Northwest. The artifacts recovered and illustrated ^{where} principally found upon his historic village sites. Exactly similar objects have been found in the mounds. The best authorities agree upon the statements of fact, and a recent confirmation of them emanated from the pen of Mr. Joseph A. Wheelock, describing the burial rites of Dakota Indians at Dayton's bluff. Lynd stated that the month, the year, and the century when the Sioux fixed his residence on the headwaters of the Mississippi cannot be told, and the statement is admirably correct. The conclusion is now deliberately formulated that the stone and copper implements, and the mounds at Mille Lacs are of ancient Sioux origin. ✓

"Surprising as the results are, it is compulsory that we bow to the unalterable supremacy of historic truth, and it is an unexpected privilege to interlock with it an archeologic confirmation of its correctness.

"The ancient M'de Waken people bundled the bones of their dead, placed them upon the surface of the ground at Mille Lacs, and there constructed the mounds

which cover them; imperishable monuments, which are a lasting record of the happening of events in that region distinguishing the lapse of time from a pre-historic era to the historic period, now first elaborated." (3)

That these mound-building people, now called the Dakota^N or Sioux, in earlier times dwelt in earthen habitations from which the "long home" derived is indicated from ruins in various parts of this county and from the known habits and traditions of some of the tribes, notably the Hidatsa or Gros Ventres and the Mandans.

There is a tradition that the Hidatsa, a branch of the Sioux nation, once lived in Minnesota. The old men of the Chippewa, especially the Pillager chief, Eshkebugecoshe, or Flat Mouth, according to Warren, declare that the Hidatsa were driven away by other Sioux. They lived in earth lodges in Minnesota and the remnant of them, after the ravages of small pox, still live on the banks of the Missouri.

Eshkebugecoshe asserts that the Chippewa called them "men of old time" and that they themselves claimed once to have possessed the country around the source of the Mississippi. The Pillager chief declared that he had visited the Hidatsa on the Missouri in their earth wigwams and that they said their fathers had lived so on the upper Mississippi. Lewis and Clark visited the Hidatsa in 1805 and Alexander Henry in 1806, at the confluence of the Missouri and Knife Rivers and described their dwellings.

The same tradition comes from other sources. One writer says the Dakota drove out a race of "ground house people." On some old maps a Ground House River is shown in eastern Minnesota. These people are said to have been "great in stature but very cowardly," as one source describes them. According to Henry, the Big Bellies, as the name Gros Ventres is translated, were anything but a race of cowards and imbeciles. He said they dominated the Mandans, the Black Feet, the Crows and the

(3) Mille Lac by J. V. Brown, p. 133-135.

Cheyennes and were more numerous than either.

A hint of what happened may be found in the Hidatsa legends which indicate that small pox broke out at one juncture and nearly wiped out the race. It is possible that the Sioux drove away this segment of their own people to protect themselves from the smallpox and thereafter would not take over the ground houses for fear of the plague.

A saga of the Hidatsa called "Itampisa" requires four long winter evenings for its recital. Much of the story is said to have to do with the supernatural but as all such legends usually have some foundation, the probability is that it can be understood in modern light. The story goes that they once dwelt beneath the surface of a great body of water (possibly in caves on the shore of Lake Superior or one of the glacial lakes) situated in the northeast of their present home, that a great part of their tribe remained behind, that they wandered extensively over the prairies, that they learned by courier scouts of a nation who dwelt in houses and tilled the soil as the Mandans do, that instead of killing these newly found people, they formed their own residences near them, and learned from them agriculture and the arts of peace.

Some parts of their tradition resemble the Mandan saga, indicating that the two legends sprang from the same source. It is probable that both peoples were mound builders and took different routes to the Missouri.

Brower's statement, was summed up in September 1900 as follows:

"It is now my deliberate opinion that the nation of mound-builders who constructed the earthworks at Mille Lac were the ancient Sioux villagers who for unknown ages occupied the shores of that lake before they were driven out by the Onibway Indians about 1750, or possibly a little later than that date, or even a few ^{earlier} years later.

"I don't care to undertake to set the time when the Sioux villagers

See this is foregoing conclusion ✓

were driven away from Mille Lac.

"That they did actually construct the earthworks there, I do not think there is any doubt whatsoever." (4)

Because of the positive nature of the Brower statements and because he found no evidence of earlier man in this area as well as the absence of other clues, it seems wise to discount any suggestion that Eskimo ever inhabited the county, though the earth houses of the Hidatsa and the Mandan as well as the mounds and earthen habitations found in Minnesota are virtually identical in architecture with the houses of the Eskimo whether constructed of snow or earth.

Use this
Gideon Pond, early missionary to the Sioux at what is now called Minneapolis, says that the Dakota⁴ believe that they migrated from the north to their abode in Minnesota and did not like to say much about having been expelled from their lands by the Ojibwa⁴, but spoke often of having driven the Iowa from Minnesota. These Indians, whom LeSueur found a little south of his location when he was building Fort L'Huillier on the Minnesota River late in 1700, had dwellings similar to that of the Mandans but apparently modified them at times and later simply leaned poles together in a circular form and covered them with earth.

N. H. Winchell, who took over Brower's work on the death of the latter, maps the location of the Dakota in Minnesota at the time of Hennepin, 1680. He finds the Assiniboin and Kilistino Algonquian on the northern border, the Sissiton in northern Minnesota, the M'de Wakan about Mille Lacs with the Mandans, the Yankton to the west of the Mississippi with other Sioux tribes, the Iowa and Omaha in southeastern Minnesota and the Shien Algonquian and the Yankton in the Southwest of the state.

The character of the two Indian nations which struggled in Crow Wing is rather clearly depicted by the events and by evaluations from writers in a position

(4) The Aborigines of Minnesota by N. H. Winchell, p. 65.

Combine this Sioux and Chippewa struggle material with #4, page 1, and explain "saved from extermination."

to know the facts. ^{Use this} The Sioux fought a losing battle all through the story and ^{a few} many years later were saved from extermination by being transported bag and baggage to the Missouri. The Chippewa for the most part cooperated with the white settlers and traders and are considered today among the most civilized of the Indian tribes. ^{replace}

Winchell in his The Aborigines of Minnesota writes:

"The writer entered upon this investigation with a mind predisposed to favorable judgment of the Dakota, hoping to be able to remove from him the aspersions which traders and historians have so frequently cast upon him, or at least to prove that they were calumnious and unwarranted. He did not, indeed, expect to find justification for the high estimates which have been set forth in the character of Cooper's Uncas or George Elliott's Alsandro, . . . but it was his belief that the Dakota, as an Indian, had received more than his share of severe criticism. After somewhat more than three years spent in the study of archeological and historical facts relating mainly to the Dakota, he was reluctantly abandoned that hope, and is compelled to admit that the Dakota had a character which was strong, virile and aggressive, but which, under the impulse of his aggressive disposition, was remorseless, treacherous, cruel, wholly selfish and revengeful. It is not intended to intimate that other tribes, say the Ojibwa, with whom the Dakota most frequently came into contact and comparison, did not also sometimes exhibit these repulsive traits. With the Dakota these are the traits that give him pre-eminence amongst his equals, like the valor of Agamemnon amongst his associate Greeks." (5)

Allouez, who established the mission of the Holy Spirit at La Pointe, says of the Sioux: "These are people dwelling to the west of this place, toward the great river named Messipi. They are forty or fifty leagues from this place in a country of prairies, rich in all kinds of game. They cultivate fields, sowing therein

(5) The Aborigines of Minnesota by N. H. Winchell, p. 509.

From here to end of P. 13, use good description of Sioux & Chippewa

not Indian corn, but only tobacco; while Providence has furnished them a kind of marsh rye, which they go and harvest toward the close of summer in certain small lakes that are covered with it. So well do they know how to prepare it that it is highly appetizing and very nutritious. They gave me some when I was at the head of lake Tracy (Superior), where I saw them. They do not use muskets, but only bows and arrows, with which they shoot very skillfully. Their cabins are not covered with bark, but with deer skins, carefully dressed, and sewed together with such skill that the cold does not enter. These people are, above all the rest, savage and wild - appearing abashed and as motionless as statues in our presence. Yet they are warlike, and have conducted hostilities against all their neighbors, by whom they are held in extreme fear. They speak a language that is utterly foreign, the savages here not understanding it at all. Therefore, I have been obliged to address them through an interpreter, who, being an infidel, did not accomplish what I might well have asked." (6)

In 1669, Marquette, succeeding Allouez, says of them: "All the lake tribes make war on them, but with small success. . . . They have many villages, but are widely scattered; they have very extraordinary customs; they principally use the calumet; they do not speak at great feasts, and when a stranger arrives give him to eat from a wooden fork, as we would a child. . . . They have false oats, wild rice, use little canoes, and keep their word strictly." Later he characterized them anew: "There are certain people, called Nadouessi, dreaded by their neighbors, and although they only use the bow and arrow, they use it with so much skill and so much dexterity that in a moment they fill the air. In the Parthian mode, they turn their heads in flight, and discharge their arrows so rapidly that they are no less to be feared in their retreat than in their attack." (7)

Warren's characterization of his own people, the Ojibway or Chippewa,

(6) The Aborigines of Minnesota by N. H. Winchell, p. 509.

(7) The Aborigines of Minnesota by N. H. Winchell, P. 523

is corroborated by Joseph A. Gilfillan in his "Ojibways in Minnesota." "Before the white man came," He says, "the Ojibway was strong and splendid in appearance, especially when living in the freedom of his native forests, and before he has been enfeebled by the vices he has learned from white men. Many are quite tall, the tallest I have seen being from 6 feet 4 inches to 6 feet and 8 inches. They have well developed chests and sinewy frames. Their limbs are not nearly so heavy as those of many white men. They very generally have small and beautifully shaped hands; indeed, from their hands, one would take them to be one of nature's aristocracy. The men have an erect, graceful, and easy carriage, and a beautiful springy step and motion in their native wilds, where they walk and look like the lords of creation. In their beauty of motion in walking the men far surpass our race; there is no swinging of arms or other awkward motions, but grace and a beautiful poise and carriage of the body.

"As is well known, they have abundant thick and strong hair. I can only recall about two Indians of the whole Ojibway nation who are bald, and they only partially so. Nor does their hair early turn gray, as often with us; this change comes only in extreme old age. When approaching the age of eighty years, an Ojibway's hair turns gray, but not much before. Often at the age of seventy-five their hair is as black and thick as at twenty. Their hair never turns quite white, so far as I can remember. The Ojibway man has usually beautiful, even teeth, till far past middle age, although he never cleans them and takes no care of them whatever. The voice is usually high pitched and resonant; the eye black and liquid. The man does not usually get stout as he grows old; he rather if anything, dries up. It is rare to see a fat Indian man, except when it has been caused by excessive drinking. . . .

"Indian women were not treated with much respect. They are in many respects a great contrast to the men. Instead of the beautiful springing step, they trudge along with a heavy plodding tread, devoid of all beauty of motion. They have not a particle of the grace of motion of their white sisters. Their heavy gait I

have accounted for in my own mind by the heavy packs and burdens which for generations they have had to bear. Many of the women have packed all of their lives, burdens of 200 pounds. With this continued for centuries, it is no wonder that their step is heavy. The Ojibway man, in his native state, rarely carries any pack, if there be a woman along to do it, unless there is so much that both must pack. He puts it upon the woman while he strides along in front, magnificently, with his gun. ^{both} parties seem to look on that as natural and proper. Sometimes when a man marries a young woman, he puts his own pack on her in addition to her own and soon breaks her down. The woman always walks behind, never by the side of a man. Often on the top of her enormous pack, if the articles be bulky, as when moving her wigwam, etc., from place to place, one can see the baby perched high above her head, securely tied to keep it from falling from its perilous height. On a journey the woman packs the birch-bark for the wigwam, the rush mats to sleep on, the cooking utensils and the food." (8)

Clarify
One of the last efforts to stop the march of the Chippewa occurred in the vicinity of Old Crow Wing. Folwell believes it took place within a year after the English conquest. Winchell places it in 1768. Whatever the date, it appears that the Sioux had been driven from their hunting grounds about Sandy Lake and were living on the Rum River. It is believed that Nokay, Chippewa chief, whose name is said to have been given to the Nokasippi River, was then leader of the Crow Wing Chippewa. *which Wabasha?*

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Some unknown savage commander of the Sioux, possibly Wabasha, summoning aid from beyond the Mississippi and from the neighborhood of St. Anthony, gathered between four and five hundred warriors. At a time when a party of Chippewa braves had taken the war path for the Dakota country and when the annual delegation to Mackinac had just returned bringing so much whiskey that the remaining braves at

(8) Ojibways in Minnesota. Minnesota Historical Collection, pp. 62, 63, 57, 58, 70, 71.

Sandy Lake were dead drunk, this Sioux army swept up the Mississippi in canoes to the Crow Wing. They poured through Gull, White Fish and smaller lakes into Leech Lake, traversed its broad expanse, moved into Cass Lake and sought to surprise the great Chippewa village on Sandy Lake.

Two Chippewa braves, discovering them, fled to their village while the Sioux stopped to capture a party of Chippewa women picking huckleberries. The Sandy Lake squaws were sober. They roused their men, doused them with water, and stopped the Sioux till others of their village came up and drove off the attackers, leaving only a few women in the hands of the enemy.

Meantime the Sandy Lake war party learned of the foray. Too late to come to the aid of the village, they decided to wait till the enemy came back down the Mississippi. On a long bluff opposite the lower mouth of the Crow Wing, they dug or found as a natural formation a line of pits each big enough to hold half a dozen men and waited. Soon the leading canoes of the Sioux rounded the bend of the Mississippi. With the Chippewa hidden above, the enemy war party beached its craft and made ready for a morning meal, forcing the captive Chippewa women to prepare it. Then they danced their scalp dance and embarked in a gay flotilla of canoes, drums still beating and with yells of triumph.

Suddenly the Chippewa leader gave the signal to fire. At short range, the fire was deadly. The captive women, seeing their opportunity, upset their own canoes and swam for the shore, leaving the helpless Sioux wounded and drowning. Supposing they had run into a hunting party, the Sioux rallied out of range and tried to dislodge the Chippewa but in vain. On running out of ammunition, both parties waged war with clubs and knives but the Chippewa held their fort and the decimated Sioux fled to the Run and thence to the Minnesota River where they established themselves. (9)

(9) Brainerd Dispatch, Dec. 5, 1890.

The pits are still visible and this action probably took place within a few rods of where Allan Morrison later established the first settlement in Crow Wing.

Crow Wing County never had what could be called a formal exploration period. Thomas McKay mentions coming down the Mississippi River in 1794, then going up the Crow Wing and on into Canada. Zebulon Pike camped there in 1805 and 1806 on his way to and from Leech Lake. Schoolcraft in 1820 and Lieutenant Allen in 1832 both give the region passing mention; while J. N. Nicollet, in his expedition of 1836-37, took the elevation at the mouths of the principal rivers. Lying as it does on both sides of the Mississippi, ^{present-day} Crow Wing ^{county} was at times the path, ^{it was} but seldom the goal, of the early explorers. ~~And~~, though richly endowed by nature, it never held a large trading post within its borders. Warring Indian tribes saw to that.

Originally the present state of Minnesota was all Sioux territory, the Chippewa having been an eastern nation until white settlement forced them westward. Armed and instructed in the use of guns by the French traders, these Indians were able to drive the Sioux before them. The latter fell back from the head of the Great Lakes, where the Chippewa made their entry, until there was no longer a Sioux stronghold in Minnesota east of the Mississippi River and north of Mille Lacs. Then the Chippewa began their drive down the west side of the great river. Here resistance stiffened somewhat, by reason of the Sioux having obtained a few guns in trade and in battle, but the advantage still lay heavily with their enemies, and the territory which had long been theirs shrank steadily, year by year.

Some of this might also be combined with the Sioux-Chippewa struggle that goes before. Follow this by the Crow Wing battle story.

See page 15 with 94, page 1, Chap. 2

The Indians

From very early times until after the coming of the white man, all of the present state of Minnesota was Sioux territory. The Sioux controlled the Mississippi valley from the headwaters to the Arkansas river, from Lake Michigan to the Rockies. Ojibway tradition has it that they originally came from the far west and after centuries of wandering, settled beside the great eastern sea. Driven from that location, by the coming of the white man, they gradually moved westward. By the middle of the seventeenth century, they had settled around the lower end of Lake Superior and had a large village near Sault Ste. Marie. By 1692 they began moving westward again. The French established a trading post at LaPointe, near the present Bayfield, Wisconsin, and a large Ojibway village grew up around this post.

The Ojibways, coming from the east, had early learned to use the white man's weapons, so they were able to push the Sioux westward before them, until the time came when the Sioux, too, were reached by traders, who provided them with guns and ammunition. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Ojibways not only occupied all of northern Michigan and Wisconsin, but claimed all of Minnesota east of the Mississippi and north of Mille Lacs. As white settlement forced the Ojibways ever westward, they, in turn, pushed the Sioux ahead of them. Having conquered the country east of the Mississippi, they began seizing that lying west of the river. By 1800, they occupied the Leech Lake country and claimed control of the hunting grounds as far south as the Crow Wing river.

According to William Watts Folwell, "This advance of the Chippewa was not accomplished without a half century of bloody warfare. Warren, the Chippewa half-breed who compiled the traditions of his Indian ancestors, could not conceal a note of triumph when recording their victories; but he was compelled to admit that the conquered lands were 'strewn with the bones of his fathers, and enriched with their blood.' This warfare, like that of

all Indian enemies, commonly consisted of desultory forays repeated from year to year; but there were movements which reached the dignity of campaigns, and contests which may be called battles. Such were, mentioned in order of time, those of Mille Lacs and Point Prescott in the seventeenth century; of Sandy Lake, Crow Wing, Elk River, and St. Croix Falls in the eighteenth; and of Cross Lake in 1800, according to Chippewa chronology. Separate descriptions of these battles would be unprofitable, but it may be permitted briefly to sketch from Chippewa tradition the campaign which culminated in the battle of Crow Wing, and resulted in the final expulsion of the Dakota from their lands east of the Mississippi.

"This enterprise was probably undertaken within a year after the English conquest. The Sioux by this time had come into possession of firearms; and the bands which had been driven from Mille Lacs, now residing on the Rum River, were ambitious to recover their ancient hunting grounds from the invading Chippewa. They summoned to their aid the bands beyond the Mississippi and the detachments assembled at the Falls of St. Anthony. Between four and five hundred warriors responded and joined in the dances and incantations preliminary to a raid on the foe. The campaign proposed was no ordinary dash of a raiding party content merely to gather in a few scalps. Not Hannibal nor Napoleon conceived a bolder or happier piece of strategy than that of the unknown savage commander. In essence it was to move a flying corps rapidly past the enemy's front, turn his right flank, and carry his central stronghold by surprise. The party embarked in canoes and moved up the Mississippi to the Crow Wing, and thence by Gull, White Fish, and a chain of smaller lakes, separated by a series of short portages well known to the Sioux, who had hunted thereaway for generations, into Leech Lake. After traversing the broad expanse of this lake, the expedition proceeded to Cass Lake, over two hundred miles from the starting point. Having entered the main stream of the Mississippi, which flows through this body of water, the eager warriors passed rapidly down with the current, hoping to fall upon the great Chippewa

village on Sandy Lake unexpected and put out its fires forever. In this they were disappointed. Two Chippewa hunters saw them some distance upstream and paddled with might and main to carry the news to their people. The Sioux followed closely and, had they not stopped to capture a party of Chippewa women picking huckleberries, might have rushed pell-mell into the village and taken possession. The Sandy Lake Indians were ill prepared for defense. A party of their braves had taken to the warpath for the Dakota country. The annual delegation to the Sault and Mackinac had just returned bringing enough fire water to disqualify the remaining braves for battle. Most of them were dead-drunk. The squaws were sober, and by a plentiful use of cold water they soon had some of the men in condition to fight. These made a stand against the Sioux and delayed their disembarkment. As others sobered up, their ranks were lengthened and filled, and so bravely did they do battle that the Sioux were forced to withdraw down river with a few female captives.

"The Sioux had failed of the main object of the campaign, but a worse calamity awaited them. The absent Sandy Lake braves had reached the junction of the Crow Wing with the Mississippi after the Sioux expedition had passed up and there learned its magnitude and destination. It was too late to return to their village and share in its defense. The leaders resolved to await the enemy on their return and fall upon them from an ambush. Opposite the lower of the two mouths of the Crow Wing is an elongated hill or bluff some fifty feet high and five hundred feet long, running parallel with the Mississippi and sloping to the shore. Just above is a sharp curve nearly equal to a quarter circle, which throws the current against the east bank. On the crest of this hill the Chippewa dug a line of what in modern war books would be called "rifle pits," each deep enough and large enough to hold a half dozen or more men. While waiting for their prey, they hunted in the neighborhood for meat. Early one morning one of their scouts brought word that the enemy was near, and presently the leading canoes of the Sioux were

seen emerging above the bend.

"Unappreciative of the danger which awaited them, the Sioux made a landing in plain sight of the Chippewa trap and made their morning meal--for many of them the last. The captive women were rudely compelled to cook and serve. Embarking after the meal and a scalp dance for the last day's journey, within their own country, the Sioux formed their flotilla as if for parade. The canoes bore the feathered war ensigns and the Chippewa scalps on feathered poles. Drums were beating and the air was filled with yells of triumph. When they were fairly abreast of the ambushade, the Chippewa leader gave the longed-for signal to fire. At the short range the fire was fatally effective, and many brave Sioux dropped dead. Many also were drowned; this because a wise old Chippewa woman captive had instructed her companions how to behave under circumstances which she thought might occur. At the flash of the guns, they capsized the canoes and swam off to their friends, leaving their captors to struggle in the water. As long as there were any Sioux in sight, the Chippewa continued their fire, killing and wounding the helpless foe. The astonished Dakota rallied at a point out of range of the enemy's fire. Believing the Chippewa to be no more than a hunting party, they made an ineffectual effort to dislodge them. Next morning the Sioux renewed the attack, making use of successive ^{lines} ~~lines~~ of cover of logs and earth. They pushed their advances so ~~far~~ near to the Chippewa pits as to be able to pitch stones into them. A famous Chippewa chief was thus wounded. The principle of this assault was none other than that of the latest firing tactics of modern infantry. Ammunition failing, the contest was waged with clubs and knives. The Chippewa, however, held their fort, and the Sioux with thinned and shortened ranks departed for their villages. Well aware that such a campaign as this would be followed by a counter movement on the part of the enemy, they soon abandoned their villages east of the Mississippi and established themselves on the Minnesota River."

Folwell says this battle probably took place within a year after England took possession of the country, which would be 1764. Warren sets the date as about 1768. Although the Chippewa lost very few men in the battle of Crow Wing, yet in 1782 the village of Sandy Lake was nearly depopulated by the dreadful ravages of the smallpox, but they gradually recovered their strength and numbers, largely through accessions from the villages of their people located on Lake Superior, who were drawn to the Mississippi country by the richness of the hunting grounds and the facilities for obtaining a plentiful and easy livelihood. But another great blow was yet to come. Warren says: "In the yearx 1800 (as near as can be judged from the Indian mode of counting time); the ill-fated village of Sandy Lake again received a severe blow, which cut off its inhabitants nearly to a man. On this occasion, however, they suffered from the implacable hatred of the Dakotas. As it had become customary, in the fall of the year, the hunters with their families, had gone down the Mississippi, and joining with the Pillager camp at Crow Wing, they had proceeded to the rich hunting grounds in the vicinity of Long Prairie, to pursue the chase during the winter. This year the Dakotas did not approach them for the purpose of making a temporary peace, as they had been accustomed to do for some years previous. On the contrary, they kept a wary watch over the movements of the Ojibway camp for the purpose of obtaining an opportunity of inflicting on them a sudden blow, which might have the effect of deterring them from again encroaching on their favorite hunting grounds.

"As spring approached, the Ojibways again turned their faces homewards, and made slow marches toward their villages. The Dakotas collected their warriors, and to the number of four hundred men, they stealthily followed the return trail of their enemies. At Crow Wing the Pillager and Sandy Lake camps, as usual, parted company, and moved in different directions. The Dakotas followed the smaller camp, which led toward Mille Lac and Sandy Lake, and at Cross Lake, thirty miles northeast of Crow Wing, they fell on the Ojibways and nearly destroyed the whole camp. The Ojibways, perfectly unaware that the enemy was

on their tracks in such force, as it was not the season of the year when they usually carried on their warfare, had leisurely moved their camp from place to place, without taking any precautions to guard against sudden attack or surprise. In camping about in a dangerous neighborhood, they were accustomed to cut down trees and to pile logs about their wigwams for defense against midnight attacks; but on this occasion, the fated Ojibways failed to follow the usual precautions which might have saved them from almost total destruction.

"They encamped one evening at Sa-sub-a-gum-aw, or Cross Lake, on a long narrow point covered with pine trees which ran across the lake, nearly dividing it in two. They numbered eight long, or double wigwams, beside several smaller ones, altogether containing over two hundred men, women and children. Luckily, several families residing at Mille Lac, had that day parted from the main camp, and had gone in the direction of their village, consequently escaping the fate that awaited their fellows. Early the next morning, also, a number of women left the camp, to carry heavy loads of meat some distance ahead towards their next camping ground, intending to return after other loads. On their return, hearing the noise of the battle, which commenced soon after their departure, they succeeded in making their escape.

"Soon after the sun had arisen on this fated morning, several of the Ojibway hunters sallied out of their wigwams for the usual day's hunt, intending to rejoin their families at the next encampment. ~~The hunters~~ On reaching the ice on the lake, they perceived several wolves sitting a short distance off, apparently watching the encampment. The hunters ran towards them, but as they did so, the seeming wolves got up and retreated into the woods which skirted the lake. The hunters instantly recognized them for human beings, who, covered with wolf skins, had quietly been reconnoitring their camp, and counting their lodges. They ran back and gave the alarm, but the Ojibway warriors were given but a few moments to make preparations for the coming onslaught.

"On being discovered, the Dakotas immediately marshalled their forces on the ice, and in long lines, dressed and painted for battle, they slowly approached the Ojibway encampment. So unusual was this mode of attack, that for a moment the Ojibways were deceived into the belief that they came for the purpose of making peace, and under this impression two of their bravest warriors, Be-dud and She-shebe, ran out upon the ice to meet them. They were welcomed with a shower of bullets and arrows. They, however, bravely stood their ground, and returned the fire of the enemy, and their fellow warriors joining them, a fierce fight ensued on the ice, which soon became crimsoned with blood.

"Many times outnumbered by their enemies, the few surviving warriors of the Ojibways were finally forced to take shelter near their wigwams, but the Dakotas entirely surrounded them. After a brave, but hopeless, defence, their guns were silenced forever, and their scalps graced the belts of their victorious enemies. After annihilating the men, the Dakotas rushed into the perforated wigwams and massacred the women and children who had escaped their bullets. Some few children were spared, who were afterwards adopted into the families of their captors. Some have since returned to their people and are still living, who speak the Dakota tongue with great fluency. . . . This was a great blow to the Ojibways who had taken possession of the Upper Mississippi country, and they felt it severely. But it did not have the effect of causing them to evacuate the hunting grounds, which cost them so much blood. On the contrary, they held their vantage ground against the Dakotas with even greater determination and tenacity, and their warriors who had been slain at Cross Lake being soon replaced by others from Lake Superior, they were enabled, in a few years, to inflict a terrible retribution on the Dakotas.

"It is at this time that the celebrated chief, Ba-be-sig-aun-dib-ay, or "Curly Head," first made his appearance on the Upper Mississippi. He be-

longed to the Crane family, and removed to this region with a small camp of his relatives from the shores of the Great Lake. He did not stop at Sandy Lake, but proceeded down the Mississippi, and located his camp in the vicinity of Crow Wing, on a plentiful hunting ground, but in dangerous proximity to the Dakotas. The bravest warriors and hunters of the Mississippi Ojibways joined his camp and they soon formed a formidable body of hardy and fearless ~~hunters~~ pioneers, who, every~~x~~ wary against the advances of their enemies, were never attacked by them with impunity. Twice the Dakotas endeavored to destroy the daring band by sudden night attacks, but each time they were repulsed with severe loss." (2)

Curly Head was much respected and loved by his people and his band increased in numbers until he became the third principal chief on the Upper Mississippi. The Mississippi and Gull Lake bands were the descendants of these hardy pioneers. Curly Head attended the grand conference held at Prairie du Chien in 1825, but on his way home was taken sick and died at Sauk Rapids. During his sickness, he called two brothers, who as young men had been his pipe bearers, and committed to them the care of the Mississippi Ojibways. One of these was Song-uk-um-eg, or Strong Ground; and the other Pug-o-na-ke-shig, or Hole-in-the-Day. (3) Hole-in-the-Day remained chief of the Gull Lake band until his death in 1847, when he was succeeded by his son, Hole-in-the-Day the Younger. They established and maintained their village on a beautiful site between ~~Gull~~ Round and Long lakes, just a short distance east of Gull Lake.

Although there may have been ^{no} great battles between the Dakotas and the Chippewa after 1800, yet there were almost annual forays by one or both of these nations. Even after the Crow Wing settlement had been established, this constant warfare continued. In his report for 1854, the Indian Agent at Gull River ~~xxx~~ stated that during the year that had passed, at least 100 Chippewa had been scalped, four of them within a half mile of the Agency. (4)

During 1858 there was also a great deal of excitement. Rev. Manney reported that on March 21, about four p.m., a Chippewa woman arrived at Fort Ripley under a military escort from Fort Snelling. She was one of the two women who had been taken prisoner by the Sioux at Christmas, 1857. She escaped from the Sioux camp and reached Fort Ridgeley, from which post she was sent to Fort Ripley. At the same time, a messenger arrived from Major Herriman, Indian agent at Gull River, asking that a detachment of soldiers be sent immediately to protect himself and a number of his Indian charges from a set of vagabonds at Crow Wing. On midnight of March 23, Sheriff Pugh brought a dispatch from Little Falls stating that 200 Sioux were in the vicinity. Major Patten, commander at Fort Ripley, immediately recalled the troops sent to the Agency and issued a thousand ball cartridges to the citizens of Little Falls. He also sent out scouts. March 24 it was reported that all of the lumbermen had gone into Crow Wing to escape the Sioux, while the Indians in the sugar camps had all left hurriedly. The next day they learned that about 150 Sioux, evidently in pursuit of the escaped prisoner, had crossed the river near Watab on some large cakes of ice and had gone as far north as the mouth of the Platte River. It was said they entered the houses of the citizens and demanded what food they wanted. They left without doing any violence. (5) On April 28, he wrote that the Sioux had gone into the settlement of Crow Wing the night before and taken eleven scalps. Old Ottawa and his family were the victims. He adds, "This is coming pretty close and indicates rather too much boldness."

There was a fight between the Sioux and the Chippewa at Crow Wing during 1864. When Mrs. Jessie Sibley, a daughter of David McArthur, came back for the Brainerd Homecoming in 1922, she and her friend Mrs. Angus Murray went out to old Crow Wing. Mrs. Sibley told Mrs. Murray that when she was eight years old, her father had walked with her from their home along the present highway 371, to the hill overlooking the river. Standing beside the Episcopal Church, they had watched a battle between the Sioux and the Chippewa. She could distinctly

remember seeing the Sioux coming down stream in their canoes, the exchange of gun fire, and men jumping or falling out of their canoes. As Mrs. Sibley was born in 1856, this fight must have taken place about 1864. (6)

Another fight is described as taking place some time during the fifties. Mrs. Caroline Grandelmeyer, one of Allan Morrison's daughters, said that during those years, the Sioux Indians went to Sandy Lake, where they killed a party of Chippewa and took the squaws captive. Then they stole the Chippewa canoes and started down the river. The Chippewa living near Crow Wing got word of the fight and of the plans of the Sioux to come down the Mississippi. So they dug pits along the river bank just above Mr. Morrison's place and waited for the Sioux. When the raiders came opposite them, the Chippewa fired, killing all the Sioux and rescuing the captured squaws. (7) It seems very probable that an action of this sort took place in 1856, for in that year, Allan Morrison put in a claim against the U.S. government for damages ~~done~~ done by the Indians. Hugh Masterson, another Crow Wing resident, put in a claim for \$18. These claims were allowed in 1890, by the Department of the Interior. (8)

It has been suggested that Mrs. Grandelmeyer was mistaken in stating that pits were dug on the hill above her father's house some time during the fifties, and that her story of a battle during those years was merely a garbled tradition of the battle of 1768. But a comparison of all available facts, coupled with a careful study of the actual terrain over which these battles raged, may make a slight difference in our interpretation of facts. Mr. Folwell quotes as authorities for his account: "History of the Ojibways" by William Whipple Warren; "A Western Pioneer, or Incidents in the Life and Times of Rev. Alfred Brunson"; and Gideon H. Pond's "Dakota and Chippewa Wars"; as well as a map of the scene made in 1902 by J.V. Brower and published in his "Minnesota." From the information thus obtained, Mr. Folwell comes to the conclusion that: "the Chippewa dug a line of what in modern war books would be called 'rifle pits,' each deep enough and large enough

to hold a half dozen or more men." This statement might lead a casual reader into the belief that the Chippewa used at Crow Wing, a military method that did not come into general use until many years later, but the construction of pits similar to the ones at Crow Wing had been a military custom of the Indians for many generations.

William Joseph Snelling, whose Indian tales are considered to be masterly portrayals of Indian habits and customs, relates the Indian tradition of the origin~~ing~~ of the Assiniboiné tribe, an event that took place long before the coming of the white man. Two men battled over a woman. Their fight grew into a ~~faud~~ feud between their families and finally the relatives of the chief actor, Nahpay Tunkah, gathered together and resolved in council that they must be prepared to expect a visit from the opposing family. They had provisions enough to withstand a siege, so they construct a fortification in the best manner they were able, and awaited the result. "About two arrows flight from the wood were two small hills, one a little distance in advance of the other. On the tops of these they made two enclosures with logs and brush-wood. Within these they dug holes large enough to lie in, and at the same time use their weapons. A store~~x~~ of hay was cut for the horses by the women and they all removed into these defenses. A watch, too, was set on the highest ground in the vicinity." ^{hard pressed by their attackers,} (9) The beseiged garrison/managed to escape from their fort, but the fight left them so bitter that they with~~dre~~^{their}w forever from ~~the~~ Dakota brethern and became a tribe known as the Hohays, latter, the Assinboines. (9)

The use of this term, "rifle pit" may be traced to Rev. Alfred Brunson, who says that he inquired of William Aitkin, "what these holes, apparently rifle pits, meant." (10) Neither William Aitkin, nor his son-in-law, William Whipple Warren, referred to them by that name in their accounts of the battle. There is another very important reason why these depressions should be regarded as shelter pits and not as rifle pits. They are dug so far back from the brow of the hill

that it would be physically impossible for any one to lie in them and shoot down into canoes that were being forced by the current under the high east bank of the river. The side of the hill facing away from the river slopes down at a very moderate angle. The Chippewa dug away the earth from the high part and threw it to the lower side, forming an earthwork to protect them from a surprise attack, or against a frontal attack by a foe creeping up from the land side of their fortification. The pits are about twelve feet wide and vary in depth from a couple of inches to about eighteen inches. That at least one of these pits was used as a camp shelter is proved by the fact that the remains of a ~~fireplace~~ camp fire may be found in the deepest spot, next to the ground thrown out as a breastwork.

That part of the story of the Crow Wing battle which tells about the fierce hand to hand fighting and the use of stones as ammunition when bullets ran out, is probably a colorful addition to the actual facts. There may have been hand to hand fighting, but Indians as a rule do not relish the thoughts of storming a strongly fortified position, and the Chippewa probably had ammunition long after their opponents were without it, for the Dakotas had already fought one engagement before meeting the Chippewa. And if ~~the~~ either side resorted to the use of stones as ammunition, they had to carry them for a long distance, as the soil in the vicinity of the pits is practically free of stones.

The size and location of the pits would easily lead one to believe that there were two sets of pits. The ^{eastern} ~~northern~~ set consists of five pits separated by a few feet of solid ground, according to Mr. Brower's map, made in 1902. But since then, the narrow dividing ridge between two of the pits has been almost washed away, so the pits now measure approximately 21, 27, 33 and 34 feet long. It is approximately 135 feet from the beginning of the first pit to the end of the last one. The second set of pits is 185 feet ^{west} ~~south~~ of the first set. There is one large pit, approximately 14x35 feet in size, one smaller pit, about 14x18 feet in size, and several very small ones. These

two larger pits are about 35 feet apart. From the number of men engaged in the battle of 1768, about eighty Chippewa, the first series of pits would seem not only large enough to shelter this group, but the 135 or more feet of front exposed to the enemy would seem as extended a line as this number could reasonably expect to hold. It would seem rather unwise to divide this number and try to hold two sets of fortifications, t least 185 feet apart.

The second set of pits is much nearer the site of Allan Morrison's old homestead, and if a battle took place there during the fifties, it would have been within a few rods of his barns. A claim for \$200 for damages done during a battle in his barnyard would seem a fair amount. Evidence shows that long after white settlement, the Dakotas were able to slip past Crow Wing and the Agency and attack the Chippewa in their homes, and during the generations of Sioux and Chippewa conflict, their military tactics seem to have changed very little, even though guns displaced bows and arrows.

- (1) A History of Minnesota, Folwell, pp-81-84.
- (2) History of the Ojibways, Warren, pp 344-349.
- (3) Ibid, p-469.
- (4) Report of Chippewa Indian Agent for 1854.
- (5) Solon Manney's Diary, March 21-25, 1858.
- (6) Interview with Mrs. Angus Murray.
- (7) William Seelye's autobiography, Crow Wing Co. Historical Museum.
- (8) Brainerd Dispatch, Dec. 5, 1890.
- (9) Tales of the Northwest, Snelling, pp-24-38.
- (10) A Western Pioneer, Alfred Brunson, p-203.

Combine with Chapter I?

There is no record of any white occupancy of northern Minnesota during the almost two hundred years of Spain's nominal sovereignty, but in 1678 some Quebec and Montreal business men decided to establish trading relations with the Indians living at the head of Lake Superior. A company was organized and Du Lhut ^{to} was chosen ~~as leader~~ of the expedition. Frontenac, then governor of Canada, approved Du Lhut's appointment, clothing him with public authority, and on September 1 the party left Montreal on its mission.

On July 2, 1679, Du Lhut planted the flag of France at Kathio, a great Sioux village on the southwest shore of Lake Mille Lacs, and claimed the land for his sovereign by right of discovery. This ceremony was repeated in at least two other quarters by Du Lhut, (1) and France's claim was still further substantiated when LaSalle, three years later, made his proclamation at the Mississippi's mouth.

As a result of the French and Indian wars, France in 1762 ceded her territory west of the Mississippi to Spain, and in 1763 she was forced by the Treaty of Paris to relinquish her possessions on the left, or east, side of the river to England. Thus Minnesota East and Minnesota West came under separate jurisdictions. East or West, Du Lhut "long had the credit of being the first white man on Minnesota soil, and he may still be justly entitled to it." (2) And in that exploration he touched Crow Wing County.

William Whittle Warren, the part-Ojibwa ^{PP} historian, discovers no white man in the Crow Wing area earlier than 1781, at which time an unnamed trader is rather uncertainly placed in the region. Warren ^{locates} ~~spots~~ this trader at the mouth

(1) In Margry, Decouvertes, 6:20-25; translated in the appendix to Louis Hennepin, A Description of Louisiana, 374, 377 (Shea edition, New York, 1880), and in Edward D. Neill, History of Minnesota: From the Earliest French Explorations to the Present Time, 813-817 (fourth edition, Minneapolis, 1882.)

(2) A History of Minnesota, William Watts Folwell, 1:23 (M.H.S., St. Paul, 1921).

Combine this with material opening Chapter I.

of a then ^{nameless} un-named creek emptying into the Crow Wing River, ten miles above that stream's confluence with the Mississippi. He asserts that the white man was robbed of his goods at his post there in 1781 by a band of Ojibways, and that the ^{name of} sobriquet "Pillagers" was given ^{to} the band, because of that act, The trader, who was ill at the time, is said to have started downriver for medical aid, and to have died of smallpox at Sauk Rapids. The story attributes a smallpox epidemic among the Ojibways to the distribution of the stolen goods.

There is today a Pillager Creek in Cass County, and at the point where it enters the Crow Wing River, the place designated as the scene of this raid, stands the present village of Pillager. But, while both stream and town undoubtedly owe their names to the Pillager band of the Chippewa, it is highly improbable that the Indians received theirs in the manner suggested. The fact that ^{the Ojibway} this nation included a band called the Pillagers while they were still in the east, as well as Alexander Henry's mention (3) of them six years before the affair on the un-named creek, forces the conclusion that the name had been born of some previous event. As a matter of fact, their Ojibway name, Muk-me-dua-win-im-e-wug^x (men-who-take-by-force), suggests ~~more than a possibility~~ that "Pillagers" is nothing more or less than a translation. Further discrediting the accuracy of Warren's account, Coue states that the trader thus pillaged was a Frenchman named Berti, and that the robbery occurred in 1767, at the mouth of the Crow Wing River. (4) Doubtless somebody was robbed in that immediate neighborhood, somewhat after the manner stated, and by a band of Pillager Indians. Current report to that effect might very easily lead persons hearing the tribal name for the first time to jump to the conclusion that there was a connection which, in reality, did not exist.

(3) "On the fifth of August, 1775, at Rat Portage, Lake of the Woods, some of the Ojibways asked for rum, but Henry refused, because they were of the band of Pilleurs. This is the first mention of the now called Pillagers."
E. D. Neill, M.H.S. Collections, Vol.V, p.446-256. (History of the Ojibways).
(4)**Pike's Expeditions, Vol. 1, p. 170.

Whoever this lone trader was, and whatever the date of his ill-fated venture, it is fairly well established that there was no regular post in ^{Old} Crow Wing in 1781, or, indeed, at any time prior to 1794. Until that date, the Ojibways were compelled to journey to LaPointe, Sault Ste Marie and Mackinac for blankets, arms, ammunition and whiskey. La Pointe was a large Ojibwa town on what is now Magdalen Island of the Apostle Islands group in Chequamegon Bay near the present city of Bayfield, Wisconsin. Indians and early traders traveled from La Pointe by keel boat or canoe along the western edge of Lake Superior to the St. Louis River, where a post was established called Fond du Lac. They would then paddle up the St. Louis to the mouth of the East Savanna River, about where the town of Floodwood is located, and up this river to what is called the Savanna Portage, where the East and West Savanna Rivers came nearest together. A difficult carry of about six miles took them to the West Savanna down which they floated to Big Sandy Lake and down the Mississippi. It is believed that this route had been used by the Indians for centuries before the coming of the whites.

The close of the American Revolution gave a tremendous impetus to the fur trade. In 1784 England ceded her territory east of the Mississippi River to the United States, and in 1803 the Louisiana Purchase added the land west of the river to the new republic, though possession was not transferred until the following year. In the meantime, the traders, French, English and Yankee, were penetrating the wilderness to the Indian villages, in whatever jurisdiction they might lie. And, in those days, following the fur routes took a bit of doing.

In 1784, Alexander Kay, a Montreal trader, set out for Pine River, with two canoes. It was his intention to ascend the St. Louis River and reach Sandy Lake by way of the famous Savanna Portage. The balance of the trip would be comparatively easy. Kay's French clerk, Jean Baptiste Perrault, has left an account

Is this Perrault account pertinent? I don't think so.

of this venture.

Before leaving Montreal, Kay sent one Harris on ahead for the purpose of buying wild rice from the Indians. This forager was to meet the expedition at Fond du Lac, but he failed to do so; and to complicate matters further, a Lake Superior storm wrecked both canoes at this point. Kay's goods were soaked and sunk, or scattered along the beach with the remnants of his splintered canoes, and the men were all discouraged. All but Kay. He knew how to meet and conquer misfortune. He simply broached a cask of liquor which had washed ashore, and soon all his doubts were dissipated. Confidence restored, he insisted on continuing the trip.

Their supplies at this point, says Perrault, were pitifully inadequate: one bag of flour, one keg of butter and one of sugar for Kay's own use, although there were "14 men, his savages, himself and me, being 17 persons in all and nothing to eat." There is a melancholy note in Perrault's inventory, but his employer refused to worry, and blithely set out up the St. Louis River.

Before they had progressed very far, the crew took heart at sight of their wild rice buyer, Harris, paddling down toward them accompanied by three other white men and an Indian called Big Marten. But when Harris came alongside, their hopes went glimmering. He had brought no rice, and had in his canoe only part of a barrel of salt meat.

Now Perrault was *really* worried. He could sense that very shortly the time would arrive when literally they would "not know where the next meal was coming from." But as the spirits sank in the keg, Kay's seemed to rise, and his obstinacy to set. "I advised him to return to Fond du Lac," relates the clerk, "and to go up to the Indians on the first opening of navigation. But this gentleman would take advice from no one."

Other members of the party also tried to prevail upon Kay to return,

until finally he lost his temper and ended all argument by underlining his orders with a drawn pistol. He ruled that Harris, Big Marten and himself, with seven others, should go on ahead and hunt for game, the rest to remain with the baggage and await their return. Perrault, left in command of this party, endured several days of storm and hunger and general discomfort on the river bank with the baggage pile, until an Indian messenger came with a letter from Kay informing the clerk of new plans. Instead of returning with provisions, the trader was proceeding to Pine River, and the baggage party were to take the goods as far as the Savanna Portage, where they were to establish winter quarters, "if possible." Perrault was very unhappy.

After eleven days of buffeting the ice and slush of the St. Louis River, the baggage detail reached the portage. They were wholly out of supplies by this time and, quoting Perrault, "We lived on the seeds and pods of the wild rose, and the sap of trees." They were able to get a few fish until the ice thickened, then they fell back on boiled flag root, grubbed from the mire of the swamp. No wild game was found, and this soon compelled the party to push ahead on foot toward Pine River.

Arriving finally at Sandy Lake in a state bordering on collapse, they were mocked there by the sight of three bare lodge-poles where they had expected to find life and warmth. By accident a stumbling member of the party kicked a dried moose hide out of the snow, and the famished men charred this to brittleness and ate it, every scrap.

Working laboriously down the Mississippi River's left bank, Perrault's detail of almost helpless men at length reached the present site of Aitkin, where, as they stood huddled and shivering around a fire, their hopes were suddenly aroused by the sound of a shot. Big Marten emerged from the woods and soon, under his guidance, they reached Kay's camp.

On January 4, the impatient Kay sent Perrault's party out again, with instructions to build a log house on the Prairie River Portage. This house was probably built in the present Balsam township, Aitkin County. It was completed by February 9, but the supplies which Kay had promised to send were delayed and Perrault and his crew again came perilously near to starvation. With the coming of spring, he retrieved the two canoes and the goods which he had left at the entrance of Savanna Portage, and proceeded to Sandy Lake, where he met Kay who had just come from Pine River. Here they remained, bartering with the Indians, until May 2, when Kay, as a final flourish, broached his remaining kegs of liquor and invited everybody to partake.

Far into the night, the sounds of revelry mingled with the hoot-owl's plaintive query. As the debauch continued, a big savage, in a moment of exuberance, stuck his hunting knife into, and nearly through, Kay. Kan-te-wan-ke-ta, the Sandy Lake chief, deplored his subject's discourteous act, assuring Kay that "the blow has given me much pain." Kay whispered weakly that it had him, too, and asked Kan-te-wan-ke-ta what he intended to do about it. The chief, having some rude medical skill, treated the wound to the best of his ability, after which he and his wife placed the trader on a litter and started, by way of the Savanna Portage, to carry him to Mackinac. Kay lived through the trip, but, obstinate and contemptuous of advice as always, he gave little heed to the counsels of Kan-te-wan-ke-ta, and arrived at Mackinac in a bad way. He died there during the following year. (5)

Warren, describing the beginning of the organized fur trade in Minnesota, declares that, among the first traders who pushed their enterprise to the villages of the Ojibways after France had ceded Canada to Great Britain, were Alexander Henry and the Cadottes. Three or four rival traders, or small companies,

(5) *History of the Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 166.

located trading posts on the north shore of Lake Superior, and competition was very keen. In 1787, after the murder of an independent trader named Waddon, shot in cold blood in his trading house at Grand Portage, the more sensible of the traders formed the Northwest Fur Company, which for a considerable time was able to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The earliest trading in the Crow Wing section was probably that of Jean Baptiste ^{Q. O.} Cadette who built a post at the confluence of the Leaf and Crow Wing Rivers in 1792 and wintered there, trading with the Sioux. The Northwest Fur Company built a stockaded post at Sandy Lake in 1794^{Q. O.} at Cadette's suggestion and a few years later another and a larger one at Leech Lake. The trade was rich and the company wanted to tap the territory. After 1796, except for the friction between the Sioux and the Ojibways, the latter were supplied from these posts rather than Sault Ste Marie and Mackinac. From the time of their building, about 1794, to the close of the war of 1812, when the British left the region, these posts were the most important fur trading stations in the Northwest.

The murder of Waddon serves to introduce into Minnesota and into Old Crow Wing the name Morrison, for the family ^{Q.} comes from Waddon stock. Allan Morrison, the first permanent settler at Crow Wing, and William Morrison, his older brother, early trader at Sandy Lake and probably the first white man to visit Lake Itasca and to recognize it as the source of the Mississippi, were both grandsons of this slain trader.

William Morrison was two years old at the time of his grandfather's death but he was soon one of the first and youngest traders at Sandy Lake for he is found there in 1794. In 1812, he was the trader for the Northwest Fur Company at Sandy Lake and in 1816, it is said, he was illegally arrested with a companion trader, James Grant, and his goods confiscated rather cavalierly by the Earl of

Selkirk, of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1818 a scourge of measles broke out near Sandy Lake and the Indians threatened to massacre the settlers in the belief that they had brought a curse upon the country, but Morrison quieted the savages by reasoning with them and pointing out that one of his own children, born of one of his Indian wives, had died in the epidemic. Morrison retired about 1826 and returned to Canada where he died in 1866.

Allan Morrison continued in the Indian trade. He was born in Canada in 1803. In 1820, he was trading at Mille Lacs for the American Fur Company with a brother-in-law, Charles Chaboillez. He tells of being exonerated in 1823 by soldiers who searched the post on an accusation that he was using whiskey in his trading with the savages. He was still at Mille Lacs in 1833-34 but is found at Crow Wing in 1840, and in 1843, he was teamed up with Donald McDonald in the firm of McDonald & Morrison, when the two had the westernmost settlement in this latitude.

Does this belong?

The Northwest Fur Company extended its operations to the whole Chippewa country. Its activities were centered in four districts: the Fond du Lac district which included Northern Minnesota; the Follw Avoine on the headquarters of the St. Croix River; the Lac Coutereille, covering the waters of the Chippewa; and the Lac du Flambeau, covering the waters of the Wisconsin. Among the partners were Frobisher, McTavish, Pond, Gregory and Pangman. Sir Alexander McKenzie and one McGilvray were members of the company, but withdrew and organized the X. Y. Company, causing much loss to the Northwest company, which was also greatly harassed by the competition of the Hudson's Bay Company. (6)

During the period in which the Northwest Fur Company practically controlled the fur trade of Minnesota, their activities seem to have left few records. In 1790, John McGill is said to have wintered at Crow Wing. (7) and Allan Morrison,

(6) History of the Ojibways, p. 381-390.

(7) Minnesota History, Vol. 11, p. 372.

in his history of the fur trade, says that a trader named Marchand was stationed at Mille Lacs in 1780. As he also says that Marchand was trading for the Northwest Fur Company, the date must have been nearer 1790 than 1780. During the winters of 1803-1805, Pierre Rousseau wintered at the mouth of the Crow Wing. He acted as Pike's interpreter in 1805-06. Pike also mentions that the Northwest Fur Company had two posts on Whitefish lake - one on the northwest and the other on the south side of the lake. (8) At that time, the entire force of the Northwest Fur Company, west of Lake Superior, consisted of three accountants, nineteen clerks, two interpreters, eighty-five canoe men, and with them some twenty-nine Indian or half-breed women, and about fifty children. (9) The director of the Fond du Lac district made his headquarters at Leech Lake.

The most important event in this history of the fur trade in Minnesota, occurred in 1818, when John Jacob Astor organized the American Fur Company. The effect of this corporation on the fur trade, and the relationship between the whites and the Indians was most marked. Warren describes the new order as follows:

Does this belong?

"When John Jacob Astor entered into arrangements with the British Fur Companies for the monopoly of the Ojibway trade within the United States territory, a new era may be said to have occurred in the fur trade. The old French Canadian traders, so congenial to the Indians, who had remained in the country after the closing of the French supremacy, had all nearly died away, and disappeared from the stage of active life, and a new class of men, of far different temperament, whose chief object was to amass a fortune, now made their appearance among the Ojibways. They were of the Anglo-Saxon race, and hailed from the land of progressive and money-making 'Yankees.' To some degree, the Indian ceased to find that true kindness, sympathy, charity and respect for his sacred beliefs and rites, which he had always

(8) *Pike's Expeditons, Vol. 1, p. 1741

(9) **History of Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 73.

experienced from his French traders.

"The Ojibways were more deserving of respect in those days, while living in their natural state, and under the full force of their primitive moral beliefs, than they are at the present day, after being degenerated by a close contact with an unprincipaled frontier white population. The American fur traders, many of whom were descended from respectable New England families, did not consider their dignity lessened by forming marital alliances with the tribe, and the Ojibway women were of such service to their husbands, they so easily assimilated themselves to their modes of life, and their affections were so strong, and their conduct so beyond reproach, that these alliances generally first formed by the traders for present convenience, became cemented by the strongest ties of mutual affection. They kindly cherished their Indian wives, and for their sakes, as well as for the sake of children whom they begat, these traders were eventually induced to pass their lifetime in the Ojibway country. They soon forgot the money-making mania which first brought them into the country, and gradually imbibing the generous hospitable qualities of the Indians, lived only to enjoy the present. They laid up no treasure for the future, and as a general fact, which redounds to the honor of this class of fur trader, they died poor. The money which has been made by the fur trade has been made with the sweat of their brows, but it flowed into the coffers of such men as John Jacob Astor." (10)

The fur traders of 1820 of the American Fur Company's Fond du Lac department, are named by Allan Morrison and include: John H. Fairbanks, Paul H. Beaulieu, and C. H. Beaulieu, all of whom became prominent residents of old Crow Wing. Another, Charles Chaboillez, brother-in-law of Allan Morrison, was also named.

(10) History of the Ojibways. pp. 381-390.

Although there seems to be no record of his having lived in this county, his estate is the first case to be recorded in the Probate Court of Crow Wing County (11) and his widow and children made their homes here for many years.

Allan Morrison gives a very interesting side light on conditions in the fur trade, when he relates an experience that occurred to him during the winter of 1823. He says:

"The cry against the Lake Superior Traders for selling whiskey to the Indians being the cause of their success in the trades was false. Their success depended on their activity and exertions. When J. J. Astor bought the Northwest company interest in Fond du Lac and the south shore of Lake Superior, all the men and clerks belonging to that company remained in the employ of the American Fur Company, and had been brought up at the Northwest company's school. When those that opposed the American Fur Company were ruined in their trade by those active traders, they would report to their employer that the cause of their failure was the quantity of liquor used by the Northern traders. I will here relate one instance in 1823. I was sent to oppose a trader that had come up the Mississippi to the two rivers. On my arrival to where Fort Ripley now stands, I learned where he was building his trading establishment. My instructions were that I should build close by him but being positive that I could do better a short distance above, I built my house and store on an island. In beginning of February, that trader found out that he had but few furs and that his goods were gone, and that I had got the furs. He had to report himself to his employers, and made use of the same old tune, whiskey was the cause of his failure. Complaints were made to Col. Snelling. In the middle of the night of the same month, having returned from a long jaunt to the Indians, I was woke by

(11) Deed Record A, p. 150.

a heavy knock at the door and at the same time the door opened. I jumped up and found that I was taken by a party of soldiers from Fort Snelling. The officer inquired after my name to which I answered. In a few words he explained the object of his visit, that was to take me down to Fort Snelling as a prisoner. I had liquor in my establishment and the information had been given to Col. Snelling that I carried on my trade principally with whiskey.

"I told him that I was very sorry that such false information had been made to Col. Snelling and had put them to the trouble of such a long and severe journey for I already perceived that several of the party were badly frozen, feet and hands. I immediately presented the keys of my store and told him he was welcome to search. He told me that he would delay until daylight. At the same time I went to work with my men to get something to eat for those people and used them as all traders use strangers. At day break the officer, Lieut. Hunter, performed his duty like a gentleman. When he got through he told me he was happy to find things as I had stated to him and was satisfied that the reports that had been made against me were false. As they were tired, I invited them to remain that day, which invitation they were glad to accept. In the course of the conversation I found Lieut. Hunter to be a gentleman and have not yet forgotten our first and last meeting." (12)

The American Fur Company had a fort at Gull Lake in 1823 and it was probably in operation until 1837. During these years, Ambrose Davenport was in charge from 1833 until 1836. The United States Congress, in 1824, licensed B. F. Baker as trader at Crow Island in the upper Mississippi. This same Baker is said to have traded at Gull Lake in 1828 without a license. During 1831-32, he was employed by William Aitkin at a port^s at Belle Prairie and later went down the river, locating near Fort Snelling.

(12) History of the Fur Trade in the Northwest, p. 8.

The American Fur Company also had a post at Mille Lacs as early as 1820.

Source for this spelling?
Among the traders there were: Allan Morrison, J. ^{son} Bellanger, J. B. Roy and Charles Chabattio (probably Chaboillez). These were listed as operating there in 1830.

Morrison was also there during 1833 and 1834, and Jean Baptiste Landrie was stationed there in 1836.

The Whitefish Lake posts of the old Northwest Fur Company probably continued in operation, for in 1830, the American Fur Company had a post there. Platte Lake was also a trading center, as it was listed as a post in 1830, and from 1833 until 1836, George Bonga was in charge there. *For 2 about Bonga?*

Lieutenant Allen, who was with Schoolcraft, gives an idea of the amount of business transacted at these posts at the time of his visit to Leech Lake in 1832. He says: "Mr. Aitkin very politely gave me the following information in relation to his trade. His department embraces an extent of country from Fond du Lac north to the boundary line, west to Red River, and south to near the Falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi, and contains nine permanent posts, from which returns are made every year, viz: Fond du Lac; Lake Superior on the north side of Grand Portage; Rainy Lake; Vermilion Lake at the head of Fond du Lac; Red Lake; Pembina Settlement on Red River; Red Cedar Lake; Leech Lake; and Sandy Lake, Mr. Aitkin's residence. For facilities of trade there are several other smaller posts, as at Lake Winnepeg; mouth of Crow Wing, and others, but these are subordinate, severally, to some one of the larger posts named, which is considered as making the whole return for a particular district.

"Mr. Aitkin's returns of this year are less than usual, and are as follows: from Fond du Lac \$2,000; Grand Portage \$1,000; Rainy Lake \$4,000; Vermilion Lake \$2,000; Red Lake \$2,000; Pembina \$2,500; Red Cedar Lake \$1,500; Leefh Lake \$6,000 and Sandy Lake \$5,000." (13)

From these figures, it may be seen that the amount of business transacted at Crow Wing during the early fur trading days, was comparatively small. It never ranked as the head of a district, and it is almost certain that no buildings more permanent than those erected by Allan Morrison for his venture of 1823, were ever constructed in this county until several years after it was thrown open to white settlement.

In an effort to end constant strife of the Indians, the United States government had called a conference with a view to settling definitely the boundaries between the two great Indian nations. As a result, the treaty of 1825 named the Watab River as the southern limit of the Chippewa territory, but as late as 1832 Lieutenant Allen placed the boundary of the Sioux and the Chippewa country at the Crow Wing River. (14)

And still the embittered aboriginal nations carried on their sporadic warfare, raiding and pillaging each other at every good opportunity,

Thus Crow Wing County, being a natural borderland, became, and remained throughout the period of the fur harvest, a battleground instead of a trading center.

Shake up this whole subject of trading, keeping closer to Old Crow Wing.

(14) Ibid, p. 51.

As a direct result of its geographical features, the history of Old Crow Wing is divided into four distinct, yet overlapping eras.

The first is the trading era. This began in the latter part of the eighteenth century and ended with the destruction of the forests. The trading settlement^x itself at Crow Wing^x can be ^{precisely} dated. It came into being as a result of the treaty of 1847, which provided that the Chippewas were to receive their payments at some point on the Mississippi river instead of at La Pointe, Wisconsin, and was given its death blow by the treaty of 1867, which resulted in the Chippewas' removal to the White Earth reservation.

The second is the lumbering era, which opened with the establishment of a settlement at Crow Wing in 1849, and continued until 1904. In that year the Brainerd Lumber Company discontinued operations (1) and thus the last big lumbering concern withdrew from Crow Wing county.

The third is the railroad era, beginning in 1870 with the construction of the Northern Pacific railway. The fact that in Crow Wing county was found an ideal spot for bridging the Mississippi river determined the course of the Northern Pacific railway. In crossing the Father of Waters, the engineers of 1870, working without the financial and mechanical resources of the present, were forced to find bridgeheads high enough to be safe from floods, solid enough to resist erosion, and so opposed that the gap might be spanned at minimum expense. The crossing at Brainerd met all these requirements, and the westward-^{reaching}~~creeping~~ steel rails sought out the spot. Soon the Northern Pacific shops were located there, and a city sprang up where nature had facilitated the bridging of a stream.

(1) Brainerd Dispatch, Dec. 21, 1904.

The fourth distinct era in the history of Crow Wing county may be termed the industrial era^{and} which embraces the period between 1904, when iron ore was discovered on what is now the Cuyuna Range, and the present.

Both Minnesota East and Minnesota West were attached to Crawford county, Wisconsin, in 1836. Though this immense territory was nominally under the jurisdiction of Wisconsin, the title to ^{the} this land was still vested in the Indians. By the treaty of 1837, the Chippewas ceded to the United States government an area that comprised practically all of southeastern Minnesota. A line running east from the mouth of the Crow Wing river was the northern boundary of this ceded territory. By the terms of ^{the} this treaty, the Chippewas were to receive their annuities at Lake St. Croix, but owing to conflicts with the Sioux, the place of payment was changed in 1839 to La Pointe, Wisconsin. La Pointe, one of the first trading posts to be established at the head of the lakes, gained greater influence when it became the place of payment for the Chippewa nation. Most of the pioneer settlers of this county came here from La Pointe.

While the treaty of 1837 opened the land south of the mouth of the Crow Wing to white settlement, no rush of settlers followed. In 1838, Alfred Brunson, with three white men and an interpreter, visited Hole-In-The-Day the Elder at Crow Wing, and conferred with him on the question of returning to their homes Sioux women who had been captured by the Chippewas. The party examined the location with the view of establishing a mission, but decided that the time was not favorable for such a venture. (2) In February 1840, the Reverend Samuel Spates, the Methodist missionary, did establish a mission

(2) Minnesota Historical Society Collection, Vol. 6, p. 128.

at the mouth of Rabbit River. It was soon abandoned, however, and John Johnson, Enmegahbowh, the young Ottawa who had been educated in a Methodist school at Jacksonville, Illinois, and who acted as an assistant to Spates, established another on the Whitefish. (3) This also was soon abandoned, but Johnson remained in this part of the country and made his home in what is now Lake Edward township. There Johnson's Garden Lake still retains the name that serves to recall a man who labored earnestly to raise the physical as well as the spiritual condition of his people.

When the Territory of Iowa was created in 1838, Minnesota West was attached to that territory. Minnesota East remained nominally a part of Crawford county, Wisconsin, until 1841, when it became a part of St. Croix county, Wisconsin. The United States census of 1840 shows that it was ^{in that year} already considered a part of St. Croix county. Though this census is not as complete as later census returns, it furnishes much interesting information. St. Croix county was divided into the eastern, or La Pointe division, and the western division. The St. Croix river was the dividing line. The enumeration for the eastern division was made by Daniel F. Bushnell and shows a population of 458. That for the western division was made by Joseph R. Brown and shows a population of 351. Among the residents of La Pointe were to be found John McGillis, Allan Morrison, Clement H. Beaulieu, Jean B. Bellanger, John H. Fairbanks and Joseph Montreuil - all pioneers of Old Crow Wing.

The name of Donald McDonald appears in the returns from the western division of the county. According to his grandson, Thomas F. Fairbanks, of Ponsford, Minnesota, McDonald started to take a homestead on the site of what is now the city of St. Paul, but he moved away before he had proved up on it, and settled at Crow Wing. As early as 1839, McDonald had been a liquor dealer at Fort Snelling (4), and on April 4, 1842, the county commissioners of St. Croix

(3) Protestant Missions, p. 141

(4) Minnesota and Its people, P. 175

county granted^a a license to Donald McDonald to sell spiritous liquors and wines in quantities not less than 1 quart, for the term of 1 year from the 10th day of October 1841 at the house of said McDonald in St. Croix County, W. T., said McDonald paying twenty dollars to county treasurer therefor." (5)

McDonald's name is frequently found in the story of Old Crow Wing. His activities were colorful and his business having to do with whiskey as well as other commodities tended to make him a sort of pioneer adventurer. He was born in Canada, in 1803, of Scottish parentage. At 15 he left home with Captain Miles Montgomery, and went to Hudson's Bay. For some years he was in the employ of the American Fur Company and traveled extensively over the northwest. When he first appeared in St. Paul is not quite clear. He boasted that he put up the third house on the east side of the Mississippi and later he claimed the land where the notable Halfway House stood. When the first steamboat ventured up the Mississippi to make a landing at St. Paul, May 21, 1839, it brought six barrels of whiskey for McDonald, which were left there because Captain Atchison of the packet Glaucus was afraid to take the liquor any farther up the river lest it be seized and destroyed by the authorities of Fort Snelling. 7

No P Every winter, it is said, after settlers began to locate west of the river near the fort, soldiers lost their lives by falling down, while intoxicated, on their way back to the barracks from McDonald's groggery, and freezing to death. McDonald declares that he sold to one Denoyer his St. Paul homestead "for a barrel of whiskey and two Indian guns." He then went to Crow Wing, where he married a half-breed and brought up a numerous family(6)

(5) St. Croix County Commissioners' Records, Vol. 1, p. 13.

(6) History of the City of St. Paul and County of Ramsey, Minnesota, by J. Fletcher Williams, pp. 63, 82, 83.

McDonald may have moved to Crow Wing in 1843, for he was living there in 1844, according to Philip Beaupre, who ~~said that he~~ went to Crow Wing to work for McDonald & Morrison in 1844 (7).

St. Croix county, organized in 1841, included all of Minnesota East and a large part of northern Wisconsin. This huge county was divided into three voting precincts, although a fourth was established soon after its organization. A fifth precinct was established April 4, 1842, at the "Crow Wing Settlement." The voting place was at the store of William A. Aitkin, and the judges of election were William Aitkin, John Aitkin and J. [?] (or J.) Bellecour (9).

Aitkin probably established his Crow Wing store, the first permanent post in Crow Wing, sometime during 1841, for it must have been in existence for some time before it was named as a voting place. To achieve the name of "Settlement," it must have boasted several employees. The Fairbanks family history states that a son, James, was born to Mr. and Mrs. John H. Fairbanks at Crow Wing, June 28, 1842. ^{See} ~~As~~ John Fairbanks was ^{Aitkin's} bookkeeper for Aitkin for many years, he evidently assisted him in establishing the Crow Wing post. Bellecour was probably another employee. Aitkin's family also accompanied him, ^{as} ~~as~~ they were living at Crow Wing in October 1843, when Superintendent Brunson visited them there. (11)

The year 1842 had marked a change of management in the affairs of the American Fur Company. George Ehringer, of New York City, who had been assigned all of the ^{Company's} ~~property of this company~~, appointed Ramsey Crooks as his agent. (12) Crooks, in turn, had appointed Charles W. Borup his agent at La Pointe. This power of attorney is witnessed by J. Russell, Justice of the Peace, and acknowledged by L. M. Warren, Notary Public, both of St. Croix county, Wisconsin (13).

(7) St. Croix County Commissioners' Records, Vol. 1, p. 13 (At Stillwater)

(8) History of Stearns County, p. 877.

(9) St. Croix County Commissioners' Records, Vol. 1, p. 13.

(10) History of the Fur Trade in the Northwest by Allan Morrison, p. 4.

(11) Western Pioneer by Alfred Brunson, p. 203

(12) Deed Record A, Washington County, p. 181

(13) Ibid, p. 184

J. Russell is Jeremiah Russell, a business man at Crow Wing and later prominent at Sauk Rapids (14). L. M. Warren was the father of the Indian historian, William Whipple Warren, and of Truman Warren, both of whom were influential in the history of early Crow Wing.

The year 1843 is an important date in the history of this county. In that year Allan Morrison settled opposite the south mouth of the Crow Wing river, to become the first permanent white settler in the county. Family tradition sets the date as 1843, and this is confirmed by an article published in Harper's Magazine in 1859. The author of the article, who signed himself, "Penman," gave a vivid picture of the Crow Wing of that day, and stated that Morrison was postmaster, farmer, hotelkeeper and agent for a line of stage coaches. He also added that Morrison, who had lived for sixteen years, spoke English, French, Cree and Chippewa (15).

William Aitkin and John Fairbanks and their families left Crow Wing in 1844 and Donald McDonald either bought out Aitkin's interest or what seems more probable, was put in charge of the post. Philip Beaupre, long a resident of Stearns county, (16) stated that McDonald's home was almost opposite the north mouth of the Crow Wing river, the northern line of his property lying on the northern boundary of white territory, and when the country was surveyed, he claimed as a homestead, Government Lot 3, Section 23, Township 44, Range 33. (17)

Beaupre also said: "In the spring of 1845 I went to Fort Garry and assisted in organizing a train of some eighty Red River carts and came with them the following summer to St. Paul, reaching there about August 1, 1845. In order to avoid the dangerous Sioux country, this expedition opened up a new route by way of Detroit, Otter Tail Lake and Crow Wing. At that time the

14. History Upper Mississippi Valley p. 349.

15. Harpers Magazine, Vol. XIX, p. 47.

16. History of Stearns County, p. 877

17. Crow Wing County Atlas

18. History of Stearns County, p. 417.

only white men between Fort Garry and St. Paul were two men at Crow Wing, which later became an important outfitting point, and later still was entirely abandoned. These two men, traders, were Allan Morrison, the father of Mrs. John Sloan of St. Cloud, and Donald McDonald, while in this latitude there was no settlement between here and the Pacific Ocean." (18)

In 1845, St. Croix county was divided. La Pointe county was organized from that part of the former county lying in Wisconsin as well as a section of northern Minnesota. St. Croix county commissioners re-organized the voting precincts in 1846, and this part of Minnesota became part of the St. Croix Falls precinct, which extended from the south line of La Pointe county as far south as a line running east and west through "the Head of Cedar Bend on the River St. Croix." (19) At the election held in the following November, 46 votes were cast in this precinct (20).

Henry M. Rice became interested in a post at Crow Wing about 1846. He either established an independent post or bought out the old American Fur Company's post. He spent a great deal of time at Crow Wing (21), although he must have kept a man there during his absence. Jeremiah Russell was in charge during 1848 and part of 1849 (22).

While the treaty of 1837 opened to white settlement territory which included what are now the two southern tiers of townships in Crow Wing county, only two families, those of Allan Morrison and Donald McDonald, seem to have taken advantage of this opportunity to preempt land. But ^{the 1841} another treaty, signed in 1847, resulted in the establishment of a settlement opposite the mouth of the Crow Wing River. The causes that led to the treaty of 1847 originated in

18. History of Stearns County, p. 417

19. St. Croix County Commissioners Records, Vol. 1, p. 47.

20. Ibid. p. 53.

21. Logging on Upper Miss. River by David Stanchfield

22. History of Upper Miss. Valley, p. 349

northern Michigan and Wisconsin. White men had discovered that the Indian lands were underlaid with rich deposits of iron and copper ores. Their encroachment on Indian property led to constant friction between the two races, and the government decided to move the Indians westward. Its terms stipulated that the Indians were to receive their payments somewhere on the Mississippi river, instead of at La Pointe. The signing of this treaty led to the settlement of Crow Wing county.

Although the treaty of 1847 provided that the Chippewas should make their headquarters, or receive their payments, on the Mississippi instead of at La Pointe, the Indians ^{were reluctant} ~~hated~~ to leave their old homes. So during the year following, the government made no effort to enforce the terms of the treaty.

In 1847, an important series of events brought the Crow Wing country into prominence and started the great lumber industry. Daniel Stanchfield, who was born in Maine in 1820 and brought up in the lumber industry, was vacationing at St. Louis in the summer of 1847. He decided to take a pleasure trip upriver to Fort Snelling. There he met Franklin Steele, who asked him to explore the upper Mississippi valley for pine lands. Steele had taken a claim on unsurveyed government land at St. Anthony Falls, and a group of eastern capitalists, including Caleb Cushing and Robert Rantoul, had agreed to advance money for the necessary improvements, providing ^{ed} that Stanchfield reported a stand of white pine great enough to insure operation ~~for~~ ^{ed} a mill for several years. Stanchfield left for the north on September 1, 1847, accompanied by Severre Bottineau and Charles Manock. They went up the Rum river as far as Mille Lacs and reported an almost inexhaustible supply of pine. A timber crew of twenty men was immediately sent out and Stanchfield located them at Dutchman's Grove, about three miles from the present village of Cambridge. Caleb D. Dorr and John McDonald were sent up to Swan River soon after to get out some pieces of timber larger than could be brought out of Rum River.

Stanchfield's report induced the capitalists to advance \$10,000 for a mill at the Falls. The first log drive started down the Rum River November 1, but storms raised the water level and broke the boom, ^{and} ~~so~~ all of the timber went over the falls and was lost. Steele was ~~very much~~ discouraged, but Stanchfield convinced him that a suitable dam could be constructed of hardwood lumber which grew abundantly on the proposed site, by using round timbers and planking them

over with a material brought from the St. Croix mills. Then came the problem of securing timber for the next year's sawing. It could not be got out of the Rum river on account of the drift wood, so Steele and Stanchfield ^{consulted} ~~went to see~~ Henry Rice about getting it off the upper Mississippi. Rice, about to start for his post at Crow Wing, said he would see young Hole-in-the-Day, and make arrangements to buy the timber from him. The elder Hole-in-the-Day had been killed less than a year before and all of his little property had gone into providing proper lamentation, so the young chief was very poor and would be glad to sell.

Although the deal was not yet completed and Stanchfield did not know where the timber was located, a timber crew was sent north on December 1, 1847. Tendays later they camped on the Nokasippi. Stanchfield left his men there and hurried forward to Crow Wing. He met Rice and also interviewed Allan Morrison, Hole-in-the-Day's advisor. The following morning he met Hole-in-the-Day, who with about five hundred Indians was camped on the island. Stanchfield told the chief that the trees were small, but that he would pay him 50¢ a tree in the spring. The lumbermen had a good winter, cutting a million and a half feet of logs, besides enough timber for a mile and a half of boom. The first of March, ^{they} broke camp and started the drive. Stanchfield accompanied Rice to his trading posts at Leech and other lakes and explored for more timber. He had already received very ^{useful} ~~important~~ information from ~~Mr.~~ Morrison about the lakes and rivers and the most important stands of pine. His explorations led him to report that the pine in northern Minnesota was almost without limit. (2) No logging was done at Crow Wing during 1848, but the following year, S. B. ^{Samuel} Olmstead settled at Fort Ripley and began logging operations.

(2). Lumbering on the Upper Mississippi by Daniel Stanchfield, Minn. Historical Society Collections, Vol. IX.

The assurance that the Indians would be moved to the Mississippi boomed the Crow Wing country. At their meeting of October 19, 1848, the St. Croix county commissioners established voting precincts at both Crow Wing and Sauk Rapids. Their records state: "The Crow Wing precinct is bounded on the south by a line from Big Springs to the source of the Rum river, thence in a line from the source of Rum river due north to county line, thence by the line on the north dividing the counties of St. Croix and La Pointe, thence down the Mississippi river to a place of beginning at Big Spring." The polling place was located at the home of Luther Patch and the judges named were: Joseph R. Brown, Luther Patch, Allan Morrison. In November, the returns of the special election of October 30, were recorded, and they showed a sudden and remarkable increase in population for the Crow Wing precinct. A total of 56 votes was cast, 12 for Sibley and 44 for Rice. At the same time, 20 votes were cast in the Sauk Rapids precinct, 12 for Sibley and 8 for Rice (4).

The most important event of 1848, for Central Minnesota, was the establishment of Fort Gaines, later to become Fort Ripley. This can best be described in the words of General N. J. T. Dana; who says:

"Just after the close of the War with Mexico, the Government consummated a treaty with the Winnebago Indians, then residing within the limits of Iowa, by the terms of which they transferred to the United States all their lands in that state, receiving in return a beautiful tract in Minnesota, the eastern boundary of which extended from near the mouth of the Crow Wing River southward along the Mississippi to a little below Sauk Rapids.

"Among the obligations assumed by the United States by that treaty was the location and construction of a ^{new} cantonment, and the stationing of a garrison thereat within the limits of the new Indian grant, near the mouth of

(3) History of Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 589

(4) St. Croix County Commissioner Records, Vol. 1, p. 135-136.

the Crow Wing ^River. This condition was the cause of the unfortunate location of Fort Ripley. Brigadier General George M. Brooke, a veteran of the War of 1812, was at the time the commander of the military department which embraced the new Winnebago reservation, with his headquarters at St. Louis. Having received instructions from the War Department as to the location of the new post under the terms of the Winnebago treaty, he proceeded to Crow Wing in the ^Wmouth of November, 1848, with a squadron of dragoons and several staff officers; and, after reconnoitering the country, finally decided that the terms of the Winnebago treaty and his instructions made it his duty to locate the new post on the western bank of the Mississippi nearly opposite to the mouth of the Nokasippi River.

"Being on duty in Boston at this time, I received orders to report to General Brooke, and did so accordingly at the earliest possible moment, and found the Post already located, and the General about returning to St. Louis. I was an officer of the Quartermaster's Department, and he left me there to build the Fort. The country was already covered with snow. A portable sawmill was put in operation, and the winter passed in getting out lumber and erecting temporary accommodations for a small gang of carpenters and laborers. In the spring of 1849, Company "A" of the Sixth Infantry at Fort Snelling was moved up to the new site, the commander of which was Captain B. S. Todd, who was the first commanding officer of the Post, called Fort Gaines, in honor of Brigadier General Edmund P. Gaines, then stationed at New Orleans.

"Subsequently his name was given to a new permanent fortification in process of construction at the entrance of Mobile Bay; and the cantonment in the Winnebago country was named Fort Ripley, by the War Department, in honor of General Eleazer W. Ripley, a distinguished officer of the War of 1812. This name was officially announced November 4, 1850. " (5)

Minnesota was established as a territory in 1849, and the influence of the Crow Wing precinct can be estimated by the fact that, of the eighteen representatives elected to the Territorial Council, two were residents of Crow Wing. They were Allan Morrison and Jeremiah Russel².

During the early ^{months} part of 1849, the Crow Wing precinct was still part of St. Croix county, and at an election held February 12, ¹⁵ fifteen votes were cast for James S. Norris to fill the vacancy of "one county commissioner by division of Territory of Wisconsin." (6) In April 1849, the commissioner named the following as judges of election at Crow Wing: Jeremiah Russell, Allan Morrison and William W. Warren (7). In July, they recorded a "Petition granted, giving commissioner discretion in commencing said road from Rum River ferry or termination of road from St. Paul, provided the county shall only pay the expense of surveyor and the commissioners; whom it may concern paying the balance of expenses - and provided further that the road be located and reported by the first Monday in October. John Banfil, W. Sturges and [Allan] Morrison was appointed commissioners to locate said road." (8)

Probably nothing was ever done to establish this road, but the Territorial Council recognized its importance, and it was the third road to be designated as a territorial road, indicating that Henry Jackson and his 23 colleagues had learned something to their advantage or were gifted with a prescience little short of second sight. The records show that: "S. B. Olmstead of Fort Gaines, David Gilman of Sauk Rapids, and Joseph Brown, of Big Lake, are appointed a committee to meet November 1, 1849, at the home of Antoine Roberts and plan to locate and make a Territorial Road commencing on the Rum River, where the St. Paul & Rum River road ends, and terminating at Crow Wing. They are to choose the most practicable route by way of Elk River, Big Lake, Sturgis,

6. St. Croix County Commissioners' Records, Vol. 1, p. 144.

7. St. Croix County Commissioners' Records, Vol. 1, p. 146.

8. St. Croix County Commissioners' Records, Vol. 1, p. 150.

Sauk Rapids, Aitkin's, Little Falls, and Fort Gaines." (9) A memorial to Congress passed by the same legislature asked that the government expend \$10,000 for the improvement of the road from St. Paul to Fort Gaines.

The Indians, who were responsible for much of the development of this territory, were still receiving their payments at La Pointe. They were put under the general supervision of Jonathan E. Fletcher, agent for the Winnebagoes, and the Chippewas were very much dissatisfied with this arrangement. General Fletcher, in a report dated September 30, 1849, says that the Chippewas of the Mississippi numbered about one thousand one hundred, and that they had villages at Gull Lake, Sandy Lake, Mille Lacs, and Rabbit Lake. He adds that a farm had been commenced in the spring of 1849 at Gull Lake, sponsored by five bands of Chippewas. They had 17 acres cleared and broken and were beginning to erect hewn log houses. These improvements were made under the supervision of Warren, farmer at Gull Lake. There had been a farm at Sandy Lake, but the crops had been destroyed by overflow. The Mille Lacs band had thrifty farms (10).

Business must have been fairly brisk during 1849. Allan Morrison, one of the first notaries public in Benton county, also ran a ferry at Crow Wing. He advertised in the Minnesota Register inviting "persons traveling to and from Lord Selkirk's Settlement" to use his ferry (11). H. M. Rice, was extensively interested in Crow Wing business, and spent much time in the settlement; Late in 1849, he announced that he was going to send a boatload of goods up the Mississippi to Crow Wing, and he planned to have the boat pulled up stream by horses. (12) There seems to be no record of this boat's ever reaching Crow Wing, and the impracticability of the idea might class this announcement as a form of pioneer humor. Rice is said to have influenced the selection of the site of Fort Gaines.

9. Minnesota General Laws 1849, p. 97

10. Report Indian Affairs 1849, p. 95 and 102.

11. Minnesota Register, July 21, 1849

12. History Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 118.

October 22, 1849, found a post office established at Fort Gaines, the sixth office in Minnesota Territory to be given a federal permit. John M. ~~Mc~~ Henry, probably in the quartermaster's department at the fort, was named postmaster. ⁽¹²⁾ To improve mail service to the fort, the Territorial Council memorialized Congress "to establish a twice-a-week mail service, by a two-horse carriage, from St. Paul to St. Anthony - 9 miles; St. Anthony to Sauk Rapids - 81 miles; Sauk Rapids to the mouth of Swan River - 28 miles; Swan River to Fort Gaines - 18 miles." In addition, a branch line was asked, from Swan River to Long Prairie - 30 miles.

Crow Wing had a distinguished group of visitors in 1849, guests of Warren, the historian. Among them were Paul Kane, the English artist, and Sir Edward Poor, who were on their way to Selkirk's settlement, Oregon and California. In 1859, Kane wrote a book covering events of this trip (14).

Another expedition, which influenced the Crow Wing area and the territory, traversed in 1849 many sections of the present county, having for its purpose the exploration of the Red river. It was led by Captain John Pope. The party left Fort Snelling June 6, headed up the Mississippi to Sauk Rapids, crossed to the great bend of the Red river and paralleled that river to Pembina. An escort of dragoons was sent by land, Pope bought a canoe, and with eleven guides he ascended the Red river to Otter Tail Lake, portaged to Leaf Lake, descended the Leaf and Crow Wing rivers to the Mississippi, and so returned to Fort Snelling.

Undertaken to guide settlers and planners, the trip was signally successful. Pope urged Congress to purchase all lands west of the Mississippi from the Indians as far as the Crow Wing, to abandon Fort Snelling, and to

12. History Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 118

13. United States Postoffice Records

14. History of the Ojibways, p. 69.

establish forts near Pembina, and proposed a new state to embrace territory west of the Mississippi below the head of the Red river, including the valleys of the Minnesota and James rivers. He suggested grants of alternate sections for railroad building from the present location of Breckenridge to Mankato and from Breckenridge to Duluth by way of what is now Brainerd. ^{these proposed} ~~The~~ latter of ~~which~~ lines now actually exists through Crow Wing. (15)

A large number of former residents of La Pointe probably moved to Crow Wing in 1849, but there seems to be no definite record of the migration, except that of Clement H. Beaulieu. His son, the ^{reval} Rev. C. H. Beaulieu, has this to say about their establishing a home in Crow Wing:

"Fond du Lac was abandoned when the American Fur Company decided to make Crow Wing its headquarters. This was about the time Wisconsin was organized as a state and certain parts of its old territory were left to 'No Man's Land.' The writer was a wee boy when his father was told by his superiors to depart into a new land and there make his home. The father was C. H. Beaulieu I. The American Fur Company's post was located a little distance below the lower mouth of the Crow Wing River at the site afterwards known by those of Crow Wing as 'Morrison's.' Beaulieu was familiar with this section as he had visited it regularly while head of the district at Fond du Lac. The government was building Fort Gaines, but Mr. Beaulieu decided to build off the reservation so as to be independent of military regulations. Shortly after he settled at Crow Wing, the American Fur Company sold out to Pierre Choteau of St. Louis. Beaulieu settled opposite the north mouth of the Crow Wing, and with a large force of loggers, sawyers, and carpenters, he erected his cluster of post buildings, one of which was a large two-storied log building clapboarded outside and ceiled within and designed for his residence." (16)

(15) History of Minnesota, W. W. Folwell, I P, 129.

(16) Brainerd Dispatch, April 19, 1918.

Tradition has it that Beaulieu settled at Crow Wing in 1837, but considering the fact that the census of 1840 names La Pointe as his residence, that he was a Justice of the Peace in La Pointe county in 1848, and that his son says he moved to Crow Wing when the government was building Fort Gaines, it is more probable that 1849 was the date of his arrival in Crow Wing. The house he built that year is still (1942) standing, wonderfully well preserved and good for many more generations. Later additions to the house almost doubled its size, and it stood in Crow Wing long after the settlement had been deserted. In 1880, two of Beaulieu's nephews, Joe Bellefeuille and Jean Branchaud, cut the building in two and moved both sections to their farms in Morrison county. The addition to the house was moved to the farm of Joe Bellefeuille in Ripley township, where it was burned to the ground in 1923. The original house was moved to the farm of Jean Branchaud, where it is still in use, now occupied by Hector Bellefeuille. Nearly everyone in this part of the country has seen it, the first house south of Camp Ripley on the west side of Highway 371. The interior of the house is even more interesting than the exterior, for the floors, the woodwork, and even the kitchen cabinets of 1849 are still intact. (17)

(17) George Bellefeuille and Mrs. Hector Bellefeuille, Belle Prairie, Minn.

The first Territorial Council of Minnesota established three organized counties, and that part of the present Crow Wing county lying east of the Mississippi river became part of Benton county. January 7, 1850, Joseph Brown and William Aitkin, county commissioners, met at the home of Jeremiah Russell, who had moved in 1849 to Sauk Rapids.

One of the first acts was to divide the county into three voting precincts: the Sauk Rapids, the Swan River and the Crow Wing. This latter precinct included everything in Benton county north of Cold Springs. (1) Cold Springs was probably near the north line of the present Morrison county, although there seems to be no definite information as to its location. At their meeting of April 1850, the commissioners appointed Allan Morrison, Jonathan Stateley [may be Statelar], and William Warren as judges of election; ordered that the necessary bridges and crossings be placed between Sauk Rapids and Crow Wing ; and appointed Truman Warren assessor for the county, " until otherwise provided for. " (2)

Until 1850, only fragmentary records of Old Crow Wing are available, but in that year, a government census was taken which shows the names, ages, places of birth and occupations of the residents. The enumerator for that part of Benton county north of Sauk Rapids was Reuben M. Richardson, assistant marshal for the county. Richardson must have started from Sauk Rapids and worked north, for in House No. 3, lived David P. Chapman, John T. Chapman and Alexander M. Chapman, all of whom were afterwards residents of this county. House No. 6 was that of John McGillis. This was located in what is now Bellevue township, Morrison county, and the History of the Upper Mississippi Valley states that John McGillis was the first resident of this township, although the date of his arrival is given as 1852. It adds that he sold out shortly afterward and moved to Crow Wing. (3) William A.

(1) Benton County Commissioners' Records, p.1.

(2) Ibid. p.3.

(3) History of Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 597.

Aitkin lived in House No. 8, which was at Swan River, just south of the present Little Falls. There were ten houses between Aitkin's and what is now the southern boundary of Crow Wing county.

House No. 19 was the first house in this county. It was the residence of Samuel Baldwin Olmstead, one of the prominent business men of Minnesota Territory. He settled opposite Fort Gaines in 1849 and had the contract for supplying the fort with meat. (4) He held numerous political offices, and until he moved from Crow Wing county in the late sixties, was one of the most influential residents of this part of the state. For several years, Mrs. Olmstead was the only white woman in what is now Crow Wing county. In this ^{house} home, besides Olmstead, his wife and three children, were listed eleven men without occupation, and two lumbermen. Nine of these men were undoubtedly laborers assisting in Olmstead's lumbering operations, but the other two "without occupation" were Thomas Cathcart and Joseph Tesrow [or Terreau]. Both of these men played outstanding parts in the development of this county, and lived here until their deaths. The house in which Olmstead lived has been added to and remodeled, but it is still in use and probably the oldest structure in the county. Olmstead sold ^{it} to Daniel S. Mooers, and upon the latter's death, it came into the possession of Peter Johnson, whose son, John Albert Johnson, makes it his home. Johnson not only lives in the oldest house in the county, but he is of the pioneer stock of central Minnesota, a great-grandson of Frederick Ayer, one of the early missionaries of the territory. (5)

The next house, No. 20, was the home of Allan Morrison, the first permanent white settler of this county. From his home, opposite the south mouth of the Crow Wing river, it was a mile to the north mouth of the river, and all of the other homes in the settlement were clustered opposite the north mouth. Eight homes comprised this settlement, and the heads of the households were: Clement H.

(4) Sauk Rapids Frontiersman, April 16, 1857

(5) John Albert Johnson, Fort Ripley, Minn.

variously spelled Tesreau, Terreau, Tesrow

Beaulieu; his brother, Paul Beaulieu; Donald McDonald, who probably settled there the same year Allan Morrison took his homestead; George Fairbanks, a son of John H. Fairbanks; Augustine Belonger, Sr.; Augustine Belonger, Jr.; Charles Charette; and Joseph Montreuil. A man named Joseph Comptons, and his five children, lived in the home of Donald McDonald.

Another settlement located in what is now Crow Wing county, was that at Gull Lake. William W. Warren was the enumerator for the settlement therein, and he listed fifteen persons, residing in eight houses. Instead of one or more families in a house, the percentage here is so low as to appear incorrect, but there was only one family in the settlement as numerous as five persons - that of Warren, who had a wife and three children. Joseph W. Lynde, the merchant, his clerk, Daniel Rorer, and two laborers, lived in one house, while six single men occupied the other six houses. These included Sylvester Statelar, blacksmith; "Sloan, lumberman," probably the John Sloan who afterward married one of Allan Morrison's daughters; Thustache Jordain, a laborer; and three men without occupation. Both Rorer and Jordain were listed as residents of Crow Wing, so the census is slightly padded, but to offset this, there is no mention of the John H. Fairbanks family, who became residents of the settlement before the end of the year.

In the Crow Wing area, although not in the county itself, was Fort Gaines, almost a metropolis with its population of 143 persons. Here were to be found, besides the officers and men of the garrison: 2 blacksmiths, 3 masons, 1 baker, 2 farmers, 16 carpenters, 2 sawyers, 1 hewer, 1 brickmaker, 2 millwrights, 1 plasterer, and, most surprising of all, 1 printer, J. H. McHenry.

The business statistics given in this census report are most interesting. There were ³³thirty-three men in Old Crow Wing, out of a total population of ⁸⁴eighty-four. Seven of these had definite occupations. Olmstead, Morrison and Beaulieu were farmers; two lumbermen were working for Olmstead; George Fairbanks

was a blacksmith; and Rorer was a clerk. There was no merchant at Crow Wing, and Rorer was also enumerated at Gull Lake, working there as a clerk for Lynde, who was the only merchant named in a territory extending from Lake Superior to Pembina, and from Long Prairie to the international border.

Warren listed himself as a farmer, and Statelar as a blacksmith. The only industry in northern Benton county was a sawmill located at Little Falls and owned by H.M. Rice. It had a "capacity of 2000," (probably board feet per day) and employed ¹²twelve men. The farm statistics show that Olmstead cultivated 30 acres and owned 9 cows; Morrison had 16 acres improved and kept 2 cows; while Beaulieu farmed 30 acres and owned 20 horses, 26 oxen, 5 cows and 4 swine. Besides farming, he evidently did a transport business.

Sixty-five persons lived in the settlement at Crow Wing; 19 at what is now Fort Ripley; 15 at Gull Lake - 99 persons in the area that is now Crow Wing county. Small as this population was, its importance may be realized by comparing it with that of Benton county. In 1850, this county had a population of 416 white and 2 free colored persons. There were 71 families living in 71 dwellings, so the eleven families residing in ten dwellings in the northern tip of the county were a very influential factor in its development.

The educational statistics are also very interesting. Eleven children of the Crow Wing settlement attended school during the winter of 1849-50, and these were the only children north of Sauk Rapids to receive any educational advantages during that school year.

In the "Remarks" at the end of his report, Richardson, the enumerator, ^{wrote} writes : "No malady prevalent in this district. General good health prevailing and no cause for sickness. Water soft. Soil of a black sandy nature. Rock primitive or granite. Timber, oak, timber, oak, tamarack, pine, elm, ash, walnut, hard and soft

maple, etc. Some marl and evidences of lead and iron ores. " This is probably the first mention of the presence of iron ore on what is now the Cuyuna range, and undoubtedly refers to the outcrop of ore-bearing rock which appears at Pike Rapids, near Little Falls.

The name of John H. Fairbanks does not appear in the 1850 census and he may still have been a resident at Sandy Lake, although by February 1851, he was named as a judge of election in the Crow Wing precinct. (6) He and his family were identified with Crow Wing from its very early settlement, and one of his sons is the first person known to be buried there. In the Fairbanks family history, there is the record of a son, John, born July 22, 1831 and killed January 1, 1849, at Sandy Lake, Minn. In the abandoned "Cemetery Hill" at Crow Wing, still stands a headstone bearing the inscription: *"*

" John Fairbanks, born Oct. 11, 1830,

Shot by Indians, Dec. 30, 1 ---

---ied Jan. 1 ---*"*

The stone has been so badly chipped that the dates are indecipherable, but from notes made by Mr. Hilding Swanson while the stone was still intact, the date of his death is Jan. 1, 1849, while he was shot on Dec. 30, 1848. The Fairbanks records state that he was killed at Sandy Lake, Jan. 1, 1849. The date of his death probably marks very closely the date of the family's arrival at Crow Wing, the body possibly having accompanied them. It is practically certain that he was the first person of white or mixed blood to be buried at Crow Wing. And a strange coincidence is that his brother James, buried beside him, was the first white child to be born at Crow Wing. A sister, Jane, is also buried there, as well as Mary Fairbanks, the Indian mother who worked so hard to bring up her children in the ways of their fathers, and who succumbed to that dread scourge inherited from the white race - tuberculosis.

Two years after ^{the} signing of the treaty of 1847, the Indians were still receiving their payments at LaPointe, but in 1850, the sub-agency was moved to Sandy Lake. Jonathan E. Fletcher was still in charge of both the Winnebago and the Chippewas nations, but he shared jurisdiction over the latter with John S. Watrous, sub-agent. His report for 1850 states that difficulties between the Sioux and the Chippewas resulted in a very poor farm at Gull Lake (7)

Settlers were probably then moving into the country in considerable numbers, for by July 1850, the Benton county commissioners had found it advisable to divide the Crow Wing precinct. They established the Nokasippi precinct, extending from Cold Springs to the Nokasippi river, and named Olmstead's house as the voting place. The judges of election were : S.B. Olmstead, J.B. Culver and George Oakes. Allan Morrison's house remained the voting place in the Crow Wing precinct. (8)

In February 1851, the commissioners named Charles Rice, David Olmstead and Robert Fairbanks as judges of election of the new precinct. (9) The census of 1850 shows that both David Olmstead and Robert Fairbanks were residents of Long Prairie, while the Fairbanks history says that Robert Fairbanks was a resident of Long Prairie until 1854. The boundaries of this precinct are rather indefinite, and in 1852, when the commissioners again changed the boundaries of the precincts, there is not further mention of a Nokasippi precinct, while the boundaries of the Crow Wing precinct were extended so as to include the military reservation, and the area up the Mississippi river to the line dividing Benton from Itasca county. (10)

(7) Indian Agents' Reports 1850, p.70.

(8) Benton Co. Com. Records, p.7.

(9) Ibid. P.13.

(10) Ibid. p.35.

The relationship between the whites and the Indians was a vital factor in the development of central Minnesota, as well as of that small part of this area which afterward became Crow Wing county. The most important records of this relationship are to be found in the reports of the Indian agents and, to a lesser degree, in those of the governor of Minnesota, who was also superintendent of Indian affairs for the district. The following synopses of these reports, for the years 1851 to 1856, inclusive, present an authoritative and fairly unbiased picture of the conditions and events that shaped the early history of this territory.

Governor Alexander Ramsey's report for 1851 commends Agent Watrous for his ability and prudence and says that he cannot give "too favorable notice to the valuable services of William T. Boutwell and Clement H. Beaulieu, Esqs., assistant superintendents of removal." (1) That same year, John S. Watrous, Agent for the Chippewas, reports that early in April 1851, he located a farm west of the Mississippi, on Gull Lake River, for the future home of the Chippewas. This, together with the Gull Lake farm, had been under the superintendency of William Nettleton. Since May 5, 1851, he says, two hundred and seventy-five acres of prairie have been broken and fenced; four blacksmiths and two assistants are employed. While the agency was still located at Sandy Lake, he advised that it be removed either to Leaf River or to Otter Tail Lake, instead of to the Gull river site. (2)

The following year, Governor Ramsey reported that the agency had been removed from Sandy Lake to a point on the extreme southern line of Chippewa territory. "Of course this removal is merely temporary so the expense attending it has been kept within the most economical limit and will not exceed two or three

(1) Indian Agent's Report, p.162, 1851

(2) Indian Agent's Report, p.167, 1851

hundred dollars. " (3) Agent Watrous reported that the farm at Gull Lake had been ploughed and the fences repaired. Seed had been furnished the Indians, and while they raised more than in any other year, the results fell far short of his hopes. The Rabbit Lake and Mille Lacs bands had raised enough potatoes, corn and pumpkins for their own use. "The original order of the department," he adds, "to pay annuities to those only who remove to, and remain permanently within their own country, will, if steadily maintained, within two years, remove all the Indians yet remaining in ceded lands." (4)

About 1852 the government sent out a number of scientists and engineers to make a survey of the geographic features, mineral wealth, ^{and} possibilities of early agricultural settlement in Minnesota. David Dale Owen, one of the geologists, pictured the Crow Wing country very graphically.

" The house of the Fur Company, opposite the Crow Wing River, is the point at which all the agents and clerks who have charge of the various posts on the Upper Mississippi and its tributaries, as far north as Red and Vermillion Lakes, assemble in the spring, as soon after the opening of the lakes and streams as possible, bringing with them the furs collected during the winter. Each clerk is accompanied by several voyageurs, as they are called, whose business it is to transport the goods and furs between the depot at Crow Wing and the distant trading posts, in the fall and spring, and to assist during the winter in the traffic with the Indians. Thus, there is generally a large number of men collected at Crow Wing early in the season. The services of but a few of these men is required by the company during the summer. They generally spend their time as interest or pleasure may dictate, until the next fall, when they assemble again at Crow Wing and proceed with their outfits to the distant stations for the winter trade.

(3) Ibid. 152, p.355

(4) Ibid. p. 337.

" These voyageurs are almost all 'half-breeds,' accustomed to yield implicit obedience to their superiors, and to endure great fatigue and privations. On one of our expeditions a canoe weighing 250 pounds was transported over the portage from Long Lake to the headwaters of the Bad River, a distance of nine miles, on the shoulders of two men. They carried it seven miles without stopping, and rested it only once during the whole portage.

" When one considers the distance, the constrained position they have to walk in, the heat of the weather, the narrowness of the trail, the roots and swampy ground they walk over, the frequent turnouts they have to make around fallen trees, and even sometimes to climb over them, their powers of endurance must be looked upon as extraordinary, and as enabling them to perform a feat which could only be performed by very robust men under long training. It is said that some of the voyageurs will carry from 400 to 500 pounds on their backs a distance of 1,000 yards. They are well acquainted with most of the country within the limits of the company's operations, and are thoroughly conversant with the management of canoes and the navigation of the interior streams and lakes together with all the appliances of travel in the Northwest.

" On these accounts we were advised to proceed to Crow Wing, as the most likely place at which to obtain good voyageurs and canoes suitable for the country we were about to traverse. But before we could reach that place most of the clerks had come in and made their 'returns' and nearly all the voyageurs acquainted with the section of the country I was directed to explore had left the post. My only chance therefore was to await the arrival of Mr. Chaboeulixex [Chabboillez], who, with several men, was daily expected to arrive from Red Lake. Mr. C. had been highly recommended for the position of my assistant, and it was

hoped that his arrival would enable the corps to take the field under the most favorable circumstances. He reached Crow Wing on the 13 of June, and engaged to join the corps at Fond du Lac in July. On the 15 of June, we completed our arrangements by the purchase of two half-worn canoes, the best that could be procured, and left Crow Wing at 9 o'clock next morning, with four of the best voyageurs, to begin the exploration of the country designated in my instructions.

" Eleven miles above Crow Wing, where we encamped on the 16th, I made an excursion of several miles into the country, and found the forest, over much of the tract traversed, destroyed by fire. Most of the trees had fallen to the ground, and in the course of two or three years, if the annual fires keep up, the whole tract will be prairie, and not a sign of the forest that once occupied it will remain. A succession of fires are required to kill the trees, but after that is done, succeeding fires and the wind soon bring them to the ground, and they disappear in a short time. From facts that have come to my observation in several parts of the territory I am led to believe that if, after the clearing of the pine forest, the annual fires cease, a growth of oak springs up in some places and aspen (poplar) in others. The day before leaving Crow Wing a large caterpillar, resembling the 'army worm' somewhat, appeared there in considerable numbers, and as we ascended the river became more and more abundant. When we reached the bottomlands further to the east, we found the forest so completely stripped of foliage by this insect as to give to the appearance of the landscape more of the aspect of winter than of summer. They appeared to spare no trees except the pine and the butternut. " (5)

Owen described the buffalo-gnats, the brulot, the sand-fly and great mosquitoes as causing suffering to his men. He noted extensive fields of wild rice in the lake, mentioned great potatoes, turnips, hay, and maple sugar, as

(5) Early Days in the Old Northwest by Lindquist & Clark.

well as wild fowl and he described the numerous lakes and the excellent fishing.

In 1853, Governor Willis A. Gorman reported that alleged ~~frauds~~ perpetrated by Governor Ramsey had left the Indians very dissatisfied. He added: "The Indian title ought, by all means, to be ~~extinguished~~ to the mining region of Lake Superior, and to all lands east of the Mississippi. The immense mineral wealth of that region, under the control of our enterprising countrymen, should not be overlooked. The Indians are daily being impressed with its great value, and every year it will be more and more difficult to purchase it at a reasonable price." (6)

David B. Herriman was appointed Indian Agent in June 1853, and in September he reported that the agency dwelling had been burnt a few months previous to his arrival, forcing him to occupy as a residence an old dilapidated log building hardly fit for a stable. He had found three log buildings, designed for an office and council room, a warehouse, and a provision warehouse, ^{all} each without floors and two of them without roofs or windows. Following instructions, he had spent \$500 in necessary repairs. This was a high figure, but the lumber had to be hauled 29 miles. At the agency, there were 300 acres under fence, and during that season, crops had been raised on 252 acres. On his arrival, he found that one-third of this farm was occupied by whites. Believing that the whites had no rights on an Indian farm, he claimed and collected one-third of the crops.

It had been a custom at this agency to appoint four farmers at a salary of \$500 a year each, leaving but \$1,000 a year for the purchase of seed, tools, equipment and extra help. Two carpenters were also employed, but no funds were provided for materials. Herriman deplored the kind of educational efforts usually provided for the Indians, and said that one of the first things to be done was to induce them to discard their own dress and to adopt white man's clothes, so

(6) Indian Agent's Report, 1853, p.55.

that they could work. ~~Having~~ ^{holding} to hold onto a blanket is a serious handicap to manual labor.

He submits a letter, signed by a number of Indian chiefs, in which they try to point out to the government, the serious inconvenience they suffer by having their payments made late in the season. They write:

Fond de^u Lac, July 11, 1853.

"Dear Father: We, the chiefs and headmen of Lake Superior, take this opportunity of representing to you the inconvenience and suffering in having late payments.

"Ever since the agency has been removed to Crow-Wing we have suffered wonderfully, by losing our canoes, goods, provisions; we were obliged to leave them and wade in snow to our homes in a state of beggary. We do hope our new father will hear and relieve us. We hope to see you at the next payment, when we will say more to you, and have you help your red children."

Herriman urges the purchase of the rich mineral resources, since whites are continually trespassing on these lands and furnishing a constant source of vexation. He says: "Then again: from Sandy Lake north to the line of the British possessions, and from the Mississippi River east to near Lake Superior, is one almost unbroken forest of magnificent pine timber. Pay-kay-yoh-mah Falls, (north of Sandy Lake) afford a water power superior to the falls of St. Anthony." (7)

The reports for 1854 contain new information. Governor Gorman was still in office and Herriman continued as agent. The latter reports that the past year was one of unusual excitement; as nearly 100 Chippewas had been killed and scalped by the Sioux. Four of them were slain within a half mile of the agency and were still warm when he reached the scene. The only remedy he can see for this condition of affairs is to have the tribe surrender all who join in war parties

(7) Indian Agent's Report, 1853, p.59.

to the civil authorities. In May 1854, the warehouse at the agency and a large quantity of goods were burned by the Indians. The pine lands were still owned by the Indians, and Herriman again urged the government to buy them to keep the whites from plundering them. And in this report, he declares that he has fought whiskey continually. (8)

In his report for 1855, Herriman discusses the policies which influenced Indian affairs. He says : "One, and perhaps the greatest hindrance to the advancement of the Indians is the frequent changes in general policy pursued toward them by the government; the frequent removals that have heretofore been required of them have retarded very much their advancement; allowing large sums of money yearly, to employ a number of mechanics at one agency, has tended to confirm the Indian in his naturally indolent habits. The system of education generally practiced among the Indian tribes, educating them from books, rather than in the workshops, has been a source of evil rather than good. "

Difficulties had arisen between the Mille Lacs Indians and the lumbermen. " Several years since, a company engaged in lumbering erected a dam across Rum river, the outlet of Mille Lacs (or thousand lakes.) These townships include the dams and the country two miles beyond. At the mouth of the outlet are several small lakes, known as rice fields; from these fields the Indians gather from three to five thousand bushels of rice annually, worth from four to five dollars per bushel. The maintenance of this dam, by flooding these fields, or raising the waters in these small lakes, destroys from two-thirds to the whole of the crop. The Indians have frequently raised the gates and let the water off. I cannot blame them; the dam is on their own land - land, their right to which the government is just as firmly bound to protect as it is to pay them their annuities - and the Indians mainly depend upon this crop for subsistence. Some arrangement

(8) Indian Agent's Report, 1854, p.260/

should be made by which the rights of the Indians to their own land should be respected." (9)

The following year, Herriman reports that there have been no material changes at the agency. He states that the Indians use their payments as judiciously ^{fully} as the same number of whites would probably have done. Employees have been laid off at the agency. And he finds it impossible to stop the whiskey trade. The Indians go to Morrison county for liquor, where there are not over twenty legal jurors after the selection of a grand jury; half of the jurors, moreover, are in the whiskey trade themselves, so it is almost impossible to secure a conviction. Returning from Morrison county, the Indians pass through Crow Wing rather than the agency; and though Crow Wing has two churches, two Justices of the Peace, and three missionaries, there is not much cooperation, he intimates, from these quarters.

Herriman had been agent since 1853, and in 1856, he wrote that after estimating for two years for an agency dwelling, and coming very near freezing to death for two winters, he finally built one in the fall of 1855 at a cost of \$314. It contained dining room, spare room, kitchen and four bedrooms on the first floor, and very good sleeping rooms above. (10) So settled in this imposing residence, built at the junction of the Gull and Crow Wing rivers, five miles west of the Mississippi, the agent faced the numerous and perplexing problems of his office, probably hoping that the future would furnish some satisfactory solution.

(9) Indian Agent's Report, 1856, p.53

(10) Indian Agent's Report, 1856, p.47

The little community opposite the mouth of the Crow Wing river entered the fifties under most auspicious omens. The nearby Chippewa Agency assured it a preponderant share of the Indian trade; lumbering operations provided additional revenue; schools and churches served its cultural needs; while active and public spirited citizens took care of its civic development. Crow Wing politicians not only wielded much influence in Benton county, but were also prominent in state affairs.

In the Territorial legislature of 1851, two of the four representatives from this district were Crow Wing men, S. B. Olmstead and W. W. Warren. Though both were pioneers of this county, Warren had moved to Cass County in 1850 to open the Indian farm at Gull Lake. His election was hotly contested, for among the acts passed by the 1852 session of the legislature, was one stipulating that Charles F. Tracy and Bushard Lott each receive \$100 for services as commissioners sent to Benton county in the contested case between Warren and Beatty, and that Taylor Dudley receive \$6.12 for copies of the poll books of the Swan River precinct, and returns from the Crow Wing precinct.⁽¹⁾ Further details are lacking. William Whipple Warren died soon after, a man still in his twenties, whose short life had held promise of a brilliant future. As a lasting record of his ability, he left a history of the Ojibway nation that is outstanding among works of its class.

June 25, 1852, the Crow Wing post office was established with John H. Fairbanks as postmaster.⁽²⁾ Until that time, mail for the little settlement had been addressed to "Morrison's,"⁽³⁾ where Allan Morrison had handled unofficially, and probably gratuitously, the comparatively light

1. Laws of Minn., 1852, p. 78

2. United States Post Office Records

3. A. F. Abbie's letter of Dec. 30, 1860, and Thomas Cowperthwait's

correspondence of the frontier.

During 1852, the Legislature granted Paul H. Beaulieu permission to
(4)
operate a ferry at Russell's Landing, undoubtedly named for Jeremiah Russel,
a resident of Crow Wing from 1845 until 1849.

In a comparatively large county devoted chiefly to lumbering, with
a limited number of small farms and with poor transportation facilities, an
agricultural society might be expected to be one of the later developments,
but on March 5, 1852, the Benton County Agricultural Society was incorporated
by David Gilman, David Olmstead, William Sturgis, Jeremiah Russel,^l James Beatty,
(5)
O. W. Hancock, John Depue, O. H. Kelly, Allan Morrison and S. B. Olmstead.
Oliver H. Kelly afterward founded the National Grange.

The Lake Superior & Puget Sound & Pacific Railroad Company incor-
(6)
porated in 1853. While it never got beyond the paper stage, it would probably
have followed the present route of the Northern Pacific railway. Among its
incorporators were Charles W. Borup, Franklin Steele, C. H. Oakes and
H. M. Rice, all of whom had extensive business interests in Crow Wing.
J. R. King, another member, was one of the firm of King & Wilmer, who in
1859 surveyed what are now Garrison, Bay Lake, Nokay Lake, and Oak Lawn
(7)
townships, and the city of Brainerd.

The 1854 session of the legislature enacted no special laws affect-
ing this part of the country, even though S. B. Olmstead was president of the
council, and Joseph Tesros,^W Crow Wing merchant, was messenger and sergeant at
(8)
arms, pro tem, during that time. But in 1855 a committee was appointed to
locate and mark a territorial road from Fort Ripley to a point on the Red river
in Pembina county, opposite the mouth of the Pembina river. The members of

-
4. Map of Minnesota 1850
 5. Ibid p. 133, p. 91
 6. Ibid 1853, p. 165
 7. U. S. Survey Records
 8. M. L. 1854, pp 96-97

(9)
this committee were S. B. Olmstead, J. Fairbanks and F. Ayer. This was apparently an effort to improve the Woods Trail, first opened in 1844, to provide a route from Pembina to St. Paul that would not pass through the hostile Sioux country. This route was mapped by E. A. Homes and George H. Belden in 1858. Their map shows that the trail crossed the Mississippi at Crow Wing, went up the Crow Wing and Leaf river valleys, skirted the northeast corner of Ottertail Lake, passed Detroit Lakes and followed the right bank of the Red river to Pembina. One of the surveyors is the George Hubert Belden who married Miss (10)
Susan Elizabeth Peake at St. Columba in 1858, and the man for whom Hubert Lake is named.

The Woods Trail was the only road passing through Crow Wing at that time, but the Indian treaty of 1855 provided for another. This treaty allocated \$15,000 for the construction of a road from Crow Wing to Leech Lake, besides allowing another \$5,000 for a road from Rum river to Mille Lacs.

Even though traffic on the Woods trail was steadily increasing, it seemed to provide business enough for only one ferry. In 1855, the legislature granted a permit to Oliver H. Kelly; in 1856, the successful applicant was (11)
John H. Fairbanks, who continued to operate the ferry for many years.

Lumbering operations were widespread during the early fifties. The largest resident operator undoubtedly was Olmstead, who conducted his operations along the Nokasippi river. But other lumbermen were also operating in this section, for the Sauk Rapids Steam Mill Company contracted with Messrs. Lambert & Trask to deliver to them at Sauk Rapids, in the early spring of 1856, one and a half million feet of pine logs. The logs were to be cut on the Leaf river, (12)
about forty miles above the mouth of the Crow Wing.

9.M. L. 1855, p. 51

10. Marriage Records, Parish of St. Columba, 1858

11. M. L. 1855, p. 123 and 1856, p. 155

12. Sauk Rapids Frontiersman, Nov. 29, 1855

While trading and lumbering were the main occupations of this section at that time, there was also a considerable tourist trade. The following advertisement shows that, even in 1855, tourist business was solicited:

"CROW WING VARIETY STORE

C. H. Beaulieu

Keeps constantly on hand and for sale, at the lowest possible rates - Dry Goods
and Groceries, Provisions and Indian Goods.

He has a large stock, and is ready to dispose of them for cash or Furs. From his location on the border of the Indian country, those wishing outfits for the Indian trade would do well to purchase of him. He will also keep supplies to furnish those wishing to go into the lumbering business.

He has constantly on hand Bark Canoes, fitted up with Oil Cloths, Tents, etc., to sell or hire to persons wishing to visit the Pine region above, explore that vast country lately ceded to the United States by the Chippewa Indians, or make a trip up the Mississippi and across to Fond du Lac, the head of Lake Superior, by the Savanna Portage, Savanna and St. Louis Rivers. The traveler desirous of witnessing the most interesting portions of the wilds of America, should by all means take this trip. Guides or Voyageurs can always be furnished to travelers, who are perfectly familiar with these routes, and men who can be trusted - making the journey perfectly safe. Refer to Borup & Oakes, St. Paul and Ramsey Crooks, N. Y., Crow Wing, April 20, 1855. (13) "

Political difficulties seem to have arisen in the Crow Wing precinct in 1855. In April, the Benton county commissioners discontinued all the old
(14)
precincts and established new ones. There is no mention of a Crow Wing precinct, and in July, "Allan Morrison and twelve others," petitioned for the reestablishment of this precinct. The commissioners granted their request and the new precinct included all of Benton county north of the north line of township 41. Allan Morrison's house was named the voting place, and the judges were Allan
(15)
Morrison, Robert Fairbanks, and E. Grady.

Transportation was a most important consideration in the Crow Wing settlement. The legislature of 1856 passed a number of acts for incorporating

13. Sauk Rapids Frontiersman, Apr. 26, 1855

14. Benton County Commissioners' Records, Vol. 1, p. 115

15. Ibid. p. 125

new railroads and laying out new roads. The Lake Superior & Central Minnesota Railroad Company was incorporated by William B. Ogden, J. L. Crocker, Joel H. Johnson, Eber Ward, David Gilman, Alexander Ramsey, Lewis Stone, George F. Brott, J. P. Wilson, Reuben Richmond, Sylvanus B. Lowry, Jesse M. Stone, Franklin Steele and John R. Irvin. They planned to build a railroad from Lake Superior to Mille Lacs (16) and thence by way of Langola to St. Cloud. The Lake Superior & Northern Pacific Railroad Company was incorporated by Renselaer R. Nelson, Calvin A. Tuttle, Richard Chute, Franklin Steele, Alexander Ramsey, Edmund Rice, James Fergus, David L. Fuller, Jr., William H. Newton, George W. Perry, John C. Breckinridge, William Sturgis, David Herriman, Joseph P. Wilson and Daniel A. Robertson. The contemplated route of their line was from Lake Superior to Little Falls via Mille Lacs, (17) and from there to the western bounds of the territory.

The same legislature approved four new territorial roads: the route explored from Crow Wing to Mille Lacs by Anson Northrup in January 1856; the route from Mille Lacs to the head of Lake Superior as explored by Brott and Wilson in October and November, 1855; the route explored by William Sturgis from Little Falls to the head of Mille Lacs; and the road explored by Brott and Wilson from St. Cloud to the head of Mille Lacs. (18) Committees were also named to locate other roads. Anson Northrup, Allan Morrison and Hyacinth St. Cyr were appointed to locate a road from Fort Ripley, in Todd county, to Fort Ridgley, by way of Long (19) Prairie. David Gilman, H. G. Fillmore, John L. Young and John W. Tenvrood were appointed a committee to locate a road from St. Cloud to Fort Ripley, while John L. Young, John Gibosn and Calvin A. Tuttle were appointed to locate another (21) route from St. Cloud to Fort Ripley, by way of Olean. In addition, the legislature sent memorials to Congress, one of which asked for a road from the St. Louis river

(16) M. L. 1856, p. 280

(17) M. L. 1856, p. 301

(18) M. L. 1856, p. 136

(19) M. L. 1856, p. 137

(20) M. L. 1856, p. 137

(21) M. L. 1856, p. 127

to the Mississippi by way of Mille Lacs. It stated that there were many settlers on the upper Mississippi, Crow Wing and Long Prairie rivers who would be greatly benefited by an outlet to the Great Lakes.
(22)

The legislation for incorporating railroads and locating roads was of nominal interest to the residents of Crow Wing, but the act which divided Benton county was of vital importance and produced a marked, and rather disturbing effect on land records. Benton county, which originally extended from the mouth of the Rum river north to the Mississippi, was reduced to its present size. Morrison and Sherburne counties were established, and the remaining territory was attached to Ramsey county. This created a great deal of confusion in the Crow Wing settlement. Among the deeds filed between 1856 and 1858, for property actually located in this county, it will be found that some named the area correctly as Ramsey county. Many others considered it a part of Morrison county, while a few considered it still a party of Benton county. Even after the establishment of Crow Wing county, property here continued to be registered as though located in these other counties.

Real estate, however, was always described with a very high degree of accuracy, although it was 1856 before any government surveys were made. Then James McBride laid out the lines for townships 43 and 44, ranges 29 to 32, which included all of the townships in the two southern tiers, except Garrison and
(23)
Roosevelt townships. That same year, Clement H. Beaulieu had the townsite of Crow Wing platted. This included lots 2 and 3 of section 23, township 44,
(24)
range 32. The plat was filed in Ramsey county, and the first sale to be recorded is that made to John H. Fairbanks, dated December 1, 1856, for 17 lots in
(25)
blocks 4 and 5.

(22) M. L. 1856, p. 280

(23) U. S. Survey Records

(24) Deed A, p. 3, Crow Wing Co. Records

(25) Bond A, p. 60, Crow Wing Co. Records.

While the agitation for roads, railroads, and other civic developments continued, the movement for statehood grew apace. One of the most interesting behind-the-scenes events of the first general state election took place at Crow Wing, and one of the chief actors was Major Clitherall, receiver for the United States Land Office at Ottertail City. Judge Charles E. Flandreau in his Tales of the Frontier draws a dramatic picture of the incident;

"The county of Pembina was so distant from the capital that it was found to be difficult to get the returns in so as to be counted with those of the rest of the state. The only transportation between the two places was Red River carts drawn by oxen in the summer, and by dog trains in the winter; the distance to be travelled was about 400 miles and the time to compass it nearly a month. The legislature had in 1853, in order to remedy this difficulty and because the population was on its annual buffalo hunt in November, passed an act fixing the time for holding elections in the county of Pembina on the second Tuesday in September each year, thus giving ample opportunity to get the returns to the authorities in St. Paul in time to be counted with those from other districts. The result of this was that no one outside of Pembina ever knew how many votes had been polled in that district until long after the rest of the territory had been heard from, and it became known how many votes were necessary to carry the election for the Democrats, and that they were fixed accordingly, which the Democrats denounced as a Whig lie.

"About all that was known of Pembina was that it was inhabited by a savage looking race of Chippewa half-breeds, and that Joe Rolette lived there, and Norman Kittson went there occasionally.

"The first state election, curious as it may appear, was held in 1857, before the state was admitted into the union, which latter event was postponed until May 11, 1858, and when the votes from all the counties except

Pembina had been returned to the proper officer, the result, as far as could be ascertained before the official count was made, was somewhat in doubt, which circumstance naturally excited great interest in the Pembina election as it was well known that all the votes from that district would be Democratic, so the great question was, ' how many?' "

"While the country was holding its breath in suspense and expectancy, a man in the Indian trade, named Madison Sweetzer, came to me about 2 o'clock one night or rather morning, and told me that Nat Tyson, who was a merchant in St. Paul and an ardent Republican, had just started for the North with a fast team and an outfit that looked as if he contemplated a long journey, and his belief was that he intended to capture Joe Rolette and the Pembina returns. I thought such might be the case and we immediately began to devise ways and means to circumvent him. We hastened to the house of Henry M. Rice, who knew every trader and half-breed between here and Pembina, and laid our suspicions before him. He diagnosed the case in an instant, and sent us to Norman W. Kittson, who lived in a stone house well up on Jackson Street, with instructions to him to send a mounted courier after Tyson, who was to pass him on the road and either find Rolette or Major Clitheral, who was an Alabama man and one of the U. S. Land Officers in the neighborhood of Crow Wing (and of course, a reliable Democrat) and to deliver a letter to the one first found, putting him on guard against the supposed enemy.

"I prepared the letter, and Kittson in a few moments had summoned a reliable half-breed Chippewa, mounted him on a fine horse, fully explained his mission and impressed upon him that he was to reach Clitheral or Rolette ahead of Tyson, if he had to kill a dozen horses in so doing. There is nothing a fine, active young half-breed enjoys so much as an adventure of this kind, a ride of 400 miles had no terrors for him, and to serve his employer, no matter what the

duty or the danger, was his delight. When he was ready to start, Kittson gave him a send-off in the following words: 'Va, va, vite, et ne t'arrête pas, même pour sauver la vie' (Go, go quick, and don't stop even to save your life') and, giving his horse a vigorous slap he was off like the wind.

"The result was that he passed Tyson before he had gone 20 miles, found Clitheral a day and a half before Tyson reached Crow Wing, if he ever got there, delivered his letter, and the major immediately started to find Rolette, which he succeeded in doing, took the returns and put them in a belt around his person, and having relieved Joe of all his responsibility, left him to his own devices which meant painting all the towns red that he visited on his way. We will know that Joe could no more resist the temptations of civilization than an old sailor returning from a long voyage, and what we apprehended was that he might while in a too-convivial mood, either lose the returns, or have them stolen from him.

"The tone of the letter was so urgent that the major did not know but that half the Republicans in St. Paul might be lying in wait to capture him, so he did not enter the town directly, but went to Fort Snelling, and left the returns with an officer of the army, and then proceeded to St. Paul. When we explained to him that no one but Rice, Kittson, Sweetzer and myself knew anything about the matter, he was relieved but still cautious. He waited for a few days and then proposed to a lady to take a ride with him to Fort Snelling. When they started home he gave her a bundle and asked her to care for it while he drove, which she unsuspectingly did, and that is the way the Pembina returns of Minnesota's first state election reached the capital."

The short-lived efforts of the Methodist missionary, ^{the} Reverend Samuel Spates, who tried to establish a mission at Rabbit River in 1840, and those of his assistant, John Johnson, Enmeghbowh, to continue this work on the Whitefish, preceded any attempt made in this part of the country to furnish purely academic education.

The census of 1850 showed eleven children living in ^{the} Crow Wing settlement and going to school during the 1849-50 season. The school they attended was the only one in Benton county and was undoubtedly the first secular school to be established and maintained by settlers in central Minnesota. While there seem to be no records showing that educational ^{facilities} advantages were furnished the Crow Wing children continuously during the fifties, it appears reasonable to suppose that the pioneers who established a school for their children as soon as they reached a new home, would continue to furnish these advantages after they became more thoroughly settled. At any rate, by 1860, there were two schools in the settlement, one a private and the other a "select" school. (1)

In 1849, the Reverend Frederick Ayer had moved to Belle Prairie, where he had opened a school and mission for the Winnebago children, but the first religious services, outside of missionary efforts, were those held at Fort Ripley. The Reverend Solon W. Manney was appointed chaplain at the fort in 1851, and he arrived at his post on December 7 of that year. He served there until May 1859, both as chaplain and as teacher. During those years, he kept a diary which gives a detailed and picturesque account of life on the frontier. He may have been in charge of academic as well as religious instruction from the time of his arrival, but the first mention he makes of the former is a statement that the post school opened November 19, 1855. (2)

(1) Census of 1860. Crow Wing County.

(2) Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney.

The first permanent mission to be located in what is now Crow Wing County, was that of St. Columba, established by the Reverend James Lloyd Breck at Gull Lake in April 1852. A few months later, in August, Father Franz Pierz established his mission at Crow Wing. In 1853, an attempt was made to establish a mission and school at the Chippewa Agency, but it was abandoned a few months later. All of these missions were established for the sole purpose of educating and Christianizing the Chippewas, and their services to the whites or mixed-bloods of the region were purely incidental.

Detailed records of the establishment and development of St. Columba are to be found in the published letters and papers of its founder. It was a mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but it was supported solely by voluntary contributions, except during one year, when it received money set aside by the Chippewas for tribal education. The first services were held ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{Easter} Sunday, after Holy Thursday, 1852, in a church built of poles, with branches for a roof. The first church was named St. John's in the Wilderness, but on All Saint's Day, November 1, 1852, the corner stone for a more permanent edifice of hewn logs was dedicated by Chaplain Manney. At that time, the name of the church was changed to St. Columba. The completed building was consecrated August 7, 1853, by the Rev. ^{and} Jackson Kemper, D.D., Missionary Bishop of the Northwest, and the congregation were officially organized on Christmas Day, 1855. (3)

Breck conducted what was really a manual training school. In his report made to the Indian Agent in 1853, he stated that, while the Gull Lake mission originated in the belief that there was some remedy in religion and civilization for the paganism and barbarism of the red man, yet he was very sure that the education of the school room alone was not enough.

He had, therefore, divided his eight-hour training period so that the school of the field, the shop and domestic life occupied young and old six hours

(3) Breck, by Charles Breck.

per day, whereas the "learning of the letter" occupied but two hours per day and was strictly confined to the study of the English language. During that year, his mission family consisted of a Mrs. Well, matron; the Misses Mills and Allen, teachers of domestic life; John Johnson, interpreter; John Parker, carpenter; Ahira Richardson, farmer; Charles Selkirk and Albert Wells, teachers of agriculture. He adds that the wife of the farmer and a female in charge of the culinary department of the mission rendered efficient help in the civilization of the Indian women. (4)

Breck remained in charge of the mission for more than four years, from 1852 until 1857. He resigned then and went to Leech Lake, while the Reverend E. Steele Peake was put in charge at Gull Lake. During the uprising of 1862, the mission buildings were destroyed by fire, and a few months later Peake resigned to go into active service with a Civil War regiment. John Johnson succeeded him and kept the parish functioning through the dark days of the sixties. When the Chippewas were removed to the White Earth reservation in 1869, the parish of St. Columba was transferred to that place, where it is still an active parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church. (5)

Father Pierz was called to the Minnesota field from Michigan by the Right Reverend Joseph Cretin, first bishop of the newly established Roman Catholic diocese. White settlers were flocking to the territory in large numbers and Pierz was the only man who had ^{had} experience among the Indians, ^{and} knew their language, customs and habits. In the spring of 1852, Father Pierz left Arbor Croche, Michigan, and set out for Minnesota. He arrived in St. Paul on June 18, was welcomed by the bishop, and met Beaulieu, who had traveled fifty miles to meet him and to describe the state of affairs in the district. Crow Wing was chosen as the mission station, and Father Pierz arrived as a triumphant war party of Chippewas was celebrating a victory with all the excesses characteristic of such festivities.

(4) Report of Chippewa Agent, 1853, p. 64.

(5) Journal of Episcopal Diocese of Minn. 1858-70.

It is said that in a year Pierz converted nearly all the Indians of the neighborhood, built a church which was filled every Sunday to overflowing with converted Indians as well as whites and prepared a large class for baptism. As he was the only Catholic missionary to the Chippewas in the diocese, he covered much territory. The following year found him in Mille Lacs, where he is said to have converted Chief Gegonebi with his warriors and their families. At the invitation of Chief Naganab, Pierz went to Fond du Lac for a short time. In 1855 he made an extensive missionary trip through the new settlements. He found the Chippewas much more intelligent than the Ottawas with whom he had worked in Michigan.

The life and work of Father Pierz have been ably described, although less seems to be known about the twenty years during which he labored at Crow Wing than of any other period of his life. Born in Carniola, Austria, ~~now a part of Jugo-Slavia~~, in 1785, he was almost fifty years old before he decided to become a missionary to the North American Indians. He was stationed near Grand Portage most of the time until 1852, when he was appointed missionary to the Mississippi Chippewas. Except for negligible amounts received from his parishioners, his only source of income was voluntary aid sent him by two small missionary societies, one in Bavaria and the other in Vienna, whose gifts varied from \$50 to \$200 yearly. (6)

Captain Todd, in charge of Fort Ripley, gave Father Pierz permission to occupy any piece of land he chose, not exceeding twenty acres, for building a church. He chose a knoll overlooking the north mouth of the Crow Wing river, and established his mission there August 1, 1852. (7) The choice of this site led to a great deal of controversy in later years. When the town

(6) James Pierz by Sister Grace McDonald.

(7) Father Francis Pierz by Sister Grace McDonald.

ship was surveyed, in 1856, it was found that the mission was located on land claimed by Doland ^{and} McDonald. McDonald, who had settled there in ^{the early part of} 1843 or 1844, had moved away about ten years later and had sold his rights in the property to Hollinshead, Banfil & Steele, and when the government opened the reservation to settlement in 1857, Father Pierz found his title to the church property very insecure. The government finally decided that Hollinshead, Banfil & Steele held the prior claim, but before granting them a title, stipulated that they should deed one or two acres to Father Pierz, who was also allowed to pre-empt property in another place. (8)

In 1862, Father Pierz transferred the title to his mission to the Reverend Thomas L. Grace and it became the property of the Catholic Church. The deed shows that the property contained three acres, which included the Church, graveyard, priest's dwelling, stables and other improvements. (9)

During the years in which he labored as an independent missionary, Father Pierz's records show that he ministered to the population of a territory extending from Sauk Rapids to Red Lake, and from Fond du Lac to the Red River Travois (between Crookston and Red Lake Falls). His first regular assistance came in October 1863, when Father Augustine Ravoux came from St. Cloud to help him. The following month, the Reverend A. Gaess became his assistant and remained at Crow Wing for more than a year. By 1866, Father Joseph Buh, who was in charge of the church at Belle Prairie, seems to have been in charge of the Crow Wing parish as well. He was assisted by Father Ignatius Tomazin, who was in charge of most of the services at Crow Wing. (10) Father Pierz, already past eighty years of age, and blind, continued to live at Crow Wing until 1873. By that time, all his old friends had moved away. He then returned to Austria, where he was honored as a hero, and where he passed away in 1880. (11)

(8) Brief by William Hollinshead, June 3, 1859, among Abby Fuller Abbe papers, re sale of Fort Ripley Reservation.

(9) Deed record A, p. 132, Crow Wing Register of Deeds office.

(10) Parish Records, Crow Wing Catholic Parish.

(11) Father Francis Pierz, by Sister Grace McDonald.

The first church erected by Father Pierz at Crow Wing was undoubtedly of log construction, but by 1865 he had managed to have the framework of a new building erected. It was 30 x 45 feet in size, surmounted by a bell tower. A frame church was completed by Father Buh and dedicated the last Sunday in October, 1867. (12) But the treaty of 1868 was a death blow to the parish as well as to the settlement, although it was 1873 or later before they were abandoned.

It was ten years work before new settlers began moving in, and then the railroad, not the river, was the main artery of travel. During the late eighties, services were occasionally held at Crow Wing by priests from Belle Prairie or Little Falls, but the church was miles from the center of the farming district, and so in 1890, a new congregation was organized in southern Crow Wing county, that of St. Mathias. Soon after, the Crow Wing church was sold to Wendell Schmidt, and he wrecked the building and used the material in the construction of the buildings on his farm about three miles south of the old church site. (13) Now only the traces of a foundation and a few scattering headstones in the tangled underbrush of the old cemetery mark the site of the mission of St. Francis, on a knoll overlooking the Mississippi and Crow Wing rivers.

The next effort made in behalf of Indian education was that of the Reverend Sherman Hall, who in 1853^x attempted to organize a school at the Chippewa Agency, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. His report to the Indian Agent, Herriman, dated September 8, 1853, gives an account of his frustrated efforts. He says:

" At the commencement of the year, the board had two stations, one at LaPointe and one at Bad River. With our removal here, the one at Bad River was discontinued and the school there moved to LaPointe. We removed to the Chippewa Agency early in the summer.

(12) ^WDes Wanderer, Nov. 25, 1867.

(13) Interview with Wendell Schmidt, Brainerd, Minn.

" I was informed in July 1852, by J.S. Watrous, then agent for the Chippewas, that he was instructed by the Indian department to establish a manual labor school for the Chippewa of Lake Superior and the Mississippi at this place, and was offered by him the superintendency of it. In September last, I visited this place, and on examination thought it favorable for the location of such a school. In March last, I arrived here and signed a contract with Mr. Watrous for the school for a term of seven years, by which I was to act as superintendent of it in behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Under this contract I immediately commenced preparations for erecting buildings and opening a farm preparatory to opening the school. I was subjected to unexpected delays on account of the difficulty of obtaining lumber, being under the necessity of waiting for a saw-mill to be erected, before lumber in sufficient quantities could be obtained for buildings.

" Early in June my family removed to this place, together with Charles Pulsifer, and Henry Blatchford, interpreter and native servant, and their families. About the first of August, I was informed that the contract was not confirmed at Washington and that it had been submitted to Governor Gorman for his opinion. He informed me that he would not give it his approval without modifications. But one small building has yet been erected, which was designed for the temporary accommodation of a family, later to be a storage house and shop. Some 70 acres of land have been broken for the use of the school. We had made arrangements for lumber at considerable expense, not anticipating that any change would be required in the contract by the department, after having been in their hands over two months.

" This derangement and consequent delay is subjecting us to much expense and inconvenience; and we respectfully ask that we may have the decision

of the department at their earliest convenience. " (14) The department refused to accept the contract and Hall moved to Sauk Rapids, where he was pastor of the Congregational Church for many years, and where he died in 1879. (15)

(14) Report of Chippewa Agent, 1853, p-66

(15) History of Upper Miss.Valley, P-347.

The name Crow Wing is an incorrect translation of ^{an} Ojibway word spelled Kagiwigwan on Nicollet's map or Gagagiwigwuni by Gilfillan. Pike and Schoolcraft recognized ^{the} Chippewa meaning to be Raven's Wing and noted the correctness of the early French name of the stream, Rivière à l'aile de Corbeau, Raven's Wing River. Schoolcraft says:

"The Indian name of this river is Kagiwegwon, or Raven's-wing or Quill, which is accurately translated by the term Aile de Corbeau, but it is improperly called Crow-wing. The Chippewa term for crow is andaig, and the French, corneille - terms which are appropriately applied to another stream, nearer St. Anthony Falls."

Crow Wing county was established May 23, 1857, and organized March 3, 1870. It contained only that part of the present county located east of the Mississippi river and was bounded on the south by the line between townships 42 and 43, on the east by the line between ranges 27 and 28, and on the north and west by the Mississippi river. Crow Wing was named the county seat. (1)

Francis M. Campbell was elected register of deeds, Dennis Shoff, judge of probate, C. H. Beaulieu, auditor, Robert Fairbanks, treasurer, Allan Morrison, John H. Fairbanks and S. B. Olmstead, county commissioners. (2) The History of the Mississippi Valley gives another version of the organization. It indicates that Judge McKelvey presided over the first term of District Court about 1859, that Charles Beaulieu was clerk of court, William Wade, sheriff, and Allan Morrison, John H. Fairbanks and C. H. Beaulieu, Sr., county commissioners. As Judge McKelvey was not

(1) M.L. 1857, p. 53.

(2) Fifty Years in the Northwest, By W. H. C. Folsom.

elevated to the bench until 1866 and did not hold court in this county until 1871, (3) part at least of this information is erroneous.

C.H.Beaulieu, John H.Fairbanks, Allan Morrison, Robert Fairbanks and S.B.Olmstead were all pioneers of the Crow Wing settlement. Francis M.Campbell was a surveyor, aged 25, born in Illinois. He had settled in Crow Wing in the early fifties and married a Chippewa. (4) He served his community for many years, both as register of deeds and auditor, and always with the highest standards of honesty and devotion to duty. Dennis Shoff was a master carpenter, aged 27. (5) He moved from Crow Wing after his term of office expired and settled at Ailsa Craig, Canada. (6)

The year 1857 was one of great economic and political activity. The constitutional convention was held and the territory prepared for statehood. Under the new apportionment, Crow Wing county became part of District 21, which also included Morrison and Mille Lacs counties. Anson Northrup was elected a member of the territorial council from this district, and Joel D.Cruttenden a representative in the legislature. At that time, Northrup operated a tavern at Crow Wing. (7) Cruttenden, who later became register of the St.Cloud land office, was also a Crow Wing resident (8) where he seems to have had extensive business interests.

The same day the legislators established Crow Wing county, they incorporated the Mississippi River & Lake Superior Ship Canal Company, authorizing the building of a canal from the Mississippi, somewhere above the Red Cedar river, to the navigable waters of the St.Louis river. It was to be large enough to accommodate 100-ton boats. The incorporators were: Edmund Rice, Edwin A.C.Hatch, William H.Nobles, Henry B.Stanton, Edwin A.Larkin, William K.Mehaffey, Joseph R.Brown, W.W. Kingsbury, Levi Harris, John S.Watrous, Joseph W.Lynde and Samuel B.Abbe. The last three named were Crow Wing business men. (9) This canal seems still to be built.

During 1857, three more railroads, proposed to serve this part of the

(3) Minn. Legislation Manuals.

(4) Government Census 1860.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Crow Wing Co. Deed Record A.P.145.

(7) Sauk Rapids Frontiersman, Apr.16, 1857.

(8) Brief by William Hohlenshead.

(9) M.L. 1857, p.216.

state, were incorporated. They were: the Lake Superior & Crow Wing Railroad Company, authorized to build a railroad from Lake Superior to an unnamed destination; the Minnesota & Pacific Railroad Company, to build a road from St. Paul to Breckenridge, with a branch from St. Anthony, via Anoka, St. Cloud and Crow Wing, to St. Vincent; and the Nebraska & Lake Superior Railroad Company, to build a road from Lake Superior to the Mississippi river. (10) By an act of March 8, 1861, the name of this latter road was changed to the Lake Superior & Mississippi Railroad Company.

The population of the Crow Wing settlement and Crow Wing county was almost doubled in the period between the United States census of 1850 and the state census of 1857. In 1857, the enumerator was Jonathan Pugh. There were ³² dwellings and 176 inhabitants in the county at that time. These included : Allan Morrison, J.D. Cruttenden, James R. Kent and Beaulieu & Fairbanks, merchants; Dennis Shoff, Irwin Scofield, Jacob Siscely and J.A. West, carpenters; A. Sturgis, B. Smullen, N.T. Greely, B.J. Brown, John McGuggins, Oris Estes, George Giggy, Joseph Tesrow, Peter LeDuc and M. Vanass, lumbermen; Thomas Cathcart, Clark Potter, Dave Smith, H. Manney, Owen Morse, Daniel Burman, John Spencer, Alden Nason, A.B. Perkins, Hugh Masterson, Francis Thebaud, John R. Cloan, Wallace Beane, J.H. Fairbanks, Benjamin Fairbanks, David McArthur, Olmstead & Son, and Francis Howard, farmers; Andrew H. Green, lawyer; L.C. Kendall, barber; Clark Swingle, surveyor; F.M. Campbell, clerk; Joseph Henniger, bricklayer; John McGill, sculptor; A.G. Parks and G. Van Valkenburg, blacksmiths.

A second post office was established in the county, August 18, 1857, at ^X Nokay. Amos Sturgis was named postmaster. (11) His home was probably two miles north of the present village of Fort Ripley, for the first deed recorded in this county is one dated November 13, 1857, by which Thomas Sturgis transfers to Amos Sturgis lands in sections 15 and 22, township 44, range 32. (12)

There seems to have been some controversy between the Nokay and Fort Ripley postoffices. The latter office, according to government records, had been

established on October 22, 1849, with John H. McKenney postmaster, at Fort Gaines, Wahnahta county, Minnesota territory, and was changed to Fort Ripley post office on September 8, 1851, under Charles H. Oakes, postmaster. It was discontinued on July 22, 1857, when Solon Manney was serving as postmaster. It was reestablished on October 19, the same year; Manney was reappointed; he writes that on November 25, he rode to Crow Wing, took the oath of office before R. Fairbanks, and mailed his oath to the First Assistant Postmaster General; and three days later, he notes that the post office opened that morning.

With Lieutenant William O. Spencer and a detachment of men, Postmaster Manney stationed himself at the bridge on the opposite side of the river from Fort Ripley - which would be a bridge across the Nokasippi river, on the east side of the Mississippi, about a mile north of the present village of Fort Ripley - stopped the mail driver and made him bring the mail over. (13) The Nokay post office, with whom the Fort Ripley men appear to have been at odds, was undoubtedly located just north of the bridge over the Nokasippi, on the east side of the Mississippi. The mail came up the east side of the Mississippi to Crow Wing, probably stopping at the Fort Ripley ferry when the mail was delivered to the fort. So when the detachment of soldiers stopped the mail driver and made him bring the mail over, it means that the mail driver had not stopped at the ferry to cross to the fort, but had probably intended to deliver the mail to the Nokay post office. The Nokay post office was discontinued September 7, 1858.

(10) M.L. 1857, pp 277, 31 and 323.

(11) U.S. Postoffice Records.

(12) Crow Wing County Deed Record A, p. 1.

(13) Diary of Rev. Solon Manney, November 27, -30, 1857.

The troops at Fort Ripley were ordered to evacuate the post and a public sale of commissary stores was held July 1, 1857. Manney gives a detailed account of this sale. He says that everything was run up enormously high and by the next day, many were backing out of their bids. He himself bought a large amount of supplies for the mission, by which he meant St. Columba. The amounts and prices are of interest:

6 barrels of pork @ \$23	\$138.00
10 barrels Flour @ \$11.25	112.50
1 barrel sugar @ 16 ¢ 261 lbs.	41.76
1 barrel rice @ 8½ ¢ 217 lbs.	18.44
2 boxes soap @ 10 ¢ 120 lbs.	12.00
	<hr/>
	\$322.70
Add one cow for Bro. Peake	60.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 380.70

A few days later, he bought a bag of coffee for \$ 8.15. It weighed 163 pounds and cost 5¢ a pound.

Company A left Fort Ripley July 8. Less than two weeks later, according to Manney, missionary Breck and a Mr. Reese, with their families, had fled from the mission on Leech Lake and taken refuge at the fort. Reese was the government farmer at Leech Lake. Manney adds: " We may now expect personal violence and murders and the destruction of property on ceded lands and all along the frontier. The withdrawal of troops from this section can result in nothing else. " (14)

The minister's prophecy came true within a few weeks and culminated in the only lynching recorded in the annals of Old Crow Wing. An inoffensive German peddler appeared at Gull Lake and was murdered by a group of Indians. On August 16, three suspects were captured and taken to Fort Ripley accused of the murder. The Indians were called Joe Shambeau, Charles Gegabish and Jimmy. Three settlers named Inwood, Charley and Jeremiah Selkrig, made up the posse which brought the suspects to the fort. Manney obtained a team from Mrs. Olmstead and sent the Indians to Justice Hamilton at Belle Prairie. They were convicted in this court and sent to Sheriff J. Pugh at Little Falls. They were being taken to St. Paul, when a mob led by Anson Northup, and including Benjamin Brown and William McNeal, seized them near Swan River

(14) Diary of Rev. Solon Manney, July 1- Aug. 16, 1857.

(15) Burial Records, St. Columba Parish, 1857.

and they were hanged, all three chained together, and then buried nearby, their bodies still chained. The possemen, who seem to have been in court at Little Falls and undertaken to conduct the prisoners to St. Paul, were attacked by the mob and the cry went up that they had instigated the murder. While preparations were being made for their hanging as well, they broke from their captors and fled. Inwood and Charley made good their escape but Selkraig was caught, though he escaped the lynch-ers a second time only to die a violent death later. The name of the German peddler seems to have been unknown. But he was buried in St. Columba cemetery, and the missionary, Peake, made a notation in the burial records, in very tiny letters, "(German Roman Cath.)" (15)

The Indian situation had become increasingly unsettled. In September, Herriman, who had been agent for several years, reported that while there had been a few advances, there had been much retrogression. He attributed this to the use of whiskey, the treaty of 1855, the immigration of whites into the country, and the errors of the missionaries, supported by the government. It seemed impossible to get a conviction after the arrest of a whiskey seller, and since the troops had been removed from Fort Ripley, the dealers had nothing to fear from that quarter. He adds:

" At Crow-wing there are no less than five whiskey shops, only five miles from the Agency. Five whiskey shops and not half a dozen habitations beside! Your own inferences must give the key as to how they are supported . . . Newspapers are filled with articles describing or giving a history of depredations (most of them false) committed here and there, and animadverting upon the inefficiency of agents in not preventing the introduction of whiskey into the Indian country, as if an agent, unaided and alone, could be at a half dozen reservations, from thirty to one hundred miles apart, at the same time. Again, the treaty of 1855 did away with all the employees.

Funds formerly appropriated for the pay of laborers, carpenters, farmers, etc., are now consolidated and paid to the Indians in specie. Whereas before, the agent had a force to assist him in finding, destroying and preventing the introduction of whiskey, now he is entirely alone.

"Again, the treaty of 1855 has confined the Indians to small reservations, leaving the land all around them subject to claimants; forcing them to depend upon agricultural pursuits for a livelihood before they were prepared, and before the ground had been broken. Naturally a hunter, he still follows the chase; wearied and hungry, he finds a settler's cabin, a surveyor's tent, or lumberman's camp; applies for provisions, is perhaps, misunderstood; or finds it unguarded, takes what he wants; bad feelings are engendered and the whole tribe is denounced for the act of a single Indian . . . The class of white men with whom the Indian comes in contact is another source of evil.

" The plan of operations pursued by the missionaries, if not a source of evil, has resulted in no practical benefit; but this is a subject that must be touched lightly. If an agent's expressed opinions differ from those of the missionaries, or of churchmen, who have never seen an Indian, Boston, Oberlin, and other kindred places, will send their forty preachers to Washington to demand his removal, armed with numerous affidavits of unfitness, etc. . . This Christianizing and educating before civilizing is commencing at the wrong end. The Indian already believes in the existence of a Supreme Ruler of the Universe, who watches over, cares for, and directs the affairs of men, who punishes evil and rewards good; he believes that if he wrongs no man, pays his honest debts, and does not shed white man's blood, after death the Good Spirit will take care of him; which is good religion for an Indian, and tolerably good for a white man; at all events, as good as the average. I do not wish to be understood as questioning the motives of the missionaries; experience has proven that the general plan is wrong. Attempting to Christianize and book-educate Indians is money and time thrown away. The zeal and anxiety of the missionary to spread his particular theological ideas blinds him

(16) Indian Agent's Report for 1857, p.53-56.

as to the true course." (16)

The Rev. James Lloyd Breck draws an even gloomier picture of conditions. He writes to the Bishop that he has abandoned the Leech Lake mission and has moved the entire mission family to Fort Ripley. He says:

"At Crow Wing, (the nearest White settlement, of only 13 dwelling houses) there are seven whiskey shops, which openly sell to the wild Indian from a pint to ten gallons. These Indian grogshops have grown up mainly during the past eighteen months, in the presence of the Indian Agent and all the public officers, including the whole garrison of Fort Ripley. No jury can be found to convict. Crow Wing is also the place where the Leech Lake Pillagers get their whiskey, and they think nothing of transporting five and ten gallon kegs, fastened by a portage strap across the forehead. . . . In years past, at times of drinking fire water (which was seldom owing to the difficulty of obtaining it), the Indian, for his own protection, put aside all weapons, and a certain number remained sober, to govern the rest against committing any violence. But now the frequency of drinking has blunted their sensibilities on the subject, and every drunken Indian goes armed, and takes advantage of this frame of mind to revenge his wrongs, or to make his demands and threats." (17)

Father Pierz had much the same point of view, except that he had great faith in the ultimate triumph of Christianity. In the biography written by Sister Grace McDonald, she says:

"This work of civilizing and instructing was ineffective as long as the Indian continued to roam about living on the hunt alone, and changing his abode with the season. These Indian habits disrupted classes, and agriculture could not be followed by people who continued to live a nomad life. Father Pierz tried to persuade natives to build homes, hoping that this would keep them closer to him. But unless he could assure them enough food by means other than hunting, he realized he would find it impossible to induce them to live in one place. He therefore taught these Indians to prepare the soil and to sow crops.

" In addition to teaching, he often acted as physician and thus broke

down prejudice among the pagan Indians who otherwise would not come near him . . . In this work of Christianizing and civilizing, Father Pierz had to contend not only with Indian nature, but with evils he could not successfully combat - the fur trader. It was to the advantage of the fur trader to keep the Indian poor and uncivilized, so that he might have no other resource than hunting. Thus the Indian would continue to bring in pelts to market.

" The second obstacle to be faced by this missionary was the liquor evil. To suppress this was one of his hardest problems, for he had to deal not only with the Indians and the trader, but with the half-breed. The traders used whiskey to facilitate their trade in pelts, but the half-breed liquor trafficker was more dangerous, for his concoction was of a fouler and more poisonous sort than that of the trader. Moreover, the metis, or half-breed, would follow the individual Indian, even to his trapping grounds, and there induce the Indian to drunkenness and abscond with the pelts. In a letter written from Crow Wing agency in 1854, Father Pierz complained that within three days after the government pay day, all the provisions, blankets, and money given out by the government were in the hands of the whiskey dealers. This business must have been profitable to those engaged in it, if the prices quoted in this letter by Father Pierz are accurate. He quoted the sale of one bottle of whiskey for \$20. and two gallons of brew for \$40, and states that at another time an Indian gave fifty blankets for two gallons of so-called liquor made of tobacco soaked water and some whiskey.

" The third evil he combated was unscrupulous government agents. In the same letter just quoted, he charged that flour given the Indians by government agents in 1851 killed off four hundred. It was mixed with sand. Copper kettles, he wrote, were admired by the Indians. Though the agents knew that copper kettles and Indians meant death, though the agents knew the Indians never cleaned kettles but were accustomed to add their new supply of food to the remains from the previous meal, though they knew this meant poison, they sold the Indians these nice shining copper kettles. Father Pierz continued: ' I have seen the result: green eyes, blue

lips, and yellow color in the face. Poisoned, they die like flies'. " (18)

Father Pierz had for five years labored alone in his Crow Wing mission, when a young priest from his native Carniola came to his assistance. He was the Reverend Laurentius Lautischar Valdeze. It is said that Father Pierz stationed him with the Red Lake band of Indians, and gave him strict instructions to keep near the Indian settlement. Father Laurentius was unaccustomed to the north woods and Father Pierz considered it unsafe for him to take long journeys in winter. In the parish records of the Crow Wing mission, there is the notation that Father Laurentius died December 3, 1858, at the age of thirty-eight, as the result of freezing while on a missionary trip to Red Lake. He was buried in the cemetery of St. Francis at Crow Wing, and the body was afterward removed to Duluth.

While the mission records merely set the date as December 3, 1858, and the cause of death as freezing, there is a more detailed account of the death of this priest in the records of the explorer, Henry Youle Hind. This author says that, when his party arrived at Red Lake on their way from Fort Garry to Crow Wing, they found the frozen body of Father Laurentius, lying in state in an Indian hut. The Indians told him the priest had gone across the lake to visit a sick parishioner. On his way home, when within a few hundred yards of the settlement, he was overcome by the cold. The Indians said the dogs had begun to bark but had stopped so soon that no one had gone out to investigate. When they found the body the following day, they had retraced the priest's journey across the ice, and they showed Hind where he had run, where he had stumbled, where he had knelt to pray, and where he had finally fallen. Hind carried the news of Father Laurentius' death to Crow Wing. (19)

After a short stay in Crow Wing, Hind and his party went by stage to St. Paul, then down the Mississippi by steamer to Prairie du Chien. He ^{made} sums up his impression of the little settlement as follows: "Crow Wing is a small, new town, depending chiefly upon the pineries in its neighborhood for support, as well as upon the prospect of a road between it and Superior City. Its position in relation to Lake Superior and the valley of Red River, is thought to be very favorable, and the

people say that a plank road from Superior City to Crow Wing, which need not exceed one hundred miles in length, would secure the trade of the valley of Lake Winnipeg. " (20)

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- (17) Doctor Breck, By Charles Breck, p.326.
(18) Father Francis Pierz, by Sister Grace McDonald.
(19) Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, by Henry Youle Hind, Vol.2,p. 95.
(20) Ibid, Vol.2,p.263.

Minnesota was seething with activity during 1857 and one of the special phases of this period of prosperity was the townsite boom. In Crow Wing County, the mania was as strong as in any part of the territory. The settlement of Crow Wing had been platted in 1856, but most of the other townsites were platted the following year. Crow Wing itself was the headquarters for a group of surveyors who explored the whole north country, acquiring waterpower and mill sites, and laying out townsites. ^{W.W. Clark} W.W. Clark, a builder and contractor who had arrived in St. Anthony from Massachusetts about 1855, said that he and three companions had made a trip up the Mississippi by canoe in 1857, looking for mill sites. They had ^{went} gone as far north as Pokegama Falls, but had found that every available site had already been taken. Clark moved to Brainerd in 1888 and made his home there until 1894. (1)

The townsite of Crow Wing contained over eleven hundred lots, as there were at least fifty-six blocks of twenty lots each. Besides lots sold to actual residents of the community, a number were sold to outside speculators. Among these absentee owners were Gen. ~~N. J.~~ ^{Christopher} T. Dana, Capt. J. B. Young and Andrew D. Nelson, of the U. S. Army; Charles W. Borup, C. C. Andrews, and J.R. Moulton. (2)

There were at least two platted additions to the Crow Wing townsite. One of these was the Hollinshead, Banfil & Steele Addition. All three of the men named were prominent residents of Minnesota Territory. This property seems to have changed title oftener than any other piece of land in the county. Donald McDonald settled there in 1843. He moved to Ottertail Lake about 1854, probably abandoning the place. But "on or about December 16, 1856" he deeded the property to John Banfil and William Hollinshead. (3) In 1852, Father Pierz built his church and home on land that was found to be part of the original McDonald claim. To settle Father Pierz's claim, Hollinshead, Banfil & Steele deeded him three acres. They

- (1) Mrs. Elizabeth Clark Hayes, Brainerd (Interview)
- (2) Deed Record A.
- (3) Deed Record A. p. 91

had platted Lot 3 of section 23, April 3, 1857. James R. Kent was the surveyor. (4) On January 26, 1872, Lavina and Andrew Hunter mortgaged this property for \$3,000 to James R. Lambert, Sr., and James R. Lambert, Jr., both of Rockville, Indiana. The mortgage was on an undivided half interest in 320 acres of land, ^{one-half} of this 320 acres had been deeded by John Levi to Spencer Shoemaker on January 10, 1855; The other half had been deeded to Shoemaker by Enos Gibson on October 2, 1861; Shoemaker had deeded the whole property to the Hunters July 8, 1870. (5) On May 9, 1872, the Hunters mortgaged the other half of this property to Sarah J. Lamb of Vigo County, Indiana. They describe the property as a half interest in Donald McDonald's claim situated on the Military Reservation of Fort Ripley, Ramsey County, adjoining a certain piece of land laid out by Clement H. Beaulieu as a town. (6) The Hunters evidently juggled this property rather freely, for in 1873, Dr. James L. Gower of Welcomville, Indiana, filed an agreement stating that he had paid \$10,000 for all of the Donald McDonald place and ^{was} to receive a deed from Andrew Hunter. There is ^a the copy of a letter from Hunter, promising to forward the deed in the immediate future. Following this, there is a "Caveat! Caveat!" from Doctor Gower, warning the public not to deal with this property until the title is settled. (7)

The F. Pierz Addition to Crow Wing, surveyed by J. ^{Ward} M. Lackay on May 28, 1857, was located in the south half of the southeast of section 24, township 44, range 32. (8) December 11, 1858, Hole-in-the-Day sold this property, granted to him by the treaty of 1855, to "Aemig Bird" of Fort Wayne, Indiana, (9), so it must have been this addition which was referred to by Herriman, Indian Agent, in his report for 1857, where he stated:

"He [Hole-in-the-Day] designs to have a town laid out on the section of land donated to him by the treaty of 1855, and with that object in view, he has,

- (4) Ibid. p. 132
- (5) Bond Record A. p. 245
- (6) Ibid, p. 243
- (7) Bond Record A. p. 603
- (8) Deed Record 1, p. 17
- (9) Deed Record A, p. 59

Addition to "The Townsite Boom", page 70, original manuscript, to follow paragraph beginning 'Crow Wing West.'

- 91 This townsite was undoubtedly located just south of the south mouth of the Crow Wing River, almost opposite the home of Allan Morrison. There are a number of holes located on the forty opposite his house, that ~~have~~ very obviously been used as cellars.

Insert

at his own expense, built a boat, and established a ferry across the Mississippi river; laid out, cut out, graded, and built a good smooth road; making a saving of distance from Fort Ripley to this agency of at least two miles; and he is doing more, unaided, to practically civilize his tribe than has ever been done by white men, backed up, though they have been, by the influence of money and government."

Besides the two additions to Crow Wing that were located in this county, there were two townsites platted just across the Mississippi, in what was then Todd County. One of these was Crow Wing City and the other was Crow Wing West. Crow Wing City, also named Crow Wing, Todd County, was surveyed by B.C. ^{upman} Borden on land owned by Thomas Cathcart. (10) This was probably the large island located in the mouth of the Crow Wing river, containing about seventy acres. The legislature of 1857 incorporated Crow Wing City and stated that the corporate name of the town organized shall be Town Council of Crow Wing City. (11) At the same session, Thomas Cathcart and Daniel Burman were given a permit to operate a ferry across the Mississippi at Crow Wing City, County of Todd. (12)

Crow Wing West was created a town corporate at the same time as the above. The act states, "That so much land as is contained in Crow Wing West situated on west bank of the Mississippi River near junction of Crow Wing River, not to exceed 320 acres, be created a town corporate by name of Crow Wing West." (13) A deed dated March 16, 1857, records that Elijah Dunphey of Todd County, sold for \$350, to Moses C. Baker, Hilary B. Hancock, Michah Thomas, Charles Wilcox, George H. Keith, Byron Bushnell, H. Partridge, Melville C. Smith, Delano T. Smith and Eugene Bustin, proprietors of Crow Wing West, all his claim to the land on the west side of the Mississippi south of the mouth of Crow Wing, claimed by the above as a townsite and laid out for them by S. M. Putnam of Little Falls. (14)

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- (10) Deed Record A. p 65
(11) M.L. 1857, p. 36
(12) M. L. 1857, p. 63
(13) M. L. 1857, p. 37
(14) Morrison County Deed Record A, p. 188

Insert 9
here

What seemed like another addition to Crow Wing was a townsite named North Crow Wing, platted early in 1857 by J. M. Lackey. From its name, one might consider that it adjoined, or was located very near to the original Crow Wing townsite, but ^{John Franklin} J. F. Smart, auditor of Crow Wing county from 1907 to 1914, ^{who} saw the original plat of this townsite, ~~and he~~ said that it was undoubtedly located on the present site of Brainerd. On August 3, 1857, ^{James} J. M. Lackey deeded to ^{Alexander} A. B. Smith, an undivided one-fifth interest in North Crow Wing, situated on the Mississippi River at the junction of the Northern Pacific Railroad with the Lake Superior Railroad. The consideration was \$8,000. (15) In another deed, ^{James} J. M. Lackey, widower, and ^{Alexander} A. B. Smith, "batchelder", residents of North Crow Wing, ^{sold} sell to Emil Newburger of Chicago, for \$1,100, twenty-two blocks of this townsite. (16) Newburger sold three lots to Frank K. Robinson of New York City for \$1,000. (17) Lackey & Smith sold A. Wright Turner of Chicago, seven lots for \$1,000. (18) Other buyers included Benjamin R. Watson and Atmore R. Wright of Chicago, ^{Joseph} Joseph Stancliff of Buffalo, New York, ^{W. G.} W. G. Goldsmid of Chicago, and Alfred Pierce of Buchanan, Michigan.

Calais was another important townsite. The first deed of record for this property was dated Nov. 17, 1858, and shows that it was surveyed by N. P. Aspinwall for Elijah Dunphey of Hennepin county. The owners sold an undivided one-eighth interest in the townsite to Alfred Makepeace of Anderson, Indiana for \$4,700. The deed also included a half-interest in block 27, which was reserved for mill and boom purposes. (19) The 1858 session of the legislature appointed ^{Eli} Elijah Dunphy, ^{Alexander} Alexander Campbell and Robert Simpson a committee to locate a State Road from Crow Wing to Calais. (20) While neither of the above records describe the location of this townsite, a map published at St. Paul in 1860 by ^{Joseph} J. S. Sewall and C.W. Iddings, shows that Calais was located at the foot of Long Lake, in what is now Long Lake

(15) Morrison County Deed Record A, p. 321

(16) Deed Record A, p. 49

(17) Deed Record A, p. 67

(18) Morrison County Deed Record A, p. 440.

(19) Deed Record A, p. 48

(20) M. L. 1858, p. 117

township. This was probably the site of a lumber camp, as the census of 1860 shows that then "Long Lake" had a population of 40 persons.

French Rapids was the name of another townsite in this county. J. F. Smart saw the original plat and said that it was surveyed by Benjamin C. Borden for C. W. Gallaher, James Humphrey, C. P. Bailey and I. W. Smalley. It was located on parts of sections 5 and 8, township 45, range 30, in what is now Oak Lawn township. The rapids there were named French Rapids before 1800, but when the dam across the Mississippi in Northeast Brainerd was built, it backed the water up over these rapids and obliterated them.

J. M. Lackey also surveyed a townsite which he named Lake Field. It was located on the Lake Superior & Crow Wing Railroad, between Lake Willipi and Lake Wappaluchi, and might possibly be the present site of Deerwood. August 3, 1857, he sold A.B. Smith an undivided one-fifth interest in this property for \$6,000. (21)

Crow Wing surveyors and business men were also interested in a number of townsites located in adjoining counties. The present city of Detroit Lakes was platted as Detroit, Cass County, by N. P. Aspinwall, whose survey was dated May 27, 1857. The proprietors were: A. P. Aspinwall, ^{register} F. M. Campbell, ^{justice} Donald McDonald, George McDougal and ^{deputy} D. Shoff, all of whom were at that time, or had been, residents of Crow Wing. (22) ~~Francis M.~~ ^{Francis} Campbell owned an undivided one-seventh interest, which he sold in January 1858 to James R. Kent for \$120. (23) At that time Kent was a resident of Todd county, but he moved to Crow Wing later and was deputy ^e register of deeds during 1858, (24) also serving as justice of the peace during 1858 and 1859.

Elmira was located somewhere in Cass County, but there seems to be no record of its exact or approximate location. N. P. Aspinwall probably platted this townsite for he is named as the seller in nearly all of the deeds recorded.

(21) Morrison County Deed Record A. p 320

(22) History of Becker County, p 277

(23) Deed Record A, p. 17

(24) Bond Record A, p. 27

During July and August 1857, he sold thirteen blocks to E. P. Aspinwall, thirteen blocks to Robert Fairbanks, and fourteen blocks to George Bungo. The following March, George Bungo purchased fourteen more blocks of this townsite. ^{Since} As the latter lived at Leech Lake for many years, it is possible that this townsite was located near the Leech Lake trading post. (25)

A townsite located very near to Crow Wing, was one named Chippewa. In a deed dated July 27, 1857, E. P. Aspinwall of Crow Wing, sold to S. A. Medary, Jr., of St. Paul, ^{annex} twenty-eight blocks of this townsite, located in Todd County. (26) A few days later, he sold five blocks to O. S. Bennett of Dakota county for \$1,000. (27) In ^{an} article, entitled, "Red River Trail", which appeared in Harper's Magazine in 1859, the author, ^{by} who writes under the name "Penman", describes a hunting trip to the Red River Valley. One of his three companions was a doctor who wished to stop over at the city of Chippewa on his return trip, as he had made heavy investments there. This article is illustrated, and one of the pictures shows a dilapidated log house with a shed roof--the city of Chippewa. Another shows a very irate gentleman dancing with rage and waving a piece of paper. This is the doctor with the deed to his Chippewa property. "Penman" says the city was located opposite the Hole-in-the-Day farm, which was a short distance above the Chippewa Agency. (28)

~~Any connection with E.P. or H.P. Aspinwall? Or is he A.P. Aspinwall?~~
Augustus Aspinwall was also interested in the townsite of Wadena, which he probably platted, for in a deed dated December 11, 1857, he sold Isaac R. Moulton of St. Anthony, forty blocks of this townsite. (29) Less than a year later, Moulton sold twenty-one blocks of Wadena, county seat of Wadena County, to Alfred Makepeace of Anderson, Indiana, for the considerable sum of \$8,000. (30) The

legislature, in 1857, granted a permit to Augustus Aspinwall and "George VanVallenberg"

- (25) Morrison County Deed Record A, p. 308 and 337
- (26) Crow Wing County Deed Record A, p. 13 and 21
- (27) Morrison County Deed Record A, p. 307
- (28) Harpers Magazine, Vol LX, p. 47
- (29) Deed Record A. p. 45
- (30) Ibid, p. 46

for a ferry at Wadena, thirty miles above the Chippewa Agency, at the crossing of the Red River and Pembina road. (31) This was undoubtedly the George Van Valkenburg, who was for many years a resident of the Crow Wing Community. A settlement of some size grew up around this townsite, for a post office was established December 2, 1857, with Augustus Aspinwall as postmaster. It was discontinued April 26, 1860. (32)

The panic of 1857, which produced such economic distress in southern Minnesota, seems to have had little immediate effect on the frontier settlements, but by 1859, the results of this maladjustment began to show. The wild speculation in Minnesota lands was ended and the townsite boom collapsed. A very few of the sites were, in after years, developed into settlements, but most of them proved to be mere dream cities.

(31) M. L. 1857, p. 64

(32) United States Post Office Records

The treaty of 1855 opened the supposedly inexhaustable pine forests of northern Minnesota to the lumbermen, and confined the Indians to comparatively small reservations. But even with this great wealth of pine lands lying before them, speculators were probably greatly interested in the announcement that the government was planning to sell the Fort Ripley military reservation. For this reservation was not only covered with a fine stand of pine, but it lay convenient to market. It was probably the last large stand of merchantable pine left along the Mississippi below the mouth of the Crow Wing river. Fort Ripley itself was located on the west bank of the river, but there were only 640 acres adjoining the fort, while the main reservation, sixteen miles long and approximately four and a half miles wide, lay along the east side of the river. The sale of this reservation, and the resulting litigation, illustrate some of the methods used by land grabbing speculators to gain their loot.

May 26, 1857, Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, appointed John C. Mather, of New York, an agent of the War Department to make an examination, with a view to sale, of the Fort Ripley military reservation. Mather was to visit the reservation, determine its size and the value of the government improvements, the best mode of disposing of it, the minimum price at which it should be sold, and whether or not there were upon it, any bona fide settlers who had settled there with the expectation that pre-emption rights would be extended to them.

Within a few weeks, Mather reported that Donald McDonald (or his assignees), and S. B. Olmstead had rights by virtue of settlement to purchase 160 acres at \$1.25 per acre. Clement H. Beaulieu should be allowed to purchase forty or eighty acres, Father Pierz should be allowed to

purchase a tract other than the tract claimed by him. Mather added that it was a matter of little importance to the government whether the lands were sold at public or private sale, the probability being that it would not sell for more than \$1.25 per acre, and that the government should realize from five to ten thousand dollars on its improvements.

The Secretary of War then appointed Mather as agent of the War Department to make a sale of the reserve, his compensation to be eight dollars a day and necessary traveling expenses. His instructions were as follows:

"That portion occupied by the settlers whom you have named, including the Rev. Francois Pierz, you will allow said settlers to purchase at the Government price of one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. The balance of the reservation you will sell at public auction after giving due notice in the principal papers in the North West, in tracts or lots of forty acres each, unless special reason which you will state may require that eighty acres may be sold in a single lot." The letter added that Major Seth Eastman of the U. S. A., would be directed forthwith to survey the reserve and lay it out into lots of forty acres each and prepare a plat thereof for the use of the agents and for the inspection of all persons desiring to become purchasers.

An advertisement of the sale was published in the following newspapers: Crawford County Courier, Prairie du Chien, Wis.; St. Paul Advertiser, St. Paul; Pioneer & Democrat, St. Paul; St. Anthony Express, St. Anthony; Valley Herald, Shakopee; Henderson Democrat, Henderson; Sauk Rapids Frontiersman, Sauk Rapids; Northern Herald, Little Falls. It read:

"SALE OF THE MILITARY RESERVE OF FORT RIPLEY.

Pursuant to instructions from the War Department the undersigned will sell at Public Auction on the 20th day of October next at the town of Crow Wing all of that portion of the Military Reserve of Fort Ripley lying on the east side of the Mississippi river being about forty thousand acres.

The land will be sold in tracts of forty acres each or as near thereto as practicable.

September 29th D.T.D.

John C. Mather)
S. Eastman) Agents"
Major U.S.A.)

Three days before the publication of this advertisement, Mather was replaced by Alexander C. Jones, of St. Paul, who, with Major Eastman, conducted the sale. Their report of this event was made in a letter, dated October 26, 1857, as follows:

"St. Paul, Minnesota Territory.

"Hon. John B. Floyd

"Secretary of War

"Sir: In obedience to your instructions contained in your communication of the 27th August, addressed to John C. Mather, the former agent of the Department, for the sale of the Military Reservation at Fort Ripley in the Territory of Minnesota. We have the honor to report: That we caused a survey of the land on the Reserve to be made, and divided it pursuant to instructions, into lots of forty acres each, as far as practicable, of which maps were made and posted up at the place of sale for the inspection of purchasers.

"That public notice was given of the day, place, manner and terms of sale by advertisements in the principal News Papers published in the Territory and throughout the North West to wit (the newspapers herein before specified). That previous to the day of sale we proceeded to Crow Wing, the place of sale, and notified the persons having pre-emption claims on the Reserve, which had been allowed by the War Department, to appear before us on the 19th day of October (the day before the sale) and enter their claims, at the governemtn price of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, according to the instructions above referred to. They all came forward, paid for their lands, and received certificates for the same except the Rev. Francois Pierz who refused to take any land except that allowed by the Department to Donald McDonald or his assigns. We would state in reference to

this matter, that we award to the assigns of Donald McDonald the tract of land in dispute, on condition that said assigns of McDonald would deed to the said Francois Pierz, two acres of land, as recommended by J. C. Mather in his report, to which we would respectfully refer, occupied by the church and grave-yard, which they promised to do (and have done). We would recommend that our action in the premises be confirmed.

"Accompanying this report is a communication from the Rev. Francois Pierz, addressed to us as agents, to which your attention is respectfully called. And we would further state that Rev. Francois Pierz was repeatedly offered the privilege of entering any other tract of land on the reservation which he might select, not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres, at the price of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

"Your agents would further report that, on the 20th day of October, the lands embraced within the Reserve were offered for sale at public auction to the highest bidder for the same, at the house of Allan Morrison, in the town of Crow Wing, according to the advertisement in lots of forty acres each, or as near thereto as the survey would permit.

"That proclamation was made at the opening of the sale that no claim aside from those which had been previously entered, would be allowed, that all persons had full right to bid, that competition was invited by government for the lands offered; and that upon the appearance of combination or of riotous disturbance the lands would be withdrawn and the sale not permitted to proceed. That the sale proceeded quietly, and without apparent combination, until the whole lands so offered were disposed of at prices varying from one to twenty-five cents per acre.

"That certificates were issued to a portion of the purchasers only. The balance we concluded to withhold until we had made our report and referred the matter to your consideration for confirmation or otherwise.

"We have the honor to be respectfully,

Your obdt Servants,
S. Eastman)
A.C. Jones) Agents."

The Secretary of War annulled this sale and refused to convey the land to the purchasers. The latter appointed William Hollinshead their legal adviser and the above statements are taken from a brief he prepared, dated June 3, 1859. The sale was undoubtedly annulled because bona fide settlers had paid \$1.25 an acre, while speculators had averaged less than 5¢ per acre.

Although the purchasers had retained Hollinshead as their attorney, the case remained unsettled for years. Thomas Cathcart had purchased a large part of the reservation, and in 1870 he seems to have become tired of his bargain, for he sold to Oehmig Bird of Fort Wayne, Indiana, "for value received, all lands which were struck off and sold to me," at the government sale held at Allan Morrison's house on October 20, 1857. (1)

In 1874, the Brainerd Tribune reported that the attorney general had entered suit against General A. C. Jones for \$179,902 due the government for the sale of the Fort Ripley reservation some sixteen years before. It added that the reservation embraced a tract of 60,000 acres and, owing to the excitement caused by the sale, it was never confirmed by the War Department (2) These figures are slightly exaggerated, for in a letter written January 3, 1880, by Attorney General E. D. Townsend to the Secretary of War, he states that Jones was sued for \$1,799.22, with interest, and a judgment obtained October 18, 1876.

Two years later, the Brainerd Tribune again commented on the sale and said: "This judgment, of course, is worth nothing to the government, but it is worth a good deal perhaps to the gentlemen who induced the Secretary of War of

(1) Deed Record A. p. 234

(2) Brainerd Tribune, Sept. 19, 1874

savory memory, to institute the proceedings against Jones, in order to place the government in the attitude of approving and confirming the sale, which had not heretofore been done." (3)

The controversy over the sale finally ended in 1880. In April of that year, an Act of Congress restored the reservation to public domain, although it was August before the purchasers received their settlement. Then Fred Brackett of Washington, one of the special commissioners to investigate the sale of 1857, arrived in Brainerd. He announced that all bona fide purchasers, those only who had paid \$1.25 an acre for their land, would be granted their patents, while all of those who paid less than that sum, would receive their money back. (4)

That the sale of October 20, 1857, proceeded quietly, and "without apparent combination" is probably true, but the copy of an agreement found in the files of the Minnesota Historical Society furnishes considerable inside information on this subject. It reads:

"October 20, 1857.

"We, the undersigned, hereby bind ourselves respectfully to M. Sweetzer and Thomas Cathcart, who have been selected to purchase such lands as may be offered for sale at the sale of the military reservation of Fort Ripley, at Crow Wing, to pay in equal proportions to the whole number for such land purchased and said land to be disposed of or conveyed as a majority shall elect upon the obtaining of the certificates after the arrangement which has been made with certain parties representing claims upon said Reservation had been consumated--- and we, the above named Sweetzer and Cathcart hereby bind ourselves, our heirs and assigns to convey to such parties as above stipulated upon the payment to aforesaid---It being distinctly understood and agreed that the above land purchased is held in trust for the undersigned by such Sweetzer & Cathcart.

(3) Brainerd Tribune, June 8, 1878

(4) Brainerd Tribune, Aug. 21, 1880

(Signed)

"J. D. Cruttenden, Geo. O. W. Patten, Jr., Wm. H. Newton,
John Banfil, S. B. Abbe, A. Coleman by G. N. Fitch, Geo. W. Ewing, B. D. Miner by
G.W.E., O. Bird, Geo. B. Walker, J. W. Lynde, M. Sweetzer, A. Fuller, G. N. Fitch,
J. J. Goodrich, C. L. Emerson, Thomas Cathcart."

"Crow Wing Oct. 20, 1857."

The great financial crash of 1857 came like a stroke of lightning to wreck the prosperity of most of the territory of Minnesota, but on the frontier, it seemed merely to have punctured the bubble of big business - deflated, rather than burst the boom. Industry carried on, and what income the Crow Wing merchants may have lost through a decrease in lumbering operations, many of them probably made up by applying themselves a little more industriously to bootlegging.

Minnesota became a state on May 11, 1858, but during the last session of the territorial legislature, four new roads had been authorized in this section of the country. One was to connect Otter Tail City with the Point Douglas and St. Louis Military Road at some point between Trenton and Twin Lakes, and was to pass through Wadena and Crow Wing. The commissioners appointed were: (1) Thomas Cathcart, Peter Roy and Charles D. Kimball. Another road was to link Princeton with Crow Wing, via Granite City, and James L. Curtis, Thomas Cathcart (2) and George Jones were named as a committee in this instance. Joel D. Cruttenden, Friend J. Whitlock and A. L. Smith were named to locate a road between Crow (3) Wing and Pokegama Falls, and still another was authorized between Crow Wing and the townsite of Calais.

There were few dull moments in Crow Wing during the spring of 1858, according to the following extracts from the Reverend Solon W. Manney's diary:

"March 18 - A detachment of Troops under Lieut. Spencer was sent to Crow Wing to aid the Civil authority in making arrests and keeping the peace. Jerry Selkraig, a man by the name of Menell, another called Whiskey Jack, and another named Estis, being inflamed by whiskey made a bold attempt to burn the

(1) M. L. 1858, p. 107

(2) Ibid. p. 111.

(3) Ibid. p. 116.

the store of C. Beaulieu, having previously broken open the store of McArthur (a liquor shop, I understand). Shavings were put under the building, under either front corner and then set on fire; one heap by Jerry Selkrig and the other by Menell - the former armed with a revolver and the latter with a double barrel shot gun and threatening to shoot any one who attempted to put it out. The persons in charge of the store fired on the incendiaries. Jerry was killed and Menell wounded in the arm. Whiskey Jack was wounded in the neck. One or two others not engaged in the burning were wounded slightly. This took place about two o'clock in the morning. Brother Peake went up to hold some religious services at the burial of Jerry Selkrig which took place this afternoon.

"March 19 - Mr. Beaulieu's son came on the opposite bank of the river about Retreat and informed us that some scoundrels and vagabonds - Sturgis &c - had gone to Crow Wing and intended to burn Crow Wing tonight. He meant I suppose his father's store and warehouse and dwelling and also his friends. Also their lives were in danger from these ruffians. 10 p. m. Ice yet running very heavy and thick. Thunder and lightning and a little rain. Messrs. Beaulieu and Fairbanks are both absent from town.

"March 21 - About one o'clock a messenger arrived from Major Herriman with a requisition for troops to protect himself and a body of Indians from a set of vagabonds at Crow Wing. A detachment under Lieut. Spencer was immediately sent. About 4 p. m. a Chippewa woman arrived here under a military escort from Fort Snelling. She is one of the two women who were taken prisoners by the Sioux about last Christmas. She made her escape from the Sioux camp and arrived safely at Ridgely when she was sent under escort by Col. Abercrombie to the Commandant of this post to be delivered to her friends. When she met some Chippeway children here at the Garrison she wept and laughed for joy.

"March 22 - Four prisoners were sent down by Lieut. Spencer last night, Whiskey Jack, Menell, McArthur and Fairbanks. The two former for attempting to burn the store of Mr. Beaulieu - and the two latter were among its defenders. They were released this morning.

"March 23 - During the night about 12 o'clock Sheriff Pugh brought a dispatch from Little Falls that 200 Sioux were in the vicinity. Major Patten sent an express to Crow Wing to Spencer to return with his detachment immediately and issued a thousand ball cartridges to the citizens of Little Falls. He also sent out scouts. This afternoon McGillis, the justice of Crow Wing, Beaulieu, Shoff, Scofield and Giggy came down to hold a court for the examination of Whiskey Jack and Menell in order to commitment. Beaulieu who was the complainant requested me to act as his counsel. Court held at Olmstead's across the river. Present Justice McGillis. Prisoner, Whiskey Jack with his hands tied together in charge of a Corporal's Guard. Prosecuting Attorney, Chaplain S. W. Manney, Counsel for Defense Lieut. Wm. C. Spencer, U. S. A Recorder, as the Justice couldn't write very well, Asst. Surgeon A. B. Hassan, U. S. A. Witnesses, Shoff, Scofield and Giggy. Complainant on whose oath the arrest was made, Clement Beaulieu. Whiskey Jack found guilty enough to commit him. Proved against him that he swore he would burn the store, that he carried shavings and put them under the building and further that he set fire with a match to said shavings. That he then went round to the other corner of the building where the shavings had been fired and kicked them under the house that they could not be put out by witness Shoff. So Jack in default of bail or rather in refusing to give bail, was committed to the custody of the constable (and there being no constable the Justice had to make one for the occasion) to be committed to jail. But as there is no jail in these parts he was brought back to the Garrison in charge of the guard and confined to the Guard House.

"March 24 - It is reported here today that all the lumber men came into Crow Wing last night on account of the Sioux. The Indians in the sugar camp have all left and come in - some in an awful hurry. It is said that a number of Sioux crossed the river near Watab on a gorge of ice in pursuit undoubtedly of the Chippeway captive who escaped them. But they were one day behind her. It seems that she was two nights and a day in getting to the Agency. She arrived at the Rev. Williamson's after her long journey who immediately carried her to Fort Ridgely when she was forwarded here in safety.

"March 25 - Learned today from Mr. Churchill of Little Falls that the Sioux, in number about 150, crossed near Watab on some large cakes of ice, that they came up as far as Platte River. That they entered the houses of the citizens and demanded what food they wanted and that they then returned without doing any personal violence. On their return they wished to cross the bridge at Watab and were refused and had to go further down.

"April 25 - Sunday - This morning before daylight the Garrison was alarmed and up. They discovering that Menell the citizen prisoner had escaped from the hospital. [Diary continues with details of pursuit of prisoner, who was never recaptured]

"April 28 - The Sioux came into Crow Wing last night and took eleven Chippeway scalps. Old Ottawa and his family were the victims. This afternoon heard that they had taken another near the Agency. This is coming pretty close and indicates rather too much boldness."

The Northwestern Fur Company disbanded during 1858, and in September of that year, Clement H. Beaulieu sold all of his interests in the Northern Fur Company to Charles W. Borup, of St. Paul. The consideration was \$500. In May 1858, he had already transferred all of his Crow Wing real estate to Theodore Borup, of Ramsey County, for the sum of \$15,000. Two years later, Borup re-sold this property to Charles H. Beaulieu.

(4) Deed Record "A" p. 37

(5) & (6) Ibid, p. 25 & 99.

There was at least one place of amusement in Crow Wing, for Irvin Scofield gave Dennis Shoff a mortgage on lot 3, block 51, town of Crow Wing, known as Scofield Ball Alley. Scofield, a month later, sold his equity in this property to Daniel Burman.⁽⁸⁾

During 1856, James McBride had surveyed most of the two southern tiers of townships in what became Crow Wing county. In 1858, Oscar E. Garrison surveyed the lines for what is now Roosevelt, township 43, range 28; and the following year King & Wilmer surveyed the lines for what are now Garrison, Bay Lake, Nokay Lake, Oak Lawn, and Brainerd. In their report of their work in township 45, range 29, they added this remark:

"On the two tiers of sections on the north, ranging east and west, there was very local attraction caused by Bog Iron in the low marshes. This is probably the first mention of the presence of iron ore in this county.⁽⁹⁾

Cleveland Stafford, who was a resident of Aitkin for many years, was familiar with this part of the country during the fifties and sixties. Among his reminiscences may be found the following description of some of Anson Northrup's business ventures. He says:

"Ance Northup owned the stage to St. Paul and Hugh Cox drove it. That was the time Minneapolis was started. They had a rope strung across from Hennepin Island and they would pull an old scow across by hand, and many a time I have helped pull that old scow across the river. After Minnesota became a state things changed fast. The Northwestern Fur Company disbanded with the coming of statehood. Ance Northup built a large hotel, for those days, and he built a steamer above the Falls called the North Star. It ran from St. Anthony's Falls to St. Cloud. Then Ance Northup got up an exploring party. They worked the boat over Sauk Rapids and Little Falls and got to Crow Wing, where they took on supplies, and a barrel of whiskey was the first thing

(7) Deed Record A, p. 45

(8) Ibid, p. 34

(9) Survey Records, U. S. Interior Dept.

on the hill . . . There were about a dozen dignitaries on the boat and a man named Bill Smiley was captain. He was afterward killed at the battle of Bull Run. Well, the captain went along the river, naming towns and cities, and there are some places which retain the name to this day, the Soo Portage, Ball Bluff, and Portage City which was as far up the river as they went. They stopped there awhile, and there their whiskey ran out and they could go no further; so they came back to Crow Wing, where they fixed up a chart of their trip. I don't think there ever was an expedition on the Mississippi like that one. They never lost a man and all got back safe. "

Stafford adds that they hauled the North Star back and then went to the
(10)
Red river. Jim Hill was purser on the boat. This probably is the boat called the 'Anson Northup,' which was taken up the Crow Wing river in the spring of
(11)
1859. It was dismantled there and taken overland to Otter Tail Lake.

While the white settlement kept up business as usual, the condition of the Indians had become deplorable. The suffering caused by whiskey had been augmented by the scourge of disease. Joseph W. Lynde, who had been named Indian Agent in 1858, had requested the government to appoint a physician, and Dr. John V. Wren was sent to the Agency. In 1859, the doctor reported that syphilis was wiping out whole tribes and that their sufferings were
(12)
terrible.

Neither religion nor education had been able to improve the condition of the Indian after contact with the whites had utterly debased him. Father Pierz, working alone, was trying to minister to a parish that covered nearly all of northern Minnesota. Breck had left St. Columba to open another mission at Leech Lake, but trouble with the Indians there had forced him to leave. In 1859, Peake moved to Crow Wing, leaving John Johnson in charge at St. Columba.

(10) Aitkin Independent Age, Dec. 25, 1915

(11) Minnesota Historical Society Bulletins, Vol. I, p. 168

(12) ?

As early as 1857, the Episcopalians had tried to secure a location at (13) Crow Wing. Clement Beaulieu had given them nine lots as early as May 12, 1857, but the title was never perfected. After Beaulieu sold his Crow Wing real estate to Borup, Breck bought the property, lots 1 to 9, block 44, from the (4) latter. On Ascension Day, 1860, Rev. E. G. Gear, who had succeeded Manney as (15) chaplain at Fort Ripley, laid the cornerstone of the Church of the Holy Cross. The building was enclosed that year. Most of the material was contributed by Beaulieu & Fairbanks, Major J. W. Lynde, and Thomas Cathcart. The cost exclusive of material, was \$130, which amount was paid Bishop Whipple by the Associated Mission. A portion of the lumber was purchased from Hole-in-the-Day. The chapel was adorned with a chancel window of great beauty, procured by the (16) kind efforts of Gear.

Another venture in mission work was that undertaken by Reverend Ottomar Cloester, a Lutheran. His efforts are described by Esther Abbetmeyer Sllke, who says:

"He did not attempt to follow German Luthern immigration into Minnesota, but went to that region to convert the Chippewa Indians to Lutheranism. In 1856, Sievers, on behalf of the Missouri Synod, had visited the Minnesota Chippewa, and in a letter dated at the Falls of St. Anthony, August 21, 1856, he describes a two-day stage trip to Crow Wing and thence fifteen miles to the north to St. Columbo, where his party was hospitably received by the Episcopal missionary, J. Lloyd Breck. In 1857, Sievers published in the Lutheraner a letter in which he said that he had promised to found a Lutheran mission at Rabbit Lake and asked for a man to do this work.

(13) Morrison County Deed Record "A," p. 539

(14) Deed Record "A," p. 37

(15) Journal Episcopal Diocese, p. 16

(16) Ibid, 1861, p. 40

"The Reverend Ottomar Cloeter, in response to this appeal, volunteered to go to Rabbit Lake and work among the Indians of Minnesota. With his family, he left Saginaw City, Michigan, on May 28, 1857, for Crow Wing; and after journeying by express, emigrant train, steamboat, wagon, and canoe, he arrived there on June 12. A missionary named Miessler, who had traveled with Sievers in 1856, accompanied Cloeter in order to introduce him to the Indians; and Henry Craemer, the son of a former missionary to the Chippewa in Michigan, went with the party to serve for a time as interpreter. At Fort Ripley, the Lutheran missionary met Breck, who had been mis-treated by the Indians and was thinking of leaving his post.

"Cloeter delayed for some time before he established his mission. He was seriously considering founding a central missionary station, with a farm and a school, from which roving bands of Indians could be visited. Life among the Chippewa was not easy. There was drunkenness and murder, especially after the natives received their annuities from the government. Grasshoppers had destroyed the crops of 1856 and 1857 and provisions were scarce and expensive. The progress of the work, its hardships, and the difficulty of learning the Chippewa tongue are described in the missionary's letters.

Probably late in 1857 or early in 1858, Cloeter built a house north of Crow Wing and settled there with his family to begin the Chippewa Lutheran mission. The location of his station can be quite accurately determined. 'About 30 miles north of Crow Wing and about 14 miles north of the present site of Brainerd.' writes his son, 'you will find on the west side of the Mississippi river a lake, or rather two twin lakes. They are about one mile west of the river and run parallel with the river for eight miles. The Indians call this strip of land Gabitaweegama, meaning parallel waters. On this strip of land father settled, and gave to this mission station the name of Gabita-weegama.' Cloeter, in a letter of May 5, 1858, tells of living at 'Kabita-weegama' about fifteen miles from the Episcopal mission station at St. Columbo.

In the same letters he mentions war parties of three hundred Chippewa going out to fight the Sioux. In another communication he gives an interesting account of a trip to the Pillager country. By 1858 his work was becoming known to other Lutheran pastors in the state. Two years later, however, Cloeter was much discouraged with his mission work; he found it all but impossible to explain the Gospel to the Indians and he complained that they persisted in their ancient modes of thought and life and in their 'heathen immoralities.' Nevertheless, he continued his labors at Gabitaweegama until the Sioux outbreak of August 1862, when life seemed no longer safe even in the Chippewa country. A friendly chief aided the missionary and his family, who fled from their home, leaving everything behind. They wandered for three days in the woods before they reached Fort Ripley, eight miles south of Crow Wing. Cloeter did not return to Gabitaweegama after the outbreak, but with Crow Wing as his headquarters he continued his mission for a time. Acting on a resolution of the Missouri Synod to carry on the Indian missions until 'the Lord Himself should stop them.' Cloeter in 1867 built a log house on Mosse Water Lake. The removal of the Chippewa to the Red River and to White Oak Point above Pokegama in 1867 put an end to all hope of further success, however, and in 1868 the committee on missions of the Missouri Synod regarded the work as ended. Cloeter, advised to accept a call to some congregation in Minnesota, went to Afton in August 1868. Only a few place names remain to remind one of this early Lutheran mission station. The parallel lakes are called 'Mission Lakes,' and the creek that empties from the southern end of the lakes into the Mississippi is known as 'Mission Creek,' and a post office and a township bear the name, 'Mission.' " (17)

When Cloeter moved his family to Crow Wing, he probably lived east of the village, for on October 26, 1861, he had purchased the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 25, township 44, range 32, from John R. Sloan (18). The first school house in District 1, Crow Wing County, was located on this same quarter section as early as August 1870 (19) and it is not improbable that the building Cloeter abandoned in 1868 was the building used as a school house in 1870

(18) Deed Record "A," p. 128

(19) Interview with W. L. Jacks, Fort Ripley township

As the census of 1850 gives a ~~very~~ clear picture of the new settlement of Crow Wing, Benton County, so the census of 1860 gives a great deal of information about the newly organized Crow Wing County. Peter Roy was the enumerator, and he listed ⁴⁹forty-nine houses in this county, which at that time consisted of that part of the present county lying east of the Mississippi river. The total population of this ~~territory~~ was 269 persons. Of these, 147 whites and 53 Indians were living at Crow Wing^x, 17 whites and 23 Indians were living at Long Lake^x, while 29 whites were named as "Free Inhabitants in Military Reservation and Other Places." In the entire county there were 193 persons of white, or mixed ancestry, of whom 126 were males and 67 females.

Property was assessed at a very low rate. Real estate was given a valuation of \$6,205, while personal property was valued at \$22,224. The amount of taxes to be paid in cash^x was \$110 for state taxes and \$166 for county taxes. There ^{were} ~~was~~ only one ¹⁶⁵~~hundred~~ ⁸⁰~~sixty-five~~ acres of land under cultivation, ⁴⁰~~eighty~~ acres of which were cultivated by Hole-in-the-Day. Wallace Beane had ⁴⁰~~forty~~ acres; Allan Morrison, ²⁵~~twenty-five~~; and David McArthur, ²⁰~~twenty~~. No valuation was placed on Hole-in-the-Day's farm, ^{full}~~as~~ the property of a full-blooded Indian is exempt from taxation, but the valuation of all of the other farms was \$2,000, which included both improved and unimproved acreage. Farm machinery was assessed at \$300; ~~while~~ livestock^x reached the sum of \$1,450, which included the personal property of the Indian chief,

Wages were not low as compared to other prices, ~~for~~ ^{the} average monthly wage of farm hands was \$16; Ordinary laborers received \$1 a day and board; while carpenters averaged \$2 a day and board. Female domestics received an average of \$2 a week, while board for laboring men averaged \$3 a week. In a letter written at that time, it is said that eggs were selling at Crow Wing for ⁶~~six~~ cents a dozen, and splendid butter at ⁸~~eight~~ cents a pound. (1)

(1) Abby Fuller Abbe letter of July 15, 1860.

There were two schools in the settlement: one, a select school with one teacher and twenty pupils; ~~and~~ the other, a private school with one teacher and ten pupils. The census report shows that Margaret L. Ford, a school teacher born in Lower Canada, lived at the home of Clement H. Beaulieu, while another teacher, S. J. W. Elwell, female, born in England, lived at the home of ^{the} Rev. E. S. Peake. But there may have been still another school in the county during the 1859-1860 season, as A. Ladd, who lived at the Long Lake settlement, is also listed as a school teacher.

Beside^y the three school teachers, science and the ~~fine~~ arts were represented by two clergymen, one surveyor, and one sculptor. Business was represented by five merchants, three Indian traders, two storekeepers, two lumbermen, one road contractor, one tavern keeper, and one saloon keeper. Craftsmen included seven carpenters, two blacksmiths, one tailor, one shoemaker, one shinglemaker, one wagon maker and one baker. The latter was a resident of the Long Lake community and was probably cook in a lumber camp.

The 1860 report shows that many of those named in the 1850 census were still residents of the community. Among these are the families of Allan Morrison, farmer and postmaster; Clement H. Beaulieu, Indian trader; ~~and~~ his son, Charles H. Beaulieu, merchant; John H. Fairbanks, who is listed as a farmer although he seems to have had no land under cultivation; ~~and~~ his son, Robert Fairbanks, merchant, who had moved to Crow Wing in 1849, although he had been in charge of a trading post at Long Prairie from 1850 until 1854; S. B. Olmstead, lumberman; Jacques Carrier, servant; John R. Sloan, who married one of Allan Morrison's daughters; Joseph Tesreau, merchant; and members of the Brunette, Charette and Mayrand families. ~~With the exception of Olmstead, Tesreau and Sloan, practically all of the above named had been residents of the LaPointe community before moving to Crow Wing.~~

Among those who had moved to the settlement about 1852_x were: John

McGillis, ^{the "sculptor"} who had been a resident of LaPointe but who had settled in what is now Morrison County before moving to Crow Wing; (~~He gives his occupation as that of sculptor and one may wonder how the pursuit of this art could possibly produce a living in a frontier settlement~~); Peter Roy, merchant, who had also been a resident of the LaPointe community and who afterward became a prominent resident of Little Falls (2); Samuel B. Abbe, merchant and legislator, whose early death ended a promising career; Hugh Craig, a carpenter, who is probably the Brother Craig who helped build St. Columba (3); and ~~Rev.~~ Father Franz Pierz.

Several prominent families moved to Crow Wing in 1856; David McArthur, one of the old American Fur Company's men, ^{who} settled on a farm east of the settlement (4); Wallace Beane, farmer, a resident of the county until his death in the nineties; Francis M. Campbell, surveyor; Dennis Shoff, master carpenter; and a Mr. West, who had been a resident of Crow Wing in 1857 (5), although he ~~had~~ died before 1860. His widow, Anne E. West, was boarding Shoff and Craig. As Dennis Shoff and his wife, Anne E., afterward lived in Ailsa Craig, Canada, it appears that a romance (6) resulted from this arrangement. ^{The church} Rev. E. S. Peake succeeded Breck at St. Columba in 1856, although he did not move to the Crow Wing settlement until 1859.

Charles M. Larue, the tavernkeeper of 1860, was married to Julia, one of William Aitkin's daughters. Several of the younger Aitkin children lived with them, while both Salem and Roger Aitkin had homes in the community, the former being a voyageur and the latter a farm laborer. Benjamin J. Brown was the second lumberman to be enumerated, the first being Olmstead, and his chief claim to fame seems to be that he was associated with Anson Northup when the latter led a mob that hanged ^{the} three Indians near Swan River for the murder of the German peddler. (7)

(2) History of Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 618.

(3) Dr. Breck, p. 208.

(4) Mrs. Angus Murray, Brainard.

(5) Sauk Rapids Frontiersman, April 16, 1857.

(6) Deed Record A, p. 145.

(7) History of Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 409.

Daniel Burman, merchant, associated with Thomas Cathcart at Crow Wing West as early as 1857, ^{may have been} was ~~probably~~ the principal character in one of the dramas of old Crow Wing. The story is incomplete, but fragmentary information from several sources seems to fit together to form a whole. Mrs. Jemima Thompson, aged 56 ^("Hank") according to the 1860 census, was living with her son, Joshua Knight, storekeeper. She died in the Crow Wing County poor house in 1893, said to have been 106 years of age. In 1889, J. A. Bixby was overseer of the poor farm, and his daughter, now Mrs. Angus Murray of Brainerd, became well acquainted with the aged Mrs. Thompson. After a lapse of fifty years, Mrs. Murray still remembers that Mrs. Thompson had often told her that if only her son, "Hank," Knight, had lived, she would not have been an inmate of the poor farm. Just before Knight ~~had~~ passed away, it appeared, he had befriended a dying man, who ~~had~~ told him the location of a pot of gold he had stolen and hidden away, but had never been able to use. The gold was ^{said to be} hidden under a tree near a spring some distance from the Catholic Church at Crow Wing. Some one had also been murdered--undoubtedly the original owner of the gold. (8)

Daniel Burman was murdered, for on September 4, 1866, Joseph Roy was indicted for his murder and an order issued for his arrest. (9) He was not brought to trial at that time, and had probably escaped. Joshua Knight ^{-he-} died in 1869 and is buried on Cemetery Hill, the Episcopal cemetery at Crow Wing--(10) To complete the story, Frank Kappel, who now owns Allan Morrison's old farm, says that many years ago, he saw a party of Indians from White Earth digging around a spring near his home and presumed that they were searching for one of the numerous graves in that vicinity. But the fact that their searching was confined to the neighborhood of the spring, the only one within miles of Crow Wing, makes it ^{at least} ~~seem~~ possible that the story of the pot of gold was not altogether a myth.

(8) Mrs. Angus Murray, Brainerd.

(9) District Court Records, Morrison County, 1866.

(10) St. Columba Death Records, 1869.

George Jenkins, who later became a prominent merchant at Crow Wing, was already working there in 1860. He moved to Little Falls in the late sixties and served as sheriff of (11) Morrison County for some time. About 1870, he moved to Aitkin, where he operated the first saloon. (12)

Charles Darby, the first permanent settler in what is now the city of Brainerd, was a laborer at Crow Wing. Living in the same house was another laborer, William Horn, one of the Little Falls men who, in 1870, put in a claim on what was part of the Brainerd townsite. ^{See} O. W. Sylvester, another of this group of claimants, was living in the Long Lake community in 1860. (13)

The Long Lake community was probably a logging camp at the foot of Long Lake. The townsite of Calais had been platted there and a territorial road was ordered surveyed between Crow Wing and Calais in 1857. There were eight houses enumerated in 1860, with a population of 17 whites, all men, and 23 Indians--three families of Brunettes and two families of St. Clairs. Except the school teacher and a baker, all of the men were laborers, or without occupation. John Peterson and six other men whose birthplaces were in Sweden, lived in one house. Peterson had real estate valued at \$1,100, so it was considered a valuable property. Ezra and Benjamin Briggs, later residents of Little Falls, were also living in the settlement, as was Tyler Chapman, the brother of David Chapman. Tyler Chapman moved to Brainerd in 1872 and was a resident of this county until his death. (14)

Peter Roy was also the enumerator for Cass County, which had a total population of 150 persons, 62 of whom were of white or mixed ancestry. Of this total, 39 whites were listed at the Chippewa Agency, 3 at Gull Lake, 12 at Leech Lake, and 8 at Pine River. This was not the present Pine River, Cass County, but was the name applied to Cloeter's mission at Gabitaweegama, territory now located in Crow Wing County.

(11) Morrison County Commissioner Record, 1867, p. 172.

(12) History of Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 656.

(13) Ibid, p. 639

(14) Mrs. Joseph Gustafson,
Brainerd.

Joseph W. Lynde, Indian agent, was assisted by his brother, E. B. ^{West} Lynde, and John R. Bowes. E. B. Lynde later moved to this county and lived here until his death in the early seventies. Augustus Aspinwall, the surveyor, and his brother Edward, were both living at the Agency. The former was then listed as an Indian trader and the latter as a bookkeeper. Truman A. Warren was an Indian trader. Doctor Wren was still physician for the Indians, while Paul N. Beaulieu was official interpreter. Sylvester Statelar, one of the pioneers of the territory, was serving as government blacksmith. Daniel Mooers was a teamster at the agency, although he moved to the Olmstead farm soon after and was a prominent resident of this county until his death. David Chapman, listed as a lumberman, was living near the agency. He had served as a lieutenant in the Mexican War and died at Crow Wing in 1866. (15) His stay in Cass County was probably temporary, as he had moved to Crow Wing in 1856 and died there. His wife, Mrs. Sarah Chapman, operated a hotel in Crow Wing until 1872, when she moved to Brainerd and opened another hotel. She died in Brainerd in 1925. (16)

The white residents of the Gull Lake community were Thomas Cathcart, real estate dealer; Norris Wesner, laborer; and Charles Rupertsfauch, teacher. Here also were listed the prominent Indians of St. Columba parish: John Johnson, clergyman; Stedman Hanks, Betsey Mickley, Isaac Manidowab, John Parker, and William Superior--all afterward connected with the St. Columba parish at White Earth. (17) Although Thomas Cathcart was at that time a resident of Cass County, he spent most of the time between 1850 and his death in 1871, in Crow Wing County.

At Pine River were to be found the Cloeters and their four children; Sophia Moll, a fifteen-year old German girl; and F. W. Peake, a merchant. Peake was a brother of Peake, the missionary, and for many years was one of the leading business men of central Minnesota, having operated trading posts in Crow Wing, Brainerd, Aitkin,

(15) U. S. War Department Records.

(16) Mrs. Joseph Gustafson, Brainerd.

(17) St. Columba Records.

and Itasca Counties, as well as carrying on lumbering operations.

The population of Crow Wing County may seem rather meager, but compared with neighboring counties to the north and east, it assumes imposing proportions. Aitkin County boasted a total population of two white men; Itasca County had a population of fifty-one, only seven of whom were of white or mixed blood; Mille Lacs county had seventy-three residents, while Cass county had one hundred fifty. Morrison County, to the south, seems densely populated with six hundred eighteen residents, all but thirty-one of whom were white. But the Crow Wing County of 1860, with its population of two hundred sixty-nine, occupied a unique position. With no real farming industry, its population was entirely supported either by the Indian trade or by lumbering operations. It was a borderland, a buffer state between the farming country and the true Indian country lying north and west of the Mississippi river.

*Economic & Political
rather than racial*

The nation entered the sixties confronted by a racial problem that threatened to disrupt the union. Minnesota entered the sixties with a racial problem that brought much bitterness and bloodshed.

*How about
guns and goods?*

Instinct had caused the Indians to recognize the power of the white traders and the more intelligent of the chiefs realized that little by little they were being stripped of their heritage. Where before they had fought with small bands of their own kind, now they were confronted with a concerted drive of men who were supposedly friendly but who were coming into the country in ever increasing numbers. They must have realized that the strength of these friendly enemies lay not only in superior equipment but in a unity which the tribesmen themselves had not achieved.

These chiefs were natural strategists and when the word was passed among them that the whites were divided and were fighting among themselves, the most courageous and the most intelligent of the chiefs believed that their great opportunity had come.

*More than
"some"!*

Little Crow was one of the most brilliant of the Sioux and Hole-in-the-Day, the Chippewa chief, was an ambitious leader who had learned much from the whites. There is some evidence that Hole-in-the-Day knew what Little Crow was doing and sought in his own way to take advantage of the opportunity which lay before them both.

On the very day when Little Crow attacked the lower Sioux Agency near the confluence of the Redwood and Minnesota Rivers, August 18, 1862, Crow Wing was the storm center of an uprising of its own that ended without bloodshed, except that of one man. Reports of the events that surrounded the uprising are sometimes contradictory, but in spite of this, a fair picture may be obtained.

Major Lucius C. Walker was appointed agent for the Chippewa May 1, 1861. The title of major was a purely complimentary one, given the Indian agents in the

early days. His appointment must have caused a great deal of interest, for the records of the Appointment Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior for that period contain approximately two hundred letters of recommendations addressed to President-elect Lincoln. They are enclosed in a letter of transmittal dated March 8, 1861, and signed by Cyrus Aldrich and William Windom, Representatives from Minnesota, and M. S. Wilkinson, Senator. Alexander Ramsey wrote that the Chippewa Agency is "a position that he (Walker) is in every respect calculated to fill with honor to the government;" and J. H. Baker, Minnesota Secretary of State, declared on December 6, 1860, that Walker's "position as a member of the State Central Committee is a fair index of his party standing." A typical letter written in January, 1861, and signed by a number of citizens of Crow Wing, states that "Mr. Walker has been a resident of our State nine years" and "during that time has filled many offices of trust with credit." This letter was signed by Charles M. Larue, John Thompson, Peter Kelly, Charles Darby, John Bishop, George Jenkins, A. E. Crossett, Joseph Johnson, William H. Horn, Samuel Donnell, McVandar, A. McCausland, John Finigan, A. Austin, H. A. Boobar, W. A. Smith, Bryce Connick, John Cleator, Charles R. Smith, Ross Workman, James H. Shepley, John C. Johnson, D. Johnson. The only out-of-the-ordinary allusion noted in this entire group of letters is that of Daniel Rohner, Chairman of the State Central Committee, who wrote on January 28, 1860, that "during the campaign of 1859 Mr. Walker had charge of the 'Bogus Posts' and by his prudent management of the matter prevented the outrageous frauds committed there in 1857." The letters recommending Walker's appointment were composed or signed by persons in many different classes and occupations, including professional politicians, lawyers, ministers, woodsmen, farmers, and townspeople. (1)

(1) Letter from P. M. Hamer, Chief, Division of Reference.

Major Walker's first annual report, dated September 25, 1861, shows that he made a very powerful enemy early in his career as agent, for he states that there has been trouble between the Rabbit Lake band and Dorilus Morrison, who is lumbering there. The Indians claimed that he did not live up to his promises; that the compensation received was inadequate for the slaughter of timber, which meant that their hunting grounds were ruined. Agent Walker requested that no one be allowed to make contracts with the Indians without his permission.

On December 7, 1861, a post office was established at the agency. It was named Chippewa and Ashley C. Morrill was appointed postmaster.(2) Morrill, for many years, was an active factor in the political and business life of this part of the country, and later became a very prominent citizen of Little Falls.

Trouble from higher up began brewing for Major Walker, but only a hint of it is given in a private letter written December 12, 1861 by Samuel B. Abbe, who says: "Our payment is being made and we have quite a number of St. Paul notables up, among them Jus Ramsey, Hatch (Redface) and some others whom you don't know and wouldn't care to. Rice and Ramsey have beaten Wilkinson and got hold of the Superintendent--although he was an appointee of Wilk's--'so much for Buckingham.' I think the poor devils of Indians stand a poorer show now than ever." As Abbe was in a position to know the hidden wires that governed the political movements of Minnesota, it is very evident that Agent Walker was aligned with the losing side.

The physical conditions at the agency are clearly described by Major Walker in his second annual report, which he never lived to finish. He says: "The bands of Chippewa Indians which come immediately under my supervision are divided into two classes. First. Those of the Mississippi bands, who receive their annuities and

(2) U. S. Postal Records.

other benefits under the treaties of 1842, 1854 and 1855; and 2nd, the Pillager and Winnebigoishish bands, who receive their privileges under the treaty of 1855.

"The Mississippi bands receive their benefits, under the treaties above named, in money, annuity goods, and provisions. Nothing has been expended for agricultural (except a small fund for breaking and clearing land) or school purposes. The present year, however, in anticipation of receiving a part of the arrearage fund due them, land was ploughed for the use of the bands living upon Gull Lake and Mill Lac reservations, and seed furnished to those living upon Rabbit Lake reservations.

"The various reservations are defined as follows:

Reservation	Length	Width	Distance from agency	Bands	Males	Females	Acres cultivated
1 Gull Lake	25	18	0	6	214	262	50
2 Mill Lac	16	3	30	11	376	425	35
3 Rabbit Lake	25	5	25	3	84	78	
4 Rice Lake			80	1	13	20	
5 Sandy Lake	14	8	80	4	195	154	
6 Pokegama	35	9	120	4	108	114	
			(by river 250)				

"The government buildings belonging to this agency are located upon Gull Lake and Leech Lake reservations. Those situated upon Gull Lake reservation consist of two dwelling houses, two barns, and two warehouses. The new agency house is small and incommodious, comprising three rooms only. The old agency house is built of logs, is entirely out of repair, and is hardly fit for habitation. One barn is built of logs, the other is a frame building and in good repair. The warehouses are built of logs, out of repair, and are unfit for the use required of them."

"The above report was written by the late agent, Major L. C. Walker," wrote Special Indian Agent A. C. Morrill, under date of August 18, 1862. His own account of the uprising follows: He says that on August 18, he (Walker) learned of a hostile band being collected at Gull Lake. They took several white prisoners, but

released them all, except one, who escaped by deceiving the Indians placed in charge over him. When Walker heard his statement that the Indians intended to attack the agency, he sent to Fort Ripley and asked for 25 or 30 soldiers. On August 19, he met the troops on his way to Fort Ripley and asked them to arrest one of the Gull Lake chiefs. The chief escaped and made his way to Gull Lake. The agent then proceeded to St. Cloud to consult with the Commissioner of Indian affairs. As the garrison at Ripley was small, 300 more soldiers were ordered there. August 22, Walker started for St. Paul to urge the troops forward and met his death on the way.

The Gull Lake Indians were increased by the Pillagers, who had robbed all the private and government buildings at Leech Lake and taken seven prisoners, brought them to Gull Lake and released them. The chiefs of all the other Chippewa tribes, those of Mille Lacs, Snady Lake, Pokegama, Winnipeg and Cass Lake, refused to join the Gull Lake band. ✓

The Commissioner of Indian affairs immediately repaired to Fort Ripley. The Indians agreed to meet him at Crow Wing on Wednesday, September 10, after several postponements, but they met him in such an insolent manner that no good came out of the conference. The commissioner sent a messenger to the Indians, but they stole his horse and held the wife of an employee a prisoner. Upon their refusing to give up either of the above, the commissioner refused to treat with them any further.

At ten o'clock of September 12, three Pillager chiefs and three braves came across the river and asked to speak to Morrill, the agent. They said they had come at a risk of their lives, as Hole-in-the-Day had threatened to shoot any one who crossed. But by September 13, nearly all of the Pillagers had come across and talked over their grievances. They went quietly home, raised their camp the following day and soon arrived at the agency, where they delivered up the horses and some other

property taken while in arms against the government.

In the council meeting that followed, Chief Buffalo spoke as follows: "I think since our treaty, that there is sixty boxes due us from our great Father. But I do not blame him; we think that he send us what is due us; perhaps our annuities are lost at St. Paul; perhaps here at Crow Wing; perhaps at the Agency; or, as the road from Washington is long and crooked, and the fore car moves so fast, perhaps they drop off and are lost on the road."

The chiefs were urged to tell who had led them into the conspiracy against the whites, but they were unwilling to speak. Finally Wesac, a Pillager brave, arose and spoke, after Mah-che-carbo had hesitated to tell who had given them the bad council to attack the whites. "It was Hole-in-the-Day who caused us to go astray by his bad advice. He sent messengers through to the lake, saying our Great Father intended to send men, and take all Indians and dress them like soldiers, and send them away to fight in the south, and if we wished to save ourselves we must rise and fight the whites; also take the whites prisoners who were at the lake and to take their horses and goods from them. The next day we robbed our traders, another messenger arrived from Hole-in-the-Day, saying the white soldiers had shot at him, and in revenge he wished us to kill all the whites at the lake, but our chiefs said, 'No; if Hole-in-the-Day wishes to kill the whites, let him commence first.'"

After this defection upon the part of the Pillagers, Hole-in-the-Day became quiet and reasonable.

But Major Morrill's report adds that after everything had been settled and the Indians had agreed to pay for the damage they had done, they left for home but were called back to confer with a delegation from the state legislature.

"I am therefore constrained to draw the following conclusions as the result of the treaty made by the commission sent by the State legislatures: 1st, The Indians were

called back after they had started home quietly and peaceably, and concessions made to them unasked. 2nd. It lessens the authority of the officers who are put in charge over them by granting to them better terms than they could receive from the general government; in fact, rewarding them for outrages committed upon white persons instead of letting them understand that they must suffer for it. 3rd. It has resulted in combining the two parties again, those under Hole-in-the-Day and those who came away from him."

Clark W. Thompson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, adds some new details of the affair in his report of November 14, 1862. He says that soon after his last annual report, he visited the agency and found them all well satisfied, except Hole-in-the-Day. Nothing out of routine occurred until August 19. At that time, the expedition to Pembina and Red Lake, was at St. Cloud, enroute for their destination. A messenger reached them there with the information that the principal chief of the Chippewas of the Mississippi, Hole-in-the-Day, had sent a party of his men to the agency, driven off three of their cattle to Gull Lake and killed them. They had also taken two prisoners, John Johnson, the missionary, and Daniel Mooer, a white man.

Mooer, by the assistance of Johnson, had managed to escape, and informed the agent, Walker, who immediately sent to Fort Ripley for a force to arrest Hole-in-the-Day. Lieutenant Forbes, commanding at Fort Ripley, went up with a force of 26 men, being more than half he had in the fort. Upon arriving at Crow Wing, the agent ordered the arrest of Hole-in-the-Day, who was seen on a hill near the town; but on the appearance of the soldiers pursuing; he went through his house to the river, crossing with his wives and a portion of his men; others of his men fled up the river, not having boats to cross. When the soldiers came to the stream, Hole-in-the-Day and his party were about half-way across. He was ordered to stop, but paid no attention to the order, and when he landed on the opposite bank fired two pistol shots at the

soldiers, one striking in the sand near Sergeant Stacy, the other whistling by the ear of one of his men. The soldiers were then forced to fire, which they did, but Hole-in-the-Day escaped. The soldiers returned and the messenger was despatched to us. About the same time, it was learned that the Pillagers had robbed the traders at Leech Lake, taken the whites prisoners, and having moved down, had joined Hole-in-the-Day at Gull lake.

"This out break I believe to have grown out of a difficulty between the late Agent Walker, Hole-in-the-Day, and an old firm of Indian traders," Thompson writes. The reports of the southern rebellion also probably had some influence, such reports being colored and manufactured to suit the purposes of interested and vicious persons. The late Agent Walker had incurred the displeasure of many of the hangers on around his agency by his energetic prosecution of all persons engaged in the whiskey traffic among the Indians.

"Hole-in-the-Day had been usually paid a much larger amount of money as annuity than his proper share under the treaty. Agent Walker refused to give him so large an amount as he claimed unless he first obtained the consent of the Indians in council. This course offended Hole-in-the-Day. The agent also refused to grant a license to a firm of old Indian traders, who had a strong, and, as the agent believed, a bad influence among the Indians. These traders combined with Hole-in-the-Day in his efforts to give the agent trouble."

A slightly different version of the causes that led to the uprising and of the events that led to a settlement, is given by Father Pierz. He says:

"After our Indians had for many years been deceived by selfish fur-traders and ruined to a great extent by the Godless liquor merchants and robbed of a portion of their fortune by unfaithful government officials and aroused into hostility

by the Indians of southern Minnesota, some four hundred Indians from the mission at Gull Lake and Leech Lake seized arms and, under Hole-in-the-Day, stole about one hundred head of cattle, food, and clothing. The military force was sent to check the uprising and Commissioner McDole to make peace. Instead of peace, the Indians the next night plundered a house near Crow Wing and the following night the village of Crow Wing. News of this was brought to me by a friendly Indian. I went alone to the place taking with me only a bag of tobacco - - - on reaching the first outpost I was accosted with the challenge:

"'Father, where are you going?'

"'I wish to speak to the chief,' was my answer.

"'That is impossible, for no white may cross this line,' and they showed me the line over which no white man might pass alive. I laughed at them and stuck out my foot with the words, 'I fear not death.' But at that moment I was caught up by four men and carried ten paces beyond the line. Laughing, they said:

"'Now, Father, you are not under the death sentence of our chief for you were carried over.' Going further I was stopped by a second patrol. This time I demanded that the chief come to me. He came and I greeted him and extended to him the tobacco of friendship. I then asked what they intended to do. No one answered but shook their heads and looked at one another.

"'Since you answer nothing,' said I, 'I will speak to you. Now listen to me.' . . . The whole band surrounded me and listened to my words. For half an hour I held them in this manner during which I showed them how foolish and unwise was their stand against the powerful white nation and how their crime of bloodshed was crying to Heaven, etc. etc. At last I gave them my word they should go to Crow Wing and have three days of grace in which to make peace, and then they were to go back to their homes.

"These poor wild children interrupted my speech with the yell, 'Yes, yes, Father.' The head chief, Hole-in-the-Day, gave me his hand and said: 'Father, today we will go to Crow Wing and make peace.'

"The other four chiefs followed his example. The Indians went to Crow Wing and in a few days all was settled. The Indians promised to let the work of civilization proceed in their camps and the chiefs sought me to come and be a missionary among them. . . . Thus my interference in the uprising proved fruitful through my efforts and God's grace. At last I must relate with pride that not one of the Indians of my six Indian missions of Chippewas was connected with the revolt. All were heathens or members of other missions." (3)

None of the above reports describe how the women and children fared and felt during the tense days of August 18 to 22, but Abby Fuller Abbe, the lively and witty wife of S. B. Abbe, gives a vivid account of her experiences. She writes: "For a long time I've known that they (the Indians) felt hard toward their agent for doing what every official of the government from the cabinet to quartermasters were doing, viz stealing everything that belonged to them.

"We got the news late at night, too late to do anything but wait for daylight--the next morning at daylight brought the Agent and all the people from there to Crow Wing and like a pack of cowards they started for St. Anthony in loads leaving the government property unprotected, the settlers exposed without anyone here whose business it is to look after the matter, and to make it worse before he left got a file of soldiers to come to Crow Wing and arrest Hole-in-the-Day, who was grand mover though he had staid quietly at home for fear of exciting suspicion.-- They attempted to arrest him soldier fashion. Of course, you know the result. He threw off his blanket and started for a canoe--the soldiers fired 40 shots after him but he reached the other side and sent to his land at Gull Lake."

The Abbes went to the fort, where they left young Polly, (Mary Taintor Abbe) and started back to see how their home at Crow Wing had fared. They met a half-breed runner who told them that Johnson had escaped and was sending everyone out of the country. The fort contained fully 350 women and children and they had plenty of food for a siege. "Poll ran bullets half the night," Mrs. Abbe writes. About one o'clock, they heard a musket, then the long roll was beaten, the signal for the women and children to go to the blockhouse. While hovering there, waiting for the worst, she heard her husband's laugh, or shout rather. They rushed out and found the attack was from an empty canoe floating down the river. The next night the Captain came home and put the country under martial law. He gathered up men from far and wide and prepared for an attack. "Last night found the fort in a decent state of defense for the first time," she says. The following morning young Beaulieu in a light buggy, went below with dispatches and Mary Abbe and Emily Gear were sent down with him. As they met the soldiers coming up, their fears as to the safety of the ones left behind were soon at rest. (4)

The uprising was put down without bloodshed--except that of Agent Walker. The cause of his death, whether suicide or murder, has never been determined, and no official investigation was ever reported. It is hard to believe that a man of Walker's ability and moral courage could have been so lacking in physical courage as to commit suicide through fear, especially so far away from immediate danger as Big Lake, so it is only fair to his record to give another version of his death. The late Thomas B. Walker (not related to Agent Walker), who seems to have been a very keen judge of men and not given to sentimentality, has this to say:

"On the 15th of August, 1862, I was in Minneapolis and helped Mr. Wright in his outfitting, and started on the 20th of August for the government surveys. We were met just as we arrived opposite St. Cloud, with the news of the fearful outbreak of the Sioux Indians and the murder and massacre of so many of the settlers, which was

(4) Letter of Abby Fuller Abbe, Aug. 25, 1862.

even exaggerated beyond its actual and fearful proportions. We continued on our journey to Fort Ringley and stayed there, standing guard with a view to defend the fort against an army of the Sioux that were reported coming from the New Ulm country, the region of the outbreak, and also against an additional force of Chippewas who were reported as coming down from Leech Lake to attack the fort.

"On our way from St. Cloud to Little Falls, we met the Chippewa agent, Lucius C. Walker, coming down in a buggy with his driver, and he seemed not so much excited as instead to have a rather apprehensive look, saying that the Indians were trailing him down and were then going down parallel to the road that we were on, but two or three miles farther east, on the old Indian trail from Crow Wing to St. Cloud. He waited a little and told us about this, and then proceeded on to St. Cloud, where he left his buggy and took a saddle horse, and, with his revolver for defense, continued his travel down the road. About three miles below Big Lake, his body was afterward found by the roadside, with a bullet through his head and from such direction and evident distance that John Armstrong, the wood dealer, who found him, said the shot came from a more distant place than would be possible if he had shot himself.

"The real facts of the death of Agent Walker were never definitely known, but there were two theories, one that he shot himself, as one barrel of his revolver was emptied, and from a reported bad record in his Indian Agency affairs. This record was afterward found to be perfectly straight, and no reason whatever was found in his family or business affairs that would have the slightest tendency to lead him to commit suicide. The other theory was that the Indians killed him." (5)

The uprising was put down, but the country remained under martial law for several months. In October 1862, Company A of the Eighth Minnesota Volunteers,

(5) Minnesota Historical Society Collection, Vol. 15, p. 461.

marched to Fort Ripley and established headquarters there. In November, they were transferred to the Chippewa Agency. One of the members of this company, W. E. Seelye, settled in Brainerd during the eighties, where he became a very prominent business man. He relates one event that stood out in his memory of the winter of 1862-1863. He says:

"When we arrived at Chippewa Agency, we found a large number of Indians camped on the river in the timber just on the west side of the Crow Wing. Opposite our quarters these Indians could go to Crow Wing and get whiskey. We had been at the Agency but a little while when Captain Cody got orders to go to Crow Wing and destroy the whiskey. Captain took 25 men and went to Crow Wing, where there were several saloons. The men who went with Captain Cody to Crow Wing were Sergeant Curial; Cornoral Beck; Russell Snyder, John McDonald, E. S. Clinch, Elias Pratt, Andrew Robbins, William Cates, Isaac Brockway, John Smith, James Murphy, John Gaslin, Cassius Tilden, Freeman Smith, John Gilligan, Henry Parker, and Hugh Donnelly of Anoka and James Tibbetts, Joshua Tibbetts, Alphonse James, Clarke Styles of Elk River; Fred Bird, David Roberts, Jarvis Nutter and W. E. Seelye, the writer, of St. Francis. We commenced at the first saloon we came to and took them in rotation and destroyed the whiskey. The last saloon was run by a man of the name of Bill Wade and a man by the name of Jenkins. When we arrived at Wade's place he was crazed with whiskey; he went into the saloon ahead of us and when we had all gotten inside he opened the stove door, grabbed a fire brand and started to go behind the bar. Jenkins, his partner, just then rushed into the place and struck Wade, knocking him down, but as he fell he threw the brand and the sparks flew all over that side of the house; behind the bar he had a 25-pound keg of powder with the head out, and had he got to the keg, no doubt every man would have been blown to pieces."(6)

(6) W. E. Seelye Autobiography, Crow Wing Co. Historical Museum.

In justice to Wade, who was sheriff of Crow Wing County in 1870, it should be added that he became a very exemplary citizen, highly respected by both whites and Indians, and a man who left an outstanding reputation for honesty and fearlessness.

The Indian problem was the background of Crow Wing life, and to understand this problem it is necessary to understand the influence of Hole-in-the-Day the Elder and Hole-in-the-Day the Younger. These two men were real leaders and their actions molded the history of their people. The father was born near LaPointe, Wisconsin, about 1800. He was not an hereditary chief, although a descendant of chiefs. Noted for his unbounded physical courage, he made a great name for himself as a warrior against the Sioux. He was also a powerful orator, who could sway his fellow tribesmen as he willed, although he was very reticent when not aroused. He dressed very simply, in comparison to the standards of his race, and made no use of ornamentation. But his most unusual and noteworthy characteristic was his honesty. He could not be bribed. His almost unlimited influence and unswerving honesty caused him to be greatly feared by crooked traders and grafting government agents. (1)

When Governor Cass stopped British traders from giving presents to the Indians living on this side of the border, with a view to gaining their trade, Hole-in-the-Day came to his aid. In return, the governor created him a chief. He was given a tribe recruited among the younger men of the nation, and in order to avoid trouble with the hereditary chiefs, Hole-in-the-Day led his tribe to a new frontier. He settled near Gull Lake, in territory but recently won from the Sioux. At the conference of 1825, he defended his right to this land by saying: "My father! We claim it upon the same grounds that you claim this country from the British King--by conquest. We drove them (Sioux) from the country by force of arms and have since occupied it and they cannot, and dare not, try to dispossess us of our habitations." (2)

Rev. Samuel W. Pond, early missionary near Fort Snelling, knew Hole-in-the-Day the Elder and tells of blood-thirsty exploits known to have been

(1) Wisconsin Historical Society, Vol. 5, pp. 378-386

(2) Ibid, pp. 387-401.

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cut*

done by the Gull Lake chief. One battle which he describes, he said, could hardly have been in the ordinary course of Indian warfare. "The Chippewas would not have brought their women and children into the heart of the enemy's country and left them unprotected, if they had not depended on the garrison at the fort for protection. There was another thing which caused the death of many whose lives would have been spared, if our Government had left the Indians to prosecute their wars in their own way. They were compelled to restore all captives taken in war, and they preferred scalps around which they could dance, to captives whom they could not retain...For many years, with very few exception, neither Dakotas nor Chippewas spared any of their enemies who fell into their hands, and this indiscriminate slaughter of all women and children would materially increase the number of slain."

One of the incidents described by Pond is said to have occurred in 1838. "In April, eleven Dakotas were slain near the Chippewa River, thirty miles from Lac qui Parle, the Chippewas lead by Hole-in-the-Day. The Chippewas pretended to be on a friendly visit to the Dakotas, and lay down with them in their tents, but rose on them in the night and killed them. The next day, G. H. Pond, aided by an Indian named Tate-mima, gathered the scattered fragments of their mutilated bodies and buried them. In July about three months after the massacre, Hole-in-the-Day with two or three others made a visit to Fort Snelling. He went first to Patrick Quinn's, who lived by the Mississippi about a mile above Fort Snelling, and whose wife was a half-breed Chippewa. The Dakotas of the Lake Calhoun band heard of his arrival and started out in a body to kill him, but the agent, Major Taliaferro, persuaded them to turn back, giving them leave to kill him if they could, on his way home. The Dakotas seemed disposed to take the agent's advice and started for home, but two of them whose relatives had been killed a short time before near Lac qui Parle, hid themselves near Quinn's and in the evening, as Hole-in-the-Day

was passing with his companions from Quinn's house to another near by, they killed one of them and wounded another, but the chief escaped, having exchanged some of his clothes or ornaments with another of his party who was mistaken for him. One of the Dakotas was badly wounded. They both were confined to the fort for a while, but were finally released on condition that their friends should chastise them severely in the presence of the garrison.

Superintendent Brunson, who met this Hole-in-the-Day at Crow Wing in 1838, said that he was the dirtiest and most savage of all the Indians. But this was after the chief had been overcome by his one great weakness--his love of liquor. He died in 1847, probably as the result of a fall from a Red River cart, while in a drunken stupor. Another version of his death says that he was drowned, while one woman said that he was murdered. (2) He was buried in Morrison County, near the mouth of the Platte river.

The younger Hole-in-the-Day, who became chief before he was of age, received the training common to his race and station. He proved as courageous a man as his father, without the latter's weakness. But one of his outstanding aims in life seems to have been foreign to any ideas of his father's. He had a most intense desire to embrace Christianity and to secure for his people such religious and educational opportunities as would enable them to cope with the advancing civilization of the white man. He was too young to have had much influence in 1840, when the missionaries, Spates and Emmegahbowh, tried to establish missions at Rabbit Lake and on the Whitefish, but it was directly due to his efforts that Rev. James Lloyd Breck established the mission of St. Columba.

In a letter received by Doctor Breck in February 1852, from a partially educated Chippewa (probably John Johnson Emmegahbowh) he is told that Hole-in-the-Day is very anxious for him to establish a school among the Mississippi Chippewa. February 23, he writes: "I have just walked 115 miles through a

(3) Old Rail Fence Corners, p. 82

country but little inhabited in order to gratify the wishes of this influential chief." A month later, Rev. Solon Manney, Chaplain at Fort Ripley, wrote that on the preceding Sunday, Hole-in-the-Day and two of his wives, and Emmegahbowh, had been his guests and that they were in deep sorrow. Hole-in-the-Day had started to bring his sick child to the garrison for help but the child had died on the way. The father wished to have him buried with Christian rites. On the following Tuesday, Breck buried the child on the banks of the Mississippi at Brow Wing. Lieutenant Flint was with him, and Emmegahbowh interpreted paragraph by paragraph. Hole-in-the-Day was very anxious to embrace Christianity, but was told that in order to do so he would be able to keep only his oldest wife, and must put away the other two, although he should see that the latter were abundantly provided for. (4) Although his children were all baptized and confirmed, some as Catholics and some as Episcopalians, Hole-in-the-Day himself never became a church member. (5)

Breck visited Hole-in-the-Day April 20, but the Indians were scattered about making maple sugar, so he did not attempt to hold any services. He said: "The chief was habited in a short frock or shirt, his hair plaited down to his waist. His head is a perfect mould. At length supper was announced. A mat, made by the Indians, was laid on the floor, upon which were placed cups and plates, quite clean, and like white folks. The tea was, I think, sassafras, sweetened with maple sugar. The bread was really well made and the butter was the only import. The morning's meal was nicely baked fish from the lake, also potatoes of the chief's own raising which were brought to the table perfectly clean, and peeled, a refinement of Western life. There were also raw whole onions placed on the mat. The chief is said to be a gardner." The chief was then living in a hewn log house, but a few weeks later, when Breck returned to Gull Lake, he was living in a tent, beautifully white. (6)

Hole-in-the-Day was not only a gardner, he was a real dirt farmer.

In 1855, he broke and fenced about sixty acres near the agency and worked there

(4) Dr. James Lloyd Breck pp. 187-197

(5) Baptismal Records, St. Columba and St. Francis missions.

(6) Dr. James Lloyd Breck pp. 200-208

steadily, to such good purpose that during the time the Indians received their payments, he was able to sell between two and three hundred dollars worth of vegetables--potatoes, squashes, beets, turnips, corn and pumpkins--beside having enough for the use of his own family and hay and oats for his stock. Each day during the payment, his wagon stood in the center of the Indian encampment from dawn until dark. "This, my brethren," said he, "is the result of my farming; while you have been wandering, pursuing the uncertain chase, I have been laboring; you are poor, I am rich; I have no fears for the winter, as I have sufficient to carry me through; profit by my example." (7)

Colonel C. C. Andrews visited Hole-in-the-Day at this farm in 1856. He said the latter had an excellent farm, well fenced and well cultivated. His house was of considerable length, spacious, neat and well furnished. The chief was out in the fields, working, but his little daughter went out after him. He met Colonel Andrews very cordially and invited him into a room where he had an interpreter. He was then a man about thirty-four years of age, very neatly dressed and quite prepossessing in appearance. (8)

The uprising marked a turning point in the career of Hole-in-the-Day. The accounts of this event, as previously given, describe the affair from the point of view of the white population. Another version, although given by a white man, presents more of the Indian point of view. George Sweet, a very prominent resident of Sauk Rapids, and a man who had a great deal of influence among the Chippewa, worked very hard to help settle the uprising. He says he was never paid for his services because he called Commissioner Dole a coward--and other names. He also says that Hole-in-the-Day staged the uprising in order to bring to public view the grave injustices suffered by the Indians, and to try to secure benefits that he had been unable to secure diplomatically. Commissioner Dole tried to draw the Indian Chiefs into a conference at Crow Wing and trap them there. Hole-in-the-Day told Sweet that he didn't want Dole to think he could be outwitted. When a conference

(7) Report of Chippewa Indian Agent for 1855

(8) Recollections of Christopher & Andrews, p 122

was finally held on September 10, Dole practically capitulated. Sweet also praises Clement H. Beaulieu very highly for his part in the affair. Beaulieu was a Democrat, and when the Republicans came into power in 1861, they refused to renew his trading license. Although this act had reduced him practically to penury, he still put aside his personal feelings and used all of his influence to stop the uprising. (9)

From the Pioneer Democrat, Dec. 29, 1859, a picture of Hole-in-the-Day's establishment is graphically portrayed in a paragraph. "Maj. Cullen and Maj. Mix, Indian Agents, started for Washington last week. Maj. Cullen informs the editor of the La Crosse Democrat that the celebrated Indian brave, Hole-in-the-Day, has built him a 'gay old house' on his reserved six hundred and forty acres, at Crow Wing, on the Mississippi. The house has cost him some six thousand dollars in gold, and is nearly surrounded by a piazza. The old chief is living with six wives, in all the splendor of a Mormon Bishop. His parlor is furnished with seventeen rocking chairs, while the walls are hung with eight large portraits, seven of which represent himself, and the other, Major Cullen. Three of his wives are old like himself, and the other three young and beautiful. They live like 'white folks,' all set at the same table and have the best china and coffee sets for every day use. The old man has over one hundred acres of his reserve under cultivation, which brings forth bountifully. His wives work a large garden well stocked with flowers."

The story of Hole-in-the-Day's duel with a white settler in January, 1858, is told sketchily in the Pioneer Democrat. Under a date line of Crow Wing, the editors are told: "Yesterday, Hole-in-the-Day came down on some business from the the agency, where he lives, and in the course of the afternoon he became slightly inebriated from the effect of a quantity of R. G. whiskey, which his numerous friends are always ready to furnish, and consequently, became somewhat quarrelsome. When he met Mr. Giggy in Mr. Bay's trading house, some warm words passed between them, (on account of an old quarrel,) when Mr. G. struck him in the face with his open hand. The matter ended here, and Hole-in-the Day went home, but returned this

(9) Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. 5, pp. 401-408

morning, and challenged Mr. G. for a duel, which was accepted by the latter. The affair is to come off tomorrow, at the agency, the weapons are Colt's revolvers and the distance forty feet. Friends of both parties have interposed to stop the affair, but the Indian says that nothing but the blood of his opponent will amend the insult, and the latter seems perfectly willing to accommodate him.

"It is thought by a good many that Mr. Giggy will be the victim, as his opponent is an excellent shot, and he is unaccustomed to pistol shooting."

Later it is reported: "A correspondent several days since notified us of a duel, which was to take place at the Chippewa Agency on the 12th inst., between a Mr. Giggy, a citizen of Crow Wing, and Hole-in-the-Day, the well known Chippewa Chief. The duel, we understand, took place, per agreement, and three shots were fired by each party. At the first fire, both were wounded. Mr. Giggy receiving a ball in the right side. At the second fire, Giggy was wounded in the left side. It was with difficulty that he could stand up for the third fire; but the Indian Chief would not agree to settle the difficulty, and the third fire was exchanged, and Hole-in-the-Day was shot through the heart. These are the particulars, as communicated to some of our citizens in letter from Crow Wing."

That the particulars were inaccurate, however, is indicated by an item a couple of weeks later. "Hole-in-the-Day.- This renowned chief, who was reported to have been the victim of his own folly, in proposing to fight a duel.... was in town yesterday, which is a sufficient contradiction of his being killed on the occasion of the late duel." Two years later, the hardy chief was still in excellent spirits as is reported by the Minnesotan. "We are informed by Dr. Merrick, from Adrian, Michigan, who has just come down in the up country stage, that there was a battle between the Sioux and Chippewas, on Main Prairie in which the Sioux had five killed and three wounded. Hole-in-the-Day was in the battle and was slightly wounded in the leg. He has in his possession the head of one of the slain and four scalps, together with the bloody weapons of the Sioux. The fight

was on Monday, the 14th." In 1861 the Pioneer Democrat reports: "Hole-in-the-Day, the celebrated Chippewa Chief, is in town, spending the dog days in seeing the sights and enjoying the company of his numerous friend. He seems to stand the hot weather like a salamander, and never walks the streets without his woolen coat and green blanket." In May of 1862, word of him is heard in the Pioneer Democrat: "A Regal Visitor.--Hole-in-the-Day, the great Chippewa Chief, honored us last evening with a visit and a subscription to the Pioneer and Democrat. He is deeply interested in the war for the Union, and passionately fond of description of battles, and his native independence will not allow him to listen to the reading of any other than his own paper. He regards it as a sort of theft. It would be well for some white men to imitate his nobility in this respect."

In 1863, Hole-in-the-Day appealed directly to President Lincoln. He wrote him as follows:

"My people are unhappy and dissatisfied.

"The cause of this trouble and discontent is the late treaty, negotiated by some of the chiefs and headmen, through Mr. Rice, at Washington. It is a bad treaty for my people, although liberal on the part of the government. It requires many of us to give up good homes for poor ones, the very poorest ones that can be selected in the whole northwest, and yet does not compensate us by removing my people beyond the reach of whiskey. On the contrary, the whiskey trader would succeed far better there than where we are now. This is wrong.

"Owing to that misunderstanding with our agent, who is now gone, and the destruction of my property, I am no longer able to afford the assistance to my people that I once did.

But speaking of the objects to be accomplished by a new treaty. They were, 1st, the removal as far as possible from the white people, and thus lessening the corruption influences of the evil-disposed among them. *and, 2d,*

ye "The introduction of the arts of industry, particularly agriculture. *✓*

"As to the first, I have already stated that the new reservation, instead of effecting or enabling us to effect that, lessens it, as the means of intercourse, especially from Lake Superior and beyond the lines, are far greater than now. And as to the second, were we to hunt out every available foot of arable land, we could not find in the reservation, without encroaching on our Pillager friends, enough to raise food for our families, to say nothing of game, to which for many years, we must still look in a greater or less degree for subsistence. Thus we are not removed from the evil influences that have heretofore been so destructive, now have we either good farm lands, game or fish. The present treaty gives us little but swamps or marshes, while locations could be selected that combine all these elements of comfort and content to our people; that is, good land, game, fish, rice and sugar. Here we have neither, to any considerable extent. True, we may find a little rice and a few fish, but not sufficient for my people, not enough to save them from starvation. If a treaty were made with the Red Lake Indians, a tract of country of the best character for my people might be secured, without any outlay or expense to the government; say that strip of land lying on the Wild Rice River, between 47 degrees and 48 degrees north latitude, and east of the Red river. There is every advantage of good soil, game, fish, rice, sugar, cranberries, and a healthy climate."

He then offers to ²hep make such a treaty with the Red Lake Chippewas. The present treaty, he states, was made without any headmen or chief being present at the negotiations. (10)

Just what amounts of arable land the Indian Agent considered sufficient for the support of several thousand men, women and children, may be judged by the following recommendations, sent to the government in 1865:

Gull Lake Band -- 20 acres at Leech Lake.
Rice Lake Band -- 20 acres at Long Lake (above Cass Lake)
Pokegama Band -- 50 acres at Oak Point.
Rabbit Lake Band -- 40 acres at Lake Winnipeg (Winnibigoshish)

(10) Report of Chippewa Indian Agent for 1863

Sandy Lake Band -- 25 acres at Lake Winnipeg.
Sandy Lake Band -- 25 acres at Oak Point. (11)

Finally Hole-in-the-Day and several other chiefs, accompanied by J. D. Bassett, Indian Agent at that time, went to Washington and negotiated the Treaty of 1867. This treaty secured the White Earth Indian Reservation to the Mississippi Chippewa. (12) It was during this visit in Washington that Hole-in-the-Day met and married a white woman. She was Miss Helen Trisk (13) an employee at his hotel.

The St. Paul Daily Press of April 16 takes note of the event thus: "The Chippewas.- The Chippewa delegation, which effected the important treaty for the cession of their lands, . . . arrived in town yesterday in all the glory of broadcloth and blankets, and apparently blessed with a plenitude of money which they distributed with Indian liberality in the purchase of knick-knacks among our merchants. Hole-in-the-Day, the head chief, seems to have effected a still more important treaty than the one to which his royal name is signed in the archives of the State Department, for he appeared at the Merchant's Hotel yesterday with a white wife whom he had captured in Washington."

Hole-in-the-Day had succeeded in gaining for his people, adequate farming and hunting grounds, in a region where he hoped they would be rid of liquor dealers. Then on June 27, 1868, he was murdered. Many wild reports of the affair were circulated, but the most detailed, and seemingly reliable, was given by A. D. Prescott, who had for several years been connected with the administration of affairs at the Indian Agency. He was afterward a resident of Brainerd, and an active member of the first school board. He said:

"On the forenoon of June 27th, Hole-in-the-Day came to the Agency from his home some two miles above. He was in a handsome, light, one-horse buggy, and with him was another Chippewa, Ojibbeway. They remained a short time and then went down to Crow Wing, stopping at the latter place until half past one o'clock.

(11) Report of Chippewa Indian Agent for 1865

(12) Ibid. 1868

(13) Baptismal Record, St. Francis Mission, for 1868

"Shortly after Hole-in-the-Day had left the Agency for Crow Wing, a party of nine Pillager Indians, from Leech Lake, came, and after inquiring of Mr. Prescott the whereabouts of Major Bassett, the Agent, they repaired to a wigwam and asked a squaw where Hole-in-the-Day was. In a short time they too started for Crow Wing, and reaching a dense thicket about two-thirds of a mile below the Agency, secreted themselves. Here they awaited the return of the Chief. Just after he had passed, or as he was passing their ambush, they stepped forth to the rear and at the sides of the buggy and within eight feet of it. One of the party fired both barrels of a shot gun, the charge taking effect in Hole-in-the-Day's head and neck. He never spoke, but with a groan fell from the buggy dead. Another of the party stepped up and discharged a load of shot through the prostrate form, from side to side, in the region of the heart; while another stabbed it in the left breast. The body was dragged to the side of the road, and after being robbed of hat, blanket and a gold watch worth \$250, left there. The party then took the horse and buggy, with Ojibbeway, who had been made a temporary prisoner at the outset, (and from whose lips Prescott obtained these facts) and started for Hole-in-the-Day's house by a back way, so as not to expose themselves at the Agency. This was their first appearance at the chief's house. They told his wives that they had killed him, and that they intended taking what they wanted. Accordingly, they supplied themselves with guns, saddles, shawls, blankets, etc. No violence was offered to anyone except Hole-in-the-Day's white wife. One of the party stepped up to her, and laying his hand on her shoulder, said she must go with him. But Ojibbeway interfered and said that if they touched a white person they would call the wrath of all the whites upon them. This proved effectual, and after taking another horse the party decamped for Leech Lake, where their band is located.

"There were no chiefs with the party, which was composed of worthless members of the Pillager band. Various reasons are assigned for the murder, and it is impossible to tell which is correct. Who will succeed the chief is not yet known--most probably his son. Matters in the Indian country are quiet and no trouble is

apprehended. Hole-in-the-Day was buried in the Catholic cemetery at Crow Wing with the stars and stripes floating above him." (14) The latter statement is probably incorrect, as Hole-in-the-Day, being a pagan, could hardly have been buried in the cemetery, but he was undoubtedly buried just outside, and as the boundary lines were rather indefinite, it was assumed that he was buried in the cemetery. The exact location of his grave cannot be determined at the present time.

He could have been

Major Bassett, the Agent, said that immediately after the murder he applied to the U. S. District Attorney to ascertain if some legal way could be found to punish the guilty parties. But he was assured that there was a federal statute expressly prohibiting any governmental interference in affairs of that kind. (15) But some action was begun later. In a brief prepared by Edward C. O'Brien, a special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, and printed at the government printing office in 1912, the testimony of certain Indian witnesses is given. In this brief, the statement is made that by the treaty of March 19, 1867, the White Earth Reservation was set apart for the Minnesota Chippewa and that Hole-in-the-Day was determined that none of the Lake Superior mixed bloods, who had exhausted their rights in Wisconsin, should be permitted to remove to White Earth. The latter were equally determined to go there. Their first effort seems to have been made in 1866, when Clement H. Beaulieu, Sr., George Fairbanks, Bill McArthur, John George Morrison, Be-you-eesh, and Kah-do-kun endeavored to hire certain Indians to kill Hole-in-the-Day. The request of the Indians to be paid in advance was refused and so they didn't kill him. At the trial, one of the Indians testified that he was with the party and that when they came to the Big Field near Crow Wing, one of them told him they were to get \$1,000 for killing Hole-in-the Day. When asked who was hiring him, he answered, "Kah-do-kun, and Gay-mah-ke-wen-zie (the Indian name for C. H. Beaulier, Sr.). Kah-do-kun afterward became Indian Agent at White Earth and "the mixed bloods spilled into the White Earth Reservation. (16)

(14) St. Cloud Journal, July 9, 1868

(15) Report of Chippewa Indian Agent for 1868

(16) History of Stearns County, p. 623

George A. Smith, half-breed Indian chief living at Ball Club Lake, eight miles west of Deer River, Minnesota, was recently interviewed concerning the death of Hole-in-the-Day. He declares that Hole-in-the-Day was taken to Washington by the government and there dined and wine^d and shown how the white man lived. After his return from Washington, the government sent him a fine buggy or surrey in which Hole-in-the-Day used to ride about along with his bodyguard in a style befitting a chief. In this same carriage, Hole-in-the-Day was later ambushed and assassinated along with his bodyguard. The reason for his assassination was the fact that Hole-in-the-Day was making an effort to have all the breeds removed from the government pay roll. Those responsible for this assassination, according to Smith and a reputable woman of Indian blood named Mrs. Charles Cornish, were two men named Fairbanks and Beaulieu, who hired the assassins for the job. Mrs. Cornish states that the reason for Hole-in-the-Day's murder was not generally known. "They were afraid to let it out," she asserts.

That Prescott got his information from Ojibbeway indicates that the bodyguard was not killed in the assassination and there is no historical background that would connect Beaulieu, Sr., with such a murder but much to indicate that, though having been stripped of his possessions, he was a man of probity. That the man who hired the assassins used his name to persuade the Pillagers is without doubt a possibility and the name remained in the minds of the Indians long afterward.

Hole-in-the-Day owned three valuable pieces of property. One was the farm in Cass County, just above the agency. Another was the farm east of Crow Wing, now owned by William Bisson. The third were the maple woods between Gull and Round Lakes, which had been claimed by his father in 1825. Hon. R.F. Crowell of St. Paul, Hole-in-the-Day's attorney, went to Crow Wing in July and made application that letters of administration be issued to F. W. Peake. (17) But other influences were at work and ²Extra Briggs of Little Falls, a former Crow Wing resident, was

(17) Sauk Rapids Sentinel, July 10, 1868

appointed instead. (18) Briggs was one of the men, who in 1862, had destroyed Hole-in-the-Day's house at Crow Wing. (19) It may easily be imagined that he and the chief were not particularly friendly after that episode.

Briggs first sold all the personal property, but stating that the sum realized from this was insufficient to settle the outstanding debts, he got permission to sell the real estate. (20) By November 1869, he had still failed to settle the estate and asked for a further extension of time. (21) According to Indian tradition, none of Hole-in-the-Day's descendants were profited by his estate, but it is hard to believe that so careful a business man as the chief would have incurred such heavy obligations.

Shortly after Hole-in-the-Day's death, his white wife went to Minneapolis where she sought work as a domestic (22), and later married W. R. Wildung. (23) She was evidently unable to take care of her son, for he was adopted by a Minneapolis couple, Daniel and Elizabeth Woodbury, and assumed the name, Joseph Hole-in-the-Day Woodbury. He was educated in the public schools of that city. (24)

Ignatius Hole-in-the-Day, an older brother, assumed leadership of the tribe at White Earth. He had a rather turbulent career. He was graduated from St. John's College in 1874 and could speak four languages well. (25) He evidently had his father's dislike for whiskey, for in 1885, while enroute from White Earth to St. Paul to testify in a liquor case, he was taken off the train at Crow Wing and severely beaten. (26) November 15, 1888, he was found drowned in the north branch of the Chicago river. He has been traveling with the Hale & Bigelow medicine shows. (27)

(18) Ibid. April 30, 1869

(19) Report of Chippewa Indian Agent for 1863.

(20) Sauk Rapids Sentinel, Dec. 17, 1869

(21) Ibid. Dec. 17, 1869

(22) Ibid. Nov. 2, 1868

(23) Clerk of Courts Records, Barome Doucet vs Hole-in-the-Day.

(24) Brainerd Dispatch, Nov. 11, 1887

(25) Ibid. Dec. 14, 1888

(26) Ibid. Aug. 28, 1885

(27) Ibid. Nov. 30, 1888

Following Ignatius' death, Joseph Woodbury, then an employee of the Minneapolis post office, took his family and went to White Earth, where he acted as chief of the Chippewa until he died, still a comparatively young man. (28) Three daughters of Hole-in-the-Day lived to maturity, although they all died before reaching middle age. Belle married William A. Warren; Adeline married a Fairbanks; and Oh-besaum married Peter Jourdan. (29)

The Mississippi Chippewas, established a tribe by Hole-in-the-Day the Elder, were led by his son through the very depths of despair to the promised land, where today they have reached as high a point of civilization and culture as any Indian tribe in the United States.

(28) Ibid. Dec. 14, 1888

(29) Clerk of Courts Records, Barome Doucet vs Hole-in-the-Day.

Hole-in-the-Day

Hole-in-the-Day's estate has never been settled. Probate action was started in Morrison county as Crow Wing and Cass counties were attached to that county for judicial purposes at the time of his death. Morrison county records show that the case is still open. Among the papers filed are the following:

Administrator's bond for \$2000 for Frederick W. Peake, dated Aug. 8, 1868.

Administrator's Bond for \$2000 for Ezra Briggs, dated Jan. 23, 1869.

Note for \$100 to Peter ROY, dated May 3, 1866. G.A. Morrison is a witness.

Report of sale of personal property by Briggs on April 26, 1869. It was appraised at \$692.20 and sold for \$478.30.

Hand bill advertising the sale of above, ~~dated~~ May 24, 1869, date of sale.

Petition by Briggs to sell real estate, dated Nov. 27, 1869, stating sale of personal property was insufficient to satisfy creditors.

Petition to extend time for paying debts to Dec. 24, 1869.

Petition of R.F. Crowell, Hole-in-the-Day's attorney, for appointment of Peake as administrator, dated July 8, 1868.

Inventory and Appraisement made by D. McArthur and F.W. Peake, April 21, 1869 lists personal property at \$689.60 and the following real estate, all unimproved and valued at \$2.50 an acre: SW-SW of 18-44-31; W $\frac{1}{2}$ -NW of 19-44-31; S $\frac{1}{2}$ -SE of 13-44-31; Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4 of 13-44-31; N $\frac{1}{2}$ -Ne of 24-44-31; N $\frac{1}{2}$ -SE of 24-44-31; Lots 1 and 2 of 24-44-31; Sec. 6 of 134-28; Lots 1, 2 and 3 of 2-134-29; Sec. 1 of 134-29; Lots 1, 2 of 12-134-29.

Petition to sell real estate, dated Nov. 27, 1869, lists all of above and itemizes debts as follows:

Augustus Aspinwall	x\$1124.99	\$1124.99
Aspinwall & Ruffee	203.07	203.07
Peter Roy		125.06
Tanner, Briggs & Co.		19.85
A. Tanner		27.95
		<u>\$1501.72</u>

This petition also states that Hole-in-the-Day left two widows and six minor children at the Chippewa Agency and one widow and 1 minor child in Minneapolis.

Charles A. Ruffee puts in a claim for \$275 with interest from May 1, 1867.

Agreement for a continuance of hearing to Feb. 17, 1870, signed by Hayes & King, attorneys for administrator and Oscar Taylor, attorney for heirs.

Petition for extension of time to settle estate, dated Nov. 27, 1869.

Inventory of personal property dated April 29, 1869, showing value of \$227 which includes one house valued at \$100.

Briggs petitions that commissioners be appointed to settle the estate, petition dated April 24, 1867.

Letter from Augustus Aspinwall complaining that Peake refuses or neglects to act as administrator and praying that some one else be appointed.
Dated Jan. 18, 1869.

Letter of resignation as administrator from F.W.Peake, dated Dec. 1, 1868.

Statement from T.W.Warren & Co., for goods purchased between 1859 and 1865, showing \$647.89 is still due them, besides interest on this amount and interest on the sum of \$840.

Commissioners allow following claims, Nov. 27, 1869:

Augustus Aspinwall, for goods sold	\$ 60.78
Interest	11.62
Aspinwall & Garden, assigned to	
Aspinwall & Ruffee	154.87
Interest on same	49.00
T.A.Warren & Co. assign to Augustus	
Aspinwall, bill for	647.79
Interest on \$840 from 1/1/62 to 5/1/65	96.15
Interest on balance of \$647.80 from	
5/1/65	208.86
	<u>\$ 1328.186</u>

Commissioners allow claims for \$1829.33 on Feb. 1, 1870, practically same as above, except as to amounts.

Judge allows time to settle claims up to Feb. 1, 1870.

Commissioners refuse to allow Ben Cooley's bill for \$250 and John Bishops bill for \$9.10.

Statement from Ben Cooley, dated Aug. 25, 1869 in which he charges Hole-in-the-Day \$250 for "a full-length portrait of Himself."

Odanin, widow and mother of four children, pleads for support while the estate is being settled. Claims exemption of personal property to value of \$227. Dated Feb. 10, 1869.

Petition, dated Dec. 19, 1868, for appointment of Ignatius Tomazin as guardian of following children of Hole-in-the-Day: Elizabeth Isabelle, age 17; Ignatius, age 14; Louia, age 12.

Order and appointment of Ignatius Tomazin as guardian for above, Dec. 29, 1869

Feb. 24, 1871, the Legislature detached Crow Wing from Morrison country for judicial purposes and stipulated that all cases pending in Morrison county were to be returned to Crow Wing county. The above case was never returned to Crow Wing county.

Barome Doucet, age 53 and his wife, Annie, who obtained possession of Hole-in-the-Day's Crow Wing county farm (all the land listed as being located in sections 13, 18, 19 and 24 of 44-31) decided to try to get legal possession of the same and in July 1912 got a Torrens title to the above. It states:

Pug-o-na-ge-schich died August 1868, leaving a widow, Helen, and seven children. Helen died in 1898 and left Joseph Woodbury (son of Hole-in-the-Day) and Agnes K Wildung, the daughter of her second husband, ~~H~~ W.R.Wildung. Agnes sold her interest in the estate to Gus Beaulieu in 1909.

A daughter, Oh-bezaum, married Peter Jourdan and died soon after.

Belle, who married William W.Warren, and died, leaving William W.Warren. William W.Warren is also dead, leaving a widow, Eunice.

Ignatius ~~said to be~~ deceased, leaving a widow Maggie, married to Vanoss with a son, William.

Addie or Adeline, married to Fairbanks.

Louise Warren, married to Roberts.

Fairbanks family history shows that John B.Fairbanks, born at Crow Wing in 1856, married a daughter of Hole-in-the-Day in 1884. Has four children: Charles H. born 1886; Caroline 1888; Robert H. 1892; and George 1894.

Dr. J.A.Thabes of Brainerd says that he knew Charles A Ruffee very well and that the latter told him that Hole-in-the-Day was murdered at his Gull Lake home and the body carried to the spot where it was found. According to the St.Paul Press of June 30, 1868, Charles A.Ruffee was the man who found the body. He was also one of the men accused of having planned the assassination.

Inscriptions Copied from tombstones in White Earth Cemetery

Rose, daughter of Hole-in-the-Day, died June 5, 1889, age 24 years

Mary Warren, daughter of Hole-in-the-Day, born Aug. 29, 1852, died May 3, 1875

Baptismal Records of St. Columba Mission show the following:

Emily, daughter of Hole-in-the-Day and Sug-e-nia, Feb. 18, 1855.

John, son of above and To-bish-ko-kum-me-goqua, Lent 1861, age 4 years.

Death Records from above show the following:

Emily died in May 1855, age 6 mos.

Jane died in November 1856, age 9 months.

John died in March 1861.

Baptismal Records of St. Francis Mission at Crow Wing show following:

Joseph Hole-in-the-Day, mother Helen Kater, baptized July 27, 1868.

Erlenmon, Calin and Louise baptized Jan. 30, 1870. Daughters of Hole-in the Day and Otana.

(The above entries were made by Father Pierz. In another handwriting appear the following notations: After the name Helen Kater (Trisk of Washington). Erlenmon (Adeline); Calin (Ida).

Father J. Buh, on Feb. 20, 1872, baptized at Gull Lake, William Alfred, the son of William Vincent Warrent and Isabelle Hole-in-the-Day, born Oct. 27, 1871. The sponsors were Ignatius and Louise Hole-in-the-Day.

The present records of St. Columba at White Earth show that ~~Joseph Hole-in-the-Day~~ Joseph Hole-in-the-Day Woodbury became a member of the Episcopal Church and remained a member until his death.

From "Our Minnesota", p-70. At the conference held between the Sioux and the Chippewa in 1850, some white women tried to enter. The Sioux chief withdrew in disgust, but Hole-in-the-Day greeted them cordially with "All welcome, angelic smiles."

The days and months immediately following the uprising must have been dreary ones at Crow Wing. The Indians, who were facing another removal, were probably sullen and defiant. Drunken brawls were frequent. The mission at St. Columba had been destroyed; Peake was in the army; John Johnson was working hard, but according to Bishop Whipple, "his labors among his people are sadly hindered by the unblushing sale of intoxicating liquors."⁽¹⁾ Father Pierz, who had transferred his mission to the diocese, was aged and feeble, although he was assisted by younger priests. There is no mention of any church schools, although a public school may have been in operation.

The Civil War caused numerous changes. Many of the younger men left and new people began moving into the settlement. Among the more prominent of these were William and Joseph Wakefield, Charles E. Gardner and C. A. Ruffee. Joseph Wakefield leaves a most interesting record. The "History of the Upper Mississippi Valley" gives the following account of the Wakefield brothers: "William L. Wakefield, one of the pioneers of this section of the state, was born in Cherryfield, Washington County, Maine, in the year 1833. He learned the trade of millwright in his native state, and in 1854, came to Minneapolis and was employed in the mills at that place for eighteen months. He then came to the frontier and established trading posts at Sandy Lake and Pokegama Falls, and also engaged in lumbering on the Swan River until 1861, when he enlisted in the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, and served three years. On being discharged he came to Crow Wing and opened a trading post, besides having a post at each of his former locations. In 1871, he went to White Earth, and two years later, engaged in lumbering, continuing that occupation until 1878, when he opened a hotel and trading post at Grand Rapids, Itasca county. In June 1881,

(1) Journal Episcopal Diocese, January 20, 1863.

he came to Aitkin, and in company with his brother, Joseph, is now keeping the Wakefield House. Joseph was born in 1835, and came west about two years later than his brother, and has been identified with him in most of his business ventures since."⁽²⁾

In 1916, Joseph Wakefield, still hale and hearty, living at Ball Bluff, Aitkin County, was interviewed while on a visit to Duluth. He said he arrived in St. Anthony in the Fifties and pushed on from there to a location on the present site of Brainerd, where he established a post and lived for several years. He shipped his furs to Joseph Ullman at St. Louis. During the uprising, he abandoned his post and went to Superior. The Indians who had formerly had trading posts, and who had taken part in the trouble, were not able to renew their licenses as traders, and the exclusive privilege was granted to Joseph Wakefield. After being put under \$10,000 bonds, he opened up a place at Crow Wing and did a thriving business there and kept the Indians satisfied.⁽³⁾

According to the foregoing accounts, Joseph Wakefield arrived in Minnesota in 1856 and settled on the present site of Brainerd. Although J. M. Lackey surveyed a townsite in 1857, said to have been on this same site, he and his partner, A. B. Smith, probably lived there only a short time during 1858, so Joseph Wakefield would be the first white man to settle on what is now the site of Brainerd. Contemporaneous records show that William Wakefield, lumberman, was not associated with his brother in the latter's trading ventures, so the biographies recorded in the History of the Upper Mississippi Valley are not entirely correct in this respect.

In 1864, Joseph Wakefield and William S. Thompson, of Sandy Lake,⁽⁴⁾ bought business property in Crow Wing. F. W. Peake, who already owned

(2) History Of The Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 658

(3) Duluth Herald, July 12, 1916, p. 3.

(5)
property there became associated with them soon after, and in 1867, Peake,
(6)
Wakefield and Thompson increased their real estate holdings. Thompson seems
(7)
to have left the firm when he moved to White Earth in 1868, but Peake & Wake-
field continued to have their headquarters in Crow Wing until 1871.

The condition of the Indians was somewhat improved during 1864 - whiskey was higher on account of the war tax and consequently there was much less drunkenness. Hunting was good, too, and much maple sugar had been made. In spite of dry weather, there was a good rice crop and fish were plentiful.

Lumbering continued to be the main industry of this part of the state. Until 1864, operations were on a comparatively small scale, but with the close of the Civil War, began the transition that carried the industry from small enterprises into the class of "big business." Various treaties between the government and the Indians, had allowed the latter to retain, as individuals, eighty or more acres of land, in return for giving up their title to the tribal property. The Indians sold the scrip giving them the right to select the number of acres allotted them, to the lumbermen for amounts ranging from twenty-five cents to one dollar an acre. With this scrip, the lumbermen selected the choicest pine lands, ^{cut}slaughtered the timber as soon as possible, and let the land return to the government, ~~as~~ tax delinquent.

The late Cleveland Stafford, long a resident of Aitkin County, was a lumberjack during the sixties. He said: "Now I came back to Minnesota in '64 and started up river for Ankeny & Robinson. We started from St. Anthony with 14 oxen and camped out on the road. We had three wagons which hauled our outfit. We crossed the river at Crow Wing and we went up along the side

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4. Seed Record, A p. 148
 5. Ibid, p. 144
 6. Ibid, p. 200
 7. Becker County, History, p. 240
 8. Report of Chippewa Indian Agent for 1864.

Will or Bill?
of the river to Pine Knoll. This was the first camp that ever was at Pine Knoll. Hill Lawrence took charge, Lee Lawrence drove six oxen, Aleck drove Lawrence's four and old Uncle Pass Gould drove four. That was Amri Gould's father * * * That was the winter Garrison surveyed Aitkin township with seven men. So anxious to finish that they nearly starved. But fortunately they found an open hole in the Little Willow river that swarmed with fish. They didn't know the lumbermen (9) were so near, but as soon as they came out, they ran into our tote roads." Garrison, who at that time lived in St. Cloud, moved to this county in the early eighties. He was a resident of Garrison township, named in his honor, until his death. Pass Gould's son, Amri, settled in Watertown in 1870 and his homestead is still occupied by his son, Harry Gould.

A business deal made in 1865 must have aroused a great deal of local interest. A letter dated Sept. 29, 1865, addressed to Hon. Alex. Ramsey, St. Paul, furnishes some rather incomplete information concerning a license issued to Majors Aspinwall & Ruffee. It states that an affidavit was mailed Sept. 2, 1865, in regard to business associates and transactions of the favored few. After mailing this in, a published notice was found of the dissolution of the co-partnership, dated Sept. 23, 1865. It adds that this time, Ruffee was in St. Paul, while Aspinwall was at the Chippewa Agency, in total ignorance of this notice. The undersigned believed that it was a piece of deception calculated to enrich parties engaged to defraud the Indians and should be investigated. This letter was signed by Robert Fairbanks, Chas. H. Beaulieu, Peter Roy, Jno. H. Fairbanks and Allan Morrison. (10)

(9). Aitkin Independent Age, January 8, 1916

(10). Bond Record, A p. 80

Augustus Aspinwall and Charles E. Garden were associated in business at
11
the Chippewa Agency. February 8, 1865, they sold business property in Crow
Wing to Augustus Aspinwall and Charles A. Ruffee, partners under the name of
12
Aspinwall & Ruffee. Whatever events took place in the fall of 1865, they
seemed to cause no trouble between Aspinwall & Ruffee, for they were still
13
partners in 1867, when they sold out to Peake & Wakefield.

An important conference was held in Crow Wing during the spring of 1865.
The first emigration of seven families of "Latter Day Saints" passed through
there early in April on their way from Iowa to Clitheral. They left Mr. S. ✓
S. J. Whiting there, with her two children and Mrs. Marcus Shaw. William
W. Whiting was born there April 14, 1865. The settlers had heard about the
Indians, so a meeting was arranged at Crow Wing. A treaty was made then
which was never broken. It stipulated that any Indian molesting the whites
should be reported to the chief for punishment. White men injuring Indians
(14)
were to be dealt with by white man's law.

To help ascertain the true conditions and feelings of the Indian tribes
after the Civil War, the government organized, in 1865, bodies of scouts at
all the agencies. It was their mission to enquire into and report the causes
of trouble and dissatisfaction. These scouts were chosen from among the
intelligent and loyal mixed-bloods and were placed under the supervision of
military authorities. Upon the recommendation of the officer then in com-
mand at Fort Ripley, John George Morrison was placed in charge of the scouts
(15)
at the Chippewa Agency. He remained with this corps until it was disbanded.
Morrison was Allen Morrison's oldest son, and was married to the daughter of
Robert Fairbanks, and a niece of Clement H. Beaulieu. *Sense?*

11. Deed Record, A p. 177.

12. Ibid, p. 181

13. Ibid, p. 200

14. The Coming of The Latter Day Saints to Otter Tail Co., by Alta Kimber, p. 267

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Edwin Clark was Indian Agent during 1865 and 1866. His commission was signed by President Lincoln just two days before his assassination. Clark, afterward one of the proprietors of the townsite of Melrose, was born in New Hampshire in 1834, the son of a Congregational minister. He learned the printer's trade, and for two years after coming to Minnesota in 1857, he was one of the publishers of the Minnesota Republican and The Falls Evening News.⁽¹⁶⁾ As agent, he examined the country for the site of a central agency, but could find no one place where the Indians could settle in a body. He advised that the Agency be established at Leech Lake, and that the Indians be settled on garden spots of from twenty to fifty acres in area, at Leech Lake, Long Lake, Oak Point, and Lake Winnipeg.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1866, he estimated that there were 2,166 Indians among the Mississippi Chippewa, including the Mille Lacs band. He had the principal whiskey dealers, some of their "runners," arrested and managed to obtain indictments against Wm. J. Horn, E. Briggs, Wm. Fairbanks, Rodger Aitkin and Simeon Weaver. He states that this had quite a salutary effect⁽¹⁸⁾ on the other traders.

The gold rush to the Vermillion range brought a measure of prosperity to Crow Wing. Enough of the traffic to the gold fields was routed by way of the Mississippi so that the Legislature of 1866 appointed a committee to survey and locate a state road from Crow Wing to Vermillion Lake. The committeemen were Leon Hood, Henry Beaulieu and George W. Sweet and they met at Crow Wing⁽¹⁹⁾ the first Monday in May, 1866.

An important change in one of the pioneer business firms took place in 1866. Clement H. Beaulieu, who was associated with Charles H. Beaulieu in the firm of Beaulieu & Son, bought out the latter's interest for \$2,000, and four days later, sold the business to Theodore Borup of St. Paul for \$3,000.⁽²⁰⁾

19. M. L. 1866, p. 252

20. Bond Record, A, pp 91 and 94

21. Deed Record, A, pp 100 and 102

22. Bond Record, A, pp 100 and 102

23. Biography Clement H., Beaulieu, Crow Wing County Museum

He had, in 1859, transferred all of his Crow Wing real estate to Charles H. Beaulieu for \$15,000. (21) Hard times and intense competition seemed too much for Clement Beaulieu, for in 1868, he mortgaged all of his household goods to Clement H. Beaulieu, Jr., for \$500, and his livestock to F. W. Peake for \$300. (22) His career as an independent merchant was ended for several years, but after moving to White Earth, he was once more able to re-establish himself as a (23) merchant.

Rev. Father Joseph Buh arrived in Crow Wing, either late in 1865 or early in 1866. He said: "At the request of the Bishop and Father Pierz I undertook the building of a church at Crow Wing. While I was gathering the money and the building materials, I stayed at Belle Prairie and finished the old log church and priest's home. As soon as this Belle Prairie church and house were finished and the lumber gathered for the Crow Wing church I returned to my Indian missions because the building at Crow Wing could not go on because of lack of money and lack of time." (24) But an anonymous writer describes the dedication of the church, which took place in 1867. He said: "I wish to speak of the new church here. We bought the lumber for the church two years ago, but there were in Crow Wing only four families who were in any position to make any contribution to the new church. The others were more interested in receiving than in giving. So there was no hope to finish the church. This year we took heart and began again in July, at the instigation of the bishop. On the last Sunday in October there took place the dedication of the new and beautiful Gothic styled church. It is on a small mound along the Mississippi River. It is thirty by fifty feet in size and cost about \$1,700. The young women of St. Agnes Society cared for the ornamentation of the altars and the interior of the church, while the half-breed boys took charge of the outside arrangements." (25)

24. Beriche der Leopoldinen-Stiftung, Vol. XXXVI, p. 59.

25. Der Wanderer, St. Paul, Nov. 25, 1867.

During 1867, Allan Morrison kept a very detailed diary of everyday events. At that time, he was once more postmaster, as well as farmer, and probably continued to act as agent for the stage line. In April, he sent \$25 to St. Paul for the purchase of a good plow * * * They returned from the sugar camp on May 11 with six mococks of sugar averaging 100 pounds each, a 40-gallon barrel of maple syrup, and lots of cake sugar * * * Hay was very scarce, everybody was out, but he let Wallace Bean have 200 pounds * * * May 28, he planted two ears of corn that Allan had sent down from the Agency by stage. It was supposed to ripen in forty days * * * Young Allan Morrison agreed to use his ox team in hauling goods to Fort Abercrombie for D. Mooer. He was to be paid \$40 a month and found with board, lodging, feed for cattle, and the use of one of Mooer's teams to do the plowing at Crow Wing * * * From Monday, May 3, until Tuesday, May 11, there were only a few hours of clear weather. Rain, heavy winds, thunder and lightning worked havoc. Red Turtle's wife was killed by lightning. By Sunday the Upper Town began to overflow, and the mail got in for the first time since Thursday. The Platte River bridge had been carried away and the stage got across on rafts. The stage would only take passengers at their own risk, and those who would agree to pay "where they will have to leave them." By Tuesday, the Upper Town was nearly all under water, it was reported that the St. Anthony Boom had been carried off by the flood. No prospects for planting, as there was cloudy, cold raw weather all the time * * * On November 14, he reports that Allan returned from Leech Lake with his mother and a "good deal of fish that you may call six barrels. Some of the trout cleaned, weighing 18 pounds."⁽²⁶⁾

²⁶. Allan Morrison's Diary, M.H.S.

While individuals and business firms seem to have carried on as usual following the uprising, the corporate affairs of the county seem to have gone gradually from bad to worse. The county continued to pay its share of state taxes until 1865, but no more were paid until 1871. On March 27, 1867, the state legislature passed an act attaching Aiken, Cass, Wadena and Crow Wing Counties to Morrison County for judicial and record purposes. So far as this county is concerned, there seems to be no evidence to show that it was ever attached to Morrison County for record purposes, and there is much evidence to show that it continued to function as an independent county. Although never enforced, this act was never annulled until 1871, when Crow Wing County was detached from Morrison County for judicial purposes only, and all cases pending in the latter county were returned to this county.

27. M.L., 1867, p. 159

28. Ibid, 1871, p. 148

The removal, as it was named, began in 1868. Hole-in-the-Day must have exulted in his heart at the influence he wielded in connection with the treaty of 1867. Apparently he was determined to separate the full blood tribesmen from the breeds at White Earth. He stood like one with a gleaming blade to prevent those who had already exhausted their rights in Wisconsin from over-running this new promised land. But the blade was wrested from his hand little more than two months after the removal started. Late in April, Joseph Wakefield started his teams and left for White Earth with a party of workmen. Paul Beaulieu was in charge, although William Thompson superintended the work. Mrs. Thompson, a white woman, accompanied her husband. They were to clear the land and to get out logs, and Wakefield received \$12 an acre for breaking and \$10 a thousand for banking logs. (1)

The main body of Indians left Crow Wing June 4, just 23 days before the great chief's death. Truman Warren, with his wife and child in a light buggy, led the long line of ox carts. There were about two hundred men, women and children in this group, and June 14 is observed as the anniversary of their arrival at White Earth. Fred Smith, afterward rector of St. Columba, accompanied this party, while John Johnson Emmegahbowh, late that fall, went up with a number of Mille Lacs Indians. (2)

In July, William L. Dow of Little Falls, Samuel Lee of Long Prairie, a man named McCabe of Minneapolis, and Jerry Bartum and his brother, loaded mill machinery onto a flatboat at Crow Wing and poled it up the Crow Wing and Leaf rivers to Leaf Lake. Their boat was seventy feet long and the bends in the river were so short and the water so low that they could hardly get it around. They left it at Ruffee's landing and hauled the stuff overland. A sawmill was located about two miles east of the present village of White Earth, and it was put in charge of Anton St. Germain. (3)

(1) History of Becker County, p. 240

(2) Ibid. p. 246

(3) Ibid. p. 241

In spite of the removal of so much of its trading population, business ^{at Crow Wing} was fairly brisk during 1869. The stage line from Sauk Rapids, which had been running tri-weekly, changed to a daily schedule. (4) Lumbering concerns were active and, during the spring and fall, Crow Wing boomed with the business of the lumberjacks. (5)

During the winter of 1869-1870, there were 84 children of school age in Crow Wing. School District No. 1 was undoubtedly organized during 1869, for in March 1870, they received a semi-annual state apportionment of \$31.92. (6) There was no public school in session during that season, but 28 pupils had attended a private school. (7) A log school house that was used by District No. 1 until 1888, was located just and a little south of the present frame school house on Highway 371. The log building was erected in 1879, according to W. F. Everest, who helped build it, but another log building stood near there in 1870, and it had also been used as a school house. (8) It probably stood on the property that had been abandoned by Rev. Ottomar Cloeter in 1868, and may have housed the private school of 1869.

Occupied as they were, with pressing local problems, Crow Wing residents must have known that engineers were surveying to the north of them, but the census of 1870, taken in July, shows that the presence of the survey crews had very little effect on the settlement.

In 1860, the county had a population of 269, living in 49 houses. In 1870, it had a population of 200, living in 39 houses. State taxes amounted to \$200, while \$800 had been levied for school, bridges and general county funds. There were five farmers in the county, who cultivated 380 acres. Of these, Timothy Mooer had 160 and Daniel Mooer, 120 acres. The other farmers were Allan Morrison, David

- (4) Allan Morrison's Diary, Dec. 6, 1869, Minn. Hist. Society
- (5) Rev. C. H. Beaulieu, Brainerd, Daily Dispatch, April 19, 1918
- (6) Sauk Rapids, Sentinel, March 11, 1870
- (7) Census, 1870
- (8) W. L. Jack, Crow Wing township.

McArthur and Wallace Beane. The Catholic church, with 175 sittings, was valued at \$1,500, while the Episcopal church, with 100 sittings, was valued at \$700. (9)

Charles Darby, an old resident of Crow Wing was not listed in the 1870 census, although he was living in the county. He and his wife had settled in township 45, range 31, where they became the first residents of the new town of Brainerd. (10)

Business men and women of Crow Wing included: Frederick W. Peake, Joseph W. Wakefield, George Fairbanks, William Fairbanks and Clement H. Beaulieu, drygoods; William Wade, Edward B. Lynde and Charles F. Pardee, groceries; Charles H. Beaulieu, John H. Fairbanks and Robert Aitkin, clerks; John G. Morrison, Clement and Albert Fairbanks, saloons; Henry Whipple, John Bishop and Mrs. Sarah Chapman, hotels; William S. Wakefield and Peter Kelly, lumber; John McGillis, sculptor; Scofield Errington and Charles Gravelle, carpenters; Henry M. Mixter and Zebides Sutherland, blacksmiths; Samuel Trebby, livery; Nazare Morin, ferry; Cyrille Beaudette, wagonmaker; John Sloan, cooper; John Barmon, stage driver; Josette Chaboillez, Jemima Thompson, Emma Fairbanks, Agnes and Charlotte McGillis, Madeleine Warren and Sophia Dufort, seamstresses; Mary Berry, washing. Francis Campbell was listed as auditor and Thomas Cathcart as judge of probate, so they seemed to make full time occupations of these offices. (11)

Before this census was taken, a number of prominent residents had moved to White Earth. These included: Alfred Warren, Mrs. Madeleine Tyler and Mrs. Delia Winters, all children of William Whipple Warren, the historian; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Fairbanks; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Roy; Mr. and Mrs. William McArthur. Later in that year, Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Mooer and the latter's mother, Mrs. Fountain, and Mr. and Mrs. George Fairbanks moved there. (12)

(9) Censu, 1870

(10) History of Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 639

(11) Censu, 1870

(12) History of Becker County, p 246

While old residents were leaving Crow Wing, new ones were arriving. Among these were ^{Idler}W. W. Hartley, ^{John}J. M. Martin, ^{William}W. L. Jack, Henry Dressen and Mr. and Mrs. ^{Charles}Sundine. W.W. Hartley, one of the most active of the early residents of Brainerd, had been working in a condensed milk factory in Illinois. He received a letter from Crow Wing saying that there was much activity there. On his way up, he met a man in St. Paul who said he had a team doing nothing and Hartley could use it. After making one trip, the man sold the team and Hartley went to work as a teamster for \$12 a month. He said that George Whitney, afterward sheriff of the county, was living at Crow Wing then. (13) Martin, for many years a county commissioner, arrived in Crow Wing in August 1870. He was accompanied by Jack, afterward his son-in-law. After spending the winter there, they went to Brainerd to work in the sawmill. (14) Henry Dressen, who had been a non-commissioned officer at Fort Ripley for several years, in 1870 leased the Cathcart House. Mr. and Mrs. Sundine came up to work for him and in 1872 they all moved to Brainerd, where Dressen died in 1880. (15)

What was probably as interesting to Crow Wing residents as the railroad survey being made north of them, was the fact that a telegraph line reached them from the south, and that plans were being made to construct a railroad from Sauk Rapids to Crow Wing. The telegraph poles were set so quietly and so rapidly that even those living within a short distance knew nothing about it until it was nearly completed in July 1870. In August, Charles A. Alsop, county surveyor from 1876 to 1879, began the railroad survey (16) although it was 1877 before the road was actually completed. (17)

The Crow Wing County Republican Convention was held late in August and William S. Wakefield was elected a delegate to the Second District Congressional Convention. (18) In September, a rather important meeting took place between the whites and the Indians, although a contemporary newspaper stated: "What the object

(13) W.W. Hartley's Biography, Crow Wing County Historical Museum

(14) W. L. Jack, Crow Wing township

(15) Mrs. Mary Anderson, 814 Quince St., Brainerd

(16) Sauk Rapids Sentinel, Aug. 12, 1870

(17) Brainerd Tribune, Oct. 27, 1877

(18) Sauk Rapids Sentinel, Aug. 26, 1870

of the meeting is we are unable to say, and have our doubts about the Indians knowing themselves. There is no doubt, however, that some of the whites in that direction are well posted, and know just what they want." Among the white men present were: Bishop Whipple, Faribault; Hon. H. M. Rice, St. Paul; William Welsh, Philadelphia; Rev. M. Vibbard, Middletown, Ct.; Rev. G. L. Chase, St. Anthony; Rev. S.W. Clark, Chicago; and J.A. Davis, Philadelphia. (19)

The settlement at "The Crossing" began making its influence felt within a few months. The first building, outside of Charles Darby's house, to be started in the new settlement, was one to house the crews that were to build and operate a sawmill. This hewn log building, located on the east side of the river, a few rods north of the railroad bridge, was not finished until October, yet four months later, the little railroad camp had enough political influence back of it to put a bill through the legislature which would enable the voters to decide at the general election to be held November 1871, upon the permanent location of a county seat. (20)

The county financial statement, for the fiscal year, March 1, 1870, to March 1, 1871, gives a very exact picture of the amount and nature of county business done during that time. At the beginning of the period, the county had net assets of \$410.65. During the year, there were incidental expenses amounting to \$317.96. The largest amount, \$215.31, was for printing. Relief amounted to \$42.80, all to Mrs. Jemima Thompson. A new cash box, expressage, postage, and election expenses accounted for most of the balance. Salaries amounted to \$306.20. F. M. Campbell received \$140 as auditor and W. W. Hartley \$10; O. Taylor got \$10 as attorney; the county commissioners got \$146.20, including mileage; Henry Whipple \$30, Wallace Beane \$52.20 and F.W. Peake \$64. The school fund showed receipts of \$63.21, with no expenditures. W. W. Hartley was auditor at that time, while E. B.

(19) Ibid. Sept. 2, 1870

(20) M. L. 1871, p. 313

Lynde was treasurer. They show that the county entered the new year with \$487.10 on hand. (21)

Early in April 1871, a young telegraph operator named Frank Johnson went to Brainerd to try to get a job. By the end of the month, he was offered a position as operator at Crow Wing, at a salary of \$40 a month. When he reached Crow Wing, he found the office open, but no operator there, so he took charge. He kept a diary and during the four months he worked at Crow Wing he describes daily events quite fully. He says:

"May 5--Not much business done here, moved from Bishop's to Dreesen's at Cathcart House. This is the worst place I ever got into for drinking. It is the first place the lumbermen can get any liquor after staying in the woods all winter and they all get on a spree. May 9--I made up my mind to keep the news depot also, and took it off Dreesen's hands. Sent to N. Y for papers last Saturday. May 12--Millions of logs go down this river every day. Boys had a dance at Whipple's last night. May 13--J. Bungo made me a present of mocassins. Had a long talk with Mr. Morrison, an old trader for the American Fur Co. about his trades. . May 28--Accompanied some men to a Grand Medicine Dance at Gull Lake, which we found a very interesting experience.

"June 1--Went over to the Catholic grave yard to take a look at Hole-in-the-Day's grave, a small lot about 10x20 with a wooden picket fence around. Two children buried in same lot, a small wooden cross at the head of each. . June 10--My office was turned into a jail for a half-breed who had broken into a store at Little Falls. This morning the barn at the Cathcart house was burnt. The operator from Little Falls came up about 11 o'clock last evening to see me. His horse was burnt to death, he got disheartened and went back by stage this A. M. The sheriff from Ottertail City had two horses badly burned, but when the door was opened they ran out. He was after a thief. A couple of river men had a fight to-night. June 11--Soldiers passed through here on their way to Fort Ripley, 8 miles

below, from Leech Lake, where they had gone to straighten out the Pillager Indians. . June 16--A man named Geo. Gillies was brought into my office from the drive near Fort Ripley. . June 17--Gilles very sick, has not spoken yet, 7 or 8 fits every 5 or 6 hours. June 18--Moved Gillies over to Beaulieu's warehouse for more air. Gillies died at 11 p. m. suffered fearfully. . June 19--Dr. Thayer planted Geo. Gillies at 2 o'clock this afternoon in the Episcopal cemetery without a word being said at his grave. . June 26--Saw the Indians playing Lacrosse, and it beats anything I ever saw. The goals were anywhere from 100 yards to half a mile apart, and all extra clothing was thrown aside.

"July 4--About 20 of the boys and men dressed up in old clothes with guns, fife and drums marched around to the different houses, fired a salute and got a drink at each place. . July 16--Went over to the island today to visit a couple of river men watching a drive in the Crow Wing river, over a million feet of logs in a jam there, water very low. . July 19--A little fun today. Mixter challenged Crow Wing for a horse race of half a mile dash with his fancy pony, \$100 a side. His challenge was accepted, all of the old working horses were taken out on the prairie and tried to see which was the fastest. They picked one belonging to Albert Fairbanks and have been training him for the last eight days. I was appointed one of the judges and after chaining off a half mile on the prairie, the word was given to start and Mixter's fancy pony had the conceit taken out of him in about a minute. Dan Mooer then challenged the Crow Wing horse for \$100, to run in ten days. Challenge accepted on the spot by Fairbanks. . July 21--Truman Mooer hearing of the race, challenged the Crow Wing horse to run against his mare today, \$100 a side. I was again appointed one of the judges and in about a minute True Mooer and mare had the conceit taken out of them. . July 29--This afternoon quite a crowd came to see the race, some from Brainerd and Little Falls and Dan Mooer's mare got beat most beautifully the first two heats. The driver of the Crow Wing horse even went back and give him another start after the word go had been given and then beat him. Great time, boys all drunk tonight. . July 30--Most of the boys

still drunk and getting drunker. Had two or three fights today. U. S. Marshall got here about noon and arrested all the saloon keepers for selling liquor to Indians and started with them to St. Paul this evening. That created a little excitement but the saloons are all open still.

"Aug 13--Horse race today, the Crow Wing horse beat again. Mooer has got good grit, he went to St. Paul and got a fast horse, "Hoosier Boy" to beat the Crow Wing horse. . Aug. 14--Got letter today from Hindale telling me my pay was only receipts when less than \$40. Wrote to Crouse about it.. Aug. 16--Boys want me to stay here, say they will hep pay my salary. Told Crouse so today in answer to telegram in which he tells me to remember the railroad will soon be here. Aug. 19--Horse race again today between Crow Wing horse and Hoosier Boy fast horse Mooer got in Minneapolis in order to have some revenge. He is a quarter horse and the revenge came on the other side, for the Crow Wing horse beat him too."

A few days after this event, Johnson got an offer of a job at Detroit Lakes, so he left for that place August 27th. (22)

While this young man was writing his diary at Crow Wing, another youth was making history on the other side of the county at a place called Deerwood. He was Cuyler Adams who came to Duluth in 1870, a boy of 18, frail in body but determined to make his fortune from a stake of fifty dollars given him by his grandfather. For a few months he hunted and fished in the woods. Then he met a half-breed named Basil Denis who proposed they go into the Indian country as fur traders. Adams induced a merchant to advance him traps, ammunition and supplies, but he was not strong enough to carry the pack. Denis took the whole burden and they struck into the wood for Lake Vermilion. From a Chippewa Bible, Adams picked up a smattering of the Chippewa language, made friends with the tribe and was assigned by the chief, Rain Lake, to a wigwam with the chief's daughter as cook and maid of all work.

There Adams remained for a year without sight of a white man. He

gained strength and endurance until he could tramp thirty miles a day with a fifty-pound pack on his back. He learned the woods, he bought forest lands in Minnesota where the Northern Pacific was expected to make a town, platted his property and called it Deerwood. He intended to go into the logging business and sell ties to the railroad.

Surveying the locality to find his lines, his shadow fell across his compass. He was astounded to find that the shadow and the needle of the compass did not both point in the same direction as they should have done at that hour. The needle was deflected from its true direction. He walked back and forward. Each time he found there was a deflection at a certain point. He knew that a steel rail would cause the needle of the compass to be deflected. He suspected at once that iron ore caused the difficulty. Saying little, he packed up and left for New York. In the Astor Library, he began studying books on mining, especially those that had anything to say about the location of minerals by magnetic means. He found the books but they had not been translated from the Swedish. He paid translators to give him the information he needed. Then he bought a terrestrial compass and started back for Deerwood. His next job was to map the body of ore he believed he had discovered. His only companion in the woods was his big St. Bernard dog, named Una. His wife was his only confidante. People who saw him tramping the woods apparently aimlessly began to be sorry for him.

With the terrestrial compass, a dip compass, an aneroid barometer, and a pedometer, he tramped the tract by day and mapped it by night till he knew that the ore body was nearly 20 miles long by about a quarter of a mile wide. Next he had to find out who owned the land. But his money made in trapping and logging ran low. An uncle lent him certain sums and he borrowed elsewhere and he began to buy or take options on a fair percentage of the land he wanted. When he finally told of his "discovery" he was greeted with a hoot. There was no iron there, the best mining men in Duluth declared - and they knew iron. For answer

he went to a lawyer, W.C. White. White dropped his law practice and began to hunt for eight men who would advance a thousand dollars each toward the purchase of the stock of a company capitalized at \$50,000, with Adams and White each to receive for his services an equal amount of stock with the others. Drilling began in May, 1903, nearly fifteen years after Adams had noticed the shadow across his compass did not jibe with the needle. There was no ore in the hole at a hundred and twenty-five feet. At a hundred and sixty feet there was still no ore and the eight thousand dollars was gone. At a hundred and sixty-four feet the water pouring out of the drill, which had been a muddy brown, turned black. The ore had been reached. Analysis showed it could be mined profitably.

Then the stock began to boom and a new iron range was named the Cuyuna from the first syllable of Cuyler Adams name and the name of the St. Bernard dog, Una. Today Cuyler Adams is probably the largest individual owner of iron-ore property in the country and Old Crow Wing, whose timber wealth was running out as the fur wealth had disappeared, had a new bonanza. *

The November 1871 election definitely proved that Crow Wing had lost its supremacy in county affairs. The voters not only chose Brainerd as the county seat, but elected a full slate of Brainerd men to office. The political situation during 1871 is not altogether clear. An election was undoubtedly held in November 1870, as election bills were allowed in 1872 (23), and the Secretary of State, in his report for 1870, said that the following men would assume office January 1, 1871: ^{case} J. M. Ayers, register of deeds; J. M. Dunn, attorney; F.S. Eastman, surveyor; and Charles P. Thayer, coroner. He also announced that W. P. McElroy would assume office as auditor March 6, 1871. There seems to be no evidence that Charles H. Beaulieu acted as register of deeds during 1871; E. B. Lynde continued to act as treasurer; Thomas Cathcart was judge of probate at the time of his death in 1871, when W.W. Hartley was appointed to fulfill the unexpired term. The latter

* How the Needle of a Compass Pointed the Way to a Fortune, American Magazine, Feb. 1922 (23) Brainerd Tribune, April 27, 1872

had been appointed clerk of court in 1871 (24), while George W. Holland received an appointment as county attorney. Holland received \$200 for his services during that year, but in addition, \$149.88 was paid to J. Fairgrieve and E. S. Smith for legal services during that same year. (25) Perhaps this array of legal talent was the result of a contested election.

The removal, the loss of the county seat, but greatest of all, the coming of the railroad, were a combination of events which Crow Wing was unable to master. As soon as trains began running into Brainerd, goods were shipped by freight much cheaper than they could be hauled by wagon, and Crow Wing merchants were unable to meet the new competition. A rapid exodus took place and by 1875 there were only four families in the settlement. F. M. Campbell, who had first gone to White Earth, then to West Brainerd, was back in Crow Wing, working on an invention which he finally took to the Philadelphia Centennial. From there he went to White Earth to spend the rest of his life. Mr. and Mrs. John McGillis were in Crow Wing, but soon after joined their son-in-law, John Bishop, at his Gull Lake place, where they remained to the end. Salem and Roger Aitkin headed the other two families. Salem, a Civil War veteran, died and was buried in the Catholic Cemetery, although his body has since been removed to the National Cemetery at Rockford, Illinois. Roger and his family moved to White Earth soon after. (26) Of the houses in the old settlement, many were destroyed by fire, some were moved away, while others were undoubtedly left to decay. The Beaulieu house, moved to Morrison County, and one other Crow Wing house moved by John Chisholm to his homestead, the present DeRosier farm on the Crow Wing prairie, are the only buildings whose present location seems definitely established.

The families of old Crow Wing scattered over a wide extent of territory. The Morrisons, Beaulieus, Fairbanks, Aitkins and Aspinwalls, and many others, moved to White Earth. Charles Darby, Mrs. Sarah Chapman, her brother-in-law, (24) Court Minutes A, 7th Judicial District, p. 11
(25) Brainerd Tribune, April 27, 1872
(26) Census, 1875, and family traditions

Tyler Chapman, and Mrs. Jemima Thompson became Brainerd Residents. E. B. Lynde also moved to Brainerd, but he died in 1874, although his wife kept a boarding house on Ninth Street for many years. D. S. Mooers, David McArthur and Wallace Beane remained on their farms, although the McArthur family moved west after Mrs. McArthur's death in 1879. Father Pierz returned to his old home in Laibach to end his days. Peter Roy, Ezra Briggs and S. Trebby all established themselves in Little Falls. George Jenkins and Henry Whipple moved to Aitkin, where the latter died in 1878. William Wade went first to Aitkin, then moved to Leech Lake where he died in 1877. Henry Mixter lived in Brainerd for a time, but then went to Bismarck. C. A. Ruffe lived at Gull River for a number of years, except for the time he was Agent at White Earth, 1875 to 1879, but ended his days in Brainerd. Peake & Wakefield started a store in Brainerd but dissolved partnership soon after, each to pursue his separate business ventures in Becker, Ottertail, Aitkin and Itasca Counties. A number of old residents passed away before the settlement was abandoned. Among those whose deaths are recorded, were: David Chapman, who died in 1866; Mrs. John Fairbanks, James Fairbanks, and Joseph Tesrow, in 1869; Thomas Cathcart in 1871; Mrs. Allan Morrison in 1873.

It was just thirty years from the time Allan Morrison first settled in what is now Crow Wing County, until his wife died and he moved to White Earth. Those thirty years mark the rise and fall of a civilization--a period at once colorful and drab, gay and bitter, brave and cowardly--such a one as this country will probably never see again, and one whose memory should be cherished.