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History and Biography of Minneapolis and Hennepin County.

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CHAPTER (I).

MINNEAPOLIS IN PRE-HISTORY AND IN THE EARLIEST RECORDS.

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THE MOUND BUILDERS OCCUPATION.— THE COMING OF THE FIRST CAUCASIANS.—

THE DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT FALLS BY THE HUMBLE PRIEST THAT MADE THEM FAMOUS.

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To the great Cataract in the Mississippi River at its site, the City of Minneapolis owes its origin, its existence, and the principal elements which form its condition and character. The history of this Cataract, or of the series of Cataracts known as the Falls of St. Anthony, is practically, Therefore, the history of Minneapolis. But for these falls there would have been no City here, and their development has kept progress with that of the City; and though the city could now live and prosper if the great water power were taken away, yet that mighty force is still one of the strongest elements and features of the municipality's well-being and prosperity.

And the history of the city is also a very important part of that of Minnesota. The two records are interwoven and so dependent as to be inseparable. Minneapolis could hardly exist without Minnesota, and Minnesota at large finds its great busy, bustling, and enterprising metropolis of immense advantage to the material welfare of the State and its people. No history of Minneapolis can be complete without a fair mention of that of Minnesota.

THE PRE-HISTORIC PEOPLE.

At a very early period in American history, perhaps before the Christian era, that mysterious race commonly called the Mound Builders occupied portions of what is now the State of Minnesota. From a fair consideration of the evidences of their occupation, it is probable that the period of their stay here covered at least a hundred years; exactly when they came and when they left can never be known. All knowledge of them is incomplete, uncertain, indefinite, and largely speculative. It seems certain, however, that at a very remote period a race of human

beings, differing from the red or copper-colored Indians of historic times, were in Minnesota. They left undoubted evidences of their occupation. They raised earthen Mounds, fortifications, and effigies; made and used stone axes, flint arrow-points, spear and lance heads, and other weapons and implements; and manufactured pottery, beads, and other articles. In time they made implements of copper. They left specimens of their work behind them, and very many of these specimens are in existence to-day. It seems altogether probable that at one time there was a city of the Mound Builders in the eastern part of St. Paul, on the crest of the great elevation known as Dayton's Bluff, Here, until in recent years, were a dozen huge conical Mounds, some of which were 25 ft in height and the same dimension in diameter at the base. Two or three of these are supposed to have been temple mounds, from whose crests human sacrifices were offered to the Great Sun God; for, many think the Mound Builders were akin to the Aztecs of Mexico, whom Cortez found worshiping the sun and offering to that great luminary, from stone altars upon lofty elevations, - human sacrifices gashed and dismembered with flint knives. Near Little Falls are considerable deposits of white quartz; and, from certain chips and fragments found in the vicinity, it is conjectured that the Minnesota Mound Builders worked here and made certain weapons and implements. The greater number of these articles found in Minnesota were not made here. The material of which they are formed came from other states, some of it from as far to the eastward as West Virginia.

Now, the Mound Builders — or at least some very ancient people — made all these stone and flint implements; their suc-

cessors, the red or copper-colored Indians, did not—could not. They picked them up and used them, but they could neither manufacture them or put them in repair. Evidently the most delicate arrow-points were made simply with other flint tools. In many Western States, from the Ohio to the upper Mississippi, numerous copper implements are found in the Mounds and at the sites of prehistoric villages. It is conjectured that most of the mineral from which these articles were made came from the vast deposits in Michigan. Some of the ancient red Indians—notably the Sionx of the Mille Lacs—made a rude pottery, but it was not like that of the Mound Builders.

A proportion of the ~~larger~~ larger Mounds seem to have been used mainly as the sepulchers or last resting places of the Kings, chiefs, and other of the illustrious pre-historic dead. The practice of such interment may have been copied from the ancient Egyptians. The majority of the mounds are small. The smaller are called sepulchral mounds, because they seem to have been used solely as tombs and burial places. Some of the ~~larger~~ larger and higher mounds are thought to have been towers of observation from whose crests the approach of enemies might be discovered . In nearly every mound that has been opened, whether sepulchral, temple, or observation, human relics have been discovered. In most instances, however, all that ~~has been~~ was found of the character of human remains comprised some fragments of bone, which crumbled on exposure to the light, and some whitish powder, apparently the last traces of a human skeleton which had "returned to its original dust." In every case of this kind it is fair to presume that the mound was not only intended as the tomb of a distinguished personage, but was meant to be a monument to his

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memory. It was a Pyramid in honor of a Mound Builder ~~Ranclses~~ Rameses. This is not the place for an essay upon the old Mound Builders. They have long been the subjects of investigation and discussion, and in recent years, of controversy and dispute among American ethnologists and archaeologists. One party contends that these prehistoric people were members of a distinct race of fairly civilized agriculturists, whose remote ancestors came from South America, by way of Central America and Mexico, into what is now the United States; that they lived from remote antiquity in the regions where the mounds and the stone and flint implements were found, and that they were finally driven away or exterminated by the more savage nomadic hordes that came from the northward and whose descendants became the red Indians found in North America by the first whites. Another party believes that the Mound Builders were merely the progenitors and ancestors of the red or copper-colored Indians. No written record of the Mound Builders has ever been found, unless the alleged "golden plates" from which the ~~members~~ Mormons claim their "Bible" was translated was such a record.

MOUND BUILDERS AT MINNEAPOLIS.

There never were but few evidences of the Mound Builders' occupation of the present site of Minneapolis; perhaps there are none now. Out on the shores of Lake Calhoun and Lake Harriet, in early times, there were a few tumuli or sepulchral mounds. The Pond brothers, early missionaries, noted one or two of these on Lake Calhoun. The late Gov. W. R. Marshall, who was one of the very first settlers on the east side of the Falls, ~~found~~ had several small mounds on his claim and excavated one of them for a cellar, but nothing very remarkable was found. At Bloomington and Lake Minnetonka are abundant evidences of the Mound Builders' presence at a remote time. The collection of mounds at Bloomington is large and im-

portant, but no remarkable "finds" have been developed.

It is probable that in the early periods of human occupation the site of the great falls here was regarded as supernatural, as holy ground, not to be trespassed upon with impunity, but only to be visited in reverence and a spirit of devotion. Any great natural feature, as a mountain, a large lake, a waterfall, was by the aborigines believed to be the abode of a deity and was ~~to be~~ regarded and respected accordingly. Even the huge granite boulders scattered over the surface of the country were believed to be the abiding places of supernatural beings. These simple people, in the natural disposition of mankind to believe in the mysterious and supernatural, ~~authorities~~, filled, in their fancies, not only the earth but the air with deities and spirits, and of a truth saw God in the clouds and heard Him in the wind.

THE FALLS SITE HELD TO BE HOLY.

The aberigines, both Mound Builders and red Indians, did not make their homes immediately near the great river falls at the site of Minneapolis. There were beautiful locations all about the cataracts, but doubtless it was thought to be dangerous to occupy them. The powerful spirits whose abodes were here would resent the intrusion and visit the intruders with awful penalties and punishments. The nearest the old-time villages came to the Falls was out about Lake Calhoun.

When the first white man, Father Louis Hennepin, visited the falls, in July, 1680, he saw a Sioux Indian offering sacrifices and addressing his prayers to the presiding local deity. Other early explorers noted that the Indians visited the mighty cataracts, not to fish or hunt, but to say their prayers and show all proper respect to their gods; no Indian offered to set his tepee or to build his lodge there. In fear and trembling they noted the intrusion and trespass of the white men upon the

sacred precincts. They regarded the work of improvement here as sacrilege and desecration of the worst form. When in 1820 the garrison at Fort Snelling built a mill and a dwelling house here, they looked to see it overwhelmed by a flood, or destroyed by thunderbolts. As time passed and other improvements were made, and especially when mills were built and the river current made to turn them, they were astounded. Finally they concluded that the old gods had abandoned the place, and then a few of them came and pitched their tepees upon ground which became the business center of the great city.

Geologists tell us of the great Glacial Period, when Minnesota was covered with a sheet of ice. In time this melted away, and it is thought probable that there were men in southern Minn esota when what is now the northern part of the State was ice-bound. The scientific men believe that 7,000 or 8,000 years ago the Falls were at the mouth of the Minnesota, and that during this time the long great gorge between Fort Snelling and the present cataract was eroded and dug, as it were, by the river.

THE FIRST WHITE EXPLORERS.

The city of Quebec was founded by Samuel Champlain, the French Governor of Canada, in 1608. He was soon joined by missionary

priests of the Mother Church who penetrated the surrounding wildernesses and labored among the savage Indians for their conversion to the Christian faith. The capture of Canada by the English, in 1629, defeated any further missionary efforts for a time, but the country was restored three years later and Jesuit priests set out to continue the missions alone.

These zealous religious workers became the first discoverers of the greater part of the interior of the North American Continent, especially of a great part of the Northwest. Within ten years after their second arrival, they had not only examined much of the country from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico and founded several Christian villages, but they had planted the cross at the Sault Ste, Marie, from whence they looked out and down upon the country of the Sioux and the valley of the upper Mississippi. But for these courageous and pious men very much of early Northwestern history would not have been made, and much more of it would not have been recorded and preserved.

WHAT JEAN NICOLET SAW.

It was, however, not a priest, but a layman, Monsieur Jean Nicolet, who first heard of "a great water" which proved to be the upper Mississippi. He came to Canada from France in 1618 and had been much in the service of the Government as an emissary and explorer. In 1639 he was

sent to Green Bay and went, by way of the Fox River and a portage, to the Wisconsin, and down that river for some distance. Of this journey Father Vimont, in the Jesuit Relations of that year, (Rel, 1639-40, P. 135.) writes:

"The Sieur Nicolet, who had penetrated furthest into these distant countries, avers that had he sailed three days more on a great river which flows from that lake (Green Bay) he would have found the sea."

Now it was the Ouinipegou (or Winnebago) Indians with whom Nicolet was at the time. They told him simply of "a great water," by which term they described the big river. From his imperfect understanding of their language, he believed they were telling him of the great ocean, and he hastened back with the astounding news. At that time the belief was common that the sea was to be found not many hundred miles west of Canada. The Jesuit fathers now had high hopes of reaching the Pacific with their mission stations and prepared to send some of their number to "those men of the other sea." (Ibid, 132-35.) It was not long, however, before the truth was learned, or at least enough to realize that the Winnebagoes meant a big river and not the vast ocean when they told Nicolet of the "great water."

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The Spaniards had discovered the lower Mississippi a hundred years before, and De Soto had died on its banks and been buried in its bosom in 1542. It is, however, quite certain that to Jean Nicolet, the Frenchman,*

*Nicolet was drowned at Three Rivers, Canada, in 1642.

is due the credit of having first reached and reported upon the waters of the upper portion of the great river, which has been not inaptly styled the "Father " of them and of many others.

THE GOOD WORK OF THE ~~JOGUES~~ Jesuit FATHERS.

In 1641 Fathers Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault, at Sault Ste. Marie, and in 1660 Father Menard, another Jesuit, with a mission on the southern shore of Lake Superior, heard of and reported upon "the great river to the westward," and of the nation of people living upon it and its waters. This nation, it was reported, spoke another language and differed in other characteristics from the Algonquins. Father Allouez, who succeeded Father Menard on Lake Superior, was the first to report the name of the people and of the river. In the Jesuit Relations for 1666-67 (P. 106) he writes: "The Nadouessi live on the great river called Messipi, which empties, as far as I can conjecture, into the sea by Virginia."

The Jesuit father James Marquette and the Sieur Louis Joliet, instructed by the French Governor of Canada, Frontenac, embarked June 10, 1673, in two birch bark canoes on the Wisconsin for an exploration of the upper Mississippi. Sailing slowly down the Wisconsin, amid its vine-clad isles, its varied shores, and numerous sand-bars, on the 17th they glided into the great river, "with a joy I cannot express," writes Father

Marquette. They went south over the river as far as the mouth of the Ar-Kansas. The good father wrote "Meskousing" for Wisconsin, spelled the name of the great river "Missisipi," wrote"Ouabache" for Wabash, "Akansea," for Arkansas, etc.

The upper Mississippi was now fairly well known, but nobody had made known to the world the great falls which constituted ~~their~~ its most important natural feature. The first white man to see them was to come seven years after Father Marquette and Joliet had learned for a certainty that there was such a great river identi cal with that discovered and reported upon by De Soto's expedition.

ALL HAIL, FATHER HENNEPIN, THE FIRST WHITE ~~WHITE~~ MAN AT THE SITE OF MINNEAPOLIS!

The first pure Caucasians or men of full white blood to look upon the site where afterwards arose the great city of Minneapolis were Rev. Father Louis Hennepin and his associate, Anthony Auguelle, and the date of their visit was in July, 1680. There is but a single source of information to warrant this statement, but yet it has been made myriads of times, seldom questioned, and is still listened to with interest; it cannot become too well known, and perhaps it cannot be too often made.

Father Hennepin was born in the Province of Hainault, Flanders, (now Belgium) in about 1640. He became a Franciscan monk and in 1674

was present as a chaplain in the French army at the battle of Senef. A year or so later he was sent to Canada. In December, 1679, he was at Fort Creve Coeur, on the Illinois River, eager to engage in missionary work among the savages. His commander was the renowned Chevalier Robert de La Salle; his religious counselor was the venerable Father Ribourde.

FIRST CAUCASIAN VOYAGE TO THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

On the 29th of February, 1680, Father Hennepin and two Frenchmen left Fort Creve Coeur in a large canoe and sailed down the Illinois River, which the French, and especially Father Hennepin, called the Seignelay. The party consisted of the Franciscan priest and Michael Accault (Hennepin spells the name Ako and others write it Le Sieur d Accault, d' Acau, D' Ako, and Dacan) and Antoine Auguelle who was a native of the Province of Picardy and often termed"Le Picard"and "Picard du Gay." They had fire arms and other weapons, a good stock of provisions, and Father Hennepin carried all the articles commonly employed by a priest in his sacred calling.

In his "Description of Louisiana" Father Hennepin states the object of and some other circumstances connected with the expedition. He says:

> "I offered to undertake this voyage to endeavor to go and form an acquaintance with the natives among whom I hoped soon to settle in order to preach the faith. The Sieur de la Salle told me that I gratified him. He gave me a peace calumet and a canoe with two men"

The real leader or commander of the party was not Father Hennepin; he was merely the chaplain of the expedition. He admits in his journal that his companions often disobeyed his requests. The real commander seems to have been Michael Accault. Father Hennepin says that La Salle, "intrusted him [Accault] with some goods intended to make presents, which were worth a thousand or twleve hundred livres, [or nearly $240]. He gave me ten knives, twelve awls, a small roll of tobacco to give the Indians, about two pounds of black and white beads, and a small package of needles. He is very liberal to his friends."

About March 7, the party reached the mouth of the Illinois. Here they were detained five days by the floating ice in the Mississippi, which river was then called by the French of the country the Colbert. Two leagues from the confluence of the two rivers they came upon some Indians whose villages were west of the Colbert and who called themselves Maroa or Tamaroa, and were probably the bands known to the Algonquins as the Messouret or Missouris. They used wooden canoes, or canoes fashioned from logs, while the Algonquins of the lakes had boats of birch bark, and the word Missouri, or Michouri, means wooden canoe; not muddy, as is commonly supposed. The Maroas were at war with the Northern Indians towards whom Father Hennepin and his campanions were going with arms and other iron implements. The

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Indians shot arrows at the white men in the endeavor to prevent the re-enforcement of their enemies.

The explorers renewed their voyage up the Colbert on March 12. The work of paddling the rather heavily laden canoe against the strong swollen current of the Mississippi in the month of March and the first part of April, when much driftwood and floating ice must have been encountered, was of course very hard and toilsome. Landings and encampments were made every night and progress was necessarily very slow. In his Journal Father Hennepin does not mention these embarrassing circumstances, however, and doubtless they were cheerfully endured. He speaks joyously of the abundance of fresh provisions the country afforded them, saying: "We were loaded with seven or eight large turkeys, which multiply of themselves in these parts. We wanted neither buffalo, nor deer nor beaver, nor fish nor bear meat, for we killed those animals as they swam across the river."

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SEIZED AND ENSLAVED BY THE SAVAGE SIOUX.

After a month's journey up the great river an extraordinary incident occurred. The reverend father tells us that during the voyage they had been considering the river Colbert, (Mississippi) "with great pleasure, and without hindrance to know whether it was navigable up and down." It is quite probable that they had been instructed to investigate and report upon the

navigability of the river, and that they were also to examine and describe the country upon both its shores. The priest expected to proclaim the Gospel to the savages to whom they should come, and the daily prayers of all three of the white men were that these people might be encountered in the daytime, and not at night, when they might be mistaken for enemies and ruthlessly killed. Their prayers were answered when, on the 11th of April, "about 2 o'clock in the afternoon," says Father Hennepin, they encountered 33 birch bark canoes with 120 warriors of the great Nadouessiou or Sioux nation of Indians. The savages were on their way "to make war on the Miamis, the Islinois, and the Maroa" Indians, whose country was to the southward, and who were the hereditary enemies of the Sioux. Of course the Sioux were armed and very desirous of killing somebody.

There was the greatest excitement among them. The white men had the peace pipe which La Salle had given them, and which Father Hennepin now held conspicuously and ostentatiously aloft that the Indians might plainly see it. A peace pipe or calumet was a white flag, and not only meant that the bearer was harmless and friendly but that he must be respected and protected from all harm and injury. It was very valuable on this occasion. The Indians yelled and screamed and fired arrows at the white strangers, but Father Hennepin says: "The old men, seeing us with the calumet

of peace in our hands, prevented the young men from killing us."

It was a perilously critical time, according to Father Hennepin's narration. Some think he exaggerated the danger and peril of the conditions, which were doubtless bad enough at the best. He says that by the signs of the Indians — for their language could not be understood — the white men comprehended that the savages were on a hostile expedition against their old time enemies, the Miamis and others down below. Then the good father, "took a little stick and by signs which we made in the sand showed them that their enemies, the Miamis, whom they sought, had fled across the river Colbert to join the Islinois."

TORRENTS OF TERRIFYING FEARS.

Whereupon, realizing that their enemies had escaped them, the Sioux lifted up their voices and wept — wept loudly and their tears flowed profusely. Their foes had fled in safety; hinc illa lachrymae. Father Hennepin, "with a wretched handkerchief I had left, " wiped away some of the tears; the remainder either fell on the ground and rolled into the river or were swallowed up by the earth. The savages refused to be comforted. They would not smoke the peace pipe of the white men, and even wrenched it from thier hands. They made the poor prisoners cross the river and go into camp with them. Then they called an assembly which determined that the

wretched captives should be tomahawked outright. As a peace offering Father Hennepin then gave them six axes, fifteen knives, and six fathones (24 feet) of a rope or twist of tobacco an inch thick. At last, wishing to end it all, the good priest, as he says, handed them an axe and bowing his head and baring his neck told them to go ahead and dicapitate him, and so make an end!

At once there was a change of sentiment among the Indians. They approached the father in a friendly manner, put three pieces of hot cooked beaver meat into his mouth before presenting him with a bark dish full of the same food. Then they returned the peace pipe, but the three white men spent the night in great anxiety. Auguelle and Accault had their arms and swords at hand, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The zealous and pious priest was, as he says, in a different mood. Says he:

> "As for my own part, I determined to allow myself to be killed without any resistance, as I was going to announce to them a God who had been falsely accused, unjustly condemmed, and cruelly crucified without showing the least aversion to those that put him to death. But we watched in turn, in our anxiety, so as not to be surprised asleep."

LIVES SAVED BUT LIBERTIES LOST.

The morning of April 12, a chief or head warrior, whom Father Hennepin calls "one of their captains," and whose name he gives as Narhetoba, all in war paint, asked the white men for their peace pipe.

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Receiving it he filled it "with tobacco of his country," (probably Kinnikinnick) smoked it himself, and then made all of the other members of the band smoke it. That settled the fate of the distressed captives; they were to live. Narhetoba (see definition, post) told them that their lives would be spared, but that they must go back with them to their own country. With this decision they were well enough satisfied, since the Indians' country, was their intended destination.

In his perturbation and nervousness Father Hennepin was constantly muttering and mumbling his prayers. The Indians noticed him, and the father says they cried out, "Ona-Kanche," which the three whites thought was an expression of anger and denunciation. Michael Accault said to him: "Keep quiet; if you continue to mutter your prayers and recite your breviary, we shall all be killed." Thereupon the good father ceased to pray in public, but uttered his orisons in the dark or within the seclusion of a wood. But what the Indians really said was "Wau-Kawn" or perhaps "wau-kawn-de," meaning supernatural. In effect they said, respectfully enough, "He is saying something of a supernatural or sacred character." He afterward read from his breviary in an open canoe the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and was not disturbed. The Indians seemed to think that the book was sacred.

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The point on the Mississippi where Father Hennepin and his companions met the Sioux, cannot now be definitely fixed. The most reasonable estimate has been made by that eminent authority on Northwestern History, Warren Upham, Secretary of the State Historical Society. In his Volume 1 of " Minnesota in Three Centuries" (P. 229) Mr. Uphan says:

> "Hennepin's estimate of the distance voyaged in the ascent of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois river before meeting the Sioux was about 200 French leagues; and from the place of that meeting to where they left this river, at the site of St. Paul, about 250 leagues. The whole distance, thus represented to be about 450 French leagues, or 1,242 English miles, is ascertained by the present very accurate maps to be only 689 miles, following the winding course of the river. If we can truthfully accept the proportional ratio of the estimates of Hennepin, indicating four-ninths of the whole voyage to have been passed when he met the Sioux and was taken captive, that place of captivity was near the head of the Rock Island rapids, some 15 miles above the cities of Rock Island and Davenport."

DAYS OF DEADLY PERILS AND DANGERS.

It was probably on the 14th of April when the fleet of Indian bark canoes, including the boat of the captive white men, set out for the Sioux country up the river—the Indians abandoning their war expedition in great sorrow. These particular Sioux, commonly ferocious and very savage, were, according to Father Hennepin, very lugubrious and lachrymose. They burst into tears and wept copiously on the smallest occasion. In tearful tones they would tell the white men how much they loved them; the next minute, in voices choked with sobs, they would announce that

meant to dash out the brains of the helpless captives because the Miamis had killed some Sioux once upon a time.

More than once Father Hennepin's life was saved by the intervention of the kind-harted "captain" whom the father calls Narhetoba. (Probably, Nah-ha-e-topa, meaning, kicks twice to one side.) The head chief of the party, according to the father's account, was called Aquipaguetin. (Probably A-kee-pa Ga-tan, meaning a forked or pronged meeting, from a-kee-pa, a meeting and gatan, forked or pronged, and meaning one who meets at a forked or pronged division of the road or path.) For some time this chief was determined to kill the three white men in order to assuage his grief for the death of his son, who had been killed by the Miamis. He bawled almost constantly and kept up a special roaring at night. Father Hennepin says he indulged in all this extravagant demonstration of a poignant sorrow and a broken heart in order to obtain the sympathy of his followers so that—probably to stop his noise—they would murder the white men and appropriate their goods. But the father says that their lives were spared by the savages for merely commercial reasons. He explains:

> Those who liked European goods were much disposed to preserve us, so as to attract other Frenchmen there and get iron, which is extremely precious in their eyes, but of which they learned the great utility only when they saw one of our French boatmen kill three or four bustards [turkeys] at a single shot, while they can scarcely kill only one with an arrow.

In consequence, as we afterward learned, the words "Manza Ouackange" mean iron that has understanding. (Mah-zah Waukon means supernatural iron, and a gun was often so called. - Compiler)

The white men's boat bore such a load of freight that with its ordinary crew it could not keep pace with the light birch-bark canoes of the sioux; and so the Indians sent four or five of their number to help the Frenchmen paddle their craft. The majority of the Indians were fairly kind to the prisoners, but their kindness sometimes took disagreeable forms. The father tells us:

> "During the night some old men came to weep piteously, often rubbing our arms and whole bodies with their hands, which they then put on our heads. Besides being hindered from sleeping by these tears, I often did not know what to think — whether these Indians wept because some of their warriors would have killed us, or out of pure compassion at the ill-treatment shown us."

When the fleet reached Lake Pepin there was another outburst of Indian tears. Father Hennepin says he named this lake the Lake of Tears, ("Lac des Pleurs") "because some of the Indians who had taken us and wished to kill us wept the whole night to induce the others to consent to our death." The voyage was continued, amid occasional showers of tears and the constant threats and menaces of old Forked Meeting, for nineteen days. It was a voyage of physical toil and hardship as well as of mental discomfort. Only one thing was comforting, game was abundant and there was plenty to eat.

VOYAGE ENDS AT PRESENT SITE OF ST. PAUL

On the nineteenth day after the capture, or April 30, the expedition landed on the east side of the Colbert, or Mississippi. Father Hennepin says this landing was made "in a Bay," and at a point "five leagues (15 miles) below St. Anthony's Falls." The locality has been identified as as Pig's Eye Lake, a few miles east of St. Paul, on the north or east side of the river. In the early spring this lake has always been connected by water with the Mississippi, and Father Hennipin very properly called it"a bay." Subsequently the place was called "La Pointe Basse," or the shoal point; Point Le Claire, for Michel Le Claire, the first bona-fide white settler on its banks; and "~~Ping~~ Pig's Eye," for the nickname of an old Canadian Frenchman, Pierre Parrant, who kept whiskey for sale at the western end of the lake, at Dayton's Bluff.

Here the Indians broke up the white mens boat and seized all their goods, taking even Father Hennepin's entire equipment for his sacerdotal functions, all the articles pertaining to a portable chapel which he was carrying with him, his robes, chasuble, etc., everything except the chalice, which, because it glittered, they thought was "Waukon" and had better be let alone. They also distributed the hapless prisoners separately to three heads of families, "in place of three of their children that had been killed in

war." Then they hid their own canoes and some other articles amid the tall and rank growth of weeds and rushes in Pigs Eye Lake, and then set out for th their principal villages on Mille Lacs, or among the "thousand lakes" of that locality.

The journey from the river to the village occupied about five days. Presumably the Indians followed a well known trail, but the march was a hard one, especially for Father Hennepin and his companions. The distance, as the crow flies, is a little more than a hundred miles, and the trail was not very far from straight. But the Rum River and other streams were to cross, swamps and marshes had to be waded, and elevations climbed. It was early spring and many of the lakes and swamps were covered with a thin ice which broke under the feet of the prisoners, and the father says: "Our legs were all bloody from the ice which we broke as we advanced in lakes which we forded." They ate only once in 24 hours and often the priest fell by the wayside in the dead prairie grass, "resolved to die there," he tells us. But the Indians set fire to the grass and he was force to trudge on or be burned to death. He swam the chilly water of the Rum River, but his companions could not swim and the Indians had to carry them across on their sholders.

IN SLAVERY AT MILLE LACS.

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At last, about the 5th of May, they reached the Mille Lacs village, which Father Hennepin calls Issati, perhaps a corruption of E-san-te (or Isanti) meaning a knife. A number of the Indian women and children came out to meet the warriors and welcome them home. The white men were objects of curiosity but not of admiration. Their status was that of slaves and nobody envied them. One old man ("weeping bitterly," ~~if ciyrse~~ of course) rubbed Father Hennepin's legs and feet with wild-cat oil and was very sorry for him, while another Indian gave him a bark dish full of wild rice well seasoned with blueberries.

Father Hennepin's master, (A-Keepa-Ga-Tan) had five wives. He lived on an island to which he soon conveyed his adopted son, whom Hennepin says he called Mitchinchi (Me-Chincha, meaning my child) and to whom he was reasonably kind.

PROBABLY THE FIRST WHITE MEN AT MILLE LACS.

Nothing is said by Father Hennepin, in his rather elaborate account of his captivity, ~~and~~ indicating that he and his companions were the first white men that the Sioux (or Nadouessis) had seen. He makes no reference to the subject whatever. The Sieur du Luth claims that he was at this same Issati village in 1679, the year before Father Hennepin was taken to it, ~~but~~ but Father Hennepin does not say so. Du Luth returned with the Father to the

~~to the~~ village in the early autumn of 1680, and in memtioning this fact the priest does not hint that this was Du Luth's second visit. It is singular that Du Luth never claimed until late in 1680, after Father Hennepin's release, that he was at Mille Lacs, the village of the Issatic, in the summer of 1679. Many have boldly claimed that Father Hennepin and his two companions in captivity were the first white men to visit the ancient Sioux at Mille Lacs, and that Du Luth willfully and knowingly testified falsely when he asserted that he was there in 1679.

CONDITIONS AND INCIDENTS OF INDIAN LIFE AT MILLE LACS.

Father Hennepin and his white companions had a rather uneventful experience among the Indians of Mille Lacs. This great lake at the time was called the Spirit Lake, or in Sioux "Meday Waukon." The people dwelling on its banks came to be called the Meday (or Meda or M'da) Waukontonwan, ~~are~~ or people of the Spirit Lake; Meda, lake; Waukon, spirit; tonwan, people or village. Father Hennepin found them boiling their meat and wild rice in earthern pots. He had an iron pot "with three lion-paw feet," which the Indians were afraid of as"Waukon" and would not touch.

It is therefore certain that the early Sioux made pottery, as did the Mound Builders. It is not probable, however, that they made flint implements, or at least Father Hennepin does not tell us so. They probably

used stone war clubs, weapons formed of egg-shaped stones fastened in the ends of sticks. Hennepin tells us that on one occasion Chief Aquipaguetin, the Meeter at the Fork, came at him with his "head-breaker," which was no doubt a War club. The French term is"casse-tete" which Dr. Shea and others translate tomahawk, but which the best dictionaries render a bludgeon, or a mace. Literally the term means head breaker, The Indians had no tomahawks or other metallic implements at the time of Hennepin's visit, for this was doubtless their first meeting with white men, Prof. Thwaites translated "casse-tete" club.

The lot of Father Hennepin and his white companions among the Sioux at Mille Lacs was not an especially happy one. They were slaves and had to work. The good father was kept busy at garden making on the island of his master. He had brought some vegetable seeds with him, it seems, and they came handy. He planted tobacco, cabbages, and purslain, (portulacca) as well as corn and beans. He had the satisfaction of baptizing a child, a little girl, the daughter of "Maminisi, (probably Maminni-sha, meaning looks at red water) as she was believed to be dying. The child recovered, but died some weeks later. He christened her Antonetta, chiefly for Anthony Auguelle, who stood as her godfather.

Michael Accault (or Ako) and the Picard had a hard time of it

too. Father Hennepin says the latter was especially illy used. The Indian women recoiled from both men in horror because of "the hair on their faces;" they seemed to think they were practically wild beasts of some sort, or the missing links between the human and the brute. Father Hennepin shaved himself and they liked him. He was then about 40 years of age and the Flemings were generally good looking men. But he was not favored by the Indian women. In fact they did not even use him kindly. He says:

> "I had been well content had they let me eat as their children did; but they hid the victuals from me and would rise in the night to eat, when I knew nothing of it. And although women have usually more compassion than men, yet they kept the little fish they had for their children. They considered me as their slave, whom their warriors had taken in their ememies' country, and preferred the lives of their children before any consideration they had for me; as indeed it was but reasonable they should."

Of course the father had told the men that he did not want a wife; that he had promised "the Great Master of Life" never to marry, and that he only desired to instruct them in regard to that Master and His commands. They accepted his statement agreeably, but when he told them that white men had but one wife each, they received the information with derision, and intimated that such men must be idiots. They bade him have patience, for a great buffalo hunt was coming off soon and he should be a member of the party, when he would have all the sport and all the buffalo meat he wanted. The head chief, the Pine Shooter, was good to the prisoners and denounced the

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other Indians for their neglect and cruelty. Father Hennepin gives the name of this chief as "Ouasicoude," in Nadouessioux, and translates it Pierced ~~poire~~ Pine; but it is altogether probalbe that the Indian name was Wahze Coota, which means Pine Shooter; in Sioux Pierced Pine would be Wah-ze Pakdoka.

During the less than three months when he was their prisoner, Father Hennepin tried hard to learn the Nadouessioux language, but did not succeed very well. He set about compiling a dictionary of it, but did not get very far. He says:

> "As soon as I could catch the words Taketchiabihen,* which means in their language, 'how do you call that?' I became in a little while able to converse with them, but only on familiar things."

Yet on a subsequent page he pretends to give us a full and correct translation of a rather long prayer made by a Sioux at St. Anthony Falls to the deity of the place, entreating vengance on the Fox tribe of Indians, the deadly ememies of the Sioux.

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*Take, pronounced tah-kay; chiabi, keabi; han, ~~habi~~ hah. Probably in modern Sioux Taku keapi hay, meaning, What call it?

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FATHER HENNEPIN VISITS THE FUTURE SITE OF MINNEAPOLIS.

In the beginning of July the Nadonessioux set out on their grand buffalo hunt, going down the Mississippi to the great prairies of Southern Minnesota and Northern Illinois and Iowa. Two months of fine grazing had made the animals fat, and they were abundant. Headed by the Pine Shooter, 80 cabins of more than 130 families and 250 warriors composed the party. The women went along to care for the meat and of course had to take their children with them. Many of the villagers (perhaps the women and children) walked from their villages to the Elk and the Rum Rivers where they embarked in birch bark canoes and paddled down the upper Mississippi, making portages at the Great Falls by carrying their canoes, etc, around the cataracts and putting them in the water below.

Father Hennepin embarked in a canoe with some Indians on Rum River, called by him the St. Francis.*

(*Foot Note)

*It has been disputed that the stream called by Father Hennepin the St. Francis River was the one so named on subsequent maps. Many think it was really the Rum River which he named for the saint, and not the stream which other travelers and certain maps considered to be the St. Francis and which is now called Elk River. The learned Dr. Elliott Coues (deceased) who in 1895 republished Lieut. Z. M. Pike's Journal of his accent of the Mississippi, with invaluable notes and comments, was positive that Hennepin's St. Francis was really Rum River. Seemingly as a sort of compromise an upper branch of Elk River is now called St. Francis. Both the Rum River and the Elk (or St. Francis) have their headwaters in the Mille Lacs and the Nadouesioux would have but a small portage to make between them and their villages.

A sort of boat yard was established at the mouth of this river and quite a number of new canoes made. The women made the frames and the men cut and brought in the bark to cover them. This delayed matters so long th t Father Hennepin and Anthony Auguelle had permission to go in their boat in advance of the hunting party. When they embarked on Rum River the Picard and Accault would not let the priest go in the boat with them. "Michael Ako told me very brutally ("brutalement") that he had carried me long enough." The Picard said the canoe allotted them was a very rotten one and would have burst had all three been in it; but the priest thought this was not a sufficient excuse. He reproached his companions for their desertion; said that whatever favors they had received from the savages was due to his good work among the latter; that acting as a surgeon he had often bled them and cured them of sickness and rattlesnake bites, by administering Orvietan* and other medicines to them; having kept a stock of these remedies with him, and for all this his sworn companions were now ungrateful.

However, on being allowed to go in advance of the hunting party, Anthony Auguelle, the Picard, agreed that the Father might go in the boat with him; but Michael Ako preferred to stay with the Indians. Father Hennepin had protested that he must hasten to the mouth of the Wisconsin, because

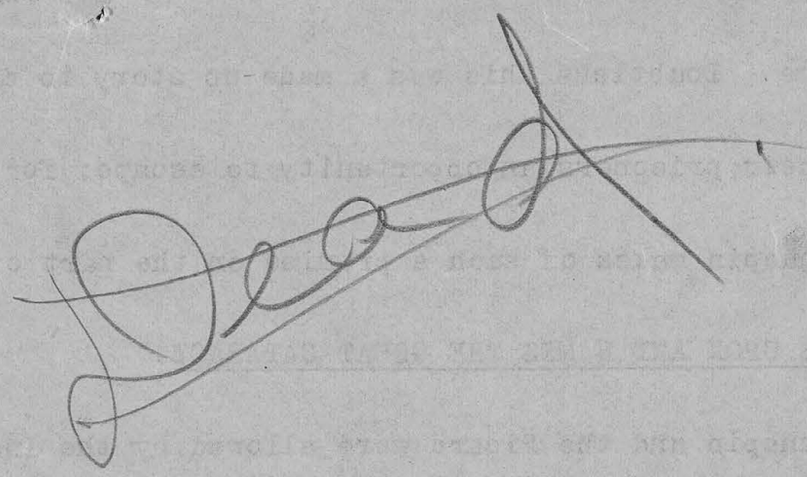
* Orvietan, now obsolete, was a drug described as a counter poison, made in Italy, and given in extreme cases.

his superior, the Chevalier La Salle, had promised to have men and supplies for him there about that time. Doubtless this was a made-up story to deceive the Indians into allowing their prisoners an opportunity to escape; for this is the first mention Father Hennepin makes of such a promise on the part of La Salle.

LOOKS UPON AND NAMES THE GREAT CATARACT.

Father Hennepin and the Picard were allowed by the Indians the Picard's gun, fifteen charges of powder, a knife, a beaver robe, and a "wretched earthern pot," the latter their only cooking utensil; what had become of the iron pot with the three lion paws is not recorded. The two white men paddled swiftly down the Mississippi and soon landed above the great falls, probably opposite the head of the present Nicollet Island, or maybe a little farther up the stream. They had to make a portage around the falls of more than a mile. That is to say, they had to drag their canoe from the water, hoist it upon their shoulders, and carry it and their baggage around the cataracts from the calm water above to the navigable current below. It was well that the canoe was of birch bark and not very heavy, yet its transportation was a disagreeable and toilsome job at best.

In neither of his two books - "A Description of Louisiana," and "A New Discovery of a Vast Country," etc., does Father Hennepin give a very elaborate description of the great falls which he discovered and named.



In the prelude of the "Discription" he says:

> "Continuing to ascent the Colbert River ten or twelve leagues more, the navigation is interrupted by a fall, which I called St. Anthony of Padua's, in gratitude for the favors done me by the Almighty through the intercession of that great saint, whom we had chosen patron and protector of all our enterprise. This fall is forty or fifty feet high, divided in the middle by a rocky island of pyramidal form."

In his account of the descent of the Mississippi when he first saw the falls, as contained in what may be considered his journal in the "Description," he mskes no elaborate mention of his particular discovery. One would expect him to give us a rapturous description of all the circumstances, his sensations, etc., covering several pages. But he makes simply a brief reference: "As we were making the portage of our canoe at St. Anthony of Padua's Falls, we perceived five or six Indians who had taken the start," etc. Then he goes on to describe the performance of one of the Indians. He says the savage climbed an oak tree opposite the fall and on one of its branches hung an elaborately dressed beaver robe, which he suspended as an offering to the spirit that dwelt under the falls — probably Ouk -tay-hee, the greatest of all the Sioux water spirits, the great Nadoussioux Neptune — and begged that the hunting party might be successful, etc. But as Father Hennepin understood the Indian language quite imperfectly, his pretended literal translation of the aborigine's prayer cannot be relied upon. Later Michael Accault

took away for his own use the fine beaver robe which he had seen offered to the water god.

In referring to the Falls, which he was the first white man to see, Father Hennepin invariably calls them "St. Anthony of Padua's Falls," or "the falls of St. Anthony of Padua." He seldom leaves off the affix "of Padua." He evidently wants it understood that his patron saint was the Portuguese St. Anthony, who died at Padua in 1231 and not the St. Anthony of Egypt, who died as early as A. D. 356. It was the Paduan Saint that is said to have preached to a school of fishes and they understood him.

THE GOOD FATHER'S SNAKE STORY.

About three miles below the falls, or probably just above Minnehaha, the Picard discovered that he had left his powder horn, with its precious fifteen charges, where they had re-embarked and they landed and he ran back to get it. And here Father Hennepin tells his remarkable snake story. He gravely relates:

> "On the Picard's return I shewd him a huge serpent, as big as a man's leg and seven or eight feet long. ("Un serpent gros comme la jambe d'un homme, qui etoit long de sept ou huit pieds.") She was working herself insensibly up a steep craggy rock to get at the swallows' nests ("nids d' hirondelles") to eat the young ones. At the botton of the cliff we saw the feathers of those she had already devoured. We pelted her so long with stones till at length she fell into the river. Her tongue, which was in the form of a lance, was of an extraordinary length. Her hiss might be heard a great way and the noise of it seized us with horror. Poor Picard dreamed of her at night and was in a great agony all the while. He was all in a

sweat with fight. I have likewise myself been often disturbed in my sleep with the image of her.

Such a monster, "as thick as a man's leg," would be of the proportions of a python or anaconda, and not easily knocked down with stones. Nordo snakes, when they partake of swallows an natured, stop to pick off the feathers, but bolt the delicate morsels whole and without much preparation. A snake of the character and dimensions described by Hennepin could take a young bird into tis stomach — ~~this~~ that is to say, swallow a swallow — feathers and all, as easily as a man can bolt an oyster.

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CHAPTER II.

FURTHER INCIDENTS OF THE ERA OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION.

FATHER HENNEPIN'S WORK OF TOIL, SUFFERING, AND GLORY -- Du LUTH'S ATTEMPT TO ROB THE GOOD PRIEST OF CERTAIN HONORS AND DISTINCTIONS -- ~~CROSEILLIERS~~ Groseilliers AND RADISSON'S DOUBTFUL EXPLORATIONS-- PERROT'S AND LE SUEUR'S EXPLORATIONS AND OPERATIONS -- CERTAIN ALLEGED VOYAGES ABOVE ST. ANTHONY NOT AUTHENTICATED -- VERENDRYE AND SONS' EXPEDITION THROUGH NORTHERN MINNESOTA -- from 1727 to 1767.

As Father Hennepin and the Picard du Gay descended the Mississippi they found several Indians on the various islands— probably Pike's, Gray Cloud, Red Wing, and Prairie among others— and these ~~fellows~~ people were happily situated. Some of them were of the party ~~street~~ that had come down the Rum River; others were probably those who had marched rapidly across the country from Mille Lacs to Pig's Eye Lake, or Bay, resurrected the canoes they had left there some weeks before, and hurried down the river. The idea was to be first among the buffaloes, which were known to be then ~~canery~~ coming north, and get the choice of the herds. They had succeeded and had plenty of fresh meat upon which they were feasting.

Of course the Indians divided their supplies with the two white men and all were happy, for a time at least. But for the Indians when on a hunting expedition to go ahead of a hunting party into the region where the game abounded, was a serious infraction of the game laws. As Hennepin and Accault and some of the "sooner" Indians were feasting on an island, suddenly there appeared 15 or 16 warriors from the party that had been left at the mouth of Rum River. These men had their war clubs in their hands and were very indignant at the "sooners." They at once seized all the meat and bear's grease and reproached the offenders angrily for their violation of the Indian hunting rules.

After leaving this island, which they did secretly, Hennepin and the Picard suffered severely for the want of provisions. They were not with

the Indians and Auguelle was a poor hunter. At last they killed a buffalo cow and on her flesh and that of some turtles and fish they got on very well for a time.

Hennepin and Auguelle rowed "many leagues," says the father, but could not find the mouth of the Wisconsin. About the middle of July the Forked Meeting suddenly overtook them with ten warriors. The white men thought he had come to kill them because they had deserted him up the river. But he gave them some wild rice and buffalo meat, and asked if they had found the white men they expected to meet at the mouth of the Wisconsin. When they told him they had not been down to the expected meeting, the chief said he and some of his good boatmen would hasten down in a light canoe and see if the white men had come.

Akeepa Gatan and his men returned in three days, saying there were no white men at the mouth of the Wisconsin. The Picard was out hunting when the chief returned and Father Hennepin was alone in his shack. The chief came forward with his "head breaker," or war club, in his hand ("son cassetete a la main") and the father thought he was to have his brains beaten out. He tells us that he seized two pocket pistols and a knife, but says: "I had no mind to kill the man that had adopted me, but only meant to frighten him and keep him from murdering me."

The chief contented himself with reprimanding and scolding his adopted son for deserting him, and for exposing himself to the attacks of the enemies of the Sioux, saying that he ought at least to have remained on the other side of the river. He then said, in effect: "Come with me; I have 300 hunters and they are killing far more buffaloes than all the other hunters; it will be better for you." The father says: "Probably it would have been better for me to have followed his advice." But he was resolved to go on to the Wisconsin and meet La Salle's men, and then the Picard was afraid to

accompany the Forked Meeting, and "would rather venture all than go up the river with him." So Hennepin and Auguelle toiled on down to the mouth of the Wisconsin but found no white men waiting for them, and were forced to turn about and paddle up the strong current of the Mississippi again. Says the father:

> "Picard and myself had like to have perished on a hundred different occasions ("cent occasions differentes") as we came down the river, and now we found ourselves obliged to go up it again, which could not be done without repeating the same dangers and other difficulties."

For the first few days of their return they had nothing to eat, but at the mouth of the Buffalo River the Picard caught two big catfish, bull-heads. Father Hennepin says: "We did not stand to study what sauce we should make for these monstrous fish, which weighed about 25 pounds, both, but cut them in pieces and boiled them on the coals. Boil them we could not, as our little earthen pot had been broken some time before." That night they were joined by another large detachment of the Nadouessi hunting party and among the hunters was the Looker on Red Water, father of the little girl whom Father Hennepin had baptized, and who died later in the odor of sanctity. They now fared sumptuously, for the Indians had plenty of meat, and gave it to them freely.

The Indians continued down the river, and the two white men accompanied them on the hunting expedition. Hennepin says the Indian women hid a lot of meat at the mouth of the Buffalo River, but it is hard to understand why it did not spoil. However, it is difficult to understand many things which the good father states as facts.

HENNEPIN MEETS DU LUTH.

On the 28th of July the whole party began to re-ascend the Mississippi. For Hennepin and Auguelle this was the third time they had paddled up the great water course. The Indians wanted them to go with them to the head of Lake Superior to make peace and an alliance with their enemies in that quarter. At a point which Father Hennepin estimates (and doubtless over-estimates) as 120 leagues from the Sioux country, they met, to their great joy, the Sieur

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Daniel Greysolon du Luth, who, with four or five men and two Indian women, had come down the Wisconsin, by way of Fox River and its portage, in canoes from Lake Superior. And great was the joy of Du Luth and his companions at the meeting with Father Hennepin. Good Catholics that they were, they had not approached any of the sacraments for more than two years.

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HENNEPIN ESCORTS DU LUTH TO MILLE LACS.

Hearing Father Hennepin's account of his experiences, Du Luth was anxious to visit the villages of the Nadouessioux, (or Issati) up in the Mille Lacs region, and urged the father, because he understood Sioux, to accompany him and his party to the villages of those people. ("De les accompagner et d'aller avec eux aux villages de ces peuples.") But if Du Luth had visited the villages a year before, why had he not learned something of the language of the people? Why did he want to go to the villages if he had already been there and formally taken possession of them for the King of France? He says he went to reprove the people for their unkind treatment of the three white men in making slaves of them. But he further says that 1,000 or 1,100 of the Indians, including the head chief, were with Father Hennepin when he met him. Surely that number was enough to declare his displeasure to, especially as he did not punish the Indians in any other way than to scold them.

There is abundant evidence that Du Luth, in July, 1680, had never seen the villages of the "Issati," or Naudouessioux, nor the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, but wanted very much to, and readily embraced the opportunity to do so, in company with the 1,000 Indians and the two white men. The trip was at once entered upon; apparently it was made the greater part of the way by water-up the Mississippi to Rum River, and then up that stream to a point opposite the Mille Lacs villages, when the remainder of the journey was by land on foot.

The next paragraph in Hennepin's "New Discovery" after that describing the meeting with Du Luth reads: "The Sieur du Luth was charmed at the sight of the Fall of St. Anthony of Padua, which was the name we had given it, and which will probably always remain with it. I also

~~also~~ showed him the craggy rock where the monstrous serpent was climbing up to devour the young swallows in their nests," etc.

The return party arrived at the villages of the Issati (or Sioux) August 14, and all the white men remained there until the end of September. Father Hennepin was fortunate in finding his silver chalice and all his books and papers, which he had buried, safe and well preserved; the Indians had been afraid to meddle with them. The tobacco he had planted was choked with grass, but, the cabbages and the portulacca ("purslain") had grown to prodigious sizes.

DU LUTH'S IMPROBABLE STATEMENTS.

Du Luth says that he assembled the savages in council in their chief village and denounced them very vigorously for their treatment of Father Hennepin and his companions. (One white man with but seven companions denouncing in the harshest terms thousands of savages in a ~~locality~~ locality hundreds of miles from any other white men!) Father Hennepin, however, gives a different account of this council. He says it was a "great feast to which the savages invited us after their own fashion." He says that "there were above 120 men at it quite naked." The head chief, the Pine Shooter, roundly denounced the Sieur du Luth because he did not show proper respect to the Indian dead, and told him plainly that Father Hennepin was a better man and "a greater captain than ~~those~~ thou." The only evidence that Du Luth was at Mille Lacs in 1690 is his statement to that effect in his report to the Marquis de Seignelay, wherein he says:

> "On the 2nd of July, 1679, I had the honor to plant His Majesty's arms in the great village of the Nadouecioux, called Izatys [meaning Issatis or Isantis] where never had a Frenchman been --any more than one had been at the Songaskitons [Shonka-ska-tons, or White Dog People,] and the Houetbatons, [Wat-pa-tons, or River People] six score leagues from the former, [the Issatis] where I also planted His Majesty's arms in the same year, 1679."

LA SALLE DENOUNCES DU LUTH.

Izatys

If this statement were true, Du Luth visited the Mille Lacs

villages a year before Hennepin. But the Chevalier La Salle, who at the time was in general charge of Du Luth, Hennepin, and all of the other French forces, and interests in the country,* says, in a letter to the Governor of Canada, dated August 22, 1682, quoted in the Margry Papers, Vol. 2, P. 245:

> "To know what the said Du Luth is, it is only necessary to inquire of Mr. Dalera. Moreover the country of the Nadouesioux is not a country which he has discovered. It has been long known, and the Rev. Father Hennepin and Michael Accault were there before him."

In other letters and in his official report ("Relation Officielle") for from 1679 to 1681, made to Colbert, the French Minister of Marine, La Salle is severe upon Du Luth. He says that in 1680 Du Luth had been for three years, contrary to orders, on Lake Superior, with a band of twenty coureurs du bois, saying that he did not fear the Grand Prevost, etc.; that he and his men engaged illegally in the fur trade; that he induced one of La Salle's soldiers that spake at least the Chippewa language to desert his post at Fort Frontenac and join his band and go with a delegation of Chippewas ("Sauteurs") to the Nadouessioux to make peace between the two nations, but two or three attempts to make such a treaty failed. He further says that Du Luth learned from the deserter that there were plenty of beaver skins to be had in the Nadouessioux country, and that, guided by this soldier, (whose name was Faffart) and two Indians he set out to get these furs, and on the expedition eventually came upon Father Hennepin and Auguelle, the Picard.

The Count de Frontenac had Du Luth arrested and held as a prisoner in the castle of Quebec for a considerable time, intending to send him to France on charges made by Duchesneau, the Intendant. His men were merely bush-rangers and forest outlaws, hunting, trapping, and trading without license and defying all authority. Many of them were deserters from the French army. They were finally granted full amnesty by the French King and Du Luth was released from prison. He became very prominent and even celebrated in French Colonial affairs, chiefly as a military leader, and at one

*La Salle's official title was, "Lord and Governor of the Fort of Frontenac and of the Great Lakes in New France."

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time was in command of Fort Frontenac. It may well be denied that he was the first white man to visit the Sioux at MilleLacs (to the French soldier Faffart may belong that distinction) but there is no question as to the great services he rendered in promoting the establishment of civilization in the Northwest. He died on Lake Superior in 1709, and the city of Duluth may be considered his monument. (For the documents referred to in Du Luth's case see Vols. 1 and 2 of the Margry Papers in French.) True one of the Jesuit Relations says that Du Luth was at Mille Lacs in 1679, but the statement is evidently copied from Du Luth's report and no other verification is attempted.

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10 HENNEPIN AND DU LUTH RETURN TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

Du Luth, Hennepin, and their companions remained the guests of the Nadouessioux until the latter part of September, or from August 14th. Their prolonged stay indicates that the time passed somewhat agreeably, which does not compare with Du Luth's account. The travelers now wished to return to Canada. The Sioux consented, believing the representations made to them that the white men would soon return to them, bringing great quantities of iron and other goods. The chief Pine Shooter gave them a bushel of wild rice and other provisions, and made them a chart of the course they should take. Hennepin says that this chart "served us as well as my compass could have done," All eight of the Frenchmen including accault set out on the Rum River in canoes given them by the Indians.

At St. Anthony of Padua's Falls Michael Accault and another Frenchman stole two fine beaver robes, offerings to the Indian great water spirit, Onktayhee, one of the robes being that which Father Hennepin saw the Indian suspend in a tree. Du Luth was afraid the theft would get the party into trouble, but Father Hennepin said that as they were idolatrous and heathenish offerings it was better for Christians to take them and convert them to Christian uses! The larceny of these beaver robes heads the caucasian criminal calendar of Minneapolis!

When they neared the mouth of the Wisconsin they stopped to dry buffalo meat. In a little time came three Mille Lac Indians who told the white men that Waze-coota (the Pine Shooter) had proved their firm friend. After their departure he heard that one of his sub-chiefs had determined to follow them and kill them. Whereupon the head chief went over to the would-be murderer's lodge and knocked out his brains. But two days later they were astonished and alarmed when they saw a fleet of 140 canoes in which were 250 Nadouessioux warriors from Mille Lacs, who were apparently following them with evil intent. However, Father Hennepin held up a peace pipe, and the Indians came ashore, were very friendly, and seemed glad to meet the white men again. With the Pine Shooter and the Forked Meeting at their head, they were on the way to make war upon their enemies , the Illinois, the Messorites, and other southern Indians. A few pipe-fulls of Martinique tobacco made everything all right. Not a word was said about the votive offerings, the two beaver robes taken from the trees at St. Anthony of Padua's Falls.

It would seem that the Indians accompanied the eight Frenchmen from thence to the mouth of the Wisconsin, and then went on to make war on their enemies, to the southward. Du Luth and his party made their way far up the Wisconsin, and eventually , partly by the help of the Indian chart, reached Green Bay, then called the Bay of the Puants, or Stinkers, as the Winnebagoes were termed. "Here," says Father Hennepin "We found Frenchmen trading contrary to orders with the Indians." These were doubtless some of Du Luth's bush-rangers or coureurs du bois.

CLOSE OF HENNEPIN'S CAREER.

Father Hennepin spent the winter of 1680-81 at St. Ignace Mission, Mackinaw. In Easter week, 1681, he left the Mission, proceeded down or eastward over the Lakes to Fort Frontenac, and from thence went to Montreal, where he was well received by Governor Frontenac. Then he went to Quebec and in the following autumn returned to Europe. In 1682 he published

his "Description of Louisiana," in which he gives an account of his voyage from the Illinois River up to what is now Minnesota, his capture by the Sioux, his deliverance by Du Luth, etc. In this volume he says emphatically that he did not descend the Mississippi below the mouth of the Illinois. In 1697, however, ten years after La Salle had been murdered, he brought out another book entitled, "A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America," etc. In this work he claimed that he did descend the Mississippi from the Illinois to the mouth of the great river, then turned about and with his two Frenchmen went up the river, was taken prisoner by the Nadouessioux, discovered the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, etc.

We do not know when or where he died. A letter written at Rome March 1, 1701, by another priest gives us the last word of him extant. It says that he was then in a convent of the Holy City, hoping soon to return to America under the protection of cardinal Spada. When and where he died we cannot tell, and it may be said of the last resting place of this man who first made the site of Minneapolis famous as it is written of Moses: "No man knoweth of his sepulcher unto this day."

Father Hennepin has been the subject of much hostile and bitter criticism. Various authorities have denounced him as a falsifier and a fraud. It must be admitted that in writing his books he was careless in expression and much given to exaggeration. Then, too, he wrote a great deal about himself, extolling his own merits, vaunting his courage and his exploits, while he depreciated the character of La Salle, Du Luth, and others. La Salle warned the French Governor that the priest was a prevaricator and given to exaggeration, and said he was hardly made a prisoner and certainly not treated cruelly by the Indians, but that he said he was in order to increase interest in his story, magnify his fortitude, etc.

Both in his "Description" and his "New Discovery" the explorer priest exaggerates distances and incidents greatly. According to his statement the distance between the mouth of the I

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Illinois and St. Anthony Falls is 1, 365 miles, whereas, by the meanderings of the river, it is known to be less than half that distance. The palpable falsity of his big snake and fish stories, that he was in peril of his life " a hundred times" ~~written~~ within less than a week, and much other misrepresentation, prove him at least a reckless writer.

But it is with his second volume, "A New Discovery of a vast country," etc., with which commentators find most fault. It was issued 15 years after his "Description of Louisiana," and after Father Marquette, La Salle, and many others that knew the facts were dead. It was in this book that he claimed he went down the Mississippi before ascending it. Two features of this book alone prove its unreliability if not its utter falsity—its horrible confusion of dates and the utter impossibility of performing the canoe voyages ~~written~~ within the times given. In his "New Discovery," for example, he says he left the mouth of the Arkansas River to paddle northward on the 24th of April (1680). In his "Description" he says he ~~was~~ hundreds of miles north of the Arkansas, at the bay of Pig's Eye Lake, on the 30th of April, and on the 11th was taken prisoner by the Indians somewhere near Rock Island.

Certain apologists for Father Hennepin claim that the misstatements in the "New Discovery" were not his, but were the work of unscrupulous publishers. Yet the weight of opinion among historians is that Father Hennepin wrote the book himself, obtaining his information of the country of the Lower Mississippi from the reports of Father Marquette, the Chevalier La Salle, Father Zenobius Membre, and perhaps others.

FATHER HENNEPIN ALL RIGHT ON THE MAIN QUESTION.

But the question of most importance in the history of Minneapolis, and to the people that are interested therein is, Was Father Hennepin and his associate, Anthony Auguelle, the first two white men to look upon St. Anthony Falls and the present site of Minneapolis? The answer from every authority is, Yes. The distinction given them is not and never has been disputed.

And was Father Hennepin the first man to write of and publish to the civilized world the fact of the existence of St. Anthony Falls and the future site of Minneapolis? The undisputed answer is, He certainly was. Anthony Auguelle did not write anything about the discovery; doubtless he could not. He was born in the city of Amiens, in the Province of Picardy, but he was a simple man, a hard worker, a voyageur, who had come to the new country to better his condition, and doubtless he was uneducated. He knew enough to be a Christian; he attended to his religious duties, confessing to Father Hennepin regularly, and he was always faithful to the adventurer priest. Good enough for Anthony Auguelle the Picard du Gay!

Now finish Vol. II

(Father Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony ("of Padua," we perhaps should add) was the event that advertised the country of Minnesota two hundred years ago more than any other incident or feature. The Falls were marked on every subsequent map, every subsequent explorer visited t them and wrote about them; their name was common before the word Minnesota was known. Father Hennepin was responsible for all this. His great achievement makes us forget his weaknesses and feel like honoring his memory, and we all are disposed to say:

(Nor draw his

. No farther seek his merits to disclose, ~~Nor draw his~~
frailties from their dread abode.

No apology is made for the space given in this volume to the account of Father Hennepin and his important and influential discovery. No previous history of Minneapolis has anything like such an account, and the facts in detail of the important discovery of St. Anthony Falls ought to be as well known to every citizen of Minneapolis as the particulars of the discovery of America should be within the knowledge of every citizen of the United States.

The authorities consulted in the preparation of this chapter have been, in English, Neill's History of Minnesota, Warren Upham's vol. 1

Minnesota in Three Centuries, Thwaites's Translation of Hennepin's New Discovery, Shea's Translation of the Same, Parkman's La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, and in French, ~~and of~~ Hennepin's Voyage ou Nouvelle Decouverte d'un Tres Grand Pays Situe dans l' Amerique, etc., printed at Amsterdam in 1698 by Abraham van Someren, and the same printed at Amsterdam in 1704 by Adrian Braakman; also Vols. 1 and 2 of the Margry Papers. For interesting and valuable notes on Father Hennepin and his expedition see Warren Upham's articles in vol. 1 Minn. in Three Centuries.

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON.

During the period between 1654 and 1660, ante-dating Father Hennepin by twenty years, two Frenchmen, named Médard Chouart, commonly known as the Sieur des Groseilliers, and Pierre Esprit Radisson, made two expeditions for exploration and traffic into the Northwest from Canada. They may have penetrated the country now comprised in Eastern Minnesota, but it cannot be proven that they did, nor definitely concluded just where they did come. The "Relations" or reports of the Jesuit fathers make it certain that they were in the Northwestern Country at different times, but those authorities do not pretend to state their routes.

Years afterward, while living in England, Radisson wrote in English an account of the expeditions of himself and his brother-in-law, Chouart or Groseilliers, but this account is confusing rather than enlightening. In writing Radisson seldom noted the date of any event by the month and never by the number of the year. It seems impossible now, from his description, to identify any lake, river, or other natural feature of the Country which he and his brother-in-law visited or traveled, or to tell what tribes of Indians they met. His language is generally no more definite than, "We embarked on the delightfullest lake in the world;" or "we crossed a great river;" or, " we came to another river;" or " we came to a river; " or, "We abode by a sweet sea (or lake);" We passed over a mountain;" or "We met a nation of wildmen, etc., etc. However he at no time mentions that they came

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to a river clearly answering the description of the Mississippi, or that they even heard of a waterfall resembling the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua.

Historians and commentators do not agree in their conclusions as to the journeys of the two adventurous Frenchmen. Radisson says they spent about fourteen months on "an island." The late Capt. Russell Blakely, claims in an elaborate article in the State Historical collections, that this island was in Lake Saganaga, on the northern boundary of Minnesota; Warren Upham thinks it was Prairie Island, in the Mississippi, a few miles above Red Wing. There is nothing, and never can be anything but theory and speculation regarding the localities and natural features mentioned by Radisson. At the same time those most tolerant of and friendly toward Radisson's statements admit that many of them are pure fiction.

The historian or commentator claiming that Groseilliers and Radisson were ever at the Falls of St. Anthony or even at the Mississippi, has not yet appeared. What Radisson would doubtless call "the beautifullest hotel in the world" has been built in Minneapolis and named for him, but the honor bestowed thereby is entirely gratuitous. So much for Groseilliers and Radisson.

PERROT, LE SUEUR, AND THE VERENDRYES.

It is well to mention, though ever so briefly, the expeditions into the Minnesota Country, in the region of the present site of Minneapolis, made by the French explorers that came immediately after Father Hennepin and Du Luth. Some of these visited St. Anthony of Padua's Falls and wrote about them, still further advertisingthem.

CAPT. NICHOLAS PERROT'S IMPORTANT OCCUPATION.

Passing by the great liar and falsifier, Baron L'Hontan, who pretended to have explored a great river and a vast country in Southern Minnesota in about 1690, but who never was in the country at all, we come to consider the important expeditions of Capt. Nicholas Perrot and Pierre Charles Le Sueur. Perrot was a Frenchman, and Le Sueur a French Canadian. In 1665, when about

21, Perrot came to Green Bay as an Indian trader, and for the next few years acted as a general peace commissioner between all Indian tribes between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, bringing them all into friendly relations with the French.

Probably as early as in 1683 Perrot established a trading post, which was named Fort St. Nicholas, on the Mississippi, not very far above the mouth of the Wisconsin. In early days trading posts were generally called "forts" although they were not fortifications or hardly had a military character. Perrot, it seems, was soon doing an extensive business, buying the furs of the Indians of what are now western Wisconsin, northeastern Iowa, and southeastern Minnesota. In 1685 he built a temporary post on the east side of the river, near the present site of Trempeleau. Subsequently, on the northeastern shore of Lake Pepin, six miles from its mouth, he built his most noted post which he called Fort St. Antoine. He also had, at the outlet of the lake, a small post which he named for himself and called Fort Perrot, and another in the vicinity of Dubuque; but the latter were merely auxiliaries and feeders of Fort St. Antoine. Dr. E. D. Neill was of opinion that Fort Perrot was built first, in 1683, and stood on the present site of the town of Wabasha.

Perrot informed himself about the country in which he was stationed. He wrote several manuscripts about it, describing certain Indian tribes, their wars, customs, etc., and giving much of the geography of the country; but he did not mention the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, although three years before he came to the country they had been discovered and made known. Moreover, his traders must have penetrated to them many times during the fifteen years Fort St. Antoine existed. He knew of the St. Croix and the St. Pierre (the latter now the Minnesota) Rivers and gives their names at least as early as in 1689, showing that these rivers had been named before that time; can it be possible that he did not know of St. Anthony's Falls? If he did know them, why, in his numerous writings, did he not mention them?

CAPT. PERROT TAKES POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY FOR HIS KING AND NAMES THE ST. CROIX AND THE ST. PETER RIVERS.

May 8th, 1689, at Fort St. Antoine, Perrot, acting with full authority, or as he says, "Commanding for the King at the post of the Nadouesioux," took formal possession of a large extent of country in this region for and inthe name of the King of France. This country extended far up the Mississippi, and of course included the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, although they are not mentioned. It especially mentions the country of the Nadouesioux, on the border of the River Saint Croix, ("la Riviere St. ~~Pierre~~ Croix") and at the mouth of the River St. Peter ("La Riviere St. Pierre") "on the bank of which are the Mantantans." The latter named tribe may possibly mean the Mandan Sioux, although when first visited and reported upon the homes of these people were on the upper Missouri.

In 1699 King Louis XIV of France ordered the abandonment of the French trading posts in the far west, recalling the traders and the few soldiers to Lower Canada. In a convenient time ~~thereafter~~ Capt. Perrot obeyed the order and thereafter lived in retirement at his home on the St. Lawrence River. It is known that he was alive in 1718, but the date of his death is not known.

PIERRE CHARLES LE SUEUR.

It is quite probable that Pierre Le Sueur was the second prominent early explorer to visit the site of Minneapolis. He was a Canadian Frenchman, born in 1657. Probably he came with Nicholas Perrot to the Minnesota country in 1683 and was in his employ in this region for many years. He was at Fort St. Antoine, on the eastern shore of Lake Pepin, in 1689, for on the 8th of May of that year he, as a witness, signed Perrot's proclamation taking possession of the country in the name of the King of France. The other witnesses were the Jesuit Priest, the Rev. Fr. Joseph Jean Marest; M. de Borie-Guillot, "commanding the French in the neighborhood of the Ouiskonche [Wisconsin] on the Mississippi;" Augustin Legardeur, Esquire: the Sieur De Caumont, and Messrs.

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Jean Hebert, Joseph Lemire, and F. Blein. All these, including Le Sueur, could write their names. Le Sueur is described in the document simply as Mr. Le Sueur and signs without either of his Christian names. He was not then a prominent character.

In 1695 Le Sueur, by order of Gov. Frontenac, built a trading post on Prairie Island, in the Mississippi. Early in the summer of this year he journeyed to Montreal, taking with him a Chippewa chief, Chengouabe, and "Tioscati," a Sioux. The idea was ~~in~~ the promotion of a permanent treaty of peace between the two warring tribes in the presence of Gov. Frontenac. The Indians remained several months in Montreal, but the Sioux chief Tioscate (probably Te-yo Ska Te, meaning white door of a tepee, from te-yopa or te-yo, a door; ska, white, and te a contraction of tepee) died the next winter. Le Sueur then went to France and obtained a commission to work some mines which he had previously discovered on the Blue Earth river, near its confluence with the Minnesota.

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What he ~~had~~ says he really found was some "blue or greenish earth" on the banks of the river, and he thought that this meant that large deposits of copper were imbedded deeper beneath the surface. What he saw was blue clay, so blue that the Indians used it for paint in bedaubing their faces and naked bodies on certain occasions. The Sioux called the stream whereon they found this blue clay, "Watpa Mah-kah to," meaning River of Blue Earth, (Watpa, river; mah-kah, earth; to or toe, blue.) Mankato is an English corruption of Mah-kah to.

Le Sueur obtained his commission to work his supposed mines largely through the influence of a French assayist named L'Huillier, who analyzed the dirt brought from the Blue Earth and said it contained copper. Obstacles of one kind and another deterred Le Sueur from returning to the Minnesota country and working his mine until in the year 1700. About October 1st of that year he reached the mouth of the Blue Earth. He spent the ensuing

winter on the Blue Earth, a few miles above its mouth, where he built a post or"fort" which, in honor of his French friend, the assayist, he named Fort L' Huiller.

Le Sueur, who was the historian of his expedition, says that October 26, 1700, he "proceeded to the mines, with three canoes which he loaded with blue and green earth." The next spring he is said to have left a small garrison at Fort L' Huillier and shipped a lot of his "ore" down the Mississippi to New Orleans and from thence by ship to France. What was done with the stuff when it reached Paris is not certainly known. The so-called copper mine was never farther explored. It was a copper mine without any copper. Le Sueur himself is believed to have died before 1712; one account says he died at sea while on his way back to America, and it is also said he "died of sickness" in Louisiana, where his home was at the time.

Le Sueur's journal of his mining expedition was published by Benard La Harpe in French and has been translated into English by Shea and others. Another historian of the expedition was a Monsieur Penicaut, a shipwright, that built Le Sueur's boats and kept them in repair. Dr. Neill describes him as "a man of discernment but of little scholarship." He has, however, written a concise but clear, consistent, and apparently a fairly correct account of the expedition and of the geography of the country. His statements agree very well with those of Le Sueur; any discrepancies are easily explained.

LE SUEUR AND HIS MEN VISITED ST. ANTHONY FALLS.

We are assured by Penicaut's account that Le Sueur and his men visited the present site of Minneapolis The ship-carpenter historian writes:

> "Three leagues higher up, after leaving this island, (Prairie Island) you meet on the right the river St. Croix, where there is a cross set at its mouth. Ten leagues further you come to the Falls of St. Anthony, which can be heard two leagues (six miles) off. It is the entire Mississippi falling suddenly from a height of 60 feet, (!) making a noise like that of thunder rolling in the air. Here one

has to carry the canoes and shallops* and raise them by hand to the upper level in order to continue the route by the river. This we did not do, but having for some time looked at this fall of the whole Mississippi we returned two leagues below the Falls of St. Anthony to a river coming in on the left, as you ascend the Mississippi, which is called the river St. Peter. ("la Rivere St. Pierre") We took our route by its mouth and ascended it forty leagues [a large over-estimate] where we found another river on the left falling into the St. Peter which we entered. We called this Green River, ["La Riviere Vert"] because it is of that color by reason of a green earth, which, loosening itself from the Copper mines, becomes dissolved in it and makes it green."

FOR WHOM WAS THE ST. PETER'S RIVER NAMED?

The river which is now and has long been known as the Minnesota was originally called by the Sioux Indians "Wat-pa-Minne Sotah," meaning River of Bleary Water. (Wat-pa, river; Minne, Water; Sotah, bleary.) The Chippewas called it by a name signifying the river where the cottonwood trees grow. The early French Explorers called it "la Riviere St. Pierre," or the river St. Peter, and it was commonly called the St. Peters, which name it bore until in 1852, when Congress declared that thereafter it should be called the Minnesota.

Singularly enough, Father Hennepin does not mentionthe Minnesota. Doubtless its mouth was concealed by an island and trees and he passed up and down the eastern channel of the Mississippi and did not see it. This was Carver's conjecture.

The Sioux called it the river of clouded or bleary water, because a hundred or more years ago ti washed some clay deposits above the present site of the village of Morton, and the dissolved clay clouded or bleared the water. The current long ago receded from the clay banks. Why did the French call it the St. Pierre or the St. Peter's? The question, like many another relative to early history, cannot with confidence be definitely answered.

It had been named the St. Peter before May 8, 1689, because in his proclamation taking possession of the country Captain Nicholas Perrot twice mentions it by that designation. A suggestion that it was named for the first Christian name (Pierre) of Le Sueur has met with endorsement from

*The shallops referred to were probably flat boats propelled by both oars and sails; afterwards they were called mackinaw boats.

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~~the first Christian name (Pierre) of Le Sueur has met with endorsement from~~ good authorities. But this theory cannot be well established. It is most probable that Perrot Christened the stream in 1689, or possibly in 1688, and at that time Le Sueur was in his employ, an abscure person, whom Perrot designates as simply a Mr. Le Sueur, in company with Mr. Le Mire, Mr. Hebert, and Mr. Blein. Not until six years later did Le Sueur become famous and worthy of having a river named for him because he thought he had discovered a copper mine and had built a post on Lake Pepin. In his journal Le Sueur repeatedly mentions the river and always calls it the St. Peter, without a hint that it was named for himself. He well knew whether or not it was so called, for he was at Fort Antoine when the name was given. Penicaut also mentions the St. Peter frequently, but never intimates that it was named for his superior, which he most probably would have done had this been the fact. No early chronicles even suggests that it was named for Le Sueur and it is a distinction not given him by any biographer. The fact that his name was Pierre simply, and not Saint Pierre, is also an objection to the claim made for him, but which he never made for himself, that the stream was called in his honor. His name has been honored in Minnesota, however, by calling one of the best counties and a flourishing town in the State for him.

It has also been suggested that the river was named for Capt. Jacques Le Gardeur St. Pierre, at one time commander of Fort Beauharnois, on Lake Pepin, but he did not come to the country for nearly fifty years after the St. Peter was christened and well known by its name.

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It will probably never be certainly known for whom the St. Peter was named. No theory yet brought forward has been conclusively demonstrated. One guess is as good as another until the truth is shown. Since it could not have been named for either of the individuals suggested, or for any other early pioneer and explorer, it may be that it was called for Saint Peter himself, the "Prince of the Apostles." It may have first been visited ~~by Perrot's men June 29, or St. Peter's day, some year between 1683~~

by Perrot's men on June 29, or St. Peter's day,* of some year between 1683 and 1689; if so, the appropriate designation would at once be perceived and insisted upon by Rev. Father Marest, the devout Jesuit chaplian of Perrot's ~~force~~ party. Or for some other reason it may have been called in honor of the great apostle, to whom were delivered "the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," and this seems to be the most probable solution of the question.

THE ST. CROIX NAMED FOR AN UNFORTUNATE FRENCHMAN.

The origin of the modern name of the St. Croix river has been well enough determined. Father Hennepin says the Indians called it Tomb river ("Watpahknah hknah-kah-pe") "because the Issati (or, Nadouessioux) left there the body of one of their warriors, killed by the bite of a rattlesnake." The father says he covered the grave or tomb with a blanket, and that this act of respect gained him great admiration and impelled the savages to give him the great banquet he describes which was given on the occasion of his and Du Luth's visit to the big village at Mille Lacs.

It is reasonably certain that the St. Croix bears the family name of one of Perrot's Frenchmen, who was drowned at the mouth of the stream by the upsetting of his boat, some time prior to 1689, when Perrot issued his proclamation in which the river is named. In his Journal M. Le Sueur says that on the 16th day of September, 1700, he "left on the east side of the Mississippi a river called St. Croix, because a Frenchman of that name was wrecked at its mouth." M. Penicaut, heretofore mentioned, in his description of the country in 1700, and his account of Le Sueur's expedition, ~~refers~~ states ~~in the~~ (See quotation on a preceding page) that ~~then~~ at the river St. Croix "there is a cross set at its mouth." It is probable that this cross was over the grave of the unfortunate voyageur, or at least marked the

*Some chroniclers say that Saints Peter and Paul both suffered martyrdom at Rome on the same day; others allege that St. Paul suffered a year after St. Peter. In the Roman Calendar St. Peter's Day is June 29 and St. Paul's June 30.

locality where he was drowned. Carver says in his Journal that the river "is said to be named for a Frenchman that was drowned here."

TWO ALLEGED VERY EARLY VOYAGES TO AND PAST ST. ANTHONY FALLS. -- THE ~~ALLEGATIONS~~. Allegations Not Verified.

In an extract from his "Memoires" (which is printed on pp. 171-72 of vol. 6 of the Margry Papers, in French) M. Le Seur tells of a canoe voyage made by himself on the upper Mississippi sometime about the year 1690, or before 1700. He claims that he went more than a hundred leagues above the Falls of St. Anthony. ("J'ai desja dit que j'avois monte plus de 100 leaues au-dessus du sault St. Antoine") He further says that the Sioux with whom he went up assured him when he had reached the end of his upward trip there were yet more than tem days' journey to the sources of the Mississippi, of which sources the Indians said there were very many.

It is to be regretted that M. Le Sueur did not give fuller and better details of his alleged voyage, and that what he wrote was not intended solely to refute the statements of a certain Mathieu Sagean, with whom he seems to have had a dispute. He does not say why he went up the river or give us any exact dates or enlightening details. His account is not conclusive or convincing -- and may as well be disbelieved.

In "Minnesota in Three Centuries" (Vol. 1, pp. 253-4) Warren Upham suggests that Le Sueur and a M. de Charleville made the voyage above St. Anthony's Falls together. The authority for M. de Charleville's connection is a statement made by M. Le Page Du Pratz in his "History of Louisiana," originally published by him in French in 1757. In an English translation printed by Becket, London, 1774, the historian (chap.1 of Book 2) is made to say:

> "M. de Charleville, a Canadian, and a relation of M. de Bienville, Commandant General of this colony, told me that, at the time of the settlement of the French, curiosity alone had led him to go up this river [the Mississippi] to its sources; that for this end he fitted out a canoe, made of the bark of a birch tree, in order to be more portable in case of need. And that having thus set out, with two Canadians and two Indians, with goods, ammunition, and provisions, he went up the river

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300 leagues to the north above the Illinois; that there he found the fall called St. Antony's. This fall is a flat rock which traverses the river and gives it only between eight and ten feet fall. He ascended to the sources 100 leagues above the falls.

That will be about all for the story of M. de Charleville. It is void for improbability and uncertainty. The date of his setting out is given as "at the time of the settlement of the French," (meaning probably Perrot's settlement) which might be any time between 1683 and 1695. That he would go to all the trouble and expense of fitting out and taking part in an expedition up the river 1,200 miles (or 400 leagues) above the Illinois, merely out of "curiosity alone," is at least strange. That he should see and pass St. Anthony's Falls and pronounce them "a flat rock" which was "only between eight and ten feet fall" is a palpable ~~his~~ mis-statement. He says he went 100 leagues (or 300 miles) above St. Anthony's Falls and learned from the Indians that the sources of the Mississippi were still hundreds of miles to the north. He estimated the entire length of the Mississippi at 4,800 miles or 1,600 leagues. Nowhere in Du Pratz's account of Charleville is the name of Le Sueur mentioned, and nowhere in the extract from ~~his~~ Le Sueur's "Memoires" relating to ~~Le Sueur's~~ his voyages is the name of Charleville mentioned. Warren Upham says that both Le Sueur and Charleville were relatives of the brothers Iberville and Bienville, who were at different periods Governors of the Louisiana Territory. In that case, it is again singular that if they were in company when they made the voyage to and above St. Anthony's Falls, neither of them in his account mentions the other.

Furthermore there is no corroboration extant of the statements of Le Sueur and Charleville as to their several expeditions 300 miles up the Mississippi above St. Anthony Falls. No other contemporary writer, whether historian or recorder, endorses their assertions or even refers to them.

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EXPEDITION OF VERENDRYE AND HIS FOUR SONS.

In 1731, Pierre Gaultier Varennes, more commonly known as the Sieur de la Verendrye, made, in company with his four sons and a nephew, an extended expedition west of the western extremity of Lake Superior. The expedition was commissioned and equipped by the Canadian government and its

main object was the discovery of an easy route across the country to the Pacific Ocean. One of Verendrye's sons was a priest. The expedition built Fort St. Pierre, at the mouth of Rainy Lake; Fort St. Charles, on the Lake of the Woods, and other forts and trading posts on Lake Winnipeg and the Assineboine and Saskatchewan, in Manitoba.

The expedition did not come near St. Anthony's Falls or the present site of Minneapolis. It went westward and southwestward to "the great shining mountains," which may have been the Black Hills. On the return at the crossing of the Missouri, where the city of Pierre now stands, the commander buried an inscribed leaden plate, which was resurrected by a school girl in February, 1913.

FROM 1727 TO 1767.

In 1727 a French post, called Fort St. Beauharnois, was built and a Catholic Mission, called the Mission of St. Michael the Archangel, established on the Minnesota shore of Lake Pepin, near the present site of Frontenac. The first commander of the post was the Sieur Perriere, and the commander in 1735 was Capt. Legardeur St. Pierre, before mentioned. The mission was in charge of the Jesuit Fathers Michel Guignas and Nicholas de Gonnor. It is not certain that the fathers built a separate mission house, and therefore the first church building in Minnesota. The post had four large buildings and it is probable that a room in one of these was used as a chapel. At all events there is no special mention in the early records that a separate mission house was erected, though some good authorities think there was.

In May, 1737, Capt. St. Pierre burned Fort Beauharnois and departed down the Mississippi, on account of the hostile conduct and menaces of the wild Indians of the surrounding country. The Fort was rebuilt in 1750 and for the next two years was under the command of Pierre Paul Marin. (See Neill's History of Minnesota)

Before further explorations and establishments were made by the French in the country of the Northern Mississippi the old "French

and Indian War" between the English Colonies in North America and the French of Canada broke out. Meanwhile the few and scant records of that period make no mention of the Falls of St. Anthony or the country about them. In 1763, by the treaty of Versailles, all the territory now comprised within the present limits of Wisconsin and of Minnesota east of the Mississippi was ceded by France to Great Britain, and all French establishments in this quarter were permanently abandoned, Fort Beauharnois being the last of these.

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CHAPTER 3 III.

THE FIRST AMERICAN VISITS AND EXPLORATIONS

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VISIT OF CAPTAIN JONATHAN CARVER IN 1766--

THE FIRST NATIVE=BORN Caucasian= AMERICAN TO ~~Visit~~ See and Write About ~~DESCRIBE~~ ST. ANTHONY FALLS--

HIS DESCRIPTION OF THEM AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY--

GOES UP TO RUM RIVER AND ASCENDS THE MINNESOTA--~~FALSELY~~ CLAIMS

THAT HE SPENT SEVERAL MONTHS WITH THE SIOUX--HIS ENTIRE ACCOUNT

A MIXTURE OF TRUTH AND FALSITY--BUT ALTOGETHER HE DID MORE GOOD

THAN HARM TO THE MINNESOTA COUNTRY— Lieut. Z. M. Pike's Expedition ~~to~~ and Investigations— He Proclaims the Authority of the United States, Treats With the Indians for the Site of Fort Snelling and Minneapolis, Etc.

JONATHAN CARVER, THE FIRST ENGLISH VISITOR.

The first English-speaking explorer and English subject to visit St. Anthony of Padua's Falls was Capt. Jonathan Carver, who first saw them in November, 1766. Capt. Carver was born at Stillwater, or Canterbury, in the then Province of Connecticut, in 1732, the year of the birth of George Washington. He was captain of a company of Colonial troops in the French war and was present at the massacre of the English troops at Fort William Henry, in northeastern New York, in 1757, narrowly escaping with his life.

In 1763, as soon as peace had been concluded, Capt. Carver conceived the idea that it would be greatly to his credit and advantage, and to the interests of his sovereign and government, if he should explore at least a portion of the territory in the Northwest which had been recently ceded by Franch to Great Britain. That territory was very little known to Englishmen, and the captain believed that if he were the first to explore it, and then report upon it, ~~the~~ his king would suitably reward him, and his countrymen highly honor him.

Capt. Carver's plan was meditated very early, but its execution was greatly delayed. Not until in June, 1766, did he set out from Boston for the country about the Falls of St. Anthony, then fairly well known through French explorers and adventurers, although no Englishman had yet visited it. He proceeded to Mackinac, or Mackinaw, then the most distant British post. Following the track of Marquette and Joliet and of Du Luth and other early voyageurs, he passed up Green Bay, ascended the Fox River, made the portage across to the Wisconsin, and descending that stream entered the Mississippi October 15. His declared destination after leaving the Falls of St. Anthony was the ~~mythical~~ so-called "River of the West," or Oregon, which was supposed to enter the Pacific Ocean at the fictitious or mythical "Straits of Annian."

At Prairie du Chien (which he calls "La Prairie le Chien") some traders that had accompanied him from Mackinac left him. He then bought a canoe and some supplies, and "with two servants, one a French

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Canadian and the other a Mohawk of Canada," started up the Mississippi - October 19.

Capt. Carver did not return to Boston until in 1768, having been absent on his expedition two years and five months. The following year he went to England, wrote from his notes a fairly good account of his journeyings, including much narrative and descriptive matter, and published it in book form. He died Jan. 31, 1780, at the age of 48, and after his death several editions of his book were printed, with some new matter, by his friend Dr. John Coakley Lettsom. He made repeated efforts to obtain a suitable reward for his public services from the British government, but failed in every instance to obtain anything beyond "an indemnification for certain ~~extremes~~ expenses." His book had a limited sale and he made little profit from its publication.

He became very poor. In 1779 he was clerk in a London lottery office at a few shillings per week. He died in extreme poverty. Dr. Lettsom says: "After rendering at the expence of fortune and health and the risk of life many important services to his country, he perished from absolute want in the first city of the world." His death was caused by dysentery occasioned by actual want of food.

With his two men Capt. Carver paddled slowly up the Mississippi. About the 12th of November (1766) he came to the present site of St. Paul and in what is now Dayton's Bluff visited the noted cavern afterward called Carver's Cave. He also noted that the crest of the bluff was even then a prominent burial place or cemetery of the Naudowessie, or Sioux, Indians.

SEES AND DESCRIBES THE GREAT FALLS.

November 17 he visited the Falls of St. Anthony. In a very early edition of his book, ("Travels through the Interior Parts of North America," London, 1778) he describes his visit, with a mention of prominent features of the surrounding country. To quote:

"Ten [?] Miles below the Falls of St. Anthony the River

St. Pierre, called by the natives the Waddapawmenesotor [Wat-pa-Minne Sotah] falls into the Mississippi from the west. It is not mentioned by Father Hennepin, although a large fair river; this omission, I conclude must have proceeded from a small island [Pike's?] by which the sight of it is intercepted. I should not have discovered the river myself had I not taken a view when I was searching for it) from the high lands opposite, [probably Pilot Knob] which rise to a great height. Nearly over against this river I was obliged to leave my canoe, on account of the ice, and travel by land to the Falls of St. Anthony, where I arrived on the 17th of November. The Mississippi from the St. Pierre to this place is rather more rapid than I had hitherto found it, and without islands of any consideration."

No one that never visited this portion of the Mississippi could have described it so accurately. Capt. Carver had no printed description to follow; he must have seen the country himself. From where he left his canoe he was accompanied to the Falls by a young Winnebago Indian, whom Carver calls "a prince," and who had come into the country on a visit to the Sioux. The Winnebago left his wife and children in the care of Capt. Carver's Mohawk, while he, the captain, and the French Canadian journeyed to the Falls.

Carver says they could hear the roaring of the great cataract for several miles before reaching it. ~~The Captain~~ He says he was "greatly pleased and surprised" when ~~I~~ he approached this astonishing work of nature. The Winnebago was profoundly and peculiarly impressed. Carver says:

> "The prince had no sooner gained the point that overlooks this wonderful cascade than he began with an audible voice to address the Great Spirit, one of whose places of residence he imagined this to be. He told Him that he had come a long way to pay his adoration to Him, and now would make him the best offerings in his power. He accordingly first threw his pipe into the stream, then the roll that contained his tobacco, the bracelets he wore on his arms and wrists, an ornament composed of beads and wires that was about his neck,— in short he presented to his god every part of his dress that was valuable, at last giving the ear-rings from his ears. During this distribution he frequently smote his breast with great violence, threw his arms about, and seemed much agitated. All the while he continued his prayers and adorations, petitioning the Great Spirit for our protection on our travels."

Carver says that instead of ridiculing the pagan Indian and his heathenish devotions, "as I observed my Roman Catholic servant did," he looked on the former with great respect and believed that his offerings and prayers "were as acceptable to the Universal Parent of Mankind as if they had been made with greater pomp or in a consecrated place." The Connecticut cap-

tain's mention of St. Anthony Falls is most interesting. In part he writes:

> "The Falls of St. Anthony received their name from Father Louis Hennepin, a French Missionary, who traveled into these parts about the year 1680, and was the first European ever seen by the natives.* This amazing body of waters, which are above 250 yards over, form a most pleasing cataract; they fall perpendicularly about 30 feet, and the rapids below, in the space of 300 yards more, render the descent considerably greater; so that when viewed at a distance they appear to be much higher than they really are. The above-mentioned traveller has laid them down at above 60 feet. But he has made a greater error in calculating the height of the Falls of Niagara, which he asserts to be 600 feet, whereas, from latter observations, accurately made, it is well known that it does not exceed 140 feet.** But the good father, I fear, too often had no other foundation for his accounts than report, or at best a slight inspection."

Of what we now call Nicollet Island Capt. Carver interestingly says:

> "In the middle of the Falls stands a small island, about 40 feet broad and somewhat [!] longer, on which grow a few scragged hemlock [?] and spruce trees; and about half way between this island the eastern shore is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Fall, in an oblique position, that appeared to be about five or six feet broad and 30 or 40 feet long. These Falls vary much from all the others I have seen, as you may approach close to them without finding the least obstruction from any intervening hill or precipice."

Of the island afterwards known as Cheever's Island the following description is given:

> "At a little distance below the Falls stands a small island, of about an acre and a half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, every branch of which that was able to support the weight was full of eagles' nests. The reason that this kind of birds resort in such numbers to this spot is that they are here secure from the attacks of either man or beast, their retreat being guarded by the rapids, which the Indians never attempt to pass. Another reason is that they find a constant supply of food for themselves and their young from the animals and fish which are dashed to pieces by the Falls and driven on the adjacent shores."

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*Evidently Capt. Carver was acquainted with the history of the Falls, and did not believe that Du Luth visited the Naudowessie village at Mille Lac a year prior to Hennepin.

**The best authorities give the total descent of Niagara Falls as 212 feet "from the head of the rapids."

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APPEARANCE OF THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

Describing the country surrounding the Falls the explorer is fairly enthusiastic in their praise, thus:

> The country around them is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain where the eye finds no relief, but is composed of many gentle ascents, which in the summer are covered with the finest verdure and interspersed with little groves that give a pleasing variety to the prospect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at the distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the universe. I could have wished that I had happened to enjoy this glorious sight at a more seasonable time of the year, whilst the trees and hillocks were clad in nature's gayest livery, as this must have greatly added to the pleasure I received; however, even then, it exceeded my warmest expectations. I have endeavored to give the reader as just an idea of this enchanting spot as possible in the plan annexed, [alluding to an engraving of the Falls] but all description, whether of pencil or pen, must fall infinitely short of the original.

ASCENDS TO RUM RIVER.

Having observed the Falls until his curiosity was satisfied, Capt. Carver, accompanied by his Canadian Frenchman and his Winnebago prince, journeyed up the Mississippi until November 21, when he reached the mouth of the St. Francis. He estimates the distance from the Falls to this river at 60 miles, an over-estimate of some 20 miles. He says: "To this river Father Hennepin gave the name of St. Francis, * and this was the extent of his travels, as well as mine, towards the northwest. The Mississippi has never been explored higher up than the River St. Francis, and only by Father Hennepin and myself thus far."

Of course he crossed Rum River, which he says is 14 miles above the Falls, an under-estimate, and when he crossed it was 20 yards, or 60 feet. The St. Francis was 30 yards wide. On November 20 he says he passed "another stream called Goose River, 12 yards wide." The cold weather, he tells us, prevented his making many observations of the country in this quarter. He noted, however, the mouth of the St. Francis. "Here," he says, "the Mississippi grows narrow, being not more than 90 yards over, and it appears to be

*See discussion on a preceding page, (Hennepin's account) as to whether or not the stream called by Father Hennepin the St. Francis was not really Rum River.

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chiefly composed of small branches. The ice prevented me from noticing the depth of any of these rivers;" but he could have added that it facilitated traveling on foot and especially his crossing streams. Of the country he says:

> "The country in some places is hilly, but without large mountains, and the land is tolerably good. I observed here many deer and carribboos, some elk, with abundance of beavers, otters, and other furs. A little above this, to the northeast, are a number of small lakes called the Thousand Lakes, (Mille Lacs) the parts about which, though but little frequented, are the best within many miles for hunting, as the hunter never fails of returning loaded beyond his expectations."

GOES UP THE MINNESOTA.

November 25 Capt. Carver returned to his canoe or boat which he had left at the mouth of the St. Pierre. Here, he says, he bade good-bye to the Winnebago prince, and set out to explore the Minnesota, taking with him his Mohawk and Canadian Frenchman. He discovered and named Carver River and passed the Blue Earth, which he calls the Verd, or Green River, and which, he says, "forks ~~said forked~~ at a little distance from the St. Pierre," the west fork being called the "Red Marble River," meaning probably the Red Pipestone. He says this fork had its source among some mountains containing red marble.

Two hundred miles up the St. Peter, according to his estimate, he says he came to a large village of the Naudowessies or Sioux of the Plains, and here he asserts that he remained living with the Indians from December 7, 1766, to April 27, 1767. This period he says, on one page of his book, was five months, and on another he states that it was seven months. The truth probably is that he did not pass the winter in Minnesota at all.

As a geographical and topographical gazet~~her~~teer of the Minnesota Country, Capt. Carver's book of travels is very faulty and misleading. He describes the country that he actually saw very well indeed; but he frankly says that he was obliged solely to the Indians for his knowledge of much of that which he did not see but attempts to describe, and these latter descriptions are almost worthless, being for the most part incorrect. Then, too, his estim-

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ates of distances, like the estimates of other early explorers, are not even approximately accurate in most instances. The early explorers did not carry odometers or other instruments for measuring distances traveled, and their calculations of spaces traversed seem to have been based on the fatigue and labor involved in encompassing them, and so were always exaggerations. For example, Capt. Carver says he ascended, the Minnesota for 200 miles; his map indicates that he went up to a point a few miles below New Ulm, or, taking into account the meanderings of the river, about 100 miles from Mendota. If he had gone 200, miles he would have stopped not far below Big Stone Lake.

But Capt. Carver's worst fault was that of many another traveler. He was a great romancer and prevaricator. He was probably not very much worse than some other early explorers and chroniclers of Minnesota, and his false statements did no great harm or particular injustice. He said he lived among the Sioux for several months and "perfectly acquired" their language; The pretended Sioux words and terms he gives in his book show that he had but a smattering of the language. His discription of their manners and customs, founded upon his pretended personal observation of and acquaintance with them, is quite inaccurate and misleading. ¶ It is somewhat remarkable that in his book Carver gives so large a number of geographical names correctly, as Lake Pepin, the St. Croix, St. Pierre, Rum, and St. Francis Rivers, as they were afterward ~~called~~ known. This proves the truth that many of these names were bestowed a hundred years before and were well established. St. Anthony's Falls was doubtless then the best known geographical name in the Northwest. Thus, though Capt. Carver's book is false in many things, it is not false in all.

RETURNS TO THE MISSISSIPPI

In the latter part of April, 1767, Capt. Carver, still with his Mohawk and his Canadian, paddled down the Minnesota, according to his statement, and returned to the "great cave" in the white sandstone bluffs at St. Paul. Here he says a grand council was held of representatives of all the Sioux bands, "as ~~were~~ was their custom," although we know that this was not their custom. He further says that they brought with them the bones of their deceased relatives and friends who had died the preceding winter and deposited them on the crest

We have long known, however, that the crest of Dayton's Bluff was the last resting place of only the bones of the old-time Sioux that died in the near-by villages. The carcasses of those that died in the remote villages were disposed of there.

of the bluff above the cave. ¶ At the council, Carver says he delivered a grand speech to the Indians on May 1. He prints this speech in his book, and purports to give a verbatim report (as if he took it down in short-hand) of the reply of one of the chiefs. He also says that on this occasion the Indians created him a chief, which is utter nonsense; the Sioux never made a chief out of a white man. After his death Carver's heirs exhibited a document evidently written by their ancestor and which purported to be a deed to a vast extent of country east of St. Anthony's Falls, and which ~~were~~ bore the pretended signatures of two alleged Sioux chiefs. Everything about this "deed" was bogus, and those that attempted to gain anything by it failed utterly.

After attending the council in the Great Cave, Capt. Carver says he returned to Prairie du Chien and thence went to Lake Superior. He spent some time in exploring that region, finally returning to Boston by way of the Sault Ste. Marie, Detroit, and Niagara Falls. He reached Boston in October, 1768, "having," he says, "been absent from it on this expedition two years and five months, and during that time travelled near 7,000 miles." Soon after he went to England and published the first edition of his book in 1769; subsequently several editions were published and it was translated and printed in Dutch and French.

CARVER, TOO, WAS A FALSIFIER.

As has been said, Capt. Carver, as a writer was a prevaricator, and, like most other early explorers that narrated their own experiences and achievements, often mis-stated and perverted the facts. He wrote to please and interest his readers and imagined that to do so he must write of something extraordinary or at least remarkable. If his own adventures were not really remarkable, he must pretend they were. Imitating Simon Magus, ~~of~~ mentioned in Scripture, he meant to "give out that himself was some great one."

From what we now know, it seems most probable that Capt. Carver's experience in and about St. Anthony Falls was not of high importance or very

extraordinary. It must be admitted that he came to the locality; that he saw and examined the great Falls; that he went up to the St. Francis; that he examined the shores of the Mississippi for two miles or so on either side of the river; that he went up the Minnesota to the mouth of the Blue Earth--and practically, no farther; that he then returned to the Mississippi and, realizing that a long, cold winter was approaching and that he did not care to spend it among the squalid and illy-provided barbarians of the region, relying mainly upon his own resources, he hastened back to the comfortable trading houses of the post on Green Bay, where he passed the ensuing season very well.

He did not spend several months with the Sioux near St. Peter or New Ulm, coming down to the mouth of the Minnesota in the spring of 1768. If he had spent any considerable time with them he would have known them and their country better and his descriptions would have been more accurate and in accord with established facts.

He, in no sentence in his book, calls the Indians that he says he came to know so intimately by their proper and real names. Always and in every case where he refers to them he calls them Nadowessies, with various spellings. Now, this term was an epithet bestowed upon the Indians about St. Anthony and on the Minnesota River by the Chippewas and the other tribes east of the Mississippi. The term signifies in the Algonquim dialect "snakes" and also "our enemies."

If Capt. Carver had spent five months, or seven months, with the Minnesota Indians, and been treated by them with the great kindness and consideration he says he received from them, he certainly would have called them by their proper name, or the name they called themselves--Dakota, meaning the allied or banded together, the union of the "seven great council fires." They always called themselves Dakotas, resented any other name, and for a long time considered the term Naudowessies (or Naudowessioux and its contraction "Sioux") as an insulting epithet. Nowhere in Capt. Carver's book is it even intimated that the name of these Indians was Dakota, nor does the word Dakota,

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~~nor does the word Dakota~~ appear. Imagine a traveler spending seven pleasant months in Mexico and then writing a book descriptive of his experience in which he refers to the people of that country only as "Greasers." Or a European writing of the United States and calling our people by the sole name of "Yanks."

If Capt. Carver had spent five months with the Indians in the present St. Peter or New Ulm region, he would have learned that there was no "Red Marble River," a fork of the Blue Earth and which rose in "some mountains containing red marble." Somebody told him of the Watonwan and that this insignificant stream had its source out in the direction of the Coteaus and the Red Pipestone Quarry, and his imagination made mountains of the Coteaus, and marble of the pipestone. He admits that much of his imformation regarding the country was obtained from heresay.

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His pretended council with the Indiams in the "great cave," at St. Paul, when he says they gave him, merely as an expression of good will, a vast expanse of country, was never held. His so-called deed was a palpable and very clumsy forgery. It purported to be signed by two Sioux chiefs, in their tribal vernacular; but there are no such ~~words~~ names in the Sioux vocabulary as he gives to them, and no such words with the translations he presents; his pretended translations are preposterous. Then it is pretended that with their signatures the grantor chiefs affixed totem ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ marks, when it is well known that the Sioux did not have totem distinctions or use totem marks. It is only necessary to add that the greater part of the land which the deed pretended to convey to Capt. Carver was not Sioux land at all; nearly all the described tract lay east of the St. Croix and belonged to the Chippewas, the Winnebagos, and the Menominees.

Another evidence that Capt. Carver falsified his account of his sojourn among the Sioux for several months is presented by the many errors he makes in his descriptions of their character, their manners and customes, etc. He copies much of this matter from the great lair La Hontan, and well ~~nyh~~ nigh imagines all the rest. He foully and inexcusably slanders the Sioux

women whom all other writers praise for their virtue, purity, and innate nobility of character.

For a correct analysis and estimate of Carver's account the investigator is referred to Keating's article in his Journal of ~~Leny~~ Long's Expedition of 1823.

CARVER NOT WHOLLY BAD.

But whatever Capt. Carver's demerits were as a descriptive writer of his own travels, he certainly did a great deal for Minnesota and especially for the Falls of St. Anthony. He caused them to be still better known to the civilized world. He described the entire region as well-nigh all that was desirable. If he had been the advertising agent of a big real estate firm owning all the country and desiring to sell it, he could scarcely have written more attractively. His descriptions were glowingly interesting and glaringly false. There was, he said, "an abundance of copper" on the St.Croix, western Wisconsin abounded in "heavenly spots," and nature had showered " a profusion of blessings" over the entire country of western Wisconsin, except in some places along the shore of Lake Superior.

LIEUT. PIKE'S VISIT IN 1805-1806.

Capt. Carver was born and reared in Connecticut and was in America until 1769; but, because he was always a British subject, some writers claim that he was not the first American citizen proper to see St. Anthony's Falls, but that to Lieut. Zebulon Montgomery Pike belongs that destinction.

The War of the Revolution virtually terminated in 1782 and by the treaty of Paris in 1783, between Great Britain and the United States, the former government ceded to the latter all of its former territory in North America below the Canada line. This gave the United States all the territory east of the Mississippi, including the eastern ~~and~~ end of the Falls of St. Anthony and the adjacent land. The country west of the Mississippi, to an indefinite extent, belonged, after 1769, to Spain, from Lake Itasca to the Gulf of Mexico; but in 1800, by a secret treaty, Spain retroceded it back to

France. This country included the site of what is now the western and principal part of Minneapolis.

In 1803, by what is commonly called the Louisiana Purchase, the United States acquired the French country west of the Mississippi. Strangely enough, as it seems to-day, there was great dissatisfaction among a large part of the American people, especially those of New England, with the Louisiana Purchase. President Jefferson, who had been the principal agent in its negotiation, was strenuously denounced; the price paid for the country, $15,000,000, was declared to be "outrageously extravagant;" the country itself was declared to be "a howling wilderness, the abode of wild and savage beasts and wilder and more savage men, and it cannot be subdued in 200 years," etc., etc. It has long been the condition that any two wards of the western division of Minneapolis are worth far more than the price Thomas Jefferson caused to be paid for the entire and vast Louisiana Purchase.

To silence the clamor against the new acquisition, because he believed in its value, and to inform himself and the country about it, President Jefferson had the country examined. The southern part, now including the States of Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana, were fairly well known, but surveyors and explorers were sent in considerable numbers to lay it out for settlement and to report upon it. Two important expeditions, ~~some~~ semi-Military in character, were ordered to ascend respectively the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers to their sources, and see if the northern part of the country was really a "hyperborean region under Arctic conditions," as has been alleged, and to assist President Jefferson in the comfirmation of his opinion that he had not bought a piece of blue sky, but that the country he had purchased was ~~with~~ worth the money paid for it. Captains Lewis and Clark, with a considerable expedition, went up the Missouri in 1804 and Lieut. Pike, with another party of soldiers, ascended the Mississippi in 1805-6, both expeditions setting out from St. Louis.

Lieutenant Pike, a New Jerseyman, was but 29 years of age when he first saw the Falls of St. Anthony. He set out from his encampment near St. Louis, August 9, 1805, in a keel-boat, 70 feet long, with a crew of regular

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soldiers consisting of one sergeant, two corporals, and 17 privates, and with rations and provisions for four months. He was equipped with mathematical instruments for calculating latitude and longitude, measuring elevations and distances, etc., and with barometers and thermometers, drawing apparatus, etc.; He was accomplished in the use of all these. On the 21st of September he reached Pig's Eye slough and what is now Dayton's Bluff, St. Paul, where then was a Sioux village of ~~carbens~~ cabins presided over by Chief Little Crow III, the third of the Carvidean dynasty of Sioux sub-chiefs. The same day he passed old Jean Baptiste Faribault's trading post, on the west side of the river, below Mendota, and that night encamped on the northeast point of what is now Pike's Island, opposite the mouth of the St. Peter's or Minnesota.

THE TREATY OF PIKE'S ISLAND.

On the 23d he held a council under an arbor on Pike's Island with the following Sioux chiefs: Little Crow III of the Kaposia or "light" band; the Son of Penechon, of the band at Black Dog's Lake; Shakopee, of the band ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ living near where the town of Shakopee is now; Stands Suddenly, whose real Indian name was Wokanko Enahzhe, though Pike gives it as Wayago Enagee also called the "Son of Penishon," and who was a chief of the Wah-pay-Kootas, or Leaf Shooters, down on the Cannon River, and ~~Tap-tonka~~ Tah-tonka ~~Marine~~ Manne, (Walking Buffalo) of the Red Wing band. There also took part in the treaty, or conference, three Indian head-soldiers, the Big Soldier, the Rising Moose, and the Supernatural Deer's Head (Waukon Tahpay.) The deed made at the conference was signed by but two chiefs, Little Crow III and the son of Penishon or Stands Suddenly--"Wayago Enagee." Pike also mentions the Supernatural Deer's Head ~~ny~~ by the French Designation of "Le Becasse," meaning a woodcock.

Under the deed signed by the two chiefs, the Sioux nation granted of their country to the United States, "for the establishment of military posts," nine miles square at the mouth of the St. Croix; "and also from below the confluence of the Mississippi and the St. Peter's up the Mississippi to include the Falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river."

The amount to be paid the Indians was left at the U. S. Senate, which fixed the sum at $12,000, which was subsequently paid mostly in goods.

Although only two chiefs touched the goosequill and made their marks to this deed, none of the tribe ever attempted to repudiate it for any reason whatever. There are some interesting features of this so-called treaty and deed which may be passed over here.

PIKE SURVEYS AND PASSES ST. ANTHONY FALLS.

On the 23d of September, from his camp on his island, Lieut. Pike sent up three of his men to make a preliminary observation of St. Anthony's Falls, but "their reports were so contradictory," he says, "that no opinion can be formed from them." But onthe 25th he broke camp and renewed his voyage to see them for himself. That night he encamped opposite the mouth of Minne - haha Creek, but did not notice or comment upon the stream or the beautiful little waterfall only a few hundred yards away. As for his itinerary the ensuing four days, the following extracts from his Journal comprise a sufficient account:

> "Sept. 26 -- Embarked at the usual hour, and after much labor in passing through the rapids, arrived at the foot of the Falls about 3 or 4 o'clock; unloaded my boat and had the principal part of her cargo carried over the portage. With the other boat [his barge] full loaded, however, they were not able to get over the last shoot, [chute] and encamped about 600 yards below. I pitched my tent and encamped above the shoot [chute]. The rapids mentioned in this day's march might properly be called a continuation of the Falls of St. Anthony, for they are equally entitled to this appellation with the falls of the Delaware and Susquehanna. Distance nine [?] miles. Killed one deer.*
>
> "Sept. 27-- Brought over the residue of my lading this morning. Two men arrived from Mr. Frazer, on St. Peter's, for my dispatches. Sent a large packet to the general [Gen James Wilkinson] and a letter to Mrs. Pike, with a short note to Mr. Frazer. This business of closing and sealing (letters and dispatches) appeared like a last adieu to the civilized world.*** Carried our boats out of the river as far as the bottom of the hill. Sept. 28--Brought my barge over and put her in the river above the falls. While we were engaged with her, three-quarters of a mile from camp, seven Indians, painted black, appeared on the heights.

*A great deal of the space in Pike's Journal is taken up with notices of his hunting and fishing exploits. Whenever he shot a deer or a raccoon or a duck or caught a catfish, he made a note of it.

"We had left our guns at camp and were entirely defenseless. It occurred to me that they were the small party of Sioux who were obstinate and would go to war when the other part of the bands came in. These they proved to be. They were better armed than any I had ever seen, having guns, bows, arrows, clubs, spears, and some of them even a case of pistols.

"I was at that time giving my men a dram, and giving the cup of liquor to the first Indian he drank it off; but I was more cautious with the remainder [!] I sent my interpreter [Joseph Renville] to camp with them to await my coming, wishing to purchase one oftheir war-clubs, which was made of elk-horn and decorated with inlaid work. This and a set of bows and arrows I wished to get as a curiosity. But the liquor I had given the Indian beginning to operate, he came back for me; refusing to go till I brought my boat he returned, and (I suppose being offended) borrowed a canoe and crossed the river.

In the afternoon we got the other boat [the Keel-boat, 70 feet long,] near the top ofthe hill, when the props gave way and she slid all the way down to the bottom, but fortunately without injuring any person. It raining very hard, we left her. Killed one goose and a raccoon.

"Sunday, Sept. 29--I killed a remarkably large raccoon. Got our large boat over the portage and put her in the river at the upper landing. This night the men gave sufficient proof of their fatigue by all throwing themselves down to sleep, preferring rest to supper. This day I had but 15 men out of 22; the others were sick."

Even at this day, when it can do no good, one cannot but sympathize with Pike's poor soldiers that preformed so much hard work during his entire expedition and especially, with the 15 that performed the heavy and greatly fatiguing labor of carrying the heavy boats,the baggage, and the provisions up the high and steep banks of the river and around the falls for a distance of at least a mile. The big Keelboat was 70 feet long and must have weighed not less than 30 pounds to the foot, or 2,100 pounds, a weight of 140 pounds to each of the 15 soldiers. The Lieutenant's barge was of course smaller, but heavy enough in all conscience. No wonder that Pike gave his men frequent "drams" to encourage and stimulate them; no wonder that the big boat slid back down the high bluff, which Dr. Coues and others think was on the east side; no wonder that 7 men out of 22 were sick and unable to work; no wonder that on the evening of that memorable Sunday the 15 that had worked fell exhausted and prostrated, cheerfully foregoing their suppers for a few minutes more of sleep. Continuing his journal, Lieut. Pike writes:

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"Sept. 30th--Loaded my boat, moved over, and encamped on the Island. [Nicollet?] The large boat loading likewise we went over and put on board. (sic) In the meantime I took a survey of the Falls, the Portage, etc. If it be possible to pass the falls at high water, of which I am doubtful, it must be on the east side, about 30 yards from shore, as there are three layers of rocks, one below the other. The pitch-off of either is not more than five feet, but of this I can say more on my return. [~~Note by compiler.~~-After his return Pike added to the foregoing as to the practicability of passing the Falls at either end; "It is never possible, as ascertained on my return."]

October 1--Embarked late. The river at first appeared mild and sufficiently deep; but after about four miles the shoals commenced and we had very hard water the remainder of the day. This day the sun shone after I had left the Falls, but whilst there it was always cloudy. Killed one goose and two ducks."

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THE COUNTRY THEN FROM ST. PAUL TO RUM RIVER.

Describing the country along the Mississippi from what is now St. Paul to the mouth of Rum River the Lieutenant writes well, although exaggerating distances between geographical points:

"About 20 [!] miles below the entrance of the St. Peter's, on the E. shore, at a place called the Grande Marais [Big Marsh, now Pig's Eye Lake] is situated Petit Corbeau's [Little Crow's] village of 11 log houses.

"From the St. Peter's to the Falls of St. Anthony the river is contracted between high hills, and is one continual rapid or fall, the bottom being covered with rocks which in low water are some feet above the surface, leaving narrow channels between them. The rapidity of the current is likewise much augmented by the numerous small, rocky islands which obstruct the navigation. The shores have many large and beautiful springs issuing forth which form small cascades as they tumble over the cliffs into the Mississippi. The timber is generally maple."

He also says that the river between the St. Peter's and the Falls is "noted for the great quantity of wild fowl." Of the Falls themselves, having surveyed them, he is able to give us actual dimensions and correct descriptions:

"As I ascended the Mississippi the Falls of St. Anthony did not strike me with that majestic appearance which I had been taught to expect from the descriptions of former travelers. On an actual survey I find the portage to be 260 poles (4,290 feet); but when the river is not very low boats ascending may be put in 31 poles below, at a large cedar tree, and this would reduce it to 229 poles. The hill over which the portage is made is 69 feet in ascent, with an elevation at the point of debarkation of 45 degrees. The fall of the water between the place of debarkation and reloading is 58 feet; the perpendicular fall of the shoot [chute] is 16½ feet. The width of the river above the shoot [chute] is 627 yards; below 209.

(No paragraph) In high water the appearance is much more sublime, as the great quantity of water then forms a spray, which in clear weather reflects from some positions the colors of the rainbow, and when the sky is overcast covers the Falls in gloom and chaotic majesty."

Just what is meant by "Chaotic Majesty" is not certain, but the matter is not important. The gallant explorer continued his voyage under the adversities of low water and cold weather. On the 3d of October he left the mouth of the Rum River with the mercury at zero and ice forming. That day, however, he killed three geese, a raccon, and a badger, and was happy, and the next day it rained and he killed two geese, a grouse, and a wolf.

Proceeding with some difficulty up the Mississippi, the ~~gallant~~ explorer and his party were overtaken by early snow and cold October 16, and forced to go into winter quarters at Pike Rapids, in what is now Morrison County; the site of their stockaded encampment or fort has been identified. Though they had made fine game-bags every day, killing dozens of geese, ducks, prairie hens, pheasants, etc., there was more hardship than sport among the party. Of the distresses among the men the last day, Pike tells us:

> "After four hours' work we became so benumbed with cold that our limbs were perfectly useless. We put to shore, built a large fire, and then discovered that our boats were nearly half full of water. My sergeant [Henry] Kennerman, one of the stoutest men I ever knew, broke a blood-vessel and vomited nearly two quarts of blood. One of my corporals, [Samuel] Bradley, also evacuated nearly a pint of blood. These unhappy circumstances, in addition to the inability of four other men, whom we were obliged to leave on shore, convinced me that if I had no regard for my own constitution, I should have some for those poor fellows who were killing themselves to obey my orders.*** We immediately unloaded our boats and secured their cargoes."

EXPLORES THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI ON FOOT.

Setting out December 10, Pike advanced up the Mississippi with Corporal Bradley and a few men, who dragged a sled in which were provisions and on which rested one end of a small canoe or pirogue. His object was not only to examine the country but to reprimand the English traders at Sandy, Leech, and Cass Lakes. These men were flying the British flag over their posts and occasionally giving out British medals to the Indians. Pike visited them, made them haul down their ~~flags~~ Union Jacks and substitute the Stars and Stripes

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and also made them promise to thereafter comport themselves as law-abiding residents of the United States.

The brave and gallant officer returned to his fort at Pike Rapids on March 6, 1806. On the 6th of April he set out on his return voyage and on the 10th arrived at St. Anthony's Falls, and that day transported the boats and baggage around the Falls and put them into the Water below. The job of making the portage on this occassion was far less arduous than on the up trip.

ST. ANTHONY FALLS IN THE SPRING OF 1806.

Of the appearance of the Falls on the 10th of April, Lieut. Pike says:

> "The appearance of the Falls was much more tremendous than when we ascended; the increase of water occasioned the spray to rise much higher, and the mist appeared like clouds. How different my sensations now from whatthey were when at this place before.*** Ours was the first[?] canoe that had ever crossed this portage.*** Now we have accomplished every wish, peace reigns throughout the vast extent, we have returned this far on our voyage without the loss of a single man, and hope soon to be blessed with the society of our relatives and friends. The river this morning was covered with ice which continued floating all day; the shores were still barricaded with it."

THE GRAND COUNCIL WITH THE SIOUX.

April 11 it "snowed very hard." Lieut. Pike encamped on the island which still bears his name. The same evening he held a council (perhaps on the mainland) with 600 Sioux. These were oftwo western bands and one eastern. The western were the Sissetons (Pike calls them "Sussitons") and Wahpay-tons (Pike calls them XXXXXXXXXXXXXX "Gens des Feuilles," or People of the Leaves) and the Medawakantons, or People of the Spirit Lake, (Pike calls them "Gens du Lac") were the eastern band. The council had been arranged a month or so before, while Pike was still on the upper river. The Yanktons, (or "Yanktongs," as Pike calls them) whose homes were out in what is now South Dakota, were expected to be present, but Pike says, "they had not yet come down."

The council was held in an improvised room which had been

prepared by Wayago Enagee, the Son of Penishon, and the Chief of the Wahpaykootas or Leaf Shooters. Its proceedings related to an arrangement for a ~~tr~~ treaty of permanent peace between the Sioux and the Chippewas, and amounted to nothing because the Indians could not understand Pike's interpreters, ~~w~~ who were then two Chippewa half breeds named Rousseau and Roy. The Chippewas had sent by Pike some pipes to the Sioux with a request to smoke them if they wanted peace. The sioux smoked them.

Lieut. Pike invited chief Stands Suddenly, alias Wayago Enagee, alias Son of Penishon, and the son of a Sisseton Chief, named Red Eagle, to supper with him. Red Eagle's son had visited Pike on the upper River the previous winter. Pike translates the chief's name into French as "Killeur Rouge," the term Killeur being a corruption of "Killiou," the French-Canadian patois for eagle.

LIEUT. PIKE AND OLD LITTLE CROW.

April 12 the return voyage was resumed, and soon the present site of St. Paul was reached. Pierre Rousseau had been up the river frequently, but Pike says: "He could not tell me where the cave spoken of by Carver could be found; we carefully searched for it but in vain." Of Little Crow's village at Dayton's Bluff and of Little Crow himself, Lieut. Pike says:

> "We were about to pass a few lodges, but on receiving a very particular invitation to come ashore, we landed and were received in a lodge kindly; they presented us sugar, etc. I gave the proprietor a dram and was about to depart, when he demanded a kettle of liquor; on being refused and after I had left the shore he told me that he did not like the arrangements and that he would go to war this summer. I directed the interpreter to tell him that if I returned to the St. Peter's with troops I would settle that affair with him!"

Old Little Crow and the most of his people were not in the village at the time of Pike's visit, being out on a hunting expedition on the lower St. Croix. Pike tells us:

> "On our arrival at the St. Croix I found Petit Corbeau [Little Crow] with his people and Messrs. Frazer and Wood. [The latter were two white men, formerly with the old Hudson's Bay Company.] We had a conference, when Petit Corbeau made many apologies for the misconduct of his people. He represented to us the different manners in

 [against the Chippewas]

which his young warriors had been inducing [?] him to go to war; that he had been much blamed for dismissing his war party last fall, but that he was determined to adhere to our instructions at that time; that he thought it most prudent to remain here and restrain the warriors [from fighting the Cheppewas.] He then presented ~~one~~ me with a beaver robe and a pipe and gave me a message to the general [Wilkinson] that he was determined to preserve peace in his band and "make the road clear." He also wanted it remembered that he had been promised an American medal."

On this 12th of April Pike says he observed the trees beginning to bud for the first time. Going on to Red Wing's village, he found Lake Pepin closed and had to wait until the 15th for the ice to go out. He reached St. Louis on the last of April.

LIEUT PIKE'S SOUTHWEST EXPEDITION.

A few weeks after reaching St. Louis, Lieut. Pike was again dispatched by Gen. Wilkinson upon an important expedition. His orders were to take an escort of a party of soldiers, ascend the Missouri and Osage rivers, penetrate to the head waters of the Arkansas and the Red Rivers and, en route, to treat with the Indian tribes and explore the country west and southwest of St. Louis. In this second expedition, Dec. 3, 1806, he measured the height of the mountain in central Colorado which has ever since been called Pike's Peak. Proceeding southward he (perhaps intentionally) stumbled across the then line between Spanish America and the United States and he and his men were made prisoners by the Spanish military authorities. Pike was taken before the Spanish ~~government~~ Governor at Santa Fe, and finally after much delay, was escorted out of Spanish territory and allowed to return to the United States. In 1813, during the Second War with Great Britain, Pike was made a brigadier general and given a command. At the attack on York (now Toronto) in Canada, April 27, 1813, he, with many others of the troops of the American and British armies, was mortally wounded by the explosion of a British magazine. His body was buried at Fort Tompkins, a little distance from Sackett's Harbor, N. Y.

IMPORTANCE OF LEIUT. PIKE'S MINNESOTA EXPEDITION.

Pike's ~~His~~ expedition to near the headwaters of the Mississippi was of the greatest importance to the Minnesota country. He reported upon it fully

and made it much better and far more favorably known than it ever had been before. Several printed editions of his journal were issued, containing an engraving and description of St. Anthony's Falls, etc., and these were largely circulated.

CHAPTER ~~4.~~ V

THE ADVENT OF CIVILIZATION.

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TRESPASSES OF BRITISH TRADERS HASTEN THE COMING OF THE AMERICANS--THE BUILDING OF FORT ST. ANTHONY OR FORT SNELLING--THE OLD MILLS AT ST. ANTHONY FALLS--THEIR ERECTION THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITE OF MINNEAPOLIS--MAJ. LONG'S EXPEDITIONS AND INVESTIGATIONS--DISCOVERY OF LAKE MINNETONKA BY "JOEY" BROWN, THE DRUMMER BOY--NAMING OF LAKES HARRIET, AMELIA, AND OTHERS--FIRST ATTEMPTS AT GRAIN GROWING IN MINNESOTA, ETC.

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DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

Soon after Lieut. Pike went down the Mississippi, in 1806, the British traders in the Minnesota Country began a persistent violation of the promises they had given him. They took down their American flags, sold whisky freely to the Indians, and poached and trespassed on the American territory as far south as the lower Des Moines and as far eastward as the Chippewa River of Wisconsin.

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During the War of 1812 (or "last war with Great Britain") every trading post in Minnesota was a recruiting station for the British army. British officers enlisted Sioux from the villages on and near the Minnesota and took them to their main armies in Michigan and northern Ohio. The warriors of the bands of Little Crow and Wabasha, led by their respective chiefs, furnished the most men for the Ohio expedition; but the other bands sent representatives.

At the siege of Fort Meigs, in Northern Ohio, in May, 1813, the Northwest Indians took a prominent part. The Winnebagoes captured some American soldiers, killed them, roasted and served them up for dinner, and sent word to the Sioux to come and partake of the feast. Little Crow and Wabasha went over and found the cannibals at their horrible repast, with gorgeously uniformed British officers looking on and laughing. The Sioux chiefs roundly denounced the officers for permitting such a ~~loathsome~~ horrible and heathenish thing. They said they came out to fight Americans, not to eat them, and were going home if such a thing were permitted. *Little Crow had a nephew named Big Hunter who had been persuaded to sit at the loathsome table. His uncle took him by the nape of the neck, jerked him from his seat, struck him with the flat of his tomahawk, and drove him away. Not long after, the Sioux left the army and returned to Minnesota. (See Neill's Hist. of

*Col. Robert Dickson, a prominent early trader in Minnesota, and who had recruited the Sioux and conducted them to Ohio, interfered and broke up the feast.

~~See Neill's Hist. of~~ Minn., ~~PP.~~ 281-2; Mc Afee's "Late War in the Western Country," and other publications on the siege of Fort Meigs during the War of 1812.)

INDIANS FIGHT FOR THE BRITISH.

About 260 Canadians and several hundred Sioux, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and Menominees, captured the American post at Mackinaw in July 1812; and among their leaders were Joseph Rolette, Sr., and Michael Cadotte, both afterward well known in Minnesota.

In July, 1814, a force of British and Indians captured Fort Shelby, an American Post at Prairie du Chean. Among the captors were Capt. Joseph Rolette, Sr., Lieut. Joseph Renville, Sr., Louis Provencalle, and even old Jean Baptiste Faribault, all of whom became prominent in Minnesota affairs. In 1812 they were loyal to their country, which then was Canada; and, when they became American citizens, they were truly loyal to the United States. Among the Indians, who helped the British capture Fort Shelby, were some Sissetons. For their services on this occasion the British promised to give them two boat-loads of goods and a cannon, which debt the Indians afterward tried to collect, to the great annoyance of Her Majesty's officials. In 1859 Old Chief Sleepy Eye was returning from Winnipeg, where he had been to try to get the long past-due cannon and goods, when he died, ~~in 1859~~. Late in 1814, Little Crow and many of his warriors went down to Prairie du Chien to help defend the place from a threatened attack by the Americans, but the latter, under Zachary Taylor, came no farther than Rock Island.

The only Sioux that were truly faithful to their promises to Lieut. Pike and loyal to the United States during the War of 1812 were Tah-mah-hah (accent on the first syllable) Pike's "Rising Moose," a Medawakanton, and Hay-pee-dan, (meaning the second child if a son) a Wahpaykoota. Tah-mah-pah had but one eye.

British Traders Trespass on American Territory.

In 1811 the British established an Indian Trading post on

~~BRITISH TRADERS TRESPASS ON AMERICAN SOIL~~

Pike's Island at the mouth of the Minnesota, and maintained it for some years. It was a big post, sold whisky freely, and did a large business. For some time it was in charge of Capt. Thos. G. Anderson, who had an Indian wife. He educated his two mixed-blood daughters, and some of their descendants became prominent in Minnesota affairs. At that time there was no other trading post near St. Anthony's Falls. (See Neill's Hist. of Minn. and also of St. Paul; Capt. Anderson's "Personal Recollections," in Wisconsin Hist. Socy., Collections, vols. 2, and 3; Minn. Hist. Socy. Coll., etc.)

For some years after the War of 1812, which entirely closed in the early part of the year 1815, the British traders swarmed in the Minnesota Country. Robert Dickson, "the red-head," as he was called--established Joseph Renville on the Minnesota, up about Lac qui Parle, and John B. Faribault was back down about Mendota. Other traders were near Mendota, for all the old Indian villages in the Minnesota River section had been repeopled after having been partially abandoned during the War. Up in the Chippewa Country, at Leech Lake, Cass Lake, Red Lake, and other northern lakes, were numerous posts flying the British flag; American traders were practically crowded out.

The Americans had complained that the Englishmen had seized all of the best trading sites in the northern country, and Congress had enacted that no man should receive a trader's license unless he first became an American citizen. The British merchants in the Minnesota Country simply derided the law, thinking that the United States would not go to the trouble and expense of trying to enforce it. In this they were mistaken. The Secretary of War in 1819 was John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the fiery old nullifier and radical States' rights man. He was determined, however, that the laws of the United States should be obeyed and respected, at least over territory they owned and which had not been formed into States.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT SNELLING.

The location and establishment of the military post, now and long since, called Fort Snelling constituted an important and influential event in the history of Minneapolis. It brought civilization near to the great Falls of St. Anthony and hastened the time of their improvement, which meant a city at their site.

It was the bad conduct of the English traders in Minnesota which caused the establishment of Fort Snelling, in the early autumn of 1819. But for their disreputable course, the fort would probably not have been built until twenty years later.

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By what is known as the Treaty of London, between the United States and Great Britain, in 1794, the English obtained the right of trade and intercourse with the Indiams of the northwestern portion of the United States, the western boundary of the Republic was then the Mississippi River. This valuable privilege gave the British traders practically a monopoly of the trade with the various savage tribes in northern Michigan, Wisconsin and northern Minnesota east of the Mississippi, all American territory; and without saying "by your leave," they occupied the country owned by France, which lay about the headwaters of the Mississippi and the Missouri. In return for their license to occupy American soil, the traders were bound, morally at least, to obey the authority of the United States and commit no offense against their sovereignty and interests; but they failed in these duties most disgracefully and to the practical injury of our country and its people.

In northern--or rather north central--Minnesota Lieut. Pike made these dealers pull down their British flags, but as soon as he had left the country they pulled them up again. Then, as has been stated, during the War of 1812 they were in open and armed hostility to the United States and the Americans. After the close of the war their conduct continued bad and menacing. Among other things British emissaries arranged frequent "talks" between themselves and the Indians of the country, and these talks were held

at the trading posts. These affairs were always accompanied by a profuse distribution of presents and British flags and medals among the savages, and many other means were resorted to in order to win their regard for His Britannic Majesty and his subjects and to promote a dislike for Americans.

In 1816 Congress authorized the President to prohibit all foreigners from trading with the Indians within the limits of the United States; if they wanted licenses to trade, they must take out naturalization papers and become American citizens. The British traders sought to evade and avoid this law by having licenses issued to their American employes, the traders really owning and conducting the business and sharing the profits; but many a trader snapped his fingers at the United States and continued to flaunt the Union Jack before the faces of the Americans and the American authority.

The United States adopted stringent measures to remove this evil. In the early part of 1819 Secretary Calhoun arranged to establish military posts at Council Bluffs and the mouth of the Yellow Stone, on the Missouri River, and at the mouth of the St. Peter's (or Minnesota) on the Mississippi, and at the Sault Ste. Marie. "The occupation of the contemplated posts," he wrote to the House Committee of Military Affairs, December 29, 1819, "will put into our hands the power to correct the evils." Of the St. Peter's post he wrote:

"The post at the mouth of the St. Peter's is at the head of navigation of the Mississippi, and, in addition to its commanding position in relation to the Indians, it possesses great advantages, either to protect our trade or to prevent that of foreigners." He further said, that, when the boundary line between the United States and Canada was definitely drawn and the military posts established and garrisoned, "We will have the power to exclude foreigners from trade and intercourse with the Indians residing within our limits."

It is plain that the principal object of the establishment of

what is now Fort Snelling was to bring the British traders to subjection, or drive them from the country. Dr. Neill (Hist. of Minn., chap. 16) and others following him say that the founding of Lord Selkirk's colony, in the lower Red River region, was the chief reason for the building of the fort. But Lord Selkirk's colony is not mentioned or hinted at in Secretary Calhoun's letters or in any of the records in the case.

TROOPS ORDERED FROM DETROIT TO BUILD THE FORT.

In February, 1819, Secretary Calhoun ordered the Fifth U. S. Infantry to concentrate at Detroit with a view to go, by way of the Lakes and Fox River, to Prairie du Chien. After leaving a garrison for Fort Crawford, at the latter place, and another for Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, the commander and the remainder of his men were to go on and build the new post at the mouth of the St. Peter's. From Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, the baggage was to be hauled in wagons drown by horses and oxen to Prairie du Chien. The commander of the Fifth was Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth.

Having re-enforced the garrisons at Prairie du Chien and Rock Island, Lieut. Col. Leavenworth set out with the balance of his command, via the Mississippi, for the St. Peter's. His troops numbered "98 rank and file." They were in fourteen batteaux or keelboats, and were accompanied by 20 voyageurs or boatmen; thus the entire force numbered 118. Besides the batteaux, which served as troop-ships, there were two large boats loaded with provisions, ordnance, etc., the barges of Col. Leavenworth, and the boat of Maj. Forsyth, or in all 18 boats, which were propelled by oars, poles, and sails.

The expedition left Prairie du Chien August 8, (1819) and arrived at the mouth of the St. Peter's on Tuesday morning, August 24, having made the trip of 234 miles, by the river, in sixteen days, an average progress of 20 miles a day. ~~That fall~~ of the live stock belonging to the detachment only some cows were brought by land from Prairie du Chien that fall, but next spring all the cattle were driven from the Prairie du Chien to St. Peter's; all the driving was done by John Baptiste Faribault and other members of his family. With Col. Leavensworth

from Prairie du Chien came Maj. Thomas Forsyth, from St. Louis, with the $2,000 worth of goods to be given the Sioux in payment for the lands deeded by them to the United States at Pike's council, ~~with them~~ in 1806.

En route, at the mouth of the Ouisconsin River, the wife of Lieut. Nathan Clark, of the Fifth Regiment, gave birth to a daughter, who was christened Charlotte Ouisconsin Clark, and who became the wife of Gen Horati P. Van Cleve, and a well known and highly esteemed lady citizen of Minneapolis. She always spelled the first syllable of her middle name according to the French method.

At Pig's Eye slough, now a part of St. Paul, the boats were detained by head winds for two days. The officers visited old chief Little Crow's Sioux village, then, as on Pike's visit, under the eastern wall of Dayton's Bluff. The Kapozia band (as Little Crow's was called) their numbered about 70 warriors and in all about 200 people. They lived in very comfortable cabins, which had palisaded walls of tamarack poles and roofs of brush covered with bark. The chief had a large cabin, 30 feet long, divided into two rooms.

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THE EXPEDITION ARRIVES AT ITS DESTINATION

As soon as the soldiers arrived at the mouth of the St. Peter's, they left their boats and went into a temporary camp on the right bank of the stream, near its mouth. Col. Leavenworth selected the site, which comprised the flat land between Mendota and the St. Peter's. Perhaps the Sibley and Faribault houses now stand on the eastern end of the old site.

The Sioux called the place "Mde-ta," meaning a junction of one water with another, which has been corrupted to Mendota. The Indian word is really a contraction of "minne-dota;" minne means water but dota means throat, and hence the phrase may mean the throat of the water, or the place where water passes through a narrow channel into a larger receptacle.

When they arrived at the St. Peter's, more than half of Col. Leavenworth's 98 soldiers were sick from drinking the warm and unhealthy

river, water during their voyage. The remainder, less than 40 men, "were immediately set to work in making roads up the bank of the river, cutting down trees, etc.," says Maj. Forsyth, in his journal. The first tree was felled by Daniel W. Hubbard, one of the soldiers. In a comparatively short time a sufficient number of log cabins had been built to accommodate those present, and the work of clearing off the camp ground was continued in anticipation of the ~~un~~imminent arrival of re-enforcements known to be en route, and which, to the number of 218 men, rank and file, arrived September 3.

FIRST WHITE LADY VISITOR TO ST. ANTHONY FALLS

Saturday, August 28, a party, composed of Col. Leavenworth and other officers and also the wife of Capt. Gooding, with an escort of soldiers, visited St. Anthony's Falls. Mrs. Gooding was the first white woman to see them. The excursion was made in Maj. Forsyth's boat, and in his journal the Major writes: ~~See Minn. Hist. Socy. Coll., vol. 3.~~

"***The sight to me was beautiful. The white sheet of water falling perpendicularly about twenty feet, as I should suppose, over the different precipices; in other parts rolls of water, at different distances, falling like so many silver cords, while about the island large bodies of water were rushing through great blocks of rocks, tumbling every way, as if determined to make war against anything that dared to approach them. After viewing the Falls from the prairie for some time, we approached nearer, and by the time we got up to the Falls the noise of the falling water appeared to me to be awful. I sat down on the bank and feasted my eyes, for a considerable time, in viewing the falling waters and the rushing of large torrents through and among the broken and large blocks of rocks thrown in every direction by some great convulsion of nature. Several of the company crossed over to the island [Nicollet] above the Falls, the water being shallow. Having returned from the island, they told me that they had attempted to cross over the channel on the other side of the island, but that the water was too deep; they say the greatest quantity of water descends on the other (the northeast) side of the island." (See Minn. Hist. Socy. Coll., Vol. 3.)

Maj. Forsyth's ~~impressive and~~ graphic description of St. Anthony's Falls may be said to describe Minneapolis in 1819, since they were the most important feature of the city's site at the time. Not a white man, or even an Indian, lived there then; the locality was entirely virgin and unimproved.

Col Leavenworth called his first establishment or cantonment on the south side of the Minnesota "New Hope." There was a propriety in the

name, for it was the foundation of a new hope for the country and the opening of a new era for its improvement and general welfare.

A SEASON OF PRIVATION AND DEATH.

The winter of 1819-20 was very trying on the men of Cantonment ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ New Hope. The cold weather was of a severity unknown to them. Then in December scurvy broke out and became epdemic. Before it had passed 40 men had died. At one period there were so many sick that for several days garrison duty was suspended. The disease was supposed to be caused by a long and continuous diet of stale rations--pork, beans, hard bread, cracked corn, ("small hominy") with a little rice and molasses infrequently. No tea, coffee, vegetables, or vinegar then formed a part of a soldier's rations. Surgeon Purcell finally checked the disease by administering a tea made from the spruce branches of the country, which proved veritable "leaves of healing," and by doses of vinegar brought up from Prairie du Chien by runners sent after it on snow-shoes. One account is that the spruce branches from which the healing tea was decocted were brought from the St. Croix.

THE FIRST FORT BUILDINGS.

In the spring of 1820 Col. Leavenworth began the erection of the permanent post on the high plateau on the north side of the Minnesota, on the eastern end of its present site. The first buildings erected on the new site were mainly of logs. In may the command was removed to the crest of the Mississippi bluff, a little to the northward of the permanent site selected for the post, and convenient to a large spring which furnished a bountiful and excellent supply of pure water. From this circumstance the Colonel called his new encampment Camp Coldwater. The men were quartered in tents during the spring and summer, but passed the late fall and winter months in their former log cabins at New Hope. September 20 of this year (1820) the corner-stone of the commandant's quarters--commonly considered the corner-stone of the Fort--was laid. In August Col. Leavenworth, who had been promoted to colonel of the Sixth Infantry and ordered to the Southwest, turned over the command of the new post

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to Col. Josiah Snelling, of the Fifth Infantry, who had been ordered to complete it. Col. Leavenworth went down to the Kansas Country and built the fort which still bears his name.

Fortunately we have on record an account of the building of Fort Snelling from one who assisted in the work, Mr. Philander Prescott, who came to Cantonment New Hope in 1819 as a sutler's clerk. He lived in Minnesota ever after or until his death in August, 1862, when he was murdered the first day of the great Outbreak of the Sioux Indians. He was an intelligent and educated man and a few years before his death wrote a brief autobiography, which is printed in volume 6 of the Minnesota Historical Society's Collections.

Mr. Prescott's ~~MR. PRESCOTT'S~~

According to account, which is entirely reliable, not much was accomplished toward the building of the fort in the summer of 1820. A few soldiers were employed in cutting trees and hewing the logs and hauling them to the site selected. This site, it may be noted, was 300 yards west of the one finally determined upon and where the fort was eventually constructed. Although the buildings of the post were to be mainly of logs, a considerable quantity of boards and other sawed lumber was needed. The first lot of this material used was cut with whip-saws, worked by two men to each saw, and the sawing was not easy. By this method of preparing boards the work was toilsome and the amount of lumber produced in a day by one saw was insignificant.

It was determined to build a sawmill in the vicinity--and this practically led to the founding of Minneapolis.

THE MEMORABLE OLD MILL.

The first building erected on the present site of Minneapolis presaged the future chief character of the city. For the first building was a mill for the manufacture of lumber and breadstuff, and the manufacture of lumber and breadstuffs has been the industry which has made Minneapolis famous.

Col. Snelling determined to raise corn and wheat on the prairie

about the Fort, and he wanted a mill for grinding. He also needed a great deal of lumber for the proper construction of the permanent fort buildings— planks, boards, and sawed timbers. To whip-saw these into suitable shape and proper quantities would require too much time, and the lumber would be imperfect. He concluded to build first a sawmill in the vicinity of the fort. At that time steam was not in general use as a motive power, and mill machinery was commonly driven by water power.

The Colonel sought a site for a mill as near to the fort as it could be found. An examination of what were then commonly called the "little falls," or Brown's Falls, (now called Minnehaha,) was made and it was hoped to find a suitable site at the little cataract, or somewhere near by on the stream which formed it. But very little water was running over the falls when the examination was made, and it was learned that although the creek had an abundant "fall," it could not be depended upon to furnish a sufficient volume of water at all seasons to turn the big water-wheel of a mill. At last a site at the great St. Anthony Falls, only a few miles away, was selected. In his autobiography, before mentioned, Philander Prescott thus describes milling operations at Fort Snelling in 1820-21-22:

> "An officer and some men had been sent up Rum River to examine the pine and see if it could be got to the river by hand--that is, without hauling the logs with animals from where they were cut to the river bank. The party returned and made a favorable report, and in the winter of 1820-21 a party was sent to cut pine logs and to raft them down in the spring. They brought down about 2,000 logs by hand. Some ten or fifteen men would haul on a sled one log from where it was cut a quarter or half a mile and lay it on the bank of Rum River. In the spring, when the stream broke up, the logs were rolled into the river and floated down to the Mississippi, where they were formed into small rafts and floated down to the Falls.
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> "The sawmill was commenced in the fall and winter of 1820-21, and finished in 1822, and a large quantity of lumber was made for the whole fort and for all the furniture and out-buildings. All the logs were brought to the mill from the river landing by teams. Lieut. William E. Cruger* lived at the mill and had charge of the mill party."

The area of the mill was 50 by 70 feet. The work of building it and the adjoining building in which Lieut. Cruger lived was

*In vol. 6 Minn. Hist. Socy. Coll. this officer is called Lieut. Croozer; in vol. 2, Minn. in Three Cents. he is called Lieut, Kruger. The spelling here is from the Army Register.

conducted by Lieut. John B. F. Russell, acting quartermaster of the post at the time. He was a Massachusetts man, a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, became a captain in the Fifth Infantry in 1830, resigned from the service in 1837, and died in 1861.

According to Rufus J. Baldwin, in the Atwater History, (vol. 1, p. 23) the mill stood, "on the west bank of the river, a few rods below the brink of the Falls. Water was carried to the big, breast-wheel by a wooden flume." The mill was equipped with an upright, quick-acting saw known to lumbermen as a "muley."

COMPLETION OF A GRIST MILL.

In 1823 a gristmill for grinding wheat and corn was completed near the sawmill. Its machinery was driven by an overshot wheel turned by water from another flume connecting directly with the cataract. Col. Snelling was experimenting in grain-growing. West and North of the Fort, in the spring and summer of 1823, he had large fields of corn and wheat, and he expected to be able to furnish fresh breadstuff to his troops .

In the summer of 1823, when Maj. Long's expedition was at the fort, the agricultural operations and conditions of the garrison were noted. Prof. Keating, the historian of the expedition, (in Chap. 6 of Vol. 1) thus describes them:

> "The quarters of the garrison are well built and comfortable; those of the commanding officers are even elegant, *** There were at the time we visited it about 210 acres of land under cultivation, of which 100 were in wheat, 60 in Indian corn, 15 in oats, 14 in potatoes, and 20 in garden vegetables, which supply the tables of the officers and men with an abundant supply of vegetables."

To aid him in his enterprise the U. S. Commissary at St. Louis, by order of the Department at Washington, sent up a pair of buhr millstones, 337 pounds of plaster and two dozen sickles to cut the wheat when it should be ready. The gristmill had at first only one run of buhrs, and consisted of a small room only sixteen or eighteen feet square, but its size was ample. There was no bolting or screening machinery. The grain went into the hopper

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just as came from the threshing floor and the flour was unbolted and the corn meal unsifted. The wheat was usually adulterated with unripe and smutty grains, bits of weeds, dirt, etc., and the effect on the unbolted flour may be imagined. Mrs. Ann Adams lived in the fort in 1823 and was 13 years of age at the time. In her printed "Reminiscences" (Vol. 6, Hist. Socy. Coll.) she makes this reference to the bread baked from the flour ground at the old Government Mill:

> Col. Snelling had sown some wheat that season (1823) and had it ground at a mill which the Government had built at the Falls; but the wheat had become mouldy or sprouted and was dirty and it made wretched, black, bitter-tasted bread. This was issued to the troops, who got mad because they could not eat it and brought it to the parade ground and threw it down there. Colonel Snelling came out and remonstrated with them. There was much inconvenience that winter (1823-24) on account of the scarcity of provisions. Some soldiers died of scurvy.

COL. SNELLING A MARTINET.

It is surprising that the soldiers dared to treat the bread issued to them so contemptuously, and that the Colonel's remonstrance did not take a violent form. For Col. Snelling was a great martinet, and really a military brute. At that date many military officers treated their men with great cruelty. The army regulations permitted flogging and other brutal punishments, and a common soldier had no rights that his superior was bound to respect. The Colonel drank heavily and when in his cups his brutal conduct was repulsive and horrible. Mrs. Adams says:

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> Intemperance among officers and men was common, and the commandant was no exception to the rule. When one of his convivial spells occurred he would act furiously, sometimes getting up in the night and making a scene. But he was very severe in his treatment of the men, when they got drunk or committed any trifling offense, if he was intoxicated. He would take them to his room and compel them to strip and then flog and beat them unmercifully. I have heard them beg him to spare them and "have mercy for God's sake."

In August, 1827, Col. Snelling and the Fifth Regiment were ordered away from the fort bearing his name to St. Louis. In August of that year, while temporarily in Washington City, he died of delirium tremens, although the surgeon charitably reported that his death was from "brain fever." He was of portly proportions, had a rubicund visage, and his hair was sandy or red, although he was partially bald.

FINAL DISPOSITION OF THE GRIST MILL.

The grist mill was operated by the military authorities until in 1849, when it was sold to Hon. Robert Smith, of Alton, Illinois, by whom it was rented to Calvin Tuttle, who operated it until 1855. According to the St. Paul Pioneer of February 20, 1850, the mill ground over 4,000 bushels of corn for the Indian trade and the settlers, "and about the same quantity of corn remains to be ground." The sawmill was then undergoing repairs, expecting to run next season. Baldwin says that the mill remained in use with some additions and repairs, until after the canal of the Minneapolis Mill Company was constructed, when its site was required for a large modern flouring mill and it was removed.

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT WHEAT RAISING.

Colonel Snelling's attempts to raise wheat in Minnesota were practically failures, and he did not succeed much better in corn-raising. The trouble seemed to be that the seed was not selected with good judgment. It came from about St. Louis, from Kentucky, and from other Southern latitudes, and was not acclimated to Minnesota conditions. The seasons were not long enough for its maturing and it was caught by the frost at one end or the other of them. Col. Snelling's successors had but little better ~~success~~ results than he. In time seed wheat was obtained from northern Illinois and seed corn from the Indians and from Wisconsin and then there were better results. The fields of winter wheat sown at first were invariably killed out by the hard winters.

The wheat was cut with sickles, as in the time of Ruth and Boaz, and it was thrashed with flails and sometimes ~~it~~ was thrown into a cleared ring, resembling a circus ring, and horses were driven around and around upon it until the grain was thrashed from the straw. Then the grain was separated from the chaff by winnowing or pouring the mass from an elevation when a wind was blowing; the wind would blow away the chaff, and the grain fell on a

sheet. The trouble was that dirt and trash fell with the grain. It was several years before windmills or fanning mills came.

MAJ. LONG'S EXPEDITIONS.

In the spring of 1817 Maj. Stephen H. Long, of the Topographical Engineers Department connected with the regular army, was ordered by the Department to make a topographical and engineering examination of a portion of the upper Mississippi Country. It was two years after the close of the War of 1812, and the Department designed building a number of forts in the region in order, as already stated, to prevent a recurrence of certain incidents that had occurred in 1812-14, and to remove certain conditions then existing.

He was directed to go by water to the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, in Wisconsin, and then to ~~the~~ St. Anthony Falls. Having returned from his visit to the portage, he began the ascent of the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien.

Maj. Long left Prairie du Chien July 9 (1817) in a large six-oared skiff presented to him by Gov. Wm. Clark (of Lewis and Clark) at St. Louis. His entire party consisted of fifteen men, and he had provisions for them for 20 days when he started. He had a crew of seven soldiers for boatmen; he also had two interpreters, Augustine Rocque, a half-blood, who spoke Sioux and French, and Stephen Hempstead (afterward Governor of Iowa) who spoke French and English. Not his party, but in a separate boat, were two men named King and Gunn, who were grandsons of Capt. Jonathan Carver, and three men accompanying them.

Of Carver's grandsons Maj. Long writes:

> They had taken a bark canoe at Green Bay and were on their way to the northward on a visit to the Sauteurs, [Chippewas] for the purpose of establishing their claims to a tract of land granted by those Indians to their grandfather. They had waited at Prairie du Chien, during my trip up the Ouisconsin, in order to ascend the Mississippi with me.

The grandsons had their own boat. Two days out from Prairie du Chien, at the mouth of Black River, they tied up their boat and remained for a time. It will be noted that Maj. Long says they claimed that their

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grandfather had been given his land by the Sauteurs, or Chippewas. The Sauteurs (pronounced Soo-tee-urs) were so called by the French, because at one time large members of them lived at the Sault or Falls of Sainte Marie. The Sioux called them "Hkah-hkah tonwan," ~~from~~ a people of the waterfalls, from Hkah-hkah, water falls, and tonwan people or village. Now Carver, or whoever wrote it, claims in the deed that it was given by the Sioux, and it nowhere mentions the chippewas. Further proof of its fraudulent character is that the alleged names of the chiefs purporting to have signed the deed are corruptions of either Chippewa, Menominee, or Winnebago names, and that each signature has a totem symbol--one a snake and the other a turtle--peculiar to these tribes, while the Sioux never used a totem, and the names to the deed are not and never were Sioux.

On his return, 20 miles below the St. Croix, Maj. Long met the party of Capt. Carver's grandsons. They were en route to the "great cave" mentioned by their grandfather, and Maj. Long told them how to find it. There is no other record of their journey. It will be borne in mind that had the Carver deed been established, the site of Minneapolis would have belonged to the Carver heirs, some of whom ~~doubtless wrote~~ may have written the fraudulent paper.

THE GREAT FALLS AS MAJ. LONG SAW THEM IN 1817.

Maj. Long made an extended examination and report upon the Falls of St. Anthony. His report was printed by the Government and rather widely circulated for the time. He arrived at them on the morning of July 16 and encamped on the east shore just below the cataract. In his journal for that day he says:

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> The rapids below the Falls of St. Anthony commence about two miles above the confluence of the Mississippi and the St. Peter's, and are so strong that we could hardly ascend them by rowing, sailing, and poling, with a strong wind all at the same time. About four miles up the rapids we could make no headway by all these means and were obliged to substitute the cordelle in place of the poles and oars.

In his journal for Thursday, July 17, he writes:

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> "Thursday, 17--The place where we encamped last night needed no embellishments to render it romantic in the highest degree.

The banks on both sides of the river are about 100 feet high, decorated with trees and shrubbery of various kinds. The post oak, hickory, [?] walnut, linden, sugar tree, white birch, and the American box; also various evergreens, such as the pine, cedar, and juniper, added their embellishments to the scene. Amongst the shrubbery were the prickly ash, plum, and cherry tree, the gooseberry the black and red raspberry, the chokeberry, grapevine, etc. There were also various kinds of herbage and flowers, among which were the wild parsley, rue, spikenard, etc., and also red and white roses, morning glory, and various other handsome flowers. A few yards below us was a beautiful cascade of fine spring water [the waterfall formerly known as the Bridal veil] pouring down from a projecting precipice about 100 feet high.

On our left was the Mississippi hurrying through its channel with great velocity, and about three-quarters of a mile above us in plain view was the majestic cataract of the Falls of St. Anthony. The murmuring of the cascade, the roaring of the river, and the thunder of the cataract all contributed to make the scene the most interesting and magnificent of any I ever before witnessed.

Of the Falls themselves Maj. Long makes this description:

"The perpendicular fall of the water at the cataract, as stated by Lieut. Pike, is 16½ feet. To this height, however, four or five feet may be added for the rapid descent which immediately succeeds the perpendicular fall within a few yards below.

Immediately at the cataract the river is divided into two parts by an island [Nicollet] which extends considerably above and below the cataract, and is about 500 yards long. The channel on the right side of the island is about three times the width of that on the left. The quantity of water passing through them is not, however, in the same proportion, as about one-third part of the whole passes through the left channel. In the broadest channel, just below the cataract, is a small island [Hennepin] about 50 yards in length and 30 in breadth. Both of these islands contain the same kind of rocky formation as the banks of the river, and are nearly as high. Besides these there are, immediately at the foot of the cataract, two islands of very inconsiderable size situated in the right channel also.

The rapids commence several hundred yards above the cataract and continue about eight miles below. The fall of the water, beginning at the head of the rapids and extending 260 rods down the river to where the portage road commences, below the cataract, is, according to Pike, 58 feet. The whole fall, from the head to the foot of the rapids, is not much less than 100 feet.***On the east, or rather the north side of the river, at the Falls, are high grounds, at the distance of half a mile from the river, considerably more elevated than the bluffs and of a hilly aspect.

VERIFIES THE SAD STORIES OF WINONA AND BLACK DAY.

Maj. Long was impressed by the stories told him by the Indians of the melancholy fate of the two noted Sioux Indian women of Minnesota that in the long ago committed suicide because of disappointment in love. These were Winona,

(meaning the first-born child if a daughter) of Wabasha's band, who threw herself from the Maiden Rock, at Lake Pepin, because her parents sought to make her marry against her will, and Ampatu Sappa-win (black day woman) who put her two children into a canoe and floated with them over St. Anthony's Falls because her husband had taken a second wife. Wahzee Koota (Pine Shooter) told Maj. Long that Winona belonged to the Wabasha band, which was his band, and that her suicide was committed within his recollection. He also said that his mother witnessed the tragic death of Black Day and her two little ones. Wahzee Koota also related the stories to Prof. Keating, when Maj. Long made his second expedition, in 1823. Many other old Indians related them to Joseph Snelling and others about Fort St. Anthony in early days. The sad stories are certainly true. Indian women did not often kill themselves, but sometimes they did.

Maj. Long recommended that a fort "of considerable magnitude" be built on the "commanding ground" between the St. Peter's and the Mississippi, and when he came up, six years later he had the satisfaction of seeing such an establishment nearly constructed. He left the mouth of the St. Peter's on his return trip July 18, and arrived at Camp Belle Fontaine, near St. Louis, August 15, after an absence of 76 days.

MAJ. LONG'S SECOND EXPEDITION.

In the spring of 1823 President James Monroe ordered, "That an expedition be immediately fitted out for exploring the river St. Peter's and the country situated on the northern boundary of the United States, between the Red River of Hudson's Bay and Lake Superior." The command of the expedition was given to Maj. Stephen H. Long, who had made the skiff voyage six years before, and with him were sent the learned Thomas Say, a very noted zoologist and antiquarian; Prof. William H. Keating, Mineralogist and geologist; Samuel Seymour, landscape painter; James E. Colhoun, astronomer. Profs. Say and Keating were appointed joint ~~literary~~ journalists to the expedition and charged with the collecting of the requisite information concerning the Indian tribes encountered en route.

The route commenced at Philadelphia and was from thence by way of Wheeling, (Va.) Fort Wayne, (Ind.) Fort Armstrong, (at the Dubuque lead mines) and thence up the Mississippi to Fort St. Anthony, (mouth of the St. Peter's); thence to the source of the St. Peter's; thence to the point of intersection between Red River and latitude 49°; thence along the northern boundary of the United States to Lake Superior, and thence homeward by the Lakes.

The party set out from Philadelphia April 30. From the mouth of the Fevre River, at the Galena lead mines, the route up the Mississippi was on horseback. At Fort Crawford, or Prairie du Chien, the party was re-enforced by Lieut. Martin Scott and a corporal and nine men from Col. Snelling's Fifth Regiment of Infantry. Augustine Rocque, (or Rock) Maj. Long's interpreter of 1817, was secured as Sioux interpreter for this expedition; as he could not speak English, his French was translated by Mr. Colhoun and Mr. Say.

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At Prairie du Chien, also, Major Long divided the expedition into two parties, one of which proceeded by land on horseback and the other by water, on a keel boat. The Major headed the horseback party, which was composed of himself, Mr. Colhoun, a soldier named George Bunker, a slave boy named Andrew, owned by M. Calhoun, John Wade, the Sioux interpreter, and the ever faithful guide, Tah-mah-hah, or the Rising Moose.

FORT SNELLING WHEN FIRST COMPLETED.

The boat party reached Fort Snelling, July 2; Maj. Long and his little party arrived a few days before. Keating's description of the fort as it was at the time may be of interest:

> The fort is in the form of a hexagon, surrounded by a stone wall; it stands on an elevated position which commands both rivers. The height of the half-moon battery, which fronts the river, is 105 feet above the level of the Mississippi. It is not, however, secure from attacks from all quarters, as a position within ordinary cannon shot [where the present line of officers' quarters begins] rises to a greater elevation; but as long as we have to oppose a savage foe alone, no danger can be apprehended from this. But if it were required to resist a civilized enemy having artillery, possession might be taken of the other position, which would command the country to a considerable distance and protect the pre-

sent fort, which is in the best situation for a control of the two rivers. The garrison consists of five companies under the command of Col. Snelling.

No mention is made of the old tower, although it was built at the time.

THE FALLS ON MAJ. LONG'S SECOND VISIT.

A few days after their arrival at the St. Peter's, Maj. Long again visited the Falls of St. Anthony and this time he was accompanied by the scientific members of the party. Prof. Keating writes:

> On the 6th of July we walked to the Falls of St. Anthony, which are situated nine miles by the course of the river and seven miles by land above the fort. ***We discovered that nothing could be more picturesque than this cascade.***We have seen many falls, but few which present a wilder and more picturesque aspect than those of St. Anthony. The vegetation which grows around them is of a corresponding character. The thick growth upon the island imparts to it a gloomy aspect, contrasting pleasingly with the bright surface of the watery sheet which reflects the sun in many differently colored hues.

The force of the current immediately above the fall was very great, but the water was only about two feet deep, and though it flowed over a flat slippery rock the party waded across from the west shore to Nicollet Island, and Profs. Say and Colhoun forded from the Island across to the east shore; they had, however, to be assisted by a stout soldier on their return. Keating notes:

> Two mills have been erected for the rise of the garrison, and a sergeant's guard (five men) is kept here at all times. On our return from the Island we recruited our strength by a copious and palatable meal prepared for us by the old sergeant. Whether from the violent exercise of the day or from its intrinsic merit we know not, but the black bass of which we partook appeared to us excellent.

Of the dimensions, Keating puts on record some figures well worth keeping there:

> Concerning the height of the fall and the breadth of the river at this place, much incorrect information has been published. Hennepin, who was the first European that visited it, states it to be 50 or 60 feet high. He says of it that it, "indeed of itself is terrible and hath something very astonishing." This height is by Carver reduced to about 30 feet; his strictures upon Hennepin, whom he taxes with exaggeration, might, with great propriety be retorted upon himself, and we are strongly inclined to say of him as he said of his predecessor: (No paragraph)

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"The good father, I fear, too often has no other foundation for his accounts than report, or at least a slight inspection." Pike, who is more correct than any other traveler, states the perpendicular fall at 16½ feet. Maj. Long, in 1817, from the table rock, found it about the same. Mr. Calhoun measured it while we were there and made it about 15 feet. We cannot account for the statement made by Mr. Schoolcraft that the river has a perpendicular pitch of 40 feet, and this only 14 years after Pike's measurement.

Mr. Schoolcraft also states the breadth of the river, near the brink of the fall, to be 227 yards, while Pike found it to be 627 yards, which agrees tolerably well with a measurement made on the ice. Messrs. Say and Calhoun obtained an approximate measurement of 594 yards, the result of a trigonometrical calculation; but the angles had been measured by an imperfect compass and the base line not well obtained. Below the fall the river contracts to about 200 years. The portage from a proper distance above to a proper distance below the Falls is 260 poles.

MINNEHAHA AND OTHER NATURAL FEATURES NOTED.

The party was delighted with certain natural features of the country about the Fort, and especially with the well known cascade which has long been called Minnehaha Falls, then called Brown's Falls. Prof. Keating gives us the following somewhat impassioned description:

The country about the fort contains several other waterfalls, which are represented as worthy of being seen. One of them, which is but two miles and a half from the garrison, and on the road to St. Anthony's, is very interesting. It is known by the name of Brown's Fall, and is remarkable for the soft beauties which it presents. Essentially different from St. Anthony's, it appears as if all its native wildness has been removed by the hand of art. A small but beautiful stream, about five yards wide, flows gently until it reaches the verge of a rock from which it is precipitated to a depth of 43 feet, presenting a beautiful parabolic sheet, which drops without interruption to its lower level, when it resumes its course unchanged, save that its surface is half covered with a beautiful white foam.

The spray which this cascade emits is very considerable, and, when the rays of the sun shine upon it, produces a beautiful iris. Upon the surrounding vegetation the effect of this spray is marked; it vivifies all the plants, imparts to them an intense green color, and gives rise to a stouter growth than is observed upon the surrounding country. On the neighboring rock the effect is as characteristic, though of a destructive nature. The spray, striking against the rock, has undermined it in a curved manner, so as to produce an excavation, similar in form to a Saxon arch, between the surface of the rock and the sheet of water; under this large arch we passed with no other inconvenience than that which arose from the spray.

There is nothing sublime or awfully impressive in this cascade, but it has every feature that is required to consti-

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tute beauty. It is such a fall as the hand of opulence daily attempts to produce in the midst of those gardens upon which treasures have been lavished for the purpose of imitating nature; but it has the difference that these natural falls possess an easy grace, destitute of the stiffness which generally distinguishes the works of man from those of nature.

Of Minnehaha Creek, then called Brown's Creek, Keating makes this mention:

The stream that exhibits this cascade falls into the Mississippi about two miles above the fort; it issues from a lake situated a few miles above.

And this of Lake Calhoun:

A body of water, which is not represented upon any map we know of has been discovered in this vicinity within a few years, and has received the name of Lake Calhoun, in honor of the Secretary of War. [John C. Calhoun.] Its dimensions are small.

And this of Lake Minnetonka:

Another lake, of a much larger size, is said to have been discovered about 30 or 40 miles to the northwest of the fort. Its size, which is variously stated, is by some supposed to be equal to that of Lake Champlain, which, however, from the nature of the country, and the knowledge we have of the course of rivers, seems scarcely possible.

LAKE MINNETONKA AND ITS DISCOVERER.

The last lake mentioned then had no distinctive geographic name; it was called by the general Sioux term for a great water, or a large quantity of water--Minne(water) tonka(big, large, or great)—which has become its particular name. The Indians did not even call it a big lake, meday (or M'da) tonka, they termed it simply a big water. The lake had been first visited and reported upon by white men in the summer of 1822, the year preceding Long's second expedition. Joseph R. Brown, then a fifer and drummer boy of the Fort. St. Anthony garrison, and aged but 17, had set out to explore Minnehaha Creek from the falls to its source. There accompanied him a great part of the way the gifted but erratic Wm. Joseph Snelling, son of the commandant, and two soldiers of the garrison. In his letters descriptive of the early Northwest Joe Snelling mentions this trip, saying he was driven back by the swarms of mosquitoes before reaching the lake. The young drummer boy's exploit is noted by Neill in his History

of Minnesota, p. 331, chapter 16, narrating the events of 1822.

Dr. Neill upon the authority of Maj. Taliaferro, ("Tolliver") the Indian agent at Fort Snelling, says that the noted cataract was first called Brown's Fall, in honor of Gen. Jacob Brown, of the regular army. Taliaferro and Neill were both personal enemies of Joseph R. Brown, who became very prominent in Minnesota public life; neither of them gave him the credit or full and proper ~~any~~ distinction due him. It has been frequently stated, and it seems probable, that the old Brown's Fall (now the Minnehaha) was named for Joseph R. Brown, the drummer boy, and not for Gen. Jacob Brown, who never saw the beautiful cataract, or even any part of Minnesota or the Northwest.

It cannot be disputed that the young fifer and drummer was the first white man ~~xxxxxx~~ to explore Minnehaha Creek and to discover Lake Minnetonka and make report upon it. Old settlers and even old records mention the stream as "Brown's Creek," because Joe Brown was first to explore it. From this circumstance it is plausible that the falls of the creek came to be called Brown's Fall. Keating, who came the year following the young soldier's exploring feat, calls it Brown's Fall, but does not say it was named for Gen. Jacob Brown, ~~xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ or for whom it was named. In 1826, the year after Joe Brown, the drummer, left the army, he made the first land claim ever made in Hennepin County. (See Warner & Foote's Hist. of ~~Hemp~~ Henn. Co., p. 175.) He was but 21 at the time he made his claim and this was before the land was subject to entry, but while it could be "claimed." His claim was near the mouth of Minnehaha Creek. Brown built the first cabin or claim house on the creek and lived there a short time, without making many improvements. Subsequently he owned a little mill on the creek, near its mouth, but it cannot be stated that he built it; the mill dam washed away and the mill was abandoned. Years later another mill was built, by other parties, and again the dam washed away. Early pioneers used to say that not only were the stream and the Fall named for the drummer, but that they were often called "Joe Brown's Creek" and "Joe Brown's Fall," making it almost certain for whom they were named. Of course they are now

called Minnehaha, and nobody wants the name changed.

Joseph R. Brown had attached to him very many distinctions which were undisputed. No other man that ever lived in Minnesota had so many. To him belongs the crowning honor of suggesting and planning the organization of Minnesota Territory; he drew the bill for creating the Territory, which was first introduced in 1846, and when the final organization was arranged for at the Stillwater Convention it was he who suggested the name and its proper spelling. (See Vol. 2 Minn. in Three Centuries, pp. 350-51; also Vol. 1 Minn. Hist. Socy. Coll., pp. 55-59.) In Minnesota he laid out the first town, (Stillwater) the first wagon road, (from Fort Snelling to Prairie du Chien) was the first lumberman to cut and raft logs, etc. He held many important public positions, and could have held many more had he wished. He was for a considerable period editor and proprietor of the Minnesota Pioneer, now the Pioneer Press, was a Major in the great Sioux Outbreak, and commanded the whites in the battle of Birch Coulie.

In her book, "Three Score Years," etc., Mrs. Van Cleve who came to Fort Snelling in 1819, when an infant, says of Maj. Brown: "He came up the river with the first troops of the 5th Regiment as a drummer boy, and was always considered a faithful, well-behaved soldier." ~~With~~ On his drum he beat the first reveille ever sounded by Americans in Minnesota.

The officers of the first garrison of Fort St. Anthony named other lakes in the vicinity Harriet, Eliza, Abigail, Lucy, etc., for the christian names of their lovely wives, but none of them have retained the original name but Harriet. Col. Snelling named Calhoun for the Secretary of War, who had given him his promotion.

THE FIRST STEAMBOAT COMES TO FORT SNELLING IN 1823.

In May, 1823, the first steamboat in Minnesota, the Virginia, landed at Fort Snelling, having left St. Louis, May 2. No perfect description of this craft can now be made. It is known, however, that she was 118 feet in length, 22 feet in width, and drew six feet of water. She had a single engine, one smokestack, and was a side-wheeler.

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Her cabin was fairly well arranged. It was a long trip up the river. Every few miles the boat had to stop and the crew go ashore and cut wood and carry it aboard for the engine, there being no other fuel; indeed, at that early day steamboats burned nothing but wood, and "stone coal" was hardly known.

Among the passengers when the boat left St. Louis were Maj. Lawrence Taliaferro, the newly appointed Indian Agent for the Minnesota Country; J. Constantine Beltrami, an Italian Count, but who was then a political refugee; Big Eagle, a Sac chief, and some immigrants for Galena, then already the site of a considerable lead-mining industry.

When the steamboat arrived at Fort Snelling the entire population of the section, white and red, turned out to welcome it. The Indians from the near-by villages swarmed about to see the strange thing, uncertain whether it was a water craft or a "Waukon" monster. The red people looked intently at the unaccustomed spectacle of a huge moving wooden bulk, with paint and polish and glitter and smell. They had managed to hold their ground and stare stolidly when the whistle sounded and the bell rang and there were other strange noises as the boat tied up at the bank and nestled close to shore, but they were as full of excitement and apprehension as they could hold, and when the boat "let off" steam, with a terrible swishing and clouds of vapor, it was too much. Women, children, boys, warriors, and even head soldiers and chiefs, tumbled over one another and, yelling and screaming, fled up the Minnesota valley toward their villages and tepees.

Beltrami had for a patron of his expedition a very wealthy Italian countess. She, it seems, paid all the expenses of his journey. The articles in his book, "Pilgrimage in Europe and America," are addressed to her. Describing conditions at Fort Snelling at the time of his visit he says:

> Our present ramble, my dear Madam, will begin and end around this fort.****There are no buildings around the fort, except three or four log houses on the banks of the river, in which some subaltern agents of the fur company live among the frogs. There is no other lodging to be had than in the fort. The land around the fort is cultivated by the soldiers, whom the Colonel thus keeps out of idleness, which is dangerous to all classes of men, but particularly to this class. It yields as much as 60 to one of wheat and God knows what proportion of maize. Each officer, each company, each employe, has a garden and might have a farm if there were hands to cultivate it.

Of St. Anthony Falls, Beltrami gives a very florid and somewhat bewildering description, which in the original Italian may be picturesque and engaging but which in English is hardly satisfactory:

Count Beltrami Writes of the Country.

> What a new scene presents itself to my eyes, my dear madam! How shall I bring it before you without the aid of either painting or poetry? I will give you the best outline I can and your imagination must fill it up. Seated on the top of an elevated promontory, I see, at half a mile distance, two great masses of water unite at the foot of an island which they encircle, and whose majestic trees deck them with the loveliest hues in which all the magic play of light and shade are reflected on their brilliant surface. From this point they rush down a rapid descent about 200 feet long, and, breaking against the scattered rocks which obstruct their passage, they spray up and dash together in a thousand varied forms. They then fall into a TRANSVERSE BASIN INTHE form of a cradle and are urged upward by the force of gravitation against the side of a precipice, which seems to stop them a moment only to increase the violence with which they fling themselves down a depth of twenty feet. The rocks against which these great volumes of water dash throw them back in white foam and glittering spray; then, ~~p~~unging into the cavities which this mighty fall has hollowed, they rush forth again in tumultuous waves, and once more break against a great mass of sandstone forming a little island in the midst of their bed, on which two thick maples spread their shady branches.
>
> This is the spot called the Falls of St. Anthony, eight miles above the fort; a name which, I believe, was given to it by father ~~Hennepin~~ [sic] to commemorate the day of the discovery of the great falls of the Mississippi. A mill and a few little cottages, built by the Colonel for the use of the garrison, and the surrounding country adorned with romantic scenes, complete the magnificent picture.

lower case

plunging

Hanepin

Beltrami attempts to describe the country now called Minnesota, butmakes a sad job of it. His accounts are full of errors. His geographic and other proper names are so distorted as to spelling, etc., that they are scarcely recognizable. He spells the name of chief Wabasha "Wabiscihouwa", Shakopee's name, "Sciakape," the term Naudowessiou, applied to the Dakota nation by the chippewas, "Nordowekies," while the Mankato is written "Makatohose," etc. He calls the Chippewas, the "Cypowais," and very few of his names are rightly spelled and very few of his items of history are correctly stated.

MAJ. LONG RESUMES HIS JOURNEY.

On the 9th of July Maj. Long and his party renewed their journey of exploration, setting out by way of the St. Peter's River. In the aggregate the party was composed of 33 persons. Col. Snelling had furnished

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a new detail of soldiers, consisting of a sergeant, two corporals, and 18 soldiers to be under Lieuts. Martin Scott and St. Clair Denny. The interpreters were the noted half-Sioux, Joseph Renville, (for whom the county is named) and Wm. Joseph Snelling. The expedition was divided into a land and a water party. Four canoes transported the provisions and the water party, headed by Maj. Long. The land party was composed of Lieut. Denny, Profs. Say and Colhoun, and Count Beltrami, the last named a guest. ~~He~~ Beltrami quarreled with the officers of the expedition, which he left in northern Minnesota, and descended the Mississippi. The military escort returned to Fort Snelling from Mackinaw.

Maj. Long returned to Philadelphia Oct. 26, having pursued the route designated for him and having fully accomplished the objects of his expedition after a tour of 4,500 miles which lasted six months.

In the latter part of 1824 Gen. Winfield Scott, then the Commanding general of the army, visited Fort St. Anthony on a tour of inspection. On his recommendation the War Department changed the name of the fort to Fort Snelling, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in honor of the Commandant, Col. Josiah Snelling. The General said of the fort, then newly completed: "This work reflects the highest credit on Col. Snelling, his officers and his men," and he suggested the new name as a compliment to "the meritorious officer under whom it has been erected. " ~~He~~ He gave other reasons for the change, saying: "The present name is foreign to all our associations, and it is besides geographically incorrect, as the work stands st the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peter's Rivers, and eight [?] miles below the great falls called after St. Anthony."

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Improvements connected with the fort were continued. In 1830 stone buildings were erected large enough to accommodate four companies of infantry; a stone wall nine feet high and a stone hospital were also built, although these improvements were not fully completed until some time after the close of the Mexican War, in 1848.

CHAPTER Z

FIRST OCCUPANTS OF THE CITY'S SITE.

--"--

THE SIOUX INDIANS HAD THE FIRST HABITATIONS--CLOUD MAN'S BAND AT LAKE CALHOUN--OTHER SIOUX BANDS IN THE VICINITY--THE"FIRSTS"--NAME OF FORT ST. ANTHONY CHANGED TO FORT SNELLING--THE TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN--EARLY INCIDENTS OF FORT SNELLING HISTORY--THE FIRST WHITE IMMIGRANTS COME FROM RED RIVER--THE POND BROTHERS COME AS INDIAN MISSIONARIES AND BUILD THE FIRST HOUSE ON THE CITY'S PRESENT SITE--H. H. SIBLEY COMES TO MENDOTA--ZACHARY TAYLOR COMMANDS AT FORT SNELLING AND LIVES TO APPOINT THE FIRST TERRITORIAL OFFICERS FOR MINNESOTA-- OLD INDIAN FIGHTS AND TRAGEDIES NEAR THE SITE OF MINNEAPOLIS--(The first shot of) THE GREAT INDIAN BATTLES BETWEEN THE SIOUX AND CHIPPEWAS AT RUM RIVER AND STILLWATER,IN JULY, 1839,IS FIRED AT LAKE HARRIET.

THE ABORIGINES OF MINNEAPOLIS.

Of the original human inhabitants of the site of Minneapolis nothing definite is known. There is no worthy record more remote than 1670. Even since that date, up to within comparatively recent periods, the knowledge of them is limited and much of it vague and uncertain. A great deal is left to conjecture and speculation, and neither conjecture or speculation, or guess-work ought to be set down as history.

The only evidences that the Mound Builders ever lived on the site were the two small mounds noted by Gov. Marshall, on the St. Anthony side, and the two elevations only about three feet high, noted by Alfred J. Hill, on the shores of Lake Calhoun, and which may not have been the work of Mound Builders at all. From the time when the observations and knowledge of travelers in the region began to be reduced to writing, (which was after Father Marquette and the Sieur Joliet, descended the Mississippi from the mouth of the Wisconsin, in 1673) the inhabitants of the country surrounding the present site of Minneapolis, for from 50 to 100 miles, were members of the great Dakotah nation of Indians, called by the Indians east of them Nah-do-way-soos, or "our enemies;" in time the last syllable of the reproachful word was contracted by the French writers to Sioux, and was fastened upon the people who even yet call themselves "Dah-ko-tah," or the allied bands of the same general family bound together by the ties of blood, friendship, and self-interest.

About the middle of the 18th century a band of Cheyenne Indians, separated from their tribe, lived for years in the Minnesota Valley, coming eastward as far as the mouth of the Blue Earth; but in about 1770 they went into what is now Ransom County, in Southeastern North Dakota, and built a large village near the present town of Lisbon, on the Cheyenne River. The name of the tribe and of the river, though spelled differently, are pronounced alike. Contemporary with the Cheyennes was a band of Iowa Indians, who had a considerable village at the mouth of the Minnesota, on the south side, on the site

of Mendota and the Bald Knob. At one period they were allies of the Sioux. When, however, in about 1765, the Chippewas, supplied with guns and other metallic weapons by the French traders, drove away the Sioux from the Mille Lacs region across the Mississippi, the latter, in turn, fell upon the Iowas and drove them away from the Minnesota down into what is now the State named for them.

So it was that for 200 years before the southern Minnesota country was settled by the whites the land was occupied in part by the Dakota or Sioux Indians. Only a small portion of the country was really so occupied. The Indian villages were commonly located on the streams and in a few instances on the lakes.* The great Dakota nation extended from the Medawakantons, on the Mississippi, to the Mandans and Tetons, high up on the Missouri, and practically at the Rocky Mountains. These people spoke a common language; each great band had its peculiar dialect of that language, but a Medawakanton could talk intelligently with a Mandan.

An Indian tribe is, properly speaking, a nation. The Sioux tribe was the Sioux nation. It was divided into bands, and often these bands were divided into sub-bands, the latter having a sub-chief. The Mandans constituted a band; the Tetons a band; the Yanktons a band; the Medawakantons a band, etc. East of the Mississippi, to the Delaware river, was the former great and mighty Algonquin (or Algonkin) nation, and the most western of these Indians were the Odjibwai, (Schoolcraft's Discovery, etc., p. 459.) or Ojibway (Warren, Vol. 5, Hist. Socy. Coll.) or Ochipwe (Rev. Fr. Baraga's Dic.) or Chipioue, Cypoue, and Otchipoua (French) or Chipeway, Chippeway, and Chippewa, (English) the inveterate and everlasting enemies of the Sioux. But the Chippewas became so great that they constituted a tribe or nation, although their dialect was as well understood by the Miamis of Indiana as the speech of the Wurtemberger is comprehended by the Austrian.

*"There was a small village at Lake Calhoun, one on Cannon River, and one at Two Woods, south of Laqui Parle. With these exceptions all the Dakota villages were near the two rivers and Big Stone and Traverse Lakes."--S. W. Pond, Vol. 12 Hist. Socy. Coll.

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As set down by the early travelers and historians the original names of the Indians (or at least the spelling) were different from those in modern vogue, and this is true of most geographic names. Down as late as 1847 Featherstonhaugh, the great geologist, who explored the Minnesota River from mouth to source, in 1835, spelled its name "Minnay Sotor." The Wisconsin, among other spellings, was early "Miskousing" and "Meschonsing," and it was generally spelled by both French and English according to the French, "Ouisconsin," up to and after 1825. The Mississippi was spelled a score of ways before the present form was adopted, as Messibi, Meschasebe, Misipe, etc. The French explorers called it Conception, Colbert, etc. Many names were doubtless misspelled by copyists and printers because an n was mistaken for a u and vice versa, as Miscousin, Issauti (for Isanti) Mankato (for Maukahto) etc.

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33 The Indians who are known to have been nearest to the present site of Minneapolis from 1780 to 1853 belonged to the Medawakanton band of the Sioux or Dakota Indians of Minnesota. In its entirety the big Indian word is pronounced correctly "M'day-wah-kon-tonwans" with the accent on the second syllable, (wah) as is the case with most Sioux words; no matter how long they are, or of how many syllables they are composed, the accent is nearly always on the second syllable. As has been said the name is interpreted "M'day," a lake; "wah-kon," a spirit; "tonwan," a people or a village--the People of the Spirit Lake; "tonwan," ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ has been contracted to "ton," the common Sioux expression, and "M'day" has been changed to "meda," as it is generally pronounced.

The Medawakantons were the descendants of the people met by Father Hennepin and his two campanions at Mille Lacs in 1680, and called by him Nadouessioux. Their name for the big Mille Lac was M'day Wah-kon, meaning spirit or supernatural lake; hence their name. Du Luth called the big lake, Lac Buade, the family name of Gov. Frontenac of Canada. Le Sueur called them (or perhaps his copyists did) "Mendeoucantons."

Now, from about 1798 forward there were in the Minnesota country four principal bands of the Minnesota Sioux, or Dakotas viz:

The Medawakantons and Wah-pay-kootas, in the eastern part, and the Wah-pay-tons and Sis-se-tons, in the western. The second name means the People That Shoot Leaves, based on a joke whereby they were induced to shoot into some leaf piles believing them to be Chippewas asleep; the second name means the People That Live in the Leaves, because at one time when they lived on the upper Minnesota River they often slept in trees to keep away from rattlesnakes; the Sissetons were the People That Live by the Marsh. Then in what is now the eastern part of South Dakota lived the Ehanketonwans, or People Living at the End, from ehanke (or Ihanke, meaning end.)* In time this term became Yankton, which is now well known. These people were and are Sioux, but their dialect differs from the Minnesota variety. They have no sound of D and substitute L for it, saying Lakota for Dakota, etc.

In the Atwater History (Chapter 2, P. 18) the scholarly pioneer, Mr. Baldwin, makes the strange mistake of saying that, "the aborigines of the country surrounding Minneapolis at the time of the advent of the white race belonged to the Ihonktonwan or Yankton branch of the Sioux nation." The Yanktons never came nearer St. Anthony Falls than to the Traverse des Sioux, and then only a small band came. and did not remain long.

The Sioux Indians that lived near St. Anthony's Falls all belonged to the big Medawakanton or Spirit Lake band. When this band was driven down from Mille Lacs by the Chippewas with their French guns, they established a village a few miles above the mouth of the Minnesota, near the trading post of a Frenchman named Penichon (or Penneshon, etc.) At that time they constituted but one band, perhaps under Wapasha (or Wahpashaw) the first of the name. (Neill, Ed. 1858, P. 331). In a comparatively short time, however, they were divided into sub-bands. Wapasha's sub-band was down by Winona; it was called the "Ke-yu-kash" band, from the Sioux, ~~ienk~~ ink-ke-yu-ksah-pe, meaning violating a law, because members of this band inter-married with cousins, step-brothers, and step-sisters, and even with half-brothers and half-sisters. (No parag) At Red Wing was old Red Wing's (afterwards Wacoota's) band; at what is now

Ouehanke, inkpa, and yush-tank-pe, each, also means end

St. Paul was Little Crow's Kaposia band; on the lower Minnesota were the bands of Black Dog, the Son of Penichon, (or Pennishon, or Penesha, etc.) Cloud Man, Eagle Head, and Shah-Kpay (or Shakopee).

According to Saml. W. Pond, the old missionary, (See Vol. 12, State Hist. Socy. Coll.,) the location of the bands in 1830-34 was clearly fixed. Wabasha's was below Lake Pepin and at Winona; Wahcouta was chief of the Red Wing band; Big Thunder was chief of the Kaposia band; Black Dog's village was two or three miles above the mouth of the Minnesota, and Great War Eagle (or Big Eagle) was chief; Penneshon's village was on the Minnesota, near the mouth of Nine Mille Creek, and Good Road (Tchank-oo Washtay) was chief; the band of Cloud Man (Makhpea Wechashta) had its village on Lake Calhoun and their town was called Kay-yah-ta Otonwa, meaning a village whose houses have roofs; Eagle Head's (Hku-ah Pah's) band was at the mouth of Eagle Creek, called Tewahpa, or the place of lily roots, and Shakopee's band (called the Tintah-tonwans, or Prairie People) were at the present site of the town of Shakopee; ~~The chief's name~~ in English Shakopee (or Shah-Kpay) means six.

There were various spellings of the names of the old Indian bands. In 1703 Le Sueur wrote of the Medawakantons as the "Mendeoucantons;" the Wah-paytons as the "Ouapetons;" the Wat-pa-tons (the River People) as the "Oua-deba-tons;" the Shonka-ska-tons (White Dog People) as the "Songa-squi-tons," while he called the Wah-pay-kootas (Shooters in the Leaves) the "Oua-pe-ton-te-tons," and translated their name as meaning "those who shoot in the large pine." As the renowned discoverer, digger, and shipper of blue clay and green mud spells it, the last name means people of the leaf living on the prairies, since "tetons" is a corruption of the Sioux word tint~~ons~~ah, meaning a prairie, the ~~first~~ N having the French nasal sound. M. Le Sueur, referring to the Medawakantons, translates their name to mean People (or village) of the Spirit Lake, ("Gens du Lac d' Esprit").

Seldom do any two early writers, whether English or French, spell Indian proper names alike; a~~n~~ standard orthography seems hard to establish.

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Of the Indians located nearest Minneapolis from 1820 to 1853- in which latter year they were removed to the upper Minnesota--it must be borne in mind that they were Dakotas, or Sioux, belonging to the Spirit Lake band of that tribe and to the old sub-bands of Penneshon, Black Dog, and Cloud Man. The original Penechon (however he spelled his name) was a French Canadian trader that had a post on Lake Pepin in the days of old Fort Beauharnois (1745). He had an Indian wife and by her had a son who was chosen chief of a band. In time this band came up to the mouth of the Minnesota and while the Indian name of the chief was Wayago Enagee, he was called "the Son of Penechon" by the whites. He signed his Indian name to Pike's deed or agreement, but Pike always calls him the Son of Penechon, or in French, "Fils de Pinchon." Ofttimes his name was ~~xxxxx~~ spelled Penneshaw. Upon his death his son succeeded him as chief of the sub-band, but when he died an Indian named Great War Eagle became chief; when he died Good Road, his son, succeeded him, and when Good Road died his son succeeded him and took the name of Mahkah-toe, (now written Mankato) meaning Blue Earth. He led his warriors in the Sioux Outbreak, was killed by a cannon ball in the battle of Wood Lake, September 23, 1862, and was the last chief of his band.

Prior to 1840 Black Dog's band lived for many years near Hamilton Station and on the lake and marsh still bearing the name of the old chief. He died in about 1840 and was succeeded by his son, Wamb'dee Tonka, or the Great War Eagle; he died in a few years and was succeeded by his son, Grey Iron, or Mahzah Hkotah. When old Gray Iron died, in 1855, his son succeeded him and took the name of his grandfather, the Great War Eagle, but was commonly called Big Eagle. He, too, led his band in the outbreak and was in the most important battles. He surrendered at Camp Release, "graduated" from Rock Island prison, became a Presbyterian farmer, and died near Granite Falls in the winter of 1906.

The band of Cloud Man, or Makh-pea (cloud) Wi-chashta, (man), lived on the eastern shore of Lake Calhoun, between Calhoun and Harriet, liter-

ally on a part of the present site of Minneapolis. Cloud Man was not a hereditary chief; he became such in about 1835. The previous winter he and some other Indians, while hunting buffaloes out on the plains, near the Missouri River, were overwhelmed by a blizzard and snowed under. Samuel W. Pond says Cloud Man told him that while he lay buried beneath the snow, starving and freezing, he remembered how often Maj. Taliaferro, the Indian Agent at Fort Snelling, had tried to induce him and other Indians to become farmers of the rich land about Lake Calhoun and raise bountiful supplies of provisions, and not be dependent upon the uncertain results of the chase and the hunt for subsistence in the long, cold winters, and indeed in all seasons. Cloud Man said that while shivering in his snow bed he solemnly vowed that if he lived to return to Fort Snelling he would become a farmer and induce others of his band to join him.

He lived to return to his village on the Minnesota and gathering a few families about him he started "the Village of Roofed Cabins," on Lake Calhoun. His village was not very large, but it was thrifty; its people always had enough to eat. Many of the other Indians were indignant at his proceedings and looked with scorn and sorrow upon the departure of their brethren from the ancient ways and methods. It took a long time for the Cloud Man and his fellow progressives to convince the old stand-patters that the new way was the best. The U. S. authorities encouraged Cloud Man in his undertakings. They recognized his authority as chief of the Lake Calhoun Indians; furnished them with seed and tools; plowed much of their land for them; gave them, first Peter Quinn and then Philander Prescott, as teachers to instruct then in farming, and even put up buildings for them.

Cloud Man was popular among the whites and always friendly toward them. A dashing and accomplished officer at the fort, Capt. Seth Eastman, became enamored of one of the chief's daughters, about 1833, and, Pond says was married to her "in Indian form." By her he had one child, a daughter, whom the whites called Nancy, but who was called by the Indians the Holy

Spirit woman, because she was a professed Christian. After Capt. Eastman abandoned his Indian wife and married a gifted white woman, who was an accomplished poetess, the discarded Sioux woman--who subsequently married an Indian — came to Mr. Pond with her half-blood daughter and wanted him to take the maiden and raise her as a white girl, saying; "Her father is a white man and a christian; I am not able to keep her, for I have no husband; my grandmather has kept her for a long time, but now she is 12 years old, and must either work hard or somebody must care for her."

The missionary said ~~they~~ he would gladly take the girl, who was bright and smart, although with a hot temper, inherited from her mother and grandmother. But "tah-kunkshe", her grandmother, interfered. The old woman said: "I have brought up the girl to do nothing, but now that she is able to help me you will take her away and make a fine lady of her; you shall not have her unless you give me a horse." The missionary had no horse, and so Nancy remained with her Kunkshe, who worked her very hard and scolded her incessantly. Nancy was high-spirited, but bided her time, and when she was about 15 she eloped with an Indian named Wah-kah-an-de Ota, (or Many Lightnings) of another band, and the grandmother got no horse to ride, or so much as a dog to roast! It was a great scandal and disgrace.

Nancy Eastman, as she was called, remained an Indian, although she was nominally a Christian. The white people made her numerous presents, which she stored in the Pond brothers' mission house at Oak Grove. Learning this, the grandmother came to the Mission and took away everything her grandchild had in keeping there, whereat Nancy was very sorry. Many Lightnings was a good husband to Nancy. She bore him sons and daughters and two of her sons, ~~of her sons,~~ Rev. John Eastman, a licensed minister, and Dr. Charles Eastman, the noted author of books on Indian life and the husband of the white authoress, Elaine Goodale, have become noted and useful characters. Many Lightings was badly wounded while fighting the whites in the battle of Wood Lake. Brig. Gen. Seth Eastman, grandfather of the Eastman brothers, died in 1875.

Eagle Head became chief of the "Village where the Lily Roots are,"

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at the mouth of Eagle Creek, also by election. He formerly belonged to Shakopee's band, but he killed a woman of that band, and fearing the vengeance of her relatives fled, with some of his relatives and friends, to the new location at the mouth of the stream which has since been called Eagle Creek. The township of Eagle Creek, in Scott County, also helps perpetuate his name.

The people of Minneapolis may well be proud that such an Indian as Cloud Man lived for many years on what became a prominent part of their city. He was an industrious and prudent man and always advised his people for the best. He never ceased to tell his fellow Dakotas that the time had come when, if they wished to save their nation from ruin, they must change their mode of life and adopt that of the white man; but only a few heeded him. Their gardens and fields in what is now southern Minneapolis were a great credit to their industry and sagacity, and enabled them to live in comfort. Many of the warrior worked in these fields, but the principal part of the farming and gardening was done by the women, who usually dug up the ground with hoes, planted and hoed the crop, and aided by the children drove and kept away the vast swarms of blackbirds that attacked the corn from the time it was planted until it was gathered, and sometimes destroyed xxxxxx entire fields.

When the treaty of Mendota was made, in July, 1851, Cloud Man accepted the inevitable and signed. His head soldier, the Star, (Wechankpe) and his principal men, Little Standing Wind, Scarlet Boy, Smoky Day, Iron Elk, Whistling Wind, Strikes Walking, Sacred Cloud, and Iron Tomahawk, also "touched the goosequill" and legalized their marks to the treaty. Some of Cloud Man's people often camped temporarily on Bridge Square in 1852 and 1853, when they were no longer afraid of the Onktayhee living under the falls. In the latter year, however, pursuant to the Mendota treaty, old Cloud Man led his people to their new reservation on the upper Minnesota, and they began life anew. When the great Outbreak occurred, many of his band became hostiles, but the old chief remained loyal and faithful in his friendship for the whites. He died in the first month of the great and bloody uprising, which really

hastened his death. Almost with his last words he lamented the conduct and the infatuation of his people and predicted the bad results that followed.

Some Indians of the Lake Calhoun village were noted. Take Smoky Day (Ampatu Shota) for example. On one occasion he and another Indian, disregarding the ~~warnings~~ commands of Agent Taliaferro, went away down into Iowa and fell upon a Sac and Fox village in the night, put 14 people to the tomahawk, and brought back their scalps. Iron Elk (Hay-Kah-Kah Mahzah) ~~land, xxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ was another noted character.

BEFORE THE WHITES OWNED THE LAND.

Early incidents of Fort Snelling history may be referred to in connection with the record of the city, since the relations of the military post and the municipality have always been so influential and so involved.

FIRST WHITE CHILDREN BORN.

In August, 1820, Col. Josiah Snelling arrived and relieved Lieut. Col. Leavenworth, and on the 10th of September the corner-stone of the commandant's quarters, the first building of the new fort, was laid. Mrs. Snelling accompanied her husband, and a few days after her arrival a little daughter was born to her. Perhaps this was the first full-blooded white child born in Minnesota. The child died when but thirteen months old and its interment was the first in the new fort cemetery; previous interments had been made on the Mendota side of the Minnesota. Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve (nee Clark) was born earlier than Mrs. Snelling's baby, but in Wisconsin.

THE FIRST WHITE WOMEN.

The year 1821 was busily spent by the garrison in the construction of the new fort and of the mill at St. Anthony Falls. October 1, when the work at the mill was being supervised by Lieut. R. A. McCabe, a party composed of Maj. Taliaferro, some officers of the fort, and the accomplished Mrs. Gooding, visited the mill on horseback. Two weeks later Mrs. Gooding, accompanied by Col. Snelling, Agent Taliaferro, and Lieut. J. M. Baxley, went down the river, in the big keelboat "Saucy Jack," to Prairie du Chien, where her husband,

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formerly Capt. George Gooding, was post sutler at Fort Crawford, having resigned from the service. It has been noted that Mrs. Gooding was the first white woman to see St. Anthony Falls. The first white women in Minnesota were the wives of the officers at Fort St. Anthony, and of these ladies Mrs. Gooding seems to have been the leader in accomplishments and general attractions.

In the fall of 1822 the buildings of the new Fort St. Anthony were sufficiently completed to admit of its occupancy by the troops. In 1823 came the steamboat virginia and Long's expedition.

ANENT THE TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

In 1824 Gen. Scott visited the fort and changed its name to Fort Snelling. The same year Maj. Taliaferro escorted a delegation of Chippewas and Sioux to Washington and arranged for the holding of a great ~~tr~~ treaty at Prairie du Chien the following year. Little Crow, Wahnatah, (the Charger) ~~and~~ Wapasha, and Sleepy Eye were the leading Sioux chiefs. Wahnatah was a Yankton, from Lake Traverse, and Sleepy Eye's band was at Lac qui Parle. All four had their pictures painted in Washington and these were afterwards lithographed and shown in McKenny & Hall's "Indian Tribes." The Dakotas returned to Minnesota by way of New York. In the big city the party met Rev. Samuel Peters, who said he was the owner by purchase of the Carver deed, and he gave Little Crow a fine double-barreled gun and asked him to have his band declare that the deed was legitimate and legal. The next year Rev. Peters sent Robert Dickson, a half-blood, some presents for him and his Indian wife; and in the same package sent a copy of the alleged deed and a long letter asking Dickson to secure evidence among the Indians that the deed was genuine, promising a large reward in event of success, etc. Dickson investigated but could not find the slightest evidence in favor of the authenticity of the preposterous paper.

THE STEAMBOAT PUTNAM.

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April 5, 1825, the steamboat Rufus Putnam, Capt. Moses D. Bates commander, from St. Louis, arrived at Fort Snelling. The boat closely resembled the Virginia;

it was built in Cincinnati and named for the founder of the Marietta (Ohio) Colony and not for Gen. Israel Putnam, of the Revolution. Capt. Bates resided at Palmyra, Mo., and laid out the town of Hannibal. May 2 the Putnam came to Fort Snelling again, this time with goods for the Colunibia Fur Company, which, at a point about a mile up the Minnesota, had a trading post called Land's End. Here the goods were delivered and thus the Putnam was the first steamboat to ascend the Minnesota for any distance.

THE TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

August 19, the great treaty of Prairie du Chien was held. Govs. Wm. Clark and Lewis Cass represented the United States and the Indian Partici - pants were chiefs from the Sioux, Chippeways, Winnebagoes, Menomonies, Sacs and Foxes, Ioways, and Ottawas. The most important feature of the treaty, so far as Minnesota history is concerned, was that Little Crow's band and all other Sioux were compelled to remove permanently from the east side to the west side of the Mississippi. Little Crow soon removed his village from Dayton's Bluff and Pig's Eye, St. Paul, to Kaposia, where Swift & Co's packing house now stands, at South St. Paul.

INFREQUENT MAILS.

Except in summer seasons, in early times the mail for Fort Snelling was carried by soldiers or "coureurs du bois" to and from Prairie du Chien, and between that point and the outside world it was conveyed ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in sleighs. January 26, 1826, Lieuts. Baxley and Russell, of the Fort Snelling garrison, returned from furlough, bringing with them the first mail that had been received for five months.

A BLIZZARD CAUSES CANNIBALISM.

In February and March deep snows fall, blizzards prevailed, and the Indians suffered greatly. Thirty lodges of Sissetons, men women and children, were caught in a blizzard on the Pomme de Terre River, and then cut off by the deep snow. Nearly all the members of the party perished; the survivors existed only by cannibalism. One woman named Plenty of Blankets

ate her young child. She was brought to Fort Snelling helplessly and hopelessly insane, but with a craving for human flesh. She begged Capt. Jouett to let her kill and eat his servant girl, saying she was "fat and good." A few days later she jumped from the high bluff in front of the fort into the river and drowned herself; the body was recovered and decently buried.

MEETINGS ON THE "FIELD OF HONOR."

In the summer of 1826 there were two duels between officers of the garrison. Dueling was not uncommon. Col. Snelling encouraged it. When drunk he would swagger about and offer to waive his rank and fight with any of his officers, even his subalterns. Capt. Martin Scott was badly wounded in one of the encounters in 1826, but he mortally hurt his antagonist.

SOCIAL LIFE AT THE FORT.

Nearly all of the officers of the Fifth Infantry at Fort Snelling between 1823 and 1827 were married. The ~~principal ones~~ ranking officials were Col. Snelling, Surgeon McMahon, Maj. Hamilton, Maj. Clark, Capt. afterwards Major, Joseph Plympton, and captains Cruger, Denny, and Wilcox. Lieutenants Platt Green, Melancthon Smith, and R. A. McCabe were married, and a child of each of the first two was buried in the fort cemetery. The ladies were all accomplished and of good families and the society was excellent. They had numerous social gatherings, and even entertainments. The wife of Capt. Plympton brought the first piano to Fort Snelling and Minnesota, in 1826. A favorite diversion was horseback riding. There were several good horses owned in the garrison and a gallop up and back to the falls was frequently indulged in. Married ladies were generally accompanied on these occasions by gentlemen other than their husbands. Mrs. Snelling was an accomplished horsewoman and her escort was usually Capt. Martin Scott.* He was a splendid rider, and as Lieutenant Colonel he was leading his regiment on horseback at the battle of Molino del Rey, (near the city of Mexico) during the Mexican War, when a sharpshooter's bullet pierced his heart and he died gallantly.

*Capt. Scott was a Vermonter and a famous shot with a hunting rifle. He was the hero of the ridiculous story connecting his name with a tree and raccoon which he was about to shoot. "Dont shoot, Capt. Scott," it is alleged the coon cried; "dont shoot, save your powder. I'll come down and you can kill me with a club Youll be sure to hit me if you shoot, and I don't want my hide spoiled."

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FIRST MARRIAGES.

The first marriage service in Minnesota, wherein a clergyman officiated was performed by Rev. Dr. Thos. S. Williamson, the missionary, in the summer of 1835. The contracting parties were Lieut. Edmund A. Ogden and Miss Cordelia Loomis, daughter of the then Captain (afterwards Lieutenant Colonel) Gustavus Loomis. The bride had been a former sweetheart of the young trader, Henry H. Sibley, and ~~from~~ according to letters found among the Sibley papers she never forgot her old love.

The first marriage at the Fort occurred in August, 1820. The contracting parties were Adjutant Platt R. Green and the young daughter of Capt. and Mrs. George Gooding. Perhaps Maj. Taliaferro performed the service in his official capacity of Indian Agent, which gave him certain magisterial powers. He subsequently performed marriages between white persons and between whites and Indians and mixed bloods.

EARLY STEAMBOATS AT THE FORT.

Up to May, 1826, the following named steamboats had arrived at the Fort: Virginia, May 10, 1823; Neville, in 1824; Rufus Putnam, April 5, and May 2, 1825, Rufus Putnam; Mandan and Indian, later in the year; Lawrence, May 2, 1826; Scioto, Eclipse, Josephine, Fulton, Red Rover, Black Rover, Warrior, Enterprise, and Volant, at various dates in 1825 and 1826.

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IMMIGRANTS FROM RED RIVER.

In 1821, disheartened by the misfortunes and privations they had endured in that locality, five Swiss families abandoned Lord Selkirk's Colony, on the Red River, in Canada, south of Winnipeg, and made their way to Fort Snelling. They were kindly received by Col. Snelling and permitted to settle on the military reservation. In 1822 the grasshoppers destroyed the crops of Selkirk's colonists, and the following year other Swiss families left the inhospitable country and came to Fort Snelling. Some went on to Prairie du Chien, to Galena, to St. Louis, and even as far as to Vevay, Indiana.

After a great flood in 1826 more families, chiefly French-Swiss

came. Among the heads of these families were Abraham Perret (or Perry) Joseph Rondo, Pierre and Benjamin Gervais, Louis Massie, and others, who were among the first settlers and citizens of St. Paul. July 25, 1831, twenty more families of the unfortunate Red River colonists came to the fort; they had been told that the United States would give them land near the post, and farming implements and provisions to last them until they could raise a crop. These refugees were settled on the level lands a little north and west of Fort Snelling and if they had been allowed to remain in that locality a mighty city, in compact and developed form, would have been built between the Falls and the Minnesota River--and there never would have been a St. Paul.

THE INDIAN COLONY OF EATONVILLE.

Indian Agent Taliaferro encouraged Cloud Man to farm at Lake Calhoun by establishing a sort of Indian colony there and furnishing its members with seed, implements, and in time with two - horse plowing outfits. It was difficult to plow and break up the virgin tough prairie sod, however, for the plows were frail, cast-iron affairs ~~that~~ which would break easily and when broken could not be mended. So the Indian women often dug up the stubborn sod the first year, and after that the soil could be plowed very easily. Maj. Taliaferro called the colony Eatonville, in honor of the then President Jackson's Secretary of War, Hon. John H. Eaton. The colony was established in 1829 with twelve families and Peter Quinn, a Red River refugee, was the first instructor. He was succeeded the following year by Philander Prescott. In 1832 the colony had increased to 125 Indians, men and women, and great cornfields were planted about Lake Calhoun and over a great part of what is now the southern part of the city. During the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 the Indians killed both Prescott and Quinn, each of whom had an Indian wife. They cut off Prescott's head and stuck it on a pole, and they pierced Quinn's ~~badly~~ body with a dozen arrows at the battle of Redwood Ferry.

ADVENT OF THE POND BROTHERS.

In 1834 the Pond brothers, Gideon H. and Samuel W. Pond, came to the Fort directly from Galena, although they

were Connecticut men. They came as volunteer Christian missionaries to labor for the conversion of the Minnesota Indians. They were not licensed ministers, nor were they sent by any church or society. They were almost "without scrip or purse," but simply religious enthusiasts, who believed they had a heaven-inspired mission, which they must fulfill at all hazards. They endured all sorts of hardship and privation, and, although they did not make very many converts among the Indians, they labored steadfastly and unselfishly and did much good in other ways. These worthy and good men passed the rest of their lives in Minnesota engaged in the work to which they had consecrated themselves, and died near the principal field of their labors near Minneapolis, some years ago.*

THE FIRST RESIDENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS.

When the Ponds first came to Fort Snelling Agent Taliaferro sent them out to his Indian colony on Lake Calhoun. That summer(1834) they built a log cabin, 12 by 16 feet in area and eight feet high, on a site a little east of the lake and where afterward the Pavilion Hotel stood. Unless the little rude hut connected with the Government Mill at the Falls in comsidered a dwelling house, the cabin of the Pond brothers was the first white man's residence built on the present site of Minneapolis; at any rate it was the second structure erected. It was certainly a residence, for here the brothers kept bachelors' hall and cooked, ate slept, and passed their leisure time, while the hut at the mill was only occupied by soldiers temporarily detailed to work the mill.

It is but fair to state that the Pond brothers' humble hut was the actual home of the first actual citizen settlers in Hennepin County and on the present area of Minneapolis; the people of the fort were neither settlers or citizens in the proper sense of these terms. The cabin was also the first mission house, the first house of divine worship, and strictly speaking it was the first school room; the school teacher Baker, who came to Fort Snelling in 1824, taught only the officer's children in their own homes.

*See S. W. Pond's book, "Two Volunteer Missionaries" and other Minn. hist.

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H. H. SIBLEY COMES TO MENDOTA.

In 1834, also, came to Fort Snelling--or to the American Fur Company's trading post at Mendota--the accomplished Henry Hastings Sibley, who became so prominent and distinguished in Minnesota history. He came as chief factor of the Fur Company, succeeding the talented and gifted Alexis Bailly, a French and Ottawa mixed blood, educated and accomplished, polished as a courtier, but as sharp as a hawk. He wrote and spoke French as well as Talleyrand; but he seemed to enjoy life in Minnesota as much because he could torment Agent Taliaferro to the verge of distraction as for any other reason. After being deposed as the chief factor of the Fur Company, he was ~~enjoyed~~ employed for years as a trader under it.

DRED SCOTT AT FORT SNELLING.

Major Lawrence Taliaferro, (commonly pronounced Tolliver), the Indian Agent, was not then connected with the regular army, although he had been a lieutenant. He had his military title of Major by virtue of his office as Indian Agent, for in Minnesota Indian agents were always called "Major," and Indian Superintendents "Colonel," no matter if they had never smelled powder. Maj. Taliaferro was from Fredericksburg, Va., and was a slave owner.

In his "Autobiography" (Vol. 6, Hist. Secy. Coll.,) the Major says that he was accustomed to hire his slaves to the officers of the garrison, because he had no use for them himself. In his journal, as quoted by Neill, he says that in 1831 Capt. Plympton wanted to purchase his negro girl Eliza, but he would not sell her "because," he says, "it was my intention to free all my slaves ultimately." He, however, afterward sold a black man to Capt. Gale and one of his slave girls, Harriet Robinson, to Dr. John Emerson, the post surgeon. And thereby hangs a tale.

Maj. Taliaferro brought the girl Harriet to the Fort in 1835. Dr. Emerson, who had come to the fort from service at Rock Island, had a black man named Dred Scott, that he had purchased from the Scott family at St. Louis. In 1836 Dr. Emerson purchased Harriet from Maj. Taliaferro and

married her to his man Dred. The couple had two children, one born at Fort Snelling and one on the steamboat Gipsy while her mother was accompanying her mistress to St. Louis. In 1838 Surgeon Emerson was transferred back to Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, and took his negroes with him. Dr. Emerson died in 1843 and the negroes were inherited by his wife, Mrs. Irene Emerson. Nine years later arose the famous Dred Scott case which was so much talked about in the country from 1857 to 1861.

In 1852, instigated by certain prominent anti-slavery people of St. Louis, Dred Scott was made to appear against his mistress as a suitor for his freedom in a district court of that city. He claimed that he and his family were entitled to their freedom because he had lived in two free districts viz: at Rock Island, Ill., and Ft. Snelling, then in ~~Wisconsin~~ Iowa Territory, in both of which places slavery was prohibited; that by virtue of being taken to such free soil (not running away to it) he became free, and once free he must be always free.

The St. Louis district judge, himself a slave owner, said that all such suits as Dred's should be decided if possible on the side of freedom, and virtually gave him his free papers. The Supreme Court of Missouri, however, (two judges to one), reversed this decision and, as it were, remanded Dred and his family back to slavery. Mrs. Emerson then sold Scott and Harriet to a man named Sandford, a wealthy resident of New York City, but who kept his negroes in St. Louis. In 1853 the anti-slavery people of St. Louis again had Dred Scott suing for his freedom, this time against Sandford and in the U. S. Circuit Court. In May, 1854, that court rendered a decree that Scott and his family "are negro slaves, the lawful property of the defendant," John F. A. Sandford. Scott's attorneys appealed the decision by a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States. In March, 1857, that Court directed the Circuit Court to dismiss the case, saying that Dred Scott was a slave and not a citizen and had no right to sue and no standing in court; that he did not become free by reason of his four years' residence on free soil. Col. Sandford, Scott's owner was prominently connected with the

Chouteau Fur Company of St. Louis, and well known on the Missouri River, although his residence was in New York.

But in the meantime Sandford had died and the slaves had descended to certain of his heirs, the family of a Republican member of Congress from Massachusetts!

This family hired out the negroes for some time in St. Louis, but finally sold them to certain philanthropic people that wished to set them free. These people conveyed them to Taylor Blow, a druggist of St. Louis, who emancipated them May 26, 1857, two months after the U. S. Supreme Court had consigned them to slavery during their life time. (See Scott vs. Emerson, 19 Howard, p. 393; Nic. & Hay, Life of Lincoln, Vol. 2, Chap. 5 and also foot-note p. 81, Minn. in Three Cents., Vol. 2.)

A few old citizens who were youths in 1835-38, and who have died recently, remembered Dred Scott and Harriet when they were at Fort Snelling. Wm. L. Quinn, the noted half-blood scout, son of Peter Quinn, who lived near the fort, often said that Dred and his wife were apparently of pure African blood, jet black and shiny; that they were mildly disposed, inoffensive people, but of a low order of intelligence and did not like the Indians. Dred was fond of hunting and quite successful as a deer-stalker.

The only resident of Minnesota that was a slave owner was Alexis Bailly, who purchased a black woman (Neill says a man) from Maj. Garland, and used her as a house servant and as a maid for his mixed blood Indian wife, the daughter of John B. and Pelagie Faribault. At first the Sioux were greatly diverted by the negroes. They called the black people "black Frenchmen," (Wahsechon Sappa) followed them about, felt their woolly heads, and then laughed heartily. Another negro slave, James Thompson, was purchased by the Missionaries at Kaposia from a Fort Snelling officer. He had an Indian wife and had acquired the Sioux language, and the mission people wanted him for an interpreter. Of course they set him free. He seemed to be a devout Christian, but soon fell from grace and went wrong. After a time he fell back again, then fell out again and sold whisky, and finally became a Methodist and died in

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hope of eternal happiness.

GEN. ZACHARY TAYLOR AT FORT SNELLING.

The first commanders of Fort Snelling were Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth from September 1819, to June, 1821; Col. Josiah Snelling, from June, 1821, to May, 1825; Capt. Thomas Hamilton, in May and June, 1825, and then Lieut. Col. Willoughby Morgan to December, 1825; Col. Snelling again until November, 1827, and then Maj. J. H. Vose, to May 24, 1828. All these officers were of the Fifth Infantry. Then came Lieut. Col. Zachary Taylor, of the First Infantry, who commanded from May, 1828, to July 12, 1829, or fourteen months.

In after years, when he had become so distinguished as a fighting general and had been elected President of the United States, the Lieut. Colonel commanding Fort Snelling in 1828-29 was again connected with the history of Minnesota. Among his very first duties after he became President was the appointment of the officials for the then new Territory, now the North Star State. He appointed Alexander Ramsey the first Governor, Chas. K. Smith, the first Secretary, etc. To Delegate H. H. Sibley President Taylor expressed his regret that he had not been permitted to sign the bill creating Minnesota Territory, because he had been connected with its early history and believed it would become a great State. "Your winters are long and cold," said the President to the Delegate; "I know, for I spent one there. But your climate is exceedingly bracing and probably the healthiest in the union. With proper care good crops can be raised there, for I have seen them growing--as good wheat as I ever saw--and we raised very fine vegetables of all kinds at the Fort. Then you have vast forests of lumber which alone will make your State great, and St. Anthony Falls is probably the greatest water power in the World." 38

While at Fort Snelling Gen. Taylor had with him his wife, his four daughters, and his three-year-old son Richard, who became a distinguished confederate general. One of the daughters, Sarah Knox, familiarly called "Knox," married Jefferson Davis, a few years later, at the home of her aunt, a few miles in the rear of Louisville, Ky. It is often said that the marriage was the result of an elopement, but it was not even clandestine; a number of

of her near relatives were present, although her father had refused his consent. She died three months later.

INDIAN FIGHTS AND TRAGEDIES NEAR MINNEAPOLIS.

Perhaps the most noted incidents of early history which occurred in the near vicinity of Minneapolis between 1820 and 1840 were certain hostile encounters between the Sioux and Chippewa Indians wherein many lives were lost. So many of these affairs occurred throughout the State that their enumeration and description at this late day would be most difficult. Some of them were rather formidable, but none of them were of any more consequence and influence on the ~~welfare~~ interests of the country than ~~the~~ fights between packs of wolves.

On a night in May, 1827, some Sandy Lake Indians, under the old Flat Mouth, were asleep in their camp in front of Maj. Taliaferro's agency house and under the guns of Fort Snelling. Nine Sioux from Penechon's village, with guns and tomahawks, crept up in the darkness and fired into the sleeping Chippewas, killing four and wounding eight. Within two days Col. Snelling forced four of the Sioux that had fired so cowardly and cruelly upon sleeping men, women, and children to run the gauntlet before the guns of the Chippewas. All ran gallantly, but all were shot down and killed before they had proceeded a hundred yards. The Chippewas rubbed their hands in the bloody wounds of their dead enemies and then licked their fingers with great relish. After scalping and mutilating the bodies they pitched them over the bluff.

Treachery Leads to Terrible Tragedy.

In July, 1839, there was a stirring, tragic, and altogether a most remarkable affair between the two Minnesota tribes in the perpetuation of their feud. Preliminary to this incident, which in effect was a great dual tragedy, several hundred Chippewas came down from their country to Fort Snelling with the mistaken idea that they were to receive some money under the treaty of 1837. They came in two columns. Hole-in-the-Day led the Pillager band and the Mille Lacs down the Mississippi in canoes to St. Anthony Falls, where they encamped. The St. Croix Chippewas came down that river from Pokegama to Stillwater in canoes and then marched across the country to

Fort Snelling, and encamped a mile or so north of the fort, near Cloud Man's band at Lake Calhoun.

All the Sioux bands in the neighborhood came forward and greeted their old time enemies very cordially, and they and the U. S. Authorities entertained them most bountifully and hospitably. Hole-in-the-Day's Indians came down to Lake Calhoun and joined in the feasting and the fraternizing. Everybody said the tomahawk was buried forever and henceforth there would be profound peace between Chippewa and Sioux. This most exemplary condition lasted four days, and then the Chippewas set out to return to their homes, each column taking the route over which it had come. By special invitation the Pokegama Chippewas went first to Little Crow's Kaposia village (now South St. Paul) and spent some hours in friendly visit and then went on to Stillwater.

But two young men of Hole-in-the Day's contingent had "bad hearts" all this time. They were from Mille Lacs and claimed that the Sioux had killed their father the year before. When their party set out to return home they remained behind. The next morning, well armed, they slipped down to near Cloud Man's village and hid themselves on the southeastern side of Lake Harriet, in the tall grass, by a path that ran on the east side of the lake and then on to a great body of timber, a wild pigeon grove, on the Minnesota.

Just after daylight on the morning of July 2, an Indian whose proper name was Hku-pah Choki mah-zah, or Middle Iron Wing came along the path where the Chippewas were ambushed. He was on his way to the pigeon roost to kill pigeons before early morning came, when they would fly away, returning at dark. He had a boy of 12 *with him and each had a gun. He was often called the Badger, and this is the name given him in some histories. He was a son-in-law of Chief Cloud Man and a nephew of Zitkahda

*In the spring of 1895 the writer interviewed this "boy", but he was then 68 and bearing the white man's name of David Watson. He was then at Flandrau S. D., where he died a few years later. He was a nephew of Middle Iron Wing and well remembered the incident. ~~R. I. H.~~

Doota, (or Red Bird) the "medicine man" of the band, but who in this instance became its head soldier.

In the tall grass and weeds lay the two Chippewas, every muscle strained and tense and their eyes gleaming with excitement and hate, like tigers in a jungle about to leap upon their prey. When the Badger came up within easy gunshot they fired at the same instant and both bullets struck him, killing him instantly. They rushed forward and took his scalp and then slunk away through the tall grass towards Minnehaha, or the "Little Falls," as they were often called. The boy had thrown himself in the grass beside the path and was lying still. The Indians said they saw him, but forbore to kill him. As soon as they had gone the lad sprang up and ran back to the village, crying with all his might, "Hkah-hkah Tonwan! Hkah-khah-Tonwan! *or "the Chippewas! the Chippewas!"

The boy's soprano screams rang like silver fire-bells and were heard at the mission house as soon as at the Indian tepees. The Pond brothers were at the side of the murdered warrior as soon as his comrades were, and it is from Saml. W. Pond's printed record (see "Two Missionaries") that we get the details of the murder and of the terrible events that followed. The body of the Badger was borne back to the village, where, as it were, it lay in state.

A crowd soon gathered about the scalpless, bloody corpse. Red Bird bent over it and kissed it, though the blood was yet oozing. Then he removed from the body the ornaments which had bedecked it, and, holding them up where all could see, he solemnly swore: "I will avenge you, O, my nephew, though I too am killed!" Turning to the assembled warriors he demanded that they too avenge their comrade, and they fairly yelled that they would.

There was a sudden and a very wild excitement among the Sioux that morning. Swift messengers bore the startling and astounding

*Meaning literally People of the Waterfalls, the Sioux name for the Chippewas who, when the Sioux first knew them, lived at the Falls of Sault Ste. Marie.

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news from village to village and from tepee to tepee, crying out wildly:

"The Chippewas! The Chippewas! They have turned treacherously back from their homeward journey and are butchering us! Middle Iron Wing is already killed! On the bank of Lake Harriet--there lies his dead body, all bloody! Go and see it. But get your fighting implements ready first!"

In two hours Cloud Man's warriors, Red Bird at the head, stripped almost as naked as Adam, but painted and armed for fight, were all ready and eager for the war path. Then in another hour the warriors from the other villages began to arrive. They came from Good Road's village, from Bad Hail's, from Black Dog's, from Eagle Head's, and even from Shakopee's. Little Crow's men did not come, as will be explained, but the plan was made known to him.

The plan was soon arranged. The Chippewas were to be pursued on both of the routes they had taken. Little Crow (or Big Thunder) and his Kaposia band, because they were miles nearer to them, were to follow after the St. Croix Chippewas, with whom they had an old account to settle anyhow, and overtake them at Stillwater if possible. The other bands were to pursue Hole-in-the-Day's people and those from the Mille Lacs. Each pursuing party largely outnumbered the Chippewas it pursued, the latter being composed largely of women and children, while the Sioux were all warriors.

The Sioux came to the war path painted, armed, moccasined, and victualed, and all eager as wolves on the scent. In effect the warriors were sworn into service. The oath or pledge was brief but strong. It bound him who took it to fight to the death and to show no quarter to any living Chippewa thing. No mercy was to be asked and none was to be given. The babe was to be served as the grandsire and the virgin as the warrior.

The authorities at the Fort did not offer to interfere; it would not have been of any use. The Sioux hurried up to St. Anthony Falls and crossed the river by detachments in canoes, landing on the east bank, just above the head of Nicollet Island. Samuel W. Pond went up and viewed the crossing, which was not effected until near sundown. Red Bird, so Pond tells,

tells us, caused his 400 warriors to be seated in a line, down which he marched, naked except for breech-clout and war paint, laying his hand on every warrior's head and bidding him fight to the last for the sake of the Dakota gods and the honor of the Dakota nation. ¶ It had been a hot July day, but the war party started as soon as the favor of its gods had been invoked, marched all night, and just before day reached Hole-in-the-Day's camp on Rum River. Little Crow and his warriors marched all night and arrived at Stillwater at daylight, finding the Chippewas in camp, but ready to embark on the St. Croix for their homes.

Red Bird managed well at Rum River. He waited until the Chippewa hunters had gone ahead on the trail and dispersed themselves on either side of the road to kill game for the subsistence of the party, and these hunters were half of the Chippewa warriors. Not every warrior had a gun, but every gun was loaded only with bird shot. The camp had just been broken up and the morning column, composed largely of women and children , was stringing out when Red Bird gave the signal for attack by a loud and long war whoop. The Sioux sprang forward with gun and spear and tomahawk. The Chippewa women and children fled in horror and dismay; the Sioux leaped upon them and cut them down. The men present with guns fought as best they could, but what could they do with bird shot?

In a little time the Chippewa hunters had come back and then the killing was not all on one side. Oh, no! Hole in the Day and his warriors always did their share of killing in a battle. The Chippewas, frenzied at the sight of their dead and mangled women and children, fought with such desperation that in twenty minutes the Sioux were retreating from the field, leaving their dead, and some of their disabled. Shakopee* and his Prairieville band were made the rearguard and had all they could do to keep back the infuriate Chippewas. Once, when hard pressed and his men were not supported, he rode among the other chiefs and complained: "You have poured blood on me," he said, "and now you run away and leave me."

*Father of the Chief hung at Fort Snelling.

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Shakopee, Red Bird, and some others were on horseback, having made their horses swim the Mississippi. Red Bird was killed. He rode upon a Chippewa who was in his death agonies, but still held his loaded gun. Red Bird dismounted to finish him with his knife, when the dying warrior shot him through the neck and the noted medicine man and fighter fell a corpse and into the hands of his enemies . His son, a lad of 15, was mortally wounded. As they were bearing him from the field he noticed that his intestines were dangling from his wound and he said: "I wish my father could see this." Told that his father was killed, he did not utter a word more, but closed his eyes and soon joined him in the "happy hunting grounds."

The Chippewas followed the Sioux for some miles, and killed three and wounded 25 of Shakopee's rear guard. At last they turned back to bury their dead, to care for their stricken ones, and to chop to pieces the bodies of the dead and wounded of their enemies left on the slaughter field. The Sioux bore away 70 scalps, at least 50 of which were those of women and children. Some of the Chippewas killed were not scalped. The Sioux had 12 warriors killed and carried off about 50 wounded, some of whom afterward died, one when he was being lifted from a canoe on the west bank of the Mississippi. (See "Two Missionaries;" also Vol. 2, Minn. in Three Cent.)

Meanwhile Big Thunder's Kaposia warriors had been successful to a degree; for they too were forced to retreat from the field. The Chippewas were in their camp at Stillwater in the big ravine where the penitentiary now stands. At the same hour when Red Bird attacked the Chippewas on Rum River, Big Thunder attacked the St. Croix and Pokegama people. The Sioux had crept up within gunshot and bowshot, and, without warning, suddenly poured a plunging and deadly fire from the crest of the bluff upon their enemies' camp. The Chippewas behaved well. They retreated toward the St. Croix, women and children going first, and the men protecting the rear, fighting 40 41 bravely. Near the shore they halted and checked the Sioux, finally driving them back and away from the battle ground, but not in time to prevent them from taking about 20 scalps and cutting off and carrying away half a

dozen heads. The Sioux retreated in a panic, although the Chippewas did not pursue them beyond the crest of the bluffs. The fighting was witnessed by Wm. A. Aitkin, the trader, (for whom the county was named) and by Mrs. Lydia Ann Carli, a sister of Joseph R. Brown, who lived in the big log castle at Stillwater (then called "Dakota") which her brother had built.

In both battles the Chippewas lost 95 killed, 75 at Rum River and 20 at Stillwater. The Sioux lost 12 killed at Rum River and five at Stillwater, or 17 in all. The whole number of wounded cannot well be estimated. The Chippewas carried all of their wounded back to their villages, those from Rum River on litters and those from Stillwater in canoes, at least a great part of the way.

The scene at Fort Snelling when the Sioux returned from their victories was one of wild and fierce exultation. Rev. Gideon H. Pond, who was present, wrote: "It seemed as if hell had emptied itself here." They paraded their bloody scalps and ghastly heads with great ostentation, as if for the delectation of the white spectators. They yelled and danced until they worked themselves into a state of delirium and frenzy. They kept up the scalp dance in all their villages for a month. Why not? They had 95 scalps!

The Pond brothers and the officers of the Fort saw the great and horrid celebration but did not interfere. There were other witnesses. There were at the Fort Snelling at the time the Right Reverend Bishop Mathias Loras and his assistant, the Abbe Pelamourgues, Catholic ecclesiastics stationed at Dubuque, who had come up to look after the interests of the Mother Church in this quarter. The gentle-souled, mild-mannered Bishop was inexpressably shocked at the loathsome and hideous spectacle of the dancing and howling Sioux and their ghastly trophies, and he shed tears of heartsickness and horror as he looked upon it.

One of the two young Chippewas that shot the Badger and brought the disasters upon their people died at Mille Lacs in 1903. To the late Wm. L. Quinn, of St. Paul, who at one time was a trader among them and who

himself had Chippewa blood in his veins, they told the story. It is now well known that after they had done the shooting they made their way to the "Little Falls," now the Falls of Minnehaha, and ~~made~~ effected their escape as they planned to. Behind the broad sheet of water that formed the cataract proper, snug under the deep shelving bluff over which the water poured, they crawled and hid themselves. Here they remained that day and night and the following day. They reasoned that the Sioux would not search carefully for them, but would follow their brethren; and when the Dakota warriors had gone they would slip away in the darkness and go back to Mille Lacs. All about the Falls there were brambles and brushwood, and the ~~broad~~ sheet of falling water hid them as if they were behind a big white blanket. On the second night they crept away, swam the Mississippi by the aid of a log, and got safely back to their village. They were very sorry that the fire they kindled had caused so much distress and sadness, but their people forgave them because they had meant well and from the Indian point of view had acted bravely.

The battles between the Sioux and Chippewas in the first days of July, 1839, are to be remembered in connection with the history of Minneapolis. They were the largest affairs of the kind that occurred in Minnesota after the supposed great battle between the two tribes near Mille Lacs about 1750, or perhaps about 1760, and they were planned on the present site of Minneapolis. Nearly all the Sioux warriors that fought in it were from or near the city's site, set out from here, and returned here. At least 115 Indians of both sides were killed--more than the aggregate of all the Indians that died on Minnesota battle fields after 1760, including those killed in fight and hung at Mankato during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862.

Intelligence of the affairs, generally exaggerated as to details, went to all parts of the country. Writing from St. Louis July 26, 1839, Robert E. Lee, then a captain of U. S. Engineers and who had been engaged in engineering work on the Mississippi up as far as Prairie du Chien, wrote to his associate officer, Lieut. Joseph E. Johnston, about these Indian battles.

(It will be understood that both these officers were afterwards the two principal Confederate generals.) After mentioning an excursion party that had recently gone up the river on a steamboat to the Falls of Anthony, "with music playing and colors flying," and which their mutual friend "Dick" (whoever he was) had accompanied from Galena, Capt. Lee wrote:

> News recently arrived that the Sioux had fallen upon the Chippewas and taken 130 [sic] scalps. The Hole in the Day, Dick's friend, had gone in advance with the larger party and they did not come up with him. It is expected that this chief, who is represented as an uncommon man, will take ample revenge, and this may give rise to fresh trouble. You will see the full account in the papers.

The letter in full is printed in Gen. Long's "Memoirs of R. E. Lee," and Letters of Lee, at page 35, but it has never before been noticed in a Minnesota publication.

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in Dr. J. William Jones's Life and