



[Return I. Holcombe Papers.](#)

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Minnesota in Three Centuries.

By the Publisher of the "North Star State,"
Minnesota, the great North Star State,
derives its name from two Sioux Indian
words, "m'ne," water, and "sota," cloudy or
bleary. The name was originally applied
by the Sioux or Dakota ~~Indians~~ Indians to
the beautiful ~~the~~ river lying wholly
within the present borders of the State in
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Alexander Ramsey, upon assuming the presidency of the Minnesota Historical Society, in January, 1857, said:

Minnesota has a history, and that not altogether an unwritten one, which can unfold many a page of deep, and engraving interest; which is rich in tales of daring enterprise, of faithful endurance, of high hopes; which is marked by the early travellers' footprints, and by the accomplished explorer's pencil; which is glowing with the myths and traditions of our aboriginal races, sprinkled over with their battlefields, with the sites of their ancient villages, and with the "wah-kaun" stones of their unique mythology.

The first Caucasians to tread the soil of Minnesota, came in 1673. Father Louis Hennepin, the first to write of the country, came, as the prisoner or slave of the savages, the following year. Not until 140 years later, when Fort Snelling was built, was the first important white occupation made. In 1849, when nearly

all of the region within its designated boundaries was red = peopled and virgin, and the white and mixed-blood people and the military forces numbered less than 5,000, living in straggling and humble settlements, the Territory of Minnesota was created. In 1858 the Territory became a sovereign State of the great American Union. Then the State had but 150,000 white people, and all of them were poor; the institutions, commercial and otherwise, were very few and insignificant; there was but one town in the State with a population approximating 10,000; there was not a mile of railroad; ~~and~~ the development of the country had scarcely begun and what had been made was imperfect and primitive.

And now, after only fifty years of effort, Minnesota is a grand and mighty Commonwealth, with practically two millions of people, and with a development and high civilization which cannot here be described. It is a fact well established that the progress of Minnesota has been greater, more rapid and more substantial, than that of any other State in the Union.

To present, in all essential details, the story of this great State, and especially to record its univalued transformation from a wilderness to the seat of the highest civilization, is the purpose of "Minnesota in Three Centuries," whose publication we have undertaken and which we hope to bring forth in most acceptable form.

We have been most fortunate in securing to tell this engaging story, a relator of singular ability and fitness for the task. It is rare that the makers of history live to write it; but the editors of "Minnesota in Three Centuries" are of those who have contributed, to no small extent, in making the State what it is; and no history of Minnesota can be written without the frequent and honorable mention of their names on its pages. Our board of editors is as follows:

- General and Ex-Governor Lucius J. Hubbard, who has been a citizen of the State since 1857. During the War of the Rebellion he led the 5th Minnesota regiment on a ~~score of~~ ^{score of} battle fields and by meritorious service alone, ~~he~~ attained the rank of brevet-brigadier general. In the Spanish American War he was a ~~full~~ brigadier general. He was Governor of the State for five years, from 1882 to 1887, and has been otherwise prominently connected with the public service. He has also been connected with the State's material concerns as a railroad president, etc. The county of ^{Hubbard was named for him,}
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- School Superintendent, and

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All ~~of~~ these men are gentlemen of scholarly and literary tastes, and each has written somewhat voluminously upon the history of Minnesota, its people, and its resources. Their position as the Board of Editors of "Minnesota in Three Centuries" is a guarantee that the volumes will be authentic, complete, and of surpassing interest.

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Very respectfully,
The Publishing Society of ^{Minnesota} ~~New York~~

New York City, Oct. 1, 1905.

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MINNESOTA IN THREE CENTURIES.

By the Publishers.

Minnesota, the great "North Star State," derives its name from two Sioux Indian words, "m'ne," water, and "sota," cloudy or bleary. The name was originally applied by the Sioux or Dakota Indians to the beautiful river lying wholly within the present borders of the State in the days when bands of that great red nation had their villages upon or near its banks and held sway over the region through which it and its principal tributaries flow.

About a hundred miles from the mouth of the river, in and near the base of the lofty bluffs forming its south bank, are deposits of a whitish clay. The washing waves of the stream at flood stage loosen the clay and dissolve it, so that the current becomes fairly of a light gray or bleary tinge, and from this circumstance the Sioux called the waterway "Wah-da-pah M'ne Sota," the river of cloudy water. The Ojibway Indians, the hereditary and inveterate enemies of the Sioux, called the stream, "the River Where Cottonwood Trees Grow." The first French explorers named it for one of their number, St. Pierre (Anglice, St. Peter), and for a long time it was known by white men as la Riviere St. Pierre, or the St. Peter's river.

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The first white Caucasians to tread the soil of Minnesota were Groseilliers and Radisson, coming in 1655 and again in the winter of 1659-60. Nearly twenty years later, in 1679, Du Luth came to the region of Mille Laes. Father Louis Hennepin, the first to write extensively of the country, came, as the prisoner or slave of the savages, the following year. Not until 140 years later, when Fort Snelling was founded, was the first important white occupation made. In 1849, when nearly all of the region within its designated boundaries was red-peopled and virgin, and the white and mixed-blood people and the military forces numbered less than 5,000, living in straggling and humble settlements, the Territory of Minnesota was created.

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Minnesota in Three Centuries 2; ch. 1.
by R. J. Holcombe

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CHAPTER I.

FORT SNELLING,

THE OUTPOST OF NORTHWESTERN CIVILIZATION.

The location and establishment of a military post at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, in 1819, constituted the first permanent American occupation of Minnesota, and was therefore an important and influential event in the history of our State.

A great part of the present area of the commonwealth -- that portion lying generally east of the Mississippi -- had belonged to the United States after the close of the War of the Revolution, and the larger part -- that lying west of the river -- had been American soil since the date of the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803. As promptly as was practicable after the latter event, President Jefferson had sent the accomplished young Lieut. Pike to spy out the land in the region of the headwaters of the Mississippi and

make full report thereon, and right thoroughly had that faithful and intelligent officer performed his duty and executed his instructions. The country then became known, though imperfectly, to America, but for many years thereafter there were practically no Americans in the country. The only Caucasians in the vast region were Englishmen and Frenchmen. ¶ In 1805 Lieut. Pike had found the trading posts in the extreme upper Mississippi country in charge of Englishmen, with the British flag over them, and he had caused the Union Jack to be hauled down and the Stars and Stripes substituted in its stead. All of the valuable fur trade, not only of Minnesota, but of the entire Northwest, was controlled by English corporations, the great Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company.

By the terms of the Treaty of London, between the United States and Great Britain, in 1794, the English obtained the right of trade and intercourse with the Indians of the northern and northwestern portions of America.¹ This valuable privilege gave them nearly a monopoly of the trade with the various tribes of the lakes and of the country about the headwaters of the Mississippi and the Missouri. In return for their license to occupy American soil, the traders were bound, by all moral obligation, at least, to obey the authority of the United States, abide by their laws, and commit no offense against their sovereignty and interests; but they failed in their duties most disgracefully and to the great injury of

(1) Treaties and Conventions, ed. 1889, p. 380.

our country and its people. ¶ For during the War of 1812 every English trading post in the Northwest became a recruiting station for the British army and every English trader became an active partisan for King George against our country. The most distressing occurrences and the greatest disasters to the Americans in the northern States and Territories, while the war lasted, were occasioned by the conduct of the British traders. From northern Ohio and Michigan into Minnesota, they recruited and organized numerous large bands of the most savage Indians, and either led them against the American forces or directed them upon the American frontier settlements. In the Minnesota country, Robert Dickson, the noted "red-headed Scotchman," as he was commonly termed — although he was actually born in England — and his emissaries induced members of the Sioux and Chippeways to violate the obligations of their treaty with Lieut. Pike and join the British forces in warfare against the Americans. As narrated on other pages of this history, (see Vol. I) the Minnesota Indians, recruited and organized by Dickson, served the British at the capture of Mackinaw and of Prairie du Chien, in the fight against Col. Zack Taylor at the Rock Island, and also in southern Michigan and northern Ohio. A company of Sioux, commanded by Duncan Graham, a prominent Minnesota trader, were in the battle of Lower Sandusky, or Fort Stephenson, in northern Ohio in 1813, when the British forces were so signally repulsed by the brave Lieut. Croghanⁿ and his men.²

(2) History of Crawford and Richland Counties, Wis., p. 292.

The evil conduct of these ungrateful and unprincipled traders became known to the American authorities, and, indeed, to history. To prevent its repetition measures were adopted as promptly as possible. And so by the Treaty of Ghent, which terminated the War of 1812, and which was made December 24, 1814, the right of English traders to remain or traffic in the United States was not given; our country wanted no more of them. In 1816 Congress enacted a law which authorized the President to prohibit all foreigners from trading with the Indians within our limits. Under that act instructions were given to all Indian agents to prevent this form of British aggression and trespass, since it was manifest that the act was aimed almost directly at the English subjects in Canada.

But the strong-nerved traders refused to abandon their posts and traffic at the mere proclamation of the law or the polite requests of the American authorities. It was obvious that more stringent and effective measures must be adopted. Without a military force properly established and distributed along or near the northern boundary of our country, the illegal trade would still be continued. And, even if the actual trading operations were prevented, an unwholesome and most pernicious practice would still remain, unless forcibly prevented. This was the custom of frequent "talks" at the British posts between the Indians of the United States and His Britannic Majesty's subjects, which affairs were always accompanied by a profuse distribution of presents and British flags and medals among the savages and by other means of winning and increasing their

regard for Englishmen and of promoting their dislike for Americans.

The American military authorities were prompt to move. Military posts, with garrisons, were established along the Great Lakes within a comparatively short time after the close of the War of 1812. The Secretary of War, during nearly all of the second administration of President Monroe, was the able, accomplished and distinguished John C. Calhoun.¹ Earnest and radical, by reason of his intense nature, whatever this distinguished statesman ever found to do he did with all his might. At the period of his incumbency of the War Office he was in the prime of his manhood and his patriotism, and he became fairly enthusiastic in exercising what authority he possessed in developing every section of the Union. He not only increased the efficiency of the army, but improved the conditions of the Indians, and caused the power of the United States to be felt in remote regions where before it had not even been acknowledged. He was as great a stickler for the delegated powers of the Federal government, as he conceived them, as he subsequently was for the reserved rights of the States, as he comprehended them.

February 10, 1819, Secretary Calhoun ordered the concentration of the Fifth Regiment of Infantry at Detroit, with a view to its transportation by way of the Lakes and the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers to Prairie du Chien. After leaving a garrison at the last named point the other companies were to proceed up the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Peter's river, and establish a new military

(1) Lake Calhoun, near Minneapolis, was named for this great American.
 See Neill's History, p. 338

post which should become the headquarters of the Fifth Regiment. Other orders, issued about the same time, directed the movement of troops up the Missouri and the establishment of a fort at "the Council Bluff," on the Missouri, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, and at the "Falls of Saint Mary's," now called the Sault Ste. Marie.

In a letter to the Chairman of the House Committee of Military Affairs, dated December 29, 1819,² Secretary Calhoun announced that, "the posts at the mouth of the St. Peters and at the Council Bluff have already been occupied, and that at the Mandan village [at the mouth of the Yellowstone] will probably be next summer." Of the first named establishment the Secretary said:

Brevia? "The post at the mouth of the St. Peters is at the head of navigation on 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."³

Of the intercourse between the British traders and the American Indians Mr. Calhoun said:

Brevia? "This intercourse is the great source of danger to our peace, and until it is stopped our frontier cannot be safe. It is estimated that upwards of 3,000 Indians from our side of the Lakes visited Malden and Drummond's Island last year, and that, at the latter place alone, presents were distributed to them to the amount of \$95,000.... The occupation of the contemplated posts will put into our hands the power to correct this evil. On the Mississippi and the

(2) American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. 2, p. 33.
(3) Ibid.

Missouri the posts at the St. Peter's and the Mandan village are well selected for the same service. From the Lake of the Woods, westwardly, the 49th parallel of latitude is the boundary, ^{as} established by the late convention, between the United States and the British possessions. The Hudson Bay and the Northwest Companies have several posts and trading establishments much to the south of this line and, consequently, within our territory. When the boundary is definitely ascertained and marked, the policy of the Act of 29th of April, 1816, may, by means of these facts, be effectually enforced; and, therefore, in that quarter, as well as on our side of the Lakes, we will have the power to exclude foreigners from trade and intercourse with the Indians residing within our limits."

Review?

It is plain that the prime and principal object of the establishment of the military post which has long been called Fort Snelling was to bring the British traders under subjection, and either to compel them to renounce allegiance to the English Crown and become citizens of the United States, or else drive them from the country; and also to prevent others of their class from coming in and establishing themselves, a trespass and invasion no longer to be tolerated.¹

(1) Neill, in his History of Minnesota, Chap. XVI, p. 319, intimates that the founding of Lord Selkirk's Colony in the Lake Winnipeg region and the lower Red River of the North, was the chief reason for the establishment of the fort; but the official records in the case, on the testimony of the Secretary of War himself, prove that the post was established to enable the Government to dispose of the British traders effectually and to handle the Indians properly. No mention is made by (Sec) Calhoun of the Selkirk Colony.



(Insert) ¶ En route from Fort Dearborn, the present site of Chicago, to Prairie du Chi^{and}, while ascending the Fox river, the command came to the village of ^{Ne-o-kaw-tah, or} Four Legs, a noted Winnebago chief. The village stood on a peninsula or tongue of land which runs out between Winnebago Lake and Fox river. On the arrival of the expedition at the entrance of this narrow pass, Chief Four Legs came out in magnificent dress and imposing array and announced in strong terms that the troops could not enter and go through without paying tribute. "The Lake," said the chief, "is locked." Whereupon Col. Leavenworth rose up in his batteau with a fine rifle in his hand and called out to the interpreter: "Tell him that if the Lake is locked, I have a key that will open it, and this [indicating his gun] is it, and I shall unlock the lake with it if I am forced to. The chief, seeing Col. Leavenworth's disposition and the soldiers behind him, meekly replied: "O, very well; tell him that he and his men may go through." Ne-o-kaw-tah had fought with the British in the War of 1812, and did not like the Americans very well, but he had great respect for their guns and their skill in using them. (See Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. 5 p. 96, footnote.)

The detachments of the Fifth Regiment to be sent to the upper Mississippi under the order of the Secretary of War of Feb. 10, 1819, were commanded by Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth, and no better selection for the work could have been made.² He was intelligent, enterprising and ambitious, and so was always active and diligent about his duties.

① *Inset* → October 16, 1818, all that portion of Illinois Territory not now included within the State of that name, but forming a part of Wisconsin, was attached to Michigan. In the spring of 1819 the County of Crawford, which included a large part of what is now the southeastern part of Minnesota, was, by an act of the Michigan Legislature, organized, with the county seat at Prairie du Chien. Col. Leavenworth, leading his troops on their way to build the Minnesota post, brought blank commissions to Prairie du Chien for the first county officers of the new County of Crawford, and was ordered to take charge of the County's organization, install the new officers, etc. It was with some difficulty that suitable persons to fill the offices were found.

(2) Gen. Henry Leavenworth was born in Connecticut Dec. 10, 1783. In early life he was a lawyer and was engaged in the practice of his profession upon the outbreak of the War of 1812. In that year he entered the army as a captain in the 25th Infantry and the following year was promoted to Major. He was brevetted Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel for distinguished services in the battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater (near Niagara Falls, where he was wounded) and was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the 5th Infantry in February, 1818. In 1824 he was made a Brevet Brigadier General and in 1825 Colonel of the 3^d Infantry. He established various frontier military posts, one of which, at the site of the City of Leavenworth, Kansas, perpetuates his name. He died at Cross Timbers, Texas, in July, 1834.

Having established garrisons at Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, and Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, and having set the wheels of the government of Crawford County in motion, Col. Leavenworth started up the Mississippi to complete his work at the mouth of the St. Peter's.

The troops of the expedition numbered "98 rank and file."³ They were in fourteen batteaux or keel boats and were accompanied by twenty hired boatmen; thus the entire force numbered 118 men. The flotilla was quite imposing. Besides the batteaux, which served as troop ships, there were two large boats loaded with provisions, ordnance, and other stores, the barge of Col. Leavenworth and the boat of Maj. Forsythe, making a fleet in all of eighteen boats, which were propelled by sails and by oars and poles.⁴

The expedition set out from Prairie du Chien at eight o'clock on Sunday morning, August 8th, and arrived at the mouth of the St. Peter's on Tuesday morning, August 24th,¹ making the trip of 234 miles, by the river, in sixteen days, at an average progress of twenty miles a day.

(3) Maj. Forsyth's Journal, Wis. Hist. Collections for 1872; Minn. Hist. Collections, Vol. 3, p. 149.

(4) Ibid.

(1) Neill, p. 320, and Williams (Hist. St. Paul, p. 39) give this date as September 24th, an error of one month. (Taliaferro -- Vol. 2, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., p. 103 -- gives the date of the arrival at the St. Peter's as September 17th). The correct dates are derived from Forsyth's Journal, ante.

From Fort Dearborn (Chicago) the baggage had been hauled in wagons drawn by horses and oxen, and a number of cows were brought along; but it became necessary, on account of lack of proper transportation, to have all these animals brought by land from Prairie du Chien to the St. Peter's, and this was done by Jean Baptiste Faribault and family. Of the cattle, however, only the cows were ^{first} brought. At Prairie du Chien Col. Leavenworth was joined by Maj. Thomas Forsyth, a special Indian agent, who had been sent up from St. Louis in charge of the provisions, etc., for the troops to be stationed at the St. Peters, and "a quantity of goods, say \$2,000 worth", to be delivered to the Sioux in payment for the lands ceded by them to the United States under the Pike treaty of 1806. As stated, he joined Col. Leavenworth at Fort Crawford and accompanied the expedition to the St. Peters.

Maj. Forsyth kept a daily journal of his trip from St. Louis to the St. Peters and return. This important manuscript was secured from his son, Col. Robert Forsyth, of St. Louis, in 1871, by Dr. Lyman C. Draper and published in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, of which he (Dr. Draper) was editor, and was reprinted in Vol. 3 of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections. From this journal the incidents of the voyage of Col. Leavenworth to Minnesota have, in the main, been obtained.

The Sioux had somehow learned that an agent of their American Father was on his way with presents for them, and on the arrival of Maj. Forsyth at Prairie du Chien, July 5th, he found the

son of Chief Red Wing, with a considerable band, awaiting him. Young Red Wing at once began begging for goods. He said a member of his band had recently been killed by the Chippewas, and on this account the hearts of himself and his companions were very sad, and therefore the Major should at once give them goods to assuage their grief and lighten the gloom of their bereavement. "But all this," writes Major Forsyth, "was a mere begging speech. I told him that I meant to go up with the troops to the River St. Peters, and on my way up I would stop at their different villages, where I would speak to them and give them a few goods, but that I could not give any goods at this place. Yet he is such a beggar that he would not take any refusal. I got up in an abrupt manner and left him and his band to study awhile." A week later the Major writes: "The Red Wing's son is still here abegging," and not until the 15th, after a stay of ten days, did he leave for home, to Forsyth's great relief. But in the meanwhile old Wabashaw, he of one eye, whose big village was near the present site of Winona, had arrived, and a week later old Red Wing himself, with twenty followers from their village, where the City of Red Wing now stands, had come. "This is another begging expedition," writes Maj. Forsyth.

Two days out from Prairie du Chien the expedition stopped

on the Iowa side at the temporary village of Tah-ma-ha, the Pike Fish.¹ Him Maj. Forsyth gave some powder and also some "milk", as the Major calls the whiskey, which he assures us was necessary to give to all Indians to completely satisfy them.

On the 13th the village of Chief Wabasha (then often called "the Leaf") was reached, near the present site of Winona, upon what was long known as Wabasha's Prairie. A landing was made and Maj. Forsyth made a long talk to the Chief, assuring him of the pacific and benevolent intentions of the members of the expedition and of all Americans generally.

"I told him," writes the Major, "that the President of the United States had sent me to acquaint the Sioux that the troops he saw encamped on the island were sent up to build a fort at the mouth of the River St. Peters; that he must not think that anything bad was intended; that the fort would be a place where any little thing they wanted repaired by the blacksmith would be attended to, and it would also be a place of trade; that their enemies would not be allowed to injure any of the Sioux at or near the fort, but, at the same time, the Sioux must not injure any of the Chippewas that might visit it. 'And here,' (pointing to Col. Leavenworth) 'is the chief of the soldiers belonging to your Great Father, and if at any time any of his young men do anything wrong to you, complain to him.'"

(1) According to Taliaferro (Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, p.197). Other writers identify this Indian as Ta-mah-hah, (accent on second syllable) or the Rising Moose, mentioned by Pike as "my friend," and who was ever the faithful ally of all Americans. Tah-ma-ha (accent on first syllable) and Ta-mah-hah were both prominent Indian characters, and owing to the similarity of the English spelling of their names their identity has been often confused. Dr. Thos. Foster, a very high authority, considered the two names as meaning the same man. (See Neill, p. 287, et seq.)

Maj. Forsyth took especial pains to impress upon the Chief and his followers that the Americans were very numerous and powerful and must not be trifled with, although their Great Father had forgotten that many of Wabasha's band had assisted the British during the War of 1812. Concluding, the Major said to Wabasha:

"Here is a blanket, a pipe of tobacco, and some powder. This present is but little, but you well know that I have many children to see before I return home, and I must give a little to every one."

"He accepted of the presents with thanks," says Maj. Forsyth, "and after sundown he came aboard of my boat and conversed with me on many subjects. This man is no beggar, nor does he drink, and perhaps I may say that he is the only man in the Sioux nation of this description."

Lake Pepin was "crossed with ease" on the 18th and the next morning Maj. Forsyth had "a little talk" with Chief Red Wing at his village. "I gave him some goods. He was much pleased with his presents. His son (whom the Major encountered at Prairie du Chien) is exactly what I took him to be-- a trifling, begging, discontented fellow." This day, after making twenty-four miles, the expedition encamped at the mouth of the St. Croix, which is described as "a large river." On the evening of the 20th a landing was made at Medicine Wood, probably near Gray Cloud Island. The journal says: "Medicine Wood takes its name from a large beech tree, which kind of wood the Sioux are unacquainted with, and, supposing that the Great Spirit placed it there as a genius to protect or punish them

according to their deserts." This is the first, and perhaps the only, recorded instance of the existence of a beech tree in Minnesota, and it might therefore properly have a "medicine" character, that term being Sioux for the supernatural or deeply mysterious.¹

On the 21st, Maj. Forsyth, in his boat, and Col. Leavenworth, in his barge, going ahead of the main fleet, landed at the village of Little Crow, in the vicinity of the present State Fish Hatchery, in the eastern confines of St. Paul. The real name of this Chieftain was Che-tan Wah-koota Manne, or the Walking Hunting Hawk. Little Crow was, in effect, but the royal title which he assumed upon taking the chieftainship of his band. His father and his grandfather, according to Long,² were each named Little Crow. This was the grandfather of Tah O-yah-ta Doctah, the Little Crow of 1862 and of notorious memory generally.

At the time of the visit of Maj. Forsyth and Colonel Leavenworth, Little Crow had but a small band, of about seventy warriors, and in all about three hundred men, women and children. They dwelt in very comfortable cabins, or shacks, with palisaded walls of tamarack poles, and the roofs were of brush, covered with bark. The Chief had a large cabin, some thirty feet in length, divided into two rooms. The cabins were all clustered and snuggled against the rocky bluffs in the eastern limits of St. Paul, in the vicinity of the present State Fish Hatchery. In summer the band, or

(1) Beltrami, in his "Pilgrimage," Vol. 2, p. 197, notes the Medicine Wood, and says: "This is a beech, a tree unknown in these countries, and which the savages venerate as a god."

(2) Keating's Long's Expedition, London ed. (1825) Vol. 1, p. 299.

many of its members, temporarily occupied tepees upon the summits of the bluffs, on the present site of Indian Mounds Park.

Forsyth and Leavenworth had an interview and "a talk" with Little Crow, and Forsyth writes: "His independent manner I like. I made him a very handsome present, for which he was very thankful, and said it was more than he expected."

Head winds forced the fleet to remain at Little Crow's village (called Kapo^zna) the greater part of two days. But on Monday, August 23rd, at 4 P. M., Forsyth arrived at the mouth of the St. Peters and the following day was joined by Col. Leavenworth in his barge, the other boats arriving later. As has been stated, the boats were propelled by poles, oars and sails. They were called batteaux by the French and "Mackinaw boats" by the English and Americans, because of their first use by the traders of Michilimackinac. Each boat carried a large sail mounted amidship. The sail was serviceable on the lakes, but rarely of utility on the river, and was often a hindrance because of contrary winds. Upon landing, Col. Leavenworth lost no time in setting about his duties. Forsyth says:

"Tuesday, [Aug.] 24. This morning Col. Leavenworth arrived in his barge and was busily employed almost all day in finding a proper place to make an establishment. He at length pitched on a place immediately at the mouth of St. Peters River, on its right bank, where, on the arrival of the soldiers, they were immediately set to work in making roads up the bank of the river, cutting down trees, etc."

Burin?

The first tree on the camping ground was felled by Daniel W. Hubbard, one of the soldiers.⁴ In a comparatively short time, ample quarters, all log cabins, had been prepared for the accommodation of the troops then present and the work of clearing the ground was continued in anticipation of the imminent arrival of a considerable number of recruits known to be enroute.

The expedition did not arrive in very good condition.

Maj. Forsyth writes:

"Col. Leavenworth set out from Prairie du Chien with ninety-eight men, and on his arrival at the St. Peter's upwards of one-half were sick. These men were only sixteen days on the water, but let any man travel in a boat on the Mississippi for a considerable time, during a very warm summer, drinking very bad water, sleeping out in the dews to avoid being devoured by mosquitoes, and getting but little rest during the short nights, and then say that such hardships are not sufficient to ruin the constitution of any man. It must be people who have been bred to the like who are able to withstand and overcome such hardships."¹

(4) H.H.Sibley's Reminiscences, Minn. Hist. Society Coll., Vol. 1, p. 473; Brown to Sibley, unpublished ms. in the Sibley papers.

(1) Minn. Hist. Society Coll., Vol. III, p. 159.

Enroute, at the mouth of the Ouiscensin River, the wife of Lieut. Nathan Clark, gave birth to a daughter, who was christened Charlotte Ouiscensin Clark, and is now Mrs. Charlotte O. Van Cleve and still a resident of Minnesota.

On the evening of the next day after his arrival, Maj. Forsyth was visited by Pinichowⁿ and White Turkey, two Sioux sub-chiefs, and a number of their followers, whose villages were a few miles up the Minnesota. They were eager for their presents, which they knew the Major had for them, and although it was late when they arrived, they impertuned him to begin the work of distribution at once. They were sent away and told to return the following day, "when, after a long talk," says Maj. Forsyth, "I gave each of them a very handsome present, and they returned home, apparently satisfied."

The Indians of the neighborhood fairly swarmed in for their presents. On the 26th came three sub-chiefs, each with his band, viz: Shakopay, or Six, whose village was thirty miles up the St. Peters, where the city of Shakopee now stands; the Arrow, whose village was twenty-four miles above Shakopay's, and the Red Eagle, whose village was six miles above Arrow's. "I gave them the remainder of my goods," writes Maj. Forsyth, "yet the Six wanted more. I found, on enquiring, that Mr. Six is a good-for-nothing fellow and rather gives bad counsel to his men than otherwise." In his letter to Gov. William Clark, of the then Missouri Territory,² the Major says that Chief Six "clamored for presents, and rather ordered than

(2) Ibid, p. 166.

requested that I would write on to the Great Father, the President, to send him plenty of kettles, guns, etc. He is, as I am informed, a troublesome, good-for-nothing fellow."

"In all my talks with the Indians at the St. Peter's," writes Maj. Forsyth, "I generally told them the same that I had told the Leaf [meaning Chief Wabasha] and in all cases I had to give each band a little whiskey. These are the last Indians I am to see in this quarter; therefore, I am done with the Sioux for this year."³

On Saturday, August 28th, a party composed of Col. Leavenworth, Maj. Forsyth, Maj. Josiah Vose, Surgeon Purcell, Lieut. Nathan Clark, the wife of Capt. George Gooding, and an escort of soldiers, visited the Falls of St. Anthony. The excursion was made in Maj. Forsyth's boat, which was manned by the soldiers. The appearance and character of the Falls at that time are thus described by Maj. Forsyth:

Brown?
". . . . The sight to me was beautiful; the white sheet of water falling perpendicularly, as I should suppose, about twenty feet, 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 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 (or northeast) side of the island.⁴

Concerning the personnel of the members of this excursion party, it is to be said that Maj. Josiah H. Vose was a Massachusetts man who served as Captain and Major during the War of 1812 and at its close, in 1815, was appointed Captain and Brevet Major in the 5th Infantry. He died at New Orleans in 1845 as Colonel of the 4th Regular Infantry. Dr. Edward Purcell was a Virginian, who had been appointed Surgeon of the 5th Infantry in 1818, and became Post Surgeon at "Ft. St. Anthony" in the following year. He died at Fort Snelling Jan. 11, 1825. Lieut. Nathan Clark was a Massachusetts man who had served in the regular army during the War of 1812 and was Post Commissary at Fort Snelling for eight years. He died at Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, in 1836, having attained the rank of Major. Mrs. Gooding was the first white woman to see St. Anthony Falls. Col. Leavenworth and Maj. Forsyth have heretofore been sketched.

(4) Ibid, p. 155.

On the 29th, Maj. Forsyth and Col. Leavenworth went up the Minnesota to the villages of Pinichon and White Turkey to buy horses, but found that the Indians had but few, and none to sell. The next day Maj. Forsyth set out on his return to St. Louis. He was accompanied by Col. Leavenworth as far as the upper end of Lake Pepin, where he met the long expected recruits, one hundred and twenty in number. Maj. Forsyth writes:

Brevier? "Wednesday, Sept. 1. This morning we heard the report of a cannon on the other side of an island. The Colonel, [Leavenworth] who was on board of my boat, said that those must be the expected recruits. We immediately weighed anchor and ascended to the upper part of the island to get into the other channel and head off the boats. We met two large boats and a batteau with one hundred and twenty recruits on board."¹

With the reenforcement of the recruits the troops at the St. Peters consisted of two hundred and eighteen men, rank and file. While this was not a very formidable force, it was sufficient to enforce the authority of the United States in this quarter, and their commander was determined to do his duty.

Look to yourselves, Englishmen! You who have so long remained in the Minnesota country in defiance of and covert hostility against American authority, are called to account. No longer may you, unmolested and undisturbed, carry on your illegal traffic and stir up sedition and incite ill will among the red men against their American Father and his people. You must cast off your

(1) Ibid, p. 156.

allegiance to Great Britain and become loyal American citizens, or you must leave the country and stand not upon the order of your going.

One interesting item in connection with the founding of Fort Snelling is that the transportation of troops from Detroit to the St. Peters cost the Government less than would have their maintenance in quarters at Detroit for the same length of time. The Secretary of War² presents this comparison:

Previous (The total cost of the transportation of troops and stores and of the means of transportation, boats, teams, etc., was \$43,568.16, while the expenses of the troops, had they remained at their former station, would have been \$39,384, and the value of the boats, etc. was \$5,000, making a total of \$44,384, or a balance in favor of the expedition of \$815.84.

Col. Leavenworth called his first cantonment, or establishment, New Hope. There was a great 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.

Cantonment New Hope was on the flat land, on the south bank of the St. Peters, half a mile from its mouth. Practically it was at the confluence of the St. Peters and the Mississippi— at the meeting of the waters, or "Mine-dota", as the Indians called it. The quarters were all log cabins, and their building, which was prosecuted through the fall months, was a work of hardship and difficulty. The logs were cut in the surrounding forests, and as there were no teams to haul them, they had to be carried, often at

a considerable distance, by the men. Stone had to be quarried and shaped for chimneys and fireplaces, wells dug, a hospital constructed, involving hard and toilsome labor.

The winter of 1819-20 was very cold and was severely felt by many of the men who had never before lived in this latitude. In December there came upon the garrison a dire visitation which became fairly a calamity. Scurvy broke out among the troops and became very virulent in its form and fatal in its effects. It assumed the character of an epidemic and ^{as} it progressed nearly every man was stricken. Before it had passed, according to Maj. Taliaferro,³ forty men had died. How many became invalided and were forced to leave the service is not known. At one period the plague was so prevalent that for several days garrison duty was suspended, there being barely well men enough in the command to attend to the sick and the interment of the dead.⁴ When the disease entered upon its last stage, its fatal termination was often very sudden. Soldiers who were in apparently good health when they retired at night were found dead in their beds the next morning. Joseph R. Brown, who was a drummer boy of the garrison at the time, writes⁵ that on one occasion a plague smitten soldier who was on sentinel duty

(3) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 103.

(4) Philander Prescott, who arrived at the cantonment with supplies after the plague had been in progress for some time, says: "The troops were in a very unhealthy state with the scurvy. Some fifty or sixty had died, and some ten men died after I arrived. The groceries I took up and a quantity of spruce that Dr. Purcell had sent to the St. Croix for, gave them relief." Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, p. 478.

(5) "Sibley's Reminiscences," Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 1, p. 473, from unpublished manuscript of Joseph R. Brown in the Sibley papers.

("two hours on and four hours off post") upon being temporarily relieved, stretched himself upon a bench in the guard room and, four hours later, when he was called to resume his post, he was dead.

The fate of the poor victims of the epidemic was sad, but most honorable. They passed away on a remote frontier, amid a wilderness and under circumstances of privation and general distress, and were buried in obscure and lonely graves whose location has long been unknown. But they were American soldiers and died in the service of their country, and there can be no more glorious death. The possession of the country demanded sacrifices and these gallant spirits were the first martyrs to the cause of the development and civilization of Minnesota and the Northwest.

Col. Leavenworth and Surgeon Purcell made every possible effort to arrest the disease, and finally succeeded by administering spruce tea and other vegetable decoctions. Vinegar and other anti-scorbutics were also procured from Prairie du Chien by runners sent down for them. There were no vegetables in the commissary department, and the rations were pickled pork, beans, bread and "small hominy", or coarsely cracked corn, with a little rice and molasses. Coffee was not then used. Occasionally fresh meat, of the wild game of the region, was bought from the Indians or obtained by hunting. Gen. Sibley was of the opinion, from what he learned from Joseph R. Brown and others, who were members of the garrison, that the disease was caused by the bad quality of the provisions, especially of the pork, which had been spoiled by the villainy of the contractors and

their agents. To lighten the weight of the heavy barrels of mess pork and make their transportation in the keel boats from St. Louis easier, the rascals, upon setting out, drew off the brine; but, before delivering them at St. Peters, refilled them with river water, and the fraud was not detected until the scamps had made their departure from the country. As a result, the meat became of very bad quality and fairly poisoned the systems of those who ate it.¹

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, where it is still situated. In the month of May he removed his command to the crest of the Mississippi bluff, a little to the northward of the site selected for the post and convenient to a 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 spent the late fall and winter months in their former log cabins at New Hope.

Meanwhile, the construction of the buildings which were to comprise the new fort went on. September 10th of this year (1820) the cornerstone of the Commandant's quarters, commonly termed the cornerstone of the fort, was laid. The previous spring the horses and cows left by Col. Leavenworth at Prairie du Chien were brought up by Jean B. Faribault, the well known trader, and became of much service to the garrison.² In August, Col. Leavenworth, who had been

(1) Ibid, p. 474.

(2) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 103; ibid Vol. 6, p. 198.

transferred to another regiment (the 6th Infantry) and ordered to the Southwest, turned over the command of the post to his superior, Col. Josiah Snelling, the Commander of the 5th Regiment, who had been ordered to the post to complete it.³

Philander Prescott, who came to the St. Peters cantonment in the winter of 1819-20, as clerk for the sutler, a Mr. Devotion, of Detroit, and who passed the rest of his life in Minnesota, did valuable service for history in writing his reminiscences of early days in the Northwest while he was in full recollection of them. He wrote in 1861 and was murdered by the Sioux in the great outbreak of 1862. His manuscript was printed in Volume 6 of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, pp. 475 et seq. Mr. Prescott was a young man of nineteen when he came to the country, having been born at Phelpsstown, N. Y., in 1801, but he had a good education and was always clearheaded, intelligent and reliable.

According to Mr. Prescott, who was on the ground at the time, there was not much done toward the building of the fort in the summer of 1820. A few soldiers were employed in cutting trees and hewing timber, which was hauled to the site selected. This site, as chosen by Col. Leavenworth, was three hundred yards west of that finally determined upon and where the fort was constructed. Although

(3) Col. Josiah Snelling was born in Massachusetts in 1782. He entered the army in 1808 as 1st lieutenant. The following year he was promoted to captain. He served with credit at the battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811, and during the War of 1812 was quite distinguished. For gallantry in action at Brownstown he was brevetted Major. In 1818 he was made Lieutenant Colonel and in the following year became Colonel of the 5th U.S. Infantry. He completed the post at the St. Peters, which was named for him in 1824, by Gen. Scott. In the summer of 1827 Col. Snelling and his regiment were ordered from Ft. Snelling to St. Louis, and in August of that year, while temporarily in Washington, the Colonel died of brain fever.

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 whipsaws, worked by two men to each saw.

It was determined to build a saw mill in the vicinity, and as steam was not in use for the machinery of a mill at that time, the motive power had to be water. A suitable site for a mill must be found. An examination of the "little falls" or Brown's Fall, (now called Minnehaha) was made, but as the little stream which furnishes the water for the cataract was very low that summer, and could not be depended upon to furnish a sufficient volume of water, a certain site at the great St. Anthony Falls, on the west bank of the river, was selected. In his autobiography, printed in Volume 6 of the Minnesota Historical Society's Collections, Prescott says:

Brevier?
"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. The party returned and made a favorable report, and in the winter (1820-21) a party was sent to cut pine logs and to raft them down in the spring. They brought down about two thousand logs by hand. Some ten or fifteen men would haul on a sled one log, from one-fourth to one-half a mile, and lay it upon 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 entrance of Rum River into the Mississippi, where they were formed into small rafts and floated down to the falls. " ?

In the summer, or early fall, Col. Leavenworth was ordered

to the Missouri River. The plans for the fort had been prepared by him, but were somewhat altered by Col. Snelling, who moved the location to the present site. The saw mill 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 outbuildings. All the logs were brought to the mill or the landing by hand, and hauled from the landing to the mill by teams. The lumber when sawed, was hauled from the mill to the fort by the teams. Lieut. William H. Kruger lived [at the mill?] and had charge of the mill party."

The tract of Rum River timber, where a part of ^{the} logs mentioned were cut, was presumably about four miles north of Cambridge, Isanti County, near a small stream. Daniel Stanchfield, the pioneer lumberman, who was on the ground in 1847-8, writes:¹

Burn? "I logged there two years, which was the first lumbering upon a large scale on Rum River. A part of the lumber for building Fort Snelling, however, had been cut on the same lake; for we found on its shores the remains of an old logging camp which had been there many years. In its vicinity pine trees had been cut and taken away and the stumps had partially decayed. Logging had also been done at the same early date in the "Dutchman's Grove."

The saw mill was completed in 1821. It was equipped with a quick-acting upright saw, known among lumbermen as a muley saw. The area of the mill was about 50 by 70 feet. It stood on the west

(1) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 9, p. 342.

bank of the river, now the center of the great milling district of Minneapolis.²

In 1823, near the sawmill, a grist mill was completed. Col. Snelling was experimenting in grain-growing. He had sown a field of wheat and planted a considerable corn-field, with the view of obtaining fresh breadstuffs for his troops. To aid in the enterprise, the Commissary of Subsistence at St. Louis, by order of the Commissary General at Washington, sent to Col. Snelling a pair of buhr millstones, 337 pounds of plaster of Paris, and two dozen sickles, all of the value of \$288.33. The little grist mill was only about sixteen or eighteen feet square.³

Col. Snelling's venture in grain-raising was fairly successful, but the wheat, which presumably was thrashed with flails, was not properly taken care of. Mrs. Ann Adams writes:

Brevier? "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 made wretched, black, bitter-tasting 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. Col. Snelling came out and remonstrated with them. There was much inconvenience that winter—1823-4—on account of the scarcity of provisions!"⁴

(2) See E. A. Bromley's "Old Government Mills," Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. X, p. 636.

(3) Bromley, *ibid.*

(4) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, p. 95.

The grist mill was operated by the military authorities in a sort of desultory way until in 1849, when it was sold for \$750. to Robert Smith, of Illinois, by whom it was rented to Calvin A. Tuttle, who operated it until in 1855. According to the Minnesota Pioneer of Feb. 20, 1850, during the season of 1849 there were 4,000 bushels of corn ground here for the Indian trade and the settlers, "and about the same quantity remains to be ground." The saw mill was then undergoing repairs in preparation for its operation the following season.¹

Upon the completion of the fort, Col. Snelling named it Fort St. Anthony, presumably for its proximity to St. Anthony Falls.

In 1824, Gen. Winfield Scott, then the Inspector General of the American Army, while on a general tour of inspection and observation, visited the post and remained some days. He was so impressed with the efficiency of the work that upon his return to Washington he recommended that the fort be named in honor of its Commander, and it was so ordered by the Secretary of War, and ever since the post has been called Fort Snelling. Regarding the change in name, Gen. Scott, in his report to the War Department, said:

Bromley "This work, of which the War Department is in possession of a plan, reflects the highest credit on Col. Snelling, his officers and his men. The defenses and, for the most part, the public storehouses, shops, and quarters, being constructed of stone, the whole is likely to endure as long as the post shall remain a frontier one.

(1) For the subsequent history of these, see Bromley, *ibid.*

The cost of erection to the Government has been the amount paid for tools and iron and the per diem paid to soldiers employed as mechanics. I wish to suggest to the General-in-Chief, and through him to the War Department, the propriety of calling this work Fort Snelling, as a just compliment to the meritorious officer under whom it has been erected. The present name (Fort St. Anthony) is foreign to all our associations, and is, besides, geographically incorrect, as the work stands at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peters Rivers, eight miles [sic] below the great falls of the Mississippi called after St. Anthony."

Col. Snelling had built the fort in the form of a lozenge, because of the shape of the site, lying in the angle formed by the junction of the two rivers. The first row of barracks was of logs; the other buildings were of stone. Many years later all the buildings were surrounded by a high stone wall.

In March, 1819, Secretary Calhoun appointed Lawrence Taliaferro,² a recent Lieutenant in the army, "agent of Indian

(2) Lawrence Taliaferro, who was Indian agent at Fort Snelling from the fall of 1819 to January, 1840, was prominently identified with and a leading character of early Minnesota history. He was a native of Virginia, of remote Italian ancestry, and was born Feb. 24, 1794. He served in the regular army during the War of 1812, with the rank of Lieutenant, and when, at the close of the war, the army was reduced to a peace footing, he was retained in service. He resigned from the army to become Indian agent. On retiring from the agency he went to his home, at Bedford, Pa., where, in 1857, he was appointed U. S. Military Storekeeper and held the position until 1863, when he resigned and was placed on the retired list, "for long and faithful service to the Republic." He died at Bedford, Jan. 22, 1871, aged 77. He left in Minnesota a half-blood Sioux daughter, named Mary, whom he always recognized and who married Warren Woodbury, afterward a citizen of St. Paul. During the entire time of his service at Fort Snelling Maj. Taliaferro kept a minute diary of events in this quarter, and his journal is in the possession of the Minnesota

(30-1/2)

Historical Society. In 1864 he wrote an autobiography, which appears in Vol. 6 of the Society's Collections. Concluding his sketch, he writes of himself as "One that has uniformly tried to do his duty to God and his fellow man. + + + + A member of the Order of F. and A. Masons; a deacon in the Old School Presbyterian Church of Bedford, Pa., in good standing; placed by the President, in August, 1863, on the retired list of the army, and now (1864) in his seventy-first year."

PAPER ON

IT BROWN

Affairs at St. Peters, near the Falls of St. Anthony." With the permanent establishment of the post would come the permanent supervision of the Indian tribes in this quarter by the Government and the maintenance of its authority generally. Maj. Taliaferro's selection as the Government's agent was well justified by the results. He was scrupulously honest himself and demanded that everybody else should be. He soon had great influence over the Indians and managed them well. Uniformly he gratified their penchant for "big talks", or councils, and was otherwise considerate of their wishes, but at the same time he impressed them with proper respect for the American Government and a friendly regard for its citizens. He had inordinate self-esteem and was sometimes ridiculed or denounced for his egotism; but this weakness kept him honest, upright, and faithful; he was too proud of himself to do anything dishonorable or ignoble. His personal accomplishments were many, and his journal and other writings have been of great service to Northwestern history.

September 12, 1821, the year following the murder of Andrew and Poupin, a party of Sissetous came down to the fort and the leader said to Agent Taliaferro:³

"We are glad to find your door open to-day, my Father. The Indians, you see, are like the wolves of the prairie. When they stop at night they lie down in the open air and rise with the sun and pursue their journey." I applied for the other murderer of the white men of the Missouri, but in bringing him down the fear of being hung induced him to stab himself to death."

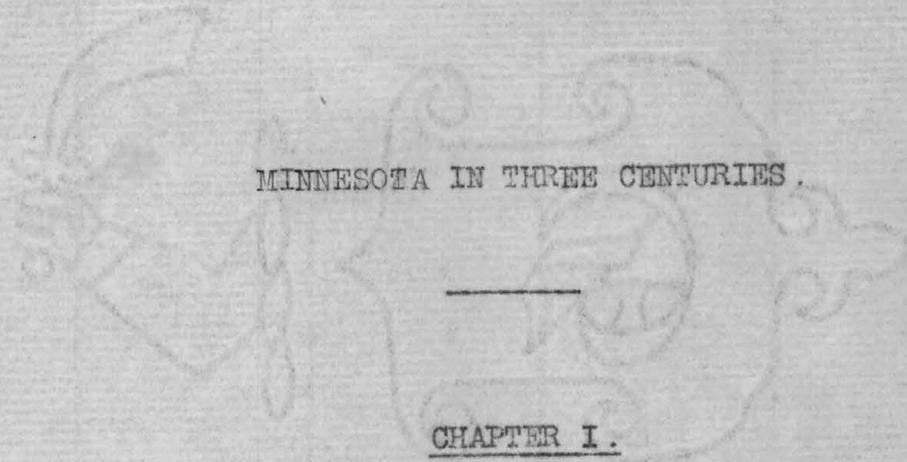
(3) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 106. The Indian's speech is reported in Taliaferro's manuscript journal, unpublished.

*This belongs in another chapter.
November*

The building of Fort Snelling was an epochal event in the civilization of Minnesota. The fort was a base of operations for the exercise and maintenance of American authority over the country, and became the nucleus of settlement and development. Here were established the first institutions of enlightenment. Here the first church services were held and the first school taught. It was the support of missionaries and the rendezvous and resting place of travelers and explorers.

With Fort Snelling as a center, the avenues of development were opened and radiated and from its gateways the roadways of progress flowed. In plain sight from the battlements of its historic round tower the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis were laid out. It was long the head of Mississippi River navigation and the prominent northern commercial terminal. It was practically the headquarters and point of approach of the forces, that, whether armed with guns and swords or plowshares and pruning hooks, destroyed barbarism, established civilization in its stead, and made the wilderness blossom as a rose.

Read Wp. 2



MINNESOTA IN THREE CENTURIES.

CHAPTER I.

FORT SNELLING,

THE OUTPOST OF NORTHWESTERN CIVILIZATION.

The location and establishment of a military post at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, in 1819, constituted the first permanent American occupation of Minnesota, and was therefore an important and influential event in the history of our State.

A great part of the present area of the commonwealth-- that portion lying generally east of the Mississippi -- had belonged to the United States after the close of the War of the Revolution, and the larger part--that lying west of the river -- had been American soil since the date of the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803. As promptly as was practicable after the latter event, President Jefferson had sent the accomplished young Lieut. Pike to spy out the land in the region of the headwaters of the Mississippi and

make full report thereon, and right thoroughly had that faithful and intelligent officer performed his duty and executed his instructions. The country then became known, though imperfectly, to America, but for many years thereafter there were practically no Americans in the country. The only Caucasians in the vast region were Englishmen and Frenchmen. In 1805 Lieut. Pike had found the trading posts in the extreme upper Mississippi country in charge of Englishmen, with the British flag over them, and he had caused the Union Jack to be hauled down and the Stars and Stripes substituted in its stead. All of the valuable fur trade, not only of Minnesota, but of the entire Northwest, was controlled by English corporations, the great Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company.

By the terms of the Treaty of London, between the United States and Great Britain, in 1794, the English obtained the right of trade and intercourse with the Indians of the northern and northwestern portions of America.¹ This valuable privilege gave them nearly a monopoly of the trade with the various tribes of the lakes and of the country about the headwaters of the Mississippi and the Missouri. In return for their license to occupy American soil, the traders were bound, by all moral obligation, at least, to obey the authority of the United States, abide by their laws, and commit no offense against their sovereignty and interests; but they failed in their duties most disgracefully and to the great injury of

(1) Treaties and Conventions, ed. 1889, p. 380.

our country and its people. ¶ For during the War of 1812 every English trading post in the Northwest became a recruiting station for the British army and every English trader became an active partisan for King George against our country. The most distressing occurrences and the greatest disasters to the Americans in the northern States and Territories, while the war lasted, were occasioned by the conduct of the British traders. From northern Ohio and Michigan into Minnesota, they recruited and organized numerous large bands of the most savage Indians and either led them against the American forces or directed them upon the American frontier settlements. ¶ In the Minnesota country, Robert Dickson, the noted "red-headed Scotchman," as he was commonly termed - although he was actually born in England - and his emissaries induced members of the Sioux and Chippeways to violate the obligations of their treaty with Lieut. Pike and join the British forces in warfare against the Americans. As narrated on other pages of this history, (see Vol. I) the Minnesota Indians, recruited and organized by Dickson, served the British at the capture of Mackinaw and of Prairie du Chien in the fight against Col. Zack Taylor at the Rock Island, and also in southern Michigan and northern Ohio. A company of Sioux, commanded by Duncan Graham, a prominent Minnesota trader, were in the battle of Lower Sandusky, or Fort Stephenson, in northern Ohio in 1813, when the British forces were so signally repulsed by the brave Lieut. Croghanⁿ and his men.²

The evil conduct of these ungrateful and unprincipled traders became known to the American authorities, and, indeed, to history. To prevent its repetition measures were adopted as promptly as possible. And so by the Treaty of Ghent, which terminated the War of 1812, and which was made December 24, 1814, the right of English traders to remain or traffic in the United States was not given; our country wanted no more of them. In 1816 Congress enacted a law which authorized the President to prohibit all foreigners from trading with the Indians within our limits. Under that act instructions were given to all Indian agents to prevent this form of British aggression and trespass, since it was manifest that the act was aimed almost directly at the English subjects in Canada.

But the strong-nerved traders refused to abandon their posts and traffic at the mere proclamation of the law or the polite requests of the American authorities. It was obvious that more stringent and effective measures must be adopted. Without a military force properly established and distributed along or near the northern boundary of our country, the illegal trade would still be continued. And, even if the actual trading operations were prevented, an unwholesome and most pernicious practice would still remain, unless forcibly prevented. This was the custom of frequent "talks" at the British posts between the Indians of the United States and His Britannic Majesty's subjects, which affairs were always accompanied by a profuse distribution of presents and British flags and medals among the savages and by other means of winning and increasing their

regard for Englishmen and of promoting their dislike for Americans.

The American military authorities were prompt to move. Military posts, with garrisons, were established along the Great Lakes within a comparatively short time after the close of the War of 1812. The Secretary of War, during nearly all of the second administration of President Monroe, was the able, accomplished and distinguished John C. Calhoun.¹ Earnest and radical, by reason of his intense nature, whatever this distinguished statesman^s ever found to do he did with all his might. At the period of his incumbency of the War Office he was in the prime of his manhood and his patriotism, and he became fairly enthusiastic in exercising what authority he possessed in developing every section of the Union. He not only increased the efficiency of the army, but improved the conditions of the Indians, and caused the power of the United States to be felt in remote regions where before it had not even been acknowledged. He was as great a stickler for the delegated powers of the Federal government, as he conceived them, as he subsequently was for the reserved rights of the States, as he comprehended them.

February 10, 1819, Secretary Calhoun ordered the concentration of the Fifth Regiment of Infantry at Detroit, with a view to its transportation by way of the Lakes and the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers to Prairie du Chien. After leaving a garrison at the last named point the other companies were to proceed up the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Peter's river, and establish a new military

(1) Lake Calhoun, near Minneapolis, was named for this great American (See Neill's History, p. 338)

post which should become the headquarters of the Fifth Regiment. Other orders, issued about the same time, directed the movement of troops up the Missouri and the establishment of ~~a~~ forts at "the Council Bluff," on the Missouri; at the mouth of the Yellowstone; and at the "Falls of Saint Mary's," now called the Sault Ste. Marie.

In a letter to the Chairman of the House Committee of Military Affairs, dated December 29, 1819², Secretary Calhoun announced that, "the posts at the mouth of the St. Peters and at the Council Bluff have already been occupied, and that at the Mandan village [at the mouth of the Yellowstone] will probably be next summer." Of the first named establishment the Secretary said:

Brevier?

"The post at the mouth of the St. Peters is at the head of navigation on 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."³

Of the intercourse between the British traders and the American Indians Mr. Calhoun said:

Brevier?

"This intercourse is the great source of danger to our peace, and until it is stopped our frontier cannot be safe. It is estimated that upwards of 3,000 Indians from our side of the Lakes visited Malden and Drummond's Island last year, and that, at the latter place alone, presents were distributed to them to the amount of \$95,000.... The occupation of the contemplated posts will put into our hands the power to correct this evil. On the Mississippi and the

(2) American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. 2, p. 33.
(3) Ibid.

Missouri the posts at the St. Peter's and the Mandan village are well selected for the same service. From the Lake of the Woods, westwardly, the 49th parallel of latitude is the boundary^{as} established by the late convention, between the United States and the British possessions. The Hudson Bay and the Northwest Companies have several posts and trading establishments much to the south of this line and, consequently, within our territory. When the boundary is definitely ascertained and marked, the policy of the Act of 29th of April, 1816, may, by means of these facts, be effectually enforced; and, therefore, in that quarter, as well as on our side of the Lakes, we will have the power to exclude foreigners from trade and intercourse with the Indians residing within our limits."

Brevier?

It is plain that the prime and principal object of the establishment of the military post which has long been called Fort Snelling was to bring the British traders under subjection, and either to compel them to renounce allegiance to the English Crown and become citizens of the United States, or else drive them from the country; and also to prevent others of their class from coming in and establishing themselves, a trespass and invasion no longer to be tolerated.¹

(1) Neill, in his History of Minnesota, Chap. XVI, p. 319, intimates that the founding of Lord Selkirk's Colony in the Lake Winnipeg region and the lower Red River of the North, was the chief reason for the establishment of the fort; but the official records in the case, on the testimony of the Secretary of War himself, prove that the post was established to enable the Government to dispose of the British traders effectually and to handle the Indians properly. No mention is made by Sec. Calhoun of the Selkirk Colony.

The detachments of the Fifth Regiment to be sent to the upper Mississippi under the order of the Secretary of War of Feb. 10, 1819, were commanded by Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth, and no better selection for the work could have been made.² He was intelligent, enterprising and ambitious, and so was always active and diligent about his duties.

October 16, 1818, all that portion of Illinois Territory not now included within the State of that name, but forming a part of Wisconsin, was attached to Michigan. In the spring of 1819 the County of Crawford, which included a large part of what is now the southeastern part of Minnesota, was, by an act of the Michigan Legislature, organized, with the county seat at Prairie du Chien. Col. Leavenworth, leading his troops on their way to build the Minnesota post, brought blank commissions to Prairie du Chien for the first county officers of the new County of Crawford, and was ordered to take charge of the County's organization, install the new officers, etc. It was with some difficulty that suitable persons to fill the offices were found.

(2) Gen. Henry Leavenworth was born in Connecticut Dec. 10, 1783. In early life he was a lawyer and was engaged in the practice of his profession upon the outbreak of the War of 1812. In that year he entered the army as a captain in the 25th Infantry and the following year was promoted to Major. He was brevetted Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel for distinguished services in the battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater (near Niagara Falls, where he was wounded) and was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the 5th Infantry in February, 1818. In 1824 he was made a Brevet Brigadier General and in 1825 Colonel of the 3rd Infantry. He established various frontier military posts, one of which, at the site of the City of Leavenworth, Kansas, perpetuates his name. He died at Cross Timbers, Texas, in July, 1834.

Having established garrisons at Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, and Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, and having set the wheels of the government of Crawford County in motion, Col. Leavenworth started up the Mississippi to complete his work at the mouth of the St. Peter's.

The troops of the expedition numbered "98 rank and file."³ They were in fourteen batteaux or keel boats and were accompanied by twenty hired boatmen; thus the entire force numbered 118 men. The flotilla was quite imposing. Besides the batteaux, which served as troop ships, there were two large boats loaded with provisions, ordnance, and other stores, the barge of Col. Leavenworth and the boat of Maj. Forsythe, making a fleet in all of eighteen boats, which were propelled by sails and by oars and poles.⁴

The expedition set out from Prairie du Chien at eight o'clock on Sunday morning, August 8th, and arrived at the mouth of the St. Peter's on Tuesday morning, August 24th,¹ making the trip of 234 miles, by the river, in sixteen days, at an average progress of twenty miles a day.

(3) Maj. Forsyth's Journal, Wis. Hist. Collection for 1872; Minn. Hist. Collection, Vol. 3, p. 149.

(4) Ibid.

(1) Neill, p. 320, and Williams (Hist. St. Paul, p. 39) give this date as September 24th, an error of one month. (Taliaferro -- Vol. 2, Minn. Hist. Sec. Coll., p. 103 -- gives the date of the arrival at the St. Peter's as September 17th). The correct dates are derived from Forsyth's Journal, ante.

From Fort Dearborn (Chicago) the baggage had been hauled in wagons drawn by horses and oxen, and a number of cows were brought along; but it became necessary, on account of lack of proper transportation, to have all these animals brought by land from Prairie du Chien to the St. Peter's, and this was done by Jean Baptiste Fari-^{first}bault and family. Of the cattle, however, only the cows were brought. At Prairie du Chien Col. Leavenworth was joined by Maj. Thomas Forsyth, a special Indian agent, who had been sent up from St. Louis in charge of the provisions, etc., for the troops to be stationed at the St. Peters, and "a quantity of goods, say \$2,000 worth", to be delivered to the Sioux in payment for the lands ceded by them to the United States under the Pike treaty of 1806. As stated, he joined Col. Leavenworth at Fort Crawford and accompanied the expedition to the St. Peters.

Maj. Forsyth kept a daily journal of his trip from St. Louis to the St. Peter's and return. This important manuscript was secured from his son, Col. Robert Forsyth, of St. Louis, in 1871, by Dr. Lyman C. Draper and published in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, of which he (Dr. Draper) was editor, and was reprinted in Vol. 3 of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections. From this journal the incidents of the voyage of Col. Leavenworth to Minnesota have, in the main, been obtained.

The Sioux had somehow learned that an agent of their American Father was on his way with presents for them, and on the arrival of Maj. Forsyth at Prairie du Chien, July 5th, he found the

son of Chief Red Wing, with a considerable band, awaiting him. Young Red Wing at once began begging for goods. He said a member of his band had recently been killed by the Chippewas, and on this account the hearts of himself and his companions were very sad; and therefore the Major should at once give them goods to assuage their grief and lighten the gloom of their bereavement. "But all this," writes Major Forsyth, "was a mere begging speech. I told him that I meant to go up with the troops to the River St. Peters, and on my way up I would stop at their different villages, where I would speak to them and give them a few goods, but that I could not give any goods at this place. Yet he is such a beggar that he would not take any refusal. I got up in an abrupt manner and left him and his band to study awhile." A week later the Major writes: "The Red Wing's son is still here abegging," and not until the 15th, after a stay of ten days, did he leave for home, to Forsyth's great relief. But in the meanwhile old Wabashaw, he of one eye, whose big village was near the present site of Winona, had arrived, and a week later old Red Wing himself, with twenty followers from their village, where the City of Red Wing now stands, had come. "This is another begging expedition," writes Maj. Forsyth.

Two days out from Prairie du Chien the expedition stopped

on the Iowa side at the temporary village of Tah-ma-ha, the Pike Fish.¹ Him Maj. Forsyth gave some powder and also some "milk", as the Major calls the whiskey, which he assures us was necessary to give to all Indians to completely satisfy them.

On the 13th the village of Chief Wabasha (then often called "the Leaf") was reached, near the present site of Winona, upon what was long known as Wabasha's Prairie. A landing was made and Maj. Forsyth made a long talk to the Chief, assuring him of the pacific and benevolent intentions of the members of the expedition and of all Americans generally.

"I told him," writes the Major, "that the President of the United States had sent me to acquaint the Sioux that the troops he saw encamped on the island were sent up to build a fort at the mouth of the River St. Peters; that he must not think that anything bad was intended; that the fort would be a place where any little thing they wanted repaired by the blacksmith would be attended to, and it would also be a place of trade; that their enemies would not be allowed to injure any of the Sioux at or near the fort, but, at the same time, the Sioux must not injure any of the Chippewas that might visit it. 'And here,' (pointing to Col. Leavenworth) 'is the chief of the soldiers belonging to your Great Father, and if at any time any of his young men do anything wrong to you, complain to him.'"

(1) According to Taliaferro (Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, p.197). Other writers identify this Indian as Ta-mah-hah, (accent on second syllable) or the Rising Moose, mentioned by Pike as "my friend," and who was ever the faithful ally of all Americans. Tah-ma-ha (accent on first syllable) and Ta-mah-hah were both prominent Indian characters, and owing to the similarity of the English spelling of their names their identity has been often confused. Dr. Thos. Foster, a very high authority, considered the two names as meaning the same man. (See Neill, p. 287, et seq.)

Maj. Forsyth took especial pains to impress upon the Chief and his followers that the Americans were very numerous and powerful and must not be trifled with, although their Great Father had forgotten that many of Wabasha's band had assisted the British during the War of 1812. Concluding, the Major said to Wabasha:

"Here is a blanket, a pipe of tobacco, and some powder. This present is but little, but you well know that I have many children to see before I return home, and I must give a little to every one."

"He accepted of the presents with thanks," says Maj. Forsyth, "and after sundown he came aboard of my boat and conversed with me on many subjects. This man is no beggar, nor does he drink, and perhaps I may say that he is the only man in the Sioux nation of this description."

Lake Pepin was "crossed with ease" on the 18th and the next morning Maj. Forsyth had "a little talk" with Chief Red Wing at his village. "I gave him some goods. He was much pleased with his presents. His son (whom the Major encountered at Prairie du Chien) is exactly what I took him to be-- a trifling, begging, discontented fellow." This day, after making twenty-four miles, the expedition encamped at the mouth of the St. Croix, which is described as "a large river." On the evening of the 20th a landing was made at Medicine Wood, probably near Gray Cloud Island. The journal says: "Medicine Wood takes its name from a large beech tree, which kind of wood the Sioux are unacquainted with, and, supposing that the Great Spirit placed it there as a genius to protect or punish them

according to their deserts." This is the first, and perhaps the only, recorded instance of the existence of a beech tree in Minnesota, and it might therefore properly have a "medicine" character, that term being Sioux for the supernatural or deeply mysterious.¹

On the 21st, Maj. Forsyth, in his boat, and Col. Leavenworth, in his barge, going ahead of the main fleet, landed at the village of Little Crow, in the vicinity of the present State Fish Hatchery, in the eastern confines of St. Paul. The real name of this Chieftain was Che-tan Wah-koota Manne, or the Walking Hunting Hawk. Little Crow was, in effect, but the royal title which he assumed upon taking the chieftainship of his band. His father and his grandfather, according to Long,² were each named Little Crow. This was the grandfather of Tah O-yah-ta Dootah, the Little Crow of 1862 and of notorious memory generally.

At the time of the visit of Maj. Forsyth and Colonel Leavenworth, Little Crow had but a small band, of about seventy warriors, and in all about three hundred men, women and children. They dwelt in very comfortable cabins, or shacks, with palisaded walls of tamarack poles, and the roofs were of brush, covered with bark. The Chief had a large cabin, some thirty feet in length, divided into two rooms. The cabins were all clustered and snuggled against the rocky bluffs in the eastern limits of St. Paul, in the vicinity of the present State Fish Hatchery. In summer the band, or

(1) Beltrami, in his "Pilgrimage," Vol. 2, p. 197, notes the Medicine Wood, and says: "This is a beech, a tree unknown in these countries, and which the savages venerate as a god."

(2) Keating's Long's Expedition, London ed. (1825) Vol. 1, p. 299.

many of its members, temporarily occupied tepees upon the summits of the bluffs, on the present site of Indian Mounds Park.

Forsyth and Leavenworth had an interview and "a talk" with Little Crow, and Forsyth writes: " His independent manner I like. I made him a very handsome present, for which he was very thankful, and said it was more than he expected."

Head winds forced the fleet to remain at Little Crow's village (called Kapogha) the greater part of two days. But on Monday, August 23rd, at 4 P. M., Forsyth arrived at the mouth of the St. Peters and the following day was joined by Col. Leavenworth in his barge, the other boats arriving later. As has been stated, the boats were propelled by poles, oars and sails. They were called batteaux by the French and "Mackinaw boats" by the English and Americans, because of their first use by the traders of Michilemackinac. Each boat carried a large sail mounted amidship. The sail was serviceable on the lakes, but rarely of utility on the river, and was often a hindrance because of contrary winds. Upon landing, Col. Leavenworth lost no time in setting about his duties. Forsyth says:

"Tuesday, (Aug.) 24. This morning Col. Leavenworth arrived in his barge and was busily employed almost all day in finding a proper place to make an establishment. He at length pitched on a place immediately at the mouth of St. Peters River, on its right bank, where, on the arrival of the soldiers, they were immediately set to work in making roads up the bank of the river, cutting down trees, etc."³

(3) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 154.

The first tree on the camping ground was felled by Daniel W. Hubbard, one of the soldiers.⁴ In a comparatively short time, ample quarters, all log cabins, had been prepared for the accommodation of the troops then present and the work of clearing the ground was continued in anticipation of the imminent arrival of a considerable number of recruits known to be enroute.

The expedition did not arrive in very good condition. Maj. Forsyth writes:

"Col. Leavenworth set out from Prairie du Chien with ninety-eight men, and on his arrival at the St. Peters upwards of one-half were sick. These men were only sixteen days on the water, but let any man travel in a boat on the Mississippi for a considerable time, during a very warm summer, drinking very bad water, sleeping out in the dews to avoid being devoured by mosquitoes, and getting but little rest during the short nights, and then say that such hardships are not sufficient to ruin the constitution of any man. It must be people who have been bred to the like who are able to withstand and overcome such hardships."¹

(4) H.H. Sibley's Reminiscences, Minn. Hist. Society Coll., Vol. 1, p. 473; Brown to Sibley, unpublished ms. in the Sibley papers.

(1) Minn. Hist. Society Coll., Vol. III, p. 159.

Enroute, at the mouth of the Ouiscensin River, the wife of Lieut. Nathan Clark, gave birth to a daughter, who was christened Charlotte Ouiscensin Clark and is now Mrs. Charlotte O. Van Cleve and still a resident of Minnesota.

On the evening of the next day after his arrival, Maj. Forsyth was visited by Pinichow and White Turkey, two Sioux sub-chiefs, and a number of their followers, whose villages were a few miles up the Minnesota. They were eager for their presents, which they knew the Major had for them, and although it was late when they arrived, they importuned him to begin the work of distribution at once. They were sent away and told to return the following day, "when, after a long talk," says Maj. Forsyth, "I gave each of them a very handsome present, and they returned home, apparently satisfied."

The Indians of the neighborhood fairly swarmed in for their presents. On the 26th came three sub-chiefs, each with his band, viz: Shakopay, or Six, whose village was thirty miles up the St. Peters, where the city of Shakopee now stands; the Arrow, whose village was twenty-four miles above Shakopay's, and the Red Eagle, whose village was six miles above Arrow's. "I gave them the remainder of my goods," writes Maj. Forsyth, "yet the Six wanted more. I found, on enquiring, that Mr. Six is a good-for-nothing fellow and rather gives bad counsel to his men than otherwise." In his letter to Gov. William Clark, of the then Missouri Territory,² the Major says that Chief Six "clamored for presents, and rather ordered than

(2) Ibid, p. 166.

requested that I would write on to the Great Father, the President, to send him plenty of kettles, guns, etc. He is, as I am informed, a troublesome, good-for-nothing fellow."

"In all my talks with the Indians at the St. Peters," writes Maj. Forsyth, "I generally told them the same that I had told the Leaf (meaning Chief Wabasha) and in all cases I had to give each band a little whiskey. These are the last Indians I am to see in this quarter; therefore, I am done with the Sioux for this year."³

On Saturday, August 28th, a party composed of Col. Leavenworth, Maj. Forsyth, Maj. Josiah Vose, Surgeon Purcell, Pieut. Nathan Clark, the wife of Capt. George Gooding, and an escort of soldiers, visited the Falls of St. Anthony. The excursion was made in Maj. Forsyth's boat, which was manned by the soldiers. The appearance and character of the Falls at that time are thus described by Maj. Forsyth:

". The sight to me was beautiful; the white sheet of water falling perpendicularly, as I should suppose about twenty feet, 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

(3) Ibid, p. 154.

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 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 (or northeast) side of the island.⁴

Concerning the personnel of the members of this excursion party, it is to be said that Maj. Josiah H. Vose was a Massachusetts man who served as Captain and Major during the War of 1812 and at its close, in 1815, was appointed Captain and Brevet Major in the 5th Infantry. He died at New Orleans in 1845 as Colonel of the 4th Regular Infantry. Dr. Edward Purcell was a Virginian, who had been appointed Surgeon of the 5th Infantry in 1818, and became Post Surgeon at "Ft. St. Anthony" in the following year. He died at Fort Snelling Jan. 11, 1825. Lieut. Nathan Clark was a Massachusetts man who had served in the regular army during the War of 1812 and was Post Commissary at Fort Snelling for eight years. He died at Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, in 1836, having attained the rank of Major. Mrs. Gooding was the first white woman to see St. Anthony Falls. Col. Leavenworth and Maj. Forsyth have heretofore been sketched.

(4) Ibid, p. 155.

On the 29th, Maj. Forsyth and Col. Leavenworth went up the Minnesota to the villages of Pinichon and White Turkey to buy horses, but found that the Indians had but few, and none to sell. The next day Maj. Forsyth set out on his return to St. Louis. He was accompanied by Col. Leavenworth as far as the upper end of Lake Pepin, where he met the long expected recruits, one hundred and twenty in number. Maj. Forsyth writes:

"Wednesday, Sept. 1. This morning we heard the report of a cannon on the other side of an island. The Colonel, (Leavenworth) who was on board of my boat, said that those must be the expected recruits. We immediately weighed anchor and ascended to the upper part of the island to get into the other channel and head off the boats. We met two large boats and a batteau with one hundred and twenty recruits on board."¹

With the reenforcement of the recruits the troops at the St. Peters consisted of two hundred and eighteen men, rank and file. While this was not a very formidable force, it was sufficient to enforce the authority of the United States in this quarter, and their commander was determined to do his duty.

Look to yourselves, Englishmen! You who have so long remained in the Minnesota country in defiance of and covert hostility against American authority, are called to account. No longer may you, unmolested and undisturbed, carry on your illegal traffic and stir up sedition and incite ill will among the red men against their American Father and his people. You must cast off your

(1) Ibid, p. 156.

allegiance to Great Britain and become loyal American citizens, or you must leave the country and stand not upon the order of your going.

One interesting item in connection with the founding of Fort Snelling is that the transportation of troops from Detroit to the St. Peters cost the Government less than would have their maintenance in quarters at Detroit for the same length of time. The Secretary of War² presents this comparison:

The total cost of the transportation of troops and stores and of the means of transportation, boats, teams, etc., was \$43,568.16, while the expenses of the troops, had they remained at their former station, would have been \$39,384, and the value of the boats, etc. was \$5,000, making a total of \$44,384, or a balance in favor of the expedition of \$815.84.

Col. Leavenworth called his first cantonment, or establishment, New Hope. There was a great 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.

Cantonment New Hope was on the flat land, on the south bank of the St. Peters, half a mile from its mouth. Practically it was at the confluence of the St. Peters and the Mississippi - at the meeting of the waters, or "Mine-dota", as the Indians called it. The quarters were all log cabins, and their building, which was prosecuted through the fall months, was a work of hardship and difficulty. The logs were cut in the surrounding forests, and as there were no teams to haul them, they had to be carried, often at

a considerable distance, by the men. Stone had to be quarried and shaped for chimneys and fireplaces, wells dug, a hospital constructed, involving hard and toilsome labor.

The winter of 1819-20 was very cold and was severely felt by many of the men who had never before lived in this latitude. In December there came upon the garrison a dire visitation which became fairly a calamity. Scurvy broke out among the troops and became very virulent in its form and fatal in its effects. It assumed the character of an epidemic and ^{as} it progressed nearly every man was stricken. Before it had passed, according to Maj. Taliaferro,³ forty men had died. How many became invalided and were forced to leave the service is not known. At one period the plague was so prevalent that for several days garrison duty was suspended, there being barely well men enough in the command to attend to the sick and the interment of the dead.⁴ When the disease entered upon its last stage, its fatal termination was often very sudden. Soldiers who were in apparently good health when they retired at night were found dead in their beds the next morning. Joseph R. Brown, who was a drummer boy of the garrison at the time, writes⁵ that on one occasion a plague smitten soldier who was on sentinel duty

(3) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 103.

(4) Philander Prescott, who arrived at the cantonment with supplies after the plague had been in progress for some time, says: "The troops were in a very unhealthy state with the scurvy. Some fifty or sixty had died, and some ten men died after I arrived. The groceries I took up and a quantity of spruce that Dr. Purcell had sent to the St. Croix for, gave them relief." Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, p. 478.

(5) "Sibley's Reminiscences," Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 1, p. 473, from unpublished manuscript of Joseph R. Brown in the Sibley papers.

("two hours on and four hours off post") upon being temporarily relieved, stretched himself upon a bench in the guard room and, four hours later, when he was called to resume his post, he was dead.

The fate of the poor victims of the epidemic was sad, but most honorable. They passed away on a remote frontier, amid a wilderness and under circumstances of privation and general distress, and were buried in obscure and lonely graves whose location has long been unknown. But they were American soldiers and died in the service of their country, and there can be no more glorious death. The possession of the country demanded sacrifices and these gallant spirits were the first martyrs to the cause of the development and civilization of Minnesota and the Northwest.

Col. Leavenworth and Surgeon Purcell made every possible effort to arrest the disease, and finally succeeded by administering spruce tea and other vegetable decoctions. Vinegar and other anti-scorbutics were also procured from Prairie du Chien by runners sent down for them. There were no vegetables in the commissary department, and the rations were pickled pork, beans, bread and "small hominy", or coarsely cracked corn, with a little rice and molasses. Coffee was not then used. Occasionally fresh meat, of the wild game of the region, was bought from the Indians or obtained by hunting. Gen. Sibley was of the opinion, from what he learned from Joseph R. Brown and others, who were members of the garrison, that the disease was caused by the bad quality of the provisions, especially of the pork, which had been spoiled by the villainy of the contractors and

their agents. To lighten the weight of the heavy barrels of mess pork and make their transportation in the keel boats from St. Louis easier, the rascals, upon setting out, drew off the brine; but, before delivering them at St. Peters, refilled them with river water, and the fraud was not detected until the scamps had made their departure from the country. As a result, the meat became of very bad quality and fairly poisoned the systems of those who ate it.¹

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, where it is still situated. In the month of May he removed his command to the crest of the Mississippi bluff, a little to the northward of the site selected for the post and convenient to a 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 spent the late fall and winter months in their former log cabins at New Hope.

Meanwhile, the construction of the buildings which were to comprise the new fort went on. September 10th of this year (1820) the cornerstone of the Commandant's quarters, commonly termed the cornerstone of the fort, was laid. The previous spring the horses and cows left by Col. Leavenworth at Prairie du Chien were brought up by Jean B. Faribault, the well known trader, and became of much service to the garrison.² In August, Col. Leavenworth, who had been

(1) Ibid, p. 474.

(2) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 103; ibid Vol. 6, p. 198.

transferred to another regiment (the 6th Infantry) and ordered to the Southwest, turned over the command of the post to his superior, Col. Josiah Snelling, the Commander of the 5th Regiment, who had been ordered to the post to complete it.³

Philander Prescott, who came to the St. Peters cantonment in the winter of 1819-20, as clerk for the sutler, a Mr. Devotion, of Detroit, and who passed the rest of his life in Minnesota, did valuable service for history in writing his reminiscences of early days in the Northwest while he was in full recollection of them. He wrote in 1861 and was murdered by the Sioux in the great outbreak of 1862. His manuscript was printed in Volume 6 of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, pp. 475 et seq. Mr. Prescott was a young man of nineteen when he came to the country, having been born at Phelpstown, N. Y., in 1801, but he had a good education and was always clearheaded, intelligent and reliable.

According to Mr. Prescott, who was on the ground at the time, there was not much done toward the building of the fort in the summer of 1820. A few soldiers were employed in cutting trees and hewing timber, which was hauled to the site selected. This site, as chosen by Col. Leavenworth, was three hundred yards west of that finally determined upon and where the fort was constructed. Although

(3) Col. Josiah Snelling was born in Massachusetts in 1782. He entered the army in 1808 as 1st lieutenant. The following year he was promoted to captain. He served with credit at the battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811, and during the War of 1812 was quite distinguished. For gallantry in action at Brounstown he was brevetted Major. In 1818 he was made Lieutenant Colonel and in the following year became Colonel of the 5th U.S. Infantry. He completed the post at the St. Peters, which was named for him in 1824, by Gen. Scott. In the summer of 1827 Col. Snelling and his regiment were ordered from Ft. Snelling to St. Louis, and in August of that year, while temporarily in Washington, the Colonel died of brain fever.

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 whipsaws, worked by two men to each saw.

It was determined to build a saw mill in the vicinity, and as steam was not in use for the machinery of a mill at that time, the motive power had to be water. A suitable site for a mill must be found. An examination of the "little falls," or Brown's Fall, (now called Minnehaha) was made, but as the little stream which furnishes the water for the cataract was very low that summer, and could not be depended upon to furnish a sufficient volume of water, a certain site at the great St. Anthony Falls, on the west bank of the river, was selected. In his autobiography, printed in Volume 6 of the Minnesota Historical Society's Collections, Prescott says:

"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. The party returned and made a favorable report, and in the winter (1820-21) a party was sent to cut pine logs and to raft them down in the spring. They brought down about two thousand logs by hand. Some ten or fifteen men would haul on a sled one log, from one-fourth to one-half a mile, and lay it upon 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 entrance of Rum River into the Mississippi, where they were formed into small rafts and floated down to the falls.

In the summer, or early fall, Col. Leavenworth was ordered

to the Missouri River. The plans for the fort had been prepared by him, but were somewhat altered by Col. Snelling, who moved the location to the present site. The saw mill 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 outbuildings. All the logs were brought to the mill or the landing by hand, and hauled from the landing to the mill by teams. The lumber when sawed, was hauled from the mill to the fort by the teams. Lieut. William E. Kruger lived (at the mill?) and had charge of the mill party."

The tract of Rum River timber, where a part of logs mentioned were cut, was presumably about four miles north of Cambridge, Isanti County, near a small stream. Daniel Stanchfield, the pioneer lumberman, who was on the ground in 1847-8, writes:¹

"I logged there two years, which was the first lumbering upon a large scale on Rum River. A part of the lumber for building Fort Snelling, however, had been cut on the same lake; for we found on its shores the remains of an old logging camp which had been there many years. In its vicinity pine trees had been cut and taken away and the stumps had partially decayed. Logging had also been done at the same early date in the "Dutchman's Grove."

The saw mill was completed in 1821. It was equipped with a quick-acting upright saw, known among lumbermen as a muley saw. The area of the mill was about 50 by 70 feet. It stood on the west

(1) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 9, p. 342.

bank of the river, now the center of the great milling district of Minneapolis.²

In 1823, near the sawmill, a grist mill was completed. Col. Snelling was experimenting in grain-growing. He had sown a field of wheat and planted a considerable corn-field, with the view of obtaining fresh breadstuffs for his troops. To aid in the enterprise, the Commissary of Subsistence at St. Louis, by order of the Commissary General at Washington, sent to Col. Snelling a pair of buhr millstones, 337 pounds of plaster of Paris, and two dozen sickles, all of the value of \$288.33. The little grist mill was only about sixteen or eighteen feet square.³

Col. Snelling's venture in grain-raising was fairly successful, but the wheat, which presumably was thrashed with flails, was not properly taken care of. Mrs. Ann Adams writes:

"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 made wretched, black, bitter-tasting 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. Col. Snelling came out and remonstrated with them. There was much inconvenience that winter - 1823-4 - on account of the scarcity of provisions!"⁴

(2) See E. A. Bromley's "Old Government Mills," Minn.Hist.Soc.Coll., Vol. X, p. 636.

(3) Bromley, *ibid.*

(4) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, p. 95.

The grist mill was operated by the military authorities in a sort of desultory way until in 1849, when it was sold for \$750. to Robert Smith, of Illinois, by whom it was rented to Calvin A. Tuttle, who operated it until in 1855. According to the Minnesota Pioneer of Feb. 20, 1850, during the season of 1849 there were 4,000 bushels of corn ground here for the Indian trade and the settlers, "and about the same quantity remains to be ground." The saw mill was then undergoing repairs in preparation for its operation the following season.¹

Upon the completion of the fort, Col. Snelling named it Fort St. Anthony, presumably for its proximity to St. Anthony Falls.

In 1824, Gen. Winfield Scott, then the Inspector General of the American Army, while on a general tour of inspection and observation, visited the post and remained some days. He was so impressed with the efficiency of the work that upon his return to Washington he recommended that the fort be named in honor of its Commander, and it was so ordered by the Secretary of War, and ever since the post has been called Fort Snelling. Regarding the change in name, Gen. Scott, in his report to the War Department, said:

"This work, of which the War Department is in possession of a plan, reflects the highest credit on Col. Snelling, his officers and his men. The defenses and, for the most part, the public storehouses, shops, and quarters, being constructed of stone, the whole is likely to endure as long as the post shall remain a frontier one.

(1) For the subsequent history of these, see Bromley, *ibid.*

The cost of erection to the Government has been the amount paid for tools and iron and the per diem paid to soldiers employed as mechanics. I wish to suggest to the General-in-Chief, and through him to the War Department, the propriety of calling this work Fort Snelling, as a just compliment to the meritorious officer under whom it has been erected. The present name (Fort St. Anthony) is foreign to all our associations, and is, besides, geographically incorrect, as the work stands at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peters Rivers, eight miles (sic) below the great falls of the Mississippi called after St. Anthony."

Col. Snelling had built the fort in the form of a lozenge, because of the shape of the site, lying in the angle formed by the junction of the two rivers. The first row of barracks was of logs; the other buildings were of stone. Many years later all the buildings were surrounded by a high stone wall.

In March, 1819, Secretary Calhoun appointed Lawrence Taliaferro,² a recent Lieutenant in the army, "agent of Indian

(2) Lawrence Taliaferro, who was Indian agent at Fort Snelling from the fall of 1819 to January, 1840, was prominently identified with and leading character of early Minnesota history. He was a native of Virginia, of remote Italian ancestry, and was born Feb. 24, 1794. He served in the regular army during the War of 1812, with the rank of Lieutenant, and when, at the close of the war, the army was reduced to a peace footing, he was retained in service. He resigned from the army to become Indian agent. On retiring from the agency he went to his home, at Bedford, Pa., where, in 1857, he was appointed U. S. Military Storekeeper and held the position until 1863, when he resigned and was placed on the retired list, "for long and faithful service to the Republic." He died at Bedford, Jan. 22, 1871, aged 77. He left in Minnesota a half-blood Sioux daughter, named Mary, whom he always recognized and who married Warren Woodbury, afterward a citizen of St. Paul. During the entire time of his service at Fort Snelling Maj. Taliaferro kept a minute diary of events in this quarter, and his journal is in the possession of the Minnesota

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Historical Society. In 1864 he wrote an autobiography, which appears in Vol. 6 of the Society's Collections. Concluding his sketch, he writes of himself as "One that has uniformly tried to do his duty to God and his fellow man. * * * * A member of the Order of F. and A. Masons; a deacon in the Old School Presbyterian Church of Bedford, Pa., in good standing; placed by the President, in August, 1863, on the retired list of the army, and now (1864) in his seventy-first year."

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Affairs at St. Peters, near the Falls of St. Anthony." With the permanent establishment of the post would come the permanent supervision of the Indian tribes in this quarter by the Government and the maintenance of its authority generally. Maj. Taliaferro's selection as the Government's agent was well justified by the results. He was scrupulously honest himself and demanded that everybody else should be. He soon had great influence over the Indians and managed them well. Uniformly he gratified their penchant for "big talks", or councils, and was otherwise considerate of their wishes, but at the same time he impressed them with proper respect for the American Government and a friendly regard for its citizens. He had inordinate self-esteem and was sometimes ridiculed or denounced for his egotism; but this weakness kept him honest, upright, and faithful; he was too proud of himself to do anything dishonorable or ignoble. His personal accomplishments were many, and his journal and other writings have been of great service to Northwestern history.

September 12, 1821, the year following the murder of Andrew and Poupin, a party of Sissetous came down to the fort and the leader said to Agent Taliaferro:³

"We are glad to find your door open to-day, my Father. The Indians, you see, are like the wolves of the prairie. When they stop at night they lie down in the open air and rise with the sun and pursue their journey." I applied for the other murderer of the white men of the Missouri, but in bringing him down the fear of being hung induced him to stab himself to death."

(3) Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 106. The Indian's speech is reported in Taliaferro's manuscript journal, unpublished.

The building of Fort Snelling was an epochal event in the civilization of Minnesota. The fort was a base of operations for the exercise and maintenance of American authority over the country, and became the nucleus of settlement and development. Here were established the first institutions of enlightenment. Here the first church services were held and the first school taught. It was the support of missionaries and the rendezvous and resting place of travelers and explorers.

With Fort Snelling as a center, the avenues of development were opened and radiated and from its gateways the roadways of progress flowed. In plain sight from the battlements of its historic round tower the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis were laid out. It was long the head of Mississippi River navigation and the prominent northern commercial terminal. It was practically the headquarters and point of approach of the forces, that, whether armed with guns and swords or plowshares and pruning hooks, destroyed barbarism, established civilization in its stead, and made the wilderness blossom as a rose.