

NEW LIGHT ON OLD ST. PETER'S AND EARLY ST. PAUL

Who the settlers of the Grand Marais, of the old Fort Snelling reservation, and of other points in the vicinity of St. Paul before the founding of the city in 1840 and 1841 actually were, is known today only in part.¹ Many picturesque figures of that day have silently melted into oblivion, leaving few traces behind them. Since it was from these settlers, known and unknown, that the nucleus of the population of the St. Paul of 1840 and the years immediately following was formed, historical sidelights on these pioneers are piquantly interesting as well as important in the early history of Minnesota. One of these sidelights, enchanting and vivid, is reflected in the records of the pioneer missionary trip of Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque to St. Peter's in 1839.

In that year, the portion of the present state of Minnesota which lies west of the Mississippi was part of Iowa Territory. It was also part of the diocese of Dubuque, then but recently established. This diocese was immense as it originally stood; it reached northward from the northern line of Missouri to the boundary of British America, and westward from the Mississippi River to the Missouri.² It included what is now the state of Iowa, most of Minnesota, and large portions of North and South Dakota. Save one other, this diocese contained the largest number of Indians, about thirty thousand.³ Zealous for the conversion of these aborigines and desiring to view the northern parts of his far-flung province, the Right Reverend Mathias Loras, the first bishop of "Du Buque" as

¹ Pig's Eye Lake was known as the Grand Marais by the French traders and *voyageurs*. It is located on the Mississippi bottomland about two miles southeast of Dayton's Bluff, St. Paul. Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 442 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17).

² The new Dubuque diocese was created by the Holy See in 1837.

³ Louis de Cailly, *Memoirs of Bishop Loras*, 96 (New York, 1897).

he spelled it, made a visit in 1839 to the vicinity of the government fort established twenty years earlier where the Minnesota River empties into the Mississippi.

In his zealous enthusiasm Loras had evidently spoken publicly of his plans for this trip, for a Dubuque correspondent wrote to a Cincinnati paper in that year: "The Rt. Rev. Bishop intends to visit the more northwesterly parts of his diocese, namely St. Peter's, where a great number of French and other Catholic families have settled. From there he will make an excursion into the wilderness, where the Indians are located in different places, for the most part Siouxes, who for some time have expressed the desire to have amongst them a Catholic clergyman. We hope consequently to receive detailed reports in the near future concerning these latter missions." The correspondent later sent a detailed account of this visit, in which appeared these two paragraphs:

At the junction of the St. Peter's and Mississippi rivers, — 45 degrees northern latitude, and about 2100 miles from New Orleans — the Americans erected recently a splendid fortress for the protection of the Indian tribes which roam about these localities.

The Bishop of Dubuque believing that there might be Catholic families at that point, made a voyage up there toward the end of last June. To his great astonishment he found there not far from the fort 185 families, consisting mostly of Indians or French. No pen can describe the joy which this apparently lost flock of the Church manifested, when its members saw this bishop in their midst, since up to this time no priest much less a bishop had advanced up to them. The messengers of heaven now began their course of instruction, which continued for weeks, to prepare the people for the reception of the holy sacraments. 56 children, in addition many adults, whites and reds, received baptism.⁴

Bishop Loras' version softens the exaggerations of this newspaper account:

I left Dubuque on the 23d of June, on board a large and magnificent steam vessel, and was accompanied by the Abbé Pela-

⁴ *Wahrheits-Freund* (Cincinnati), July 11, September 5, 1839. A file of this paper is in the library of St. John's University at Collegeville, Minnesota.

mourgues and a young man, who served us as interpreter with the Sioux. After a successful voyage of some days along the superb Mississippi and the beautiful lake Pepin, we reached St. Peter's. . . . Our arrival was a cause of great joy to the Catholics, who had never before seen a Priest or Bishop in these remote regions; they manifested a great desire to assist at divine worship, and to approach the Sacraments of the Church. . . . The Catholics of St. Peter's amounted to one hundred and eighty-five, fifty-six of whom we baptized, administered confirmation to eight, communion to thirty-three adults, and gave the nuptial benediction to four couple.⁵

The name "St. Peter's" is a familiar one to historians. Before Fort Snelling was established the Minnesota River was known to the French *voyageurs* as the St. Pierre. This was later changed to St. Peter's by the Americans. The fort itself, the trading post across the river from it, and the Indian agency were collectively termed St. Peter's. In the year 1852, however, Congress ordered that the name Minnesota be used in all public documents mentioning the river; this was the Indian name of the stream.⁶ To Bishop Loras and people of his day it was known only as St. Peter's. The bishop and his two companions stopped at the fort.

This brings one to the question: who and what were these 185 Catholics, gathered at this distant point, in the very year before the founding of St. Paul? It was the opinion of Father Ravoux, the celebrated Indian missionary, that these people were probably traders who had settled around St. Peter's, farmers on the reservation, a few soldiers of the garrison, and some traders and *coureurs de bois* from scattered points in the Northwest who had been brought to St. Peter's by business

⁵ Bishop Loras to his sister, July 26, 1839, in *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 3: 339 (September, 1840). Volumes 3, 5, and 8 of this quarterly publication, made up of "letters from the bishops and missionaries employed in the missions of the Old and New World," and issued at Dublin, Ireland, in 1840, 1842, and 1845, are in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁶ Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, 206 (Iowa City, Iowa, 1918).

interests about this time.⁷ This conjecture is in part supported by a statement that "the immigrants [*around St. Peter's*] were from the north, all from the Hudson Bay Territory, from which they had been driven by high water." Several writers seem to have believed that practically all had come from the Selkirk colony on the Red River.⁸

At last an illuminating ray of information is thrown on this period which dispels to a considerable extent the haze in which time and oblivion had enveloped the identities of these pioneers. When Bishop Loras returned to Dubuque he transferred to the archives of his little stone cathedral the list of the names of those he had baptized. And the list also includes the names of the parents of those baptized, as well as of their godfathers and godmothers. Another special list enumerates the names of those confirmed. There these names have lain for nearly a century, hundreds of miles distant from old St. Peter's and modern St. Paul, apparently unrecognized and forgotten. These records, written by the bishop's own pen, have hitherto been little consulted and never have been published.⁹ Through them it is possible to learn the names of a

⁷ John Ireland, *St. Paul in 1841. St. Paul in 1891*, 2 (N. p., n. d.). This pamphlet of eight pages, made up of extracts from a lecture delivered on November 1, 1891, in the St. Paul Cathedral in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the first St. Paul church, was specially printed for insertion in Augustin Ravoux, *Reminiscences, Memoirs and Lectures* (St. Paul, 1890), and appears between pages 86 and 87 of that work.

⁸ Edward D. Neill, *History of Minnesota: From the Earliest French Explorations to the Present Time*, 390 n. (fourth edition, Minneapolis, 1882); J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul, and of the County of Ramsey*, 42 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 4). Neill states that "the Swiss had opened farms on and near St. Paul, and should be recognized as the first actual settlers." But of all those on Bishop Loras' list (see *post*, p. 32-37) whose origins can be traced, only one or two are Swiss.

⁹ The original records made by Bishop Loras now form part of the Baptismal Register of St. Raphael Cathedral, Dubuque, Iowa. In 1914 the Reverend John F. Kempker made copies of portions of the register for the St. Paul Catholic Historical Society. These later were borrowed

majority of the 185 Catholics who were at St. Peter's in 1839. Practically all the names are French, though two or three, like Quinn and Graham, are Gaelic. Stately patronymics of old France stand out in the bishop's peculiar writing on the time-colored pages: Jean Baptiste Latourelle, Olivier Rossico, Louis Brunelle, Amable Morin; and the names of some of the women are redolent of the *fleur-de-lis* and cathedral incense: Julie Ducharme, Geneviève Cardinal, Josephine Beaulieu, Isabel Madelaine. Interesting are the records of Marguerite Leclaire, daughter of Michel Leclaire and a Sioux woman, his wife; Marguerite Metivier, daughter of Mr. Metivier and a Sioux woman; Françoise Marie Boucher, twenty-three years of age, daughter of N. Boucher and "a Chippeway from the Lake Superior"; and Angelique Martin, daughter of Louis Martin and Ouanino, a Sioux woman.

Twenty-four persons were baptized by Bishop Loras on June 28, 1839; on the following day Father Anthon Pelamourgues gave the rites to eleven more; one week later, on July 5, Bishop Loras baptized eleven; and on July 8, six. These baptisms occurred at St. Peter's. On July 9 at St. Croix, — probably near the mouth of the St. Croix River, — the bishop christened four half-breed children and a Sioux boy. This makes a total of fifty-seven, although in the letter above quoted, Bishop Loras gives the number as fifty-six, and this is the figure subsequent accounts have always mentioned.

What a picturesque tableau must have struck the eyes of the "Bishop of Du Buque" on these occasions! There in that open cathedral, whose pillars were the tall trees of the forest primeval, whose vaulted ceiling was the azure sky peeping through the interlacings of the fragrant branches, stood Mathias Loras, in whose veins flowed the blood of the old French aristocracy. His father, two uncles, — one of them mayor of St. Cyr, — and two aunts had gone to the guillotine

by the Minnesota Historical Society and typewritten copies were made for its files.

in Lyons in 1793 during the French Revolution. Round about him the bishop saw trappers from the far-away West and *bois brûlés* from the Red River dressed in deer skins trimmed with other furs, traders from Prairie du Chien, soldiers from the army post, and women attired in animal skins and homespuns. Deeper back in the checkered shadow and sunlight of the forest, peered the Indians. On the first two days of baptism, the Sioux and Chippewa, who had met for a peace parley at Fort Snelling, may have been present; later in all probability the Sioux alone were there, exhibiting the bleeding scalps of many Chippewa, with whom in the interval they had quarreled and fought.¹⁰ They may be pictured gazing with curiosity at the "China-sapas" — the black gowns; the middle-aged bishop, and the youthful *abbé*, in surplice and stole, the one with crucifix and ritual in his hands, the other with the water and oils of baptism.

The bishop's list of those baptized, of their parents, and of their godparents follows. Each entry is carefully written out, and all are similar in form to the first one given below.

BAPTIZED AT ST. PETER'S, JUNE 28, 1839, BY BISHOP LORAS

1. "In the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred & thirtynine, & on the twentyeighth day of June, I, the undersigned Bishop of Du Buque, certify that I have baptized at St. Peter, according to the holy rites of the Catholic church, Françoise Marie Boucher, born the 17th day of May, in the year 1806, daughter of N. Boucher & of a Chippeway from the Lake Superior. Stood godfather Peter Quin & godmother Louise Quin. In faith whereof I have signed.

MATHIAS, BISHOP OF DU BUQUE."

2. Pierre Massy, born May 17, 1839. Parents: Louis Massy and Françoise Marie Boucher. Godparents: Peter Boucher, Geneviève Charret.

¹⁰ De Cailly, *Bishop Loras*, 5-8; extracts from a letter of Bishop Loras written in July, 1839, in *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 3: 343-345.

3. Samuel Quin, born March 5, 1839. Parents: Peter Quin and Louise Boucher Quin. Godparents: Louis Massy, Françoise Marie B. Massy.

4. Severe Paul Rêché, born March 13, 1838. Parents: Joseph Rêché and Suzanne, his wife. Godparents: Peter Boucher, Françoise Meiroth.

5. Peter Rêché, born September 11, 1833 (?).¹¹ Parents: Joseph and Suzanne Rêché. Godparents: Louis Massy, Françoise Massy.

6. Marguerite Rêché, born May, 1833 (?). Parents: Joseph and Suzanne Rêché. Godparents: Mr. and Mrs. Dejarlat.

7. Charles Rêché, born 1831. Parents: Joseph and Suzanne Rêché. Godparents: Jean Baptiste Latourelle, Louise Quin.

8. Alexis Brunelle, born August 1, 1838. Parents: Louis Brunelle and Angelique Cotty. Godparents: Jean B. Latourelle, Louise Quin.

9. Françoise Brunelle, born February 28, 1835. Parents: Louis Brunelle and Angelique Cotty, his wife. Godparents: Louis Massy, Louise Quin.

10. Peter Brunelle, born May 13, 1833. Parents: Louis Brunelle and Angelique Cotty. Godparents: Peter Boucher, Françoise Boucher.

11. Paul Brunelle, born September 13, 1836. Parents: Louis Brunelle and Angelique Cotty. Godparents: Paul Prévot and Françoise Boutinot.

12. Isabel Madelaine, born February, 1838. Parents: N. Madelaine and Geneviève Madelaine, his wife. Godparents: Louis Massy, Louise Quin.

13. Angelique Prévot, born December 13, 1836. Parents: Paul and Margaret Prévot. Godparents: Louis Brunelle, Louise Quin.

14. Françoise Prévot, born March 12, 1839. Parents: Paul and Margaret Prévot. Godparents: Louis and Mrs. Massy.

¹¹ Question marks in parentheses have been placed after those dates of births the accuracy of which appears to be doubtful.

15. Scholastique Cray, born January 13, 1834. Parents: Olivier Cray and Sarah Mary Graham. Godparents: Mr. and Mrs. Massy.

16. David Cray, born March 15, 1836. Parents: Olivier Cray and Sarah Mary Graham. Godparents: Thomas Leblanc and Suzanne Rêché.

17. Isabelle Cray, born February 5, 1838. Parents: Olivier Cray and Sarah Mary Graham. Godparents: Joseph Rêché, Mrs. Massy.

18. Louise Cray, born July 16, 1832. Parents: Olivier Cray and Sarah Mary Graham. Godparents: Mr. and Mrs. Quin.

19. Peter Dejarlat, born September 20, 1832. Parents: Louis Dejarlat and Françoise D., his wife. Godparents: Joseph and Suzanne Rêché.

20. Rosyle Dejarlat, born September 17, 1834. Parents: Louis Dejarlat and Françoise Dejarlat. Godparents: Paul Prévot, Geneviève Cardinal.

21. David Dejarlat, born May 11, 1836 (?). Parents: Louis and Françoise Dejarlat. Godparents: Louis and Françoise Massy.

22. Josette Dejarlat, born February 2, 1836 (?). Parents: Louis and Françoise Dejarlat. Godparents: Peter and Louise Quin.

23. Peter Rondeau, born June 29, 1838. Parents: Joseph Rondeau and Josephine Beaulieu Rondeau. Godparents: Baptiste Cornic, Julie Ducharme.

24. Louise Brissette, born June 29, 1838. Parents: Joseph Brissette and Sophie Leblanc Brissette. Godparents: Benjamin Dionn, Geneviève Choret.

BAPTIZED AT ST. PETER'S, JUNE 29, 1839, BY ABBE
PELAMOURGUES

25. Joseph Papin, born May 5, 1834. Parents: Antoine and Marie Ann Papin. Godparents: Joseph Rondeau, Josephine Beaulieu.

26. Olivier Papin, born January 29, 1836. Parents: Antoine and Marie Ann Papin. Godparents: Olivier Rossico, Marie Papin.

27. Peter Papin, born January 5, 1838. Parents: Antoine and Marie Ann Papin. Godparents: Olivier Rossico, Marie Papin.

28. Baptiste Scott, born October 5, 1838 (?). Parents: Scott Campbell and Marguerite Menager Campbell. Godparents: Antoine Papin, Emilié Papin.

29. John Scott, born March 18, 1834. Parents: Scott Campbell and Marguerite Menager Campbell. Godparents: Louis Menager, Charlotte Frenière.

30. Marguerite Scott, born February 20, 1838 (?). Parents: Scott Campbell and Marguerite Menager Campbell. Godparents: Louis Menager, Louise Quin.

31. William Rossico, born February 24, 1838. Parents: Olivier Rossico and Madelaine Campbell Rossico. Godparents: Louis Menager, Henriette Campbell.

32. Charles Landry, born August 27, 1837. Parents: Charles Landry and Marie Papin Landry. Godparents: Antoine and Geneviève Papin.

33. Julie Martin, born March 15, 1839. Parents: Louis Martin and Ouanino, Sioux woman. Godparents: Baptiste Crédite, Julie Ducharme.

34. Marie Martin, August, 1835. Parents: Louis Martin and Ouinano, Sioux woman. Godparents: Baptiste Crédite, Julie Ducharme.

35. Angelique Martin, born February 16, 1834. Parents: Louis Martin and Ouinano, Sioux woman. Godparents: Edmond Brisset, Charlotte Latourelle.

BAPTIZED AT ST. PETER'S, JULY 5, 1839, BY BISHOP LORAS

36. William Quin, born November 5, 1838. Parents: Peter and Louisa Quin. Godparents: Louis Massy, Emilié Hooe.

37. Marguerite Quin, born October 13, 1836. Parents: Peter and Louisa Quin. Godparents: Louis and Françoise Dejarlat.

38. Hyppolite Scott, born 1828. Parents: Scott Campbell and Marguerite Menager Campbell. Godparents: Louis Massy, Louisa Quin.

39. Mathias Scott, born ———. Parents: Scott Campbell and Marguerite Menager Campbell. Godparents: Antoine Papin, Mrs. Rêché.

40. Joseph Scott, born 1836. Parents: Scott Campbell and Marguerite Menager Campbell. Godparents: Antoine Papin, Mrs. Rêché.

41. Henriette Scott, born 1824. Parents: Scott Campbell and Marguerite Menager Campbell. Godparents: Thomas Leblanc, Emilié Hooe.

42. Marguerite Menager Scott, born 1807. In the tribe of the Sioux. Godparents: Louis Massy, Emilié Hooe.

43. Alexander Graham, born October 15, 1821. Parents: Dom. Etienne Graham and Mrs. N., his wife. Godparents: Louis and Françoise Dejarlat.

44. Sara Marie Graham, "28 years of age." Parents: Dom. Etienne Graham and his wife. Godparents: Louis and N. Massy.

45. Angelique Brunelle, born 1794. "Married to Louis Brunelle." Godparents: Mr. and Mrs. Dejarlet.

46. Emilié Dejarlat, born June 12, 1837. Parents: Mr. and Mrs. Dejarlat. Godparents: Louis Dejarlat, Suzanne Rêché.

BAPTIZED AT ST. PETER'S, JULY 8, 1839, BY BISHOP LORAS

47. Marguerite Leclaire, born November 7, 1836. Parents: Michel Leclaire and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godparents: Baptiste Latourelle and his wife.

48. Edward Leclaire, born June 30, 1835. Parents: Michel Leclaire and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godparents: Edward Leclaire, Julie Ducharme.

49. William Leclaire, born August 12, 1834. Parents: Michel Leclaire, and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godparents: Edward Leclaire, Julie Ducharme.

50. Baptiste Leclaire, born January 12, 1830. Parents: Michel Leclaire and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godparents: Edward Leclaire, Charlotte Latourelle.

51. Sophie Leclaire, born May 8, 1828. Parents: Michel Leclaire and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godparents: Baptiste and Charlotte Latourelle.

52. Marguerite Metivier, born May 13, 1829. Parents: Mr. Metivier and a Sioux woman. Godparents: Peter Vasseur, Julie Ducharme.

BAPTIZED AT ST. CROIX, JULY 9, 1839, BY BISHOP LORAS

53. Sophie Monjeau, born 1831. Parents: Joseph Monjeau and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godfather: Amable Morin.

54. Antoine Monjeau, born 1834. Parents: Joseph Monjeau and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godfather: Amable Morin.

55. Jean Baptiste Monjeau, born 1837. Parents: Joseph Monjeau and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godfather: Amable Morin.

56. Edward Monjeau, born March 15, 1839. Parents: Joseph Monjeau and a Sioux woman, his wife. Godfather: Amable Morin.

57. Joseph, a Sioux. Born ———. "The son of a Sioux woman." Godfather: Amable Morin.

CONFIRMED AT ST. PETER'S, JULY 7, 1839, BY BISHOP LORAS

Louis Dejarlat	Louise King
Mary Ann Sibley	Henriette Scott
Marguerite Scott	Louis Massy
Françoise Massy	Charles Alexis Boudierot

These lists make it possible to correct some of the critics of Bishop Loras. One writer states that Bishop Loras'

figure of 185 Catholics at St. Peter's "was probably far in excess of the number of actual residents"; another declares that "This estimate must have been based largely upon hearsay, and it is probably too high." That it was neither too high nor based on hearsay is clear, for the names of more than a hundred individuals are mentioned in the bishop's lists. Furthermore, as early as 1837 a census of the "white inhabitants in the vicinity of the fort" was taken by an army officer, Lieutenant E. K. Smith, who found a "total of 157 souls in no way connected with the military" living there.¹² This number undoubtedly increased somewhat in two years. In addition to the people named by the bishop there were certainly present a number of other settlers and trappers of the Catholic faith whose names would have no reason to appear on the baptismal lists. On June 27 a man named Sinclair of the Selkirk settlement, with a train of forty or fifty carts bringing emigrants from the Red River district, arrived at the fort. As they must have included a number of French-Canadians, Bishop Loras' figure appears too small instead of too large. It is safe to believe, too, that members of the families of the Gervais brothers, of the Guerins, of the Faribaults, and others, were certainly present during Bishop Loras' visit, and that his estimate as a consequence was quite conservative.¹³

¹² Ambrose McNulty, "The Chapel of St. Paul, and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:234 (part 1); William B. Hennessy, *Past and Present of St. Paul, Minnesota*, 179 (Chicago, 1906); E. K. Smith to Major J. Plympton, October 19, 1837, in *Sale of Fort Snelling Reservation*, 16 (40 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 9—serial 1372); William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:218 (St. Paul, 1921). Smith groups the inhabitants around Fort Snelling as follows: "82 in Baker's settlement, around old Camp Coldwater, and at Massey's landing. On the opposite side, 25 at the fur company's establishment, including Terrebault's [Faribault's] and Le Clerc's, 50."

¹³ Taliaferro Journals, June 27, 1839. The unpublished journals, account books, and letter books of Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent at St. Peter's, are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. An account of the "Episcopal Visitation at St. Peter's, Iowa,"

Among the names listed, we find a number of those settlers who in May, 1840, were dishoused by order of the government and driven off the military reserve. Neill speaks with no sympathy of these expelled settlers: "The squatters then retreated to the nearest point below the military reserve, and there they became the inglorious founders of a hamlet, which was shortly graced with the small Roman Catholic chapel of Saint Paul, the name of which is retained by the thrifty capital of Minnesota, which has emerged from the grogeries of 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort.'" ¹⁴ This is rather severe language. There were probably many whose lives bristled with all the mean and repulsive vices of that pioneer period; still there were undoubtedly many more, and some of their names are found on the foregoing list, who were noble if uncouth characters, and whose full, active years blended romance with achievement.

Captain Frederick Marryat, a British naval officer, visited Fort Snelling in June, 1838, just a year previous to that under discussion, and he refers in a more kindly tone to these very people:

The French Canadians, who are here employed by the Fur Company, are a strange set of people. There is no law here, or appeal

in the *Wahrheits-Freund*, September 5, 1839, contains the following statement: "There arrived unexpectedly a number of families from the region of the Red River, which lies still 450 miles beyond St. Peter's. Their intention was to look for land and above all for a Catholic church. Their joy was beyond expression when just here by chance they met a Bishop. These also decided to settle in that place especially since the country suited them and since the Bishop had promised them to station a priest there and to build a church; so that by next summer about one hundred additional families are to come down and settle either at St. Peter's or near lakes Pepin and St. Croix." In addition to these people and the settlers, there must have been many Catholic soldiers at Fort Snelling. For the most part only Irish and German names are contained in the American Fur Company ledger of Company I, Fort Snelling, for 1837-39, in the Sibley Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

¹⁴ Edward D. Neill, "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 142; Neill, *Minnesota*, 459.

to law; yet they submit to authority, and are managed with very little trouble. They bind themselves for three years, and during that time . . . they work diligently and faithfully; ready at all seasons and at all hours, and never complaining, although the work is often extremely hard. Occasionally they return to Canada with their earnings, but the major part have connected themselves with Indian women, and have numerous families; for children in this fine climate are so numerous, that they almost appear to spring from the earth.¹⁵

A number of those whose names are on the bishop's list signed a memorial sent to the president of the United States on August 16, 1837. It was a petition for restitution to be made to the signers if the lands on which they were settled between the Falls of St. Anthony and the mouth of the Minnesota River were to be taken for the military reservation, and bears among others the following names: Louis Massey (2), Peter Quinn (3), Antoine Pappan (25), Duncan Graham (43), Oliver Cratte (15), and Joseph Reasch (4).¹⁶

Of the names mentioned by Bishop Loras a considerable number can be identified. The largest family is that of Scott Campbell; it includes his wife and seven children. Not only in these lists, but in his subsequent letters, Bishop Loras insists upon calling this family Scott instead of Campbell. It was with Scott Campbell that the bishop stayed during his visit, for he writes of "the house in which Mr. Scott had afforded me and Mr. Pelamourgues the most generous hospitality." He also records that "The wife of our host, who had already received some religious instruction, was baptized and

¹⁵ Captain Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America, With Remarks on Its Institutions*, 2: 98 (London, 1839). In his letter of July, 1839, Bishop Loras writes of the Indian women and their families: "We baptize a great number of children, and find the women favourably disposed towards religion. I have many of them at present under instruction, who are married to Canadians and Irishmen, and am preparing them to receive, on Sunday next, the sacrament of the Eucharist and confirmation." *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 3: 345.

¹⁶ *Sale of Fort Snelling Reservation*, 14; Williams, *Saint Paul*, 60. The numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers of the entries in which the names occur on Bishop Loras' list.

confirmed; she subsequently received the sacrament of matrimony and made her first communion.”¹⁷ Campbell's wife was one of the four married women baptized. That a warm friendship must have sprung up between the gentle bishop and the hardy Scotch-Sioux interpreter can be gleaned from what Father Galtier, the builder of the chapel of St. Paul for which the city was named, wrote later: “I introduced myself to Mr. Campbell, a Scotch gentleman, the Indian interpreter, to whom I was recommended by the Bishop. At his house I received a kind welcome from his good Christian wife, a charitable, Catholic woman. For about a month I remained there as one of the family.”¹⁸

Scott Campbell was born at Prairie du Chien in 1790, the half-breed son of Archibald Campbell, an Ulsterman, who after coming to America became a trader “between Mackinaw and the Mississippi.” Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent at St. Peter's, refers to “Scott Campbell, the United States interpreter, a man of great worth and efficiency, a true friend to the Americans.”¹⁹ Two years before Bishop Loras' visit Scott Campbell had gone to Washington. In the rôle of interpreter he had accompanied Major Taliaferro, twenty chiefs and braves, and representatives of the fur companies, who went by direction of Governor Dodge to make a treaty ceding Indian lands east of the Mississippi. Campbell “was in the employ, at various times, of Frank. Steele, N. W. Kitt-

¹⁷ Bishop Loras to his sister, July 26, 1839, and extracts from another letter written in July, 1839, in *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 3: 339, 343.

¹⁸ Quoted by Ambrose McNulty, in “The Chapel of St. Paul, the Cradle of the Catholic Church in Minnesota,” in *Acta et Dicta*, 1: 64 (St. Paul, 1907).

¹⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9: 464; “Auto-biography of Maj. Lawrence Taliaferro,” in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6: 224; Williams, *Saint Paul*, 57, 134. The latter author states that Scott Campbell was a son of Colin Campbell, a well-known Scotch trader. Colin, however, was also a son of Archibald Campbell and a brother of Scott and Duncan. A good sketch of Campbell appears in Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling*, 71.

son, and others. After quitting the Indian agency at the fort, he came to Saint Paul, and bought a small claim of Dennis Cherrier, say running from Wabasha to Saint Peter streets, and back two or three blocks." He died in 1850 on his claim on the St. Anthony road in destitute circumstances. His wife, Margaret Campbell, according to some writers, was a Menominee half-breed.²⁰ She is forty-second on the list of Bishop Loras, who states, however, that she was "in the tribe of the Sioux."

Louis Massy, or Massie (2), was one of the earliest settlers of the territory; in 1830 he was employed by Major Taliaferro. In October of that year he was paid fourteen dollars for "his services as an Express [*messenger*] to the Chippeways of the St^t Croix, for fourteen days." Later Sibley hired him to carry mail between St. Peter's "and the house of Augustin Rock below Lac Pepin" for \$275 a year. Massy is listed as a resident of St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, in the census of 1840.²¹

Oliver Cratte, or Cray (15), according to the census of 1840, resided in the "Lake Peapan Precinct." As early as 1829 he was "Armourer for the Agency at St^t Peters" at a

²⁰ Williams, *Saint Paul*, 57, 134; Taliaferro Journals, July 29, 1839. Williams gives sketches of Campbell's five sons, Baptiste (28), Hypolite (38), Scott, Jr. (39), Joseph (40), and John L. (29). According to the baptismal list, Bishop Loras gave to Scott Campbell, Jr., his own name, Mathias. Joseph was another member of the Campbell family to become an interpreter, according to Thomas Teakle, *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, 252, 256 (Iowa City, Iowa, 1918).

²¹ Abstract of payments made between October 1 and December 31, 1830, in Taliaferro Account Book, 1830-34; agreement between H. H. Sibley and Louis Massey, June 23, 1837, Sibley Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; population schedule, census of St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, 1840. These unpublished schedules and those for Clayton County, Iowa Territory, cited below, are in the archives of the census bureau of the department of commerce, Washington, D. C.; photostatic copies are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

salary of \$360 a year, which in later years was raised to \$600, a splendid wage at that time.²²

Antoine Pepin, or Papin (25), was a Canadian who had lived on the Red River for several years. He came to southern Minnesota around 1831, as about that time he was appointed blacksmith to the Sioux by Major Taliaferro, who described him as "a faithful man hardworking and honest." Pepin is said to have worked until his hands were swollen and blistered, making traps for poor Indians who were unable to buy them. In 1836 he settled at Mendota and later at St. Paul. Oliver Cratte was appointed in the same year to succeed Pepin because it was found necessary to have someone who could repair guns and Pepin did not understand that craft. On July 10, 1839, however, — as it happened, the very day after Bishop Loras' departure, — Pepin was nominated as smith to the Sioux to succeed Cratte, who was transferred.²³

Since there was no minister in the country, Major Taliaferro frequently "officiated as justice of the peace, and united many." Among those he married were Oliver Cratte and James Wells to daughters of Duncan Graham (43).²⁴ The latter was one of the most remarkable persons on the list of Bishop Loras, who refers to him as Dom. Etienne Graham. He was born in the highlands of Scotland, and came from a good family. His wife was a half-breed Sioux woman, and by her he had four daughters and one son, Alexander (43), who was almost eighteen years of age when Bishop Loras baptized him. Graham was one of the first white men to visit Devil's Lake, North Dakota, an island of which was named

²² Taliaferro Account Book, 1830-34, June 30, 1829; Taliaferro Journals, September 31, 1836; March 31, 1837; population schedule, census of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, 1840.

²³ Williams, *Saint Paul*, 137; Taliaferro to Governor Robert Lucas, July 10, 1839, Taliaferro Letter Book, B. Pepin's name is spelled "Pappan" in the population schedule, census of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, 1840.

²⁴ Taliaferro, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6:235.

for him. He was a well-known trader in the early days and had been on the St. Peter's River as early as 1802. On the side of the British, Graham fought in several campaigns in the War of 1812. He distinguished himself on September 6, 1814, by driving back Major Zachary Taylor in the battle at Credit Island in the Mississippi opposite Davenport. At that time he was a lieutenant in command of a three pounder and two swivels, with a number of Indian auxiliaries serving under him. He was cited for meritorious conduct in this affair, and later was promoted to a captaincy because of his victory. He was granted extensive lands in Canada by the British government for his services, but never realized anything because of litigation. As a result of Graham's military activities on behalf of England, he was proscribed the country after the war by the American authorities, but later he was permitted to join his family "in the Indian country" within the present state of Minnesota. Sibley asserts that Graham became an American citizen after the war. At Prairie du Chien he was highly respected, and it is evident that he was extremely well thought of by the officers at the Fort Snelling post.²⁵

Peter Vasseur (52) appears as Peter Vassor of St. Peter's Precinct in the census of 1840. At this time he was a man of some distinction in the community for he was occasionally referred to as "Pierre Vassieur Esq^r." When a young man he served at Prairie du Chien with the English against the Americans in the War of 1812. At one time in 1814 at Fort Crawford he had used mutinous language, and had been arrested and punished by eight days' confinement in the guard-house.²⁶

²⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9: 228, 299, 464; 13: 19; Taliaferro, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6: 247, 248; Bruce Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier*, 60 (Iowa City, Iowa, 1926).

²⁶ Population schedule, census of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, 1840; American Fur Company, Citizens' Ledger, Fort Snelling, 1837-39, p. 10, Sibley Papers; "Capt. T. G. Anderson's Journal, 1814," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9: 241, 242.

Joseph Rondeau, or Rondo (23), left the Red River colony in 1835. He is called Joseph Rodone of St. Peter's Precinct in the Clayton County, Iowa, census of 1840, and Joseph Rondoe in that for St. Croix County, Wisconsin. He was born in 1797 near Montreal, Canada. When seventeen or eighteen years of age, he was engaged as a *voyageur* by the Hudson's Bay Company and was sent to the Pacific coast. He married Josephine Beaulieu (23), a Kutenai mixed blood, and later settled near Fort Snelling. He was one of those ejected from the military reserve in 1840, and thereupon he settled on the present site of St. Paul.²⁷

Michel Leclaire (47), who came from Canada, had been settled at the Grand Marais long before others came from the military reserve. In fact, it is probable that he was the first settler on the site of St. Paul. Shortly after his arrival this locality was known along the river as Pointe Leclaire, the Americans later dubbing it "Le Clere's." Leclaire appears as Michel LeClear in the Clayton County, Iowa, census of 1840, and as Michael Le Claire in that for St. Croix County, Wisconsin. He seems to have worked as a carpenter, for he built a house for Alexander Faribault in 1836.²⁸

Peter Quinn, or Quin (3), was also known as Patrick Quinn; he is listed as Patric Queen on the rolls of the 1840 census. That the same person is meant is clear from Major Taliaferro's journals and letters, in which the Indian agent refers to him sometimes as Peter and sometimes as Patrick. In 1836 he was acting as "occasional" interpreter for the Chippewa at the agency, and just before Bishop Loras' visit

²⁷ Williams, *Saint Paul*, 104; population schedules, censuses of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, and St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, 1840. It is interesting to note that Rondo and Leclaire, and a number of persons who are not mentioned by Bishop Loras, are included in the populations of both Wisconsin and Iowa territories in the 1840 census.

²⁸ Williams, *Saint Paul*, 87; population schedules, censuses of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, and St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, 1840; agreement between Alexander Faribault and Michel Leclaire, September 21, 1836, Sibley Papers.

he was employed as messenger to the Chippewa. About this time he was also appointed farmer for Good Road's Indians.²⁹

Edmond Brisset, or Edmund Brisett (35), was a young Canadian who had come to Fort Snelling in 1832 and was employed in doing odd jobs of carpentering there.³⁰

Olivier Rossico's (31) name was misspelled more frequently, it seems, than that of any other person at St. Peter's. He was known as Resico, Racciott, Ruscicot, and Rosseau. In the census of 1840 he appears as Oliver Racicot. He was working for Sibley at St. Peter's in 1835, and in 1838 he was a smith for the Indians under the treaty of 1837. He later signed the petition to President Polk requesting the early organization of the Territory of Minnesota.³¹ On the bishop's list, his wife is mentioned as Madelaine Campbell (31) — probably she was a sister of Scott Campbell.

Louis Martin (33); according to the 1840 census, lived "25 Miles up the St Peter." He was employed by Sibley in 1836. In 1839 Major Taliaferro wrote: "I find it hard to get an American Farmer for Black Dogs Band — Louis Martin will no doubt have to be taken — as many seem ill disposed among our own Citizens to be *Indian slaves*." But later on in the same year Martin was a farmer for Grey Iron's band on the reservation.³² Ouanino (33), the Sioux mother of Louis Martin's children, has her name spelled "Ouinano" in two other entries (34 and 35).

Geneviève Choret (24) was doubtless related to "old man" Chorette, a Canadian who had formerly lived in the Red River colony, and had settled near Fort Snelling in 1835.³³

²⁹ Population schedule, census of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, 1840; Taliaferro Journals, September 30, 1836; June 8, 13, 17, 1839.

³⁰ Williams, *Saint Paul*, 85.

³¹ Population schedule, census of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, 1840; fur-trade license, September 30, 1835, Sibley Papers; Taliaferro Journals, October 14, 1838; Williams, *Saint Paul*, 182.

³² Population schedule, census of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, 1840; fur-trade license, December 14, 1836, Sibley Papers; Taliaferro Journals, June 16, August 14, 1839.

³³ Williams, *Saint Paul*, 62.

Joseph Rêché, or Reasch (4), is listed as Joseph Raysh in the 1840 census. He was blacksmith's assistant to the Sioux at the agency as early as 1835 at a salary of twenty dollars a month.³⁴

Françoise Boutinot (11) was in all probability a member of the Bottineau family. Françoise probably was a kinswoman of Pierre Bottineau, who at this time was at St. Peter's.

Louis Dejarlat, or Dejarlais (19), is referred to in earlier years as a hunter, but in October, 1838, seems to have been employed by the St. Croix Lumber Company. At one place in his journal the Indian agent records: "Dejerlis, the mail carrier left this morning with the mail for Prairie du Chien."³⁵

The name of Joseph Monjeau (53), the father of the four half-breed Sioux children baptized by Bishop Loras at St. Croix, appears frequently in Sibley's day book of 1839. In fact, on July 8, the day before the bishop's departure, he purchased goods at the fur company's store, and it is probable that he met the bishop on this occasion and induced him to stop off at St. Croix.³⁶

Amable Morin (53), who stood as godfather to the Monjeau children, was one of the early settlers of the Grand Marais and in 1876 he was still living at Wheatland, Rice County. In his younger years he had been employed by Charles Cottrel near St. Peter's.³⁷

Baptiste Latourelle (47) and his wife Charlotte Latourelle (35) were at St. Peter's on the occasion of Bishop Loras' visit not as residents, but as strangers. They brought with them

³⁴ Population schedule, census of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, 1840; Taliaferro Journals, June 30, 1835.

³⁵ Joseph R. Brown to Sibley, May 6, 1836, Sibley Papers; American Fur Company, Citizens' Ledger, Fort Snelling, 1837-39, p. 73, Sibley Papers; Taliaferro Journals, July 17, 1838.

³⁶ American Fur Company, Day Book, New Hope, July 8, 1839, Sibley Papers; population schedule, census of St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, 1840.

³⁷ Agreement of C. A. Cottrel and Amable Morin, May 11, 1836, Sibley Papers; Williams, *Saint Paul*, 86, 88.

a petition claiming a share of the government funds set aside for the half-breed Sioux by the treaty of 1837. Mrs. Latourelle had been Charlotte Masello, a half-breed Mdewakanton Sioux. Writes Major Taliaferro:

J. B. Latourelle calls at the office with a letter from Genl. Jones of Wisconsin, enclosing one from the office of Indian Affairs, on the claims of his wife as a half breed Sioux to a portion of the Annuity.

It is unfortunate for this family that their claims had not been presented in Sept last, when they might have received shares of the sum of 110,000 \$, set apart by the Sioux in their Treaty of 1837, for the *half breeds* of their Nation. They might then have gotten at least \$3,000, being *six* in family. This opportunity not having been embraced I see no mode left by which I can succor this large & *helpless family*.³⁸

In the manuscript baptismal records of the Roman Catholic Cathedral residence of St. Paul is an entry of the baptism by Father Ravoux of a child of Martin McLeod which names "Mme Louise Queen née Phenly" as godmother. In all probability she is the Louise Quinn (1) mentioned frequently in Bishop Loras' list. If her maiden name was Phenly, as Father Ravoux states, and not Boucher, as the bishop wrote in one place (3), it will be fairly safe to assume that Father Ravoux' is a phonetic spelling of Finley. There were several Finleys at St. Peter's at this time; a man named Finley had a ferry house and home there.³⁹

In the ledgers and day books of the American Fur Company appear at frequent intervals from 1835 to 1845 the following names:⁴⁰ Benjamin Dionn (24), spelled Benjamin Dyonne; Baptiste Crédite (33), spelled Jno. Bapt. Credit; Thomas Leblanc (41), spelled Thomas La blanc; Peter Boucher (2);

³⁸ Taliaferro to General G. W. Jones, June 17, 1839, Taliaferro Letter Book, B; Taliaferro Journals, June 10, 1839.

³⁹ Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling*, 81. For the entry in the baptismal record, see *ante*, 4: 432 n.

⁴⁰ Sibley Papers, McLeod Papers, Bailly Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Louis Brunelle, Sr. (8); and the family name of Ducharme (23).

Julie Ducharme was the wife of Baptiste Cornic (23). Later this couple seems to have lived at Dubuque at least for a time, for on October 28, 1839, at that place Bishop Loras baptized George Cornique, "ligitimate son of J. B. Cornique and Julie Ducharme C.," born on October 27, 1839.⁴¹

Charlotte Frenière (29) probably was related to François Freniere, who worked for the American Fur Company around St. Peter's in 1819 and the following years. Like Graham, Vasseur, and others he served with the British at Prairie du Chien in the War of 1812, and he was associated in the fur trade with Duncan and Scott Campbell. This may explain why Charlotte Frenière stood as godmother to one of Scott Campbell's children.⁴²

Charles Landry (32) was living in St. Paul in 1850 as Charles Landres.⁴³

Emilié Hooe, godmother of three of the Campbells (39, 41, 42), was a distinguished woman. She was the daughter of Joseph Rolette, a prominent trader of Prairie du Chien and a man of great power in the region of the upper Mississippi. Emilié was the wife of Captain Alexander S. Hooe, of an old Virginia family, who at this time was stationed at Fort Snelling, and who later had charge for a short interval of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. As a major, he fought gallantly in the Mexican War, lost an arm at the battle of Resaca de la Palma, and died of wounds at Baton Rouge in

⁴¹ Baptismal Register, St. Raphael Cathedral, Dubuque. It is interesting to note in connection with the baptism of Marguerite Metivier (52), with Julie Ducharme as her godmother, that in the "Mackinac Register," the volume containing records of the births, marriages, and interments at the old trading post of Mackinac from 1741 to 1821, there are mentioned many Metiviers and Ducharmes. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19: 53, 55.

⁴² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9: 262, 264; 12: 160; 20: 118; Grace L. Nute, ed., "The Diary of Martin McLeod," *ante*, 4: 420.

⁴³ Williams, *Saint Paul*, 268.

1847. His wife, a much traveled and cultured woman, remained for some time at Prairie du Chien, where she became United States agent for Fort Crawford and performed splendid service for the government. In her later years she resided in the city of Washington.⁴⁴

It appears from Major Taliaferro's journal that Mary Ann Sibley, whose name is on the list of those confirmed by Bishop Loras, was a visitor at St. Peter's in June, 1838, in company with Captain Hooe's sister. As Lieutenant C. C. Sibley came to Fort Snelling shortly after Mary Ann's confirmation, and as he and Captain Hooe were fellow officers not only here but at Fort Crawford, it would seem probable that Mary Ann was Lieutenant Sibley's kinswoman. She was not related to Henry H. Sibley. Lieutenant Sibley later became a general in the Confederate army during the Civil War.⁴⁵

It is of interest to note here that when Father Galtier arrived at St. Peter's in the spring of 1840, he found a number of those on the bishop's baptismal list as his first parishioners. "On the Fort Snelling side," he writes, "I had under my charge besides some soldiers six families — Resche, Papin, Quinn, Campbell, Bruce, and Resico; and on the St. Peter side, besides some unmarried men in the employ of the company, five families — Faribault, Martin, Lord, and two Turpins."⁴⁶

Of the others on the bishop's list, many seem to have faded into the dim and shadowy past. But the names, embalmed for posterity by the ink of Bishop Loras' old-fashioned quill pen, are of those who "became the inglorious founders of a

⁴⁴ Captain Hooe's name appears frequently in the ledgers and day books of the American Fur Company from 1837 to 1839, in the Sibley Papers. Taliaferro refers to him several times, for example in his journal for September 24, 1839: "Capt. Hooe of the 5th leaves for Prairie du Chien with Norman the mail carrier in a Bark Canoe." See also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 5:278; 9:465; Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford*, 219, 269-274.

⁴⁵ Taliaferro Journals, June 13, 1838; Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford*, 219; Neill, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2:139.

⁴⁶ Father Galtier is quoted by McNulty, in *Acta et Dicta*, 1:64.

hamlet" that developed into the metropolis of St. Paul. It was Bishop Loras' visit in 1839 that resulted in Father Galtier's arrival the next spring; that resulted in the erection of the chapel of St. Paul, the nucleus of the future city; and that thus resulted in the naming of the capital of Minnesota. To this really historical visit, Major Taliaferro made two simple references; one shortly after the arrival: "*Bishop Loras* applies for permission to erect a small church near the Agency for Catholic worship. I refer him to the com[mandin]g officer"; and one at the time of the departure: "The *Bishop Loras*, his Preest, leave on tomorrow for Dubuccque. I gave my Reports of the Chippewa & Sioux difficulties to him for *Governor Lucas* — Letters — three by him."⁴⁷

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⁴⁷ McNulty, in *Acta et Dicta*, 1: 63, 65, 67; Taliaferro Journals, June 30, July 8, 1839.



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