IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)

1.0 1.1 1.25 1.4 1.6 1.8 2.0 2.2 2.5 2.8 3.2 3.6 4.0

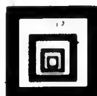
6"

Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.

CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1986

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- [ ] Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/ Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations/ Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [ ] Bound with other material/ Relié avec d'autres documents
- [ ] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/ La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/ Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- [x] Additional comments:/ Commentaires supplémentaires:

IRREGULAR PAGINATION: [49] – 239, 4.

- [ ] Coloured pages/ Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged/ Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated/ Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/ Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [ ] Pages detached/ Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough/ Transparence
- [ ] Quality of print varies/ Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [x] Includes supplementary material/ Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- [ ] Only edition available/ Seule édition disponible
- [ ] Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/ Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
					✓						

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

Metropolitan Toronto Library
History Department

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol —► (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ▼ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

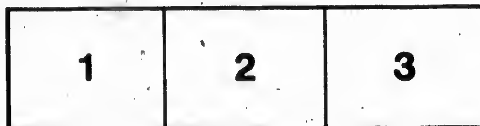
Metropolitan Toronto Library
History Department

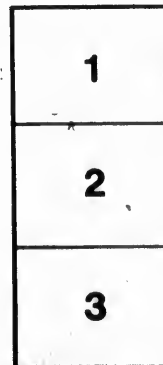
Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole —► signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▼ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.





DAHKOTAH LAND

AND

DAHKOTAH LIFE,

WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE FUR TRADERS OF THE EXTREME NORTHWEST

DURING THE

FRENCH AND BRITISH DOMINIONS.

By EDW. D. NEILL,
SECRETARY OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"Nearer, and ever nearer, among the numberless islands
Darted a light, swift boat, that sped away o'er the water,
Urged on its course by the sinewy arms of hunters and trappers;
Northward its prow was turned, to the land of the bison and beaver."
LONGFELLOW'S EVANGELINE

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
CHICAGO: S. C. GRIGGS & CO.
AND BOOKSELLERS GENERALLY.
1859.

128420

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1858, by
EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

MEARS & DUSENBERY, STEREOTYPERS.

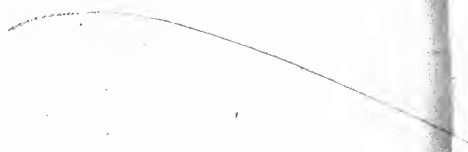
1858, by

ct of Pennsylvania.

THE following pages form the first part of "NEILL'S HISTORY OF MINNESOTA, from the Earliest Exploration to the Present Time."

The entire work makes an octavo of 628 pages. Printed on fine paper, and bound in muslin. Price per copy, $2 50.

Published by J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia; and for sale by S. C. GRIGGS & Co., Chicago; and BOOKSELLERS generally.



DAKOTAH LAND

AND

DAKOTAH LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

MINNESOTA is the "land of the Dahkotahs." Long before their existence was known to civilized men, they wandered through the forests, between Lake Superior and the Mississippi, in quest of the bounding deer, and over the prairies beyond in search of the ponderous buffalo.

They are an entirely different group from the Algonquin and Iroquois, who were found by the early settlers of the Atlantic States, on the banks of the Connecticut, Mohawk, and Susquehanna rivers. Their language is much more difficult to comprehend; and, while they have many customs in common with the tribes who once dwelt in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, they have peculiarities which mark them as belonging to a distinct family of the aborigines of America.

Winona, Wapashaw, Mendota, Anoka, Kasota, Mahkahto, and other names designating the towns, hamlets, and streams of Minnesota, are words derived from the Dahkotah vocabulary.

Between the head of Lake Superior and the Missis-

sippi river, above the Falls of Saint Anthony, is a country of many lakes. So numerous are they, and interlaced by clear and sparkling brooks, to an aeronaut they would appear like a necklace of diamonds, on silver filaments, gracefully thrown upon the bosom of Earth.

Surrounded by forests of the sugar maple—the neighbouring marshes fertile in the growth of wild rice—the waters abounding in fish—the shores once alive with the beaver, the otter, the bear, and the fox—they were sites just adapted for the residence of an Indian population.

When the Dahkotahs were first noticed by the European adventurer, large numbers were occupying this region of country, and appropriately called by the voyageur, "People of the Lakes."[1] And tradition, asserts that here, was the ancient centre of this tribe. Though we have traces of their warring and hunting on the shores of Lake Superior, there is no satisfactory evidence of their residence, east of the Mille Lac region.[2]

The word Dahkotah, by which they love to be designated, signifies allied or joined together in friendly compact, and is equivalent to "E pluribus unum," the motto on the seal of the United States.

In the history of the mission at La Pointe, Wisconsin, published nearly two centuries ago, a writer, referring to the Dahkotahs, remarks:—

"For sixty leagues from the extremity of the Upper Lake, toward sunset; and, as it were in the centre of the western nations, they have all *united their force by a general league.*"

[1] Gens du Lac.

[2] They have no name for Lake Superior.—G. H. Pond, in "*Dahkotah Tawaxitku Kin.*"

The Dahkotahs in the earliest documents, and even until the present day, are called Sioux, Scioux, or Soos. The name originated with the early "voyageurs." For centuries the Ojibways of Lake Superior waged war against the Dahkotahs; and, whenever they spoke of them, called them Nadowaysioux, which signifies enemies.

The French traders, to avoid exciting the attention of Indians, while conversing in their presence, were accustomed to designate them by names, which would not be recognised.

The Dahkotahs were nicknamed Sioux, a word composed, of the two last syllables, of the Ojibway word, for foes.

Charlevoix, who visited Wisconsin in 1721, in his history of New France says: "The name of Sioux, that we give to these Indians, is entirely of our own making, or rather it is the last two syllables of the name of Nadouessioux, as many nations call them."

From an early period, there have been three great divisions of this people, which have been subdivided into smaller bands. The first are called the Isanyati, the Issati of Hennepin, after one of the many lakes at the head waters of the river, marked on modern maps, by the unpoetic name of Rum. It is asserted by Dahkotah missionaries now living, that this name was given to the lake because the stone from which they manufactured the knife (isan) was here obtained. The principal band of the Isanti was the M'dewakantonwan.[1] In the journal of Le Sueur, they are spoken of as residing on a lake east of the Mississippi. Tra-

[1] Pronounced as if written Medday-wawkawn-twawn.

dition says that it was a day's walk from Isantamde or Knife Lake.

On a map prepared in Paris in 1703, Rum River is called the river of the M'dewakantonwans, and the Spirit Lake on which they dwelt, was, without doubt, Mille Lac of modern charts.

The second great division is the IHANKTONWAN, commonly called YANKTON. They appear to have occupied the region west of the M'dewakantonwan, and north of the Minnesota river. The geographer De Lisle places their early residence in the vicinity of Traverse des Sioux, extending northward.

The last division, the TITONWAN, hunted west of the Ihanktons, and all the early maps mark their villages at Lac-qui-parle and Big Stone Lake.

Hennepin, in August, 1679, in the vicinity of the Falls of Niagara, met the Senecas returning from war with the Dahkotahs, and with them some captive Tintonwans (Teetwawns).

This division is now the most numerous, and comprises about one-half of the whole nation. They have wandered to the plains beyond the Missouri, and are the plundering Arabs of America. Whenever they appear in sight of the emigrant train, journeying to the Pacific coast, the hearts of the company are filled with painful apprehensions.

North of the Dahkotahs, on Lake of the Woods and the watercourses connecting it with Lake Superior, were the Assiniboine. These were once a portion of the nation. Before the other divisions of the Dahkotahs had traded with the French, they had borne their peltries to the English post, Fort Nelson, on Hudson's Bay, and had received in return British manufactures. By

association with the English, they learned to look upon the French with distrust, and in time to be hostile towards those who had formed alliances with the French.

Le Sueur writes, in relation to their separation from the rest of the nation, in these words:—

"The Assinipoils speak Scioux, and are certainly of that nation. It is *only a few years* since they became enemies. It thus originated: The Christianaux having the use of arms before the Scioux, through the English at Hudson's Bay, they constantly warred upon the Asssinipoils, who were their nearest neighbours. The latter being weak sued for peace, and, to render it more lasting, married the Christianaux women. The other Scioux, who had not made the compact, continued to war, and seeing some Christianaux with the Assinipoils, broke their heads." After this there was alienation. A letter, however, written at Fort Bourbon, on Hudson's Bay, about 1695, remarks: "It is said that the Assiniboins are a nation of the Sioux, which separated from them *a long time ago*."

The Dahkotahs call these alienated tribes Hohays, and make woman the cause of the separation. They are said to have belonged to the Ihanktonwan (Yankton) division of the nation. A quarrel, tradition asserts, occurred between two families hunting at the time in the vicinity of Lake Traverse. A young man seduced the wife of one of the warriors. The injured husband, in attempting to rescue his wife, was killed in the tent of the seducer. His father and some relatives wanted to secure the corpse. On the road, they were met, by some of the friends of the guilty youth, and three of their number were killed. The father then turned back

and raised a party of sixty warriors, who waged war against the seducer and his friends, which continued until the whole band were involved, and ended in a revolt upon the part of the aggressor and his friends, who in time became a separate people.

In the valleys of the Blue Earth, the Des Moines, and the eastern tributaries of the Missouri, within the limits of the territory of Minnesota, there also dwelt in ancient days bands of the Ioways, Ottoes, Cheyennes, Aricarees, and Omahaws, who sought other hunting-grounds as the Dahkotahs advanced westward.

The Dahkotahs, like all ignorant and barbarous people, have but little reflection beyond that necessary to gratify the pleasure of revenge and of the appetite.

It would be strange to find heroes among skulking savages, or maidens like "Minnehaha" of the poet, among those whose virtue can be easily purchased. While there are exceptions, the general characteristics of the Dahkotahs, and all Indians, are indolence, impurity, and indifference to the future.

The religion of this people is exceedingly indistinct, and with reluctance do they converse on the subject. That a nation so low in the scale of humanity should have preserved the idea of one great spirit, the father of all spirits, the supreme and most perfect of beings, is not to be supposed. To attribute to them more elevated conceptions than those of the cultivated Athenians, is perfect absurdity. The Dahkotahs, in their religious belief, are polytheists. The hunter, as he passes over the plains, finds a granite boulder: he stops and prays to it, for it is "*Wawkawn*"—mysterious or supernatural. At another time, he will pray to his dog; and at another time, to the sun, moon, or stars.

In every leaf, in every stone, in every shrub, there is a spirit. It may be said of them, as Cotton Mather said of the Massachusetts Indians, in his Life of Eliot: "All the religion they have amounts to thus much: they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world. They believe that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within or about it; there is with them a sun god or a moon god and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the fire must be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour or anger of a god expressed in it."

The Dahkotahs have greater and minor deities, and they are supposed to multiply as men and animals, and the superior to have power to exterminate the inferior.

The Jupiter Maximus of the Dahkotahs is styled Oanktayhee. As the ancient Hebrews avoided speaking the name of Jehovah, so they dislike to speak the name of this deity, but call him "Taku-wakan," or "That which is supernatural." This mighty god manifests himself as a large ox. His eyes are as large as the moon. He can haul in his horns and tail, or he can lengthen them, as he pleases. From him proceed invisible influences. In his extremities reside mighty powers.

He is said to have created the earth. Assembling in grand conclave all of the aquatic tribes, he ordered them to bring up dirt from beneath the water, and proclaimed death to the disobedient. The beaver and others forfeited their lives. At last the muskrat went beneath the waters, and, after a long time, appeared at the surface nearly exhausted, with some dirt. From this,

Oanktayhee fashioned the earth into a large circular plain.

The earth being finished, he took a deity, one of his own offspring, and grinding him to powder, sprinkled it upon the earth, and this produced many worms. The worms were then collected and scattered again. They matured into infants; and these were then collected and scattered and became full-grown Dahkotahs.

The bones of the mastodon, the Dahkotahs think, are those of Oanktayhee, and they preserve them with the greatest care in the medicine bag. It is the belief of the Dahkotahs that the Rev. R. Hopkins, who was drowned at Traverse des Sioux, on July 4th, 1851, was killed by Oanktayhee, who dwells in the waters, because he had preached against him.

This deity is supposed to have a dwelling-place beneath the Falls of Saint Anthony. A few years ago, by the sudden breaking up of a gorge of ice, a cabin near Fort Snelling, containing a soldier, was swept off by the flood. The Dahkotahs supposed that this great god was descending the river at the time, and, being hungry, devoured the man.

HAY-O-KAH (*the anti-natural god*).—There are four persons in this godhead. The *first* appears like a tall and slender man with two faces, like the Janus of ancient mythology. Apollo-like, he holds a bow in his hand streaked with red lightning, also a rattle of deer claws. The *second* is a little old man with a cocked hat and enormous ears, holding a yellow bow. The *third*, a man with a flute suspended from his neck. The *fourth* is invisible and mysterious, and is the gentle zephyr which bends the grass and causes the ripple of the water.

Hayokah is a perfect paradox. He calls bitter sweet,

and sweet bitter; he groans when he is full of joy; he laughs when he is in distress; he calls black, white, and white, black; when he wishes to tell the truth he speaks a lie, and when he desires to lie, he speaks the truth; in winter he goes naked, and in summer he wraps up in buffalo robes. The little hills on the prairies are called Hay-o-kah-tee, or the house of Hay-o-kah. Those whom he inspires, can make the winds blow and the rain fall, the grass to grow and wither.

There is said to exist a clan who especially adore this deity, and at times dance in his honour. At dawn of day they assemble within a tēēpēē, in the centre of which is a fire, over which are suspended kettles. With cone-shaped hats and ear-rings, both made of bark, and loins girded with the same material, they look like incarnate demons. On their hats are zigzag streaks of paint—representations of lightning.

The company remain seated and smoking around the fire, until the water in the kettle begins to boil, which is a signal for the commencement of the dance. The excitement now becomes intense. They jump, shout, and sing around the fire, and at last plunge their hands into the cauldron, seize and eat the boiled meat. Then they throw the scalding water, on each others backs, the sufferers never wincing, but insisting that it is cold.

TAKU-SHKAN-SHKAN.—This deity is supposed to be invisible, yet everywhere present. He is full of revenge, exceedingly wrathful, very deceitful, and a searcher of hearts. His favourite haunts are the four winds, and the granite boulders strewn on the plains of Minnesota. He is never so happy as when he beholds scalps, warm and reeking with blood.

The object of that strange ceremony of the Dahko-

tahs, in which the performer being bound hand and foot with the greatest care, is suddenly unbound by an invisible agent, is to obtain an interview with Taku-shkanshkan.

The name of another one of the superior divinities is Wahkeenyan. His tēēpēē is supposed to be on a mound on the top of a high mountain, in the far West. The tēēpēē or tent has four openings, with sentinels clothed in red down. A butterfly is stationed at the east, a bear at the west, a fawn at the south, and a reindeer at the north entrance. He is supposed to be a gigantic bird, the flapping of whose wings makes thunder. He has a bitter enmity against Oanktayhee, and attempts to kill his offspring. The high water a few years ago was supposed to be caused by his shooting through the earth, and allowing the water to flow out. When the lightning strikes their tēēpēēs or the ground, they think that Oanktayhee was near the surface of the earth, and that Wahkeenyan, in great rage, fired a hot thunderbolt at him.

By him wild rice, is said to have been created, also the spear, and tomahawk.

A bird of thunder was once killed, the Indians assert, near Kaposia. Its face resembled the human countenance. Its nose was hooked like the bill of an eagle. Its wings had four joints, and zigzag like the lightning.

About thirty miles from Big Stone Lake, near the head waters of the Minnesota, there are several small lakes bordered with oak-trees. This is the supposed birth-place of the Thunder Bird, and is called the Nest of Thunder. The first step the spirit ever took in this world was equal to that of the hero, in the child's story, who wore seven-league boots, being twenty-five miles in length. A rock is pointed out which has a foot-like

impression, which they say is his track; and the hill is called Thunder Tracks.

A son of Colonel Snelling, the first commander of the fort of that name, in a poem, which is published in Griswold's collection of American poetry, alludes to the foregoing incidents:—

"The moon that night withheld her light.
By fits, instead, a lurid glare
Illumed the skies; while mortal eyes
Were closed, and voices rose in prayer
While the revolving sun
Three times his course might run,
The dreadful darkness lasted;
And all that time the red man's eye
A sleeping spirit might espy,
Upon a tree-top cradled high,
Whose trunk his breath had blasted.
So long he slept, he grew so fast,
Beneath his weight the gnarlèd oak
Snapped, as the tempest snaps the mast:
It fell, and Thunder woke!
The world to its foundation shook,
The grizzly bear his prey forsook,
The scowling heaven an aspect bore
That man had never seen before;
The wolf in terror fled away,
And shone at last the light of day.

"'Twas here he stood; these lakes attest
Where first WAW-KEE-AN's footsteps press'd.
About his burning brow a cloud,
Black as the raven's wing, he wore;
Thick tempests wrapt him like a shroud,
Red lightnings in his hand he bore;
Like two bright suns his eyeballs shone,
His voice was like the cannon's tone;
And, where he breathed, the land became,
Prairie and wood, one sheet of flame.

"Not long upon this mountain height
The first and worst of storms abode,

For, moving in his fearful might,
Abroad the God-begotten strode.
Afar, on yonder faint blue mound,
In the horizon's utmost bound,
At the first stride his foot he set;
The jarring world confessed the shock.
Stranger! the track of Thunder yet
Remains upon the living rock.

"The second step, he gained the sand
On far Superior's storm-beat strand:
Then with his shout the concave rung,
As up to heaven the giant sprung
On high, beside his sire to dwell;
But still, of all the spots on earth,
He loves the woods that gave him birth.—
Such is the tale our fathers tell."

After an individual has dreamed in relation to the sun, there are sacred ceremonies. Two persons are the participants, who assume a peculiar attitude. Almost naked, holding a small whistle in their mouths, they look towards the sun, and dance with a strange and awkward step. One of their interpreters remarks, "The nearest and best comparison I can make of them when worshipping, is a frog held up by the middle with its legs half drawn up."

During the continuance of the ceremony, which may last two or three days, the parties fast.

When a Dahkotah is troubled in spirit, and desires to be delivered from real or imaginary danger, he will select a stone that is round and portable, and, placing it in a spot free from grass and underbrush, he will streak it with red paint, and, offering to it some feathers, he will pray to it for help. The stone, after the ceremony is over, does not appear to be regarded with veneration. If visitors request them, they can be obtained.

CHAPTER II.

In all nations where the masses are unenlightened, their spiritual nature is uncultivated, and they believe whatever a class of men pretending to have authority from the spirit world, may impose upon them. All ignorant communities are superstitious and easily priest-ridden. The early Britons looked upon the Druids, as a supernatural, and wonder-working class, and they fed, and feared them. The Wawkawn, or medicine men, hold the same relation to the Dahkotahs as the Druids to the ancient Britons. They are the most powerful and influential of the tribe. They are looked upon as a species of demi-gods. They assert their origin to be miraculous. At first they are spiritual existences, encased in a seed of some description of a winged nature, like the thistle. Wafted by the breeze to the dwelling-place of the gods, they are received to intimate communion. After being instructed in relation to the mysteries of the spirit world, they go forth to study the character of all tribes. After deciding upon a residence, they enter the body of some one about to become a mother, and are ushered by her into the world. A great majority of the M'dewakantonwans are medicine men.

When an individual desires to belong to this priest-

hood, he is initiated by what is termed a "medicine dance." This dance is said to have been instituted by Oanktayhee, the patron of medicine men. The editor of the "Dahkotah Friend," in a description of this dance, remarks:—

"When a member is to be received into this society, it is his duty, to take the hot bath, four days in succession. In the mean time, some of the *elders* of the society instruct him in the mysteries of the medicine, and Wahmnoo-*h*ah—shell in the throat. He is also provided with a dish (wojute) and spoon. On the side of the dish is sometimes carved the head of some voracious animal, in which resides the spirit of Eeyah (glutton god). This dish is always carried by its owner to the medicine feast, and it is his duty, ordinarily, to eat all which is served up in it. Gray Iron has a dish which was given him at the time of his initiation, on the bottom of which is carved, a bear complete. The candidate is also instructed with what paints, and in what manner, he shall paint himself, which must always be the same, when he appears in the dance. There is supernatural virtue in this paint, and the manner in which it is applied; and those who have not been furnished with a better, by the regular war prophets, wear it into battle, as a life-preserver. The bag contains besides, the claws of animals, with the toanwan of which they can, it is believed, inflict painful diseases and death on whomsoever, and whenever, they desire.

"The candidate being thus duly prepared for initiation, and having made the necessary offerings for the benefit of the institution, on the evening of the day previous to the dance a lodge is prepared, and from ten to twenty of the more substantial members pass the night

in singing, dancing, and feasting. In the morning, the tent is opened for the dance. After a few appropriate ceremonies preliminary to the grand operation, the candidate takes his place on a pile of blankets which he has contributed for the occasion, naked, except the breech-cloth and moccasins, duly painted and prepared for the mysterious operation. An elder having been stationed in the rear of the novice, the master of the ceremonies, with his knee and hip joints bent to an angle of about forty-five degrees, advances, with an unsteady, unnatural step, with his bag in his *hand*, uttering, "*Heen, heen, heen,*" with great energy, and raising the bag near a painted spot on the breast of the candidate, gives the discharge, the person stationed in the rear gives him a push forward at the same instant, and as he falls headlong throws the blankets over him. Then, while the dancers gather around him and chant, the master throws off the covering, and, chewing a piece of the bone of the Oanktay*h*ee, spirts it over him, and he revives, and resumes a sitting posture. All then return to their seats except the master; he approaches, and, making indescribable noises, pats upon the breast of the novice, till the latter, in agonizing throes, heaves up the Wahmnoo-*h*ah or shell, which falls from his mouth upon the bag which had been previously spread before him for that purpose. Life being now completely restored, and with the mysterious shell in his open hand, the new-made member passes around and exhibits it to all the members and to the wondering bystanders, and the ceremonies of initiation are closed. The dance continues, interspersed with shooting each other, rests, smoking, and taking refreshments, till they have jumped to the music of four sets of singers. Be-

sides vocal music, they make use of the drum and the gourd-shell rattle. The following chants, which are used in the dance, will best exhibit the character of this mysterious institution of the Oanktay*h*ee:—

> "Waduta ohna micage.
> Waduta ohna micage.
> Miniyata ite wakan de maqu,
> Tunkanixdan.

> "He created it for me enclosed in red down.
> He created it for me enclosed in red down.
> He in the water with a mysterious visage gave me this,
> My grandfather.

> "Tunkanixdan pejihuta wakan micage,
> He wicake.
> Miniyata oicage wakan kin maqu ye,
> Tunkanixdan ite kin yuwinta wo.
> Wahutopa yuha ite yuwinto wo.

> "My grandfather created for me mysterious medicine,
> That is true.
> The mysterious being in the water gave it to me.
> Stretch out your hand before the face of my grandfather,
> Having a quadruped, stretch out your hand before him."

The medicine pouch is the skin of an otter, fox, or similar animal, containing certain articles which are held sacred.

A warrior leaving his village to hunt, gave his pouch to a friend of the writer, who had dwelt as a missionary among the Dahkotáhs for a score of years. The owner having died, he retained it, and, being at his house one day, it was, at my request, opened. The contents were some dried mud, a dead beetle, a few roots, and a scrap of an old letter, which had probably been picked up about the walls of Fort Snelling.

Where the science of medicine is not understood, the

inhabitants are very superstitious concerning the sick. Those who are prominent in their devotion to the sacred rites of a heathen tribe, generally act as physicians. The Druids of the early Britons performed the duties of doctors, and the conjurers, or medicine men, as they are generally termed, are called to attend the sick Dahkotahs. This tribe of Indians are well acquainted with the bones of the body; but no Dr. Hunter has yet risen among them to explain the circulation of the blood, and therefore they have but a single word for nerves, arteries, and veins. When a young man is sick, he is generally well watched; but old persons, and those that have some deformity, are often neglected. To effect a cure, they often practise what is called steaming. They erect a small tent covered with thick buffalo robes, in which they place some hot stones. Stripping the sick person of his blanket, they place him in the tent. Water is then thrown upon the hot stones, which creates considerable vapour. After the patient has been confined in this close tent for some time, and has perspired profusely, they occasionally take him out and plunge him into the waters of an adjacent river or lake.

This custom is very ancient. One of the first white men who appear to have resided amongst them, was a Franciscan priest, named Hennepin. He was made their prisoner in the year 1680, while travelling on the Mississippi, above the Wisconsin river. The Dahkotahs took him to their villages on the shores of Rum river, at Mille Lac, where he was quartered in a chief's lodge, whose name was Aquipaguetin. The chief observing that Hennepin was much fatigued, ordered an oven to be made, which, to use the words of the Franciscan, "he ordered me to enter, stark naked, with four

savages. The oven was covered with buffalo hides, and in it they placed red-hot flint and other stones. They ordered me to hold my breath as long as I could. As soon as the savages that were with me let go their breath, which they did with a great force, Aquipaguetin began to sing. The others seconded him; and laying their hands on my body began to rub, and at the same time cry bitterly. I was near fainting, and forced to leave the oven. At my coming out, I could scarcely take up my cloak. However, they continued to make me sweat thrice a week, which at last restored me to my former vigour."

When a Dahkotah is very sick, the friends call in a conjurer or medicine man. Before we proceed, it is proper to explain the meaning of the term "medicine man." Anything that is mysterious or wonderful, the Dahkotahs call "Wawkawn." The early explorers and traders in Minnesota were French, and they always call a doctor "medecin." As the Indian doctors are all dealers in mysteries, the word "medicine" has at last obtained a general signification, meaning anything that is mysterious or unaccountable. A "medicine man" means, then, a doctor who calls to his aid charms and incantations. The medicine men are divided into war prophets, and conjurers or doctors.

A Dahkotah, when he is sick, believes that he is possessed by the spirit of some animal, or insect, or enemy. The medicine men, are supposed to have great power of suction in their jaws, by which they can draw out the spirit that afflicts the patient, and thus restore him to health. They are much feared by all the tribe. The doctor is called to see a sick person by sending some one with a present of a horse or blankets, or something as

valuable. The messenger sometimes carries a bell, and rings around the lodge until the conjurer makes his appearance; at other times he bears to the doctor's lodge a lighted pipe, and presenting it to him, places his hands on his head and moans.

"The person sent to call on the doctor, strips himself for running, retaining only his breech cloth, and carrying a bell. He enters the lodge, and without further ceremony, strikes the doctor with his foot, jingles his bell, and suddenly issuing from the lodge, runs with all his might for the sick man's lodge, with the doctor at his heels. If the latter overtakes and kicks him before he reaches the lodge, he does not proceed any further, but returns home. Another person is then despatched, and it is not until one is sent who is too swift for him, that the doctor's services can be secured."

The doctor having entered the tent, without touching the patient, begins to strip himself, leaving nothing upon his body but the breech cloth, and moccasins. Having obtained a sacred rattle, which is nothing more than a dried gourd, filled with a few kernels of corn, or beads, he begins to shake and sing in unearthly monotones. He now gets upon his knees, and, to use a vulgarism, "crawls on all fours," up to his patient. After a few moments we see him rise again retching violently, and picking up a bowl of water thrusts his face therein, and begins to make a gurgling noise. Into this bowl he professes to expectorate the spirit which has incited the disease. The doctor having decided what animal has possessed his patient, he has an image of the animal made out of bark, and placed outside near the tent door in a vessel of water. Mr. Prescott, United States Interpreter of the Dahkotahs, in a communication upon this subject

says: "The animal made of bark is to be shot. Two or three Indians are in waiting, standing near the bowl, with loaded guns, ready to shoot when the conjurer gives the signal. To be sure that the conjuring shall have the desired effect, a woman must stand astride the bowl, when the men fire into it, with her dress raised as high as the knees. The men are instructed how to act by the conjurer; and as soon as he makes his appearance out of doors, they all fire into the bowl, and blow the little bark animal to pieces. The woman steps aside, and the juggler makes a jump at the bowl on his hands and knees, and commences blubbering in the water. While this is going on, the woman has to jump on the juggler's back, and stand there a moment; then she gets off, and as soon as he has finished his incantations, the woman takes him by the hair of his head, and pulls him back into the lodge. If there are any fragments found of the animal that has been shot, they are buried. If this does not cure, a similar ceremony is performed, but some other kind of animal is shaped out."

Among the earliest songs, to which a Dahkotah child listens, are those of war. As soon as he begins to totter about, he carries as a plaything, a miniature bow, and arrow. The first thing he is taught, as great and truly noble, is taking a scalp, and he pants to perform an act, which is so manly. At the age of sixteen, he is often on the war path. When a boy is of the proper age to go to war, he is presented with weapons, or he makes a war club. He then consecrates certain parts of animals, which he vows, not to eat. After he has killed an enemy, he is at liberty, to eat of any one of those portions of an animal, from which he agreed to abstain. If he kills

another person, the prohibition is taken off from another part, until finally he has emancipated himself from his oath, by his bravery. Before young men go out on a war party, they endeavour to propitiate the patron deity by a feast. During the hours of night, they celebrate the "armour feast," which is distinguished by drumming, singing, and agonizing shrieks.

The war prophets or priests, by the narrating of pretended dreams, or by inspiring oratory, incite the tribe against an enemy. If a party are successful in securing scalps, they paint themselves black, and return home in mad triumph. As they approach their village, those who are there run forth to greet them, and strip them of their clothes, and supply them with others. The scalp is very carefully prepared for exhibition, being painted red, and stretched upon a hoop, which is fastened to a pole. If the scalp is from a man, it is decked with an eagle's feather, if from a woman, with a comb. At a scalp dance, which we once attended at Kaposia, the braves stood on one side of the circle, drumming and rattling, and shouting a monotonous song, reminding one of a song of chimney sweeps of a city. The women, standing opposite to the men, advanced and retreated from the men, squeaking in an unearthly manner, a sort of chorus. This is the chief dance, in which the women, engage. If a scalp is taken in summer, they dance until the falling of the leaves; if in winter, until the leaves begin to appear. When the scalp is freshly painted, as it is four times, it is a great occasion. After their mad orgies, have ceased, they burn or bury it. An eagle's feather, with a red spot, in the head of some of those Indians walking through our settlements, is a badge that the possessor has killed a foe. If the feather is

notched and bordered with red, or clipped and topped with red, it signifies that a throat has been cut. The red hand on a blanket, shows that the man has been wounded by an enemy; but the black hand, that he has killed his enemy. The Dahkotahs, like other savages in war, show no sympathy for sex, infancy, or old age. At Pokeguma, the Kaposia band scalped two little girls that attended the mission school; buried a tomahawk in their brains; severed the hands from the bodies; and then set them up in the sand. Mr. Riggs narrates an incident of some of the upper bands of Dahkotahs, pursuing a weak Ojibway mother. To save her life she swam a stream. Half naked she reached the opposite bank, and dropped down, too much exhausted to attempt to proceed. With the delight of demons just let loose from hell, her pursuers came over, stabbed and scalped her. Prematurely, ushering her unborn babe into existence, they dashed its brains out, upon the ground. Returning with a poor, sick mother's scalp, they came home as "conquering heroes come," and were received with pride and honour. Such is savage warfare, and the savage idea of what constitutes true glory. But, notwithstanding their horrid mode of warfare, they are not destitute of affection for their own offspring or friends.

The Dahkotahs assert that a mother is with her absent children whenever they think of her, and that she feels a pain in her breast (or heart) whenever anything of moment happens to them. When a child dies, like Rachel, they refuse to be comforted. The following paraphrase of the lament of a bereaved Indian mother, prepared for the "Dakota Friend," is full of poetry: "*Me choonkshee! Me choonkshee!* (my daughter, my daughter,) alas! alas! My hope, my comfort has departed, my

heart is very sad. My joy is turned into sorrow, and my song into wailing. Shall I never behold thy sunny smile? Shall I never more hear the music of thy voice? The Great Spirit has entered my lodge in anger, and taken thee from me, my first born and only child. I am comfortless and must wail out my grief. The pale faces repress their sorrow, but we children of nature must give vent to ours or die. Me choonkshee! me choonkshee!

"The light of my eyes is extinguished; all, all is dark. I have cast from me all comfortable clothing, and robed myself in comfortless skins, for no clothing, no fire, can warm thee, my daughter. Unwashed and uncombed, I will mourn for thee, whose long locks I can never more braid; and whose cheeks I can never again tinge with vermillion. I will cut off my dishevelled hair, for my grief is great, me choonkshee! me choonkshee! How can I survive thee? How can I be happy, and you a homeless wanderer to the spirit land? How can I eat if you are hungry? I will go to the grave with food for your spirit. Your bowl and spoon are placed in your coffin for use on the journey. The feast for your playmates has been made at the place of interment. Knowest thou of their presence? Me choonkshee! me choonkshee!

"When spring returns, the choicest of ducks shall be your portion. Sugar and berries also shall be placed near your grave. Neither grass nor flowers shall be allowed to grow thereon. Affection for thee will keep the little mound desolate, like the heart from which thou art torn. My daughter, I come, I come. I bring you parched corn. Oh, how long will you sleep? The wintry winds wail your requiem. The cold earth is

your bed, and the colder snow thy covering. I would that they were mine. I will lie down by thy side. I will sleep once more with you. If no one discovers me, I shall soon be as cold as thou art, and together we will sleep that long, long sleep from which I cannot wake thee, Me choonkshee! me choonkshee!"

A Dahkotah obtains his wives (for they are polygamists) not by courtship, but by a practice as old as the book of Genesis, that of purchase. A young man, when he wants a wife, announces the fact, and begs his friends to give him an outfit. He then proceeds to the parents and makes a purchase. The ancestors of some of the first families of Virginia, purchased their wives from the London company, for one hundred and twenty or fifty pounds of tobacco, at three shillings a pound, but a Dahkotah pays a higher price for the article, and takes more. Usually they pay a horse, or four or five guns, or six or eight blankets, a value equal to thirty or forty dollars.

The chief of the Kaposia band has three wives, who are sisters. His second wife he purchased of her father while he was drunk, and she but ten years of age. It is said that a friend throws a blanket over the bride and bears her to the lodge of the purchaser. Though a son-in-law lives near the parents of his wife, he never names or talks to them, and never looks his wife's mother in the face. He thinks it is respectful to act in this manner. He occupies a large lodge, while his wife's parents frequently live in a small one, in the rear, whom he supplies with game until he has a family of his own. Should the parents accidentally meet him, they hide their faces. If the mother starts for the

daughter's lodge and perceives her husband inside, she does not enter.

If a woman proves faithless to her husband, she is frequently shot or has her nose cut off. This latter practice was noticed by Le Sueur, in 1700. There is much system in relation to the place in which each should sit in a Dahkotah lodge. The wife always occupies a place next to the entrance on the right. The seat of honour, to which a white man is generally pointed, is directly opposite to the door of the lodge.

Like the rest of mankind, they are by no means insensible to flattery. When one thinks that he cannot obtain a horse, or some other article that he wishes, by a simple request, he will take a number of woodpeckers' heads, and sing over them in the presence of the individual he hopes to influence, recounting the honourable deeds of the man to whom he gives the birds' heads. This process acts like a charm, and is often successful.

A Parisian dandy is known the world over, but he is not to be compared with a Dahkotah fop. An Indian young man passes hours in attiring himself. That green streak of paint upon the cheek; those yellow circles around the eyes, and those spots upon the forehead, have cost him much trouble and frequent gazings into his mirror, which he always keeps with him. That head-dress, which appears to hang so carelessly, is all designed. None knows better than he how to attitudinize and play the stoic or majestic. No moustachioed clerk, with curling locks, and kid gloves, and cambric handkerchief, and patent-leather boots, and glossy hat, is half so conscious as he who struts past us with his streaming blanket and ornamented and uncovered head,

holding a pipe or a gun in the place of a cane, and wearing moccasins in the place of boots. The rain upon his nicely decorated head and face, causes as much of a flutter as it does when it falls upon the hat of the nice young man who smokes his cigar and promenades in Broadway.

When the Dahkotahs are not busy with war, or the chase, or the feasts and dances of their religion, time hangs heavily, and they either sleep or resort to some game to keep up an excitement. One of their games is like "Hunt the Slipper;" a bullet or plum-stone is placed by one party in one of four moccasins or mittens, and sought for by the opposite. There is also the play of "plum-stones." At this game much is often lost and won. Eight plum-stones are marked with certain devices. This game is played by young men and females. If, after shaking in a bowl, stones bearing certain devices turn up, the game is won.

The favourite and most exciting game of the Dahkotahs is ball playing. It appears to be nothing more than a game which was often played by the writer in schoolboy days, and which was called "*shinny*." A smooth place is chosen on the prairie or frozen river or lake. Each player has a stick three or four feet long and crooked at the lower end, with deer strings tied across forming a sort of a pocket. The ball is made of a rounded knot of wood, or clay covered with hide, and is supposed to possess supernatural qualities. Stakes are set at a distance of a quarter or half mile, as bounds. Two parties are then formed, and the ball being thrown up in the centre, the contest is for one party to carry the ball from the other beyond one of the bounds. Two or three hundred men are sometimes engaged at once. On

a summer's day, to see them rushing to and fro, painted in divers colors, with no article of apparel, with feathers in their heads, bells around their wrists, and fox and wolf tails dangling behind, is a wild and noisy spectacle. The eye-witnesses among the Indians become more interested in the success of one or the other of the parties than any crowd at a horse race, and frequently stake their last piece of property on the issue of the game.

On the 13th of July, 1852, the last great ball-play in the vicinity of Saint Paul took place. The ground selected was Oak Grove, in Hennepin county, and the parties were, Shokpay's band, against the Good Road, Sky Man, and Gray Iron bands. The game lasted several days; about two hundred and fifty were participants, encompassed by a cloud of witnesses. About two thousand dollars' worth of property was won by Shokpay's band the first day. The second day they were the losers. On the third day Shokpay lost the first game, and the stake was renewed. Shokpay lost again; but while a new stake was being made up, a dispute arose between the parties concerning some of the property which had been won from Shokpay's band, but which they kept back. They broke up in a row, as they usually do. Gray Iron's band leaving the ground first, ostensibly for the reason above named, but *really* because Shokpay's band had just been reinforced by the arrival of a company from Little Crow's band. During the play four or five thousand dollars' worth of goods changed hands.

Like the ancient Greeks, they also practise foot racing. Before proceeding to other topics, it is well to give a brief account of the dog dance and the fish dance. The

first is seldom performed, and is said to be peculiar to this nation. A dog being thrown into the midst of the crowd of dancers, is speedily "tomahawked" by one of the sacred men. The liver is then extracted and cut into slices, after which it is hung upon a pole. Now the dancers hop around, their mouths apparently watering with the desire for a bite. After a time some one dances up to the pole and takes a mouthful of the raw liver. He is then succeeded by others, until the whole is devoured. If another dog is thrown into the circle, the same process is repeated.

"Not long since a Dahkotah chief was sick, and the gods signified to him that if he would make a *raw fish feast*, he would live till young cranes' wings are grown. So he must make the feast or die. Fifteen or twenty others, who, like himself, were inspired by the cormorant, joined with him in the ceremonies of the feast, of which the chief was master.

"After one or two days spent in 'vapour baths' and 'armour feasts,' a tent is prepared, opening towards the east. The railing extending from the tent is composed of bushes. Within the enclosure each of those who are to participate in the feast has a bush set, in which is his nest. Early in the morning, on the day of the feast, the master informs two others where the fish are to be taken, and sends them forth to spear and bring them in, designating the kind and number to be taken. On this occasion two pike, each about one foot in length, were taken, and after having been painted with vermillion and ornamented with red down about the mouth and along the back, were laid on some branches in the enclosure, entire, as they were taken from the water. Near the fish were placed birch-bark dishes filled with

sweetened water. Their implements of war were solemnly exhibited in the tent, and the dancers, who were naked, except the belt, breech-cloth, and moccasins, and fantastically painted and adorned with down, red and white, being in readiness, the singers, of whom there are four ranks, commenced to sing, each rank in its turn. The singing was accompanied with the drum and rattle.

"The cormorant dancers danced to the music, having a little season of rest as each rank of singers ended their chant, until the fourth rank struck the drum and made the welkin ring with their wild notes; then, like starving beasts, they tore off pieces of the fish, scales, bones, entrails, and all, with their teeth, and swallowed it, at the same time drinking their sweetened water, till both the pike were consumed, except the heads and fins and large bones, the latter of which were deposited in the nests. Thus the feast ended, and the chief will of course live till the young cranes can fly. At the close of the ceremony, whatever of clothing is worn on the occasion is offered in sacrifice to the gods."

Sufficient has been said to show that the Dahkotahs are *Odd Fellows;* but not the half has been told. Among the Ojibways there are totems, or family symbols, of the name of some ancestor, which is honoured as much as the coat of arms among the nobility of Europe. If a man dies, his totem is marked upon his grave post with as much formality as the heraldic design of an English nobleman. It was this custom among the Algonquin Indians, that led the unscrupulous La Hontan to publish engravings of the fabulous coats of arms of the various savage nations of the north-west. That of the "Outchipoues" (Ojibways) is an eagle perched upon a rock, devouring the brain of an

owl. That of the Sioux, or Dahkotahs, is a squirrel perched upon a citron or pumpkin, and gnawing its rind. While the Dahkotahs do not appear to have totems or family designs, like the Ojibways, yet, from time immemorial, secret clans, with secret signs, have existed among them. It is impossible to force any member of these clans to divulge any of their proceedings. Culbertson, who visited the Dahkotahs of the Missouri, at the request of the Smithsonian Institution, was struck with this peculiarity. His remarks, for the entire accuracy of which we do not vouch, are as follows:—

"The Sioux nation has no general council, but each tribe and band determines its own affairs. These bands have some ties of interest analogous to the ties of our secret societies. The 'Crow-Feather-in-Cap' band are pledged to protect each others' wives, and to refrain from violating them. If the wife of one of their number is stolen by another of their number, she is returned, the band either paying the thief for returning the stolen property, or forcing him to do it, whether he will or not. * * * * * The 'Strong-Heart' band is pledged to protect each other in their horses. Should a 'Strong-Heart' from a distance steal some horses, and they be claimed by a brother 'Strong-Heart,' his fellows would tell him that he must give them up, or they would give the robbed man some of their own horses, regarding it as the greatest disgrace to themselves to allow him to go away on foot. And thus I suppose that all these bands have some common object that unites them together, and here we have the origin of this system of banding. In the absence of law, it takes the place of our system of justice."

The heathen, in their manner of life, are essentially the same all over the world. They are all given up to uncleanness. As you walk through a small village, in a Christian land, you notice many appearances of thrift and neatness. The day-labourer has his lot fenced, and his rude cabin white-washed. The widow, dependent upon her own exertions, and alone in the world, finds pleasure in training the honeysuckle or the morning-glory to peep in at her windows. The poor seamstress, though obliged to lodge in some upper room, has a few flower-pots upon her window-sill, and perhaps a canary bird hung in a cage outside. But in an Indian village all is filth and litter. There are no fences around their bark huts. White-washing is a lost art if it was ever known. Worn-out moccasins, tattered blankets, old breech-cloths, and pieces of leggins are strewn in confusion all over the ground. Water, except in very warm weather, seldom touches their bodies, and the pores of their skins become filled with grease and the paint with which they daub themselves. Neither Monday, or any other day, is known as washing-day. Their cooking utensils are incrusted with dirt, and used for a variety of purposes. A few years ago, a band of Indians, with their dogs, ponies, women, and children, came on board of a steamboat on the Upper Mississippi, on which the writer was travelling. Their evening meal, consisting of beans and wild meat, was prepared on the lower deck, beneath the windows of the ladies' cabin. After they had used their fingers in the place of forks, and consumed the food which they had cooked in a dirty iron pan, one of the mothers, removing the blanket from one of her children, stood it up in the same pan, and then, dipping some water out of the river, began to

wash it from head to foot. The rest of the band looked on with Indian composure, and seemed to think that an iron stew-pan was just as good for washing babes as for cooking beans. Where there is so much dirt, of course vermin must abound. They are not much distressed by the presence of those insects which are so nauseating to the civilized man. Being without shame, a common sight, of a summer's eve, is a woman or child with her head in another's lap, who is kindly killing the fleas and other vermin that are burrowing in the long, matted, and uncombed hair.

The Dahkotahs have no regular time for eating. Dependent, as they are, upon hunting and fishing for subsistence, they vacillate from the proximity of starvation to gluttony. It is considered uncourteous to refuse an invitation to a feast, and a single man will sometimes attend six or seven in a day, and eat intemperately. Before they came in contact with the whites, they subsisted upon venison, buffalo, and dog meat. The latter animal has always been considered a delicacy by these epicures. In illustration of these remarks, I transcribe an extract from a journal of a missionary, who visited Lake Traverse in April, 1839:—

"Last evening, at dark, our Indians chiefly returned, having eaten to the full of buffalo and dog meat. I asked one how many times they were feasted. He said, 'Six, and if it had not become dark so soon, we should have been called three or four times more.' * * * This morning, 'Burning-Earth' (chief of the Sissetonwan Dahkotahs), came again to our encampment, and removing we accompanied him to his village at the south-western end of the lake. * * * In the afternoon, I visited the chief; found him just about to leave for

a dog feast to which he had been called. When he had received some papers of medicine I had for him, he left, saying, 'The Sioux love dog meat as well as white people do pork.'"

In this connection, it should be stated that the Dahkotahs have no regular hours of retiring. Enter a New England village after nine o'clock, and all is still. Walk through Philadelphia after the State House clock has struck eleven, and everybody and thing, hacks, hackmen, and those on foot, appear to be hastening to rest; the lamp in the store, the entry and parlour, is extinguished, and lights begin to flicker in the chambers and in the garrets, and soon all are quiet, except rogues and disorderly persons, and those who watch; and you can hear the clock tick in the entry, and the watchman's slow step as he walks up and down the street. But there is nothing like this in an Indian village. They sleep whenever inclination prompts; some by day and some by night.

If you were to enter a Dahkotah village, at midnight, you might, perhaps, see some few huddled round the fire of a tēēpēē, listening to the tale of an old warrior, who has often engaged in bloody conflict with their ancient and present enemies, the Ojibways; or you might hear the unearthly chanting of some medicine man, endeavouring to exorcise some spirit from a sick man; or see some lounging about, whiffing out of their sacred red stone pipes, the smoke of kinnikinnick, a species of willow bark; or some of the young men sneaking around a lodge, and waiting for the lodge-fire to cease to flicker before they perpetrate some deed of sin; or you might hear a low, wild drumming, and then a group of men, all naked, with the exception of a

girdle round the loins, daubed with vermillion and other paints, all excited, and engaged in some of their grotesque dances; or a portion may be firing their guns into the air, being alarmed by some imaginary evil, and supposing that an enemy is lurking around.

CHAPTER III.

Dahkotah females deserve the sympathy of every tender heart. From early childhood they lead "worse than a dog's life." Like the Gibeonites of old, they are the hewers of wood, and the drawers of water for the camp. On a winter's day, a Dahkotah mother is often obliged to travel five or eight or ten miles with the lodge, camp-kettle, axe, child, and small dogs upon her back. Arriving late in the afternoon at the appointed camping-ground, she clears off the snow from the spot upon which she is to erect the tēēpēē. She then, from the nearest marsh or grove, cuts down some poles about ten feet in length. With these she forms a frame work for the tent. Unstrapping her pack, she unfolds the tent-cover, which is seven or eight buffalo skins stitched together, and brings the bottom part to the base of the frame. She now obtains a long pole, and fastening it to the skin covering, she raises it. The ends are drawn around the frame until they meet, and the edges of the covering are secured by wooden skewers or tent pins. The poles are then spread out on the ground, so as to make as large a circle inside as she desires. Then she,

or her children, proceed to draw the skins down so as to make them fit tightly. An opening is left where the poles meet at the top, to allow the smoke to escape. The fire is built upon the ground in the centre of the lodge. Buffalo skins are placed around, and from seven to fifteen lodge there through a winter's night, with far more comfort than a child of luxury upon a bed of down. Water is to be drawn and wood cut for the night. The camp-kettle is suspended, and preparations made for the evening meal. If her lord and master has not by this time arrived from the day's hunt, she is busied in mending up moccasins. Such is a scene which has been enacted by hundreds of females this very winter in Minnesota. How few of the gentle sex properly appreciate the everlasting obligations they are under to the Son of Mary, after the flesh, who was the first that taught the true sphere and the true mission of woman!

The Dahkotah wife is subject to all of the whims of her husband, and woe unto her when he is in bad humour! As a consequence, the females of this nation are not possessed of very happy faces, and frequently resort to suicide to put an end to earthly troubles. Uncultivated, and made to do the labour of beasts, when they are desperate, they act more like infuriated brutes than creatures of reason. Some years ago a lodge was pitched at the mouth of the St. Croix. The wife, fearing her husband would demand the whiskey keg, when he came from hunting, hid it. Upon his return, she refused to tell him where it was, and he flogged her. In her rage, she went off and hung herself. At Oak Grove, a little girl, the pet of her grandmother, was whipped by her father. The old woman, sympathizing with the child, flew into a passion and went off. At

last, the screaming of the grandchild was heard, for she had discovered her "grandma'" hanging by a portage collar from a burial scaffold. An assistant female teacher in the mission school, being attracted by the noise, went and cut the "old granny" down before life had fled. On another occasion, at the same place, a son-in-law refused to give his mother some whiskey, and in a rage she went on to the burial scaffold, tied the portage strap around her neck, and was about to jump off, when Mr. Pond came up to her and cut the strap. Still she did not relinquish her intention of suicide. At last, he climbed on to the scaffold and told her he would stay there as long as she. Other females from the village then came out, and succeeded in persuading her to live a little while longer. In this connexion, an incident may be told, which, for romantic interest, cannot be surpassed. The girl, since the occurrence, which we substantially narrate as we find it in the "Pioneer," without being responsible for every particular, became a pupil in the Rev. Mr. Hancock's mission school at Remnica or Red Wing Village.

In the spring of 1850, a young girl, fourteen years of age, shot another girl with whom she was quarrelling. The deceased was a daughter of a sullen man by the name of Black Whistle. The affrighted girl, after she fired the gun, fled to the trader's house, and was by him aided to make her escape down to Wapashaw's village. While stopping at Red Wing's village, some hundred miles from the place where the deed was committed, the incensed father overtook her. His first plan was to carry her home and sacrifice her at his daughter's burial scaffold; but, through the influence of some of the whites, he changed his plan, and resolved to make her

his slave or his wife. For some time she endured what to her was a living death, but on one night she suddenly disappeared. Not many days after, there appeared at Good Road's village, a young Indian boy, stating that he was a Sisseton, and had just arrived from the plains. He was well received, no one dreaming that he was the Indian maid. While in this disguise, she went out one day to spear fish, when her husband and enemy, the revengeful father of the girl she had shot, met her, and inquired for her, and avowed his intention to kill her. She very coolly assented to the justice of what he said, and left. At last, her real sex being suspected, she came down to Little Crow or Kaposia village. Here she passed herself off as a Winnebago orphan, which disguise succeeded for a time. But soon she was suspected, and was again obliged to seek safety in flight, and at last took up her residence at Red Wing's village, though for a long time no one knew what had become of her.

It is an erroneous idea that chiefs have any authority. Popularity is the source of power, and they resort to measures which vie with those of the modern demagogue, to gain the ear of the people. They never express an opinion on any important point, until they have canvassed the band over which they preside, and their opinions are always those of the majority.

The Dahkotahs suffer much for want of law. The individual who desires to improve his condition is not only laughed at, but maltreated. Moreover, if he acquires any property, there is no law which secures it to him, and it is liable to be taken away at any time by any ill-disposed person. Until this state of things is altered by the interposition of the United States govern-

ment, or the interposition of Providence in some unforeseen way, there is little hope of elevating this tribe. Their missionary will be forced to look upon this degradation, and say, in view thereof, "My whole head is sick, my whole heart faint."

The superstitions and peculiarities of the Dahkotahs are so various that we can but barely glance at them. They count years by winters, and compute distances by the number of nights passed upon a journey; their months are computed by moons, and are as follows:—

1. WI-TERI, *January;* the hard moon.
2. WICATA-WI, *February;* the raccoon moon.
3. ISTAWICAYAZAN-WI, *March;* the sore-eye moon.
4. MAGAOKADI-WI, *April;* the moon in which the geese lay eggs: also called Wokada-wi; and, sometimes, Watopapi-wi, the moon when the streams are again navigable.
5. WOJUPI-WI, *May;* the planting moon.
6. WAJUSTECASA-WI, *June;* the moon when the strawberries are red.
7. CANPASAPA-WI, and WASUNPA-WI, *July;* the moon when the choke-cherries are ripe, and when the geese shed their feathers.
8. WASUTON-WI, *August;* the harvest moon.
9. PSINHNAKETU-WI, *September;* the moon when rice is laid up to dry.
10. WI-WAJUPI, *October;* the drying rice moon; sometimes written Wazupi-wi.
11. TAKIYURA-WI, *November;* the deer-rutting moon.
12. TAHECAPSUN-WI, *December;* the moon when the deer shed their horns.

They believe that the moon is made of something as good as green-cheese. The popular notion is that when

the moon is full, a great number of very small mice commence nibbling until they have eaten it up. A new moon then begins to grow until it is full, then it is devoured.

Though almost every Dahkotah young man has his pocket mirror, a maid does not look at a looking-glass, for it is "wakan" or sacred. Almost everything that the man owns is wakan or sacred, but nothing that the woman possesses is so esteemed. If one has a toothache, it is supposed to be caused by a woodpecker concealed within, or the gnawing of a worm. Coughs are occasioned by the sacred men operating through the medium of the down of the goose, or the hair of the buffalo. It is considered a sin to cut a stick that has once been placed on the fire, or to prick a piece of meat with an awl or needle. It is wrong for a woman to smoke through a black pipe-stem, and for a man to wear a woman's moccasins. It is also sinful to throw gunpowder on the fire.

This tribe of Indians believe that an individual has several souls. Le Sueur said that they thought that they had three souls, but the sacred men say that a Dahkotah has four souls. At death one of these remains with or near the body; one in a bundle containing some of the clothes and hair of the deceased, which the relatives preserve until they have an opportunity to throw them into the enemy's country; one goes into the spirit land; and one passes into the body of a child or some animal.

They have a fear of the future, but no fixed belief in relation to the nature of future punishment. They are generally taciturn on such topics. The more simple-minded believe that a happy land exists across a lake

of boiling water, and that an old woman sits on the shore holding a long narrow pole, that stretches across the water to the earth. Warriors who can show marks of wounds on their flesh, can walk the pole with security; also infants, whose blue veins are a passport as good as war marks. Others slip into the boiling water.

Their theology makes no difference between the condition of the thief and liar and the correct and good man. Those who commit suicide are thought to be unhappy. They believe that a woman who commits suicide will have to drag through another world that from which she hung herself in this, and that she will often break down the corn in another land by the pole or tree which dangles at her feet, and for this will be severely beaten by the inhabitants of the spirit land.

When any one dies, the nearest friend is very anxious to go and kill an enemy. A father lost a child while the treaty of 1851 was pending at Mendota, and he longed to go and kill an Ojibway. As soon as an individual dies, the corpse is wrapped in its best clothes. Some one acquainted with the deceased then harangues the spirit on the virtues of the departed; and the friends sit around with their faces smeared with a black pigment, the signs of mourning. Their lamentations are very loud, and they cut their thighs and legs with their finger nails or pieces of stone, to give free vent, as it would appear, to their grief. The corpse is not buried, but placed in a box upon a scaffold some eight or ten feet from the ground. Hung around the scaffold are such things as would please the spirit if it was still in the flesh—such as the scalp of an enemy or pots of food. After the corpse has been exposed for some

months, and the bones only remain, they are buried in a heap, and protected from the wolves by stakes.

On the bluff, above the dilapidated cave which forms the eastern limit of Saint Paul, there is an ancient burial place. Here the Dahkotahs formerly brought their dead, and performed solemn services.

Carver, in his Travels, publishes the alleged speech over the remains of a Dahkotah brave—the reading of which so attracted the attention of the great German poet, Schiller, that he composed a poem called the "Song of a Nadowessee Chief." Goethe considered it one of his best, "and wished he had made a dozen such."

Sir John Herschell and Sir E. L. Bulwer have each attempted a translation, both of which seem to convey the spirit of the original.

SIR E. L. BULWER'S.

See on his mat—as if of yore,
All life-like sits he here!
With that same aspect which he wore
When light to him was dear.

But where the right hand's strength? and where
The breath that loved to breathe,
To the Great Spirit aloft in air,
The peace-pipe's lusty wreath?

And where the hawk-like eye, alas!
That wont the deer pursue,
Along the waves of rippling grass,
Or fields that shone with dew?

Are these the limber, bounding feet
That swept the winter's snows?
What stateliest stag so fast and fleet?
Their speed outstripped the roe's!

These arms, that then the steady bow
Could supple from its pride,
How stark and helpless hang they now
Adown the stiffened side!

SIR JOHN HERSCHELL'S.

See, where upon the mat, he sits
Erect, before his door,
With just the same majestic air
That once in life he wore.

But where is fled his strength of limb,
The whirlwind of his breath,
To the Great Spirit, when he sent
The peace-pipe's mounting wreath?

Where are those falcon eyes, which late
Along the plain could trace,
Along the grass's dewy wave,
The reindeer's printed pace?

Those legs, which once, with matchless speed,
Flew through the drifted snow,
Surpassed the stag's unwearied course,
Outran the mountain roe?

Those arms, once used with might and main,
The stubborn bow to twang?
See, see, their nerves are slack at last,
All motionless they hang.

SIR E. L. BULWER'S.

Yet weal to him—at peace he stays
Where never fall the snows;
Where o'er the meadows springs the maize
That mortal never sows.

Where birds are blithe on every brake—
Where forests teem with deer—
Where glide the fish through every lake—
One chase from year to year!

With spirits now he feasts above;
All left us—to revere
The deeds we honour with our love,
The dust we bury here.

Here bring the last gift! loud and shrill
Wail, death dirge for the brave!
What pleased him most in life may still
Give pleasure in the grave.

We lay the axe beneath his head
He swung when strength was strong—
The bear on which his banquets fed—
The way from earth is long!

And here, new sharped, place the knife
That severed from the clay,
From which the axe had spoiled the life,
The conquered scalp away!

The paints that deck the dead bestow—
Yes, place them in his hand—
That red the kingly shade may glow
Amid the spirit-land.

SIR JOHN HERSCHELL'S.

'Tis well with him, for he is gone
Where snow no more is found,
Where the gay thorn's perpetual bloom
Decks all the field around;

Where wild birds sing from every spray,
Where deer come sweeping by,
Where fish from every lake, afford
A plentiful supply.

With spirits now he feasts above,
And leaves us here alone,
To celebrate his valiant deeds,
And round his grave to moan.

Sound the death-song, bring forth the gifts,
The last gifts of the dead,—
Let all which yet may yield him joy
Within his grave be laid.

The hatchet place beneath his head,
Still red with hostile blood;
And add, because the way is long,
The bear's fat limbs for food.

The scalping-knife beside him lay,
With paints of gorgeous dye,
That in the land of souls his form
May shine triumphantly.

The legends of the Dahkotahs are numerous, and while many are puerile, a few are beautiful.

EAGLE-EYE, the son of a great war prophet, who lived more than one hundred years ago, was distinguished for bravery. Fleet, athletic, symmetrical, a bitter foe and warm friend, he was a model Dahkotah. In the ardour of his youth, his affections were given to one who was also attractive, named Scarlet Dove.

A few moons after she had become an inmate of his lodge, they descended the Mississippi, with a hunting party, and proceeded east of Lake Pepin.

One day, while Eagle-Eye was hid behind some bushes, watching for deer, the arrow of a comrade found its way through the covert, into his heart. With only time to lisp the name Scarlet Dove, he expired.

For a few days the widow mourned and cut her flesh, and then, with the silence of woe, wrapping her beloved in skins, she placed him on a temporary burial scaffold, and sat beneath.

When the hunting party moved, she carried on her own back the dead body of Eagle-Eye. At every encampment she laid the body up in the manner already mentioned, and sat down to watch it and mourn.

When she had reached the Minnesota river, a distance of more than a hundred miles, Scarlet Dove brought forks and poles from the woods, and erected a permanent scaffold on that beautiful hill opposite the site of Fort Snelling, in the rear of the little town of Mendota, which is known by the name of Pilot Knob. Having adjusted the remains of the unfortunate object of her love upon this elevation, with the strap by which she had carried her precious burden, Scarlet Dove hung herself to the scaffold and died. Her highest hope was to meet the beloved spirit of her Eagle-Eye, in the world of spirits.[1]

Many years before the eye of the white man gazed on the beautiful landscape around the Falls of Saint Anthony, a scene was enacted there of which this is the melancholy story:—

Anpetusapa was the first love of a Dahkotah hunter. For a period they dwelt in happiness, and she proved herself a true wife.

[1] For this legend we are indebted to Rev. G. H. Pond.

"With knife of bone she carved her food,
Fuel, with axe of stone procured—
Could fire extract, from flint or wood;
To rudest savage life inured.

"In kettle frail of birchen bark,
She boiled her food with heated stones;
The slippery fish from coverts dark
She drew with hooked bones."

But her heart was at length clouded. The husband, in accordance with the custom of his nation, introduced a second wife within the tēēpēē, and the first wife's eyes began to grow sad, and her form from day to day drooped. Her chief joy was to clasp the little boy, who was the embodiment of hopes and happiness fled for ever. Faithful and unmurmuring, she followed her husband on his hunts. One day the band encamped on the picturesque shores near the Falls of Saint Anthony. With tearless eye, and nerved by despair, the first wife, with her little son, walked to the rapid waters. Entering a canoe, she pushed into the swift current, and the chanting of her death dirge arrested the attention of her husband and the camp in time to see the canoe on the bank, and plunge into the dashing waves. The Dahkotahs say, that in the mist of the morning, the spirit of an Indian wife, with a child clinging around her neck, is seen darting in a canoe through the spray, and that the sound of her death-song is heard moaning in the winds, and in the roar of the waters.

On the eastern shore of Lake Pepin, about twelve miles from its mouth, there stands a bluff which attracts attention by its boldness. It is about four hundred and fifty feet in height, the last hundred of which is a bald, precipitous crag. It is seen at a distance of miles; and

as the steamer approaches, the emergence of passengers to the upper deck, and the pointing of the finger of the captain, or some one familiar with the country, evinces that it is an interesting locality—it is the Maiden's Rock of the Dahkotahs.

The first version of the story, in connection with this bluff, differs from those more modern, but is preferable.

In the days of the great chief Wapashaw, there lived at the village of Keoxa, which stood on the site of the town which now bears her name, a maiden with a loving soul. She was the first-born daughter, and, as is always the case in a Dahkotah family, she bore the name of Wēēnōnah. A young hunter of the same band, was never happier than when he played the flute in her hearing. Having thus signified his affection, it was with the whole heart reciprocated. The youth begged from his friends all that he could, and went to her parents, as is the custom, to purchase her for his wife, but his proposals were rejected.

A warrior, who had often been on the war path, whose head-dress plainly told the number of scalps he had wrenched from Ojibway heads, had also been to the parents, and they thought that she would be more honoured as an inmate of his tēēpēē.

Wēēnōnah, however, could not forget her first love; and, though he had been forced away, his absence strengthened her affections. Neither the attentions of the warrior, nor the threats of parents, nor the persuasions of friends, could make her consent to marry simply for position.

One day the band came to Lake Pepin to fish or hunt. The dark green foliage, the velvet sward, the beautiful expanse of water, the shady nooks, made it a

place to utter the breathings of love. The warrior sought her once more, and begged her to accede to her parents' wish, and become his wife, but she refused with decision.

While the party were feasting, Wēēnōnah clambered to the lofty bluff, and then told to those who were below, how crushed she had been by the absence of the young hunter, and the cruelty of her friends. Then chanting a wild death-song, before the fleetest runner could reach the height, she dashed herself down, and that form of beauty was in a moment a mass of broken limbs and bruised flesh.

The Dahkotah, as he passes the rock, feels that the spot is Wawkawn.

The Dahkotahs call the St. Croix river, Hogan-wanke-kin. The legend is that in the distant past, two Dahkotah warriors were travelling on the shores of Lake St. Croix, one of whom was under a vow to one of his gods not to eat any flesh which had touched water. Gnawed by hunger, the two perceived, as they supposed, a raccoon, and pursued it to a hollow tree. On looking in, the one who could not eat flesh that had touched water, saw that the animal was a fish and not a quadruped. Turning to his companion, he agreed to throw it to the ground if he was not urged to eat. Hunger, however, was imperious, and forced him to break his vow and partake of the broiled fish.

After the meal, thirst usurped the place of hunger. He called for water to cool his parched tongue, until the strength of his companion failed, and he was then told to lie down by the lake and drink till his thirst was quenched. Complying with the advice, he drank and drank, till at last he cried to his friend, "come and

look at me." The sight caused the knees of his comrade to smite together with fear, for he was fast turning to a fish. At length, he stretched himself across the Lake, and formed what is called Pike Bar. This, tradition says, is the origin of the sand-bar in the Lake, which is so conspicuous at low stage of water.

Having full faith in the legend, to this day they call the river, which is part of the boundary between Wisconsin and Minnesota, "THE PLACE WHERE THE FISH LIES." (Hogan-wanke-kin.)

The Dahkotahs, from the Minnesota to the plains beyond the Missouri, speak essentially the same language. Though difficult to acquire, it is allied to that of the Ottoes, Winnebagoes, Ioways, and Omahaws.[1]

After ten years' close study by an observing missionary, he was obliged to confess that he had not mastered it, which admission forms quite a contrast to the vaunting statement of Jonathan Carver, who wintered in Minnesota in 1767. He remarks: "To render my stay as comfortable as possible, I first endeavoured to learn their language. This I soon did, to make myself perfectly intelligible."

Hennepin made the first effort to collect a vocabulary of the language, while he was a captive on Rum river, or Mille Lacs. His description of the attempt is very quaint: "Hunger pressed me to commence the formation of a vocabulary of their language, learned from

[1] The ancient Arkansas seem to have belonged to the Dahkotah family. A letter published in Kip's Jesuit Mission, written by a missionary at the mouth of the Arkansas, in October, 1727, speaks of "a river which the Indians call Ni ska (Minne ska) or White Water." Again: "They place the hand upon the mouth, which is a sign of admiration among them." Ouakan tague they cry out, "it is the Great Spirit." They said probably, Wakan de, This is wonderful.

the prattle of their children. When once I had learned the word Taketchiabein, which means 'How call you this?' I began to be soon able to talk of such things as are most familiar. For want of an interpreter this difficulty was hard to surmount at first. For example, if I had a desire to know what *to run* was in their tongue, I was forced to increase my speed, and actually run from one end of the lodge to the other, until they understood what I meant and had told me the word, which I presently set down in my Dictionary."

The first printed vocabulary is that appended to Carver's Travels, which is exceedingly incorrect, though it contains many Dahkotah words. The Smithsonian Institution have published, under the patronage of the Historical Society of Minnesota, a quarto Grammar and Dictionary of this language, which will be gazed upon with interest by the "wise men of the East" long after the Dahkotah dialect has ceased to be spoken. This work is the fruit of eighteen years of anxious toil among this people, and is the combined work of the members of the Dahkotah Presbytery, edited by the Rev. S. R. Riggs, of Lac qui Parle; and should be preserved in the library of every professional man and lover of letters in Minnesota.

The vocabulary is, of course, meagre, compared with that of the civilized European; for living, as they have until of late, far away from any but those of like habits and modes of thought, they are defective in many words which have their place in the dictionary of a Christian people. Accustomed to cut poles from a forest and spread buffalo skins thereon, under which they pass the night, and then decamp early the next day in quest of game or the scalp of an enemy, they have no word which

expresses the comfortable idea of our noble Saxon word "home." Still, in the language of a missionary, "it is in some of its aspects to be regarded as a noble language, fully adequate to all the felt wants of a nation, and capable of being enlarged, cultivated, and enriched, by the introduction of foreign stores of thought. Nothing can be found anywhere more full and flexible than the Dahkotah verb. The affixes, and reduplications, and pronouns, and prepositions, all come in to make it of such a stately pile of thought as is to my knowledge found nowhere else. A single paradigm presents more than a thousand variations."

THE DAHKOTAH ALPHABET.

	NAME					NAME			
A	ah,	sounds as	*a*	in far.	O	o,	sounds as	*o*	in go.
B	be,	"	*b*	in but.	P	pe,	"	*p*	in pea.
C	che,	"	*ch*	in cheat.	Q	qe, indescribable.			
D	de,	"	*d*	in deed.	R	re, high guttural.			
E	a,	"	*a*	in say.	S	se,	sounds as	*s*	in sea.
G	ge, low guttural.				T	te,	"	*t*	in tea.
H	he,	sounds as	*h*	in he.	U	oo,	"	*oo*	in noon.
I	e,	"	*e*	in see.	W	we,	"	*w*	in we.
J	je,	"	*si*	in hosier.	X	she,	"	*sh*	in sheet.
K	ke,	"	*k*	in key.	Y	ye,	"	*y*	in yeast.
M	me,	"	*m*	in me.	Z	ze,	"	*z*	in zeta.
N	ne,	"	*n*	in neat.					

The vowels represent each but one sound. *G* represents a low guttural or gurgling sound. *R* represents a rough hawking sound, higher than that of *g*. Besides their simple sounds, *c*, *k*, *p*, *s*, *t*, and *x*, have each a close compound sound, which cannot be learned except from a living teacher. They are printed in italics when they represent these sounds, except *k*, which is never italicised for this purpose; but *q* is used instead of it. The last-

named letter might as well, perhaps, be expunged from the Dahkotah alphabet, and *k* held responsible for the performance of this service. When *n* follows a vowel at the end of a syllable, except in contracted words, with very few exceptions, it is not full, but sounds like *n* in *tinkle, ankle.*

It was intended that the Dahkotah orthography should be strictly phonetic, and it fails but little of being so. To learn the names of the letters is to learn to read it, and no English scholar need spend more than a few hours, or even a few moments, in learning to read the Dahkotah language.[1]

[1] G. H. Pond, in "*Tawaxitku Kin.*"

CHAPTER IV.

MORE than three centuries ago, an enterprising naval officer, Jacques Cartier, discovered the mouth of the great river of North America, that empties into the Atlantic, and whose extreme head waters are in the interior of Minnesota, within an hour's walk of a tributary of the Mississippi.

Having erected, in the vicinity of Quebec, a rude fort, in 1541, more than a half century before the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, from that time the river Saint Lawrence became known to the bold mariners of France, and there was an increasing desire to explore its sources.

In the year 1608, Champlain selected the site in the vicinity of Cartier's post as the future capital of New France. Burning to plant a colony in the New World, he, with great assiduity, explored the country. In 1609 he ascended a tributary of the Saint Lawrence, till he came to the beautiful lake in New York, which, to this day, bears his name.

After several visits to France, in 1615 he is found, with unabated zeal, accompanying a band of savages to their distant hunting-grounds, and discovering the waters of Lake Huron.

Before the emigrants of the "May Flower" trod on New England soil, and while Massachusetts was an unknown country to the geographers of Europe, he had gained an inkling of the Mediterranean of America, Lake Superior. In a map accompanying the journal of his discoveries, this lake appears as "Grand Lac," and a great river is marked flowing from the lake toward the south, intended to represent the Mississippi, as described by the Indians, who, from the earliest period, had been accustomed, by slight portages, to pass from the waters of Lake Superior into those of the "grand" river which flows into the Gulf of Mexico.

About the time that Champlain returned from his expedition to the Huron country, there arrived in Canada a youth from France of more than ordinary promise, who, by his aptness in the acquisition of the Indian dialects, became interpreter and commissary of the colony.

Determined to press beyond others, he, in 1639, arrived at the lake of the Winnebagoes, in the present state of Wisconsin, which had been described by Champlain, though erroneously located on the map accompanying his narrative.

While in this region he concluded a friendly alliance with the Indians in the valley of the Fox river.

Paul le Jeune, in a letter to his superior, Vimont, written in the month of September, 1640, alludes to Nicolet, and is also the first writer who makes distinct mention of the Dahkotahs. Speaking of the tribes on Lake Michigan, the father remarks:—

"Still further on, dwell the Ouinipegou (Winnebago), a sedentary people and very numerous. Some Frenchmen call them the 'Nation of Stinkers,' because the

Algonquin word Ouinipeg signifies stinking water. They thus designate the water of the sea, and these people call themselves Ouinipegou, because they come from the shores of a sea, of which we have no knowledge, and therefore we must not call them the nation of 'Stinkers,' but the nation of the sea.

"In the neighbourhood of this nation are the Nadouessi (Dahkotahs), and the Assinipouars (Assiniboines). * * * * * I will say, by the way, that the Sieur Nicolet, interpreter of the Algonquin and Huron languages for 'Messieurs de la Nouvelle France,' has given me the names of these nations, whom he has visited, for the most part, in their own countries."

Two years elapse, and, in 1641, Jogues and Raymbault, of the "Society of Jesus," after a journey of seventeen days, in frail barks, over tempestuous waters, arrive at the barrier of rocks at the entrance of Lake Superior; and then, at Sault St. Marie, met the Pottowattomies flying from the Dahkotahs, and were told that the latter lived to the west of the Falls, about eighteen days' journey, the first nine across the lake, the other up a river which leads inland, referring, probably, to the stream which interlocks with the head waters of the river Saint Croix.

We would not detract from the zeal of the man of God, but it is a fact that those in the service of mammon have ever outrun those in the service of Christ. The "insacra fames auri," the unholy thirst for gold, has always made the trader the pioneer of the missionary in savage lands.

In a communication made as early as 1654, it was stated that it was only nine days' journey from the Lake of the Winnebago (Green Bay) to the sea that

separates America from China; and, that, if a person could be found who would send thirty Frenchmen into that country, they would obtain the finest peltries and amass wealth.

This year two adventurous Frenchmen went to seek their fortunes in the region west of Lake Michigan; and, in August, 1656, with a flotilla of canoes, laden with treasures, and two hundred and fifty Ojibways, they arrived at Quebec, and interested "voyageurs" with a recital of their hair-breadth escapes—merchants with their packs of valuable furs, and ecclesiastics with narrations of the miserable condition of immortal souls, and of the numerous villages of the "Nadouesiouack" (Dahkotahs) and other tribes.

Thirty young Frenchmen, excited by the reports, equipped themselves to trade with the lodges in the distant wilderness; and, two Fathers, Leonard Garreau and Gabriel Dreuilletes, were summoned by their Superior to return with the brigade, and were rejoiced to find themselves chosen to be the first to carry the name of Jesus Christ into a country alike replete with tribulation, darkness, and death.

The latter missionary had been a visiter to the house of the Puritan minister, Eliot, in the vicinity of Boston, and they had frequently taken sweet counsel together in relation to the amelioration of the condition of the aborigines.

This expedition failed to reach its destination, owing to a murderous attack of the Iroquois, in which Garreau was killed, and the Ojibways so alarmed that they refused to receive the surviving "black robe."

In the year 1659 two traders travelled extensively among the distant tribes. Six days' journey south-west

of La Pointe, now Bayfield, Wisconsin, they found villages of Hurons, who, retreating across rocky ridges, over deep streams, wide lakes, and dense thickets, had reached the shores of the Mississippi, and found a shelter among the Dahkotahs from the fierce onslaught of the Iroquois. In the vicinity of the Hurons they saw Dahkotah settlements, "in five of which were counted all of five thousand men." They noticed women with the tips of their noses cut off, and heads partly scalped, and were informed that this was the penalty inflicted upon adulteresses.

They also heard of "another warlike nation who, with their bows and arrows, have rendered themselves as formidable to the upper Algonquins as the Iroquois have to the lower. They bear the name of Poualak (Assineboine), that is to say, the warriors." Continues the relation:—"As wood is scarce and very small with them, nature has taught them to burn stones in place of it, and to cover their wigwams with skins. Some of the most industrious among them have built mud cabins nearly in the same manner that swallows build their nests; nor would they sleep less sweetly beneath these skins, or under this clay, than the great ones of earth beneath their golden canopies, was it not for the fear of the Iroquois, who come here in search of them from a distance of five or six hundred leagues."

On the early French maps of Lake Superior, a tributary from Minnesota is called the River Grosellier.[1] It

[1] Grosellier was a native of Touraine, and married Helen, daughter of Abraham Martin, King's Pilot, who has left his name to the celebrated plains of Abraham, near Quebec. Returning by Lake Superior, he offered to carry French ships to Hudson's Bay. Rejected by the court, he crossed over to England, where his offers were accepted. With

appears to have been named after a French pilot who, about this time, roamed into the Assiniboine country, in the region of Lake Winnepeg, and was conducted by them to the shores of Hudson's Bay.

During the summer of 1660 the traders of the far West returned to Quebec with sixty canoes, manned by Algonquins, and laden with fox, beaver, and buffalo skins. The narrative of these men increased the existing enthusiasm of the Jesuits, and the Superior at Quebec had a zeal which "caused him to wish that he might be an angel of glad tidings to the far nations; and, at the expense of a thousand lives, to go and search in the depths of the forest the lost sheep for whose welfare he had crossed the sea."

The murder of Garreau, four years before, did not intimidate, but his blood increased the courage of the church, and René Menard was the one selected to be the cross-bearer to the barbarians in the regions round about Lake Superior.

His hair whitened by age, his mind ripened by long experience, and acquainted with the peculiarities of Indian character, he seemed the man for the mission.

The night before he started, the eyes of the venerable priest were not closed. He thought much of his friends, and, knowing that he was about to go into a land of barbarians, two hours after midnight he penned a letter,

Raddisson, another Frenchmen, he piloted an English vessel, commanded by Captain Gillam, a Yankee, to the River Nemiscau, on the east side of James Bay, where Fort Rupert was built. See O'Callaghan's note, vol. ix. p. 797, Paris Doc.: Col. History of New York.

[1] MY REVEREND FATHER—THE PEACE OF CHRIST BE WITH YOU:

I write to you probably the last word, which I hope will be the seal of our friendship until eternity. Love whom the Lord Jesus did not disdain to love, though the greatest of sinners, for he loves whom he

touching in its simplicity, and which will be embalmed in the literature of the future dwellers on the shores of Lake Superior.

Early on the morning of the 28th of August, 1660, he, in company with eight Frenchmen, departed with the Ottawa convoy from "Three Rivers." After much ridicule from the wild companions of his voyage, he arrived at a bay on Lake Superior, on the 15th of October, St. Theresa's day, on which account he so designated the sheet of water.

During the following winter they remained at this point. Their supply of provisions being exhausted, they nearly starved. "At times they scraped up a mess of the 'tripe de roche,' which slightly thickened their water, foaming upon it a kind of foam or slime, similar to that of snails, and which served rather to nourish their imagination than their bodies:" at other times they

loads with his cross. Let your friendship, my good father, be useful to me by the desirable fruits of your daily sacrifice. In three or four months, you may remember me at the memento for the dead, on account of my old age, my weak constitution, and the hardships I lay under amongst these tribes. Nevertheless, I am in peace, for I have not been led to this mission by any temporal motive, but I think it was by the voice of God. I was afraid, by not coming here, to resist the grace of God. Eternal remorse would have tormented me, had I not come when I had the opportunity. We have been a little surprised, not being able to provide ourselves with vestments and other things; but he who feeds the little birds and clothes the lilies of the fields, will take care of his servants; and though it should happen we should die with want, we would esteem ourselves happy. I am loaded with affairs. What I can do is to recommend our journey to your daily sacrifices, and to embrace you with the same sentiments of heart, as I hope to do in eternity.

My reverend father, your most humble and affectionate servant in Jesus Christ,

R. MENARD.

From the Three Rivers; this 27th August, 2 o'clock after midnight, 1660.

subsisted on pounded fish-bones and acorns. When the vernal breezes began to blow, ducks, geese, and wild pigeons made their appearance, and their bodies strengthened.

The refugee Hurons, at La Pointe, hearing that a "black gown" was on the shores of the lake, invited him to visit them.

Menard appointed three young Frenchmen to act as pioneers, and reconnoitre the country and make presents. On their journey their canoe was stolen, and after many difficulties they returned. Their report was discouraging, but did not deter the aged enthusiast. His last written sentences, penned in July, 1661, are:—

"I hear every day four populous nations spoken of, that are distant from here about two or three hundred leagues. I expect to die on my way to them; but as I am so far advanced, and in health, I shall do all that is possible to reach them. The route, most of the way, lies across swamps, through which it is necessary to feel your way in passing, and to be in danger every moment of sinking too deep to extricate yourself; provisions which can only be obtained by carrying them with you, and the mosquitoes, whose numbers are frightful, are the three great obstacles which render it difficult for me to obtain a companion."

Some Hurons having come to treat with the Ojibways, agreed to act as guides. Selecting John Guerin, a faithful man, as his companion, he started, with some dried fish and smoked meat for provisions. The Indians, full of caprice, soon moved off, and left the priest and his friend in an unknown country. Bruised in limb, and faint in body, on the 10th of August, Menard, while

following his companion, lost himself by mistaking the trail.

The agony of Guerin is great when he looks behind and beholds not the aged traveller. He calls at the top of his voice, but he only hears the echo. He fires his gun repeatedly, to lead him to the right path; at last he wanders to a Huron village, and, by gestures and tears, and the promise of reward, induced a youth to go in search. He soon returned, weary; and from that day there have been no traces of his body.

A century ago, the report was current in Canada, that, some years after his disappearance, his robe and prayer book were found in a Dahkotah lodge, and were looked upon as "wawkawn" or supernatural.

In the summer of 1663 the mournful intelligence of the loss of Menard reached Quebec, and one was soon found to be his successor—Father Claude Allouëz, who anxiously awaited the means of conveyance to his scene of labour. In the year 1665 a hundred canoes, laden with Indians and peltries, arrived at Montreal from Lake Superior. A Frenchman, who accompanied them, reported that the Outaouaks (Ojibways) were attacked on one side by the Iroquois, and on the other by the Nadouessioux (Dahkotahs), a warlike people, who carry on cruel wars with nations still more distant. Allouëz rejoiced at the sight of the frail barks, and greeted the besmeared savages as if they were visitants from a better land. In a letter written at the time, his full heart thus speaks: "At last it has pleased God to send us the *angels* of the Upper Algonquins to conduct us to their country."

On the 8th of August, 1665, with six Frenchmen

and four hundred savages, returning from their trading expedition, he embarked.

Having made a portage at Sault St. Marie, on the 2d of September their birch canoes glided on the waters of Lake Superior. On the 1st of October they arrived at the Chegoimegon, a beautiful bay (Bayfield, Wisconsin), where were two large villages, one of which was occupied by the Hurons, who had been driven from the Dahkotah country under the following circumstances:—

Having claimed superiority, on account of the possession of fire-arms, they taunted the Dahkotahs, who had received them when they were outcasts and flying from the Iroquois, on account of their simplicity. At last, provoked beyond endurance, they decoyed a number of Hurons into a wild rice marsh, and killed many with their primitive, but not to be despised, stone-tipped arrows, and drove the remnant to Chegoimegon.

The second village was composed of several bands of Ojibways, whose ancestors had, a long time before, lived east of Lake Michigan, but had been driven westward by the Iroquois.

This point was a centre of trade for many nations. Even the Illinois came here to fish and exchange commodities.

Allouëz, when he landed at La Pointe, as the French named the place, in consequence of a tongue-like projection of land, found a scene of great confusion. In the language of Bancroft, "It was at a moment when the young warriors were bent on a strife with the war-like Sioux. A grand council of ten or twelve neighbouring nations was held to wrest the hatchet from the hands of the rash braves, and Allouëz was admitted to an audience before the vast assembly. In the name of

Louis XIV. and his viceroy, he commanded peace, and offered commerce and alliance against the Iroquois—the soldiers of France would smooth the path between the Chippewas and Quebec—would brush the pirate canoes from the rivers—would leave to the Five Nations no choice, but between tranquillity and destruction. On the shore of the bay to which the abundant fisheries attracted crowds, a chapel soon rose, and the mission of the Holy Spirit was founded. There admiring throngs, who had never seen an European, came to gaze on the white man, and on the pictures which he displayed of the realms of hell, and of the last judgment. There a choir of Chippewas were taught to chant the pater and the ave. * * * * The Sacs and Foxes travelled on foot from their country, which abounded in deer, beaver, and buffalo. The Illinois also, a hospitable race, unaccustomed to canoes, having no weapon but the bow and arrow, came to rehearse their sorrows. * * * * * * * Curiosity was roused by their tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed toward the south. Then, too, at the very extremity of the lake, the missionary met the wild and impassioned Sioux, who dwelt to the west of Lake Superior, in a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts instead of bark for roofs to their cabins, on the bank of the great river, of which Allouëz reported the name to be Messipi."

While on an excursion to Lake Alempigon (Saint Anne), he met, at Fond du Lac, in Minnesota, some Dahkotah warriors; and, in describing them, he is the first to give the name of the great river of which the Indians had told so many wonderful stories.

In the relations of the mission of the Holy Spirit, the following remarks are made of the Dahkotahs:—

"This is a tribe that dwells to the west of this (Fond du Lac), toward the great river called MESSIPI. They are forty or fifty leagues from here, in a country of prairies, abounding in all kinds of game. They have fields in which they do not sow Indian corn, but only tobacco. Providence has provided them with a species of marsh rice, which, toward the end of summer, they go to collect in certain small lakes that are covered with it. They know how to prepare it so well that it is quite agreeable to the taste and nutritive. They presented me with some when I was at the extremity of Lake Tracy (Superior), where I saw them. They do not use the gun, but only the bow and arrow, which they use with great dexterity. Their cabins are not covered with bark, but with deerskins well dried, and stitched together so well that the cold does not enter. These people are, above all other, savage and warlike. In our presence they seemed abashed, and were motionless as statues. They speak a language entirely unknown to us, and the savages about here do not understand them."

After two years passed among the Algonquins at La Pointe and vicinity, Allouëz was convinced that his mission would not prosper, unless he had some assistance. He determined to go in person to Quebec, and implore labourers for the field. Arriving there on the 3d day of August, 1667, he worked night and day; and, after two days, the bow of his canoe was again turned towards the far West. His party consisted at first of Father Louis Nicholas, and another Jesuit, with four labourers; but, when they came to the canoes, the

whimsical savages only allowed Allouëz, Nicholas, and one of their men, to enter. But, notwithstanding the help obtained, the savage hearts could not be subdued; and, "weary of their obstinate unbelief," he resolved to leave La Pointe. On the 13th of September, 1669, the renowned Marquette took his place; and, writing to his Superior, describes the Dahkotahs in these words:—

"The Nadouessi are the Iroquois of this country, beyond La Pointe, but less faithless, and never attack till attacked.

"They lie south-west of the mission of the Holy Spirit, and we have not yet visited them, having confined ourselves to the conversion of the Ottawas.

"Their language is entirely different from the Huron and Algonquin; they have many villages, but are widely scattered; they have very extraordinary customs; they principally use the calumet; they do not speak at great feasts, and when a stranger arrives give him to eat of a wooden fork, as we would a child.

"All the lake tribes make war on them, but with small success. They have false oats (wild rice), use little canoes, and keep their word strictly. I sent them a present by an interpreter, to tell them to recognise the Frenchman everywhere, and not to kill him or the Indians in his company; that the black gown wishes to pass to the country of the Assinipouars (Assineboines), and to that of the Kilistinaux (Cnistineaux); that he was already with the Outagamis (Foxes), and that I was going this fall to the Illinois, to whom they should leave a free passage.

"They agreed; but as for my present waited till all came from the chase, promising to come to La Pointe

in the fall, to hold a council with the Illinois and speak with me. Would that all these nations loved God as they feared the French."

The relations of the Jesuits for 1670–71, allude to the Dahkotahs, and their attack on the Hurons and Ojibways of La Pointe:—

"There are certain people, called Nadouessi, dreaded by their neighbours, and although they only use the bow and arrow, they use it with so much skill and so much dexterity that, in a moment, they fill the air. In the Parthian mode, they turn their heads in flight, and discharge their arrows so rapidly, that they are no less to be feared in their retreat than in their attack.

"They dwell on the shores of, and around the great river, Messipi, of which we shall speak. They number no less than fifteen populous towns, and yet they know not how to cultivate the earth by seeding it, contenting themselves with a species of marsh rye, which we call wild oats.

"For sixty leagues, from the extremity of the upper lakes towards sunset, and, as it were, in the centre of the western nations, *they have all united their force*, by a general league, which has been made against them, as against a common enemy.

"They speak a peculiar language, entirely distinct from that of the Algonquins and Hurons, whom they generally surpass in generosity, since they often content themselves with the glory of having obtained the victory, and freely release the prisoners they have taken in battle.

"Our Outaouacs and Hurons, of the Point of the Holy Ghost, had, to the present time, kept up a kind

of peace with them, but affairs having become embroiled during last winter, and some murders having been committed on both sides, our savages had reason to apprehend that the storm would soon burst upon them, and judged that it was safer for them to leave the place, which in fact they did in the spring."

La Pointe being abandoned, the nearest French settlement is Sault St. Marie, at the foot of the lake. In the year 1674 a party of Dahkotahs arrived there to make an alliance with the French, having been defeated in recent engagements with their foes. They visited the mission-house of Father Dreuilletes, where some of their nation were under religious instruction; and a council of the neighbouring tribes was called to deliberate on the proposed peace. A Cree Indian insulted a Dahkotah chief by brandishing his knife in his face. Fired at the indignity, he drew his own stone knife from his belt, and shouted the war cry. A fierce conflict now took place, in which the ten Dahkotah envoys were scalped and the mission-house burned.

The Saulteurs[1] or Ojibways divided into two bands not far from this period. One remained at the Falls of Saint Mary, and subsisted on the delicious white fish, the other retired towards the extremity of Lake Superior, and settled at two places, making an alliance with the Dahkotahs, who were anxious for French goods, which they strengthened by intermarriages. The Dahkotahs, who had their villages near the Mississippi,

[1] Name applied because they lived at Sault St. Marie. The Dahkotahs call them Ha-ha-twawns, Dweller at the Falls. The Algonquin tribes called them Pauotig-oueieuhak, Inhabitants of the Falls, or Pahouitingdachirini, Men of the Shallow Cataract.

about the forty-sixth degree of latitude, shared their country with their new allies. During the winter, the Ojibways hunted, and in the spring they returned to the shores of Lake Superior. While in the land of the Dahkotahs, they took care not to assist them in their wars, lest they should be embroiled with surrounding nations.[1]

[1] Perrot in La Potherie.

CHAPTER V.

The trade in furs has produced a class of men of marked peculiarities. Under the French dominion, military officers, and the descendants of a decayed nobility, were licensed, by authority, to trade in a particular district. These men were well educated, polished in their manners, and fond of control. Living in a savage land, surrounded by a few dependents, they acted as monarchs of all they surveyed. The freedom from the restraints of civilized life, and the adulation received from the barbarians, who are so easily impressed by tinsel and glare, had a wonderful fascination, so that a "lodge in some vast wilderness" became preferable to the drawing-rooms of ancient France, and the gay assemblies of Quebec.

These licensed officers did not harass themselves with the minutiæ of the Indian trade. In their employ were a few clerks, chiefly natives of Canada, who had received the rudiments of an education. Upon these devolved the task of conducting European articles of merchandise, to the tribes on the various watercourses that radiated from the centre of trade, with whom they wintered, and then returned in the spring or summer with the peltries that had been obtained in exchange for powder, lead, rum, and tobacco.

Under each clerk were a few men of no cultivation, the children of poverty or shame, who from their earliest youth had led a roving life, and who acted as canoe men, hewers of wood, and drawers of water.

Mercurial in temperament, and with no sense of responsibility, they were a "jolly set" of fellows, in their habits approximating to the savage, rather than the European.

The labours of the day finished, they danced around the camp-fire to the sound of the viol, or they purchased the virtue of some Indian maiden, and engaged in debauch as disgusting as that of sailors sojourning in the isles of the South Sea, or

> "Worn with the long day's march, and the chase
> Of the deer, and the bison,
> Stretched themselves on the ground and slept.
> Where the quivering fire-light
> Flashed on their swarthy cheeks, and their
> Forms wrapped up in their blankets."[1]

Inured to toil, they arose in the morning "when it was yet dark," and pushing the prow of their light canoes into the water, swiftly they glided away "like the shade of a cloud on the prairie," and did not break fast until the sun had been above the horizon for several hours.

Halting for a short period they partook of their coarse fare, and sang their rude songs; then re-embarking, they pursued their course to the land of the beaver and the buffalo, until the "shades of night began to fall."

From early youth accustomed to descend rapids, and ascend lofty bluffs with heavy burdens, they guided

[1] Evangeline.

their canoes, and carried their packs through places that would have been impassable to any but the "coureurs des bois."[1] When old age relaxed their sinewy joints, they returned to Mackinaw, or some other entrepôt, and with an Indian woman obtained, after the manner of the country, to mend their moccasins and hoe their gardens, passed the remainder of life in whiffing the pipe and recounting hair-breadth escapes.

The "bois brulé"[2] offspring naturally became enamoured with the rover's life, a retrospect of which infused fire into the dim eyes of the old man, and as soon as employment could be obtained they left the homestead to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors.

The voyageur seldom remains in a settled country. As civilization advances he feels cramped and uncomfortable, and follows the Indian in his retreat. On the confines of Minnesota are many of this class, whose fathers, a generation ago, dwelt at La Pointe, Green Bay, or Prairie du Chien. Before France had taken formal possession of the region of the Lakes, hundreds of "coureurs des bois" had ventured into the distant North-West. The absence of so many from regular pursuits, was supposed to be disastrous to the interests of the colony, and measures were taken by the French government to compel them to return, which resulted in only partial success.

Du Chesneau, Intendant of Canada, was worried by the lawlessness of the rovers, and writes to the Minister of Marine[3] and Colonies of France :—

[1] So called because they wandered through the woods, to obtain peltries from the savages.

[2] This term, meaning "burnt wood," applied to half-breeds because of their dark complexions.

[3] Nov. 10, 1679, Paris Documents, 11. Col. Hist. N. Y. vol. ix. p. 133.

"Be pleased to bear in mind, my lord, that there was a general complaint, the year previous to my arrival in this country, that the great quantity of people who went to trade for peltries to the Indian country, ruined the colony, because those who alone could improve it, being young and strong for work, abandoned their wives and children, the cultivation of lands, and rearing of cattle; that they became dissipated; that their absence gave rise to licentiousness among their wives, as has often been the case, and is still of daily occurrence; that they accustomed themselves to a loafing and vagabond life, which it was beyond their power to quit; that they derived little benefit from their labours, because they were induced to waste in drunkenness and fine clothes the little they earned, which was very trifling, those who gave them licenses having the larger part, besides the price of the goods, which they sold them very dear, and that the Indians would no longer bring them peltries in such abundance to sell to the honest people, if so great a number of young men went in search of them to those very barbarians, who despised us on account of the great cupidity we manifested."

At one period, three-fourths of the revenue of Canada was derived from the fur trade.

Only twenty-five licenses were granted each year; and when a "poor gentleman" or "old officer" did not wish to go West, he disposed of his permit, which was valued at six hundred crowns, to the merchants of Quebec or Montreal. Each license allowed the possessor to send two canoes into the Indian country. Six "voyageurs" were employed for the canoes, and were furnished with goods valued at one thousand crowns, with an addition of fifteen per cent. The losses and

risk were great, but when a venture was successful the profits were enormous.

The two canoes sometimes brought to Montreal beautiful furs valued at eight thousand crowns. Tho merchants received from the "coureurs des bois" six hundred crowns for the license, one thousand for the goods, and forty per cent. on the balance of sales; the residue was divided among the "coureurs," giving to each five or six hundred crowns, which was disposed of as quickly, and much in the same way, as mariners discharged from a ship of war spend their wages.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the name of Nicholas Perrot was familiar, not only to the men of business, and officers of government at Montreal and Quebec, but around the council fires of the Hurons, Ottawas, Otchagras, Ojibways, Pottawotamies, Miamies, and Dahkotahs. A native of Canada, accustomed from childhood to the excitement and incidents of border life, he was to a certain extent prepared for the wild scenes witnessed in after days.

If the name of Joliet is worthy of preservation, the citizens of the North-West ought not to be willing to let the name of that man die, who was the first of whom we have any account that erected a trading post on the upper Mississippi.

Perrot was a man of good family, and in his youth applied himself to study, and, being for a time in the service of the Jesuits, became familiar with the customs and languages of most of the tribes upon the borders of our lakes.

Some years before La Salle had launched the "Griffin" on Lake Erie, and commenced his career of discovery, Perrot, at the request of the authorities in Canada, who

looked upon him as a man of great tact, visited the various nations of the North-West, and invited them to a grand council at Sault St. Marie, for the purpose of making a treaty with France. Of mercurial temperament, he performed the journey with great speed, going as far south as Chicago, the site of the present city.

On the 3d of September, 1670, Talon, the Intendant of Canada, ordered Sieur de St. Lusson to proceed to the "countries of the Outaouais, Nez Percés, Illinois, and other nations discovered" near Lake Superior or the Fresh Sea, and search for mines, particularly copper. He was also delegated to take possession of all the countries through which he passed, planting the cross and the arms of France.

In May, 1671, there was seen at the Falls of St. Mary, what has been of late, a frequent occurrence. Here was the first convocation of civilized men, with the aborigines of the North-West, for the formation of a compact, for the purposes of trade and mutual assistance.[1]

It was not only the custom but policy of the court of France to make a great display upon such an occasion. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that we should see the ecclesiastic and military officers, surrounded "with all of the pomp and circumstance" peculiar to their profession in that age of extravagance in externals.

Allouëz, the first ecclesiastic who saw the Dahkotahs

[1] The Europeans present, besides De Lusson and Perrot, were the Jesuits, André, Dreuilletes, Allouëz, and Dablon; also Joliet, the explorer of the Mississippi; Mogras, of Three Rivers, Canada; Touppine, a soldier of the castle of Quebec; Dennis Masse; Chavigny; Chevriottiere; Lagillier; Mayseré; Dupuis; Bidaud Joniel; Porcet; Du Prat; Vital Oriol; Guillaume.

face to face, and the founder of the mission among the Ojibways at La Pointe, opened council by detailing to the painted, grotesque assemblage, enveloped in the robes of the beaver and buffalo, the great power of his monarch who lived beyond the seas.

Two holes were then dug, in one of which was planted a cedar column, and in the other a cross of the same material. After this the European portion of the assemblage chanted the hymn which was so often heard in the olden time from Lake Superior to Lake Pontchartrain:—

"Vexilla regis prodeunt
Fulget crucis mysterium,
Qua vita mortem pertulit,
Et morte, vitam pertulit."

The arms of France, probably engraved on leaden plates, were then attached to both column and cross, and again the whole company sang together the "Exaudiat," of the Roman Catholic service, the same as the 20th Psalm, of the King James' version of the Bible. The delegates from the different tribes having signified their approval of what Perrot had interpreted of the speech of the French Envoy, St. Lusson, there was a grand discharge of musketry, and the chanting of the noble "Te Deum Laudamus."

After this alliance was concluded, Perrot, in a spirit of enterprise, opened the trade with some of the more remote tribes.

The first trading posts on Lake Superior, beyond Sault St. Marie, were built of pine logs, by Daniel Greysolon du Luth, a native of Lyons, at Kamanistigoya, the entrance of Pigeon river, Minnesota. On the

1st of September, 1678, he left Quebec, to explore the country of the Dahkotahs and Assineboines.

The next year, on the 2d of July, he caused the king's arms to be planted "in the great village of the Nadouessioux (Dahkotahs), called Kathio, where no Frenchman had ever been, also at Songaskicons, and Houetbatons,[1] one hundred and twenty leagues distant from the former."

On the 15th of September, he met the Assineboines and other nations, at the head of Lake Superior, for the purpose of settling their difficulties with the Dahkotahs, and was successful.

On this tour he visited Mille Lac, which he called Lake Buade, the family name of Frontenac, governor of Canada.[2]

Du Chesneau, the intendant of Canada, appears to have been hostile to Du Luth, and wrote to Seignelay, Minister of the Colonies, that he and Governor Frontenac were in correspondence, and enriching themselves by the fur trade. He also intimated that the governor clandestinely encouraged Du Luth to sell his peltries to the English. From the tone of the correspondence, Du Chesneau was excitable and prejudiced.[3]

[1] The Chongasketons and Ouadebatons of the early French maps. The former were the same as the Sissetoans.

[2] Coronellis' map, corrected by Tillemon, published at Paris, 1688.

[3] "The man named La Taupine, a famous 'coureur de bois,' who set out in the month of September of last year, 1678, to go to the Outawacs, with goods, and who has always been interested with the governor, having returned this year, and I being advised that he had traded in two days, one hundred and fifty beaver robes in a single village of this tribe, amounting in all to nearly nine hundred beavers, which is a matter of public notoriety, and that he left with Du Luth, two men, whom he had with him, considered myself bound to have him arrested and to question him, but having presented a license from the governor

He attempted to imprison several of Du Luth's friends, among others his uncle, named Patron, who was a merchant, and his agent for the sale of furs.

The account that Perrot gave of his explorations beyond Lake Michigan, attracted the attention of La Salle, and induced him to project those enterprises which have given distinction to his name.

permitting him and his comrades, Lamonde, and Dupuy, to repair to the Outawac nation to execute his secret orders, I had him set at liberty. Immediately on his going out, Sieur Prevost, Town-Mayor of Quebec, came at the head of some soldiers, to force the prison, with written orders in these terms from the governor:—

"'Count de Frontenac, Councillor of the King in his Council, Governor and Lieutenant-General of His Majesty in New France:

"Sieur Prevost, Mayor of Quebec, is ordered, in case the Intendant arrest Pierre Moreau, alias La Taupine, whom WE have sent to Quebec as bearer of despatches, upon pretext of his having been in the bush, to set him forthwith at liberty, and employ every means for this purpose at his peril. Done at Montreal, 5th September, 1679.

FRONTENAC.'"

CHAPTER VI.

THE same autumn that Du Luth left Montreal for the region west of Lake Superior, La Salle was at Fort Frontenac, the modern Kingston, busily engaged in maturing his plans for an occupation of the Mississippi valley. During the winter and the following spring his employees were occupied in building a vessel to navigate the lakes. Among those who were to accompany him on the voyage was Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan priest, of the Recollect order.

The first European to explore the Mississippi above the mouth of the Wisconsin; the first to name and describe the Falls of Saint Anthony; the first to present an engraving of the Falls of Niagara to the literary world; the Minnesotian will desire to know something of the antecedents and subsequent life of this individual.

The account of Hennepin's early life is chiefly obtained from the introduction to the Amsterdam edition of his book of travels. He was born in Ath, an inland town of the Netherlands. From boyhood he longed to visit foreign countries, and it is not to be wondered at that he assumed the priestly office, for next to the army, it was the road, in that age, to distinction. For several years he led quite a wandering life. A member

of the Recollect branch of the Franciscans, at one time he is on a begging expedition to some of the towns on the sea coast. In a few months he occupies the post of chaplain at an hospital, where he shrives the dying and administers extreme unction. From the quiet of the hospital he proceeds to the camp, and is present at the battle of Seneffe, which occurred in the year 1674.

His whole mind, from the time that he became a priest, appears to have been on "things seen and temporal," rather than on those that are "unseen and eternal." While on duty at some of the ports on the Straits of Dover, he exhibited the characteristic of an ancient Athenian more than that of a professed successor of the Apostles. He sought out the society of strangers "who spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." With perfect nonchalance he confesses that notwithstanding the nauseating fumes of tobacco, he used to slip behind the doors of sailors' taverns, and spend days, without regard to the loss of his meals, listening to the adventures and hair-breadth escapes of the mariners in lands beyond the sea.

In the year 1676 he received a welcome order from his Superior, requiring him to embark for Canada. Unaccustomed to the world, and arbitrary in his disposition, he rendered the cabin of the ship in which he sailed anything but heavenly. As in modern days, the passengers in a vessel to the new world were composed of heterogeneous materials. There were young women going out in search for brothers or husbands, ecclesiastics, and those engaged in the then new, but profitable, commerce in furs. One of his fellow passengers was the talented and enterprising, though unfortunate, La Salle, with whom he afterwards associated. If he is to be

credited, his intercourse with La Salle was not very pleasant on ship-board. The young women, tired of being cooped up in the narrow accommodations of the ship, when the evening was fair sought the deck, and engaged in the rude dances of the French peasantry of that age. Hennepin, feeling that it was improper, began to assume the air of the priest, and forbade the sport. La Salle, feeling that his interference was uncalled for, called him a pedant, and took the side of the girls, and during the voyage there were stormy discussions.

Good humour appears to have been restored when they left the ship, for Hennepin would otherwise have not been the companion of La Salle in his great Western journey.

Sojourning for a short period at Quebec, the adventure-loving Franciscan is permitted to go to a mission station on or near the site of the present town of Kingston, Canada West.

Here there was much to gratify his love of novelty, and he passed considerable time in rambling among the Iroquois of New York, even penetrating as far eastward as the Dutch Fort Orange, now the city of Albany.

In 1678 he returned to Quebec, and was ordered to join the expedition of Robert La Salle.

On the 6th of December Father Hennepin and a portion of the exploring party had entered the Niagara river. In the vicinity of the Falls, the winter was passed, and while the artisans were preparing a ship above the Falls, to navigate the great lakes, the Recollect wiled away the hours in studying the manners and

customs of the Seneca Indians, and in admiring the sublimest handiwork of God on the globe.

On the 7th of August, 1679, the ship being completely rigged, unfurled its sails to the breezes of Lake Erie. The vessel was named the "Griffin," in honour of the arms of Frontenac, Governor of Canada, the first ship of European construction that had ever ploughed the waters of the great inland seas of North America.

After encountering a violent and dangerous storm on one of the lakes, during which they had given up all hopes of escaping shipwreck, on the 27th of the month, they were safely moored in the harbour of "Missilimackinack." From thence the party proceeded to Green Bay, where they left the ship, procured canoes, and continued along the coast of Lake Michigan. By the middle of January, 1680, La Salle had conducted his expedition to the Illinois river, and on an eminence near Lake Peoria, he commenced, with much heaviness of heart, the erection of a fort, which he called Crevecœur, on account of the many disappointments he had experienced.

La Salle, in the month of February, selected Hennepin and two traders for the arduous and dangerous undertaking of exploring the unknown regions of the upper Mississippi.

Daring and ambitious of distinction as a discoverer, he was not averse to such a commission, though perhaps he may have shrunk from the undertaking at so inclement a season as the last of February is, in this portion of North America.

On the 29th of February, 1680, with two voyageurs, named Picard du Gay and Michael Ako, Hennepin embarked in a canoe on the voyage of discovery.

The venerable Ribourde, a member of a Burgundian family of high rank, and a fellow Franciscan, came down to the river bank to see him off, and, in bidding him farewell, told him to acquit himself like a man, and be of good courage. His words were, "Viriliter age et confortetur cor tuum."

The canoe was loaded with about one hundred and fifty dollars' worth of merchandise for the purpose of trade with the Indians, and in addition La Salle presented to Hennepin ten knives, twelve awls or bodkins, a parcel of tobacco, a package of needles, and a pound or two of white or black beads.

The movements of Hennepin, during the month of March, are not very clearly related. He appears to have been detained at the junction of the Illinois with the Mississippi by the floating ice, until near the middle of that month. He then commenced the ascent of the river for the first time by civilized man, though Marquette had, seven years before, descended from the Wisconsin.

Surrounded by hostile and unknown natives, they cautiously proceeded. On the 11th of April, 1680, thirty-three bark canoes, containing a Dahkotah war party against the Illinois and Miami nations, hove in sight, and commenced discharging their arrows at the canoe of the Frenchmen. Perceiving the calumet of peace, they ceased their hostile demonstrations and approached. The first night that Hennepin and his companions passed with the Dahkotah party was one of anxiety. The next morning, a chief named Narrhetoba asked for the peace calumet, filled it with willow bark and all smoked. It was then signified that the white men were to return with them to their villages.

In his narrative the Franciscan remarks:—"I found it difficult to say my office before these Indians. Many seeing me move my lips, said in a fierce tone, 'Ouakanche.' Michael, all out of countenance, told me, that if I continued to say my breviary, we should all three be killed, and the Picard begged me at least to pray apart, so as not to provoke them. I followed the latter's advice, but the more I concealed myself, the more I had the Indians at my heels, for when I entered the wood, they thought I was going to hide some goods under ground, so that I knew not on what side to turn to pray, for they never let me out of sight. This obliged me to beg pardon of my canoe-men, assuring them I could not dispense with saying my office. By the word 'Ouakanche,' the Indians meant that the book I was reading was a spirit, but by their gesture they nevertheless showed a kind of aversion, so that to accustom them to it, I chanted the Litany of the Blessed Virgin in the canoe, with my book opened. They thought that the breviary was a spirit which taught me to sing for their diversion, for these people are naturally fond of singing."

This is the first mention of a Dahkotah word in a European book. The savages were annoyed rather than enraged, at seeing the white man reading a book, and exclaimed "Wakan-de!" this is wonderful or supernatural. The war party was composed of several bands of the M'dewakantonwan Dahkotahs, and there was a diversity of opinion in relation to the disposition that should be made of the white men. The relatives of those who had been killed by the Miamis, were in favour of taking their scalps, but others were anxious

to retain the favour of the French, and open a trading intercourse.

Perceiving one of the canoe-men shoot a wild turkey, they called the gun Manza Ouackange—iron that has understanding; more correctly, Maza Wakande, this is the supernatural metal.

Aquipaguatin, one of the head men, resorted to the following device to obtain merchandise. Says the Father, "this wily savage had the bones of some distinguished relative, which he preserved with great care in some skins dressed and adorned with several rows of black and red porcupine quills. From time to time he assembled his men to give it a smoke, and made us come several days to cover the bones with goods, and by a present wipe away the tears he had shed for him, and for his own son killed by the Miamis. To appease this captious man, we threw on the bones several fathoms of tobacco, axes, knives, beads, and some black and white wampum bracelets. * * * * * * * We slept at the point of the Lake of Tears,[1] which we so called from the tears which this chief shed all night long, or by one of his sons whom he caused to weep when he grew tired."

The next day, after four or five leagues' sail, a chief came, and telling them to leave their canoes, he pulled up three piles of grass for seats. Then taking a piece of cedar, full of little holes, he placed a stick into one, which he revolved between the palms of his hands, until he kindled a fire, and informed the Frenchmen that they would be at Mille Lac in six days. On the nineteenth day after their captivity, they arrived in the

[1] Lake Pepin.

vicinity of Saint Paul, not far, it is probable, from the marshy ground on which the Kaposia band once lived, and now called "Pig's Eye."

The journal remarks, "Having arrived, on the nineteenth day of our navigation, five leagues below St. Anthony's Falls, these Indians landed us in a bay, broke our canoe to pieces, and secreted their own in the reeds."

They then followed the trail to Mille Lac, sixty leagues distant. As they approached their villages, the various bands began to show their spoils. The tobacco was highly prized, and led to some contention. The chalice of the Father, which glistened in the sun, they were afraid to touch, supposing it was "wakan."[1] After five days' walk they reached the Issati (Dahkotah) settlements in the valley of the Rum river. The different bands each conducted a Frenchman to their village, the chief Aquipaguetin taking charge of Hennepin. After marching through the marshes towards the sources of Rum river, five wives of the chief, in three bark canoes, met them and took them a short league to an island where their cabins were.

An aged Indian kindly rubbed down the way-worn Franciscan—placing him on a bear-skin near the fire, he anointed his legs and the soles of his feet with wildcat oil.

The son of the chief took great pleasure in carrying upon his bare back the priest's robe with dead men's bones enveloped. It was called Père Louis Chinnien—in the Dahkotah language Shinna or Shinnan signifies

[1] The word for supernatural, in the Dahkotah Lexicon, is thus spelled, but pronounced "wakon," or "wawkawn."

a buffalo robe. Hennepin's description of his life on the island is in these words:—

"The day after our arrival, Aquipaguetin, who was the head of a large family, covered me with a robe made of ten large dressed beaver skins, trimmed with porcupine quills. This Indian showed me five or six of his wives, telling them, as I afterwards learned, that they should in future regard me as one of their children.

"He set before me a bark dish full of fish, and, seeing that I could not rise from the ground, he had a small sweating-cabin made, in which he made me enter naked with four Indians. This cabin he covered with buffalo skins, and inside he put stones red-hot. He made me a sign to do as the others before beginning to sweat, but I merely concealed my nakedness with a handkerchief. As soon as these Indians had several times breathed out quite violently, he began to sing vociferously, the others putting their hands on me and rubbing me while they wept bitterly. I began to faint, but I came out and could scarcely take my habit to put on. When he made me sweat thus three times a week, I felt as strong as ever."

The mariner's compass was a constant source of wonder and amazement. Aquipaguetin having assembled the braves, would ask Hennepin to show his compass. Perceiving that the needle turned, the chief harangued his men, and told them that the Europeans were spirits, capable of doing anything.

In the Franciscan's possession was an iron pot with lion paw feet, which the Indians would not touch unless their hands were wrapped in buffalo skins.

The women looked upon it as "wakan," and would not enter the cabin where it was.

"The chiefs of these savages, seeing that I was desirous to learn, frequently made me write, naming all the parts of the human body; and as I would not put on paper certain indelicate words, at which they do not blush, they were heartily amused."

They often asked the Franciscan questions, to answer which it was necessary to refer to his lexicon. This appeared very strange, and, as they had no word for paper, they said, "That white thing must be a spirit which tells Père Louis all we say."

Hennepin remarks: "These Indians often asked me how many wives and children I had, and how old I was, that is, how many winters; for so these natives always count. Never illumined by the light of faith, they were surprised at my answer. Pointing to our two Frenchmen, whom I was then visiting, at a point three leagues from our village, I told them that a man among us could only have one wife; that, as for me, I had promised the Master of life to live as they saw me, and to come and live with them to teach them to be like the French.

"But that gross people, till then lawless and faithless, turned all I said into ridicule. 'How,' said they, 'would you have these two men with thee have wives? Ours would not live with them, for they have hair all over their face, and we have none there or elsewhere.' In fact they were never better pleased with me than when I was shaved, and from a complaisance, certainly not criminal, I shaved every week.

"As I often went to visit the cabins, I found a sick child, whose father's name was Mamenisi. Michael Ako would not accompany me; the Picard du Gay alone

followed me to act as sponsor, or rather to witness the baptism.

"I christened the child Antoinette, in honour of St. Anthony of Padua, as well as for the Picard's name, which was Anthony Auguelle. He was a native of Amiens, and nephew of the Procurator-General of the Premonstratensians both now at Paris. Having poured natural water on the head and uttered these words:—'Creature of God, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' I took half an altar cloth which I had wrested from the hands of an Indian who had stolen it from me, and put it on the body of the baptized child; for as I could not say mass for want of wine and vestments, this piece of linen could not be put to better use, than to enshroud the first Christian child among these tribes. I do not know whether the softness of the linen had refreshed her, but she was the next day smiling in her mother's arms, who believed that I had cured the child—but she died soon after, to my great consolation.

"During my stay among them, there arrived four savages, who said they were come alone five hundred leagues from the west, and had been four months upon the way. They assured us there was no such place as the Straits of Anian, and that they had travelled without resting, except to sleep, and had not seen or passed over any great lake, by which phrase they always mean the sea.

"They further informed us that the nation of the Assenipoulacs (Assiniboines) who lie north-east of Issati, was not above six or seven days' journey; that none of the nations, within their knowledge, who lie to the east

or north-west, had any great lake about their countries, which were very large, but only rivers which came from the north. They further assured us that there were very few forests in the countries through which they passed, insomuch that now and then they were forced to make fires of buffaloes' dung to boil their food. All these circumstances make it appear that there is no such place as the Straits of Anian, as we usually see them set down on the maps. And whatever efforts have been made for many years past by the English and Dutch, to find out a passage to the Frozen Sea, they have not yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my discovery, and the assistance of God, I doubt not but a passage may still be found, and that an easy one too.

"For example, we may be transported into the Pacific Sea, by rivers which are large and capable of carrying great vessels, *and from thence it is very easy to go to China and Japan, without crossing the equinoctial line, and, in all probability, Japan is on the same continent as America.*"

It is painful to witness a member of the sacred profession so mendacious as Hennepin. After publishing a tolerably correct account of his adventures in Minnesota, in 1683, at Paris, fifteen years after he issued another edition greatly enlarged, in which he claims to have descended the Mississippi towards the Gulf of Mexico, as well as discovered the Falls of St. Anthony. As the reader notes his glaring contradictions in this last work, he is surprised that the author should have been bold enough to contend, that the statements were reliable. Though a large portion was plagiarized from

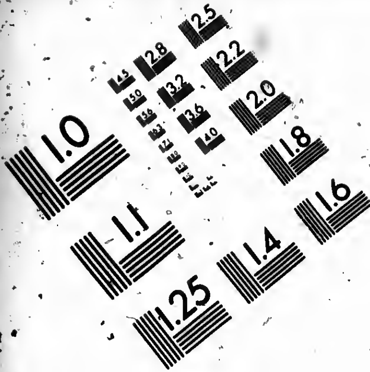
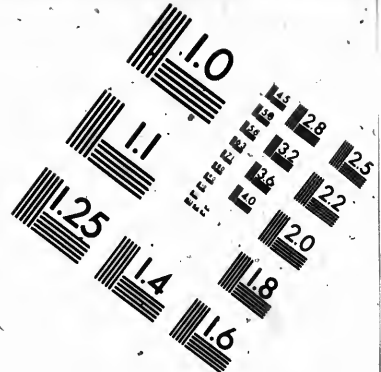
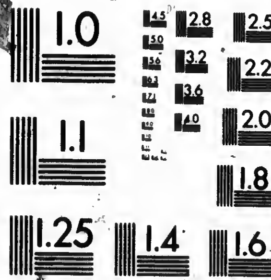
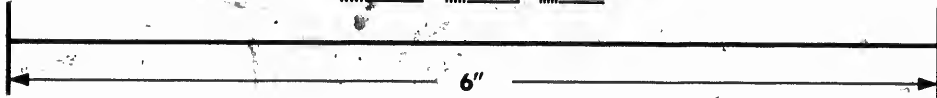
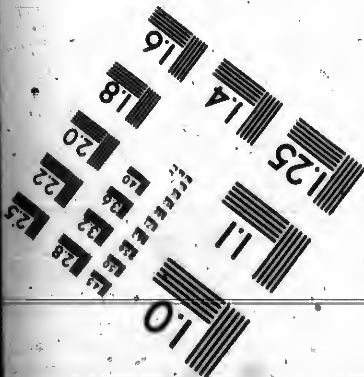
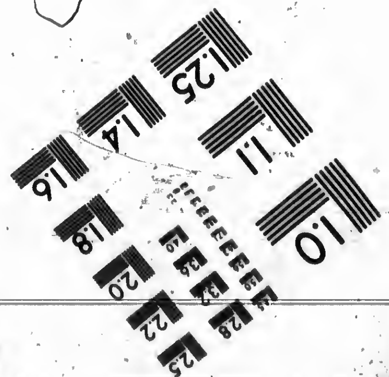



IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)

Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

the accounts of other travellers, it had a rapid sale, and was translated into several languages.[1]

[1] The following will give some idea of the popularity of Hennepin's narrative. It was prepared by Dr. O'Callaghan, for the Historical Magazine, Jan. 1858, and is believed to be nearly a complete list of the several editions of Hennepin's books:

No. 1. Description de la Louisiane. 12mo. Paris, 1683. Meusel. Ternaux, No. 985.

2. The same. 12mo. Paris, 1684. Rich., in No. 403 of 1683.

3. Descrizione della Luisiana. 12mo. Bologna, 1686. Rib. Belg. Meusel Ternaux, No. 1012. Translated by Casimir Frescot.

4. Description de la Louisiane. 12mo. Paris, 1688. Richarderie Faribault.

5. Beschryving van Louisiana. 4to. Amsterdam, 1688. Harv. Cat.

6. Beschreibung, &c. 12mo. Nurnberg, 1689. Meusal. Ternaux, No. 1041.

7. Nouvelle Decouverte. 12mo. Utrecht, 1697. Ternaux, 1095. "Nouvelle Description," Meusel. Faribault.

8. The same. 12mo. Amsterdam, 1698. Ternaux, No. 1110.

9. New Discovery. London, 1698. Ternaux, No. 1119, who calls it a 4to.; all the other catalogues an 8vo. J. R. B. says 2v.; but see Rich.

10. Another, same title. 8vo. London, 1698. J. R. B.

11. Nouveau Voyage. 12mo. Utrecht, 1698. Ternaux, No. 1111. 2v. Bib. Belg. Hennepin calls this his third vol.; No. 1 *sup.*, being his first, and No. 7 *sup.* his second. Rich.

12. An edition in Dutch. 4to. Utrecht, 1698. J. R. B.

13. Nouveau Voyage. Amsterdam, 1698. Faribault.

14. A New Discovery of a Vast Country, &c. 8vo. London, Bonwick, 1699. t. f. Ded. 4ff. Pref. 2ff. Cont. 3ff. Text, pp. 240 and 216, with tit., pref. and cont. to part II.; two maps, six plates. [Not in any catalogue.]

15. Relaçion, de un Pays, &c. 12mo. Brusselas, 1699. Ternaux, 1126. A translation into Spanish by Seb. Fern. de Medrano.

16. Neue Entdekungen vieler grossen Landschaften in Amerika. 12mo. Bremen, 1699. Ternaux, 1049, who gives the date incorrectly, 1690. Translated by Langen. Meusel, No. 6 of J. R. B., and an edition in German of No. 7. *Supra.*

17. Voyage ou Nouvelle Decouverte. 8vo. Amsterdam, 1704. Meusel, Rich., No. 8.

18. The same. 8vo. Amsterdam, 1711. Meusel. Faribault says "Nouvelle Description."

19. The same. 12mo. Amsterdam, 1712. J. R. B.

20. A Discovery of a large, rich, &c. 8vo. London, 1720. Rich., No. 12.

21. Nouvelle Description. Amsterdam, 1720. Faribault.

22. Nouvelle Decouverte. 4to. Amsterdam, 1737. Richarderie. In

No doubt much of the information which the author obtained in relation to Minnesota, was obtained from Du Luth, whom he met in the Dahkotah country, and with whom he descended the Mississippi on his return to Canada.

Having made a favourable acquaintance with English gentlemen, he dedicated the edition of his work, published at Utrecht, in 1698, to King William, and the contents induced the British to send vessels to enter the Mississippi river. Callieres, Governor of Canada, writing to Pontchartrain,[1] the Minister, says, "I have learned that they are preparing vessels in England and Holland to take possession of Louisiana, upon the relation of Père Louis Hennepin, a Recollect who has made a book and dedicated it to King William."

After he had earned a reputation, not to be coveted, he desired to return to America, and Louis XIV., in a despatch to Callieres, writes, "His majesty has been informed that Father Hennepin, a Dutch Franciscan, who has formerly been in Canada, is desirous of returning thither. As his majesty is not satisfied with the conduct of the friar, it is his pleasure, if he return thither, that they arrest and send him to the Intendant of Rochefort."

In the year 1701 he was still in Europe, attached to a Convent in Italy.[2] He appears to have died in obscurity, unwept and unhonoured.

Histoire des Incas. A translation of Garcilasso de là Vega by Rousseler.

23. Neue Entdekungen, &c. Bremen, 1742. The same as No. 15, with a new title page.

[1] May 12, 1699. See Smith's Hist. Wisconsin, vol. i., p. 318.

[2] Historical Magazine, Boston, p. 316, vol. i.

Du Luth and not Hennepin was considered the real discoverer of Minnesota. Le Clercq remarks, that "in the last year of M. de Frontenac's first administration, Sieur du Luth, a man of talent and experience, opened a way to the missionaries and the gospel in many different nations, turning toward the north of that lake (Superior), where he even built a fort. He advanced as far as the Lake of the Issati (Mille Lac), called Lake Buade, from the family name of M. de Frontenac."

In the month of June, 1680, he left his post on Lake Superior, and with two canoes, an Indian, and four Frenchmen, entered a river, eight leagues below, ascending to the sources of which, he made a portage to a lake, which is the head of a river that entered into the Mississippi. Proceeding toward the Dahkotah villages he met Hennepin, with a party of Indians.

Returning to Quebec, Du Luth visited France, and conferred with the Minister of the Colonies, but in 1683, he was at Mackinaw fortifying the post against a threatened attack by the savages, and sending expresses to the Indians north and west of Lake Superior, who traded at Hudson's Bay with the English, to come and traffic with the French.

In the spring of 1683, Governor De La Barre sent twenty men, under the command of Nicholas Perrot, to establish frendly alliances with the Ioways and Dahkotahs. Proceeding to the Mississippi, he established a post below the mouth of the "Ouiskonche"[1] (Wisconsin), which was known as Fort St. Nicholas.[2]

He found the Miamies, Foxes, and Maskoutens, at war

[1] La Potherie. [2] Bellin.

with the Dahkotahs, who were at that time in alliance with their old foes, the Ojibways.

Frenchmen visited the Dahkotahs during the winter; and, at the opening of navigation, a deputation of them came down to the post, and carried Perrot with great parade, on a robe of beavers, to the lodge of their chief, chanting songs, and weeping over his head according to custom.

He learned from the Dahkotahs a droll adventure. The Hurons, who had fled to them for refuge, at length excited them to war. The Hurons secreted themselves in marshes, keeping their heads only out of water. The Dahkotahs, knowing that they would travel in the night, devised an ingenious stratagem. Cutting up beaver-skins into cords, they stretched them around the marshes, and suspended bells on them which they had obtained from the French. When night came the Hurons marched, and, stumbling over the unseen cords, they rung the bells, which was a signal for the attack of the Dahkotahs, who killed the whole party with one exception.

While they were in the neighbourhood, they pillaged the goods of some Frenchmen; but, under the threats of Perrot, they were brought back.

The Miamies brought to the post lumps of lead, which they said were found between the rocks, on the banks of a small stream which flowed into the Mississippi, about two days' journey below that point. These were probably the mines of Galena, which are marked on De l'Isle's maps of the Mississippi.

In the month of March, 1684, notwithstanding all the attempts of the French to keep the peace, a band of Seneca and Cayuga warriors, having met seven canoes

manned by fourteen Frenchmen, with fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds of merchandise, who were going to trade with the "Scioux," pillaged and made them prisoners; and, after detaining them nine days, sent them away without arms, food, or canoes. This attack caused much alarm in Canada; and Du Luth, who appeared to have been in command at Green Bay, was ordered by the Governor of Canada to come and state the number of allies he could bring.

Perrot, who happened to be engaged in trade among the Outagamis (Foxes), not very far distant from the bay, rendered him great assistance in collecting allies.

With great expedition he came to Niagara, the place of rendezvous, with a band of Indians, and would alone have attacked the Senecas, had it not been for an express order from De La Barre, the governor, to desist.

When Louis XIV. heard of this outbreak of the Iroquois, he felt, to use his words, "that it was a grave misfortune for the colony of New France," and then, in his letter to the governor, he adds: "It appears to me that one of the principal causes of the war arises from one Du Luth having caused two Iroquois to be killed who had assassinated two Frenchmen in Lake Superior, and you sufficiently see how much this man's voyage, which cannot produce any advantage to the colony, and which was permitted only in the interest of some private persons, has contributed to distract the repose of the colony."

The English of New York, knowing the hostility of the Iroquois to the French, used the opportunity to trade with the distant Indians. In 1685, one Roseboom, with

some young men, had traded with the Ottawas in Michigan.

In the year 1686, an old Frenchman, who had lived among the Dutch and English in New York, came to Montreal, to visit a child at the Jesuit boarding-school; and he stated that a Major McGregory, of Albany, was contemplating an expedition to Mackinac.

Denonville having declared war in 1687, most of the French left the region of the Mississippi. Perrot and Boisguillot, at the time trading near the Wisconsin, leaving a few "coureurs des bois" to protect their goods from the Dahkotahs, joined Du Luth, who was in command at Green Bay.

The Governor of Canada ordered Du Luth to proceed to the present Detroit river, and watch whether the English passed into Lake St. Clair. In accordance with the order, he left Green Bay. Being provided with fifty armed men, he established a post called Fort St. Joseph, some thirty miles above Detroit.

In the year 1687, on the 19th of May, the brave and distinguished Tonty, who was a cousin of Du Luth, arrived at Detroit, from his fort on the Illinois. Durantaye and Du Luth, knowing that he had arrived, came down from Fort St. Joseph with thirty captive English. Here Tonty and Du Luth joined forces and proceeded toward the Iroquois country. As they were coasting Lake Erie, they met and captured Major McGregory, of Albany, then on his way with thirty Englishmen, to trade with the Indians at Mackinac.

Du Luth having reached Lake Ontario, we find him engaged in that conflict with the Senecas of the Genesee valley, when Father Angleran, the superintendent of the Mackinac mission, was severely but not mortally

wounded. After this battle, he returned, in company with Tonty, to his post on the Detroit river.[1]

[1] Baron La Hontan speaks of Grisolon de la Tourette being at Niagara in August, 1687, and calls him a brother of Du Luth.

In 1689, immediately previous to the burning of Schenectady, we find him fighting the Iroquois in the neighbourhood, and there is reason to suppose that he was engaged in the midnight sack of that town. As late as the year 1696, he is on duty at Fort Frontenac; but after the peace of Ryswick, which occasioned a suspension of hostilities, we hear but little more of this man, who was the first of whom we have any account, who came by way of Lake Superior to the upper Mississippi.

The letter of one of the Jesuit fathers, shows that in some things he was as superstitious as the Dahkotahs, with whom he once traded. While in command of Fort Frontenac, in 1696, he gave the following certificate:

"I, the subscriber, certify to all whom it may concern, that having been tormented by the gout for the space of twenty-three years, and with such severe pains that it gave me no rest for the space of three months at a time, I addressed myself to Catherine Tegahkouita, an Iroquois virgin, deceased at the Sault Saint Louis, in the reputation of sanctity, and I promised her to visit her tomb if God should give me health through her intercession. I have been so perfectly cured at the end of one novena which I made in her honour, that after five months I have not perceived the slightest touch of my gout.

"Given at Fort Frontenac, this 18th day of August, 1696.

"J. De Luth, Capt. of the Marine Corps, Commander Fort Frontenac."

He died in 1710. The despatch announcing the fact to the Home Government, is expressive in its simplicity: Capt. Du Luth is dead, "he was an honest man." Who would wish more said of him? His name is spelled Du Luth, Du Lut, Dulhut, and De Luth, in the old documents.

CHAPTER VII.

ALTHOUGH Du Luth and Hennepin had visited Minnesota, France laid no formal claim to the country, until the year 1689, when Perrot, accompanied by Le Sueur, Father Marest, and others, planted the cross and affixed the arms of France.

The first official document pertaining to Minnesota is worthy of preservation, and thus reads:—

"Nicholas Perrot, commanding for the King, at the post of the Nadouëssioux, commissioned by the Marquis Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of all New France, to manage the interests of commerce among all the Indian tribes, and people of the Bay des Puants,[1] Nadouëssioux,[2] Mascoutins, and other western nations of the Upper Mississippi, and to take possession in the King's name of all the places where he has heretofore been, and whither he will go.

"We, this day, the eighth of May, one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, do, in the presence of the Reverend Father Marest of the Society of Jesus, missionary among the Nadouëssioux; of Monsieur de Borie-

[1] Green Bay, Wisconsin. [2] Dahkotahs.

guillot,[1] commanding the French in the neighbourhood of the Ouiskonche[2] on the Mississippi; Augustin Legardeur, Esquire, Sieur de Caumont, and of Messieurs Le Sueur, Hebert, Lemire, and Blein:

"Declare to all whom it may concern, that, being come from the Bay des Puants, and to the Lake of the Ouiskonches, and to the river Mississippi, we did transport ourselves to the country of the Nadouëssioux, on the border of the river St. Croix,[3] and at the mouth of the river St. Pierre,[4] on the bank of which were the Mantantans;[5] and, farther up to the interior to the north-east of the Mississippi, as far as the Menchokatonx,[6] with whom dwell the majority of the Songeskitons, and other Nadouëssioux, who are to the north-east of the Mississippi, to take possession for, and in the name of the King, of the countries and rivers inhabited

[1] Charlevoix writes Boisguillot.

[2] Wisconsin, (Fort St. Nicholas,) Ouiskonche, Mesconsing, Ouisconsing, Wiskonsan, are some of the former spellings of this word.

[3] This is not ecclesiastical in its associations, but named after Mons. Saint Croix, who was drowned at its mouth.—*La Harpe's Louisiana.*

[4] Nicollet supposes that this river bore the name of Capt. St. Pierre.

[5] The Dahkotahs have a tradition, that a tribe called Onktokadan, who lived on the St. Croix just above the lake, was exterminated by the Foxes.

At an early date the Mde-wa-kan-ton-wan division of the Dahkotah tribe split into two parties, one of which was denominated Wa-kpa-a-ton-we-dan, and the other Ma-tan-ton-wan. The former name signifies, —Those-who-dwell-on-the-creek, because they had their village on Rice Creek, a stream which empties into the Mississippi seven miles above the Falls of St. Anthony. The signification of the latter name is unknown. It is said that Ta-te-psin, Wa-su-wi-ca-xta-xni, Ta-can-rpi-sa-pa, A-nog-i-na jin, Ru-ya-pa, and Ta-can-ku-wa-xte, whose names signify, respectively, Bounding-Wind, Bad-Hail, Black-Tomahawk, He-stands-both-sides, Eagle-Head, and Good-Road, are descendants of the Wa-kpa-a-ton-we-dan.—Wa-ku-te, Ta-o-ya-te-du-ta, Ma-za-ro-ta, Ma-rpi-ya-ma-za, Ma-rpi-wi-ca-xta, and Xa-kpe-dan, are said to be Ma-tan-ton-wans. The respective signification of their names is as follows: Shooter, His-scarlet-people, Grey-Iron, Iron-Cloud, Sky-Man, and Little-six.

[6] M'daywawkawntwawns.

by the said tribes, and of which they are proprietors. The present act done in our presence, signed with our hand and subscribed."[1]

The first French establishment in Minnesota was on the west shore of Lake Pepin, a short distance above the entrance.[2] On a map of the year 1700, it was called Fort Bon Secours; three years later it was marked Fort Le Sueur, and abandoned;[3] but in a much later map it is correctly called Fort Perrot.[4]

The year that Perrot visited Minnesota, Frontenac, who had been recalled seven years before, was recommissioned as Governor of Canada. He issued orders that the Frenchmen in the upper Mississippi country should return to Mackinaw.

Frontenac was dogmatic and overbearing, though deeply interested in the extension of the power of France. During the first term of office he had opposed the ecclesiastics, who deplored the ill effects of rum and licentious "coureurs des bois" upon the morals of the savages, and desired both excluded from the country. He had no interest in Christianity, and still less confidence in the Jesuits. In a communication to the government he bluntly said, to Colbert the minister, "To speak frankly to you, they think as much about the conversion of beavers as of souls. The majority of their missions are mere mockeries."

Learning that Durantaye, the Commandant at Macki-

[1] Then are given the names of those already mentioned. This record was drawn up at Green Bay, Wisconsin.

[2] Bellin's description of Map of North America.

[3] De l'Isle's Maps 1700, and 1703 This last name appears incorrect.

[4] See Jeffery's Map, 1762.

10

naw, was disposed to be friendly to missionary schemes, he superseded him by the appointment of Louvigny.

Perrot, who was on a visit to Montreal, conducted the new commander to his post, where he found the Ottawas wavering, and about to carry their peltries to the English; but by his uncommon tact he regained their confidence, and a flotilla of one hundred canoes, with furs valued at one hundred thousand crowns, started towards Montreal.

On the eighteenth of August, 1690, the citizens of that city perceived the waters of the Saint Lawrence darkened by descending canoes, and supposing that they were filled by the dreaded Iroquois, alarm-guns were fired to call in the citizens from the country; but this terror was soon turned to joy, by a messenger arriving with the intelligence that it was a party of five hundred Indians, of various tribes near Mackinaw, who had come to the city to exchange their peltries. So large a number from the North-West had not appeared for years; and, on the twenty-fifth, Count Frontenac gave them a grand feast of two oxen, six large dogs, two barrels of wine, and some prunes, with a plentiful supply of tobacco.

The Ottawas in council demanded the meaning of the hatchet Perrot had hung in their cabin.

Frontenac told them that they were aware of the tidings he had received, that a powerful army was coming to ravage his country; that all that was necessary to conclude was the mode of proceeding, whether to go and meet this army, or to wait for it with a firm foot; that he put into their hands the hatchet which had been formerly given them, and had since been kept suspended

for them, and he doubted not they would make good use of it.

He then, hatchet in hand, sung the war song, in which the Indians joined.

The increasing Iroquois and English hostility made it a dangerous undertaking to transport in canoes to or from Mackinaw.

Lieutenant D'Argenteuil was despatched by Frontenac in 1692, with eighteen Canadians on increased pay to Mackinaw, with an order to Louvigny, the commander, to send down all the Frenchmen that could be spared from the North-West, and the large amount of peltries that had accumulated at his post.

On the seventeenth of August two hundred canoes filled with Frenchmen and Ottawas arrived from the upper country at Montreal with the long-detained furs.

"The merchant, the farmer, and other individuals who might have some peltries there, were dying of hunger, with property they could not enjoy. Credit was exhausted, and the apprehension universal that the English might seize this last resource of the country while it was on the way. Terms sufficiently strong were not to be found to praise and bless him by whose care so much property had arrived."[1]

The Indians were entertained at the governor's table, and on Sunday, the sixth of September, there was a grand war dance. The next day they received presents, and during the week returned to their own country.

The French soon followed under the direction of Tonty, Commandant of the Illinois. La Motte, Cadillac, and D'Argenteuil shortly after were ordered to Mackinaw, Louvigny being recalled. Perrot was sta-

[1] Paris Doc. vol. ix. N. Y. Col. Hist.

tioned among the Miamis, at a place called "Malamek," in Michigan; and Le Sueur was sent to La Pointe of Lake Superior to maintain the peace that had just been concluded between the Ojibways and Dahkotahs.

The mission of Le Sueur was important. As the Foxes and Mascoutins had become inimical, the northern route to the Dahkotahs was the only one that could be used in transporting goods.

In the year 1695, the second post in Minnesota was built by Le Sueur. Above Lake Pepin, and below the mouth of the St. Croix, there are many islands, and the largest of these was selected as the site.[1] The object of the establishment was to interpose a barrier between the Dahkotahs and Ojibways, and maintain the peaceful relations which had been created. Charlevoix speaks of the island as having a very beautiful prairie, and remarks that "the French of Canada have made it a centre of commerce for the western parts, and many pass the winter here, because it is a good country for hunting."

On the fifteenth of July, Le Sueur arrived at Montreal with a party of Ojibways, and the *first Dahkotah brave* that had ever visited Canada.

The Indians were much impressed with the power of France by the marching of a detachment of seven hundred picked men, under Chevalier Cresafi, who were on their way to La Chine.

On the eighteenth, Frontenac, in the presence of Callieres and other persons of distinction, gave them an audience.

The first speaker was the chief of the Ojibway band at La Pointe, Shingowahbay, who said :—

[1] Bellin in his description of the Chart of North America.

"That he was come to pay his respects to Onontio,[1] in the name of the young warriors of Point Chagouamigon, and to thank him for having given them some Frenchmen to dwell with them; to testify their sorrow for one Jobin, a Frenchman, who was killed at a feast accidentally, and not maliciously. We come to ask a favour of you, which is to let us act. We are allies of the Sciou. Some Outagamies or Mascoutins have been killed. The Sciou came to mourn with us. Let us act, Father; let us take revenge.

"Le Sueur alone, who is acquainted with the language of the one and the other, can serve us. We ask that he return with us."

Another speaker of the Ojibways was Le Brochet.

Tēēoskahtay, the Dahkotah chief, before he spoke, spread out a beaver robe, and laying another with a tobacco pouch and otter skin, began to weep bitterly. After drying his tears he said:—

"All of the nations had a father who afforded them protection; all of them have iron. But he was a bastard in quest of a father; he was come to see him, and begs that he will take pity on him."

He then placed upon the beaver robe twenty-two arrows, at each arrow naming a Dahkotah village that desired Frontenac's protection. Resuming his speech, he remarked:—

"It is not on account of what I bring that I hope he who rules this earth will have pity on me. I learned from the Sauteurs that he wanted nothing; that he was the Master of the Iron; that he had a big heart, into which he could receive all the nations. This has

[1] The title the Indians always gave to the Governor.

induced me to abandon my people to come to seek his protection, and to beseech him to receive me among the number of his children. Take courage, Great Captain, and reject me not; despise me not though I appear poor in your eyes. All the nations here present know that I am rich, and the little they offer here is taken from my lands."

Count Frontenac in reply told the chief that he would receive the Dahkotahs as his children, on condition that they would be obedient, and that he would send back Le Sueur with him.

Tēēoskahtay, taking hold of the governor's knees, wept, and said:—"Take pity on us; we are well aware that we are not able to speak, being children; but Le Sueur, who understands our language, and has seen all our villages, will next year inform you what will have been achieved by the Sioux nations, represented by those arrows before you."

Having finished, a Dahkotah woman, the wife of a great chief whom Le Sueur had purchased from captivity at Mackinaw, approached those in authority, and with downcast eyes embraced their knees, weeping and saying:—

"I thank thee, Father; it is by thy means I have been liberated, and am no longer captive."

Then Tēēoskahtay resumed:—

"I speak like a man penetrated with joy. The Great Captain; he who is the Master of the Iron, assures me of his protection, and I promise him that if he condescends to restore my children, now prisoners among the Foxes, Ottawas, and Hurons, I will return hither, and bring with me the twenty-two villages whom he has just restored to life by promising to send them Iron."

On the 14th of August, two weeks after the Ojibway chief left for his home on Lake Superior, Nicholas Perrot arrived with a deputation of Sauks, Foxes, Menomonees, Miamis of Maaramek, and Pottowattamies.

Two days after, they had a council with the governor, who thus spoke to a Fox brave:—

"I see that you are a young man; your nation has quite turned away from my wishes; it has pillaged some of my young men, whom it has treated as slaves. I know that your father, who loved the French, had no hand in the indignity. You only imitate the example of your father, who had sense, when you do not cooperate with those of your tribe who are wishing to go over to my enemies, after they grossly insulted me, and defeated the Sioux, whom I now consider my son. I pity the Sioux; I pity the dead whose loss I deplore. Perrot goes up there, and he will speak to your nation from me, for the release of their prisoners; let them attend to him."

Tēēoskahtay never returned to his native land. While in Montreal he was taken sick, and in thirty-three days he ceased to breathe; and, followed by white men, his body was interred in the white man's grave.

Le Sueur, instead of going back to Minnesota that year, as was expected, went to France, and received a license, in 1697, to open certain mines supposed to exist in Minnesota. The ship in which he was returning, was captured by the English, and he was taken to England. After his release, he went back to France, and, in 1698, obtained a new commission for mining.

While Le Sueur was in Europe, the Dahkotahs waged war against the Foxes and Miamis. In retalia-

tion, the latter raised a war party, and entered the land of the Dahkotahs. Finding their foes intrenched, and assisted by "coureurs des bois," they were indignant; and on their return they had a skirmish with some Frenchmen, who were carrying goods to the Dahkotahs.

Shortly after, they met Perrot, and were about to burn him to death, when prevented by some friendly Foxes. The Miamis, after this, were disposed to be friendly to the Iroquois. In 1696, the year previous, the authorities at Quebec decided that it was expedient to abandon all the posts west of Mackinaw, and withdraw the French from Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The "voyageurs" were not disposed to leave the country, and the governor wrote to Pontchartrain for instructions, in October, 1698. In his despatch he remarks:—

"In this conjuncture, and under all these circumstances, we consider it our duty to postpone, until new instructions from the court, the execution of Sieur Le Sueur's enterprise for the mines, though the promise had already been given him to send two canoes in advance to Missilimackinac, for the purpose of purchasing there some provisions and other necessaries for his voyage, and that he would be permitted to go and join them early in the spring with the rest of his hands. What led us to adopt this resolution has been, that the French who remained to trade off with the Five Nations the remainder of their merchandise, might, on seeing entirely new comers arriving there, consider themselves entitled to dispense with coming down, and perhaps adopt the resolution to settle there; whilst, seeing no arrival there, with permission to do what is

forbidden, the reflection they will be able to make during the winter, and the apprehension of being guilty of crime, may oblige them to return in the spring.

"This would be very desirable, in consequence of the great difficulty there will be in constraining them to it, should they be inclined to lift the mask altogether and become buccaneers; or should Sieur Le Sueur, as he easily could do, furnish them with goods for their beaver and smaller peltry, which he might send down by the return of other Frenchmen, whose sole desire is to obey, and who have remained only beeause of the impossibility of getting their effects down. This would rather induce those who would continue to lead a vagabond life to remain there, as the goods they would obtain from Le Sueur's people would afford them the means of doing so."

In reply to this communication, Louis XIV. answered that—

"His majesty has approved that the late Sieur de Frontenac and De Champigny, suspended the execution of the license granted to the man named Le Sueur to proceed, with fifty men, to explore some mines on the banks of the Mississippi. He has revoked said license, and desires that the said Le Sueur, or any other person, be prevented from leaving the colony on pretence of going in search of mines, without his majesty's express permission."

Le Sueur, undaunted by these drawbacks to the prosecution of a favourite project, again visited France.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fortunately for Le Sueur, D'Iberville, who was a friend, and closely connected by marriage, was appointed governor of the new territory of Louisiana.[1]

In the month of December he arrived from France, with thirty workmen, to proceed to the supposed mines in Minnesota.

On the thirteenth of July, 1700, with a felucca, two canoes, and nineteen men, having ascended the Mississippi, he had reached the mouth of the Missouri, and six leagues above this he passed the Illinois. He there met three Canadians, who came to join him, with a letter from Father Marest, who had once attempted a mission among the Dahkotahs, dated July 13, Mission Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, in Illinois.

"I have the honour to write, in order to inform you that the Saugiestas have been defeated by the Scioux and Ayavois (Iowas). The people have formed an alliance with the Quincapous (Kickapoos), some of the Mécoutins, Renards (Foxes), and Metesigamias, and gone to revenge themselves, not on the Scioux, for they are too much afraid of them, but perhaps on the Ayavois, or very likely upon the Paoutees, or more probably upon

[1] Charlevoix says that he was the father of the governor, perhaps wife's father?

the Osages, for these suspect nothing, and the others are on their guard.

"As you will probably meet these allied nations, you ought to take precaution against their plans, and not allow them to board your vessel, since *they are traitors, and utterly faithless.* I pray God to accompany you in all your designs."

Twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small stream which he called the River of Oxen, and nine leagues beyond this he passed a small river on the west side, where he met four Canadians descending the Mississippi, on their way to the Illinois. On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the last-named river, he met seventeen Scioux, in seven canoes, who were going to revenge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burned, and the others killed, at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival in that village. As he had promised the chief of the Illinois to appease the Scioux, who should go to war against his nation, he made a present to the chief of the party to engage him to turn back. He told them the King of France did not wish them to make this river more bloody, and that he was sent to tell them that, if they obeyed the king's word, they would receive in future all things necessary for them. The chief answered that he accepted the present, that is to say, that he would do as had been told him.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of August, Le Sueur advanced fifty-three and one-fourth leagues to a small river which he called the River of the Mine.[1] At the mouth it runs from the north, but it turns to the north-east. On the right seven leagues, there is a lead

[1] This is the first mention of the Galena mines.

mine in a prairie, one and a half leagues; the river is only navigable in high water, that is to say, from early spring till the month of June.

From the 25th to the 27th he made ten leagues, passed two small rivers, and made himself acquainted with a mine of lead, from which he took a supply. From the 27th to the 30th he made eleven and a half leagues, and met five Canadians, one of whom had been dangerously wounded in the head. They were naked, and had no ammunition except a miserable gun, with five or six loads of powder and balls. They said they were descending from the Scioux to go to Tamarois; and, when seventy leagues above, they perceived nine canoes in the Mississippi, in which were ninety savages, who robbed and cruelly beat them. This party were going to war against the Scioux, and were composed of four different nations, the Outagamis (Foxes), Saquis (Sauks), Poutouwatamis (Pottowattamies), and Pauns (Winnebagoes), who dwell in a country eighty leagues east of the Mississippi from where Le Sueur then was.

The Canadians determined to follow the detachment, which was composed of twenty-eight men. This day they made seven and a half leagues. On the 1st of September, he passed the Wisconsin river. It runs into the Mississippi from the north-east. It is nearly one and a half miles wide. At about seventy-five leagues up this river, on the right, ascending, there is a portage of more than a league. The half of this portage is shaking ground, and at the end of it is a small river which descends into a bay called Winnebago Bay. It is inhabited by a great number of nations who carry their furs to Canada. Monsieur Le Sueur came by the Wis-

consin river to the Mississippi, for the first time, in 1683, on his way to the Scioux country, where he had already passed seven years at different periods. The Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin, is less than a half mile wide. From the 1st of September to the 5th, our voyageur advanced fourteen leagues. He passed the river "Aux Canots," which comes from the north-east, and then the Quincapous, named from a nation which once dwelt upon its banks.

From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten and a half leagues, and passed the Rivers Cachee and Aux Ailes. The same day he perceived canoes, filled with savages, descending the river, and the five Canadians recognised them as the party who had robbed them. They placed sentinels in the wood, for fear of being surprised by land; and, when they had approached within hearing, they cried to them that if they approached farther they would fire. They then drew up by an island, at half the distance of a gun shot. Soon, four of the principal men of the band approached in a canoe, and asked if it was forgotten that they were our brethren, and with what design we had taken arms when we perceived them. Le Sueur replied that he had cause to distrust them, since they had robbed five of his party. Nevertheless, for the surety of his trade, being forced to be at peace with all the tribes, he demanded no redress for the robbery, but added merely that the king, their master and his, wished that his subjects should navigate that river without insult, and that they had better beware how they acted.

The Indian who had spoken was silent, but another said they had been attacked by the Scioux, and that if they did not have pity on them, and give them a little

powder, they should not be able to reach their village. The consideration of a missionary, who was to go up among the Scioux, and whom these savages might meet, induced them to give two pounds of powder.

M. Le Sueur made the same day three leagues; passed a stream on the west, and afterwards another river on the east, which is navigable at all times, and which the Indians call Red river.

On the 10th, at daybreak, they heard an elk whistle, on the other side of the river. A Canadian crossed in a small Scioux canoe, which they had found, and shortly returned with the body of the animal, which was very easily killed, "quand il est en rut," that is from the beginning of September until the end of October. The hunters at this time make a whistle of a piece of wood, or reed, and when they hear an elk whistle, they answer it. The animal, believing it to be another elk, approaches, and is killed with ease.

From the 10th to the 14th, M. Le Sueur made seventeen and a half leagues, passing the rivers Raisin and Paquilenettes, (perhaps the Wazi Ozu and Buffalo.) The same day he left, on the east side of the Mississippi, a beautiful and large river, which descends from the very far north, and called Bon Secours (Chippeway), on account of the great quantity of buffalo, elk, bears, and deers, which are found there. Three leagues up this river, there is a mine of lead, and seven leagues above, on the same side, they found another long river, in the vicinity of which there is a copper mine, from which he had taken a lump of sixty pounds, in a former voyage. In order to make these mines of any account, peace must be obtained between the Scioux and Outagamis (Foxes), because the latter, who dwell on the

east side of the Mississippi, pass this road continually when going to war against the Scioux.

In this region, at one and a half leagues on the north-west side, commenced a lake, which is six leagues long and more than one broad, called Lake Pepin. It is bounded on the west by a chain of mountains; on the east is seen a prairie; and on the north-west of the lake there is another prairie two leagues long and one wide. In the neighbourhood is a chain of mountains quite two hundred feet high, and more than one and a half miles long. In these are found several caves, to which the bears retire in winter. Most of the caverns are more than seventy feet in extent, and three or four feet high. There are several of which the entrance is very narrow, and quite closed up with saltpetre. It would be dangerous to enter them in summer, for they are filled with rattlesnakes, the bite of which is very dangerous. Le Sueur saw some of these snakes which were six feet in length, but generally they are about four feet. They have teeth resembling those of the pike, and their gums are full of small vessels in which their poison is placed. The Scioux say they take it every morning, and cast it away at night. They have at the tail a kind of scale which makes a noise, and this is called the rattle.

Le Sueur made on this day seven and a half leagues, and passed another river called Hiambouxecate Ouataba, or the River of Flat Rock.[1]

On the 15th he crossed a small river, and saw, in the neighbourhood, several canoes filled with Indians, descending the Mississippi. He supposed they were

[1] This is evidently the Inyanbosndata, or Cannon river.

Scioux, because he could not distinguish whether their canoes were large or small. The arms were placed in readiness, and soon they heard the cry of the savages, which they are accustomed to raise when they rush upon their enemies. He caused them to be answered in the same manner; and, after having placed all the men behind the trees, he ordered them not to fire until they were commanded. He remained on shore to see what movement the savages would make, and perceiving that they placed two on shore, on the other side, where from an eminence they could ascertain the strength of his forces, he caused the men to pass and repass from the shore to the wood, in order to make them believe that they were numerous. This ruse succeeded, for as soon as the two descended from the eminence, the chief of the party came, bearing the calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians.

They said, that never having seen the French navigate the river with boats like the felucca,[1] they had supposed them to be English, and for that reason they had raised the war cry, and arranged themselves on the other side of the Mississippi; but, having recognised their flag, they had come without fear to inform them, that one of their number, who was crazy, had accidentally killed a Frenchman, and that they would go and bring his comrade, who would tell how the mischief had happened.

The Frenchman they brought was Denis, a Canadian, and he reported that his companion was accidentally killed. His name was Laplace, a deserting soldier from Canada, who had taken refuge in this country.

[1] The felucca is a small vessel propelled both by oars and sails, and had never before been seen on the waters of the Upper Mississippi.

Le Sueur replied, that Onontio (the name they give to all the governors of Canada), being their father and his, they ought not to seek justification elsewhere than before him; and he advised them to go and see him as soon as possible, and beg him to wipe off the blood of this Frenchman from their faces.

The party was composed of forty-seven men of different nations, who dwell far to the east, about the forty-fourth degree of latitude. Le Sueur, discovering who the chiefs were, said the king whom they had spoken of in Canada, had sent him to take possession of the north of the river; and that he wished the nations who dwell on it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace.

He made this day three and three-fourth leagues; and, on the 16th of September, he left a large river on the east side, *named St. Croix, because a Frenchman of that name was shipwrecked at its mouth.* It comes from the north-north-west. Four leagues higher, in going up, is found a small lake, at the mouth of which is a very large mass of copper. It is on the edge of the water, in a small ridge of sandy earth, on the west of this lake.

From the 16th to the 19th, he advanced thirteen and three-fourth leagues. After having made from Tamarois two hundred and nine and a half leagues, he left the navigation of the Mississippi, to enter the river St. Pierre,[1] on the west side. By the 1st of October, he

[1] The Saint Pierre, like the Saint Croix, just below it, was evidently named after a Frenchman. Charlevoix speaks of an officer by that name, who was at Mackinaw in 1692, and prominent in the Indian affairs in that age. Carver, in 1776, on the shores of Lake Pepin, discovered the ruins of an extensive trading post, that had been under the control

had made in this river forty-four and one-fourth leagues. After he entered into Blue river, thus named on account of the mines of blue earth found at its mouth, he founded his post, situated in forty-four degrees, thirteen minutes, north latitude. He met at this place nine Scioux,[1] who told him that the river belonged to the Scioux of the West, the Ayavois (Iowas), and Otoctatas (Ottoes), who lived a little farther off; that it was not their custom to hunt on ground belonging to others, unless invited to do so by the owners, and that when they would come to the fort to obtain provisions, they would be in danger of being killed in ascending or descending the rivers, which were narrow, and that if they would show their pity, *he must establish himself on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the St. Pierre,*[2] where the Ayavois, the Otoctatas, and the other Scioux, could go as well as they.

Having finished their speech, they leaned over the head of Le Sueur, according to their custom, crying out, "Ouaechissou ouaepanimanabo," that is to say, "Have pity upon us." Le Sueur had foreseen that the establishment of Blue Earth river, would not please the Scioux of the East, who were, so to speak, *masters of the other Scioux,* and of the nations which will be hereafter mentioned, *because they were the first with whom trade was commenced,* and in consequence of which they had already quite a number of guns.

As he had commenced his operations, not only with a view to the trade of beaver, but also to gain a

of a Captain Saint Pierre, and there is scarcely a doubt that Le Sueur named the Minnesota river in honour of his fellow explorer and trader.

[1] Scioux, is the orthography of Lahontan, Le Sueur, and the Jesuits of that period in their relations, and it has not been altered to Dahkotah in this chapter.

[2] Neighbourhood of Mendota.

knowledge of the mines, which he had previously discovered, he told them he was sorry that he had not known their intentions sooner; and that it was just, since he came expressly for them, that he should establish himself on their land, but that the season was too far advanced for him to return. He then made them a present of powder, balls, and knives, and an armful of tobacco, to entice them to assemble as soon as possible, near the fort which he was about to construct, that when they should be all assembled he might tell them the intention of the king, their and his sovereign.

The Scioux of the West, according to the statement of the Eastern Scioux, have more than a thousand lodges. They do not use canoes, nor cultivate the earth, nor gather wild rice. They remain generally in the prairies, which are between the Upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and live entirely by the chase. The Scioux generally say they have three souls, and that after death, that which has done well goes to the warm country, that which has done evil to the cold regions, and the other guards the body. Polygamy is common among them. They are very jealous, and sometimes fight in duel for their wives. They manage the bow admirably, and have been seen several times to kill ducks on the wing. They make their lodges of a number of buffalo skins interlaced and sewed, and carry them wherever they go. They are all great smokers, but their manner of smoking differs from that of other Indians. There are some Scioux who swallow all the smoke of the tobacco, and others who, after having kept it some time in their mouth, cause it to issue from the nose. In each lodge there are usually two or three men with their families.

On the third of October, they received at the fort several Scioux, among whom was Wahkantape, chief of the village. Soon two Canadians arrived who had been hunting, and had been robbed by the Scioux of the East, who had raised their guns against the establishment which M. Le Sueur had made on Blue Earth river.

On the fourteenth the fort was finished and named Fort L'Huillier,[1] and on the twenty-second two Canadians were sent out to invite the Ayavois and Otoctatas to come and establish a village near the fort, because these Indians are industrious and accustomed to cultivate the earth, and they hoped to get provisions from them, and to make them work in the mines.

On the twenty-fourth, six Scioux Oujalespoitons wished to go into the fort, but were told that they did not receive men who had killed Frenchmen. This is the term used when they have insulted them. The next day they came to the lodge of Le Sueur to beg him to have pity on them. They wished, according to custom, to weep over his head and make him a present of packs of beavers, which he refused. He told them he was surprised that people who had robbed should come to him; to which they replied that they had heard it said that two Frenchmen had been robbed, but none from their village had been present at that wicked action.

Le Sueur answered, that he knew it was the Mendeoucantons and not the Oujalespoitons; "but," continued he, "you are Scioux; it is the Scioux who have robbed me, and if I were to follow your manner of

[1] The farmer general at Paris who had encouraged Le Sueur in his projects.

acting, I should break your heads; for is it not true, that when a stranger (it is thus they call the Indians who are not Scioux) has insulted a Scioux, Mendeoucanton, Oujalespoitons, or others—all the villages revenge upon the first one they meet?"

As they had nothing to answer to what he said to them, they wept and repeated, according to custom, "Ouaechissou! ouaepanimanabo!" Le Sueur told them to cease crying, and added, that the French had good hearts, and that they had come into the country to have pity on them. At the same time he made them a present, saying to them, "Carry back your beavers and say to all the Scioux, that they will have from me no more powder or lead, and they will no longer smoke any long pipe until they have made satisfaction for robbing the Frenchman."

The same day the Canadians, who had been sent off on the 22d, arrived without having found the road which led to the Ayavois and Otoctatas. On the 25th Le Sueur went to the river with three canoes, which he filled with green and blue earth.[1] It is taken from the hills near which are very abundant mines of copper, some of which was worked at Paris in 1696 by L'Huillier, one of the chief collectors of the king. Stones were also found there, which would be curious, if worked.

On the 9th of November, eight Mantanton Scioux arrived, who had been sent by their chiefs to say that the *Mendeoucantons were still at their lake on the east of the Mississippi*, and they could not come for a long time; and that, for a single village which had no good sense,

[1] The locality was a branch of the Blue Earth, about a mile above the fort, called by Nicollet Le Sueur river, and on a map published in 1773, the river St. Remi.

the others ought not to bear the punishment; and that they were willing to make reparation if they knew how. Le Sueur replied that he was glad that they had a disposition to do so.

On the 15th the two Mantanton Scioux, who had been sent expressly to say that all of the Scioux of the east, and part of those of the west, were joined together to come to the French, because they had heard that the Christianaux and the Assinipoils were making war on them. These two nations dwell above the fort on the east side, more than eighty leagues on the Upper Mississippi.

The Assinipoils speak Scioux, and are certainly of that nation. It is only a few years since that they became enemies. The enmity thus originated: The Christianaux, having the use of arms before the Scioux, through the English at Hudson's Bay, they constantly warred upon the Assinipoils, who were their nearest neighbours. The latter, being weak, sued for peace, and to render it more lasting, married the Christianaux women. The other Scioux, who had not made the compact, continued the war; and, seeing some Christianaux with the Assinipoils, broke their heads. The Christianaux furnished the Assinipoils with arms and merchandise.

On the 16th the Scioux returned to their village, and it was reported that the Ayavois and Otoctatas were gone to establish themselves towards the Missouri river, near the Maha, who dwell in that region. On the 26th the Mantantons and Oujalespoitons arrived at the fort; and, after they had encamped in the woods, Wahkantape[1] came to beg Le Sueur to go to his lodge. He

[1] Wakandapi or Esteemed Sacred, was the name of one of the head men at Red Wing, in 1850.

there found sixteen men with women and children, with their faces daubed with black. In the middle of the lodge were several buffalo skins, which were sewed for a carpet. After motioning him to sit down, they wept for the fourth of an hour, and the chief gave him some wild rice to eat (as was their custom), putting the first three spoonsful to his mouth. After which, he said all present were relatives of Tioscaté,[1] whom Le Sueur took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696.

At the mention of Tioscaté they began to weep again, and wipe their tears and heads upon the shoulders of Le Sueur. Then Wahkantape again spoke, and said that Tioscaté begged him to forget the insult done to the Frenchmen by the Mendeoucantons, and take pity on his brethren by giving them powder and balls whereby they could defend themselves, and gain a living for their wives and children, who languish in a country, full of game, because they had not the means of killing them. "Look," added the chief, "Behold thy children, thy brethren, and thy sisters; it is to thee to see whether thou wishest them to die. They will live if thou givest them powder and ball; they will die if thou refusest."

Le Sueur granted them their request, but as the Scioux never answer on the spot, especially in matters of importance, and as he had to speak to them about his establishment, he went out of the lodge without saying a word. The chief and all those within followed him as far as the door of the fort; and when he had gone in, they went around it three times, crying with all their strength, "Atheouanan!" that is to say, "Father, have pity on us." (Ate unyanpi, means Our Father.)

[1] Teeoskahtay.

The next day, he assembled in the fort the principal men of both villages; and as it is not possible to subdue the Scioux or to hinder them from going to war, unless it be by inducing them to cultivate the earth, he said to them that if they wished to render themselves worthy of the protection of the king, they must abandon their erring life, and form a village near his dwelling, where they would be shielded from the insults of their enemies; and that they might be happy and not hungry, he would give them all the corn necessary to plant a large piece of ground; that the king, their and his chief, in sending him, had forbidden him to purchase beaver skins, knowing that this kind of hunting separates them and exposes them to their enemies; and that in consequence of this he had come to establish himself on Blue river and vicinity, where they had many times assured him were many kinds of beasts, for the skins of which he would give them all things necessary; that they ought to reflect that they could not do without French goods, and that the only way not to want them was, not to go to war with our allied nations.

As it is customary with the Indians to accompany their word with a present proportioned to the affair treated of, he gave them fifty pounds of powder, as many balls, six guns, ten axes, twelve armsful of tobacco, and a hatchet pipe.

On the first of December, the Mantantons invited Le Sueur to a great feast. Of four of their lodges they had made one, in which were one hundred men seated around, and every one his dish before him. After the meal, Wahkantape, the chief, made them all smoke one after another in the hatchet pipe which had been given them. He then made a present to Le Sueur of a slave

and a sack of wild rice, and said to him, showing him his men: "Behold the remains of this great village, which thou hast aforetimes seen, so numerous! all the others have been killed in war; and the few men whom thou seest in this lodge, accept the present thou hast made them, and are resolved to obey the great chief of all nations, of whom thou hast spoken to us. Thou oughtest not to regard us as Scioux, but as French, and instead of saying the Scioux are miserable, and have no mind, and are fit for nothing but to rob and steal from the French, thou shalt say my brethren are miserable and have no mind, and we must try to procure some for them. They rob us, but I will take care that they do not lack iron, that is to say, all kinds of goods. If thou dost this, I assure thee that in a little time, the Mantantons will become Frenchmen, and they will have none of those vices with which thou reproachest us."

Having finished his speech, he covered his face with his garment, and the others imitated him. They wept over their companions who had died in war, and chanted an adieu to their country in a tone so gloomy, that one could not keep from partaking of their sorrow.

Wahkantape then made them smoke again, and distributed the presents, and said that he was going to the Mendeoucantons, to inform them of the resolution, and invite them to do the same.

On the twelfth, three Mendeoucanton chiefs and a large number of Indians of the same village, arrived at the fort, and the next day gave satisfaction for robbing the Frenchmen. They brought 400 pounds of beaver skins, and promised that the summer following, after their canoes were built and they had gathered their wild rice, that they would come and establish themselves

near the French. The same day they returned to their village east of the Mississippi.

NAMES OF THE BANDS OF SCIOUX OF THE EAST, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATION.

MANTANTONS—That is to say, Village of the Great Lake which empties into a small one.

MENDEOUCANTONS—Village of Spirit Lake.

QUIOPETONS—Village of the Lake with one River.

PSIOUMANITONS—Village of Wild Rice Gatherers.

OUADEBATONS.—The River Village.

OUATEMANETONS.—Village of the Tribe who dwell on the Point of the Lake.

SONGASQUITONS—The Brave Village.

THE SCIOUX OF THE WEST.

TOUCHOUASINTONS—The Village of the Pole.

PSINCHATONS—Village of the Red Wild Rice.

OUJALESPOITONS—Village divided into many small Bands.

PSINOUTANHHINTONS—The Great Wild Rice Village.

TINTANGAOUGHIATONS—The Grand Lodge Village.

OUAPETONS—Village of the Leaf.

OUGHETGEODATONS—Dung Village.

OUAPETONTETONS—Village of those who Shoot in the Large Pine.

HINHANETONS—Village of the Red Stone Quarry.

The above catalogue of villages concludes the extract that La Harpe has made from Le Sueur's Journal.[1]

[1] The "History of Louisiana, by La Harpe," who was a French officer, remained in manuscript more than one hundred years. In 1805, a copy was taken from the original, and deposited among the archives of the American Philosophical Society, from which a few extracts were published by Professor Keating, in his narrative of Major

In the narrative of Major Long's second expedition, there are just the same number of villages of the Gens du Lac or M'dewakantonwan Scioux mentioned, though the names are different. After leaving the Mille Lac region, the divisions evidently were different, and the villages known by new names.

Charlevoix, who visited the valley of the Lower Mississippi in 1722, says that Le Sueur spent a winter in his fort on the banks of the Blue Earth; and that in the following April he went up to the mine about a mile above. In twenty-two days they obtained more than thirty thousand pounds of the substance, four thousand of which were selected and sent to France.

On the tenth of February, 1702, Le Sueur came back to the post on the Gulf of Mexico, and found D'Iberville absent, who, however, arrived on the eighteenth of the next month, with a ship from France, loaded with supplies. After a few weeks, the Governor of Louisiana sailed again for the old country, Le Sueur being a fellow passenger.

On board of the ship, D'Iberville wrote a memorial upon the Mississippi Valley, with suggestions for carrying on commerce therein, which contains many facts furnished by Le Sueur. A copy of the manuscript is in possession of the Historical Society of Minnesota, from which are the following extracts:—

"If the Sioux remain in their own country they are useless to us, being too distant. We could have no commerce with them except that of the beaver. *M.*

Long's expedition. In the year 1831, the original was published at Paris, for the first time, in the French language. The first English translation of that part which pertains to Minnesota, appeared in a St. Paul newspaper in 1850.

Le Sueur, who goes to France to give an account of this country, is the proper person to make these movements. He estimates the Sioux at four thousand families, who could settle upon the Missouri.

"He has spoken to me of another which he calls the Mahas, composed of more than twelve hundred families, the Ayooues (Ioways) and the Octoctatas their neighbours, are about three hundred families. They occupy the lands between the Mississippi and the Missouri, about one hundred leagues from the Illinois. These savages do not know the use of arms, and a descent might be made upon them in a river, which is beyond the Wabash on the west. * * * * * * * * * *

"The Assinibouel, Quenistinos, and people of the North, who are upon the rivers which fall into the Mississippi, and trade at Fort Nelson (Hudson Bay), are about four hundred men. We could prevent them from going there if we wish."

"In four or five years we can establish a commerce with these savages of sixty or eighty thousand buffalo skins; more than one hundred deer skins, which will produce, delivered in France, more than two million four hundred thousand livres yearly. One might obtain for a buffalo skin four or five pounds of wool, which sells for twenty sous, two pound of coarse hair at ten sous.

"Besides, from smaller peltries, two hundred thousand livres can be made yearly."

In the third volume of the "History and Statistics of the Indian Tribes," prepared under the direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by Mr. Schoolcraft, a manuscript, a copy of which is in possession of General Cass, is referred to as containing the first enumeration

of the Indians of the Mississippi Valley. The following was made thirty-four years earlier :—

"The Sioux, . Families,	4,000	Chicachas,	2,000
Mahas,	12,000	Mobiliens and Chohomes,	350
Octata and Ayoues,	300	Concaques, (Conchas)	2,000
Canses, (Kansas),	1,500	Ouma, (Houmas)	150
Missouri,	1,500	Colapissa,	250
Arkansas, &c.,	200	Bayogoula,	100
Manton, (Mandan)	100	People of the Fork,	200
Panis, (Pawnee)	2,000	Counica, &c., (Tonicas)	300
Illinois, of the great village and Camaroua (Tamaroa)	800	Caensa, (Taensa)	150
Meosigamea, (Metchigamias)	200	Nadeches,	1,500
Kikapous and Mascoutens,	450	Belochy, (Biloxi) Pascoboula.	100
Miamis,	500	Total,	23,850
Chactas,	4,000		

"The savage tribes located in the places I have marked out, make it necessary to establish three posts on the Mississippi. One at the Arkansas, another at the Wabash (Ohio), and the third at the Missouri. At each post it would be proper to have an officer with a detachment of ten soldiers, with a sergeant and corporal. All Frenchmen should be allowed to settle there with their families, and trade with the Indians, and they might establish tanneries for properly dressing the buffalo and deer skins for transportation.

"No Frenchman *shall be allowed to follow the Indians on their hunts, as it tends to keep them hunters*, as is seen in Canada, and when they are in the woods they do not desire to become *tillers of the soil.* * * * * *

"I have said nothing in this memoir of which I have not personal knowledge or the most reliable sources. The most of what I propose is founded upon personal reflection, in relation to what might be done for the defence and advancement of the colony. * * * *

* * * It will be absolutely necessary that the king should define the limits of this country, in relation to the government of Canada. It is important that the commandant of the Mississippi should have a report of those who inhabit the rivers that fall into the Mississippi, and principally those of the river Illinois.

"The Canadians intimate to the savages that they ought not to listen to us, but to the governor of Canada, who always speaks to them with large presents; that the governor of the Mississippi is mean, and never sends them anything. This is true, and what I cannot do. It is imprudent to accustom the savages to be spoken to by presents, for, with so many, it would cost the king more than the revenue derived from the trade. When they come to us, it will be necessary to bring them in subjection, make them no presents, and *compel* them to do what we wish, *as if they were Frenchmen.*

"The Spaniards have divided the Indians into parties on this point, and we can do the same. When one nation does wrong, we can cease to trade with them, and threaten to draw down the hostility of other Indians. We rectify the difficulty by having missionaries, who will bring them into obedience *secretly.*

"The Illinois and Mascoutens have detained the French canoes they find upon the Mississippi, saying that the governors of Canada have given them permission. I do not know whether this is so, but, if true, it follows that we have not the liberty to send any one on the Mississippi.

"M. Le Sueur would have been taken if he had not been the strongest. Only one of the canoes he sent to the Sioux was plundered." * * * * * *

On the third of March, 1703, the workmen left at

Mahkahto returned to Mobile, having left Minnesota on account of the hostility of the Indians, and the want of means.

Le Sueur, on his return from France, does not appear to have visited Minnesota. His name appears in the history of Louisiana as a leader of expeditions against the Natchez and other southern tribes. It is said that he died on the road while passing through the colony of Louisiana.[1]

[1] La Harpe.

CHAPTER IX.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Dahkotahs were still dwelling at the Spirit Lake, east of the Mississippi; but influences were beginning to operate, which eventually led to dislodgment from their ancient stronghold.

When the French traders first visited Green Bay, they found the Sauks a fierce and haughty people, wandering about the country between the head waters of the Fox and Chippeway rivers. Below them, and above the Illinois, resided the Fox or Outagami nation,[1] with whom they were closely allied by intermarriage. The French, from the first, seemed to be unsuccessful in obtaining their good-will, the early voyageurs having behaved themselves as bandits rather than civilized men.

In the year 1700 the Sauks and Foxes were defeated in a contest with the Dahkotahs and Ioways; and

[1] The Ojibways assert that the Foxes, before their incorporation with the Sauks, spoke a different language, and they called them "O-dug-aum-eeg," or people of the opposite side.

A French memoir on the Indians between Lake Erie and Mississippi, prepared in 1718, confirms this statement. "The Foxes are eighteen leagues from the Sacs, they number five hundred men, abound in women and children, are as industrious as they can be, and have a different language from the Ottawas. An Ottawa interpreter would be of no use with the Foxes." Paris Doc. vii. in N. Y. C. H. vol. ix.

shortly after this they began to manifest open hostility against the French. Under the direction of the noted warriors Lamina and Pemoussa, they marched to the post at Detroit, which was the key to the commerce of the upper lakes, with the intention of exterminating the small garrison of thirty men, and delivering the post to the English, who, from the year 1687, had been looking wistfully towards the beautiful peninsula which now comprises the commonwealth of Michigan.

For days they prowled around the rude stockade, watching every opportunity for insult and murder.

To prevent the burning of the post, Du Buisson, the commander, ordered the chapel, storehouse, and other outbuildings to be destroyed.

After a few days De Vincennes and eight Frenchmen arrived, but brought no news that was cheering; and the commander, in his despatch to the governor of Canada, admits his alarm, and writes, "I did not know on what saint to call."

The hour now came for decided action. The gates of the little fort were closed; the garrison divided into four companies; arms and ammunition duly inspected; two swivels, mounted on logs, loaded with slugs; all were waiting, with anxious impatience, for the attack to commence, when the commander, ascending the bastion, descried a friendly force of Osages, Missouris, Illinois, and other allies, issuing from the forest. The gates being thrown open, they were warmly greeted.

A moment's silence, a terrific war-whoop, that made the very earth tremble, and the battle began in earnest, and murderous missiles flew like hail-stones. To protect themselves from the fire of the fort, the Sauks and Foxes dug holes in the ground, but they were soon

besieged. After being surrounded for nineteen days, they succeeded in making their escape, on a dark and rainy night, after the attacking party were asleep. The discovery was not made till morning, when they were found at Presque Isle, near Lake St. Clair. The fight was here renewed, and the Foxes were thoroughly defeated, losing about one thousand men, women, and children.[1]

Maddened by their want of success, they came back with the portion of the Sauks who were their allies to their residence in Wisconsin, and revenged themselves by scalping every French trader they could find, and waging war on the Ojibways and other tribes who had aided the French.

Travel to Louisiana by way of the Wisconsin river was entirely cut off; and in 1714 the governor of Canada determined to subdue or exterminate them. A force of eight hundred men marched to their villages, and the Foxes, under the pressure of necessity, formed a friendly alliance with their old foes, the Dahkotahs of Minnesota. The invading army found the foe, to the number of five hundred men and three thousand women, strongly intrenched. De Louvigny, the commander, planted his field pieces and a grenade mortar, and began the attack; but the Foxes soon capitulated, and six hostages were given by them as security for the presence of their deputies at Montreal, to perfect the terms of the treaty. While at Montreal, Pemoussa, the great warrior, and others of the hostages, died of small-pox.

Fearing that this calamity might defeat the arrange-

[1] This must be an exaggeration of the French report, from which the facts were obtained.

ments for the final treaty, De Louvigny was sent to Mackinaw with one of the hostages, who had recovered from the small-pox with the loss of one eye. Arriving in May, 1717, he despatched the one-eyed chief with suitable presents to cover the dead. The Fox chiefs promised to comply with the provisions of the original capitulation, and the pock-marked warrior departed for Mackinaw, with the interpreter, but he soon eloped, and in a little while the truce-breaking Foxes were again shedding blood. They not only harassed the French, but leagued with the Chickasaws of the south, as well as the fierce Dahkotahs of the north.

For a number of years the French government had discountenanced traders dwelling with the Indians west of Mackinaw, and the old license system was abolished. But, in 1726, it was observed that the English were obtaining such an influence over the distant nations, that, to counteract it, the licensing of traders to dwell among the upper tribes was renewed.

A despatch on this point, made a prediction, which has been fully verified:—

"From all that precedes, it is more and more obvious, that the English are endeavouring to *interlope* among all the Indian nations, and to attach them to themselves. They entertain constantly the idea of becoming *masters of North America*, persuaded that the European nation which will be possessor of that section, will, in course of time, *be also master of all America*, because it is there alone that *men live in health*, and produce *strong and robust children.*"

To thwart them it was proposed to restore the twenty-five licenses for trading, which had been suppressed, by which seventy-five "coureurs des bois" would proceed

annually to the upper tribes, and be absent eighteen months; also, to abolish the prohibitory liquor law, which had been enacted through the influence of the missionaries. The argument in favour of this measure was in these words:—

"'Tis true, that the Indians are crazy when drunk, and when they have once tasted brandy, that they give all they possess to obtain some more, and drink it to excess.

"Missionaries will complain that this permission destroys the Indians and the religion among them. But, apart from the fact that they will always have rum from the English, the question is, whether it be better that the English penetrate into the continent by favour of that rum, which attracts the Indians to them, than to suffer the French to furnish them with liquor in order to preserve these nations, and to prevent them declaring eventually in favour of the English."[1]

In view of the troubles among the tribes of the north-west, in the month of September, 1718, Captain St. Pierre, who had great influence with the Indians of Wisconsin and Minnesota, was sent with Ensign Linctot and some soldiers to re-occupy La Pointe on Lake Superior, now Bayfield, in the north-western point of Wisconsin. The chiefs of the band there and at Keweenaw, had threatened war against the Foxes, who had killed some of their number.

On the seventh of June, 1726, peace was concluded by De Lignery with the Sauks, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, at Green Bay; and, Linctot, who had succeeded Saint Pierre in command at La Pointe, was ordered, by

[1] Written May 7th, 1726.

presents and the promise of a missionary, to endeavour to detach the Dahkotahs from their alliance with the Foxes. At this time Linctot made arrangements for peace between the Ojibways and Dahkotahs, and sent two Frenchmen to dwell in the villages of the latter, with a promise that, if they ceased to fight the Ojibways, they should have regular trade, and a "black robe" reside in their country.

The Ojibways, after the treaty, came down to Montreal, and were thus addressed by Longeuil,[1] the governor:—

"I am rejoiced, my children of the Sauteurs, at the peace which Monsieur De Linctot has procured for you with the Sioux, your neighbours, and also on account of the prisoners you have restored to them. I desire him, in the letter which I now give you, my son Cabina, for him, that he maintain this peace, and support the happy reunion which now appears to exist between the Sioux and you. I hope he will succeed in it, if you are attentive to his words, and if you follow the lights which he will show you.

"My heart is sad on account of the blows which the Foxes of Green Bay have given you, of which you have just spoken, and of which the commandant has written in his letter. It appears to me that Heaven has revenged you for your losses, since it has given you the flesh of a young Fox to eat. You have done well to listen to the words of your commandant to keep quiet, and respect the words of your Father.

"It would not have been good to embroil the whole land in order to revenge a blow struck by people with-

[1] The Baron Longeuil, was Charles Le Moyne, a native of Canada. He died in 1729.

out sense or reason, who have no authority in their own villages.

"I invite you by this tobacco, my children, to remain in tranquillity in your lodges, awaiting the news of what shall be decided in the council at the bay (Green Bay), by the commandant of Mackinaw.

"There is coming from France a new Father, who will not fail to inform you, as soon as he shall be able to take measures and stop the bad affair which the Foxes wish to cause in future.

"And to convince you, my children, of the interest I take in your loss, here are two blankets, two shirts, and two pairs of leggings, to cover the bodies of those of your children who have been killed, and to stop the blood which has been spilled upon your mats. I add to this, four shirts to staunch the wounds of those who have been hurt in this miserable affray, with a package of tobacco to comfort the minds of your young men, and also to cause them to think hereafter of good things, and wholly to forget bad ones.

"This is what I exhort you all, my children, while waiting for news from your new Father, and also to be always attentive to the words of the French commandant, who now smokes his pipe in security among you."

The Foxes again proved faithless, having received belts from the English, and determined to attack the French. The authorities at Quebec now determined to send a regular army into their country. Their preparations were kept secret; for, says Beauharnois, "they already had an assurance of a passage into the country of the Sioux of the Prairies, their allies, in such a manner, that if they had known of our design of making war, it would have been easy to have withdrawn in

that direction, before we could block up the way and attack them in their towns."

To hem in the Fox nation as much as possible, Fort Perrot, or a site a few miles above, on the shores of Lake Pepin, was re-occupied.[1] Shortly after the arrival of the French, the Indians moved off, and joined the Dahkotahs of the Plains, in a war with the Omahaws.

The governor of Canada felt that the occupancy of this post was of vital importance. In a despatch to the French government he eloquently urges his views:—

"The interests of religion, of the service, and of the colony are involved in the maintenance of this establishment, which has been the more necessary as there is no doubt but the Foxes, when routed, would have found an asylum among the Scioux, had not the French been settled there, and the docility and submission manifested by the Foxes cannot be attributed to any cause except the attention entertained by the Scioux for the French, and the offers which the former made the latter, of which the Foxes were fully cognisant.

"It is necessary to retain the Scioux in these favourable dispositions, in order to keep the Foxes in check,

[1] "The fort the French built among the Scioux on the border of Lake Pepin, appears to be badly situated on account of the freshets. But the Indians assure that the waters rose higher in 1727 than it ever did before; and this is credible, inasmuch as it did not reach the fort this year. * * * * * As the waters might possibly rise as high as 1727, this fort could be removed four or five arpents from the shore without prejudice to the views entertained in building it on its present site. Paris Doc. N. Y. Col. D. vol. ix., p. 1016. The fort seems to be higher up than Perrot's, and was built by Laperriere. Pike in his journal appears to have this fort in view, when he says: "Just below the (point of sand) Pt. de Sable, the French, under Frontenac, who had driven the Renards from the Wisconsin, and chased them up the Mississippi river, built a stockade on this lake (Pepin), as a barrier against the savages. It became a noted factory for the Sioux."

and counteract the measures they might adopt to gain over the Scioux, who will invariably reject their propositions so long as the French remain in the country, and their trading post shall continue there. But, despite all these advantages and the importance of preserving that establishment, M. de Beauharnois cannot take any steps until he has news of the French who asked his permission this summer to go up there with a canoe load of goods, and until assured that those who wintered there have not dismantled the fort, and that the Scioux continue in the same sentiments. Besides, it does not seem very easy in the present conjuncture, to maintain that post, unless there be a solid peace with the Foxes; on the other hand, the greatest portion of the traders, who applied in 1727 for the establishment of that post, have withdrawn, and will not send thither any more, as the rupture with the Foxes, through whose country it is necessary to pass in order to reach the Scioux in canoe, has led them to abandon the idea. But the one and the other case might be remedied. The Foxes will, in all probability, come or send next year to sue for peace; therefore, if it be granted to them on advantageous conditions, there need be no apprehension when going to the Scioux, and another company could be formed, less numerous than the first, through whom, or some responsible merchants able to afford the outfits, a new treaty could be made whereby these difficulties would be soon obviated. One only trouble remains, and that is, to send a commanding and sub-officer, and some soldiers up there, which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of good order at that post; the missionaries would not go there without a commandant. This article, which regards the service, and the expense of

which must be on his majesty's account, obliges them to apply for orders. They will, as far as lies in their power, induce the traders to meet that expense, which will possibly amount to 1000 livres or 1500 livres a year for the commandant, and in proportion for the officer under him; but, as in the beginning of an establishment the expenses exceed the profits, it is improbable that any company of merchants will assume the outlay, and in this case they demand orders on this point, as well as his majesty's opinion as to the necessity of preserving so useful a post, and a nation which has already afforded proofs of its fidelity and attachment.

"These orders could be sent them by way of Ile Royale, or by the first merchantmen that will sail for Quebec. The time required to receive intelligence of the occurrences in the Scioux country, will admit of their waiting for these orders before doing anything."

On the fifth of June, 1728, an army of four hundred Frenchmen and eight or nine hundred savages, embarked at Montreal, on an expedition to destroy the Fox nation and their allies, the Sauks. De Lignery[1] was the head of the expedition—a man like Braddock at Fort Duquesne, who moved his army with precision and pomp, as if the savages were accustomed to fight in platoons, and observe the laws of war, recognised by all civilized nations.

On the seventeenth of August, in the dead of night, the army arrived at the post at the mouth of Fox river. Before dawn the French crossed over to the Sauk village, but all had escaped with the exception of four. Ascending the stream on the twenty-fourth, they came

[1] Taught by experience, he afterwards became an able officer in the French war.

to a Winnebago village which was also deserted. Passing over the Little Fox Lake, on the twenty-fifth, they entered a small river leading to marshy ground, on the borders of which there was a large Fox village. Here again was another disappointment, for the swift-footed savages had gone many miles on their trail long before the army came in sight.

Orders were then given to advance upon the last stronghold of the enemy, near the portage of the Wisconsin, and on their arrival they found all as still as the desert. On the return of the army from this fruitless expedition, the Indian villages on the line of march were devastated, and the fort at Green Bay abandoned. The Foxes, having abandoned everything, retired to the country of the Ioways and Dahkotahs, and probably at this time they pitched their tents and hunted in the valley of the Sauk river in Minnesota.

During the year of this badly managed expedition, Father Guignas visited the Dahkotahs, and would have remained there if there had not been hostility between the Foxes and French. While travelling to the Illinois country he fell into the hands of the Kickapoos and Mascoutens, allies of the Foxes, in the month of October. He was saved from being burned to death by an aged man adopting him as a son. For five months he was in captivity. In the year 1736, while St. Pierre was the commander at Lake Pepin, Father Guignas was also there, and thought that the Dahkotahs were very friendly.

About the period of the revival of the post on Lake Pepin, an establishment was built on Lake Ouinipigon, west of Lake Superior.

Veranderie, a French officer, was, at this early date, commissioned to open a northern route to the Pacific.

Proceeding westward from the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, he followed the chain of lakes which form the boundary line of Minnesota and British America, to Lake Winnipeg. Ascending the Assiniboine, he struck out on the plains, and for several days journeyed towards the Rocky Mountains. Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who saw him in Canada, says that he found on the prairies of Rupert's Land, pillars of stone.

At one place, nine hundred leagues from Montreal, he discovered a stone with characters inscribed, which the learned at Paris, where it was sent, supposed were Tartarean; but probably it was a pictograph set up by some passing war or hunting party.[1]

[1] Stone heaps are seen on the prairies of Minnesota. Having written to a gentleman some years ago, to inquire of the Dahkotahs "what mean ye by these stones?" I received an interesting reply:—

Dear Sir: Your letter of the third instant, relating to the stone heaps near Red Wing, was duly received.

I am happy to comply with your request, hoping that it may lead to an accurate survey of these mounds.

In 1848 I first heard of stone heaps on the hill-tops, back of Red Wing. But business, and the natural suspicion of the Indian, prevented me from exploring. The treaty of Mendota emboldened me to visit the hills, and try to find the stone heaps. Accordingly, late last autumn, I started on foot and alone from Red Wing, following the path marked P. on the map, which I herewith transmit. I left the path after crossing the second stream, and turning to the left, I ascended the first hill that I reached. This is about a mile distant from the path that leads from Fort Snelling to Lake Pepin. Here, on the brow of the hill, which was about two hundred feet high, was a heap of stones. It is about twelve feet in diameter and six in height. The perfect confusion of the stones and yet the entireness of the heap, and the denuded rocks all around, convinced me that the heap had been formed from stones lying around, picked up by the hand of man.

But *why* and *when* it had been done, were questions not so easily decided. For solving these I resolved to seek internal evidence. Prompted by the spirit of a first explorer, I soon ascended the heap; and the coldness of the day, and the

He established some six commercial posts on the line of his route, some of which are in existence to this day, and bear the same names.

His journey was ended by difficulties with the Indians, and he was obliged to return.

The Dahkotahs were suspected of having molested this expedition. The king of France, writing to the

proximity of my gun, tended to suppress my dread of rattlesnakes. The stones were such that I could lift, or roll them, and soon reached a stick about two feet from the top of the heap. After descending about a foot further, I pulled the post out; and about the same place found a shank bone, about five inches long. The post was red cedar half decayed, *i. e.* one side, and rotted to a point in the ground; hence I could not tell whether it grew there or not. The bone is similar to the two which you have. I left it and the post on the heap, hoping that some one better skilled in osteology might visit the heap. The stones of the heap are magnesian limestone, which forms the upper stratum of the hills about Red Wing.

Much pleased, I started over the hill top, and was soon greeted by another silent monument of art. This heap is marked B. on the map. It is similar to the first which is marked A., only it is larger, and was so covered with a vine, that I had no success in opening it. From this point there is a fine view southward. The valleys and hills are delightful. Such hills and vales, such cairns and bushy glens, would, in my father's land, have been the thrones and playgrounds of fairies. But I must stick to facts. I now started eastward to visit a conical appearing hill, distant about a mile and a half. I easily descended the hill, but to cross the plain and ascend another hill, "*hic labor est.*" But I was amply repaid. The hill proved to be a ridge with several stone heaps on the summit. Near one heap there is a beautiful little tree with a top like "Tam O'Shanter's" bonnet. In these heaps I found the bones which I left with you. I discovered each about half-way down the heaps.

I then descended northward about two hundred feet, crossed a valley, passed some earth mounds, and ascended another hill, and there found several more stone heaps similar to the others. In them I found no bones, nor did I see anything else worthy of particular notice at present.

If these facts should, in any measure, help to preserve correct information concerning any part of this new country, I shall be amply rewarded for writing.

Your obedient servant,

J. F. Aiton.

Kaposia, Jan. 17, 1852.

governor of Canada, under date of May tenth, 1737, says:—

"As respects the Scioux, according to what the commandant[1] and missionary[2] have written to Sieur de Beauharnois, relative to the disposition of these Indians, nothing appears to be wanting on that point. But their delay in coming down to Montreal since the time they promised to do so, must render their sentiments somewhat suspected, and nothing but facts can determine whether their fidelity can be absolutely relied on. But what must still further increase the uneasiness to be entertained in their regard, is the attack on the convoy of M. de la Veranderie."

The Foxes having killed some Frenchmen in the Illinois country, in 1741, the governor of Canada, Marquis de Beauharnois, assembled at his house, some of the most experienced officers in the Indian service, the Baron de Longeuil, La Corne, De Lignery, and others, and it was unanimously agreed, that the welfare of the French demanded the complete extermination of the Foxes, and that the movements against them should be conducted with the greatest caution.

Louis XV. was glad to hear of the determination of the governor of Canada, but he was afraid that it would not be conducted with sufficient secrecy. He, with great discernment, remarks, "If they foresee their inability to resist, they will have adopted the policy of retreating to the Scioux of the Prairies, from which point they will cause more disorder, in the colony, than if they had been allowed to remain quiet in their village."

The officer in charge of the incursion, was Moran,[3]

[1] Saint Pierre. [2] Guignas.

[3] Probably Sieur Marin, of the French Documents.

who once had charge of the post St. Nicholas near the mouth of the Wisconsin, on the Mississippi. His strategy was not unlike that of the besiegers of ancient Troy. At that time the Fox tribe lived at the Little Butte des Morts, on the Fox river of Wisconsin. Whenever a trader's canoe hove in sight, they lighted a torch upon the bank, which was a signal for Frenchmen to land, and pay for the privilege of using the stream.

Moran having placed his men in canoes, with their guns primed, had each canoe covered with canvas, as if he was bringing into the country an outfit of merchandise, and desired to protect it from storms. When near Little Butte des Morts the party was divided, a portion proceeding by land to the rear of the Fox village, and the remainder moving up the stream.

The oarsmen having paddled the canoes within view of the Foxes, they, according to custom, planted the torch, supposing it was a trader's "brigade."[1]

Curiosity brought men, women, and children to the river's bank, and as they gazed, the canoes were suddenly uncovered, and the discharge of a swivel, and volleys of musketry, were the presents received. Before they could recover from their consternation, they received "a fire in the rear" from the land party, and many were killed. The remnant retreated to the Wisconsin, twenty-one miles from Prairie du Chien, where, the next season Moran and his troops, on snow shoes, surprised them while they were engaged in a game, and slew nearly the whole settlement.[2]

During the winter of 1745–6, De Lusignan visited

[1] In the North-West a collection of traders' canoes is called a brigade.

[2] Snelling's North-West, Grignon's Recollections. Vol. iii., Wis. His. Soc. Col.

the Dahkotahs, ordered by government to hunt up the "coureurs des bois," and withdraw them from the country. They started to return with him, but learning that they would be arrested at Mackinaw, for violation of law, they ran away. While at the villages of the Dahkotahs of the lakes and plains, the chiefs brought to this officer nineteen of their young men, bound with cords, who had killed three Frenchmen at the Illinois. While he remained with them they made peace with the Ojibways of La Pointe, with whom they had been at war for some time. On his return, four chiefs accompanied him to Montreal, to solicit pardon for their young braves.

The lessees of the trading post lost many of their peltries that winter, in consequence of a fire.

English influence produced increasing dissatisfaction among the Indians that were beyond Mackinaw. Not only were voyageurs robbed and maltreated at Sault St. Marie, and other points on Lake Superior, but even the commandant at Mackinaw was exposed to insolence, and there was no security anywhere. The Marquis de Beauharnois determined to send St. Pierre to the scene of disorder. In the language of a document of the day, he was "a very good officer, much esteemed among all the nations of those parts—none more loved and feared."

On his arrival, the savages were so cross, that he advised that no Frenchman should come to trade.

By promptness and boldness, he secured the Indians who had murdered some Frenchmen, and obtained the respect of the tribes.

While the three murderers were being conveyed in a canoe down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, in charge of a

sergeant and seven soldiers, the savages, with characteristic cunning, though manacled, succeeded in killing or drowning the guard. Cutting their irons with an axe, they sought the woods, and escaped to their own country.

"Thus," writes Galassoniere, in 1748, to Count Maurepas, "was lost in a great measure the fruit of Sieur St. Pierre's good management, and of all the fatigue I endured to get the nations who surrendered these rascals to listen to reason."

CHAPTER X.

CANADA was now fairly involved in the war with New York and the New England colonies. The Home Governments were anxious lookers on, for momentous issues depended upon the failure or success of either party.

The French knew that they must enlist the Upper Indians on their side, or lose Detroit, Mackinaw, and indeed all the keys of the valley of the Mississippi, and the region of the lakes. They, therefore, sent officers with presents to Mackinaw, to induce the tribes of the far West to unite with them in expelling the English.

It was impossible to form regiments of the North American savages, as the French of modern days have done in Algeria, or as the British with the Sepoys.

Indians can never be made to move in platoons. From youth they have marched in single file, and have only answered to the call of their inclinations, and over them their chiefs have not the slightest authority. To their capricious natures enlistment for a fixed time is repugnant. At the same time, under the guidance of colonial officers who humoured them in their whims, they frequently rendered efficient service. They were conversant with the recesses of the forest, and walked through the tangled wilderness with the same ease that

the French military officers promenaded the gardens of Paris. They discovered the trail of men with the instinct that their dogs scented the tracks of wild beasts. Adroit in an attack, they would also, amid a shower of musket balls, feel for the scalp of an enemy.

With such allies it is no wonder that New England mothers and delicate maidens turned pale when they heard that the French were coming.[1]

On the twenty-third of August, 1747, Philip Le Duc arrived at Mackinaw from Lake Superior, stating that he had been robbed of his goods at Kamanistigoya,[2] and that the Ojibways of the lake were favourably disposed toward the English. The Dahkotahs were also becoming unruly in the absence of French officers.

In the few weeks after Le Duc's robbery, St. Pierre left Montreal to become commandant at Mackinaw, and Vercheres was appointed for the post at Green Bay.

On the twenty-first of June of the next year, La Ronde started for La Pointe, and La Veranderie for West Sea[3]—Fond du Lac, Minnesota.

For several years there was constant dissatisfaction among the Indians, but under the influence of Sieur Marin, who was in command at Green Bay in 1753, tranquillity was in a measure restored.

[1] The following are some of the arrivals in a few weeks at Montreal, in 1746. July 23—31 Ottawas of Detroit.
July 31, 16 Folles Avoines for war.
" " 14 Kiskakons " "
" " 4 Scioux, to ask for a commandant.
Aug. 2, 50 Pottowattamies for war.
" " 15 Puans " "
" " 10 Illinois " "
" 6, 50 Ottawas of Mackinaw.
Aug. 6, 40 Ottawas of the Fork.
" 10, 65 Mississagues.
" " 80 Algonkins and Nepissings.
" " 14 Sauteurs.
" 22, 38 Ottawas of Detroit.
" " 17 Sauteurs
" " 24 Hurons.
" " 14 Poutewatamis.

[2] Pigeon river, part of northern boundary of Minnesota.

[3] Carver's map calls it West Bay.

As the war between England and France, in America became desperate, the officers of the north-western posts were called into action, and stationed nearer the enemy.

Legardeur de St. Pierre, whose name it is thought was formerly attached to the river from which the state of Minnesota derives its name, was in command of a rude post in Erie county, Pennsylvania, in December, 1753, and to him Washington, then just entering upon manhood, bore a letter from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia.[1]

On the ninth of July, 1755, Beaujeu and De Lignery, who had pursued so unsuccessfully the Foxes, in the valley of the Wisconsin, in 1728, were at Fort Duquesne, and marched out of the fort with soldiers, Canadians, and Indians, to seek an ambush, but about noon, before reaching the desired spot, they met the enemy under Braddock, who discharged a galling fire from their artillery, by which Beaujeu was killed. The sequel, which led to the memorable defeat of Braddock, is familiar to all who have read the life of Washington.

Under Baron Dieskaw, St. Pierre commanded the Indians, in September, 1755, during the campaign on Lake Champlain, where he fell gallantly fighting the English, as did his commander. The Reverend Claude Cocquard, alluding to the French defeat, in a letter to his brother, remarks:—

"We lost, on that occasion, a brave officer, M. de St. Pierre, and had his advice, as well as that of several other Canadian officers been followed, Jonckson[2] was irretrievably destroyed, and we should have been spared the trouble we have had this year."

[1] St. Pierre's reply was manly and dignified. See Pennsylvania Colonial Records, v. 715.

[2] Johnson.

Other officers who had been stationed on the borders of Minnesota, also distinguished themselves during the French war. The Marquis Montcalm, in camp at Ticonderoga, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1757, writes to Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada.

"Lieutenant Marin, of the Colonial troops, who has exhibited a rare audacity, did not consider himself bound to halt, although his detachment of about four hundred men was reduced to about two hundred, the balance having been sent back on account of inability to follow. He carried off a patrol of ten men, and swept away an ordinary guard of fifty, like a wafer; went up to the enemy's camp, under Fort Lydius (Edward), where he was exposed to a severe fire, and retreated like a warrior. He was unwilling to amuse himself making prisoners; he brought in only one, and thirty-two scalps, and must have killed many men of the enemy, in the midst of whose ranks it was neither wise nor prudent to go in search of scalps. The Indians generally all behaved well. * * * * * * The Outaouais, who arrived with me, and whom I designed to go on a scouting party towards the lake, had conceived a project of administering a corrective to the English barges. * * * * On the day before yesterday, your brother formed a detachment to accompany them. I arrived at his camp on the evening of the same day. Lieutenant de Corbiere, of Colonial troops, was returning in consequence of a misunderstanding, and as I knew the zeal and intelligence of that officer, I made him set out with a new instruction to rejoin Messrs. de Langlade[1] and Hertel de Chantly. They remained in ambush all day

[1] This officer has relatives in Wisconsin, and an interesting sketch of his life is in Grignon's Recollections, Wis. Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. iii.

and night yesterday; at break of day the English appeared on Lake St. Sacrament (Champlain), to the number of twenty-two barges, under the command of Sieur Parker. The whoops of our Indians impressed them with such terror that they made but feeble resistance, and only two barges escaped."

After De Corbiere's victory on Lake Champlain, a large French army was collected at Ticonderoga, with which there were many Indians from the tribes of the North-west,[2] and the Ioways appeared for the first time in the east.

It is an interesting fact that the English officers who

[1] INDIANS OF THE UPPER COUNTRY.

		OFFICERS.
Tetes de Boule	3	
Outaouais Kiskakons	94	De Langlade.
" Sinagos	35	Florimont.
" of the Forks	70	Herbin.
" of Mignogan	10	Abbe Matavet.
" of Beaver Island	44	Sulpitian.
" of Detroit	30	
" of Saginau	54	
Sauteurs of Chagoamigon	33	La Plante.
" of Beaver	23	De Lorimer.
" of Coasekimagen	14	Chesne, Interpreter.
" of the Carp	37	
" of Cabibonkè	50	
Poutouatamis of St. Joseph	70	
" of Detroit	18	
Folles Avoines of Orignal	62	
" of the Chat	67	
Miamis	15	
Puans of the Bay	48	De Tailly, Interpreter.
Ayeouais (Ioways)	10	
Foxes	20	Marin, Langus.
Ouillas	10	Reaume, Interpreter.
Sacs	33	
Loups	5	

were in frequent engagements with St. Pierrè, Lusignan, Marin, Langlade, and others, became the pioneers of the British, a few years afterwards, in the occupation of the outposts on the Lakes, and in the exploration of Minnesota.

Rogers, the celebrated captain of rangers, subsequently commander of Mackinaw, and Jonathan Carver, the first British explorer of Minnesota, were both on duty at Lake Champlain—the latter narrowly escaping at the battle of Fort George.

On Christmas eve, 1757, Rogers approached Fort Ticonderoga, to fire the out-houses, but was prevented by discharge of the cannons of the French.

He contented himself with killing fifteen beeves, on the horns of one of which he left a laconic and amusing note, addressed to the commander of the post.[1]

On the thirteenth of March, 1758, Durantaye, formerly at Mackinaw, had a skirmish with Rogers. Both had been trained on the frontier, and they met "as Greek met Greek." The conflict was fierce, and the French victorious. The Indian allies, finding a scalp of a chief underneath an officer's jacket, were furious, and took one hundred and fourteen scalps in return. When the French returned, they supposed that Captain Rogers was among the killed.

At Quebec, when Montcalm and Wolfe fell, there were Ojibways present, assisting the French.

The Indians, returning from the expeditions against

[1] "I am obliged to you, Sir, for the repose you have allowed me to take; *I thank you for the fresh meat you have sent me,* I request you to present my compliments to the Marquis du Montcalm. ROGERS, Commandant Independent Companies."

the English were attacked with small-pox, and many died at Mackinaw.

On the eighth of September, 1760, the French delivered up all their posts in Canada. A few days after the capitulation at Montreal, Major Rogers was sent with English troops, to garrison the posts of the distant North-west.

On the eighth of September, 1761, a year after the surrender, Captain Belfour, of the eightieth regiment of the British army, left Detroit, with a detachment, to take possession of the French forts at Mackinaw and Green Bay. Twenty-five soldiers were left at Mackinaw, in command of Lieutenant Leslie, and the rest sailed to Green Bay, where they arrived on the twelfth of October. The fort had been abandoned for several years, and was in a dilapidated condition. In charge of it, there was left a lieutenant, a corporal, and fifteen soldiers. Two English traders arrived at the same time—McKay from Albany, and Goddard from Montreal.

On the first of March, 1763, twelve Dahkotah warriors arrived at the fort, and proffered the friendship of the nation. They told the English officer, with warmth, that if the Ojibways, or other Indians, wished to obstruct the passage of the traders coming up, to send them a belt, and they would come and cut them off, as all Indians were their slaves or dogs. They then produced a letter written by Penneshaw, a French trader, who had been permitted, the year before, to go to their country. On the nineteenth of June, Penneshaw returned from his trading expedition among the Dahkotahs. By his influence the nation was favourably affected toward the English. He brought with him a

pipe from them, with a request that traders might be sent to them.[1]

[1] Extracts from the journal of Lt. Gorell, an English officer at Green Bay, Wis. His. Coll. vol. i.

"On March 1, 1763, twelve warriors of the Sous came here. It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found. Not above two thousand of them were ever armed with fire-arms, the rest depending entirely on bows and arrows, which they use with more skill than any other Indian nation in America. They can shoot the wildest and largest beasts in the woods at seventy or one hundred yards distant. They are remarkable for their dancing, and the other nations take the fashions from them. * * * * This nation is always at war with the Chippewas, those who destroyed Mishamakinak. They told me with warmth that if ever the Chippewas or any other Indians wished to obstruct the passage of the traders coming up, to send them word, and they would come and cut them off from the face of the earth, as all Indians were their slaves or dogs. I told them I was glad to see them, and hoped to have a lasting peace with them. They then gave me a letter wrote in French, and two belts of wampum from their king, in which he expressed great joy on hearing of there being English at his post. The letter was written by a French trader, whom I had allowed to go among them last fall, with a promise of his behaving well, which he did, better than any Canadian I ever knew. * * * * With regard to traders, I told them I would not allow any to go amongst them, as I then understood they lay out of the government of Canada, but made no doubt they would have traders from the Mississippi in the spring. They went away extremely well pleased. 'June 14th, 1763, the traders came down from the Sack country, and confirmed the news of Landsing and his son being killed by the French. There came with the traders some Puans and four young men, with one chief of the Avoy (Ioway) nation to demand traders.' * * * *

"On the nineteenth, a deputation of Winnebagoes, Sacs, Foxes, and Menominees arrived with a Frenchman named Pennensha. This Pennensha is the same man who wrote the letter the Sous brought with them in French, and at the same time held council with that great nation in favour of the English, by which he much promoted the interest of the latter, as appeared by the behaviour of the Sous. He brought with him a pipe from the Sous, desiring that as the road is now clear, they would by no means allow the Chippewas to obstruct it, or give the English any disturbance, or prevent the traders from coming up to them. If they did so they would send all their warriors and cut them off."

CHAPTER XI.

THOUGH the treaty of 1763, made at Versailles, between France and England, ceded all the territory comprised within the limits of Wisconsin and Minnesota to the latter power, the English did not for a long time obtain a foothold.

The French traders having purchased wives from the Indian tribes, they managed to preserve a feeling of friendship towards their king, long after the trading posts at Green Bay and Sault St. Marie had been discontinued.

The price paid for peltries by those engaged in the fur trade at New Orleans, was also higher than that which the British could afford to give, so that the Indians sought for French goods in exchange for their skins.

Finding it useless to compete with the French of the lower Mississippi, the English government established no posts of trade or defence beyond Mackinaw. The country west of Lake Michigan appears to have been trodden by but few British subjects, previous to him who forms the subject of the present chapter, and whose name has become somewhat famous in consequence of his heirs having laid claim to the site of St. Paul, and many miles adjacent.

Jonathan Carver was a native of Connecticut. It has been asserted that he was a lineal descendant of John Carver, the first governor of Plymouth colony; but the only definite information that the writer can obtain concerning his ancestry is, that his grandfather, William Carver, was a native of Wigan, Lancashire, England, and a captain in King William's army during the campaign in Ireland, and for meritorious services received an appointment as an officer of the colony of Connecticut.

His father was a justice of the peace in the new world, and in 1732, at Stillwater, or Canterbury, Connecticut, the subject of this sketch was born. At the early age of fifteen he was called to mourn the death of his father. He then commenced the study of medicine, but his roving disposition could not bear the confines of a doctor's office, and feeling, perhaps, that his genius would be cramped by pestle and mortar, at the age of eighteen he purchased an ensign's commission in one of the regiments Connecticut raised during the French war. He was of medium stature, and of strong mind and quick perceptions.

In the year 1757, he was present at the massacre of Fort William Henry, and narrowly escaped with his life.

After the peace of 1763, between France and England, was declared, Carver conceived the project of exploring the North-west. Leaving Boston in the month of June, 1766, he arrived at Mackinaw, then the most distant British post, in the month of August. Having obtained a credit on some French and English traders from Major Rogers, the officer in command, he started with them on the third day of September. Pursuing the usual route to Green Bay, they arrived there on the eighteenth.

The French fort at that time was standing, though much decayed. It was, some years previous to his arrival, garrisoned for a short time by an officer and thirty English soldiers, but they having been captured by the Menominees, it was abandoned.

In company with the traders he left Green Bay on the twentieth, and ascending Fox river, arrived on the twenty-fifth at an island at the east end of Lake Winnebago, containing about fifty acres.

Here he found a Winnebago village of fifty houses. He asserts that a woman was in authority. In the month of October the party was at the portage of the Wisconsin, and descending that stream, they arrived, on the ninth, at a town of the Sauks. While here he visited some lead mines about fifteen miles distant. An abundance of lead was also seen in the village, that had been brought from the mines.

On the tenth they arrived at the first village of the "Ottigaumies" (Foxes), and about five miles before the Wisconsin joins the Mississippi, he perceived the remnants of another village, and learned that it had been deserted about thirty years before, and that the inhabitants, soon after their removal, built a town on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the "Ouisconsin," at a place called by the French La Prairie les Chiens, which signified the Dog Plains. It was a large town, and contained about three hundred families. The houses were built after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a dry rich soil.

He saw here many horses of a good size and shape. This town was the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and where those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about

the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here. This was determined by a general council of the chiefs, who consulted whether it would be more conducive to their interest to sell their goods at this place, or to carry them on to Louisiana or Mackinaw.

At a small stream called Yellow river, opposite Prairie du Chien, the traders who had thus far accompanied Carver took up their residence for the winter.

From this point he proceeded in a canoe, with a Canadian voyageur and a Mohawk Indian, as companions.

Just before reaching Lake Pepin, while his attendants were one day preparing dinner, he walked out and was struck with the peculiar appearance of the surface of the country, and thought it was the site of some vast artificial earth-work.

It is a fact, worthy of remembrance, that he was the first to call the attention of the civilized world to the existence of ancient monuments in the Mississippi valley. We give his own description:—

"On the first of November I reached Lake Pepin, a few miles below which I landed, and, whilst the servants were preparing my dinner, I ascended the bank to view the country. I had not proceeded far before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived, at a little distance, a partial elevation, that had the appearance of entrenchment. On a nearer inspection, I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly see that it had once been a breast-work of about four feet in

height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the river.

"Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular and fashioned with as much military skill as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible; but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation, also, I am convinced that it must have been designed for that purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river, nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling lakes were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracks were worn across it by the feet of the elks or deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth, by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles, and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself since, for not encamping on the spot, and drawing an exact plan of it. To show that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical tale of a mistaken traveller, I find, on inquiry, since my return, that Mons. St. Pierre and several traders have, at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, upon which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country that has hitherto (according to the generally received opinion) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose

only breastwork, even at present, is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance, and leave to future explorers, of those distant regions, to discover whether it is a production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here given, might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient state of realms, that we at present believe to have been, from the earliest period, only the habitations of savages."

Lake Pepin excited his admiration, as it has that of every traveller since his day, and here he remarks: "I observed the ruins of a French factory, where it is said Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies, before the reduction of Canada."

Carver's first acquaintance with the Dahkotahs commenced near the river St. Croix. It would seem that the erection of trading posts on Lake Pepin had enticed them from their old residence on Rum river and Mille Lac.

He says: "Near the river St. Croix, reside bands of the Naudowessie Indians, called the River Bands. This nation is composed at present of eleven bands. They were originally twelve, but the Assinipoils, some years ago, revolting and separating themselves from the others, there remain only at this time eleven. Those I met here are termed the River Bands, because they chiefly dwell near the banks of this river; the other eight are generally distinguished by the title of Naudowessies of the Plains, and inhabit a country more to the westward. The name of the former are Nehogatawonahs, the Mawtawbauntowahs, and Shashweentowahs.

Arriving at what is now a suburb of the capital of Minnesota, he continues, "about thirteen miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth day after I left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakon-teebe (Wakan-tipi). The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty feet broad; the bottom consists of fine clear sand. About thirty feet from the entrance, begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance, for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a small pebble towards the interior part of it with my utmost strength; I could hear that it fell into the water, and, notwithstanding it was of a small size, it caused an astonishing and terrible noise, that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the wall, which was composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife; a stone everywhere to be found near the Mississippi.

"At a little distance from this dreary cavern, is the burying-place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians. Though these people have no fixed residence, being in tents, and seldom but a few months in one spot, yet they always bring the bones of the dead to this place.[1]

[1] The cave has been materially altered by nearly a century's work of those effective tools, frost, water, and the atmosphere. Years ago the top fell in, but on the side walls, not covered by debris, pictographs gray

"Ten miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, the river St. Pierre, called by the natives Wadapaw Menesotor, falls into the Mississippi from the west. It is not mentioned by Father Hennepin, though a large, fair river. This omission, I consider, must have proceeded from a small island (Faribault's), that is situated exactly in its entrance."

When he reached the Minnesota river, the ice became so troublesome that he left his canoe in the neighbourhood of what is now the ferry, and walked to St. Anthony, in company with a young Winnebago chief, who had never seen the curling waters. The chief, on reaching the eminence some distance below Cheever's, began to invoke his gods, and offer oblations to the spirit in the waters.

"In the middle of the Falls stands a small island, about *forty feet* broad, and somewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and spruce trees, and about half way between this island and the eastern shore, is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Falls, in an oblique position, that appeared to be about five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long. At a little distance below the

with age, are visible. In 1807, the present mouth of the cave was so covered up, that Major Long, to use a vulgarism, was obliged to "creep on all fours" to enter. In 1820, it seems to have been closed, as Schoolcraft describes another cave three miles above, as Carver's. Featherstonhaugh made the same mistake.

In 1837 Nicollet the astronomer and his assistants, worked many hours and entered the little cavity that remained.

It is now walled up and used as a root-house by the owner of the land.

On the bluff above are numerous mounds. Under the supervision of the writer, one eighteen feet high and two hundred and sixty feet in circumference at the base, was opened to the depth of three or four feet. Fragments of skull, which crumbled on exposure, and perfect shells of human teeth, the interior entirely decayed, were found.

Falls, stands a small island of about an acre and a half, on which grow a great number of oak trees."

From this description, it would appear that the little island, now some distance in front of the Falls, was once in the very midst, and shows that a constant recession has been going on, and that in ages long past, they were not far from the Minnesota river. A century hence, if the wearing of the last five years is any criterion, the Falls will be above the town of St. Anthony.

No description is more glowing than Carver's, of the country adjacent:—

"The country around them is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the summer are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves that give a pleasing variety to the prospect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at the distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view I believe cannot be found throughout the universe."

He arrived at the Falls on the seventeenth of November, 1766, and appears to have ascended as far as Elk river.

On the twenty-fifth of November, he had returned to the place opposite the Minnesota, where he had left his canoe, and this stream as yet not being obstructed with ice, he commenced its ascent, with the colours of Great Britain flying at the stern of his canoe. There is no doubt that he entered this river, but how far he explored it cannot be ascertained. He speaks of the Rapids near Shokopay, and asserts that he went as far as two hundred miles beyond Mendota. He remarks:—

"On the seventh of December, I arrived at the utmost

14

extent of my travels towards the West, where I met a large party of the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I resided some months."

After speaking of the upper bands of the Dahkotahs and their allies, he adds that he "left the habitations of the hospitable Indians the latter end of April, 1767, but did not part from them for several days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them to the mouth of the river St. Pierre. At this season these bands annually go to the great cave (Dayton's Bluff), before mentioned."

When he arrived at the great cave, and the Indians had deposited the remains of their deceased friends in the burial-place that stands adjacent to it, they held their great council, to which he was admitted.

When the Naudowessies brought their dead for interment to the great cave (St. Paul), I attempted to get an insight into the remaining burial rites, but whether it was on account of the stench which arose from so many bodies, or whether they chose to keep this part of their custom secret from me, I could not discover. I found, however, that they considered my curiosity as ill-timed, and therefore I withdrew. * * * *

One formality among the Naudowessies in mourning for the dead, is very different from any mode I observed in the other nations through which I passed. The men, to show how great their sorrow is, pierce the flesh of their arms above the elbows with arrows, and the women cut and gash their legs with sharp broken flints till the blood flows very plentifully. * * * * * * * *

After the breath is departed, the body is dressed in the same attire it usually wore, his face is painted, and he is seated in an erect posture on a mat or skin, placed

in the middle of the hut, with his weapons by his side. His relatives seated around, each harangues in turn the deceased; and, if he has been a great warrior, recounts his heroic actions nearly to the following purport, which in the Indian language is extremely poetical and pleasing:—

"You still sit among us, brother, your person retains its usual resemblance, and continues similar to ours, without any visible deficiency, except it has lost the power of action! But whither is that breath flown, which a few hours ago sent up smoke to the Great Spirit? Why are those lips silent that lately delivered to us expressions and pleasing language? Why are those feet motionless that a short time ago were fleeter than the deer on yonder mountains? Why useless hang those arms that could climb the tallest tree, or draw the toughest bow? Alas! every part of that frame which we lately beheld with admiration and wonder, is now become as inanimate as it was three hundred years ago! We will not, however, bemoan thee as if thou wast for ever lost to us, or that thy name would be buried in oblivion—thy soul yet lives in the great country of Spirits with those of thy nation that have gone before thee; and, though we are left behind to perpetuate thy fame, we shall one day join thee.

"Actuated by the respect we bore thee whilst living, we now come to tender thee the last act of kindness in our power; that thy body might not lie neglected on the plain and become a prey to the beasts of the field or fowls of the air, we will take care to lay it with those of thy predecessors who have gone before thee; hoping at the same time that thy spirit will feed with their

spirits and be ready to receive ours when we shall also arrive at the great country of souls."

For this speech Carver is principally indebted to his imagination, but it is well conceived, and suggested one of Schiller's poems.[1]

It appears from other sources that Carver's visit to the Dahkotahs was of some effect in bringing about friendly intercourse between them and the commander of the English force at Mackinaw.

The earliest mention of the Dahkotahs, in any public British documents that we know of, is in the correspondence between Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Colony of New York, and General Gage, in command of the forces.

On the eleventh of September, less than six months after Carver's speech at Dayton's Bluff, and the departure of a number of chiefs to the English fort at Mackinaw, Johnson writes to General Gage:—"Though I wrote to you some days ago, yet I would not mind saying something again on the score of the vast expenses incurred, and, as I understand, still incurring at Michilimackinac, chiefly on pretence of making a peace between the Sioux and Chippeweighs, with which I think we have very little to do, in good policy or otherwise."

Sir William Johnson, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, one of his Majesty's ministers, dated August seventeenth, 1768, again refers to the subject:—

"Much greater part of those who go a trading are men of such circumstances and disposition as to venture their persons everywhere for extravagant gains, yet the

[1] For translations of Schiller, see Chapter III. p. 89.

consequences to the public are not to be slighted, as we may be led into a general quarrel through their means. The Indians in the part adjacent to Michilimackinac have been treated with at a very great expense for some time previous.

"Major Rodgers brings a considerable charge against the former for mediating a peace between some tribes of the Sioux and some of the Chippeweighs, which, had it been attended with success, would only have been interesting to a very few French, and others, that had goods in that part of the Indian country, but the contrary has happened, and they are now more violent, and war against one another."

Though a wilderness of over one thousand miles intervened between the Falls of St. Anthony and the white settlements of the English, he was fully impressed with the idea that the state now organized under the name of Minnesota, on account of its beauty and fertility, would attract settlers.

Speaking of the advantages of the country, he says that the future population will be able to convey their produce to the seaports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, being extremely favourable for doing this in small craft. *This might also in time be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York, by way of the Lakes.*"

The subject of this sketch was also confident that a route could be discovered by way of the Minnesota river, which "would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies."

Carver, having returned to England, interested Whit

worth, a member of Parliament, in the Northern route. Had not the American Revolution commenced, they proposed to have built a fort at Lake Pepin, to have proceeded up the Minnesota, until they found, as they supposed they could, a branch of the Missouri, and from thence journeying over the summit of lands, until they came to a river which they called Oregon, they expected to descend to the Pacific.

Carver, in common with other travellers, had his theory in relation to the origin of the Dahkotahs. He supposed that they came from Asia. He remarks, "But this might have been at different times and from various parts—from Tartary, China, Japan, for the inhabitants of these places resemble each other. * * * *

"It is very evident that some of the names and customs of the American Indians resemble those of the Tartars, and I make no doubt but that in some future era, and this not very distant, it will be reduced to certainty that during some of the wars between the Tartars and the Chinese, a part of the inhabitants of the northern provinces were driven from their native country, and took refuge in some of the isles before mentioned, and from thence found their way into America. * * * * * *

"Many words are used both by the Chinese and Indians which have a resemblance to each other, not only in their sound but in their signification. The Chinese call a slave Shungo; and the Naudowessie Indians, whose language, from their little intercourse with the Europeans, is least corrupted, term a dog Shungush (Shoankah). The former denominate our species of their tea Shoushong; the latter call their tobacco Shousas-sau (Chanshasha). Many other of the words used

by the Indians contain the syllables *che, chaw,* and *chu,* after the dialect of the Chinese." The comparison of languages has become a rich source of historical knowledge, yet very many of the analogies traced are fanciful. The remark of Humboldt in "Cosmos" is worthy of remembrance:—"As the structure of American idioms appears remarkably strange to nations speaking the modern languages of Western Europe, and who readily suffer themselves to be led away by some accidental analogies of sound, theologians have generally believed that they could trace an affinity with the Hebrew, Spanish colonists with the Basque and the English, or French settlers with Gaelic, Erse, or the Bas Breton. I one day met on the coast of Peru, a Spanish naval officer and an English whaling captain, the former of whom declared that he had heard Basque spoken at Tahiti; the other, Gaelic or Erse at the Sandwich Islands.'"

Carver became very poor while in England, and was a clerk in a lottery office. He died in 1780, and left a widow, two sons, and five daughters, in New England, and also a child by another wife that he had married in Great Britain.

After his death a claim was urged for the land upon which the capital of Minnesota now stands, and for many miles adjacent. As there are still many persons who believe that they have some right through certain deeds purporting to be from the heirs of Carver, it is a matter worthy of an investigation.

Carver says nothing in his book of travels in relation to a grant from the Dahkotahs, but after he was buried, it was asserted that there was a deed belonging to him in existence, conveying valuable lands, and that said

deed was executed at the cave now in the eastern suburbs of Saint Paul.[1]

The original deed was never exhibited by the assignees of the heirs. By his English wife Carver had one child, a daughter Martha, who was cared for by Sir Richard and Lady Pearson. In time she eloped and married a sailor. A mercantile firm in London, thinking that money could be made, induced the newly married couple, the day after the wedding, to convey the grant to them, with the understanding that they were to have a tenth of the profits.

The merchants despatched an agent by the name of Clarke to go to the Dahkotahs, and obtain a new deed; but on his way he was murdered in the State of New York.

[1] DEED PURPORTING TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN AT THE CAVE IN THE BLUFF BELOW ST. PAUL.

"To Jonathan Carver, a Chief under the most mighty and potent George the Third King of the English, and other nations, the fame of whose warriors has reached our ears, and has now been fully told us by our *good brother Jonathan*, aforesaid, whom we rejoice to have come among us, and bring us good news from his country.

"We, Chiefs of the Naudowessies, who have hereunto set our seals, do by these presents, for ourselves and heirs forever, in return for the aid and other good services done by the said Jonathan to ourselves and allies, give, grant, and convey to him, the said Jonathan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract of territory of land, bounded as follows, viz: from the Falls of St. Anthony, running on east bank of the Mississippi, nearly south-east, as far as Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa joins the Mississippi, and from thence eastward, five days travel accounting twenty English miles per day, and from thence again to the Falls of St. Anthony, on a direct straight line. We do for ourselves, heirs, and assigns, forever give unto the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, with all the trees, rocks, and rivers therein, reserving the sole liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, to which we have affixed our respective seals.

"At the Great Cave, May 1st, 1767."

"Signed, HAWNOPAWJATIN.
OTOHTONGOOMLISHEAW.

In the year 1794, the heirs of Carver's American wife, in consideration of fifty thousand pounds sterling, conveyed their interest in the Carver grant to Edward Houghton of Vermont. In the year 1806, Samuel Peters,[1] who had been a tory and an Episcopal minister during the Revolutionary war, alleges, in a petition to Congress, that he had also purchased of the heirs of Carver their rights to the grant.

Before the Senate Committee, the same year, he testified as follows:—

"In the year 1774, I arrived there (London), and met Captain Carver. In 1775, Carver had a hearing before the king, praying his majesty's approval of a deed of land dated May first, 1767, and sold and granted to him by the Naudowissies. The result was his majesty approved of the exertions and bravery of Captain Carver among the Indian nations, near the Falls of St. Anthony, in the Mississippi, gave to said Carver 1373*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* sterling, and ordered a frigate to be prepared, and a transport ship to carry one hundred and fifty men, under command of Captain Carver, with four others as a committee, to sail next June to New Orleans, and then to ascend the Mississippi to take possession of said territory conveyed to Captain Carver, but the battle of Bunker Hill prevented."[2]

In 1821, General Leavenworth, having made inquiries of the Dahkotahs, in relation to the alleged claim, addressed the following to the commissioner of the land office:—

[1] Said to have been the author of a fictitious work called "*Connecticut Blue Laws.*"

[2] Peters also testified that he was the great-grandson of Governor John Carver, the first Chief Magistrate of Plymouth Colony.

"Sir:—Agreeably to your request, I have the honour to inform you what I have understood from the Indians of the Sioux Nation, as well as some facts within my own knowledge, as to what is commonly termed Carver's Grant. The grant purports to be made by the chiefs of the Sioux of the Plains, and one of the chiefs uses the sign of a serpent, and the other a turtle, purporting that their names are derived from those animals.

"The land lies on the east side of the Mississippi. The Indians do not recognise or acknowledge the grant to be valid, and they among others assign the following reasons:—

"1. The Sioux of the Plains never owned a foot of land on the east side of the Mississippi. The Sioux Nation is divided into two grand divisions, viz: The Sioux of the Lake, or perhaps more literally Sioux of the River, and Sioux of the Plain. The former subsists by hunting and fishing, and usually move from place to place by water, in canoes, during the summer season, and travel on the ice in the winter, when not on their hunting excursions. The latter subsist entirely by hunting, and have no canoes, nor do they know but little about the use of them. They reside in the large prairies west of the Mississippi, and follow the buffalo, upon which they entirely subsist; these are called Sioux of the Plain, and never owned land east of the Mississippi.

"2. The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs, as those who have signed the grant to Carver, either amongst the Sioux of the River, or Sioux of the Plain. They say that if Captain Carver did ever obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs, and who were not

authorized to make a grant. Among the Sioux of the River there are no such names.

"3. They say the Indians never received anything for the land, and they have no intention to part with it, without a consideration. From my knowledge of the Indians, I am induced to think they would not make so considerable a grant, and have it go into full effect, without receiving a substantial consideration.

"4. They have, and ever have had, the possession of the land, and intend to keep it. I know that they are very particular in making every person who wishes to cut timber on that tract, obtain their permission to do so, and to obtain payment for it. In the month of May last, some Frenchmen brought a large raft of red cedar timber out of the Chippewa river, which timber was cut on the tract before mentioned. The Indians at one of the villages on the Mississippi, where the principal chief resided, compelled the Frenchmen to land the raft, and would not permit them to pass until they had received pay for the timber; and the Frenchmen were compelled to leave their raft with the Indians until they went to Prairie du Chien, and obtained the necessary articles, and made the payment required."

On the twenty-third of January, 1823, the Committee of Public Lands made a report on the claim to the Senate, which, to every disinterested person, is entirely satisfactory. After stating the facts of the petition, the report continues:—

"The Rev. Samuel Peters, in his petition, further states that Lefel, the present Emperor of the Sioux and Naudowessies, and Red Wing, a Sachem, the heirs and successors of the two grand chiefs who signed the said deed to Captain Carver, have given satisfactory and

positive proof, that they allowed their ancestors' deed to be genuine, good, and valid, and that Captain Carver's heirs and assigns are the owners of said territory, and may occupy it free of all molestation.

"The committee have examined and considered the claims thus exhibited by the petitioners, and remark that the original deed is not produced, nor any competent legal evidence offered, of its execution; nor is there any proof that the persons, whom it is alleged made the deed, were the chiefs of said tribe, nor that (if chiefs) they had authority to grant and give away the land belonging to their tribe. The paper annexed to the petition, as a copy of said deed, has no subscribing witnesses; and it would seem impossible at this remote period, to ascertain the important fact, that the persons who signed the deed comprehended and understood the meaning and effect of their act.

"The want of proof as to these facts, would interpose in the way of the claimants insuperable difficulties. But, in the opinion of the committee, the claim is not such as the United States are under any obligation to allow, even if the deed were proved in legal form.

"The British government, before the time when the alleged deed bears date, had deemed it prudent and necessary, for the preservation of peace with the Indian tribes under their sovereignty, protection, and dominion, to prevent British subjects from purchasing lands from the Indians; and this rule of policy was made known and enforced by the proclamation of the king of Great Britain, of seventh October, 1763, which contains an express prohibition.

"Captain Carver, aware of the law, and knowing that such a contract could not vest the legal title in him,

applied to the British government to ratify and confirm the Indian grant, and though it was competent for that government then to confirm the grant, and vest the title of said land in him, yet, from some cause, that government did not think proper to do it.

"The territory has since become the property of the United States, and an Indian grant, not good against the British government, would appear to be not binding upon the United States government.

"What benefit the British government derived from the services of Captain Carver, by his travels and residence among the Indians, that government alone could determine, and alone could judge what remuneration those services deserved.

"One fact appears from the declaration of Mr. Peters, in his statement in writing, among the papers exhibited, namely, that the British government did give Captain Carver the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling.[1] To the United States, however, Captain Carver rendered no services which could be assumed as any equitable ground for the support of the petitioners' claim.

"The committee being of opinion that the United States are not bound, in law or equity, to confirm the said alleged Indian grant, recommend the adoption of the following resolution:—

"'*Resolved*, that the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted.'"

[1] Lord Palmerston stated in 1839, that no trace could be found in the records of the British office of state papers, showing any ratification of the Carver grant.

CHAPTER XII.

SUSTAINED by French influence and fire-arms, the Ojibways began to advance into the Dahkotah country. Carver found the two nations at war in 1766, and was told that they had been fighting forty years. Pike, when at Leech Lake, in 1806, met an aged Ojibway chief, called "Sweet," who said that the Dahkotahs lived there when he was a young man.

Ojibway tradition says that about one hundred and twenty-five years ago, a large war party was raised to march against a Dahkotah village at Sandy Lake; the leader's name was Biauswah, grandfather of a well known chief of that name at Sandy Lake.

Some years after Sandy Lake had been taken by this chief, sixty Ojibways descended the Mississippi. On their return, at the confluence of the Crow Wing and Mississippi, they saw traces of a large Dahkotah party that had ascended to their village, and probably killed their wives and children. Digging holes in the ground they concealed themselves, and awaited the descent of their enemies. The Dahkotahs soon came floating down, singing songs of triumph and beating the drum, with scalps dangling from poles. The Dahkotahs were five times as many as the Ojibways, but when the latter

beheld the reeking scalps of their relatives they were nerved to fight with desperation. The battle soon commenced, and when arms and ammunition failed, they dug holes near to each other and fought with stones. The bravest fought hand to hand with knives and clubs. The conflict lasted three days, till the Dahkotahs at last retreated. The marks of this battle are still thought to be visible.

The band of Ojibways, living at Leech Lake, have long borne the name of "Pillagers," from the fact that, while encamped at a small creek on the Mississippi, ten miles from Crow Wing river, they robbed a trader of his goods.

Very near the period that France ceded Canada to England, the last conflict of the Foxes and Ojibways took place at the Falls of the St. Croix.

The account which the Ojibways give of this battle is, that a famous war chief of Lake Superior, whose name was Waub-o-jeeg, or White Fisher, sent his war club and wampum of war to call the scattered bands of the Ojibway tribes, to collect a war party to march against the Dahkotah villages on the St. Croix and Mississippi. Warriors from St. Marie, Keweenaw, Wisconsin, and Grand Portage joined his party, and with three hundred warriors, Waub-o-jeeg started from La Pointe to march into the enemy's country. He had sent his war-club to the village of Sandy Lake, and they had sent tobacco in return, with answer that on a certain day, sixty men from that section of the Ojibway tribe would meet him at the confluence of Snake river with the St. Croix. On reaching this point on the day designated, and the Sandy Lake party not having arrived as agreed upon, Waub-o-jeeg, not confident in

the strength of his numbers, continued down the St. Croix. They arrived at the Falls of St. Croix early in the morning, and, while preparing to take their bark canoes over the portage, or carrying place, scouts were sent in advance to reconnoitre. They soon returned with the information that they had discovered a large party of Foxes and Dahkotahs landing at the other end of the portage.

The Ojibways instantly prepared for battle, and the scouts of the enemy having discovered them, the hostile parties met as if by mutual appointment, in the middle of the portage. The Foxes, after seeing the comparatively small number of the Ojibways, and over confident in their own superior numbers and prowess, requested the Dahkotahs not to join in the fight, but to sit by and see how quickly they could rout the Ojibways. This request was granted. The fight between the contending warriors, is said to have been fiercely contested, and embellished with many daring acts of personal valour. About noon the Foxes commenced yielding ground, and at last were forced to flee in confusion. They would probably have been driven into the river and killed to a man, had not their allies the Dahkotahs, who had been quietly smoking their pipes and calmly viewing the fight from a distance, at this juncture, yelled their war whoop, and rushed to the rescue of their discomfited friends.

The Ojibways resisted their new enemies manfully, and it was not until their ammunition had entirely failed that they in turn showed their backs in flight. Few would have returned to their lodges to tell the sad tale of defeat, and death of brave men, had not the party of sixty warriors from Sandy Lake, who were to

have joined them at the mouth of Snake river, arrived at this opportune moment, and landed at the head of the portage.

Eager for the fight and fresh on the field, this band withstood the onset of the Dahkotahs and Foxes, till their retreating friends could rally again to the battle. The Dahkotahs and Foxes in turn fled, and it is said that the slaughter in their ranks was great. Many were driven over the rocks into the boiling flood below; and every crevice in the cliffs contained a dead or wounded enemy.

From this time the Foxes retired to the south, and for ever gave up the war with their victorious enemies.

Tradition says that, while the English had possession of what is now Minnesota, and while they occupied a trading post near the confluence of the waters of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, the M'de-wa-kan-ton-wan Dahkotahs sent the "bundle of tobacco" to their friends, the Wa-rpe-ton-wan, Si-si-ton-wan, and I-han-kton-wan bands, who joined them in an expedition against the Ojibways of Lake Superior. Notwithstanding the great strength of the party, they found and scalped only a single family of their enemies.

Soon after their return to their own country, a quarrel arose between a M'dewakantonwan named Ixkatape (Toy) and their trader. The Indian name of the trader was Pagonta, Mallard Duck. The result of the quarrel was, that one day as the unsuspecting Englishman sat quietly smoking his Indian pipe in his rude hut near Mendota, he was shot dead.

At this time some of the bands of the Dahkotahs had learned to depend very much upon the trade for the means by which they subsisted themselves. At an

earlier period it would have been to them a matter of trifling importance whether a white man wintered with them or not.

In consequence of the murder, the trade was temporarily withdrawn. This was at that time a severe measure, and reduced these bands to sufferings which they could not well endure. They had no ammunition, no traps, no blankets. For the whole long dreary winter, they were the sport of cold and famine. That was one of the severest winters that the M'dewakantonwans ever experienced, and they had not even a pipe of tobacco to smoke over their unprecedented misery. They hardly survived.

On the opening of spring, after much deliberation, it was determined that the brave and head men of the band should take the murderer, and throw themselves at the feet of their English Fathers in Canada. Accordingly, a party of about one hundred of their best men and women left Mendota early in the season, and descended the Mississippi in their canoes to the mouth of the Wisconsin. From thence they paddled up the Wisconsin, and down the Fox river to Green Bay. By this time, however, more than half their number had meanly enough deserted them. While they were encamped at Green Bay, all but six, a part of whom were females, gave up the enterprise, and disgracefully returned, bringing the prisoner with them. The courage, the bone and sinew of the M'dewakantonwan band might have been found in that little remnant of six men and women.

Wapashaw, the grandfather of the present chief who bears that name, was *the* man of that truly heroic little

half-dozen. With strong hearts, and proud perseverance, they toiled on till they reached Quebec.

Wapashaw, placing himself at the head of the little deserted band, far from home and friends, assumed the guilt of the cowardly murderer, and nobly gave himself up into the hands of justice for the relief of his suffering people.

After they had given him a few blows with the stem of the pipe through which Pagonta was smoking when he was killed, the English heard Wapashaw with that noble generosity which he merited.

He represented the Dahkotahs as living in seven bands, and received a like number of chiefs' medals; one of which was hung about his own neck, and the remaining six were to be given, one to each of the chief men of the other bands.

It would be highly gratifying to know who were the persons who received those six chiefs' medals; but, although not more than one century, at the longest, has passed, since Wapashaw's visit to Canada, it cannot now be certainly ascertained to which divisions of the Dahkotah tribe they belonged; it seems most probable, however, that the following were the seven divisions to which Wapashaw referred, viz.:—M'de-wa-kan-ton-wan, Wa-rpe-kute, Wa-rpe-ton-wan, Si-si-ton-wan, I-han-kton-wan, I-han-kton-wan-nan, and Ti-ton-wan.

The names of this little band of braves are all lost but that of Wapashaw. They wintered in Canada, and all had the small-pox. By such means Wapashaw re-opened the door of trade, and became richly entitled to the appellation of the Benefactor of the Dahkotah tribe. Tradition has preserved the name of no greater nor better man than Wapashaw.

Wapashaw did not, however, end his days in peace. The vile spirit of the fratricidal Cain sprung up among his brothers, and he was driven into exile by their murderous envy. To their everlasting shame be it recorded, that he died far away from the M'dewakantonwan village, on the Hoka river. It is said that the father of Wakute was his physician, who attended on him in his last illness. The Dahkotahs will never forget the name of Wapashaw.[1]

During the war of the Revolution, De Peyster was the British officer in command at Mackinaw. Having made an alliance with Wapashaw, the chief desired that, on his annual visit, he should be received with more distinction than the chiefs of other nations. This respect was to be exhibited by firing the cannon charged with ball, in the place of blank cartridge, on his arrival, so that his young warriors might be accustomed to firearms of large calibre.

On the sixth of July, 1779, a number of Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Ojibways were on a visit to the fort, when Wapashaw appeared; and great was their astonishment when they beheld balls discharged from the cannons of the fort flying over the canoes, and the Dahkotah braves lifting their paddles as if to strike them, and crying out, "Taya! taya!"

De Peyster, who was fond of rhyming, composed a rude song, suggested by the scene, which is copied as a curiosity:—

"Hail to the chief! who his buffalo's back straddles,
When in his own country, far, far, from this fort;
Whose brave young canoe-men, here hold up their paddles,
In hopes, that the whizzing balls, may give them sport.

[1] G. H. Pond.

Hail to great Wapashaw!
He comes, beat drums, the Scioux chief comes.

"They now strain their nerves till the canoe runs bounding,
As swift as the Solen goose skims o'er the wave,
While on the Lake's border, a guard is surrounding
A space, where to land the Scioux so brave.
Hail! to great Wapashaw!
Soldiers! your triggers draw!
Guard! wave the colours, and give him the drum.
Choctaw and Chickasaw,
Whoop for great Wapashaw;
Raise the portcullis, the King's friend is come.[1]

When the news reached Mackinaw that Colonel George R. Clark, in command of Virginia troops, was taking possession of the Wabash and Mississippi settlements, and establishing the jurisdiction of Virginia, the English traders became uneasy lest the Americans should advance to the far North-west. As a precautionary measure they formed themselves into a militia company, of which John McNamara was captain, and a trader by the name of J. Long lieutenant.

In the month of June, 1780, the intelligence was received from the Mississippi that the traders had deposited their furs at the Indian settlement of Prairie du Chien, and had left them in charge of Langlade, the king's interpreter; and also that the Americans were in great force in the Illinois country.

By request of the commanding officer at Mackinaw, Long went to Prairie du Chien, with twenty Canadians,

[1] These uncouth lines are from a volume of miscellanies published by De Peyster, at Dumfries, Scotland, in 1812, in the possession of Hon. L. C. Draper, Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. De Peyster's wife accompanied him to Mackinaw, and he seems to have been popular with the traders. When he was ordered to another post, they presented him with a silver punch bowl, gilt inside, holding a gallon and a half, and a silver ladle, as a mark of regard.

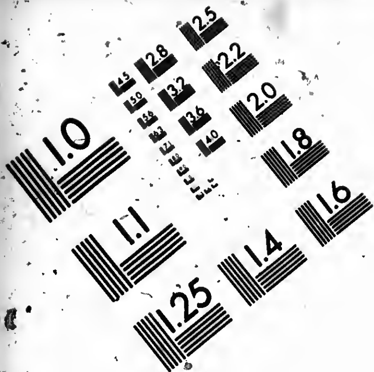
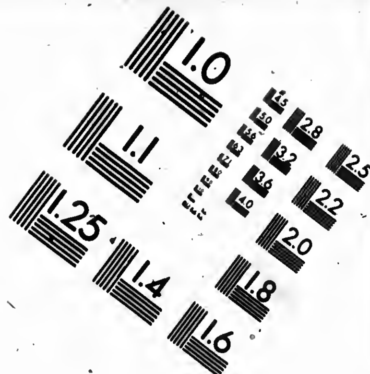
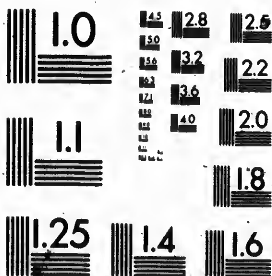
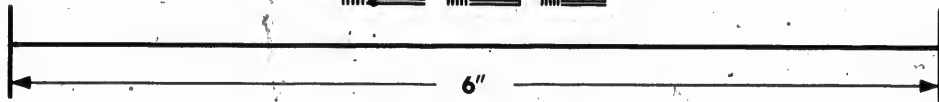
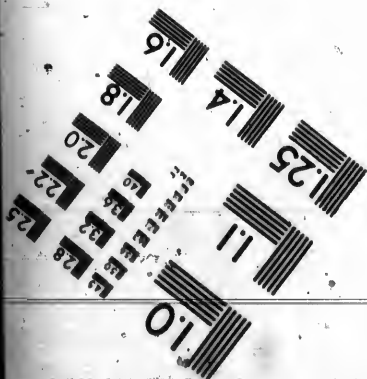
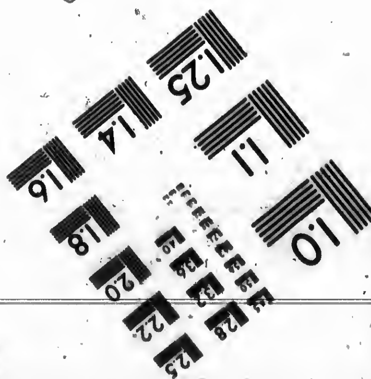



IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)

Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

and thirty-six Fox and Dahkotah Indians, in nine large birch canoes.

One day, while camping on the Wisconsin river, they discovered a small log hut, in which was a trader, with his arms cut off, lying on his back, who had been murdered by the Indians.

The next day the expedition arrived at the "Forks of the Mississippi," where two hundred Fox Indians, on horseback, armed with spears, bows, and arrows, awaited them. Among the Dahkotah Indians of the party was Wapashaw, by whose order the birch canoes were brought to the shore. Upon landing the Foxes greeted Wapashaw and his party, and invited them to a feast of dog, bear, and beaver meat.

After the feast a council was called, when the chief of the Foxes addressed Wapashaw to this effect:—

"Brothers, we are happy to see you; we have no bad heart against you. Although we are not the same nation by language, our hearts are the same. We are all Indians, and are happy to hear that our Great Father has pity on us, and sends us wherewithal to cover us, and enable us to hunt."

To which Wapashaw replied:—

"It is true, my children, our Great Father, has sent me this way to take the skins and furs that are in the Dog's Field (Prairie du Chien), under Captain Langlade's charge, lest the Great Knives (Americans) should plunder them. I am come with the white men to give you wherewithal to cover you, and ammunition to hunt."

Arriving at Prairie du Chien, the peltries were found in a log-house, guarded by Captain Langlade and some Indians. After resting a short period, the canoes were

filled with three hundred packs of the best skins, and the balance burned to keep them from the Americans, who a few days afterwards arrived for the purpose of attacking the post.

At this period the M'dewakantonwan Dahkotahs had retired from the region of Mille Lac, and were residing at Penneshaw's[1] post, on the Minnesota, a few miles above its mouth.

After the disturbance of commerce, incident to the cession of Canada, had ceased, the trade in furs began to revive. In the year 1766, traders left Mackinaw, and proceeded as far as Kamanistigoya, thirty miles east of Grand Portage. Thomas Curry shortly after ventured as far as the valley of the Saskatchewan, and his success in obtaining furs induced a Mr. James Finlay to establish a post in the same valley, as high as the forty-eighth and a half degree of latitude.

The Hudson Bay Company were uneasy at this encroachment of private enterprise upon the territory, and endeavoured to counteract it, though without success.

About the year 1780, two establishments on the Assiniboine river were destroyed by the Indians, and a plot laid to extirpate the traders, but that "noisome pestilence," the small pox, breaking out among the tribes, their attention was diverted.

During the winter of 1783–4, there was a partnership formed by a number of traders, which was called the North-west Company. There were at first but sixteen shares, and the management of the whole was entrusted to the brothers Frobisher and McTavish, at Montreal.

A few that were dissatisfied, formed an opposition

[1] The same individual called Penneshon and Pinchon.

company, one of the members of which was the explorer and author Alexander Mackenzie. After a keen rivalry, this company was merged with the North-west in 1787, and the number of shares was increased to twenty.

From that time the fur trade of the north-west was systematized. The agents at Montreal received the goods from England, and two of them went every year to the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, to receive packs and ship the furs for Europe.

In 1798, the company was re-organized, new partners admitted, and the shares increased to forty-six.

The magnitude of the operations of the company surprise us. At the close of the last century, they employed fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters, eleven hundred and twenty canoe-m[illegible] Five clerks, eighteen guides, and three hundred [illegible] fifty canoe-men were employed between the head of Lake Superior and Montreal. The others were in Minnesota, and the country above. The canoe-men were known as "Pork Eaters," or "Goers and Comers," and "Winterers," the latter so called because they entered the interior and passed the winter in traffic with the Indians, received double wages, and were hired from one to three years. The clerks were a kind of apprentices, and received a salary of one hundred pounds, with their board and clothing, with the prospect of being taken into partnership, if they proved good business men. The guides and interpreters were paid in goods.

In July the "Winterers" began to assemble at Grand Portage to settle their accounts and receive new outfits, and at times more than one thousand were congregated. The mode of living at the Portage was truly baronial. The proprietors, clerks, guides, and interpreters all ate in

one large hall, at different tables, and, the labours of the day over, the fiddlers were brought in and there was a merry time. The trader in his lonely outpost, considered the reunions at Lake Superior halcyon days, and was buoyed up by anticipating the annual visit.

The love of adventure has often led educated young men "into the woods," as well as "before the mast." Sailor life and Indian trade, unless there is strong religious principle, are apt to render one "earthly, sensual and devilish." There have been scenes enacted in Minnesota which will never be known till the judgment day, for ignorance of which we should be grateful.

The history of one trader at an outpost, is substantially the history of all.

In the year 1784, Alexander Kay visited Montreal to obtain an outfit for the purpose of trading at Fon du Lac, Leech Lake, and vicinity in Minnesota. A young man, educated at the College of Quebec, named Perrault, became his clerk. They arrived at La Pointe on the first of November.

On the little lake at the entrance of the St. Louis river, they found the quarters of Default, a clerk of the North-west Company.

Kay while here was mad, in consequence of intoxication, and with obstinacy pushed up the St. Louis river, with only a bag of flour, a keg of butter, and of sugar, while his party consisted of his squaw mistress, Perrault, and fourteen employees. At the portage of the river he met his partner, Mr. Harris, also without food, except some salt meat.

The men now remonstrated with Kay about proceeding inland, with no provision for the winter; but draw-

ing a pistol, he threatened to shoot those that did not follow.

Taking Mr. Harris, an Indian named Big Marten, and seven men, he pushed on in advance, and the next day sent back word that he had gone on to Pine River,[1] and desiring his clerk to winter at the Savanne portage if possible.

After eleven days' hard toil amid ice and snow, subsisting on the pods of the wild rose, and the sap of trees, Perrault and the men reached the point designated. For a time they lived there on a few roots and fish, but about Christmas, hunger compelled them to seek their employer at Pine River. Weak in body, they passed through Sandy Lake, descended the river, and at last arrived at Kay's post at Pine River. After he was recruited, Perrault was despatched to the Savanne portage, where, with his men, he built a log hut.

Toward the close of February, Brechet, Big Marten, and other Ojibway Indians, brought in meat. Mr. Kay shortly after visited his clerk, and told the troubles he had with the Indians, who exceedingly hated him. In April Kay and Perrault visited Sandy Lake, where Bras Cassé, or Broken Arm, or Bo-koon-ik, was the Ojibway chief. On the second of May, Kay went out to meet his partner Harris coming from Pine River.

During his absence, Katawabada,[2] and Mongozid, and other Indians, came and demanded rum. After much entreaty Perrault gave them a little. Soon Harris, Kay, and Pinot arrived, all intoxicated. The Indians were ripe for mischief. An Indian, named Le Cousin

[1] Pine River is a tributary of the Mississippi, about a day's journey in a canoe from Sandy Lake. It is possible to reach Leech Lake by this stream.

[2] Katawabada or Parted Teeth, died at Sandy Lake 1828.

by the French, came to Kay's tent, and asked for rum, Kay told him "No," and pushed him out; the Indian then drew a concealed knife, and stabbed him in the neck. Kay, picking up a carving knife, chased him, but before he could reach his lodge, the passage was blocked up by Indians.

The assailant's mother, approaching Kay, said, "Englishman! do you come to kill me?" and, while imploring for her son, with savage cruelty stabbed him in the side.

Le Petit Mort, a friend of the wounded trader, took up his quarrel, and sallying forth, seized Cul Blanc, an Ojibway, by the scalp lock, and, drawing his head back, he plunged a knife into his breast, exclaiming "Die, thou dog!"

The Indian women, becoming alarmed at this bacchanal, went into the lodges and emptied out all the rum they could find.

On the fifth of May, Kay's wound was better, and sending for Harris and Perrault to come to his tent, he said:—

"Gentlemen, you see my situation; I have determined to leave you at all hazards, to set out for Mackinaw, with seven men, accompanied by the Bras Cassé and wife. Assort the remainder of the goods, ascend to Leech Lake, and wait there for the return of the Pillagers, who are out on the prairies. Complete the inland trade."

Kay, then taking hold of Perrault's hand, Harris having retired, said:—

"My dear friend! you understand the language of the Ojibways. Mr. Harris would go out with me, but he must accompany you. He is a good trader, but he

has, like myself and others, a strong passion for drinking, which takes away his judgment."

In the afternoon Kay left, in a litter, for Mackinaw. Perrault and Harris proceeded to Leech Lake, where they had a successful trade with the Pillagers.

Returning to the Savannah river, they found J. Reaume there, and a Mr. Piquet. The former had wintered at the fort of Red Lake, at its entrance into Red River.

They all proceeded by way of the Fond du Lac to Mackinaw, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of May, and found Kay in much pain. The latter soon after this started for Montreal, but his wound suppurated on the journey, and he died at the Lake of the Two Mountains, August twenty-eighth, 1785.[1]

About the period of this occurrence, Prairie du Chien made its transition, from a temporary encampment of Indians and their traders, to a hamlet. Among the first settlers were Giard, Antaya, and Dubuque.

In the year 1780, the wife of Peosta, a Fox warrior, discovered a large vein of lead, in Iowa, on the west bank of the Mississippi.

At a council held at Prairie du Chien, in 1788, Julien Dubuque obtained permission to work the lead mines, on and near the site of the city that bears his name, and the bluff, on which is the little stone house that covers his remains.

Towards the close of the last century we find Dickson, Renville, Grignon, and others, trading with the Ojibways and Dahkotahs of Minnesota. In the employ-

[1] "History, condition, and prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," vol. iii. Mr. Schoolcraft says that Harris was a native of Albany, and was alive in 1830.

ment of the latter, at his trading-house on the river St. Croix, was James Perlier, a youth, who in the next century became one of the most useful citizens of Green Bay, Wisconsin. He was a native of Montreal, and arrived at Green Bay in 1791. Two years after he was employed by an old trader, Pierre Grignon, to act as clerk, at his trading post on the St. Croix. While there he found, with a band of Menomonees, an interesting girl, the daughter of a woman that had been abandoned by a French trader, with whom he fell in love, and married. In the year 1797, in company with Dickson, he wintered near Sauk Rapids. When Pike visited the country he was still engaged in trading above the Falls of St. Anthony, and he gave this young officer much information, which he deemed valuable. Returning to Wisconsin he acted as chief justice of Brown county, for a period of sixteen years, and died in 1839, much respected.

While Perlier was wintering on the St. Croix, a broken-down merchant of Montreal, who had married a lady of wealth in that city, a pompous and ignorant man, full of eccentricity, by the name of Charles Reaume, was his companion. To the early settlers of Green Bay he was known as Judge Reaume. While on the St. Croix the following anecdote is related of him:—

"One day he invited Perlier and other traders in the vicinity to dine with him. The guests had arrived, and the venison, cooked in bears' oil and maple sugar was prepared, when Amable Chevalier, a half-breed, told Reaume that there were not plates enough on the table, as there was none for him. 'Yes, there are enough,' said Reaume, sternly; when the half-breed tore from

Reaume's head his red cap, and spreading it upon the table, filled it with the hashed venison. Reaume, in retaliation, seizing a handful of meat, threw it into the half-breed's face. Becoming much excited, it was necessary for the guests to part the belligerents."[1]

In the year 1794, the North-west Company built an establishment at Sandy Lake, with bastions, and apertures in the angles for musketry. It was enclosed with pickets a foot square and thirteen feet in height. There were three gates, which were always closed after the Indians had received liquor. "The stockade enclosed two rows of buildings, containing the provision store, workshop, warehouse, room for clerks, and accommodation for the men. On the west and south-west angles of the fort were four acres of ground, enclosed with pickets, and devoted to the culture of the potato."

The British posts were not immediately surrendered after the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain and America, and led to some ill-feeling upon the part of the United States. When Baron Steuben was sent by Washington, in 1784, to Detroit, to take possession of the fort, the British commandant informed him that he had no authority to deliver up the post, as it was on Indian territory. By the presence of British officials among the Indian tribes, a hostile feeling was maintained towards the citizens of the United States, which led to the wars with the Indians toward the close of the last century.

In the treaty effected by Mr. Jay, Great Britain agreed to withdraw her troops from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of

[1] Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. iii.

peace to the United States, on or before the first day of June, 1796. The treaty also provided that all British settlers and traders might remain for one year, and enjoy all their former privileges without being compelled to be citizens of the United States.

Taking advantage of this clause, the North-west Company, through the Fond du Lac department, dotted every suitable place in Minnesota with trading posts.

They not only encircled the lakes, but did not pay duties nor apply for licenses. At these posts the British flag was hoisted; and they frequently created civil chiefs among the Indians, to whom they presented the colours and medals of his Britannic majesty.

NEILL'S HISTORY OF MINNESOTA,

FROM ITS EARLIEST EXPLORATIONS

UNDER THE

FRENCH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS,

TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY REV. EDW. DUFFIELD NEILL,

SECRETARY OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

One Volume, Octavo, 628 pages. Price $2 50. On receipt of which the work will be sent by mail postpaid.

THIS work, although the history of but one State, is a contribution to the general history of the Confederacy. It is the result of careful and widely-extended research, and written in a style so plain and graphic that it can be read aloud to those who gather, on a winter's night, around the capacious fireplace of a frontiersman's cabin. At the same time, the facts concerning the operations of the French Court in the Northwest in the last century, make it valuable on the parlor-table of the cultivated, in the bookcase of the literary man, and in the libraries of schools and seminaries.

One copy, postage prepaid, sent for $2 50 to any address, by S. C. GRIGGS & Co., Chicago; or the Publishers,

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., Philadelphia.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

FROM HON. S. P. CHASE,

GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

"I have found the history of Minnesota very interesting. It exhibits, in striking lights, incredible progress."

FROM PROF. LONGFELLOW,

AUTHOR OF "EVANGELINE" AND "HIAWATHA."

"Your History of Minnesota I have looked over with much interest. * * * * I do not see how the work can be regarded otherwise than as an important contribution to our historic literature."

FROM REV. S. R. RIGGS,

MISSIONARY AMONG THE DAHKOTAHS.

"Mr. Neill has, from the commencement of his residence in Minnesota, interested himself in the history, customs, conditions, and language of the Aborigines, and, perhaps, I might say, especially of the Dahkotahs. He is, therefore, in most respects, a very fit man to represent them to the world. I know of no man, not connected with our missionary work, who has sympathized with its difficulties and made himself acquainted with its results, to a greater extent than Mr. Neill. And I may add, he has not failed to do ample justice.

"As a collection of historical incidents, it is very interesting and valuable; and as such I most cordially commend it to every one who desires to know more of Minnesota, past and present, than he can obtain from any other source."

FROM THE DAILY MINNESOTIAN, (ST. PAUL.)

"Few will appreciate the immense labor, distributed through a period of nine years, which this work has cost its author. As it is read over, and we observe the great mass of *facts* which it contains, new and entirely original with this work, and relating to the very early history of Minnesota,—embodying the travels of the first explorers, the operations of the first Indian traders, the trans-

actions and shifting relations of the Indian tribes who were its primitive inhabitants,—the mass of its readers we fear will scarcely bestow a thought upon the difficulties that have been surmounted by the persevering industry of Mr. Neill in giving this work to the world."

FROM THE NORTH WESTERN HOME JOURNAL, (CHICAGO.)

"We confess to a high degree of satisfaction in reading this book. The publishers have done their work well. The binding, type, and plates are neat and excellent. The reader will get through the six hundred pages, and more, without either a pain in his eyes or his heart.

"But what—asks the person who has not yet seen the book, and scarcely ever heard of the subject of which it treats—what can there be in a history of Minnesota worthy of so much applause? Very much indeed—romance enough to eke out a dozen novels."

FROM THE WASHINGTON UNION.

"Mr. Neill has executed his work in a very creditable manner. * * * * We have twice explored the Territory of Minnesota up to the boundary-line of the British Possessions, traversing the forests, and navigating those majestic lakes in a frail birch canoe, and we can bear personal testimony to the truth of Mr. Neill's warm eulogies of the beauty and fertility of the immense tracts of country in the new State, which are yet undisturbed even by the pioneer's axe."

FROM THE PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN.

"This is not only a very scholarly but a very curious and interesting book—one, too, presenting no inconsiderable claim to be ranked among the first-class works of American history."

FROM THE PRESS, (PHILADELPHIA.)

"In some respects, this volume deserves to be estimated as an important contribution to historical and topographical literature. Mr. Neill has evidently brought industry, ability, research, personal knowledge, and unscrupulous honesty to the execution of this, his self-imposed task. It will be difficult—we might say impossible—to supersede this work, so copious and satisfactory are its details. Messrs. Lippincott, the publishers, have presented it to the public in their most attractive manner."

FROM THE HOME JOURNAL, (NEW YORK.)

"All who take any interest in the progress of our western country will read this fine volume with satisfaction. It contains a large amount of facts and statistics, together with much entertaining reading matter—including biographical sketches, graphic descriptions of scenery, etc. etc. In a word, it will amply repay perusal."

FROM THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, (NEW YORK.)

"This work bears the impress of authority—that authority which derives its weight from careful investigation, and a sincere desire to ascertain and promulgate the truth. * * * * Mr. Neill's volume may be safely commended as one of the most readable books on the history of the new States in the West, and well deserving an attentive perusal."

e
g
-
”

ch
re
l's
ole
le-