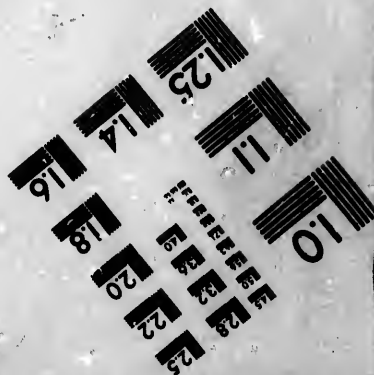
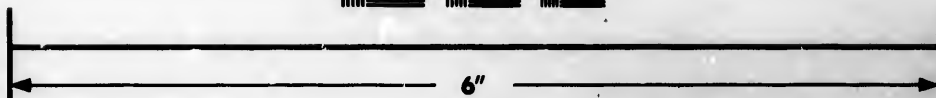
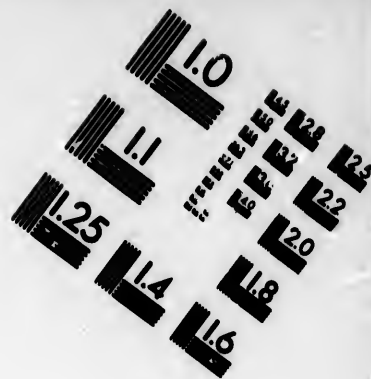




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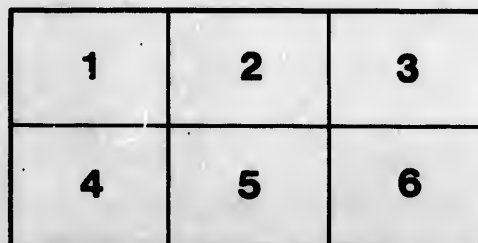
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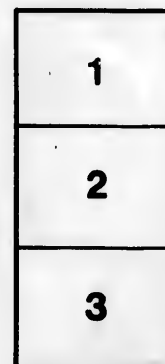
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Capt. JONATHAN CARVER.

Original Picture in the possession of H. S. Allen.

Engraved by W. H. Smith, V. S. M. from the original by D. Smith.

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JONATHAN CARVER

HIS TRAVELS IN THE NORTHWEST IN 1766-8

By John Goadby Gregory

In a conspicuous place on the roll of explorers of the Northwest belongs the name of Jonathan Carver. Ranked in the order of chronological precedence, the position of Carver is unimpressive. Nicolet antedated him by 132 years. Radisson and Groseilliers, Marquette and Joliet, Hennepin, Du Roi, Le Seur and other Frenchmen traveled extensively in the same region during the period of Gallic dominion, and many of them left records which are still recognized as full of interest and value. To Carver, however, must be awarded the credit of having been the pioneer of his race in the westernmost portion of its conquest of 1759, and the man who first advertised the region to the English-reading world. He was intelligent, eager, shrewd, bold and enterprising, and, with but small advantages of formal scientific training, was a careful observer and a solid reasoner. He wrote fluently, in a picturesque and entertaining style, with an air of candor which usually carries conviction that his recital is substantially true. He recognized at their full value the agricultural and industrial and commercial advantages of the Northwest, though there were later travelers¹ who pronounced the country west of Wisconsin to be a barren region, not capable of supporting a large population. He pointed out that when the Mississippi valley became settled, transportation along the natural water highways might be "facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York by way of the lakes." He was one of the first of Europeans to describe in writing the vestiges of the mound-builders, which to the student of anthropology will ever be fascinating features of western topography.

¹. In 1848, Congress passed the bill creating the territory of Minnesota, after a struggle of several months' duration. One of the arguments used by those who opposed it was that the country was not worth the cost of maintaining its government, being "an intensely cold, barren and uninhabitable region."—"Resources of Minnesota," St. Paul, 1888.

According to several of his biographers, Jonathan Carver was a native of Canterbury, Connecticut, born in that memorable year, 1732, which gave the world George Washington. Recent investigations throw discredit on this date, and make it appear probable that he was born some years earlier. Nor is it certain that the place of his nativity was Canterbury, though that is where his infancy and boyhood were passed.² His grandfather, William Joseph Carver, of Wigan, Lancashire, England, was a captain in King William's army during the campaign in Ireland, conducting himself in a manner that won approval and gained him appointment as an officer in the colony of Connecticut. The father of the future traveler was a justice of the peace. He gave his son such education as was obtainable in a small Connecticut town a century and a half ago, and died, it is said, when the boy was only 15 years of age. Soon after losing his father, Jonathan began the study of medicine in a doctor's office. He appears to have spent the best part of three years in this pursuit, at the end of which time, longing for a more adventurous career, he secured an appointment as ensign in a Connecticut regiment. He served in the Canadian campaign in 1755, and was a lieutenant in the Massachusetts battalion raised by Col. Oliver Partridge in 1757 to serve against Canada. He was present at the massacre at Fort William Henry, from which scene of slaughter he narrowly escaped with his life. He participated in the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, and in the taking of Montreal by Amherst. His rank of captain was conferred in 1760, when he was given a command in Col. Whitcomb's regiment of foot. He led a company of foot in Col. Saltonstall's regiment in 1762. The next year came the peace of Versailles, and the end of Capt. Carver's military service.

The most thrilling of his experiences in the eventful seven years that he passed in border warfare was, undoubtedly his escape from the massacre at Fort William Henry, of which he has left a vivid account.³ He was present on this occasion as a volunteer with the corps of fifteen hundred English and Provincial soldiers sent by Gen. Webb from Fort Edward to strengthen the garrison at Fort William Henry against the expected attack by Montcalm. The French and Indians under the leadership of Montcalm, to the number of 13,000, made their appearance in front of the Fort the day after the arrival of the detachment in which Carver served. Including this reinforcement, the force under Col. Monro, the commander of the garrison, amounted to only 2,300 men. Every reader of history is familiar with the circumstances of the capitulation, and the French commander's promise that the gallant defenders of the fort should be permitted

2. See Appendix.

3. Carver's Travels.

to march out with the honors of war and be allowed covered wagons and a guard to accompany them to Fort Edward, and protect them and their women and children from the fury of the savages. Every one remembers the melancholy results of the French commander's failure to guard against the sudden outbreak of ferocity among his red allies. The portion of Carver's account which relates to his personal experience may, however, be appropriately drawn upon at some length. When the Indians began their attack, he says, the occupants of the fort were drawn up in line, ready to march away. They had their arms, but had been denied leave to carry off any ammunition. After having summarily dispatched the wounded and others not in line, the Indians fell upon the main body of the garrison, and began to strip them of their arms and clothes. "Three or four of the savages," says Carver, "laid hold of me, and whilst some held their weapons over my head the others soon disrobed me of my coat, waistcoat, hat and buckles, omitting not to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was transacted close by the passage that led from the lines on to the plain, near which a French sentinel was posted, I ran to him and claimed his protection; but he only called me an English dog, and thrust me with violence back into the midst of the Indians." While this took place, Carver was in the rear division. He attempted to join a body of the troops crowded together at some distance, but was thrust at by the Indians, one of whom grazed his side with a spear, while another wounded him in the ankle. Before he got by the savages in front of whom he had to pass, the collar and wristbands were all that remained of his shirt, and his flesh was scratched and torn in many places. Now began the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, "many of the savages drinking the blood of their victims as it flowed warm from the fatal wound." But let Carver tell his own story:

"As the circle in which I stood enclosed was by this time much thinned, and death seemed to be approaching with hasty strides, it was proposed by some of the most resolute to make one vigorous effort and endeavor to force our way through the savages, the only probable method of preserving our lives that now remained. This, however desperate, was resolved on, and about twenty of us sprung at once into the midst of them. In a moment we were all separated, and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till some months after, when I found that only six or seven of them effected their design. Intent only on my own hazardous situation, I endeavored to make my way through my savage enemies in the best manner possible; and I have often been astonished since when I have recollected with what composure I took, as I did, every necessary step for my preservation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic, and others I passed by, dextrously avoiding their

weapons; till at last two very stout chiefs, of the most savage tribes, as I could distinguish by their dress, whose strength I could not resist, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd." These powerful assailants would have made short work with Carver, but that an English officer in scarlet velvet breeches came running by and diverted their attention. While they were tomahawking the officer, who fought bravely for his life, Carver made a dash to join another body of English troops that was yet unbroken. A boy of 12, who had hitherto escaped, put himself under his protection, but was speedily dispatched by the Indians. "I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute," says Carver, "to lament the fate of so young a sufferer; but it was utterly impossible for me to take any methods to prevent it." Finally, Carver made his way to the division of the garrison which had advanced furthest from the fort, and from this group he made a dash through the outer ranks of the Indians, and gained the woods, where he passed three days without shelter or subsistence, and endured "the severity of the cold dew for three nights." But at length he reached Fort Edward, "where," he says, "with proper care, my body soon recovered its wonted strength, and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its usual composure." The man whose hardy frame and athletic address enabled him to survive this ordeal possessed admirable qualifications for successful work as a pathfinder in the wilderness of the Northwest.

At the time when Carver set out upon his travels, the extreme Western frontier of the British settlements was marked by the Alleghany Mountains. The powerful tribes of the Iroquois confederacy were still in possession of Western New York. The Delawares occupied the valley of the Ohio, while to the west of them were the Shawanoes. The Miamis held the country east of the Wabash. Still further to the west roamed the bands of the Illinois. The Wyandots were in the country around the western end of Lake Erie. The Ojibways held Eastern Michigan. The Pottawattamies had their home in the western part of the Michigan peninsula, at the southern end of Lake Michigan, with the Kickapoos for near neighbors on the west. In Eastern Wisconsin were the Menomonies and Winnebagoes, in the middle of the state the Sacs, and in Western Wisconsin, to the east bank of the Mississippi, the Ottigamies. There were forts at Niagara, at Presque Isle, at Sandusky, at Detroit, at St. Joseph, and at the southern extremity of Green Bay.⁴ The remotest English post was at Michillimackinac. Only two years had elapsed since the suppression of the conspiracy of Pontiac, and Pontiac himself was still alive.

4. See Map of Ports and Settlements in America in 1763. Vol. I. Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac.

In putting down that uprising, Gen. Bradstreet with a force of 3,000 men had proceeded as far West as Detroit. But no observing Englishman, and "few of any other nation, save the solitary French trader, or the devoted missionary, had ventured into the country of the Upper Mississippi, or beyond the western shores of Lake Michigan, and the mouth of the Fox River at Green Bay."⁵

Ever since the establishment of peace by the treaty of Versailles in 1763, Carver had been revolving in his mind an expedition by which he might contribute toward making advantageous to his countrymen the vast acquisition of territory in North America that had fallen to Great Britain. The long war now ended had changed the political destiny of the continent. It had done away with the slow processes of France in dealing with the Indian tribes, and established conditions favorable to the English system of colonization and industrial development. Carver could not realize how rapidly the political and economic revolution which he foresaw would take place, for he did not dream of the American war of independence and the extent to which that would facilitate the coming change. But the spirit of enterprise stirring within this Connecticut soldier and stimulating him for his task had the same racial genesis as that which was within less than a century from his time to make the vast wilderness from the Alleghenies to the Pacific the abode of the most advanced civilization. In his own proper person he was the first drop of spray from an Anglo-Saxon wave that would inundate and fertilize the continent. With a distrust of the French that was characteristic of Englishmen and Americans of his time, he fully believed that the French, while they retained their power in North America, had taken artful methods to keep all other nations in ignorance of the interior of the country. In the introduction to his travels, he particularly notes that "they had called the different nations of the Indians by nicknames they had given them, and not by those really appertaining to them," though he admits a doubt as to "whether the intention of the French in doing this was to prevent these nations from being discovered and traded with, or to conceal their [the Frenchmen's] discourse when they talked to each other of the Indians' concerns, in their presence."

It was a great undertaking for a private citizen at his own cost and risk to plunge into the unexplored wilderness to the West of the Great Lakes, with the intention of making his way to the Pacific ocean through regions where no white man had ever trod, peopled by fierce savages, speaking unknown tongues. "What I had chiefly in view,"⁶ he says, "after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil and natural productions of the different na-

5. Smith's *Documentary History of Wisconsin*.

6. Introduction to Carver's *Travels*.

tions that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, was to ascertain the breadth of that vast continent which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part, between 43 and 46 degrees northern latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to government to establish a post in some of those parts about the Straits of Annian,⁷ which, having been first discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English." He was of the opinion that the discovery of a northwest passage, or communication by water between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean would soon follow the establishment of an English post on the Pacific.

In June, 1766, Carver set out from Boston to make this journey. To reach his base of operations, Michillimackinac, thirteen hundred miles distant, he traveled by way of Albany and Niagara. Believing that he could best attain his objects by introducing himself to the Indians in the guise of a trader, he arranged with Col. Rogers, the commandant at Michillimackinac, to supply him with credit on the traders at Prairie du Chien for an assortment of goods, and had an understanding that a further consignment should be forwarded to reach him when he arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony. He left Fort Michillimackinac on the 3d of September, in company with a party of English and Canadian traders bound for Prairie du Chien, arriving at Fort La Baye on the 18th, passing through the Fox and Wisconsin waterway, and reaching Prairie du Chien on the 15th of October.

There was no garrison in Fort La Baye when Carver saw it, and it had fallen into disrepair since its abandonment by Lieut. Gorrell, three years before. Carver notes that "a few families live in the fort, and opposite to it," on the east side of the Fox River, "are some French settlers, who cultivate the land, and appear to live very comfortably." This was the slender extent of white settlement in Wisconsin in 1766. At the small island in the east end of Lake Winnebago, which we know by the name of Gov. Doty, Carver found a town of the Winnebagoes, presided over by a queen, instead of a sachem, who received him, he says, "with great civility," entertaining him in a distinguished manner for four days. This queen was Ho-po-ko-e-kaw, or Glory of the Morning.⁸ She was a daughter of

7. The Straits of Annian are not to be found on the maps or in the gazetteers of the present day. On the map engraved for the London edition of Carver's *Travels* published in 1781, and on other, earlier maps, they are represented as connecting the Strait of Juan de Fuca with the River of the West, a stream which is evidently identical with the Columbian River. In other words, the Straits of Annian seem to be the bodies of water, of which Admiralty Inlet is one, leading into Puget Sound. They do not connect with the Columbia River. Astoria is at the mouth of the Columbia, Port Townsend, Seattle and Tacoma flourish in the region where Carver would have built his city.

8. Draper's note to Durdle on Carver, Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. VI.

the principal chief of the Winnebagoes, and the widow of a Frenchman named De Kaury, who was mortally wounded at Quebec in 1760. The island town contained fifty houses, strongly built with palisades. The fertile land about the lake produced a spontaneous crop of fruits, including plums and grapes, while the thrifty Winnebagoes raised large quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes and water-melons, and some tobacco. Wisconsin was a tobacco state, therefore, long before Stoughton and Edgerton were established to market the supply. Carver made presents to the "good old queen," as he calls her, and received her blessing when he left to pursue his journey.

On his way along the Fox River to the portage he was greatly struck with the wild rice and with the abundance of feathered game. "This river," he says, "is the greatest resort of wild fowl of every kind that I met with in the whole course of my travels. Frequently the sun would be obscured by them for some minutes together."

Carrying their canoes over the portage, Carver and his party proceeded down the Wisconsin River, arriving on the 8th of October at what is now Prairie du Sac. Carver describes this as "the great town of the Saukies." His account of it has been criticized as overdrawn.

"This," he says, "is the largest and best built Indian town I ever saw. It contains about ninety houses, each large enough for several travelers. These are built of hewn plank, neatly jointed, and covered with bark so completely as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors are placed comfortable sheds, in which the inhabitants sit, when the weather will permit, and smoke their pipes. The streets are regular and spacious, so that it appears more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land near the town is very good. In their plantations, which lie adjacent to their houses, and which are neatly laid out, they raise great quantities of Indian corn, beans, melons, etc., so that this place is esteemed the best market for traders to furnish themselves with provisions, of any within eight hundred miles of it." He goes on to say that "the Saukies can raise about 300 warriors, who are generally employed every summer in making incursions into the territories of the Illinois and Pawnee nations, from which they return with a great number of slaves. But those people frequently retaliate, and, in their turn, destroy many of the Saukies, which I judge to be the reason that they increase no faster." Even after making allowances for some exaggeration, this is a picture of the Saukies which leaves the impression that before the advent of the whites there were Indians in Wisconsin who were living in the pastoral stage of social and political development, and were far from being hopeless savages. Carver describes the Blue Mounds as "some mountains that lie about fifteen miles to the southward" of the town of the Saukies, and "that abound in lead ore." He says that he

saw large quantities of lead ore lying about in the streets of the town of the Saukies, "and it seemed to be as good as the produce of other countries."

Three days' canoeing down the Wisconsin, after leaving the town of the Saukies, brought Carver's party to what he calls "the first town of the Ottigaummies", supposed by the late D. S. Durrie to have been situated at or near Muscoda. This town, which contained about fifty houses, was almost deserted, most of the surviving inhabitants having fled to the woods to avoid a contagion that had destroyed more than half of the population.

On the Mississippi, five miles above the confluence of the Wisconsin, Carver found the remains of another Indian town which he was told had been deserted about thirty years before, its inhabitants having settled at Prairie du Chien. There seems to have been no European settlement at Prairie du Chien when Carver was there, and the only white settlement that he found in all Wisconsin was the little cluster of French and half-breeds at Green Bay.

Prairie du Chien he describes as a town of about 300 families, with houses "well built after the Indian manner." He saw a good many horses there. "This town," he says, "is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and even 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." Sometimes the shrewd red men believed that they could get more for their peltries than the traders would give them, and decided at a council of the chiefs to carry the merchandise to either Louisiana or Michillimackinac.

The party of traders with whom Carver had thus far traveled decided to make their winter residence opposite Prairie du Chien, at the mouth of the Yellow River, while Carver, accompanied by a Canadian voyageur and a Mohawk Indian, proceeded in a canoe up the Mississippi, reaching Lake Pepin on the 1st of November. The only incident which he relates regarding this portion of his voyage, occurred ten days after his parting with the traders, and illustrated his characteristic intrepidity and good judgment. At night, while he was on shore in his tent, copying the minutes which he had made during the preceding day, a party of straggling Indians attempted to plunder his canoe. He waked his men, commanding them not to fire, unless he gave the word, as he was unwilling to begin hostilities till the occasion absolutely required it. The Indians, ten or twelve in number, were armed with spears. Advancing to the points of their weapons, and brandishing his hanger, he sternly asked the intruders what they wanted. They were staggered at this, he says, and perceiving they were likely to meet with a warm reception, turned about and precipitately retreated into the woods. Carver's

two companions were apprehensive of further trouble, and begged him to return to the traders they had left; but he shamed them by saying that unless they would be esteemed old women they must follow him. For his part, he declared, he was determined to pursue his intended route, as an Englishman, once engaged in an adventure, never retreated.

The traveler gives a glowing account of Lake Pepin, describing the beauty of the scenery, the fertility of the soil, the "variety of trees that yield amazing quantities of fruit without care or cultivation," and the abundance of fish and game. "On the plains," he says, "are the largest buffaloes of any in America."

Lake Pepin had been the scene of French commercial enterprises since the time of Nicholas Perrot. Carver says: "Here I observed the ruins of a French factory, where it is said Capt. St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies, before the reduction of Canada."⁹

Durrie, in his extended article in Vol. VI. of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, which has often been referred to as the best account of Jonathan Carver, extant, observes: "It is a fact worthy of note, that Carver was the first to call the attention of the civilized world to the existence of the interesting ancient monuments in the Mississippi Valley." It may be worth while to reproduce the particular passage from Carver's travels which called forth this remark:

D. Who was this St. Pierre? The name was that of the first white man on the site of Milwaukee of whom tradition preserves a trace. Did he come here when he left his trading post among the Sioux, at the picturesque broadening of the Father of Waters? John Hustis, one of the founders of Milwaukee, tells me that he dug up near what is now the southwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets, in 1830, the ruins of a forge, among which were scattered fragments of broken glass, and other evidences that the place had been the abode of white settlers at an early day. Not long after this discovery, an old Indian told Mr. Hustis that when he was a boy many white people, who were afterward massacred by the Indians, lived in Milwaukee, and that he well remembered that the family who lived on the site where the forge was found were named St. Peter or St. Pierre. Mr. Hustis, estimating the Indian's age at 30, calculated that the supposed massacre must have occurred before the conspiracy of Pontiac. But there is evidence that St. Pierre was living at Milwaukee long after that time, and indeed three years after the time when Carver noted the ruins of the St. Pierre factory at Lake Pepin. Samuel Roberts, who piloted His British Majesty's sloop *Felicity* on Lake Michigan in the fall of 1779, has left a record of heaving to in Milwaukee Bay during a spell of squally weather from the southwest, and trading a keg of rum to "Monsieur St. Pier," who paid for it with fifteen bags of corn. The log book of Samuel Roberts is reproduced in Vol. XI. of the Wisconsin Historical Collections. I should not conclude this note, however, without adding that E. D. Niell, in "Early French Ports and Footprints of the Valley of the Upper Mississippi," *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II., says: "We believe that further research will show that this same Capt. St. Pierre became the aged *Legardeur St. Pierre*, in command of the rude post in Erie Co., Pa., in December, 1753, to whom Washington, just entering upon his manhood, bore a letter from Gov. Dinwiddie, and, after being courteously treated, was sent home with a dignified but decided reply."

"One day, having landed on the shore of the Mississippi, some miles below Lake Pepin, whilst my attendants were preparing their dinner, I walked out to take a view of the adjacent 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 an 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 discern that it had once been a breastwork 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 this 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 oaks were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracts [tracks?] were worn across it by the feet of the elks and 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 traveler, I find on inquiry, since my return, that Mons. St. Pierre and several traders have, at different times, taken notice of different appearances, on which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them as minutely as I did."¹⁰

Near the river St. Croix was the home of three tribes of Naudowessie or Sioux Indians, known as the River Bands. The Naudowessies in Carver's time consisted of eleven bands,—these River Bands and eight others living toward the west of the Mississippi, and known as the Naudowessies of the Plains. A twelfth band, the Assinipoils, had some years before revolted and removed far to the Northwest. One of the River Bands was called the Mawtawbauntowahs. Shortly before reaching the country of the River Bands, Carver fell in with a party of Mawtawbauntowahs, consisting of forty warriors and their families, and by diplomacy saved them from destruction by a vastly

10. Carver's Travels, Ed. Phila., 1796, pp. 35-6.

"It is now assumed that instead of being intended as a fortification, the mound described by Carver was designed by the builders as a site for their wigwams, to keep them above the annual overflow of the lake."—Greely, *Explorers and Travelers*, p. 78.

superior force of Chippewas, who were advancing to attack them. This pacific service ingratiated him with the Mawtawbauntowahs, and when he reached the country of the Naudowessies his fame had preceded him, and he was accorded a cordial reception. Many months afterward, when he visited the Chippewa village near the Ottowaw lakes, he was similarly rewarded for his good work, the Chippewas telling him that the war between their nation and the Naudowessies had continued without interruption for more than forty winters, and that they would be happy if a chief like himself, possessed of coolness, resolution and a pacific spirit, would settle in the country between them and put an end to their hostilities.

Near the place where the Minnesota river enters the Mississippi, Carver left his canoe, the ice in the river having become so thick as to interfere with navigation, and proceeding on foot he reached the Falls of St. Anthony on the 17th of November. He was accompanied by his French Canadian interpreter and a young prince of the Winnebago Indians, who with his family was on his way to an embassy to the Naudowessies. Carver gives a graphic account of the falls, and of the effect which the sight of them exerted upon the young Winnebago, who believed them to be one of the places of residence of the Great Spirit, and threw all his valuable ornaments, together with his pipe and the roll containing his tobacco into the stream, as a sacrifice to the deity. From the Falls Carver pushed on to the river St. Francis, the furthest point reached by Hennepin in 1680. Then returning to the mouth of the Minnesota, after an absence of eight days, he parted with his Indian friend, and as the channel of the Minnesota was free from ice, paddled up that river in his canoe for a distance of about 200 miles. On his trip, he saw a small river entering the Minnesota from the north, to which, as it had no name so far as he could learn, he gave his own name. The stream is known as Carver's River to this day. Carver was the first white man on the upper waters of the Minnesota, Le Seur, in 1700, having confined his explorations to the lower portion of the stream.

The friendly reception which he met from the Naudowessies of the Plains on the upper Minnesota pleased the traveler, and he passed the winter among them, remaining five months, and learning a great deal about the country further to the West, besides making a vocabulary of the Naudowessie language, and learning to speak it with fluency. His red friends here, as well as those whom he afterward met at the Grand Portage near the north shore of Lake Superior, told him of "the Shining Mountains," a range three thousand miles in length, full of rich deposits of the precious metals. They told him also of a mighty stream which they called the Oregon or River of the West, emptying into the Pacific Ocean. The river was what we know as the Columbia. His mention of it is said to be the first instance in which

the word "Oregon" appears in literature. When Bryant wrote that fine line in *Thanatopsis* referring to "The vast woods where rolls the Oregon", he probably drew his inspiration from Jonathan Carver.

Few of the Indians among whom Carver passed the winter had ever seen a white man. Others had been allies of the French in their wars with the English and the colonists. With these warriors he talked over the exciting campaigns in which they and he had borne a part. All formed a high opinion of Carver's bravery and ability, and treated him with great respect. When, at the end of April, he set out on his return, a party of three hundred accompanied his canoe, many going as far as the present site of the city of St. Paul, to visit a great cave, which they called Wakon-teebe, meaning the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. To this cave the Indians were accustomed to bring the bones of their dead, and their chiefs held a council there every spring, to settle public affairs for the ensuing summer. Carver had been in the cave on his way up the Mississippi, and had found on its walls Indian hieroglyphics which presented an appearance of great antiquity, the lapse of time having nearly covered them with moss. Carver was present at the spring council in this cave in 1767, and took occasion, he says, to deliver a speech, a report of which he inserts in his book, telling the Indians of the great power of the English king, and of that sovereign's desire to protect them if they would be his children.

That Carver in fact delivered this speech, which as it stands in his book is a fine example of florid eloquence, full of picturesque imagery of the kind in which the Indians delighted, has sometimes been flippantly questioned. Likely enough he polished it at leisure when he was preparing his manuscript for the press. But that it represents the purport of what he said there is no reason to doubt. The policy of the speech was excellent. He had heard at different places on his route that emissaries were still employed by the French to detach the Indians from the English interest. He had seen with his own eyes belts of wampum that had been delivered for this purpose to several of the tribes, and had been told that when these were presented a talk accompanied them, to the effect that the English were a petty people who had stolen the country from the great father of the Indians, the king of France, while he was asleep, but that the monarch would soon awake and take them again under his protection. Carver, from the high esteem in which he was held after his long friendly intercourse with the Naudowessies, was in a position to exert a valuable influence in the direction of counteracting the French plot. He hated the French, and it was entirely in keeping with his character that he should make the attempt he describes.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any in which to speak of the Carver Grant, for if there ever was a Carver grant, it was in this cave

of Wankon-teche, and on the day of Carver's great speech to the Naudowessies, that the deed was made and signed. The first public intimation of the existence of the Carver Grant was made after the explorer's death, in the account of his life by Dr. John Coakley Lettson, prefixed to the edition of Carver's travels brought out in London in 1781. This account refers to Carver's mediation between the Chippewas and Naudowessies "conciliating their attachment and friendship," and says that "as an acknowledgment of their grateful sense of his happy interference, the Naudowessies gave him a formal grant of a tract of land lying on the north side of Lake Pepin." "The original" of the deed, the account continues, "is in my possession, and as an Indian deed of conveyance may prove a curiosity to many readers, I shall here insert a copy of it." Then follows the text of an instrument purporting to have been made by Hawnopawjatin, or the Tortoise, and Otohtongoomlisheaw, or the Snake, "chiefs of the Naudowessies," conveying to "Jonathan Carver, a chief under the most mighty and potent King George the Third, king of the English and other nations," "in return for the many presents and other good devices done by the said Jonathan to ourselves and allies," "the whole of a certain tract or territory of land bounded as follows: (viz.) From the fall of St. Anthony, running on the east banks of the Mississippi, nearly south-east, as far as the south end of Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa river joins the Mississippi, and from thence eastward five days' travel, accounting twenty English miles per day, and from thence north six days' travel, at twenty English miles per day, and from thence again to the fall of St. Anthony, on a direct straight line," "to which we have affixed our respective seals, at the great cave. May the first, one thousand and seven hundred and sixty seven." The deed purports to bear the marks of the respective chiefs, a tortoise and a snake.¹¹ Strong, in his Territorial History of Wisconsin, says the boundaries named in the purported deed "extend east to the range line between Ranges 3 and 4 East, north to the south line of Douglas county, and south to the south line of Clark County, and embrace the whole of the counties of Pepin, Pierce, St. Croix, Barron, Dunn, Eau Claire, Clark, Chippewa, Washburn, Sawyer, Price and Taylor, with parts of Buffalo, Trempealeau, Jackson, Wood, Marathon, Lincoln, Burnett, Polk and Ashland, with a part of Minnesota, and contain an area of about fourteen thousand square miles"—that is to say, an area three times as large as Carver's own state of Connecticut.

Not only did Carver say nothing of this deed in his book, but

11. The "fue smille" in Smith's Documentary History of Wisconsin differs from that in Dr. Lettson's account of Carver, each emblematic mark in the latter being surrounded by a double circle, suggesting the effect of a seal or signet, and the tortoise being provided with two projecting bristles that look like whiskers or antennae.

the map of his travels drawn by his own hand bears on part of the tract named in the deed the inscription: "This vast extent of country is now possessed by the Chippeways." In 1804 the original of the deed had disappeared from Dr. Lettson's possession, having, he supposed, been stolen by a servant, and it has never been seen since. But for nearly half a century a large space on maps of the United States was marked "Carver's Tract." Three attempts—one in 1806, one in 1823, and one in 1825—were made to induce Congress to confirm the alleged grant, the petitioners being people who claimed to act on behalf of the heirs, but were believed to be chiefly concerned on their own account, having purchased large interests in the claim. In each instance Congress refused to confirm the grant. In the way of such action stood in the first place the informality of the alleged deed, which had never been produced for examination, which was without witnesses, and which, even if existent, might have been signed by the Indians in ignorance of its purport, as it was admitted to be in Carver's handwriting and in the English language, which they did not understand. But there were other serious obstacles to the ratification of the deed by Congress. There was the fact that by a proclamation of the king of Great Britain dated October 7, 1763, private persons were prohibited from acquiring Indian lands; and there was the fact that the Indians declared they had no knowledge of Sioux chiefs with names like those on the deed, the tortoise in particular not being a Sioux totem; and there was the further fact that the Sioux of the Plain never owned land on the east side of the Mississippi.

Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, who was the foremost and most active person in pushing for Congressional action recognizing the claim, set up that he had secured statements from Indians to the effect that they had heard of such a grant being made to an Englishman at the time stated, but these statements did not serve to counteract the evidence against the validity of the grant, and the significant circumstance that no such grant had been confirmed by the English government, under which Carver lived, and in whose behalf his services were performed. Long after the failure of the attempts to obtain Congressional recognition of the grant, however, deeds were sold pretending to convey property under it, and many of these worthless instruments are on record in the western counties of Wisconsin.¹²

12. Seekers after the origin of phrases may be interested in knowing that in one place in the deed the grantee is referred to as "Our good brother Jonathan aforesaid, whom we rejoice to see come among us." It has been generally supposed that the phrase "Brother Jonathan" originated in a remark of Gen. Washington, during the Revolutionary war, who, when the army was running short of ammunition, said, "We must consult Brother Jonathan on the subject," meaning Jonathan Trumbull the elder, who was then governor of Connecticut. But if the Carver deed is genuine, there was a Connecticut man who figure^d as "Brother Jonathan" nearly ten years before the Revolutionary war.

The extent to which Carver was responsible for and believed in the deed will probably never fully appear. If he had confidence in its validity it seems strange that he said nothing of it in either of the two editions of his book which were published during his life, one of them after he had had a hearing before the king at which he received permission to publish his journals, and at which, according to Dr. Peters, the king recognized the validity of the grant. Peters appears to have been held in low esteem by his contemporaries, and he was the conspicuous figure in the exploiting of the Carver grant.

The goods which Carver had contracted for at Michillimackinac to be sent to him at St. Anthony's Falls never came. They had been entrusted by Col. Rogers to traders who ignored his orders and disposed of them elsewhere. This interfered with Carver's plan of pushing forward toward the Pacific, for his experience had taught him that it would be impossible to work his way safely through strange and savage tribes without gifts to bestow as he went along. Going to Prairie du Chien, he procured what could be spared by the traders whom he had left there the preceding year, and with these determined to buy friendship on the route across the country of the Chippewas to Lake Superior. At the Grand Portage on the north side of that lake he would encounter the traders who annually went from Michillimackinac to the northwest, and from these he might be able to procure a supply that would warrant him in carrying out his larger intentions of western exploration. A pleasant incident of meeting with the Chippewas has already been narrated. An unpleasant incident was his encounter with the Grand Santor, who, when approached by Carver in a courteous manner, withheld his hand, and looking at him fiercely said in a gruff voice, "Cawin nishishin saganosh!" which was the Chippewa for "The English are no good." The Grand Santor had his tomahawk in his hand when he spoke, and Carver, fearing a blow, seized his pistol, holding it carelessly as he passed close by to let the chief see that he was not afraid of him. There was no bloodshed, and Carver, having kept on his guard during the night, went his way unmolested the next morning.

Describing the scenes along the Chippewa River, he tells of a wood three-quarters of a mile in length, and in depth more than the eye could reach, where "every tree, many of which were more than six feet in circumference, was lying flat on the ground, torn up by the roots, the work of some extraordinary hurricane." On a head branch of the St. Croix he discovered several mines of virgin copper. He thought the country between the Mississippi and Lake Superior justly named the Moschettow Country. "It being then their season, I never saw or felt so many of those insects in my life."

Toward the end of July he arrived at the Grand Portage. Here he met a large party of Killistnoes and Assinipoils "with their respec-

tive kings and families," and received from them accounts of the lakes lying to the northwest of Lake Superior. People who have a fancy for occultism will relish the story which he tells of the medicine man who foretold to an hour the time at which a canoe would arrive with people in it who would give information concerning the approach of the traders. The traders came, but they could spare no goods for Carver, and he was obliged to give up his Western tour.

Skirting the north and east borders of Lake Superior, and proceeding to Lake Huron in his canoe, Carver arrived in November, 1767, at Michillimackinac, having safely traveled nearly twelve hundred miles on the great lakes in that frail vessel of birch. He was obliged to stay through the winter until the following June at Michillimackinac, the ice in Lake Huron not permitting travel, but he found sociable company, and spent his time very agreeably. He arrived in Boston in October, 1768, "having been absent on this expedition two years and five months, and during that time traveled near seven thousand miles,"—a longer journey in those days than it is in these.

"From thence," says Carver, after telling of his arrival in Boston, "as soon as I had properly digested my Journal and Charts, I set out for England to communicate the discoveries I had made, and to render them beneficial to the kingdom." His reception at first appears to have been auspicious. "On my arrival in England," he says, "I presented a petition to his majesty in Council, praying for a reimbursement of those sums I had expended in the service of the government. This was referred to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. Their lordships from the tenor of it thought the intelligence I could give of so much importance to the nation that they ordered me to appear before the board. This message I obeyed, and underwent a long examination, much I believe to the satisfaction of every lord present. When it was finished, I requested to know what I should do with my papers. Without hesitation, the first lord replied that I might publish them whenever I pleased."

But from this time on the fate of the unlucky traveler was "cast in shallows and in miseries." He disposed of his papers to a bookseller. When they were nearly ready for the press, an order was issued from the Council Board requiring Carver to deliver without delay, into the plantation office, all his charts and journals, and every paper relative to the discoveries which he had made. To obey this command, he was obliged to repurchase his manuscript from the bookseller, at great expense, and an effort which he made to have the amount of this outlay added to the account of his other expenses was unavailing. The government allowed him £1,373 6s 8d, his original account, and that was all.

In 1774 he had a gleam of hope. Richard Whitworth, Esq., mem-

ber of Parliament for Stafford,¹³ who appears to have possessed financial means as well as an ambition to achieve distinction, undertook to equip an expedition and proceed in conjunction with Carver to carry out the traveler's original project of exploring the Northwest as far as the Pacific Ocean. Their plan was to ascend the Missouri, discover the source of the Oregon or River of the West, and proceed down that river to its mouth—precisely what Captains Lewis and Clarke accomplished in their undertaking of thirty years later. At the mouth of the "River of the West" Carver and Whitworth were to have formed a settlement. Nor did they purpose to stop at this. Their plan contemplated a further voyage of discovery, to find a passage from the Pacific to Hudson's Bay, and they were to have taken with them artificers and seamen sufficient to build and navigate vessels for this purpose. Carver had carefully planned all the details of this expedition. He had expected to enlist his old friend Col. Rogers, the commandant at Fort Michillimackinac, in the enterprise, and to construct a fort at Lake Pepin as a means of holding possession of the country commanding the route from the Great lakes to the new country which he expected to open up to commercial enterprise and development. But just when he and his friends were ready to start, other Americans, at Bunker's Hill, set on foot another enterprise, which interfered with his, and changed the destiny of this Western Continent.

It was ten years from the completion of his tour in the Northwest when Carver received permission to publish his book. It came out in London in 1778, and bore this title:

"THREE YEARS' TRAVELS THROUGH THE INTERIOR PARTS OF NORTH AMERICA, for More than Five Thousand Miles; Containing an Account of the Great Lakes, and all the Lakes, Islands and Rivers, Cataracts, Mountains, Minerals, Soil and Vegetable Productions of the Northwest Regions of that Vast Continent; with a Description of the Birds, Beasts, Reptiles, Insects, and Fishes Peculiar to the Country. Together with a Concise History of the Genius, Manners and Customs of the Indians Inhabiting the Lands that Lie Adjacent to the Heads and to the Westward of the Great River Mississippi; and an Appendix Describing the Uncultivated Parts of America that are Most Proper for Forming Settlements. By Captain Jonathan Carver, of the Provincial Troops in America."

The length of time consumed in Carver's journey is exaggerated in this title, while the distance traversed is understated. Not more than one-third of the volume is devoted to the account of his travels, the rest being occupied with a description of the origin, manners, customs, religion and language of the Indians, and with chapters on the flora and fauna of the interior parts of North America. In the latter part of the work he does not content himself with giving his

13. London Quarterly Review, Jan. 1815.

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own observations, but also draws freely, without credit, upon the writings of Charlevoix, Hennepin and Lahontan.

Carver's contributions to the science of geography are not on the whole sufficient to justify his disparagement of the maps of the early French explorers. He covers the interior of the lower Michigan peninsula with a formidable range of mountains. He makes Lake Michigan unduly broad, and robs it of fully one-third of its length. Due eastward from Lake Winnebago, he shows a deep indentation of the coast, and the debouchure of three rivers. Milwaukee is possibly indicated at a point marked "Pontowattimie Town," but he has placed it on the south shore of the lake, east of Fort St. Joseph, which he also places on the south shore of Lake Michigan, though its location was on the east shore. The route over which he traveled is in general set down correctly, but Smith in the *Documentary History of Wisconsin* notes that Carver makes a mistake in his description of the sources of the Fox and the Wisconsin.¹⁴ The Carver map of Lake Superior does not show the general shape of the lake and the relative size of the large islands as well as the map of the Jesuits published at Paris in 1672, though it is worthy of note that it shows the islands of the Apostle group, which are not on the Jesuit map, and it calls them "the 12 Apostles," a fact which has suggested the erroneous assumption that Carver gave the islands this name.¹⁵ But it was Carver's expressed intention to avoid describing localities by fanciful new names, and to give the names by which they were known to the inhabitants of their vicinity. The "Twelve Apostles" is a name much more likely to have originated with the pious Jesuits than with anyone else. It is a mistake to suppose it appeared on Carver's map for the first time. It may be seen on the map of "Canada and the Northern Part of Louisiana, with the Adjacent Countries, by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to His Majesty," which bears date of 1762, and a reprint of part of which is published in Neill's *History of Minnesota*.

From the treatment which Carver and his charts and journals were accorded by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in England, however, it is evident that he was recognized as having made important contributions to the fund of English geographical knowledge at that time. His minute and practical remarks on the industrial resources of the Northwest also possessed great original

14. Smith's *Doc. Hist. Wis.*, Vol. I., pp. 146-7.

15. *Wis. Hist. Col.*, Vol. XIII.

A short distance above the falls of St. Anthony a river empties in, which Carver calls Rum River. The Indians say it is the residence of good and bad spirits. Carver, not understanding them, must have entirely mistaken their meaning; and instead of its waters being filled with aerial things he has made the waters real old Jamaica.—*Papers of James Dunne Doty* (1820), *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIII.

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value. James C. Pilling's exhaustive bibliography of the Siouan languages "indicates that Carver is the first author who ever published a vocabulary of the Santee tongue, and its length, eight pages, renders it evident that it was an original compilation which must have required considerable time and patience."

That the book met a popular demand for information not accessible elsewhere is indicated by the fact that it was translated into the French, German and Dutch languages, and that it has been printed in no less than twenty-three editions.¹⁰

One noteworthy feature of Carver's literary style is his habit of brightening his narrative by the insertion here and there of long speeches in the first person put into the mouths of characters in his story. The report of his own speech to the Nadowessies may be cited as an instance. In these cases he possibly follows the argument of what was actually said, but it is improbable that he took down a formal report at the time. It is much more likely that he wrote from memory, introducing as many embellishments as he could. As proof that these flights of eloquence are well done, it is no doubt worth while to refer to the fact that one of them, reciting the lament of a Nadowessie Indian addressed to the corpse of a warrior relative, at his funeral, inspired a poem by Schiller¹⁷ which in the opinion of Goethe was one of that poet's finest productions—"The Death Song

10. Greely says twenty-three. Pilling gives a list of twenty-one, as follows:

EDITIONS OF CARVER'S TRAVELS.

- 1.—1778 London, Printed for the Author.
- 2.—1779 London, Printed for the Author.
- 3.—1779 Dublin.
- 4.—1780 Hamburg.
- 5.—1781 London, to which is added some account of the author, with portrait.
- 6.—1784 Philadelphia, Pa.
- 7.—1784 French trans.
- 8.—1784 French trans.
- 9.—1789 Philadelphia, Pa.
- 10.—1794 Boston.
- 11.—1796 Leyden, 2 vols., with portrait.
- 12.—1796 Philadelphia, Pa.
- 13.—1797 Boston.
- 14.—1813 Walpole, N. H.
- 15.—1838 Harper Bros., 3d London Edition.
- 16.—1852 French trans.

Other editions are said to have been printed:

- 1792.—Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1795.—Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1807.—Edinburg.
- 1808.—Edinburg.
- 1838.—Walpole, N. H.

17. See Appendix.

of a Naudowessie Chief." This poem has been translated into English at three different times, by Edgar A. Bowring, Sir John Herschel and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton.

Carver's last years were full of wretchedness. He married in London, while his first wife, with a large family, was still living in America. The bitter disappointment due to the failure of his projects of exploration may be better imagined than described. He manfully struggled to support his English wife and her two young children, and in addition to his travels prepared a gazetteer and a pamphlet entitled "Treatise on the Culture of Tobacco," which is described as a work of much merit,¹⁸ and which appeared in 1779. His original works appear to have brought him scanty remuneration, and when he was constrained by poverty to sell his name to the publisher of a large folio volume in the writing of which he had borne no part, entitled "The New Universal Traveller," his friends looked upon the transaction as dishonorable, and withdrew their countenance from his efforts to gain a maintenance. He finally secured a beggarly employment as a clerk in a lottery office, and died in January, 1780, according to the Gentleman's Magazine, "absolutely and strictly starved." His friend, Dr. Lettson, sold a number of copies of his book for the benefit of his English widow and her children, and turned to advantage the public sympathy for destitute authors which was aroused by the circumstances of his death, by founding the Literary Fund, of London, for the relief of needy authors.¹⁹

Travelers on the upper Mississippi in the early part of this century never failed to look for Carver's Cave. But not all of them found it. As late as 1820 it was said that his name and the date when he visited it could be plainly seen cut into the soft rock. Schoolcraft went into Fountain Cave, four miles above, thinking it was the one made famous by Jonathan Carver, and Doty, who was the secretary of his expedition, notes the fact in his journal. Later the Schoolcraft party discovered their error, and found that they had missed the entrance to the Carver Cave because it was obstructed by fallen rocks. Featherstonhaugh made the same mistake as Schoolcraft. Nicollet, who was employed by the government to make a hydrographical survey of the upper Mississippi, in 1837, removed the debris and laid the entrance of the famous cavern open to curiosity-seekers. On Wednesday, the 1st of May, 1867, the Minnesota Historical Society elaborately celebrated the Carver centenary and visited the cave in a body. An interesting monograph published at the expense of the society commemorates the celebration. In 1872, the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway cut away the outer wall of the cave to make way for a track, and diverted the stream running through it to feed a tank which supplied the loco-

18. Durrle.

19. Gentleman's Magazine, Feb., March and April, 1780.

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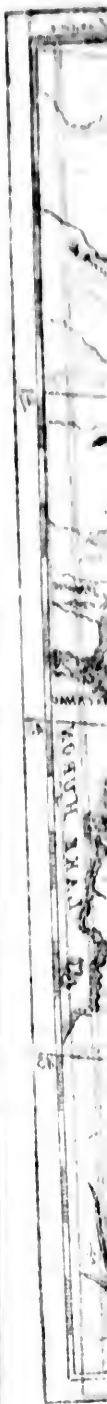
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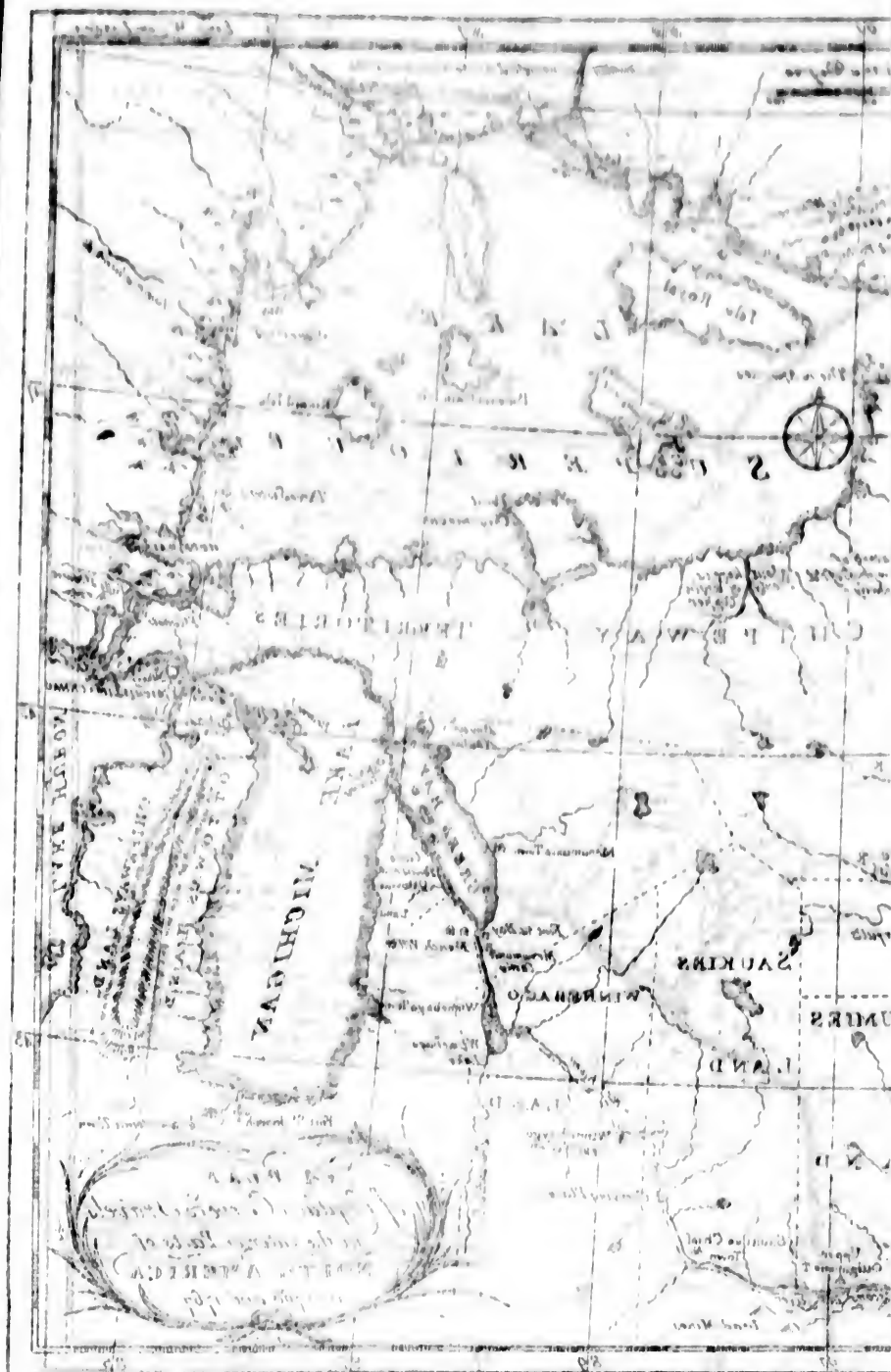
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motives with water. More recently the Burlington Road has cut away the last vestiges of the cave to make room for its tracks, which are laid between those of the St. Paul and the bluff. Thus, before the march of material progress, perish the picturesque monuments of the past! But mind is superior to matter. Let me close by citing an often-quoted paragraph from Carver's book:

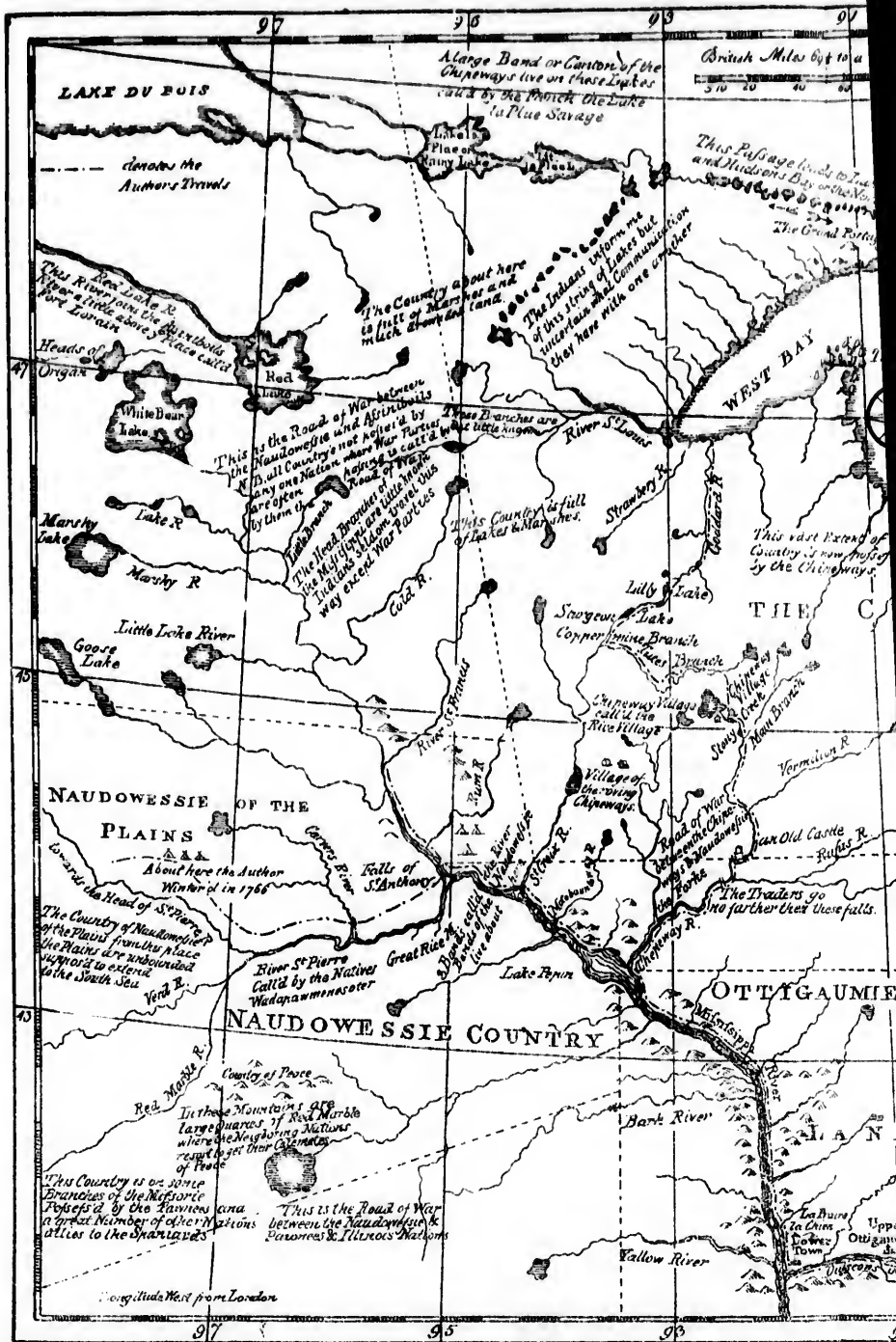
"To what power or authority this new world will become dependent after it has arisen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the seat of empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressing toward the West, there is no doubt but that at some future period mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples with gilded spires reaching to the skies, supplant the Indian huts whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies."

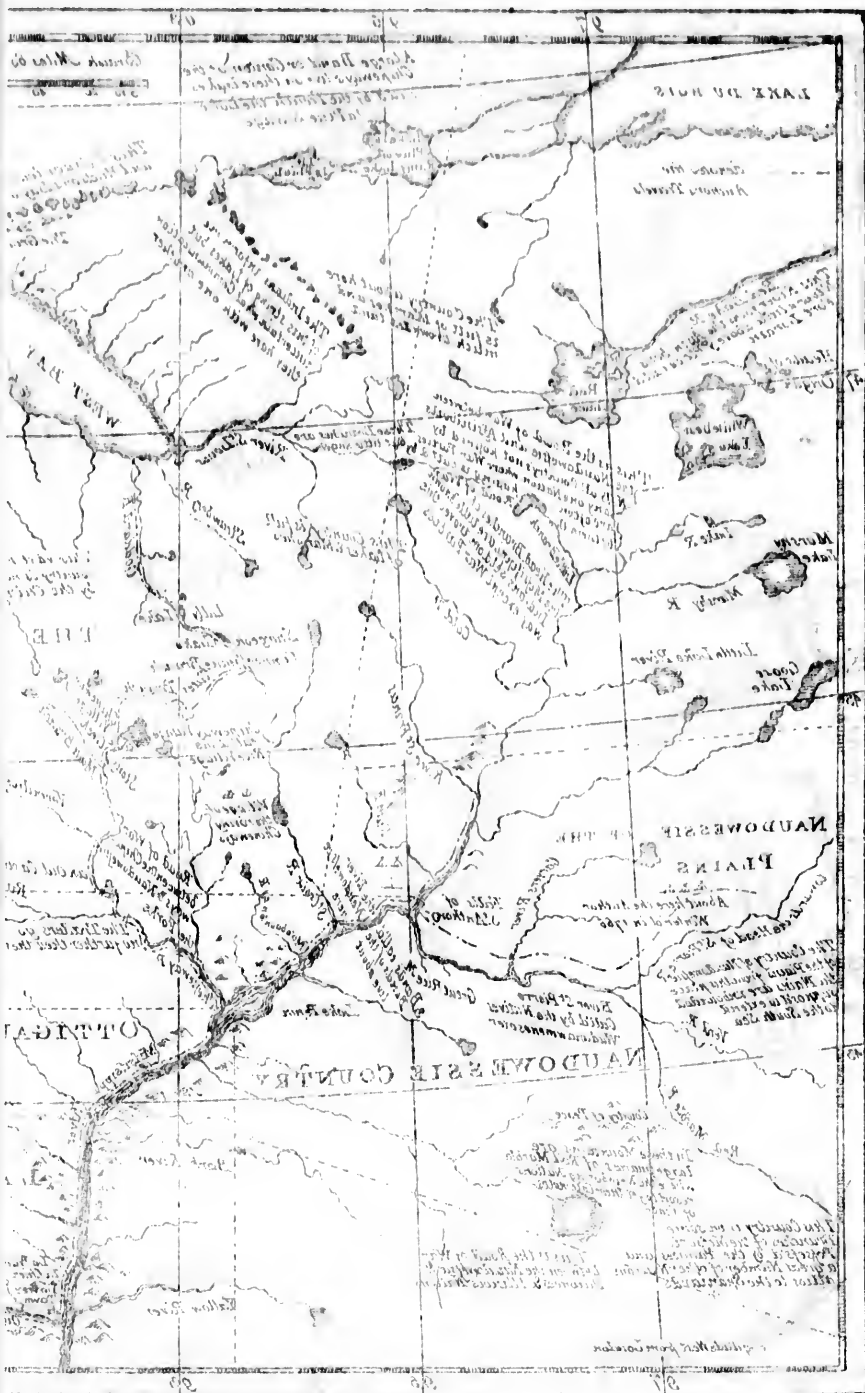
Carver's Cave has vanished, but Carver's prophecy has become a solid reality, more wonderful than the wonders of any cave, and more inspiring to the imagination of thoughtful men.





Published by G. W. Colver & Son, Milwaukee, Wis., 1880





APPENDIX.

THE PLACE AND DATE OF CARVER'S BIRTH.

"Dr. Lettson gives Stillwater, in Connecticut, as Carver's birth-place, and adds—'since rendered famous by the surrender of the army under Gen. Burgoyne.' As we have no such place as Stillwater in Connecticut, we have it stated by the American Antiquarian Society, in the published proceedings of their meeting of October 21, 1871, that 'Stillwater, in New York, is where Carver was in fact born.' We infer he was not a native of Stillwater, New York, from the fact stated in French's Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York, that Stillwater was not settled till about 1750—eighteen years after Carver's birth; and the Carver name does not appear among the first settlers of that town. Dr. Peters states that Carver was born in Canterbury, Connecticut; and Hinman's Genealogy of the Puritans of Connecticut gives the names of several Carvers among the early settlers there—among them, David Carver, who died there in 1727; his son Benjamin, who was born in 1722; Samuel and Esther Carver, the heads of a family; Jonathan and Abigail (nee Robins) Carver, married 'n 1746; and in the adjoining town of Windham, Hinman states that Jonathan Carver, by Eunice Downer, had a son, Jonathan, born December 18, 1741. Barber, in his Historical Collections of Connecticut, states that it is believed that Captain Carver was born in Canterbury. All things considered, this inference seems the most probable."—L. C. D. [Lyman C. Draper] in note to Durrie's "Capt. Jonathan Carver," Wis. Historical Colls., Vol. VI.

Judge Daniel W. Bond, 2106 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge Ave., Mass., one of the justices of the Supreme court of Massachusetts, who has made researches concerning the Carver family, says in a letter to Charles L. Goss, of Milwaukee, a great-great-grandson of Jonathan Carver: "I don't believe the date given, 1732, of the birth of Capt. Carver is correct. It seems his wife was 17 when she was married to him [in 1746?]. In all my genealogical investigations I have seen the marriage of but one boy under 20 years of age. There is one married at 17. Sheldon [Sheldon's History of Deerfield] gives Capt. Carver's birth as 1729 or 1730 (?). He does not know where he found that date. I do not think he was married at 16 or 17 years

of age." Judge Bond gives a list of Capt. Carver's children, taken from the Canterbury, Conn., records, in which it appears that his first child, Mary, was born April 8, 1747.

PETERS AN UNRELIABLE WITNESS.

"Dr. Peters is at best very questionable authority. He was a native of Hebron, Connecticut, born in 1735, and was in active life during the whole period of Capt. Carver's public career, his acquaintance with him commencing in 1754, and no doubt he had ample opportunities of learning the particulars of his public services. How much prejudice or interest may have warped his judgment or tempted his cupidity to make statements unwarranted by the facts in the case, it is impossible at this remote date to determine. He was a violent Tory, and retired to England before the breaking out of the Revolution, and remained there over thirty years, during which he wrote his famous History of Connecticut: 'This work,' says Dr. Allen in his Biographical Dictionary, 'is embarrassed in its authority by a number of fables,' while the Rev. Dr. Bacon, of Connecticut, in his Historical Discourses, calls it 'that most unscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives, Peters' History of Connecticut'; and that careful historical student, Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Connecticut, calls him 'that notorious liar'."—Draper, in note on Durrie's "Jonathan Carver", Wis. Historical Collns.

Peters was the author of the remarkable version of the Connecticut Blue Laws which though once widely accepted is now declared and generally believed to be unscrupulously garbled.

THE HIEROGLYPHICS IN CARVER'S CAVE.

J. F. Williams, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1867, says in the description of the cave contained in his report of the Carver centenary:

"Indian hieroglyphics or pictographs, as mentioned by Carver, are still to be found on the walls, but whether the same ones that adorned the Wakan-teebe when Jonathan visited it, or not, it is difficult to say. A rude representation of a serpent, some three feet in length, is the most prominent sculpture on the walls. It is strenuously asserted by many antiquarians to be the seal or family coat-of-arms of Otoh-ton-goom-lish-eaw, whose signature of the great deed was a representation of a snake. Others say it is not Indian, but evidently the work of a white man. If so, it must have been done a long time ago, as our oldest settlers say it was there when they first visited the cave."

THE CARVER GRANT.

"Lord Palmerston stated in 1839 that no trace could be found in the British Office of state papers showing any ratification of the Carver Grant."—Neill's Minnesota

"Carver only once in the body of his work mentions the chiefs whose signatures and "family coat-of-arms" are appended to the deed. On page 380, speaking of Indian nomenclature, he says: "This great warrior of the Naudowessies was named Ot-tah-ton-goom-lish-cah, that is, the Great Father of Snakes; Ottah being in English father; ton-goom, great, and lish-cah, a snake. Another chief was called Honah-paw-ja-tin, which means a swift runner over the mountains." —J. F. Williams, in the Carver Centenary pamphlet, 1867.

Maj. Stephen H. Long, in his journal of a voyage in a six-oared skiff to the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1817, published in Vol. II. of the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, says:

"There also sailed in company with us two young gentlemen from New York by the name of King and Gun, who are grandsons of Capt. J. Carver, the celebrated traveler.

"July 27. Prairie du Chien.—Last evening Messrs. Gun and King arrived at the Prairie from the Falls of St. Anthony. Whether they accomplished the object of their trip, viz., to establish their claim to the tract of country ceded by the Indians to their grandfather Carver, I had no time to inquire, but presume there is no ground for supposing they did, as they before told me they could find but one Indian who had any knowledge of the transaction, or was in the least disposed to recognize the grant. That they [the Indians] do not consider the cession obligatory upon them is very evident, from their having ceded to the United States, through the negotiations of Pike, two parcels of the same tracts specified in the grant in favor of Carver."

THE DEATH SONG OF THE NAUDOWESSIE CHIEF.

Carver, in his Travels, says: "When the Naudowessies brought their dead for interment to the great cave, I attempted to get an insight into the remaining burial rites. * * * * 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 blown, 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 fleetier 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 forever 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."

The fine poem by Schiller which this passage inspired is as follows:

Nachweßers Todtentied.

Lebt, es liegt er auf der Matte,

Aufrecht liegt er da.

Mit dem Antlitz, ren er hatte,

Als er 's Nicht noch sah.

Tod, wo ist die Kraft der Hähne,

Wo des Adems Hauch,

Der noch jüngst um greßen Geiste

Alles der Fleis Hand?

Wo die Augen, kaltenbete,

Die des Kometens Spur

Kühlen auf des Orakels Welle,

Auf dem Thau der Natur?

Viele Schwefel, die lebender

Stehen rund den Schnee,

Als der Storch, der Schwanzender,

Als des Verrats Noth?

Viele Arme, die den Regen

Erwachten irenne um n off?

Lebt, das Leben ist entflohen!

Lebt, sie hängen schlaff!

Weß ihm, er ist hingegangen,

Wo kein Schnee mehr ist,

Wo mit Mats die Felser wrangen,

Der von selber zerbricht;

Wo mit Hög in alle Zinnde,
 Wo der Hölle mit Hölle,
 Wo mit Hölken alle Leide
 Vunna hinc gefüllt.

 Mit een Oeffnen heeste er dieken,
 Vich und hier allein.
 Tak wir seine Thaten sehen
 Hinc den swaren ein.

 Einmal her die leghen waden,
 Zuumt die Leetenlaa!
 Alles rei mit ihm begraben.
 Hinc den freuen maa.

 Vort ihm untens Hant die Feile.
 Die er taylor hwarra.
 Auch des Haren felle Heule.
 Denn der Hög in lang.

 Auch das Messer, hart geschliffen,
 Das vom Feindestert
 Hald mit erei geschidten oeffnen
 Zwaie Hant une Zwerf;

 Aanken aude, een Verb in malen,
 Zicht ihm in e e Hant.
 Tak er reibend n dge strahlen
 In eer Zeele kane.

Of the three best known English versions of this poem—those respectively by Sir John Herschel, Edgar A. Bowring and Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, the one last named seems to be the most spirited, though all are meritorious. Bulwer's translation, with his own introductory note, is here reproduced.

THE INDIAN DEATH DIRGE.

The idea of this poem is taken from Carver's *Travels Through North America*. Goethe reckoned it among Schiller's best poems of the kind, and wished he had made a dozen such. But, precisely because Goethe admired it for its objectivity, William von Humboldt found it wanting in ideality. See *Hoffmeister*, p. 3, 311.

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-dope'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?

JONATHAN CARVER.

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

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

Yet, went to him—at peace he strays
Where never fall the snows;
Where o'er the meadows springs the maize
That never mortal sows;

Where birds are hilted 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 honor with our love,
The dust we bury here,

Here bring the last gifts!—loud and shrill
Wall death-dirge for the brave!
What pleased him most in life may still
Give pleasure in the grave.

We lay the ax 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-sharpened, place the knife
That severed from the clay,
From which the ax had spoiled the life,
The conquered scalp away!

The paints that deck the Dead, bestow—
Yes, place them in his hand—
That red the Klugly Shade may glow
Amidst the Spirit-Land!

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

My chief sources of information in the preparation of this monograph have been "Carver's Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America"; the "Wisconsin Historical Collections," particularly Volume VI., which contains D. S. Durrie's article on "Captain Jonathan Carver and Carver's Grant"; the "Minnesota Historical Collections," particularly Volumes I. and II.; Smith's Documentary History of Wisconsin, Vols. I. and III.; Strong's "Territorial History of Wisconsin"; Neill's "History of Minnesota"; Gen. A. W. Greely's "Explorers and Travelers," article on "Jonathan Carver"; Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"; Thwaites' "Story of Wisconsin"; Butterfield's "History of Wisconsin"; Niles' Weekly Register, Baltimore, February 2, 1825; the London Quarterly Review; the Gentlemen's Magazine, Harper's Magazine, and the files of Wisconsin newspapers. I also take pleasure in acknowledging indebtedness to the researches of Judge Daniel W. Bond, of the Supreme court of Massachusetts, for information throwing light upon the probable place and date of Carver's birth; and to Charles L. Goss, of Milwaukee, a descendant of Jonathan Carver, for allowing me to have access to valuable family records in his possession. By the courtesy of David L. Kingsbury, assistant librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, I was permitted to photograph from the beautiful copy of the third London edition of "Carver's Travels" contained in the library of the society the interesting portrait of Jonathan Carver which forms the frontispiece to this book.



