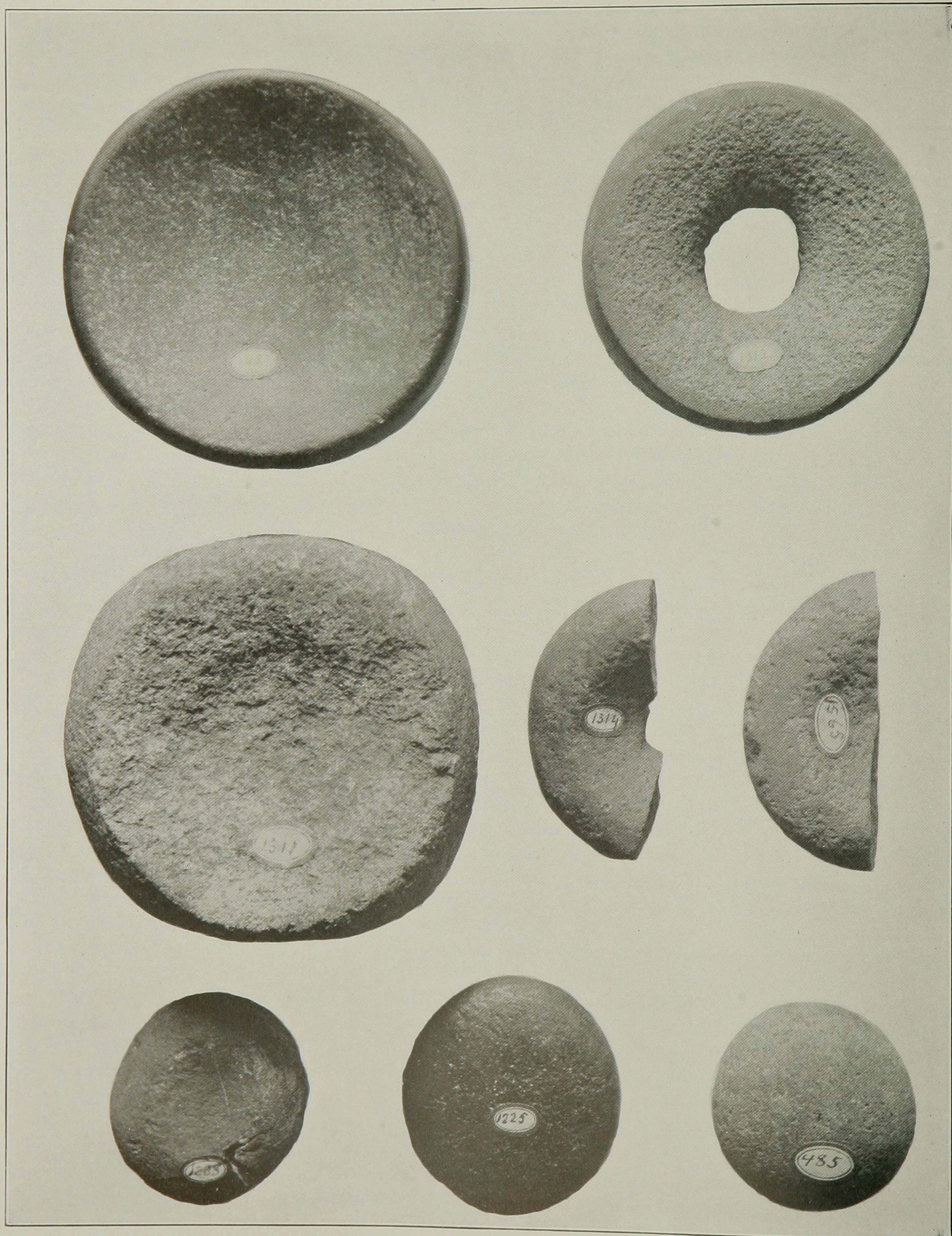
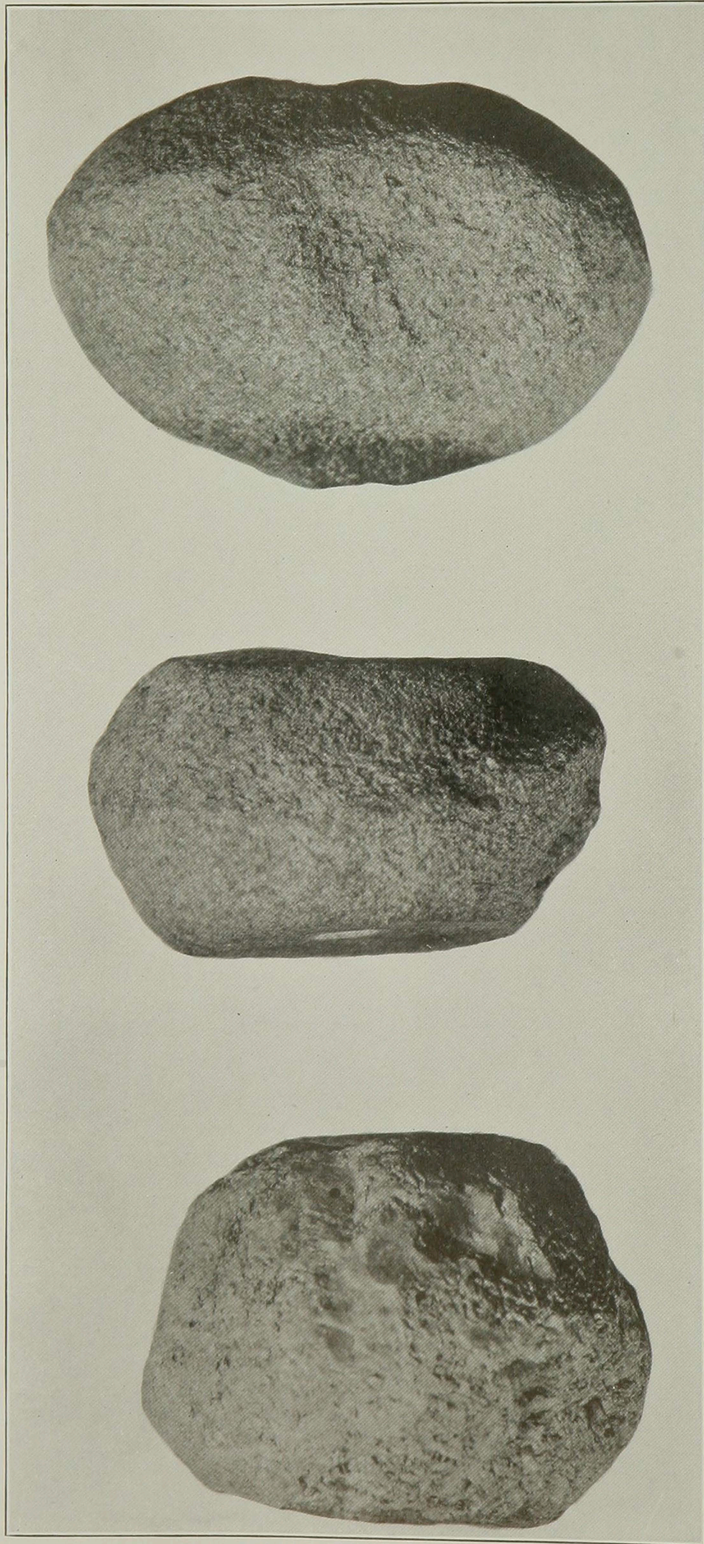
PLATE I OF DISCOIDAL STONES.



DISCOIDAL STONES. TWO-THIRDS ACTUAL SIZE.

PLATE II OF DISCOIDAL STONES.



DOUBLY BEVELED DISCOIDAL STONES.

THREE-FOURTHS ACTUAL SIZE.

three and three-quarters inches in diameter and an inch and a quarter thick at the edge, of greenstone. It was evidently originally pecked into shape and subsequently smoothed by rubbing on some other stone, since there remain still some portions of some of the depressions produced by the pecking, while on the peripheral edge of the stone are innumerable fine short striations running parallel with the circumference. The second (No. 1312), which is perforated at the centre and considerably smaller, was likewise pecked to shape, and the rough surface produced by the pecking remains only on the concave surfaces and on the periphery of the central perforation. It is evident that after the pecking was concluded the specimen was laid on the flat surface of some grinder and was given a final *trim* by rubbing thereon so as to form a smooth, narrow border and to give to the specimen a uniform thickness. This rubbed, or "polished," narrow rim is seen on both sides distinctly. It is remarkably true and constant, but is partially interrupted on one side of the specimen through an interval of about an inch, due apparently to insufficient grinding. The edge, or circumference, of the specimen, was finished by a similar rubbing, leaving striations like those on the circumference of No. 1. This specimen is of dark graywacke, and was found in Goodhue county. No. 3 (1311) is of red granite, is also bi-concave but not perforated. After the pecking, the surface upon which it was ground was not flat, but broadly convex, giving one surface of the specimen greater concavity in one direction than in that direction transverse. The roughness left by the pecking process was not removed by the grinding except partially. The polished rim, therefore, is far from complete, and appears to have suffered from later pecking or from rough usage in the game or otherwise. The same evidence of later pecking is visible also on the circumference; and on opposite sides this pecking was followed by some grinding so as to produce a flattening of the circumference. This later pecking was extended all over one side, and was accompanied, apparently, by such pounding as to cleave off pieces of the rock from half to three-quarters of an inch in size. As a consequence there is no remnant of any polishing that may have been given to the rim of the original concavity, and the thickness of the specimen is noticeably reduced irregularly. No. 4 (1314) of this plate, from Goodhue county, is of dark graywacke. It was bi-concave and perforated. It shows, after the first pecking, some flat planes produced by rubbing on a flat grinder, also a later-formed, nearly flat, surface which cuts the specimen obliquely across the sub-polished peripheral surface. No. 5 (1565) is of dark gray grit, or sandstone, and also from Goodhue county. It was bi-concave, non-perforated, pecked all over, and later was ground by rubbing on another stone in different portions, but seems never to have been finished. On one side it shows a long scratch-like score of later date, produced apparently by a glancing blow from a blade of a knife. The three small disks at the bottom of the plate were probably never used in the chunkey game.

Problematical discoidal stones. It has been remarked that the stone implements of the Dakota grade as to form, from one class to another. This is true of the discoidal stones. They are not altogether bi-concave, but are sometimes nearly or quite flat on one side, or on both. Some discoidal stones are distinctly mullers, and have been described as such, and some are more nearly balls than disks. In some cases it is impossible to say what purposes they subserved.

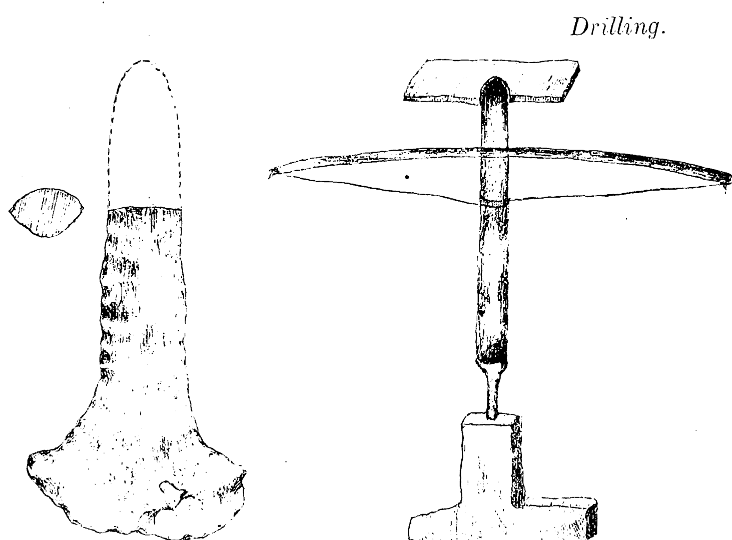
Doubly-beveled discoidal stones. But one of the most peculiar of the discoidal forms remains to be described. Three are in the collection, all from Goodhue county, one of diabase, one of fine red granite, and one of chert, probably all made from material that can be found in Goodhue county. In the case of the granite and the chert specimens, the artificer chose blocks that had two natural surfaces nearly parallel, an inch and a half to two inches apart, pre-existing jointage planes, and reduced the rock by reducing the edges to the required shape. The side of these two disks are therefore about flat and unpecked, but the edges are roughened all round, perhaps by pounding rather than pecking. The angle of the beveled sides varies from a little less than 90 degrees to about 120 degrees. The diabase specimen was a natural oval pebble, but some effort was put forth to reduce its thickness before the beveled edge was formed. They are illustrated on the plate adjoining. (Plate II of discoidal stones.)

Mr. Gerard Fowke has mentioned discoidal stones of this type, but with the sides concave, found in Randolph county, Illinois, from Kanawha valley, West Virginia, with only the edge worked; from Craighead county, Arkansas, with flat sides and the entire surface polished, and from McMinn county, Tennessee, polished entire.* Besides these, the writer has seen no other mention of doubly-beveled discoidal stones. Their purpose is entirely problematical.

*Thirteenth Report, Bur. Eth., p. 107, 1896.

Globular stones. There are several stones in the collection which are nearly globular, from Goodhue and Washington counties. Some of these are of chert, some of white quartz, some sandstone, some granite and one of fine-grained graywacke. In the case of those made of chert and white quartz, there is an indistinct flattening so as to suggest an incipient double-bevel, and this suggestion is strengthened by the remnants, on opposite sides, of the natural jointage surfaces mentioned in the description of doubly-beveled disks above. One of these, of granite, is flat on one side, in the manner of a muller, and is also a little flattened on the opposite side, and it is pecked all over.

Drilling.



DRILL POINT, USED BY DAKOTA AND OJIBWA. *Phillips Col.—Haupt.*

DRILL MOUNTED WITH BOW AND CORD. Sketch from Photograph. *Phillips Col.—Haupt.*

The stone drills in the collection are of chert, slate, basalt, white quartz and flint. The drills pass by easy stages into unbarbed points. The manner of using the stone drill is illustrated by the adjoining figure. Of the articles that required the use of the drill probably the tobacco pipe was the most frequent.

Of the specimen of which a drawing is given, the point of the drill is gone. The remaining part is one and a quarter inches long, and one quarter of an inch thick. The shaft of the drill is three-eighths inch wide and one-quarter inch thick, having an elliptical cross-section. This specimen is from the collection of Dr. Wm. A. Phillips, and was found at Jackson, Ill. It is composed of white chert, and very carefully chipped. The figure also shows how the drill was mounted and the bow and string by which it was turned. The common file has superseded the stone drill.

A collection of stone drills can be seen illustrated in the plate adjoining. Some of these are as easily classed amongst "points," as drills.

Arrow polishers. Not infrequently are found in Minnesota small pieces of coarse sandstone, across the side of which run shallow grooves, which have been made by some artificial excavation. They are from two to four or six inches in diameter and of irregular shape, and they have been supposed to have been used for polishing the arrow-shaft or perhaps sometimes the bow of the warrior. Such sandstone was obtained from the lower strata in the bluffs of the Mississippi river. One piece was noticed to be fossiliferous with Lingula, and may have been procured from the foot of the bluff at Winona. These pieces of sandstone are usually rusty-red.

Note.—Of stone implements long preserved by the Historical Society and now in its old collections at the new capitol, the following may be mentioned, viz.: Numerous stone hammers, celts, axes, one pestle, one chunkey stone, the large stone hammers from St. Peter, illustrated by Dr. R. O. Sweeny and published in the sixth annual report of the Geological and Natural History Survey, p. 63, 1878; numerous arrow-shaft rubbing-stones of coarse sandstone, and thirteen samples of burnt clay collected by Dr. Upham from Prairie island, at the same place as those by Mr. Brower, already described.

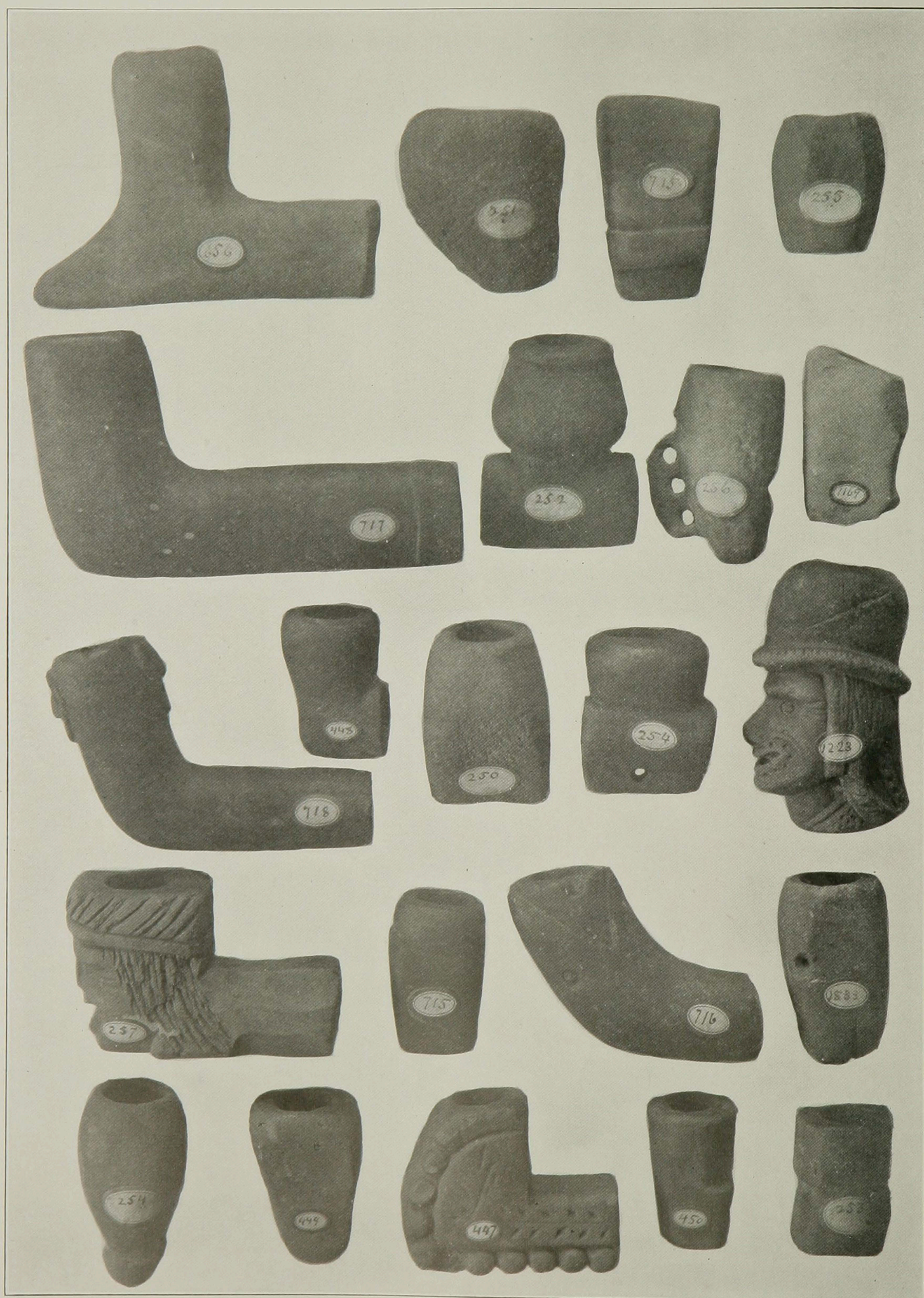
There is also a part of a steel file "found at Sauk Center 55 ft. underground."

The articles taken from the large mound which formerly stood at White Bear lake, in April, 1889, are preserved in the old museum cases in the new capitol, consisting of human bones, a large broad-shouldered spear-head of brown quartzyte (labeled "agate spear-head"), small pipe, apparently of pottery, shaped like the Winnebago pipe, red ochre, bone bodkin, a paint stone, a bone skin-scraper turned at one end at a right angle. There is also an enormous jaw-bone of an Indian warrior, found on Spirit island, White Bear lake, by Capt. E. Bell.

PLATE I OF DRILLS.

DRILLS. TWO-THIRDS ACTUAL SIZE.

PLATE I OF PIPES.



SANDSTONE TOBACCO PIPES. ONE-HALF ACTUAL SIZE.

CHAPTER III

TOBACCO PIPES

There is no aboriginal article of stone that has been the subject of more investigation and description than the tobacco pipe. Messrs. Squier and Davis gave many illustrations in "Ancient Monuments." Mr. Fowke illustrated thirteen styles in the report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1891-92; McGuire, in the Smithsonian annual report for 1897, part 2, presents an elaborate memoir on "Pipes and smoking customs of the American aborigines;" Mr. George A. West has described, in the *Wisconsin Archeologist*, vol. iv, the "Aboriginal Pipes of Wisconsin," with 222 illustrations, and David Boyle has published, in several of his annual "archeological reports" to the minister of education of Ontario, much important information respecting the tobacco pipes found in Canada, especially in the region of the ancient Huron-Iroquois. Numerous other archeologists have published descriptions and figures of pipes.

In the Brower collection are 47 pipes, of which 22 are of sandstone, 11 are of catlinyte, 10 are of gray pipestone or serpentine, one of gypsum and two are of potter's clay tempered with crushed rock and sand. The last are unequivocally from mounds, but the sources of the others are not always well known. There is no doubt that the most of the sandstone pipes were obtained of the Ojibwa, as well as some of those of serpentine. A majority have a distinct odor of tobacco. The modern wooden mouthpieces have been removed for the photographs. These varied from six to ten inches in length.

Following are notes and descriptions of these pipes, and the accompanying plates (1, 2 and 3 of pipes) illustrate them in order, the notes being serially arranged according to the plates, beginning at the upper left hand corner of plate I.

Plate I. (22 pipes)

No.

656. From the upper Mississippi, exact locality not given; of fine gray sandstone; has unburnt tobacco in the bowl; has a strong, heavy, quadrangular stem, length 4½ inches, and a projection forward like a boat's prow.

251. From Mille Lacs; of coarse, red standstone, stemless, obliquely obconical, bowl blackened and smelling of tobacco.

715. From Bear lake, Leech lake; fine, gray sandstone, stemless, but with a rectangular projection below the stem hole; has the tobacco odor and color of long use; bowl heavy and rectangular.

255. From Mille Lacs; gray sandstone, stemless, hexagonal, hight 1⅝ inches blackened and smelling of tobacco.

717. From Bear lake, Leech lake; fine, gray sandstone; heavy, large pipe, and having a length, including stem, of 5½ inches; smelling of tobacco.

252. From Mille Lacs; of sandstone; micmac style; smelling of tobacco, with which it is blackened, and of which some ashes remain at the bottom of the bowl; a perfect, handsome pipe.

256. From Mille Lacs; pink-red sandstone, having an alated keel on the front with five circular perforations, of which two are broken away; bowl is obconical and oblique, smelling of tobacco.

1169. From the McKinstry mounds in Itasca county; gray sandstone; a squared pipe, but having its top oblique, and several of its corners and angles replaced; evidently defective and unfinished. This pipe has no tobacco odor; its surface is fresh and clean. Compare plate L, in Mr. Brower's "Mille Lac."

718. From Bear lake, Leech lake; with a stout circular stem, of fine gray sandstone; at the top of the pipe, front and rear, is a small, rude portrait of the human face; much stained and saturated with smoke. The pipe is oblique to the stem, leaning forward.

448. From Mille Lacs; gray sandstone; very short stem; top of pipe circular; smells of tobacco.

250. From Mille Lacs; of gray sandstone; stemless; the bottom of the pipe is flattened and drawn in from the sides, but the top is nearly circular, but with dim octagonal angling.

254. From Mille Lacs; of gray sandstone, micmac style, with the bottom keel perforated; much stained and odorous with tobacco.

1223. From unknown locality; of gray sandstone; stemless; consists of profile of man's head and neck, with hat of the shape of a high Derby, with braided hair covering his ears, a feather on the right side of the hat; odor of tobacco.

716. From Mille Lacs, Bear lake, Leech lake; of gray sandstone; the bowl curves into the stem, which is short and stout and circular. The bowl is so engraved as to appear to be in the open mouth of a fish or serpent; saturated with the creosote of tobacco, of which some remains are still in the bottom of the bowl.

257. From Mille Lacs; of micaceous fine gray sandstone; stem 1⅝ inches long; octagonal in section, bowl rectangular, but elongated from front to rear, carved to represent portrait of the human face on the front aspect, the forehead and hair all about the head apparently being surrounded with a band; smells of tobacco. This is a stout, heavy pipe, and was perhaps made by a white man.

715. From Bear lake, Leech lake; fine gray sandstone; small, stemless, smells of tobacco.

1833. From Rice lake, Sherburne county; fine gray sandstone; presenting the effigy head of a dog; stemless; bowl cavity is circular, contracting downward; has no sign of having been used for smoking; opening for wooden stem large; obtained in 1908 by N. H. W.

254. From Mille Lacs; of gray sandstone; general shape obovate, with a constriction near the base, and an enlargement below the constriction; bowl cavity large, but opening for the wooden stem, or mouthpiece, small, about one-half the size of that in the last; with no odor of tobacco.

449. From Mille Lacs; of micaceous fine gray sandstone; simple, four-sided, stemless, the sides and the front slightly concave vertically, and marked with small pits, the rear-side, in which is the opening for a wooden stem, broadly convex; with slight stain and odor from use.

447. From Mille Lacs; of micaceous fine gray sandstone; heavy, four angled, bowl cavity small, standing at a right angle with the stem, which is 1⅛ inch long; side surfaces decorated with representation of vine with leaves; lower and front angles of the stem and pipe carved into conspicuous rows of round knobs which are bordered by incised grooves; between these grooves a broad, low ridge along the centre of which is a row of small pits. This pipe, which was probably made by a white man, has a strong odor of tobacco.

450. From Mille Lacs; of fine gray sandstone, except being a little smaller, this pipe is in all respects identical with No. 448 (above), even to the odor of tobacco.

253. From Mille Lacs; of fine micaceous sandstone; rectangular, nearly square, with the angles replaced; bowl at right angles with the stem hole. The lower half of this pipe is not rectangular, but broad-oval, the stem-hole being in this oval part; smells of tobacco, with which it is blackened. The abnormal shape of this pipe indicates other than aboriginal workmanship.

Note.—The source of the material of these gray sandstone pipes was in some of the Upper Cambrian strata of the southern part of the state, or in Wisconsin. The Dresbach sandstone, as seen in Winona county, would furnish inexhaustible supplies. It closely resembles some of the lower Carboniferous sandstones of Ohio, especially the finer-grained parts of the Berea.

Plate II. (14 pipes)

265. From Mille Lacs; of gray pipestone (a form of greenstone); stemless, bowl cavity flaring upward so as to reduce the thickness of the rim to less than one-sixteenth of an inch. At the same time, the bowl is undercut from the rim downward, leaving the upper part quite thin. At the bottom of this undercutting a shoulder is abruptly formed, below which the pipe is larger and heavy, irregularly hexagonal and ornamented with small pits on the sides and the front face. At the bottom of the front face is outlined the low forehead of a human face, with eyes and nose, and above this rude portrait is a totem figure of some bird resembling a swan. This is a small pipe with a large bowl-cavity and stem hole for its size. The bowl-cavity was evidently drilled entirely through the pipe, since its lower end was plugged with lead. The general shape resembles the last mentioned on plate i (of pipes), but the angular part and the rounded part are on opposite ends of the bowl.

PLATE II OF PIPES.

CATLINYTE TOBACCO PIPES. TWO-THIRDS ACTUAL SIZE.

259. From Mille Lacs; of gypsum, micmac style, with one circular perforation through the short, tapering base. The "terrace" is simply a shoulder-like protuberance, mainly toward the front and rear.

258. From Mille Lacs; gray pipestone (a serpentinous greenstone); micmac style, the bowl ornamented by a groove round the rim and another round the base, and by a small pit on each side; "terrace" abrupt; stem-hole in the terrace, keel extending the whole length of the terrace from front to rear, having six small pits in a row on each side and five (or six) indistinct transverse grooves across the bottom edge; has odor of tobacco.

260. From Mille Lacs; catlinyte, simple and stemless; bowl round and inlaid with lead so as to form a rim of lead about the top and four narrow vertical arms or branches which extend from the rim nearly to the base of the bowl; one side of the bowl is incised by lines which cross each other so as to enclose rhombic lozenges; this incision was done after the lead was inlaid; the base of the bowl has a coarse incised groove and a flat bottom on which it stands without support; smells of tobacco.

445. From Mille Lacs; catlinyte; rectangular, but with a round bowl and stem, the latter having a narrow longitudinal keel; the bowl and stem are both inlaid with lead; the last ferrule on the stem forms the end of the stem, and the stem-hole shows that it was bored in lead for more than a quarter of an inch; has tobacco odor, and ashes in the bottom of the bowl cavity.

1222. Locality unknown; of catlinyte; a small, but typically shaped, Sioux pipe; round stem and bowl, somewhat flat on the bottom, ornamented with light incised lines that form crosses like the sign of multiplication; odor of tobacco.

446. From Mille Lacs; catlinyte (?); broken; was apparently a rectangular "Sioux" pipe, with a short "prow" projecting forward and a bowl coarsely ornamented by three or four conspicuous grooves near the top; bowl tapers downward, and on its four (three remaining) sides had diamond shaped, gouged-out depressions, or crosses.

Note.—This pipe apparently is not of the typical red catlinyte, of Minnesota, but is thickly sprinkled with white and pinkish-red fine grains which are softer than the body of the rock as used from that locality, weathering out so as to leave on the older surfaces a subdued, fine roughness. While these may be of the same nature and origin as the spots which have caused the stone to be called sometimes "porphyry," yet they are much more numerous than ever before seen by the writer, and they form a rock the like of which is not seen in the complete section of the pipestone bed of which a sample exists in the Brower collection, forming a block whose sides (across the bedding) are about 12 inches by 16 inches.

262. From Mille Lacs; of catlinyte; tubular, nearly round, with parallel sides, the bottom plugged with lead; with odor of tobacco.

1250. From Barrett lake, Grant county; presented in 1908 by Mr. E. E. Woodworth; of catlinyte; one-half the bowl only, tapering downward from a large top, ornamented with two incised grooves near the top of the bowl, surrounding the bowl.

441. From Mille Lacs; red catlinyte; small, broken, but sufficiently preserved to show the actual size and shape. It had a small, low, round bowl standing at right angles with the stem, a prow longer than the hight of the bowl, and a round stem which with the prow forms a uniform taper from one end to the other. The stem opening is large, indeed, as large as the bowl cavity, and they both taper to their point of union. On the top of the stem, at the end above the opening, is a perforated ear which, with the greater diameter of the stem at the end, rises as high as the bowl itself. This pipe has the regular "Sioux" form, but its diminutive size (about 2¼ inches extreme length), and the large size of the stem hole ($\frac{7}{16}$ inch in diameter), render it anomalous. It may have been ornamental or ceremonial. It has no odor of tobacco.

444. From Mille Lacs; catlinyte; disk, 1¾ inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick, the bowl cavity and stem hole in the circumference, which is also ornamented with 39 coarse, transverse, freshly-made grooves; about in the centre on each side is a pit surrounded by an incised circle, these evidently made by the revolution of a small auger. The disk is also weighted by three leaden plugs which pass entirely through the pipe, appearing on each side. Has odor of tobacco. This evidently modern pipe is probably not ten years old.

264. From Mille Lacs; of catlinyte; small, rectangular, "Sioux pipe" of the conventional shape, three inches long; stem and bowl pseudo-octagonal by the removal of the angles of the square section; the odor, the blackening and the ashes of tobacco remaining. The bowl cavity tapers to a small opening at the bottom.

263. From Mille Lacs; of catlinyte; rectangular, bowl round, but tapering to a smaller diameter at its union with the stem; stem also round except for a flat, longitudinal band on the top which has an abrupt, small elevation at the very end; stem also tapers slightly toward the bowl; extreme length 3¾ inches.

443. From Mille Lacs; catlinyte; calumet or peace pipe; rectangular, stem and bowl also of rectangular cross-section, entirely without decoration. The bowl cavity and stem hole are of the same size. Evidently drilled by the same (modern) tool; odor of tobacco; extreme length 9¼ inches, and hight 4¾ inches.

Note.—There are thousands of "red pipestone" pipes disseminated in the museums of the world, which were made by whites. According to Dr. F. V. Hayden, the Northwest Fur Company made 2,000 of these pipes between 1865 and 1868, selling them to the Indians on the upper Missouri for furs.* The industry has been continued to the present day, though not always with systematic barter, nor on so large a scale. A remnant of the Dakota Indians, living at Flandreau, South Dakota, make various catlinyte articles, including large and beautiful pipes of fantastic designs, as well as the regular calumets, which they sell to tourists, and which can be bought at stores in Pipestone city. There is a fine collection of these modern Dakota pipes in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The red pipestone is an indurated and somewhat metamorphic shale of the Potsdam age. It has afforded the fossils *Paradoxides barberi* and *Lingula calumet,* as well as minute grains of gold. Its color is due to abundant ferric oxide. It belongs in the Keweenawan of lake Superior, which is the time equivalent of the New York Potsdam.

In the old museum of the Historical Society there is a small rectangular catlinyte pipe, found on the north shore of lake Minnetonka, presented by B. F. Christlieb, April 1898.

Alexander Henry, the elder, says (*Travels and Adventures*, p, 252); "To the westward of Pike river (which enters lake Winnipeg from the west side) which we passed on the first of September, is a rock of great length called the *Roche Rouge*, and entirely composed of *pièrre à Calumet*, or stone used by the Indians for making tobacco-pipe bowls. It is of light red color, interspersed with veins of brown, and yields very readily to the knife." Alexander Mackenzie mentions a similar red pipestone in a deep northwestern prolongation of Rainy lake (*Voyages from Montreal*, p. 69). The latter also says that the Chepewyans made their pipes of pieces of "beautiful variegated marble which are found on the surface of the earth. It is easily worked, bears a fine polish and hardens with time. It endures heat, and is manufactured into pipes or calumets."

Plate III. (11 pipes)

1196. From the McKinstry mounds, in Itasca county; of pottery made of crushed rock, sand and clay. Winnebago style, similar to two found in the mounds near Lanesboro, in Fillmore county, but smaller and with a slight projection like a small blunt prow, from the base of the bowl. Owing to some unfortunate accident, this projection has been broken away, and its existence is known only by the fracture surface remaining. It was probably not prominent. No other Winnebago pipe known to the writer has a prow. In this respect, and in the shape of the stem, this differs from the typical Winnebago pipe illustrated in the text describing the mounds of Fillmore county, and perhaps should not be put in this class. Another small Winnebago pipe, obtained at White Bear lake, is in the old museum of the Historical Society.

1842. From Elk lake, Sherburne county; of pottery of clay tempered with sand; Winnebago style; found in cache with many bears' teeth, by E. E. Woodworth, in 1908. This was probably a mound pipe, like all other Winnebago pipes whose history is known. It is not a well-made nor finished specimen. It has no odor of tobacco.

719. From Net lake Indian reservation; of serpentine; bowl round and slightly tapering downward, prowless, stem flat on the bottom but angled on the upper surface. This small pipe has a stem of about the same length as the hight of the bowl, having a strong odor of tobacco, with remnants still in the bowl.

1834. From Bassimenan lake, on the international boundary; of gray serpentine; procured of an Ojibwa Indian by the writer in 1880. The slightly tapering, round bowl is ornamented by four incised grooves at the top and by incised dots in couples; prow is ⅞ inch long and the stem a little over three inches. The bottom is flat, but on the top of the stem is a crenated wing 2¾ inches long, which has four large perforations. The stem also has nine vertical grooves on each side, near the rear end. The bowl cavity is large and smells of tobacco.

720. From Bear lake, Leech lake; of gray serpentine; rectangular bowl, round, slightly tapering downward; prow 1½ inch long; stem flat on the top and bottom, but with rounded sides; at the

*Proceedings American Philosophical Society, 1865-1868, x, p. 274 (after J. D. McGuire).

TOBACCO PIPES.

PLATE III OF PIPES.

POTTERY AND GREENSTONE TOBACCO PIPES. TWO-THIRDS ACTUAL SIZE.

stem end is a ferrule-like collar with octagonal section. The stem opening is large; odor of tobacco.

657. From the upper Mississippi valley, exact locality not given; gray serpentine bowl, smooth, small, low, roundish, without prow; stem round, smooth, 1¾ inch long; the stem hole was not drilled direct to the bottom of the bowl cavity, but so much to one side that it broke through the thin walls, and thus the pipe was spoiled. The bowl also was drilled so deep that it pierced the bottom. This pipe seems to have been the product of a novice. It is clean and fresh.

497. From Leech lake; of gray pipestone, having a short wooden stem attached by a string through the keel at the bottom. The stone bowl is otherwise stemless; bowl square, heavy, with a short, abrupt keel running from front to rear; smells of tobacco, of which a liberal supply still remains in the bowl.

451. From Mille Lacs; of gray greenstone, or serpentine; bowl round, tapering downward, with a prow one inch long; stem squarish, with odor of tobacco; a comparatively new pipe.

1835. From Mt. Carroll, Ill.; presented by Otto Guy Jeffers; of gray steatite; bowl only; ornamented with seven upward-spreading, deep incisions starting from deeper, bored, pits.

1167. From the McKinstry mounds, Itasca county; gray serpentine, unfinished because of an accident which drove the drill of the bowl cavity through the bottom; bowl and stem square; no odor of tobacco.

498. From Leech lake; of gray serpentine; small, simple, unornamented; stem short, square, of about the same length as the prow; with odor of tobacco.

Note.—The gray serpentine used by the northern tribes was obtainable at a number of places in northern Minnesota and in the adjoining portions of Canada. One place is on the shore of a bay at the south side of Bassimenan lake, S. W. cor. sec. 16, T. 64-10; another is at Pipestone rapids, in a steep cliff, on the east side, and at a point a short distance above the rapids, on the right bank.

This gray pipestone is a "greenstone," which means (in this case) a much altered igneous basic rock. In its most decayed condition it is serpentine and has a greenish color. With long use in pipes its surface color is very dark, almost black. Steatite is a pure mineral substance, but is apt to be a constituent in gray pipestone.

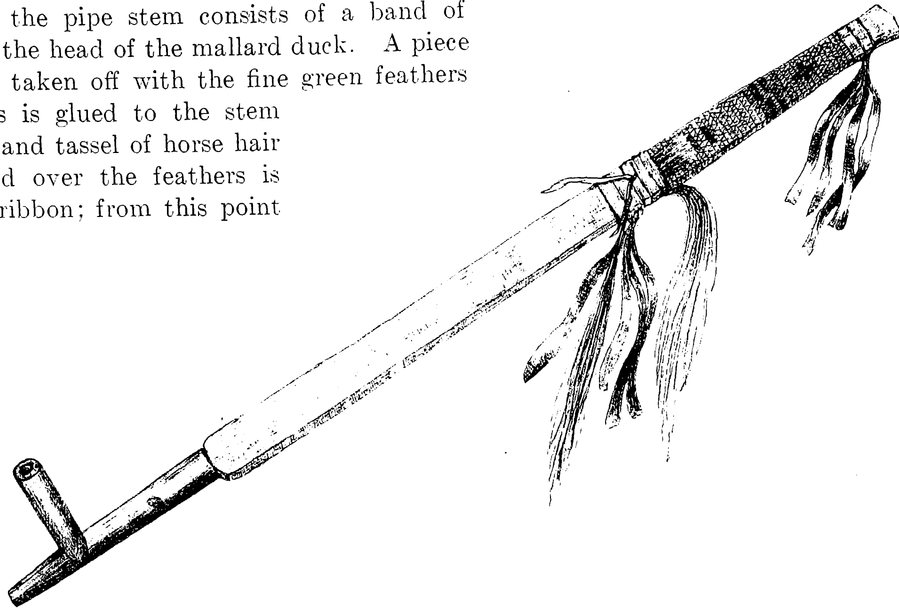
In the old museum of the Historical Society, at the new capitol, is a gray pipe plowed up at Pokegama lake, presented by T. H. Lewis. There is also a "hatchet pipe," found on the battle field of New Ulm after the fight, August 23, 1862. Presented by Mrs. John Hudek.

Spotted Tail's pipe. "The Dakota pipe has a standard typical form, and that is the T, with one arm much longer than the other two. The drawing illustrates the pipe of Spotted Tail, from the Wyman collection. The pipe is made from the red stone. The general form of the Dakota pipe is the union of two cylinders at right angles. They are never over two inches in diameter, as this is the extreme width (thickness—N. H. W.) of the stone. The bowl proper is about half an inch in diameter, the same as the hole to which is fitted the stem. The stem is a piece of ash* twenty-six inches long and not quite two inches wide and half an inch thick, the upper third of which stem is ornamented to suit the fancy of the owner. This pipe has an adornment of crimson and purple ribbons, then a scalp lock of black Indian hair secured to a strip of buckskin; then following this are a few turns of yellow ribbon enclosing a tassel beneath and a tuft above of horse hair dyed carmine. The rest of the stem is wrapped with strands of plaited porcupine quills, the lower end white, with elongated patches of red, the upper end red with irregular bands and a cross of yellow, the extreme end being finished with a yellow and purple ribbon tied at the union of the stem and quills."—*Haupt.*

"The 'calumet,' as we have above designated it, is not entirely in accord with the statements of Mr. Catlin, but if to it we add the war-eagle feathers, it is at once converted into a genuine calumet. The pipe shown below was owned by 'Smoke-Maker,' a Dakota living at the Lower Brule agency, in South Dakota, in A. D. 1891, and is one of the best made specimens we have seen. The head is about ten inches long and of fine red color. It has been said that only the clear red pieces of stone are used

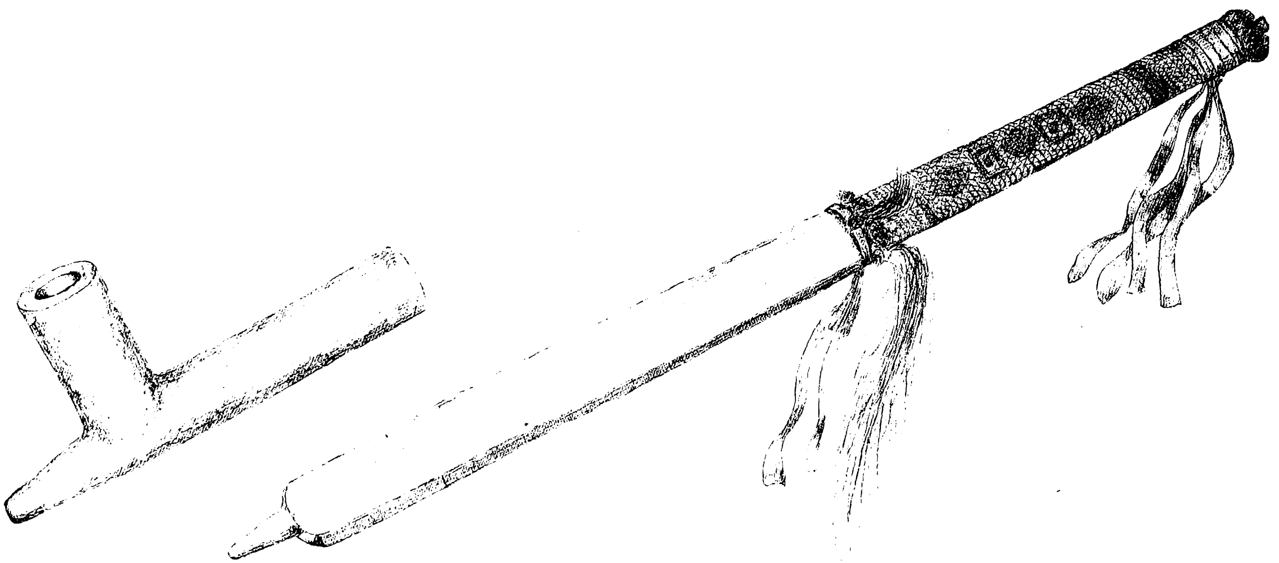
*This wood is commonly used because it has a small pith that is easily removed and gives a stout stem.

to make pipes, but this is not true; few of the pipes but have more or less mottle. The stem is long, about twenty-seven inches in length, and one and five-sixteenths inch wide by half an inch thick. The decoration of the pipe stem consists of a band of feathers from the head of the mallard duck. A piece of the skin is taken off with the fine green feathers attached; this is glued to the stem over the tuft and tassel of horse hair dyed red, and over the feathers is tied a green ribbon; from this point



DAKOTA PIPE, OWNED BY SPOTTED TAIL.—*Wyman Col.*

Length of Head, $8\frac{9}{16}$ inches; Length of Bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Diameter of Bowl, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches; Length of Stem, 26 inces.—*Haupt.*



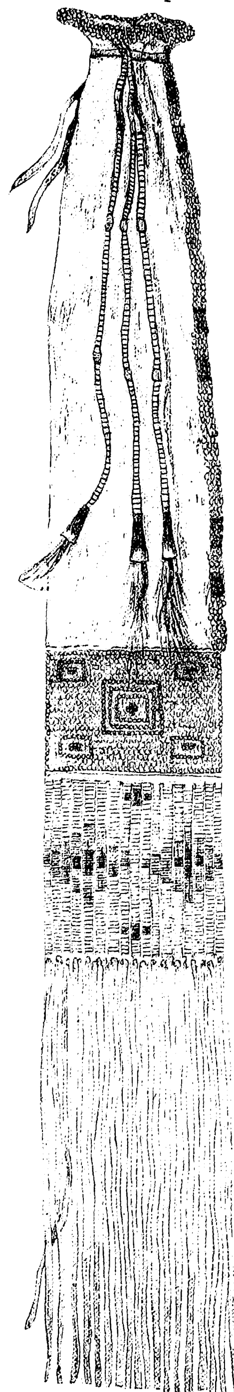
DAKOTA "CALUMET" PIPE, OWNED BY SMOKE-MAKER.

Length of Head, $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches; Length of Bowl, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches; Length of Stem, $27\frac{1}{8}$.

to the end the stem is wrapped with the plaited porcupine quills ingeniously woven in figures; adjoining the tuft is a band of the quills dyed carmine, succeeded by a narrow band of yellow and of green. These occupy about a fourth of the space covered with quills. In the centre is a wide space filled with white quills, in which are woven figures in green and yellow. The two rectangular figures have red quills in the centre surrounded by yellow and a border of green. The mouth end of the stem is finished as the lower end, except that the ribbon in two strands is red."—*Haupt.*

"Accompanying this pipe is the tobacco bag. In this bag both the pipe and tobacco are carried. At times, though usually upon ceremonies, the pipe is carried in the hand, and the bag held at the

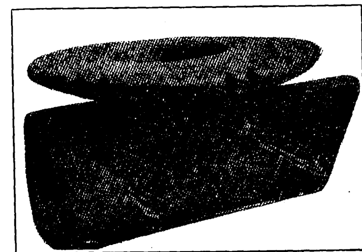
throat accompanies it. The bag is a rectangular buckskin receptacle, open at the top or small end, which spans six and a half inches wide, the length being twenty and one-quarter inches. It would seem that this article is of recent introduction. Mr. Catlin, in his work, while showing numerous pipes and pouches made of skins of animals, nowhere shows a picture of the buckskin bag ornamented with beads and quills now so universal among the Indians. * * * * * The specimen accompanying this pipe of Smoke-Maker is a very handsome piece of work. The mouth of the bag is ornamented with red, turquois blue and dark blue beads, and the throat is secured by a thong of buckskin. Along the edges, at the side, is a band of beads about three-eighths of an inch wide, wrought in red, turquois blue, dark blue and white beads. At the throat of the bag is a tassel of three strips of buckskin wound with porcupine quills dyed purple, red and orange, and terminated with a tin cone and wisp of horse hair dyed red. The bottom of the bag is richly ornamented with beads. Let us say just here that the mark of the genuineness of a bit of beadwork alleged to be Indian is proven by the presence or absence of sinew or cotton thread as the means for securing the beads. The Indians, in their genuine work, use sinew, but when they make to sell to white men they frequently use thread, and when, as is sometimes the case, the white man tries his hand at making "Indian curios," he uses thread also. In this specimen the beads are secured with sinew. The side shown in the drawing is, so far as the beads go, worked in squares; on the reverse side the pattern is in angles. The width of this band is three and three-quarters inches. The field is of pale blue beads. In the centre is a square of yellow surrounded by a border of dark blue and red beads, with a central cross of red, with green arms. About the central square are four small ones of dark blue, yellow and red beads.



DAKOTA TOBACCO BAG, OWNED BY SMOKE-MAKER.
Length, 20¼ in.; Width, 6½ in.; length of fringe, 16⅝ in. —*Haupt.*

"Below the bead band is a fringe of rawhide strips wrapped with porcupine quills. The field is red, and there are two lozenge-like figures in purple with centres of a white cross with a red centre near the middle line, and two yellow crosses with green centres. These quills in this and other like pieces of work are curiously wrapped; a quill is wound about the strip, the end secured under the strand of quill and the wrapping is continued till the quill is spent, when the end is tucked in under the last strands and held firmly. The lower ends of the strip of rawhide are kept apart by a pink glass bead. Below the fringe of rawhide is a buckskin fringe made by passing a strip of buckskin through a slit in the ends of the rawhide strips, and allowing the ends to hang down. This fringe is nearly seventeen inches long."

Besides the pipes illustrated in plates I, II and III, which are in the Brower collection of the Historical Society, mention should be made of one found at the outlet of Osakis lake, in Todd county, by Mr. Otto Guy Jeffers, and figured in Mr. Brower's volume, *Kakabikansing*, p. 85. It has a circular flat disk at the summit of the low bowl; the stem, or body of the pipe, has a section nearly square, and is but little longer than the diameter of the disk. The stem opening is of about the same size as the bowl cavity. It is the only pipe of this type known from Minnesota. It is of catlinyte. Mr. Brower's figure is reproduced herewith.



Numerous pipes of this kind have been described by Mr. George A. West, in Wisconsin. It is observable that the bowl cavity (as understood) is never larger than the stem hole, and is sometimes smaller, a circumstance that suggests that the opening in the disk may have been the stem hole instead of that which is usually considered the stem hole.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE, ORNAMENTS AND FOOD—IMPLEMENTS OF BONE

Agricultural Implements.

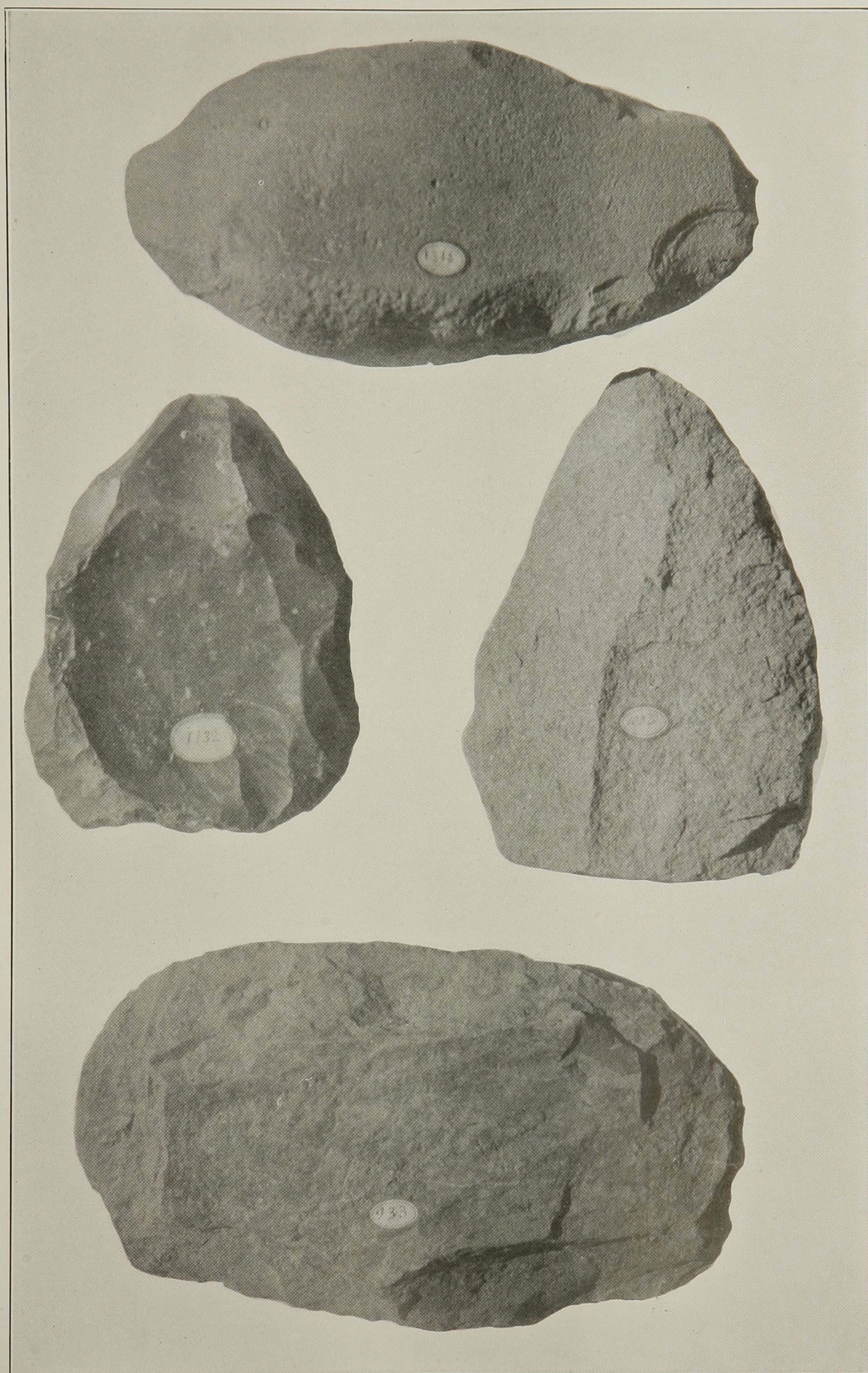
Throughout the area of the United States, the aborigines, when first visited by Europeans, were found to be cultivators of the soil. The earliest travelers found corn, beans, squashes and tobacco in general use and derived from more or less regular crops. But the industry of agriculture was feeble, and mainly in the hands of the women. The implements were awkward, and their use entailed not only great labor but indifferent results. The Massachusett, the Iroquois, the Huron, the Cherokee, the Illinois, the Dakota, the Mandan, the Blackfoot, and many of the tribes further south and west, have been severally described as tillers of the soil, and sometimes by means of extensive irrigation. The distinction which has sometimes been made, separating the aborigines into "hunting" and "sedentary" tribes, is more imaginary than actual. They all hunted. They all had more or less permanent village sites where they spent a part of each year. The practice of pottery making, and the usefulness of pottery, as well as the cultivation of the soil, implied sedentary residence. But a short time before the advent of the whites, a great change had passed over the conditions of the tribes, resulting from the Lenap' Allegewi war, by which there was set up a profound disturbance of the geographic distribution of the tribes involved in that war. The aggressors, the tribes of the Algonquian stock, in the main, took possession of the territory of the conquered, who were, in the main, the tribes of the Dakota stock, and who had been for many centuries resident in the Ohio valley and the valleys tributary to it. This event, which may be compared to the incursion, in Europe, of the Goths and Vandals, into southern latitudes, scattered the agricultural sedentary people, destroyed their fields and compelled them to resort temporarily to a more constant pursuit of game for sustenance, and at the same time to the victors introduced greater luxury and ease. These movements did not, however, destroy the practice of agriculture. They probably reduced it in some places, but at the same time spread it over a wider field. The Dakota carried with them their knowledge of maize-raising, and the women soon found means of acquiring fresh tools for the tillage of the soils of their new domiciles.

What those tools were can, in part, be found out by an examination of the Brower collection. It contains some large adzes, or hoes, made of stone, but none that are so evidently agricultural implements as others that are in the Mitchell collection from Minnesota.

Plate I (of agriculture).

The four large flat implements represented in plate I (of agriculture) appear susceptible of use as implements to excavate and move the soil sufficient for such planting as the aborigines are known to have practiced. Numerous other, but somewhat smaller, "blades," are in the Brower collection, the use of which can hardly be devined unless for similar planting; but if they were so used, there is no way of distinguishing them from others that are smaller which likewise appear to grade into smaller and smaller tools of similar shape, which finally become useless as hoes or shovels. Thus, as in the case of scrapers and arrow-points, the aboriginal stone implements grade insensibly from the type to which unmistakably they belong, to others to which they do not belong. These flat stones, often called blades, or even some of those called leaves, may have been attached upon handles, so as to serve either as hoes or as shovels. There was slight disturbance of the soil. The old corn-hills appear to have been used the second and the third years, and probably for indefinite periods. The removal of the last year's old roots, and the destruction of the larger weeds, alone would have opened the ground sufficient for the dropping of the seed for the season. The crops were not encouraged by much "cultivation." Hennepin says that in the summer of 1680, when he left Kathio with the M'dewakanton Indians and returned again with Duluth, the garden that he had planted for Aquipaguetin's wives was choked and overgrown

PLATE I OF AGRICULTURE.



HOES, ETC. ONE-HALF ACTUAL SIZE.

with weeds, although, in the absence of the hunters, there must have been ample leisure time for the proper keeping of the gardens.

According to S. W. Pond (vol. xii, Minn. Hist. Soc. Col. p. 342), in the year 1834 but an insignificant part of the necessary food supply of the Dakota was composed of corn. "At most of the villages a very little corn was raised by some of the families, but only enough to supply them with food for a few days. Before 1834 no land had been plowed by or for them, except a little at lake Calhoun. Mr. Renville's relatives raised a little corn at Lac qui Parle, but only a little. More corn was raised at that time at lake Traverse than anywhere else among the Dakota. Mr. Mooers, who had been there many years, had persuaded the Indians to plant corn. Major Long found him at lake Traverse, and mentions the cornfields which he saw.

"In 1835 the Indians at lake Traverse seem to have raised a surplus of corn, for Joseph R. Brown bought large quantities of it, some of which he carried seventy miles to Lac qui Parle and sold for a dollar a bushel. But in 1834, except at lake Traverse, there was only little corn or anything else raised here by the Dakota."

Besides corn, the Dakota raised limited quantities of beans and pumpkins, or squashes.

Of the articles illustrated by this plate, No. 1315 is of diabase, and is much thicker at one end than at the other. It is 7¾ inches long, and has been "pecked" about the larger end and along the sides. It shows no signs of use, but, if it were mounted on the end of a stick having a crook with the proper angle, it is well adapted for a pick-hoe. It was obtained in Goodhue county.

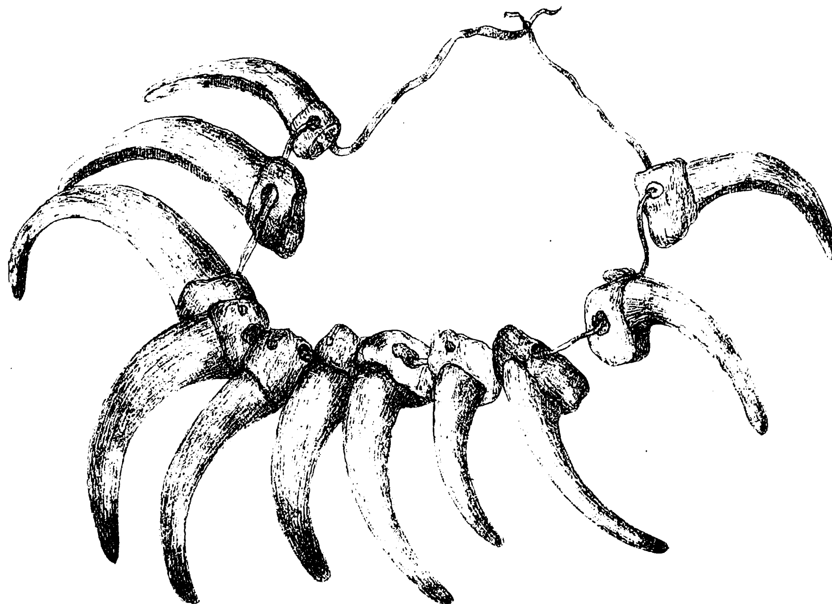
No. 1132 is of flint, such as is found in the region west of the Missouri river, and was obtained from the McKinstry mounds at the mouth of the Little Fork river, on the bank of the Rainy river in Itasca county. Its largest diameter is 5¼ inches. It has but slight and questionable signs of use. These appear along one side, and at the larger end.

The slab numbered 1006, from the region of Itasca lake, has a straight base because of fracture. It is of fine-grained red granite or gneiss. It was plainly trimmed to an edge all round, except at the base, and the edge appears somewhat battered with use.

No. 933 is from the "headwaters of the Mississippi," its exact locality not known. It is of fine-grained micaceous greenwacke, with delicate venations of white quartz. Its length is 8½ inches, and from the battering seen at the ends it appears to have been used, perhaps as a hoe, or as an axe.

Articles of Personal Ownership and Adornment.

The most intensely individual article was the warrior's "medicine-bag," already described, with its contents. He had also, if a warrior of prominence, his necklace, and perhaps a gorget or other pendants, beads and paints, as well as a tobacco-pouch.



DAKOTA BEAR'S-CLAW NECKLACE, OWNED BY SPOTTED TAIL.
—*Wyman Col.* Length, 16½ inches.

Necklaces were composed of the teeth of some animal, the bear, the beaver, the wolf, the seal, or of eagle's or bear's claws. They were also made of beads of shells. These shells may have been entire, as the cowry, or worked into beads from fragments. Ivory necklaces were sometimes seen, made of walrus teeth or from fossil elephant ivory of the Arctic regions. An elaborate necklace of elongated beads of ivory, in eight strands, alternating with an equal number of strands of round blue glass beads, the property of an Indian living at Sisseton Roberts

county, in South Dakota, was brought recently to St. Paul by Mr. E. E. Woodworth.* A single elongated ivory bead, still having a length, after one end has been broken off, of $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches, was obtained by Mr. Brower from the south end of Bemidji lake, in Hubbard county; it is said to have been dug from a sand bank, and was associated with a large quantity of potsherds, evidently some part of a buried kitchen midden. From the mounds of Rainy river have been taken two necklaces of copper beads, one embracing 74 small beads, and one 35 large beads. The latter is illustrated by Mr. Brower on plate L of his memoir entitled *Mille Lac*. From the same mounds was procured a necklace of 26 teeth of uniform shape and size, except that one is more than double the size of the rest. These appear to be teeth of the seal, the large one being a canine and the rest incisors, with conical upper points rather than cutting edges.

Spotted Tail's necklace of bear's claws. "This necklace is one made of eleven claws of the grizzly bear [*Ursus horribilis*], and there is but little doubt but that the bear was killed by the chief himself. It is not a common thing for an Indian to wear articles the fruit of some other man's hunt. They consider it a mark of bravery to be able to procure such trophies. The claw is removed with a part of the bone holding it, and by drilling a hole in this bone the claws are strung like beads. The largest claw is usually colored (in this specimen it is red, or was before it wore off). In this specimen it is four and three-quarters inches long, and the shorter three and a half inches in length. The claws are worn in very different positions, as the fancy of the Indian dictates. Sometimes they are down, as shown in the drawing; at other times they are reversed and turned up, to project outward. This specimen originally had twelve claws, one having been retained by the former owner."

Colors and Paints. Red, blue, green, black, white, with combinations, produced the color decorations seen on their utensils and on their persons. The more brilliant the color the better it was suited to the taste of the Indian. These colors were obtained both from natural minerals and by dyeing with certain shrubs, roots, barks, berries and seeds. Red, with its variations toward brown and yellow, was probably the most frequent color employed. It could be obtained by powdering the iron ores, hematite and limonite. Small lumps of hematite, red clay, or of dry paint material, have been found in the mounds. Brown hematite (limonite) could be obtained in a thousand places about the edges of peat bogs, and from it the various shades of ocher were derived. "Black is made," as a Frenchman explained, "by boiling the slime from a grindstone with oak bark and branches; literally, this is ink."

The Blue Earth river, in Blue Earth county, Minnesota, was so named from a paint which was obtained in its banks by the Dakota Indians. By Le Sueur, this substance was called *green earth*, and was supposed to be an ore of copper.† Its natural color varies between green and blue. When wet, and fresh, it is blue of a dark shade. On becoming dry its color is green. Le Sueur collected a large quantity and sent it to Paris for assay as a copper ore, but as nothing has been heard of the result of that examination, and as the substance contains no copper, it is quite certain that the spot from which it was obtained was that lately announced by Mr. Thomas Hughes. In company with Mr. Hughes, the writer visited the place in 1907 and obtained a quantity of the "blue earth." Its chemical and mineral characters are discussed elsewhere. It results as a residual product from decay of Upper Cambrian rocks of the region, and is sometimes found to grade into red clay. When uncolored by iron in any of its forms, the residual clay is white, and as kaolinic clay it is abundant in the bluffs of the Blue Earth throughout the distance of a couple of miles above the point of its union with the Minnesota river.

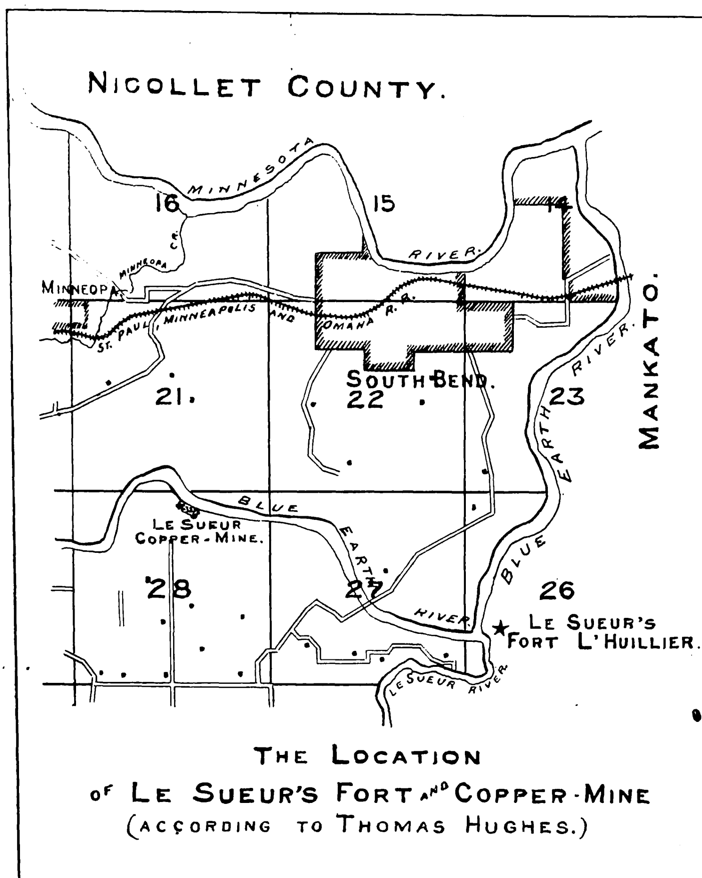
It was at a point about a mile and a half south from the copper mine of Le Sueur that were found the seventeen headless skeletons of which Mr. Hughes has given account in vol. xii, pp. 287-290, *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, 1908.

Gorgets and other pendants. But a feeble representation is found of these articles in the Brower collection from Minnesota. Several others are in the Mitchell collection. The only specimen worthy of mention is of gray slate. It is broken, but was probably about six inches long, not quite one-half of it remaining. It was elongated-oval, and the perforation preserved was plainly drilled, or at least finished, with a tapering rimmer which was applied in both directions, which directions did not exactly

*This necklace was prized very highly, and was returned to its owner. Its size and length made it more like a sash than a necklace.

In the Museum of the Historical Society is an object which is labeled "Indian charm; twisted bison's hair, gift of Rev. G. H. Pond." It is a rope, in two strands, or sash, nearly half an inch thick. At one end, where they are united, are tufts of hair, a large bear's claw, two short pendant strings of white beads, a small sleigh bell, a gastropod sea-shell and some ribbons twisted together.

†Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 1, pp. 35, 331, 337.



THE LOCATION OF LE SUEUR'S FORT AND COPPER-MINE (ACCORDING TO THOMAS HUGHES.)

coincide, as the striated surfaces of the concavities on the two sides about the hole do not agree.

A doubtful gorget of fresh-water shell, from the McKinstry mounds of Itasca county, is of irregular shape, its greatest preserved diameter being an inch and three-quarters. It probably had two perforations, but only one is partially preserved, the specimen being imperfect. It is roughened by the eating of some worm or larva, and the same animal deposited a thin coating of calcareous substance, and on dying was entombed in the same substance (see p. 371).

A piece of a small shell gorget was taken by Dr. Sweney from a kitchen midden near Cannon Junction. It shows still two perforations and some incised lines.

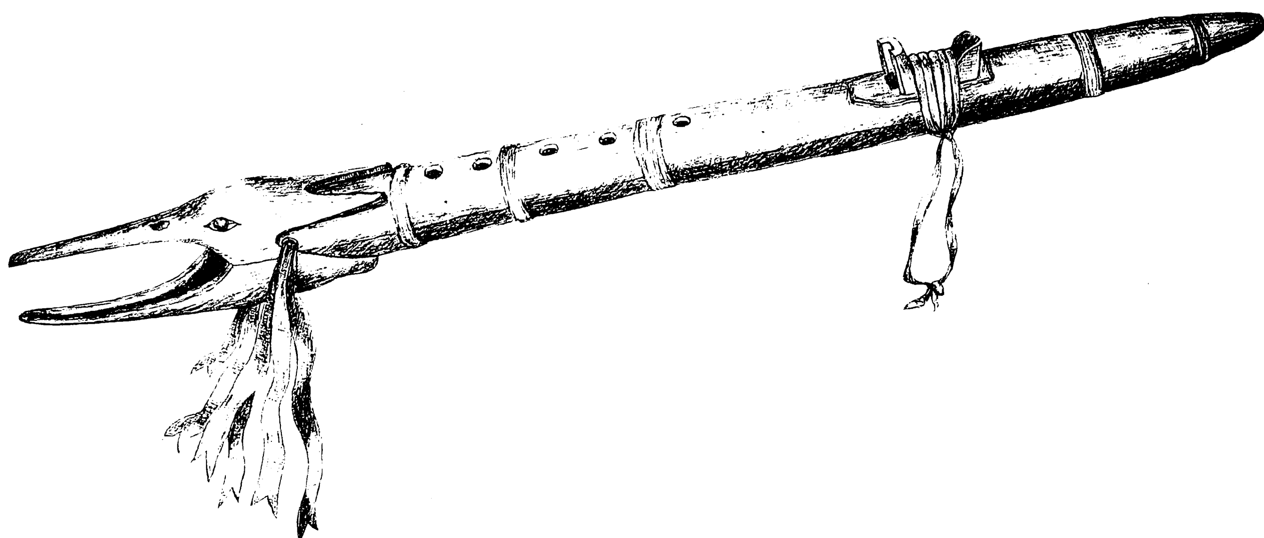
Beads. Besides the large bead of ivory and those of copper mentioned above, others of different material were common. Some are made of perforated pieces of shell, some of pressure-moulded glass of different colors, and some from a molten glass which, in the process of manufacture, was turned and moulded by hand or by a tool which left the surface finely striated about perpendicular to the direction of the perforation. These glass beads (and porcelain bangles) are not to be considered of aboriginal manufacture. The whites offered the Indians beads in trade for furs, and they were more expert in making wampum beads than the Indians, an extensive manufacture being carried on at Fort Orange, now Albany, and also at Fort Amsterdam, now New York. Wampum proper seems to have been of late introduction, originating on the Atlantic coast. It was common amongst the Iroquois and the eastern Algonquian, but there is no record of its use by the Dakota of Minnesota.

When the Mantanton chief, Tioscate, who was taken by Le Sueur to Montreal, appeared before governor Frontenac to plead for trade with the French, in behalf of his people, he placed twenty-two arrows on a beaver skin, naming as many villages of the Dakota who desired the good will and the aid of the French. Had wampum been used by the Dakota as sanctions of their orations, there is no place in which it would have been more likely to have been presented.*

Porcelain Balls. Two balls resembling common boy's marbles are in the collection. They are made of some clay which, after burning, gave a nearly white product. The larger, which was found by Mr. E. E. Woodworth at a few miles west of Princeton, in Mille Lacs county, is an inch in diameter. The smaller, which is about half an inch in diameter, is recorded as from Kathio, in the same county. These balls are certainly of white man's manufacture, and may have come to us through the Ojibwa, rather than the Dakota.

The Lover's Flute. "When a Dakota buck becomes enamoured of a maiden, he constructs, should he be sufficiently skillful, a flute with which to serenade his sweetheart, and if he cannot make one will procure it by barter or exchange from someone else. With such a flute the love-sick swain will creep out at night wrapped in his blanket or robe, covered head and all in its folds, and, as usual with lovers, he chooses the moonlight; approaching the abode of his adored, he seats himself on the ground in obscurity, and pours out his heart [as a matter of fact] in heartrending strains such as few, even the savage

* Yet Philander Prescott mentions it as one of the articles deposited as stakes at the Santee game of Lacrosse. It was probably common among the Sauk at that time.

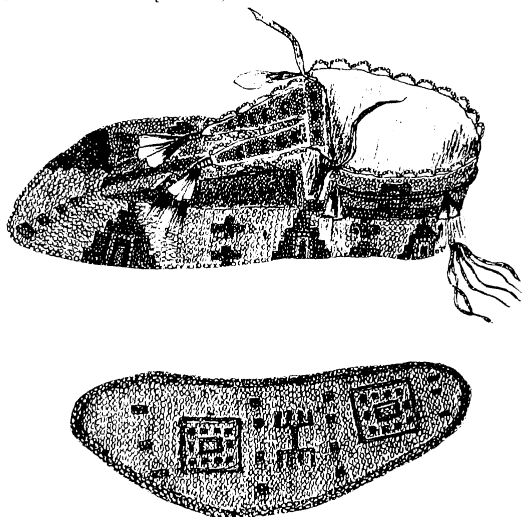


DAKOTA LOVE-FLUTE.—*Wyman Col.* Length, 25 in.; diam., 1¼ in. Length of head 8¾ in.

breast, can resist. The music which these bucks produce is something that we cannot describe; it is low and plaintive, and at a distance not unmusical. The effect usually is that the damsel is overcome by it, and, leaving the protection of the parental tepee, seeks the embrace of her lover. He, upon her approach, rises and extends his arms, holding the robe widespread, and when the maiden has allowed herself to be enveloped in the robe, it is considered that she has consented to become his squaw. The love-flute is made of red cedar. Two pieces are hollowed out and fitted together so that they form a tube an inch and a quarter in diameter. At the upper end the tube or pipe is contracted, and approaches a point; at a proper distance a hole is made in the upper side and fitted with a reed to give the notes. This is composed of a sheet of metal; usually in those we have seen it is of zinc. Over the reed is a bit of wood shaped like a saddle, about three and three-quarters inches in length. This is adjusted and firmly bound down with a thong of buckskin. The barrel of the flute proper is bound together, after being cemented with pitch, by sinew, and dextrously tied so that it shall not unravel. In this specimen the fancy of the sculptor prompted him to carve the head of a loon, or great northern diver, *Colymbus glacialis*, upon the end. The eye is made of a brown-headed nail. The note is modulated by five keys upon the barrel, stopped by the fingers."—*Haupt*. This specimen is from the collection of Messrs. Wyman, Evanston, Ill., and was procured at Fort Pierre, South Dakota.

"Courtship is of short duration, and a few days elapse before the willing maiden is purchased of her father for so many ponies, or such other price or commodity as he may set upon her head, which is paid by the lover, and the squaw exchanges her slavery from one master to another."

Dakota Love-Moccasins. "When, as is sometimes the case, a squaw will fall in love with a buck,—and it does not follow at all that he must be a young man—she will make for and present to him a pair of elaborately beaded moccasins. Not only are they beaded on the upper side, but the sole is also covered with beads, and if anything more gorgeously than the top. The specimen shown in the drawing is from Fort Pierre, South Dakota."—*Haupt*.



DAKOTA LOVE-MOCCASIN.—*Wyman Col.*
Length, 11¼ in.; width, 5 in.

Aboriginal Cloth Weaving.

Although there were certainly many instances of cloth-making, especially for mats, not much has been preserved relating to this art. Mr. Pond, in his account of the Dakota in 1834,* makes the following statement.

*Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. xii, p. 358, 1909.

"The most remarkable specimen of ingenuity found among the Dakota is the cloth which was woven by the women from yarn of their own manufacture. They not only weave the sashes and broad garters worn by the men, but also cloth more than half a yard wide, made of yarn of various colors, so woven that it presented a variety of regularly shaped figures. Such cloth their ancestors, they say, made of yarn spun from the bark of nettles, or from basswood bark, which had been softened by boiling; but after they obtained woolen cloth they made yarn from that when the cloth was worn out. This invention was the more remarkable because there seems to have been no pressing necessity for it. They did not wear this cloth, but made of it bags resembling carpetbags, which were highly prized, and in which they kept their best raiment and their ornaments. A few years ago almost every woman had one or more of them, of which they were very careful. They are not yet entirely superseded, as they probably will be soon, by trunks and bandboxes. The proverb says: 'It is the first step that costs; and certainly the Dakota had taken the first step, and a very long one, toward the manufacture of cloth.' "

Mr. C. G. Weyl, of Minneiska, owns the only relic, so far as known, which shows the texture of the cloth made by the Dakota in Minnesota. It is a potsherd found by him one-half mile below the town of Pepin, Wis., on the top of the sand bank at 150 feet from the shore of lake Pepin. A half tone en-engraving magnified from a photograph of a clay impression of this potsherd was published by Mr. Brower in vol. xi, of the Collections of the Historical Society, p. 55, 1904. It shows an imprint of a fabric of very simple structure. The straight single-thread warp was crossed by a woof of double thread, the threads of the warp running alternately over and under the woof. There is no evidence of twisting in either, but there is a uniformity of size which indicates some long strands of bast. The double-threaded woof sometimes has one thread notably smaller than the other, but generally they are of about the same size.

Trade and Barter.

That the Dakota carried on exchange with other tribes, some of whom were far distant, is well established. The red catlinyte has been found in Ohio, Tennessee, Georgia and Florida, throughout the Algonquian tribes of the East, amongst the Iroquois, and to some extent in Canada. It was probably an article of barter, but could not have reached the volume and value of buffalo skins and other hides, which they later yielded to the whites. Wherever found it is easily recognized as a product of Minnesota. In exchange, the Dakota received ivory beads from the far north, sea shells from the ocean shores, as well as from the gulf, glass beads and bangles from the eastern tribes, who procured them of the whites, cowry-shells also, though indirectly, from eastern seas,* copper from the tribes of the lake Superior region and from the Coppermine river of the Arctic, and apparently necklaces of seals' teeth from Alaska. Evidences of trade between the mound-building Indians of Ohio and the southern tribes of Mexico, have been found in the form of embossed and stamped copper sheets representing some of the mythology or the traditions of more cultured people, but none of these nor of the aboriginal "tablets" or "inscribed stones" have been found in Minnesota.

Vegetable foods not agricultural.

Rice. The prevalence of lakes and streams named *Rice lake* and *Rice creek* indicates the wide distribution of wild rice (*Zizania aquatica L.*) in Minnesota. In some cases the Ojibwa word (*Manomin*) is used in preference. Formerly, a county was named "Manomin," situated north of Ramsey county, and more recently a county has been organized and named "Mahnomen," containing a part of the White Earth Indian Reservation and drained into the Red river of the North by the Wild Rice river. The name of Rice county was given in honor of Hon. Henry M. Rice, a United States senator from Minnesota. Among the Dakota, two of the "moons" of the year took their names from the rice-harvest, one (August) signifying the *moon of the ripe rice*, and the other (September) the *moon of gathering the rice*. One of the Sioux villages "of the east" named by Le Sueur in 1700 was *Psinoumaniton*, village of wild rice gatherers, and one "of the west" was *Psinchaton*, village of red wild rice, while still another "of the west" was *Psinoutanhinton*, the great wild-rice village.

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*"The money-cowry (*C. moneta*) was also a native of the Pacific and eastern seas; many tons weight of this little shell are annually imported into this country, and again exported for barter with the native tribes of western Africa; in the year 1848 sixty tons of the money-cowry were imported into Liverpool. * * * specimens of it were found by Dr. Layard in the ruins of Nimroud."—*S. P. Woodward*, in his *Manual of the Mollusca*, 1866, p. 233.

It is evident, therefore, that of all the native products of the soil which did not require cultivation, the wild rice, or *folle avoine* of the French, stood paramount in importance.

According to Prof. Albert E. Jenks,* the number of Dakota who used wild rice at the time the Ojibwa were nominally in control of the territory east of the Mississippi, was from 5,000 to 7,000. Previous to that time the Dakota had access to the greatest rice fields of the state, which lie east of the Mississippi, northward from St. Paul to Mille Lacs, which is a tract of country peculiarly adapted by nature for the growth of this grain. The same natural features extend eastward into Wisconsin, embracing the headwaters of the St. Croix river, where also formerly the Dakota dwelt and gathered wild rice till expelled by the Ojibwa.

Hennepin relates that after he had reached Mille Lacs he was given wild rice seasoned with sun-dried whortleberries, which seemed to the exhausted Franciscan as good as currants. It was served on plates of birch bark. According to Radisson, wild rice constituted the chief food of the Dakota in the winter season. It was gathered mostly by the women, who, pushing their canoes through the water where the rice stood thick, thrashed the grain out into the canoe with a stick by pulling it over the edge of the canoe and gently striking the heads. It was then dried, and hulled, and stored in the cache for future use, according to their necessities.

Other native foods. There were several other native food plants which occasionally were of the greatest importance, as, on the failure of the rice crop, and the scantiness of the corn raised, they served to prevent starvation, and to some small extent were habitually gathered by the women.

There were two bulbous esculent roots called *psincha* and *psinchincha*, having nearly the same kind of habitat, which are difficult to determine specifically. According to the description of missionary Pond, these roots both grow at the bottom of small lakes, and, with the water-lily, were dug by men and women, but chiefly by the latter. The psincha root is spherical, and about an inch in diameter; the psinchincha has a shape resembling a hen's egg and about half as large, and sometimes grows in marshy ground where there is not much water. The psinchincha floats on the surface of the water, when detached, but the psincha does not, and must be raised by the foot till it can be reached by the hand. The Riggs Dakota-English dictionary defines psincha as "a bulbous esculent root which grows in marshes, about the size of a black walnut with the hull on," and psinchincha, "a bulbous esculent root much used by the Dakota of the lower Minnesota. It is about as large as a hen's egg, and grows on the margin of rivers and lakes."

Mdo was another food root which grew on dry land. It supported a slender vine which coiled around weeds which grew near it. It became sometimes as large as a good sized potato, but resembled the sweet potato more than the "Irish" potato. Its scarcity rendered it difficult to obtain in quantity. From this plant, which is more common in the western part of the state, the Pomme de Terre river had its name. The traders called the root *pomme de prairie*. It is one of the leguminous plants—*Psoralea esculenta*.

BUFFALO BERRY.

The Indian turnip, *Arisæma triphyllum*, furnished a turnip-shaped corm with an acrid juice, called by the Dakota *tipsina*. It was much eaten in the beginning of summer.

Various berries were gathered abundantly and dried, especially whortleberries and raspberries. The buffalo berry, represented by the adjoining figure, was more abundant westward, and was a common article of food. It was a red, acid fruit that grew on a small shrub—*Shepherdia argentea*.

Little Crow, the arch leader of the great massacre of 1862, was discovered while, with his son, he was picking berries near Hutchinson, and was shot and killed by Nathan Lampson.

*Wild rice gatherers of the upper lakes. 19th report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part 2, p. 1047, 1890.

Maple sugar was made from the sap of the sugar maple, *Acer saccharinum*, and of the box elder, *Negundo aceroides*. These trees were common throughout the wooded portion of the state, and the latter also is common along nearly all the streams in the prairie portion.

Tripe de roche, Umbilicaria dillenii, has been mentioned by several travelers in the northern section as a source of a nourishment in cases of extremity, but was probably not found throughout the greater part of Minnesota. Also in extremity the Dakota ate acorns, and the vine of the bittersweet.

Articles made of bone.

So far as the Minnesota specimens show, the Dakota did not make great use of bone in fabricating their necessary implements. There are more bone implements of Ojibwa, and far more of Mandan, manufacture, in our possession, than of Dakota. To a large extent this is probably referable to three facts, viz.: (1) the comparatively recent date of the expulsion of the Dakota by the Ojibwa, and hence the gradual substitution of Ojibwa for Dakota articles of all kinds; (2) the occupancy of the state by fur-traders since 1680, by which the need of bone implements became less and less through the easy acquirement of wooden and metallic articles made by the whites; and (3) the large collection of Mandan articles by Mr. Brower a few years before his death.

Almost all the preserved bone implements of the Dakota, which necessarily form the basis of this description, were found in mounds that have been opened, viz.: the "McKinstry mounds" near the mouth of the Little Fork river, in Itasca county, and the low mound, or kitchen-midden, near Cannon Junction, in Goodhue county. Probably some have been discovered elsewhere but not preserved.

From the McKinstry mounds. The articles found in the McKinstry mounds have been listed on p. 371. Of these, it is necessary only to mention three. A bead three-eighths of an inch in diameter, with a large central opening, appears to be simply a section of a hollow bone, apparently of some bird. Its rounded edges indicate that it was one of a number strung on a thong of some kind, forming a necklace, and that the individual beads by friction had worn upon each other.

A broken, flat-cylindrical bodkin of bone, 2⅝ inches long, having originally two circular drill holes, one of which was longitudinal. Unfortunately, the article is broken, so that only the base of the longitudinal drill-hole can be seen. What was the shape of the end that has been broken away can only be conjectured. The other drill-hole completed a perforation through the implement in a direction perpendicular to the greater sectional diameter. It was reamed out on one side so as to double its diameter at the surface, as if to hold a knot at the end of a thong, rendering the bodkin of use in weaving some coarse cloth or mats. The point is blunt. The greatest width is half an inch. The longitudinal drill-hole ceased at three-eighths of an inch from the transverse one, and the latter is at 1⅞ inches from the extremity of the point.

The other bone implement is more simple, 5¼ inches long, flat-cylindrical, tapering in both directions from the centre gradually and uniformly to flat, dull points or edges. At the centre the diameters are $\frac{7}{16}$ inch and ¼ inch. The only use to which it may have been put by the owner, so far as the writer can judge, was as a stylus for marking clay pots while the clay was yet soft. The entire outer surface of this stylus shows the long-cut, flattish imprints of the tool that was used in its fabrication. From these draw-shave cuts it is apparent that the maker was in possession of some hard, sharp-edged knife like those of historic time, and hence that perhaps the contents of the McKinstry mounds do not have a very remote antiquity.

From a kitchen-midden near Cannon Junction. A long, slender bone, probably of some bird; has one end trimmed away so as to form a point resembling the point of a pen. Two other slender bones, about an inch and a half in length, with a sharply triangular section, which naturally run to a point at one end, have been trimmed somewhat and have also been used as bodkins. These bones are not straight, and on the concave side are naturally longitudinally grooved. A similar bodkin was found also in Wabasha county. These may be the uppermost bone of the dew claw of the deer.

Four sharpened, short bone implements, made of larger and heavier bones, suggest, by their size and shape, that they were non-barbed arrow-points; but they may have had other uses, such as punching holes through bark or even rawhide for sewing them with bast or rawhide thongs.

Two short, hollow bones, shaped like a stemless tobacco pipe, were also obtained in the refuse of the kitchen midden. They are nearly an inch in diameter at the larger end, one having been cut off square, while the other has been so gnawed by underground rodents that at both ends the original shape is lost

CHAPTER V

ARTCLES MADE OF COPPER

In the Brower collection are 45 articles made of copper; also two necklaces, one of which contains 35 large copper beads and the other 74 small ones. In the Mitchell collection are 39 aboriginal copper articles from Minnesota and several pieces of pounded copper.

These have been obtained at points widely separated in Minnesota, sometimes found on the surface of the ground or a few inches below it, and sometimes in excavating mounds. The largest collection of copper articles at a single point within the state was made in exploring the McKinstry mounds, which are on the south shore of the Rainy river near the mouth of the Little Fork river. Some of them have been mentioned already under the titles that precede. Mr. Brower also published some illustrations of them. Other coppers found in the state are in private collections.

The accompanying plate of copper objects shows the average character and range of these articles. Thirty-one specimens are shown, counting the necklaces each as one specimen. They do not need individual description, as they are similar to copper objects which have been found and described elsewhere. As to locality, however, they are distributed as follows, beginning at the upper left hand corner:

Plate I, of Copper Objects.

No. 273. Celt, obtained at Kathio, Mille Lacs county.
No. 455. Spud, Sandy lake, Aitkin county.
No. 454. Spud, Mille Lacs, Aitkin county.
No. 453. Celt, Mille Lacs, Aitkin county.
No. 1170. Two pointed rods or tines, square, McKinstry mounds, Itasca county.
No. 906. Poniard, socketed, upper waters of the Mississippi, exact locality not known.
No. 1172. Necklace, 35 beads, McKinstry mounds, Itasca county.
No. 1173. Necklace, 74 beads, McKinstry mounds, Itasca county.
No. 471. Flesher, or "chopping knife," Aitkin county.
No. 474. Two ferrules, or anklets, Aitkin county.
No. 469. Crescent, headwaters of the Mississippi.
No. 470. Crescent, village site on Crow Wing river.
No. 473. Ornament, Aitkin county.
No. 471. Flesher or "chopping knife," Aitkin county.
No. 472. Flesher or "chopping knife," Aitkin county.
No. 1171. Gouges, edged at one end, McKinstry mounds, Itasca county.
No. 461. Poniard, Mille Lacs, Aitkin county.
No. 462. Poniard, one end rolled so as to receive a handle, Mille Lacs, Aitkin county.
No. 468. Knife, or dagger, probably from Sandy lake in Aitkin county.
No. 1175. 3 fish hooks, McKinstry mounds, Itasca county.
No. 460. Spear, or arrow point, probably from Aitkin county.
No. 463. Spear point, Garrison creek, Mille Lacs, Crow Wing county.
No. 464. Spear head, probably from Sandy lake, Aitkin county.
No. 1217. Knife, Polk county.
No. 457. Knife, Aitkin county.
No. 465. Spear head, Sandy lake, Aitkin county.

From the McKinstry mounds were obtained fourteen small bits of copper, more or less pounded and evidently detached from larger masses in the making of some useful articles. They would average about half an inch in their larger dimension.

Plate I, of Copper Objects. *(About one-half natural size.)*

Several of these specimens exhibit in the most unmistakable manner the ridged and over-folded surfaces that are due to the pounding by which the original copper masses were brought into their present shapes. This superficial structure indicates the internal structure, and is most pronounced on the long-weathered specimens. The varying strains on the metal produced by ordinary pounding seem to have given it varying hardness and varying ability to resist oxidation, so that the surface is covered with a roughened network, wholly irregular in its mesh as to distribution and coarseness, but frequently elongated in a direction roughly parallel with the larger dimension of the article. This ridged and reticulated surface, due to unequal oxidation and carbonization, is usually accompanied and emphasized by small overlappings of the malleable metal upon itself. Such overlapping is particularly observable in specimens numbered 270, 643, 465 and 1217.

All of the specimens illustrated by this plate are unquestionably of aboriginal origin. They show no file marks, nor do they imply by their shapes any purpose or use by civilized man. The only exception to this is seen in the case of the knife No. 468, which shows the marks of a three-cornered file in two of the sharp serrations on the left side. These are freshly marked by filing, but evidently were originally like all the other serrations, which show the hammer malleation seen all over the knife, and are rounded by oxidation.

Uses of the copper implements. Some of these implements were no doubt used sometimes in cultivating the soil, such, for instance, as the spuds, Nos. 455 and 454. They were furnished with a handle of convenient length which was driven firmly into the socket, and probably secured there by wrappings of rawhide and thongs of bast, the whole premeated and more or less covered with hot pitch. On drying and cooling, such an attachment was firm and lasting. The celts, Nos. 273 and 453, were furnished with handles by being driven into, or at least embraced by, the split end of a suitable stick, where they were secured by the same means. It is a singular fact that not only these celts, but many knives and arrow-points, both copper and chert, were fastened to their shafts by driving their smaller end, usually tapering to a point, into a stick. This tapering point afforded but an insecure anchorage for the tool on its handle, whereas if the end had maintained its width, or even had been made wider, within the socket, it would have made a stronger tool, for any use, and might have been wrapped with thongs and tightened by hot pitch. It is to be remarked that celt No. 453 was used also as a chisel without any handle, or as a wedge, since its smaller end is flattened and battered, rolled outward and expanded by blows of some other implement dealt vertically upon the end. The edge is sharp enough to have served as a chisel for cutting wood. The square tines, No. 1170, were probably furnished with long, light shafts making them useful in spearing fish, or with short shafts that would make them useful as weapons of attack or defense. No. 461 is a smaller poniard of the same class, except that it has not a square transverse section, and loses its angled transverse section at some distance back from the point. Nos. 906 and 462 are sharp-pointed poniards whose handle was inserted in a socket. This socket was made by rolling the thinned edges of the copper over toward each other till they met, or at least till they nearly formed a tube. In No. 462 the socket is triangular, as in the spud No. 454, and is extended along the poniard in the form of a shallow groove nearly to the point. As weapons, either in war or in the hunt of the large mammals, such daggers were dangerous and effective in the hands of an infuriated Indian. The necklaces, Nos. 1172 and 1173, are formed of strips of copper rolled into the shape of beads. Some of these strips maintain their angularity, but a few of them had rounded or beveled edges before they were rolled into beads. The point of overlap of one end of the strip on the-other, at the point of union, is plainly visible on the most of them. Such necklaces were more commonly the property of the braves than of the belles or the dames. The rings, No. 474, were never entire, like the beads, and their size may have been larger than shown by the plate, as they have been changed as to curvature since they were discovered, having been more or less straightened and bent back again, causing the oxidized and green carbonate scale to crack and peel off. Hence, they may have been wristlets, or anklets, and perhaps originally adjustable so as to clasp wrists of larger size. In any case, even of the smallest wrists, they would show as ornaments on only a part of their circumference. It is possible, therefore, that they were not designed for wristlets and this is indicated by their generally rough and unfinished exterior. The two "crescents," Nos. 469 and 470, apparently represent the ornaments that were seen amongst the aborigines by some of the earlier travelers, but it seems almost incredible that crescents so large as these were hung in their ears. Radisson stated: "Their ears are pierced in 5 places; the holes are so bigg that your little finger might pass through. They have yallow waire that they make with copper, made like

a starr or a half moone, and there hang it." These ornaments, which are not sharp along their outer edge, are to be distinguished from those articles which have a sharp edge, viz.: Nos. 471 and 472. These latter are incurved at the extremities and pointed like the hafted end of a knife or arrow-point. They have been called chopping knives, but may also have been used, when furnished with a handle, as fleshers, or skin dressers. Until the days of pemican, it is not known that the natives chopped meat or vegetables of any kind—although it is not improbable. That this tool had a handle which crossed from point to point into which the points were inserted, can hardly be questioned, and that gave it the exact shape of the modern chopping knife. Dr. David Boyle has illustrated an identical article in his report for 1904, p. 50, comparing it to the European spokeshave; but the spokeshave is sharpened on the inner edge instead of the outer edge. He suggests, however, that it was perhaps used as a currier's blade. Nos. 464 and 463 are small spear-points or knives which were furnished with a handle which was inserted in a socket made by turning up the thinned hammered lateral edges at the lower end. The sockets, as in No. 454, are angular, a form which served to make the handle more secure in its position. Weathering has brought out the roughness and the varying hardness due to hammering. No. 460 is a similar knife, but instead of having a socket for the reception of a handle, its lower end is pointed so as to enter a socket in the end of the handle. By the marginal notches at the base of the blade, it seems evident that the artificer at first intended to form a socket like that seen in the last mentioned, but changed his mind, perhaps because the wings, one or both, were broken off, or were too small, and he had no alternative but to draw the tang out into a point. The tines No. 1171 are similar to No. 1170, but instead of points they have a flattening at one extremity which almost gives them an edge. One of them also turns to one side as it becomes thin, thus taking the shape of a small knife, and suggesting a surgeon's lancet. Knife No. 468, having a cutting edge on each side, is large enough to have served as a hunting spear. It is the only copper specimen, as already stated, on which are visible any traces of other tools than the aboriginal stone hammer. Two of the serrations which aided to fasten the knife to its handle by the wrapping of thongs, show marks of a common triangular steel file. The others are not thus marked, but the same file was used to a slight extent to sharpen the edge of the knife from the point for an inch and a half on the right hand side of the figure. This specimen, in its tout ensemble, has a more modern aspect than the others of this plate. It is not oxidized nor green-carbonated, as all the others are without exception, although it is possible that by recent handling it has lost such surface effects. That its shape is due to pounding is evident, but not as clear as in the other cases. The fish hooks, No. 1175, show plainly their purpose. They must have been fastened on poles and used in hauling up fish where they gathered in shoals. By the exercise of sufficient skill and patience, of course a solitary fish also might be taken with such a hook. Having no barbs, such hooks would often lose their burden. Knife No. 457 is one of several similar that are in the collection. It has a resemblance in its shape to a modern steel woodsman's knife. It has no keel, or low ridge, running along either side, a feature which is not lacking in Nos. 464, 463, 465 and 468. While the back, or straight, edge, of this knife, is not sharp and thin like the convex edge, yet it is somewhat knife-like, and may have been used for cutting when the implement was new. The tang is nearly twice as thick as the blade. Throughout this knife shows evidence of having been moulded by pounding; that is, it has little superficial ridges of irregular shape and distribution, and these are most noticeable on the tang. But No. 465 is a remarkable instance of the malleation and over-folding by which these coppers were wrought into shape. The blade is composed distinctly of three main sheets or layers, two of which are partially detached from the other at their ends, and one is even back-folded again on itself, while over the whole surface can be seen the forms of many smaller foldings and mashings. All these variations are made to appear evident by the corrosion or long weathering which the specimen has plainly suffered, the harder parts standing out more conspicuous than the softer. The socket is (or was) obscurely triangular. No. 1217 is unique in being haftless and edged on both sides and all round the extremities. It is, besides, very plainly shaped by the usual pounding process, accompanied by some folding of the copper upon itself.

Copper Articles of uncertain use.

Two remarkable coppers are shown in plate II (of copper), both of which were procured by Mr. Brower and illustrated by half-tone cuts, one in his work "Minnesota," and the other in "Kakabikansing," but without critical comment other than the descriptive note, applied to the copper disk (No. 1926), "semi-historic copper medal, from the outlet of Osakis lake," and to the other "copper spud, Prairie Island region."

Copper Disk. The disk, which is shown about two-thirds natural size, involved two separate steps or stages of manufacture, viz.: First, the formation of a smooth disk or sheet of copper whose edge was turned so as to produce a circumferential thickening and strengthening, the recurved lip having a width of about a sixteenth of an inch, and apparently embracing a second similar but smaller disk by overlapping its edge; second, the covering of the whole surface with granulated copper, the granules of which are about globular, and which are somewhat agglomerated in bunches so as to produce an irregularly rough exterior.

It may be said further of this specimen that it has undergone an atmospheric exposure of considerable duration, which has given it a sparse coating of copper oxide and carbonate.

The internal two plates are apparently not hammer molded, as they are of uniform thickness, smooth and clean, and are separable from the layer of granulated copper with a clean surface. The granulated coat was not formed by pounding, nor by any process of molding. It is crystalline, and resulted from cooling after fusion. This coating really consists of two layers, an inner and an outer, the inner being, in some places, separable from the outer. The inner layer is very fine-grained and thin, about the thickness of common card paper, i. e., about one-fiftieth the thickness of the outer, and sometimes is not observable at all. It shows, when freshly broken, a fine fibro-columnar structure normal to the internal sheet. It is noticeable, under a magnifier, that these little columns are adjusted so as to change their direction as the place of their contact changes on the overturned lip, already mentioned, so as to be constantly normal to the copper surface on which they stand. The passage from this inner layer to the outer is abrupt. The outer layer is not only coarsely and roughly granular, but also vesicular, and hence when freshly broken the colors of copper oxide and carbonate are seen to have penetrated irregularly through the most of it.

From these facts it can be inferred that: (1). The internal sheets of (apparently) rolled copper were made. (2). They were immersed, while cold, in molten copper so as to become coated with a thin layer of vertically columnar copper. (3). After this immersion, they were covered, in some way, on one side and round the rim with a loose-textured and coarsely granular copper, perhaps by a semi-cooled portion or dross of copper.

There is a perforation near the rim, at one side. It was drilled after the specimen was complete, but is not of recent date. On the side directly opposite this perforation is a ridge-like elevation, about an inch long, visible only on that side of the disk on which the coarsely granular copper is mainly wanting, which extends radially from the circumference toward the center. Immediately opposite this elevation, on the other side of the disk, is an irregular, rough, small depression or opening amongst the rough granules. In this small cavity is seen the end of what appears to be a copper tooth, or copper wire. As this is opposite the elevation mentioned, it gives rise to a suggestion that the tooth and the elevation have a close connection, as to cause and purpose.

Origin of this copper disk. In the year 1885 the writer called attention to a specimen of copper found near the mouth of Temperance river, on the north shore of lake Superior* in Cook county, which had been fused and was alloyed with silver, and which was considered to have been fused by the aborigines, probably at the time of mining, since no such alloy had ever been found natural in the lake Superior region. The average amount of silver in that specimen was shown by assays to have been less than one-tenth of one per cent; but its manner of distribution in the mass, as well as other evident structures, showed that the two metals had been fused, at least softened, together. Subsequently, Dr. A. C. Lawson stated in a letter to the writer (April 12, 1887) that he had obtained at Fort Frances, on Rainy lake, "some fragments of an alloy of copper and some other metal worked up into a cup of the same pattern as those so commonly seen on the old Indian earthen ware from the mounds. They may prove, on careful examination, to be much the same as the alloy you describe, and are undoubtedly of Indian workmanship, so far as the fragments will permit of judging. They were turned up with a hoe in a potato field, where other relics are not infrequently found, just above the falls on Rainy river."

The working of copper by the aborigines was formerly considered to have been very simple, consisting only of cold-hammering and shaping by pressure, or by swaging.† The presence of small particles

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*Fourteenth annual report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, 1886, pp. 319-324.

†P. R. Hoy.—"How did the aborigines of this country fabricate copper implements?" Read before the Wisconsin Academy of Science, 1876.

of silver was considered proof that the copper had not been "melted." In the light of facts that have been discovered more recently, however, and in the light of experiments performed with metallic copper by Frank H. Cushing, aided only by such bone and stone implements as were within the reach of the natives,* it seems to be necessary to give the aboriginal inhabitant of the northwest the credit of exercising much more metallurgic skill than has been supposed. Such skill may not have been common, but that there were expert individuals who carried the working of copper to a high degree of manual skill cannot be questioned. It is, of course, to be understood that this skillful treatment of copper was a derivative from the tribes of Mexico and Arizona, where the metallurgy of copper and silver was carried on more extensively than elsewhere, and has been continued by the natives to the present day. It is to be expected that occasional articles will be discovered that will show evidence of this higher skill in manufacture.†

It seems to be proven, therefore, that the ancient miners resorted to fire in extracting the metal from the rock, thus not only breaking the matrix but fusing the copper. Once fused, copper becomes pasty, and just prior to consolidation granulated, and in that condition is more easily manipulated, and, if the condition of the coating of granulated copper on this disk be considered an indication of its facility of use, it could be handled in small quantities and spread over a surface prior to complete re-consolidation. The knowledge of fused copper, and hence of its properties, derived from the process of mining, whether in the region of lake Superior or of the Gila river, must have been sufficient to prompt the metallurgist to refuse it in his final work. At least the specimen which is under consideration warrants that inference.

That this specimen is of aboriginal manufacture seems not quite certain. Mr. Brower described it as "semi-historic." Its shape and appearance suggest nothing that pertains to the white man, but are not at all different from articles of bone and shell that are known to have been made by the Indian. As a copper specimen it is unique, both in its construction and in its problematic use, although from the marginal perforation it must have been intended as a pendant. That it is not very old is evident, and it may have been formed since the Columbian discovery.

For the purpose of further examination of this interesting disk, it was opened by cutting all round the edge with a hacksaw deep enough to reach the edge of the enclosed plates. It was then a simple matter to separate the plates from that side of the disk which was covered by the granulated copper, forming two disks. Hoping to see some inscription or some device engraved on the surface of the copper

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*FRANK H. CUSHING.—"Primitive Copper Working." *Am. Anth.*, vol. vii, 1894, pp. 93-117.

†Dr. P. R. Hoy's idea that the copper implements of the aborigines were made by swaging cold copper in molds of the desired shapes was opposed by Dr. J. D. Butler (vol. vi, *Wis. Hist. Col.*, p. 86, 1876), who said that of 72 copper spears having sockets, 16 were punched with holes, round, square or oblong, for the insertion of a pin to fasten the shaft, "and one of the copper pins sticks fast in its place." Dr. Butler claimed that the copper implements were cast; but evidently he had more linguistic scholarship than observational ability. He illustrates many wrought implements which plainly show the folding and mashing of the copper upon itself, and declares they show none of the flaws and lamination which characterize cold-wrought copper. "They are rough sometimes on opposite sides with lines and ridges which are hard to be accounted for if we do not consider them mold-marks at the junction of the halves of the mold-flask."

Hoy, in the article referred to (vol. iv., *Wis. Acad. Sci.*, p. 132), says: "When the metal became hard in consequence of its being pounded it was again heated and plunged into cold water, for copper is in this respect the opposite of steel; the one is softened, while the other is rendered hard. In this way copper was fashioned simply by pounding."

Mr. H. L. Reynolds, in vol. xi, *Science*, p. 186, 1888, and in *Am. Anth.*, vol. i, 1888, p. 341, has a discussion of the age of the copper mining of the lake Superior region, under the title "Algonkin metal smiths," and reaches the conclusion that "the best part of the copper implements that have been found in Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois were probably fabricated since the advent of the French." He quotes historical facts to show that the aborigines from Labrador to Florida were in possession, from the time of Cartier and Champlain, of more or less copper, and also from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi, from the time that the French pioneers entered the St. Lawrence. He shows great probability that the tribes of the Algonquian stock worked the lake Superior copper mines at that time, and also that they and the Winnebago were workers and users of copper as late as the third decade of the nineteenth century. If this be accepted, the result is not only to bring the most of the copper mining to a period not exceeding 500 years prior to the discovery by Columbus, but requires the construction of those mounds in which copper has been found to have been of no older a date. This takes no account of nuggets of drift copper which were originally spread over an area, according to Reynolds, of 70,000 square miles south of lake Superior, and which must have attracted the attention of the natives long before they began copper mining.

There is no historical authority, nor any fact yet discovered about these ancient mines, to warrant the supposition that the French participated in the process of mining, although some of the French governors of Canada knew of the existence of the copper deposits and made some feeble effort to make them valuable to the French king.

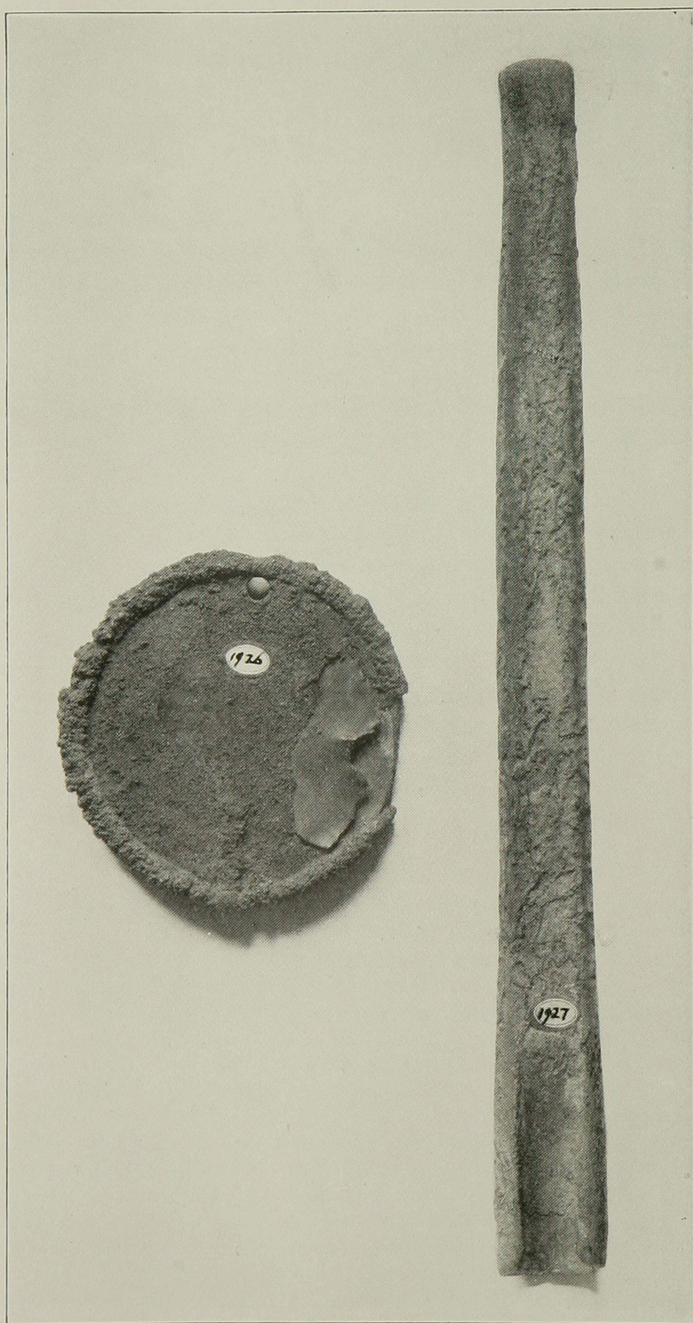


Plate II, of Copper Objects.
(Somewhat more than one-third natural size.)

sheet, our eyes beheld nothing but the plane surface of the sheet copper, more or less oxidized and slightly carbonated. Still the opening of the specimen disclosed the structure and purpose of the copper tooth or wire, already referred to, which was visible from the outside, near the rim. It is plainly the broken-off end of a copper wire which formerly must have protruded and served for the attachment of some other pendant. It passes through the disk of sheet copper and after running about an inch it reappears on the same side, where its extremity is visible. It appears, hence, to pierce the disk of sheet copper twice, and it is soldered upon the surface of the sheet copper by what was very plainly melted lead. The slight ridged elevation caused by the wire and the solder adheres to the copper sheet rather than to the disk of granulated copper, and leaves its mold on the otherwise smooth inner surface of the disk of granulated copper. It is apparent, therefore, that this copper wire and its solder were in place and cooled prior to the application of the coating of granulated copper.

Chemical analysis. Pieces of the granulated copper which were detached in the process of cutting the edge of the disk were subjected to analysis by Prof. C. F. Sidener, for the purpose of detecting the nature of any impurities that might be present. His report is as follows:

Prof. N. H. Winchell, Oct. 11, 1909.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir: I herein report to you the result of my analysis of a sample of metallic copper which you left with me a few days ago to be tested for Antimony, Arsenic, Nickel, etc.

Antimony, none; Arsenic, none; Nickel, none; Tin, none; Lead, none; Silver, none; Bismuth, none; Iron, very slight trace; Sulphur, none.

Yours very respectfully,
C. F. SIDENER.

The absence of those impurities which characterize metallic copper derived from the smelting of copper ores, shows that this disk was made of pure metallic copper, and that it was from the lake Superior region.

Large Copper Spud. The long, large "spud" represented in plate II (of copper) weighs two pounds and nine ounces. It was found on the top of Diamond bluff, in Wisconsin, east from Prairie island, plowed up by a farmer. It is shaped differently from any ordinary spud, so far as known by the writer, as its length is fifteen and a half inches, and its width, midway between the ends, is an inch and one-eighth. Its cutting edge is a little less than an inch.

It is roughened all over by irregular ridges separated by shallow depressions, which have a tendency to elongation parallel with the implement. These are due to unequal action of the elements upon the varying texture and hardness of the copper, as already discussed in describing the articles shown on plate I (of copper), and indicate that the implement was shaped by pounding the copper, either hot or cold, in the manner that a blacksmith draws a horseshoe. There are no overlapping sheets visible on the surface of this implement, such as seen on some of the knives and spears represented by plate I, but that the material of which it is composed has been drawn out by repeated hammering is an obvious conclusion. According to Hoy, copper is softened if thrust into water when hot, the reverse of the effect of water on hot iron. By pounding it certainly was hardened. Hence, perhaps the method was a succession of heating and softening, and pounding and hardening, the object gradually taking the desired form.

This specimen is furnished with a socket at the larger end, made by rolling upward and then toward each other the flaring, thinned edges of the copper. The length of this socket is three inches. The flaring edges are so rolled to form it that the transverse diameter of the spud is not distorted. Any handle which such a socket could entertain must have been rather short, i. e., probably not longer than the implement itself. The effective working end of the tool was so far away that a longer handle would have been a source of weakness.

That this implement was designed for some use that called into play the chisel-like extremity, and hence for cutting something at some distance from the manipulator, is evident. The esculent roots that furnished food could readily be extracted by such a tool, and especially the spindle-shaped Indian turnip. The fact that it was found on upland, while suggesting the harvesting of the prairie potato (*Psorolea esculenta*) or the Indian turnip (*Arisœma triphyllum*), does not preclude its use in digging for those roots that grow in shallow water for which it would be better adapted.

Note.—In the old antiquarian collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, after their removal to the new capitol, and not included in the much larger Mitchell collection, are a few copper objects, viz.: arrow-head, plowed up near Fish lake, Chisago county, 1887, it has a socket for a shaft; spear-head found in McLeod county.

Source of metallic copper used by the aborigines. That copper could have been obtained by the natives in some states farther east and south (although that is not yet demonstrated as a fact, though affirmed by several early writers) need not be questioned, but that the copper articles found in Minnesota and in general throughout the northwest came primarily from the copper-bearing rocks of the lake Superior region, is not only indisputable, but has never been questioned by any archæologist. It is true that certain embossed articles of sheet copper, found in Florida and near Cartersville, Georgia, and at Peoria, Illinois, and others in the Hopewell mounds of Ross county, Ohio, are so remarkably different from the usual characters of copper specimens that they have been supposed by Mr. J. D. McGuire to have been made in recent years, and by Europeans, or at least under European influence, from copper derived from the mines of Europe; but Mr. Clarence B. Moore has conclusively shown that these articles were made of pure original copper, which differs notably in its chemical composition from the European copper of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and he has been corroborated by Messrs. Moorhead, Putnam, George A. Dorsey, and C. C. Willoughby. European copper is more or less impure with the presence of arsenic, antimony, zinc, and sometimes nickel and bismuth, whereas the lake Superior copper carries only a small amount of silver and a little iron as impurities. Hence it is necessary to allow even the embossed sheet copper to have its origin in the lake Superior region.* Lastly, Mr. Frank H. Cushing has experimentally demonstrated that all the sheet copper, however thin with its repoussé work, found in the mounds mentioned, can be formed by the use of only the implements that were available by the aborigine.†

Copper from the lake Superior region was obtained by mining and by gathering up the float pieces that came with the general drift sheet of the northwest. These mines, so far as they are known, have been described by Whittlesey, Foster, Holmes, and the writer,‡ and more briefly by others. The excavations in the rock are rude and shallow, showing no systematic forms or directions, the working having been governed entirely by the accidental discovery of nuggets in the country rock. There is no trace of mining methods nor of implements that can be attributed to the whites.

The nuggets that have been found on the surface and in the drift by the whites are more numerous in Wisconsin than in Minnesota. They have been listed by R. D. Salisbury in the state of Wisconsin in the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences*, vol. ——, but the listing is of course not complete. In Minnesota no such listing has been published. The writer, however, has made a record of such isolated discovery of copper masses as has casually come to his notice, and herewith presents a table showing the result. It is probable that for a long time such pieces of copper constituted the sole supply for such articles as the aborigine made of copper throughout the northwest. There were also mines in the Appalachian mountains from which apparently some copper, as well as gold, was obtained; and in the southwest, according to Cushing, the Zuni roasted and reduced ores carrying small amounts of metallic copper, in a rude, small, subterranean oven-furnace, and according to Mr. W. W. Palmer, as stated by Mr. Cushing, they produced so high a degree of heat in these furnaces that they even smelted the sulphur ores of copper and silver with entire success. When the Dakota, and especially the Ojibwa, came into the northern latitudes after the Glacial epoch, they were therefore not strangers to copper and its possibility of usefulness, and recognized at once the float pieces which they were the first to observe. It was but an obvious easy step from the use of the float pieces to the extraction from the rock of those pieces which they saw protruding.

Probably not more than one-tenth part of the pieces that have been found in the state are here listed. It is apparent that they are most numerous in the eastern part of the state, in the area of the red till, which was derived from the region of lake Superior.

**Jour. Acad. Nat. Sci.*, Philadelphia, vol. x, 1894. "Certain Sand mounds of the St. Johns river, Florida," part II, p. 123; *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. v, pp. 27-57, 1903; "Discussion as to copper from the mounds;" reprint of articles by Moore, McClure, Putnam, Dorsey, Moorhead, Willoughby, from the *American Anthropologist*, 1903.

†*American Anthropologist*, vol. vii, 1894, pp. 93-117. "Primitive copper working; An experimental study."

‡"Ancient Mining on lake Superior." Smith. Cont., XIII, 1863.
"Report on the Geology and Topography of the lake Superior land district." Doc. No. 69, House Reps., 1850.
"Aboriginal copper mines of Isle Royale, lake Superior." *Am. Anth.*, vol. iii, 1901.
"The Ancient Copper Mines of Isle Royale." *Pop. Sci. Month.*, vol. xix, 1881.

Locality	Weight	Date of Finding	Name of Finder and Remarks
Osakis Rapids (Sauk Rapids) Benton county	10 lbs.	1852	Col. Fletcher, Owen's report, p. 165.
Little Falls, Morrison county	Piece	1852	Mr. Sloan, Owen's report, p. 166.
Falls of St. Anthony	Pieces	1852	Owen's report, p. 73, called "copper ore."
Long Prairie, Todd county, six miles north of Browersville	Piece	1885	Letter from Miss Jane Johnson.
Island Lake, Hennepin county	78 lbs.		Col. J. B. Clough, Cut of Min. & St. Louis R. R.
Taylors Falls, Chisago county	175 lbs.	1883	Placed in the Museum Acad. Nat. Sci., Minneapolis.
Oronoco, Olmsted county	2 lbs.	1888	Geo. H. Newhouse.
Near Centerville, Anoka county	2 lbs.	1882?	Mr. Lamoreux, Flat, 1/8 to 1/2 in. thick, shape irregular, but not ragged.
Taylors Falls, Chisago county	36 lbs.	1882	Authority of C. W. Hall.
Minneapolis, Hennepin county	Several Small Pieces	1884	From red till overlying Trenton limestone 3/4 mile below the mouth of Shingle creek.
Temperance river, 3 miles above its mouth, Cook county	About 8 lbs.	1883	L. A. Taylor, alloyed with silver. See 14th Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur. for 1885; also p. 523 of this volume.
Stearns county	Piece	1881	O. E. Garrison, cut from a large mass.
Minneapolis, 1st St. N. E. and 2d Av.	11 lbs.	1885	Homer Brouillard, in digging for a sewer.
Minneapolis	Mass	1909	John Martinson.
Ottawa, Le Sueur county	1 lb.	1884	Warren Upham. See final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. i, p. 643.
S. E. 1/4, Sec. 8, Cannon City, Rice county	Several Pieces	1884	See final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. i, p. 669.
Near Rosemount, Dakota county	Piece	1888	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 95.
Sec. 8, Hampton, Dakota county	2 Pieces	1888	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 95.
Dayton, Hennepin county	Small Piece	....	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 303.
Sunrise, Chisago county	15 lbs.	1888	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 421.
Stoney brook, Mille Lacs county	5 lbs.	1888	B. R. Soule. V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 623.
Chisley brook, Kanabec county	27 lbs.	1878	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 623.
Kanabec county	Many Pieces	1888	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 623.
Near Chengwatana, Pine county	80 lbs.	1888	Scott La Prairie. V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 643.
St. Croix River, Pine county	22 lbs.	1888	Scott La Prairie. V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 643.
Pine county	Other Pieces	1888	In the gravelly beds of streams, or on the surface.
Moose Lake, Carlton county	50 lbs.	1899	Dr. Thomas. V. Final Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. iv., p. 23.
St. Louis Valley, between Carlton and Cloquet	About 2000 lbs. Many Pieces	1899	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. iv, p. 23.
Otter Creek, Carlton county	Several 100 lbs, 1 Mass	1899	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. iv, p. 23.
Fillmore county	Fragments	1876	"Reported." V. Fourth An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 71.
Pleasant Grove, Olmsted county	Piece	1872	R. S. Russell. Fourth An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 10.
Shakopee, Scott county	Particles	1873	"Reported." Second An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 209.
Taylors Falls, Chisago county	15 lbs.	1871	J. H. Kloos. V. Tenth An. Rep. Geol Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 197. In digging a well in the drift.
St. Paul, Ramsey county	Large Piece	1871	J. H. Kloos. V. Tenth An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 197.
St. Paul, Ramsey county	13 lbs.	1868	J. B. Cheney. In grading 11th street, a foot underground.
St. Paul, Ramsey county	....	....	J. B. Cheney. In grading Hoffman avenue.
Granite City, Morrison county	56 Pieces	1861	T. Elwell. V. Eleventh An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 13.
Washington county	Large Mass	1700	Le Sueur, as reported by La Harpe. V. Eleventh An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 13.
Rochester and Zumbrota, Olmsted county	4 oz. 5 lbs.	1882	V. Eleventh An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 13.
White Bear Lake, Ramsey county	2 lbs.	1882	V. Eleventh An. Rep. Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., p. 13.
Minneapolis, Hennepin county	As large as a pea	1878	N. H. Winchell. In gravel.
Stillwater, Washington county	6 lbs.		Mr. Campbell. In graded roadway.
Jordan, Scott county	Piece	1881	N. H. Winchell.
Minneapolis, Hennepin county	3 lbs.	1881	N. H. Winchell.
Pine Island, Goodhue county	3/4 lb.	1881	N. H. Winchell.
Duluth, St. Louis county	Piece	1871	J. H. Kloos.
N. W. 1/4 Sec. 20, Cannon Falls, Goodhue county	Pieces	1888	V. Final report Geol. Nat. Hist. Sur., vol. ii, p. 48.

CHAPTER VI

DAKOTA TRADITIONS, MYTHS AND RELIGION

While it is not sufficiently within the scope of the plan and purpose of this work to make extended notice of the superstitions and myths of the Dakota, it would not be warrantable to pass by them without calling attention to some of their main characteristics, especially of their traditions. Any who desire to make more extended study of these myths and religious superstitions are referred to the following named publications:

E. D. Neill—Dakota land and people. *Minn. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 266-275. (Religion and Medicine Man), 293-294; (Idea of the future), 1853.

James W. Lynd—Religion of the Dakota. *Minn. Hist. Soc.* Vol. II, pp. 150-174. (Religion). 1867.

Gideon H. Pond—Dakota Superstitions. *Minn. Hist. Soc.* Vol. II, pp. 215-255. (Gods, Prophets, Dances). 1867.

Wm. H. Forbes—Traditions of the Sioux Indians. *Minn. Hist. Soc.* Vol. VI, pp. 413-416. (Gods and future life). 1872.

S. W. Pond—The Dakota in Minnesota as they were in 1834. *Minn. Hist. Soc.* Vol. XII, pp. 319-501. (Religion, dances, jugglery, superstitions, etc., pp. 401-426).

James Owen Dorsey—A Study of Siouan cults. *Eleventh report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* 1894. pp. 361-544.

J. Owen Dorsey—Omaha Sociology. *Third report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* 1884. pp. 211-370.

James Mooney—The Ghost-dance religion, and the Sioux outbreak of 1890. *Fourteenth report of the Bureau of Ethnology.* Part 2, pp. 653-1110. 1896.

H. L. Gordon—The Feast of the Virgins, and other poems. Laird & Lee. Chicago, 1891.

Stephen R. Riggs—Tahkoo Wahkan, or The Gospel among the Dakota.

E. D. Neill—History of Minnesota. (Dakota worship and gods, pp. 54-95).

[W. J. Snelling]—Tales of the Northwest, or Sketches of Indian life and character. 1830. Published anonymously.

[Anonymous]—The Sioux or Nadouesis. Translation of a French memoir in the French *Archives de la Marine,* by John H. Ames, with explanatory note by John P. Williamson. *Macalester College Contributions,* First Series. pp. 223-240. 1890.

Traditions. According to Rev. S. W. Pond, the Dakota had a tradition, in 1834, that they had come from the north, and another that when they came into the region of the Minnesota river they found the Iowa occupying the territory. They averred, in this connection, that they had expelled the Iowa and seized their lands, but they were slow to relate that they had been expelled from the north by the Ojibwa, who had seized their lands. They had traditions that their ancestors made various implements of bone and horn, and pottery, but they did not believe that their ancestors ever used stone arrow-heads.* The tradition of their migration from the north, although amplified by the missionaries into a possible migration from the far northwest, and ultimately from Bering's strait and Asia, was doubtless based on events that took place less than a hundred years earlier, i. e., about 1740-1750. Mr. Warren's account of the expulsion of the Dakota from the region of Mille Lacs seems to make it

*Prof. Keating, in his account of Long's expedition in 1823, in numerous instances refers to the use of stone arrow-heads by the Sioux. Mrs. Harriet Bishop McConkey, in her "Dakota War Whoop," p. 25, in giving the particulars of the death of Andrew Myrick, at the beginning of the great massacre in 1862, states that "a shower of arrows pierced him through." Very little the Dakota knew of their forefathers. Even the "educated" Dakota, Dr. C. A. Eastman, according to the "press" reports, doubts whether the Dakota ever used flint implements.

about 1652, or 98 years still earlier,* but there is reason to believe that Mr. Brower's date is more nearly correct. This southward movement of the Dakota from Mille Lacs was therefore the cause not only of the expulsion of the Iowa, but probably also of the retirement of the Cheyenne to more southern latitudes. The war against the Dakota (especially those of Mille Lacs lake) was participated in by the Kilistino and the Assiniboin, both of which peoples had been supplied with European weapons for many years. Mr. E. D. Neill intimates that it was the killing of Verendrye's son and the priest Auneau in 1736 by some Sioux at Lake of the Woods that intensified the rage of the Kilistino and the Assiniboin, and made firmer their alliance with the Ojibwa of the west end of lake Superior, who were allies of the French. In 1739 La Ronde censured the Ojibwa at "Chagouamigon" for their retaliation on the Dakota of Mille Lacs, when they replied that "it was these who had killed the twenty-two Frenchmen in the north (i. e. the Verendrye party), and they wished to avenge their deaths."† In 1746 the disturbances between the Indians continued so great at Chagouamigon that the efforts of those who sought to find the copper deposits in the vicinity of Ontonagon river were fruitless. Mr. Neill says:‡ "About the year 1763 the Sioux were driven by the Ojibwa from their villages at Red lake, Leach lake and Sandy lake," and it is certain that this event took place later than the expulsion of the Sioux from Mille Lacs, those places being more remote from the central power of the Ojibwa. Neill also says, in his History of Minnesota, p. 191 (4th ed.), that through the agency of De Lusignan peace was established between the Ojibwa of La Pointe and the Dakota "of the lakes and plains," in 1745-46, with whom the Ojibwa "had been at war for some time." Judging from the maps of Buache (1750), Jeremie (1754), Anville (1755), and Robert Vaugondy (1755), the Sioux had left Mille Lacs at those dates, as they are located, not at Lac Buade, the name given by Hennepin to Mille Lacs, but further west and north. In 1766 and 1767, when Carver visited the Dakota, they were about the Minnesota river or southward from it, as represented on his "Plan of Capt. Carver's Travels in the interior parts of North America, in 1766 and 1767."

The penitence of the Dakota in the winter of 1745-46, when they brought nineteen of their young braves bound with cords to De Lusignan, who was visiting them, for having killed three Frenchmen at the Illinois, and when they humbly went to Montreal to beg pardon for the murderers, indicates clearly that a change had come over the spirits of the Dakota respecting their relations with the French, and hence with respect to the Ojibwa, the closest Indian allies of the French during all the Indian troubles. Had the war, in which the Dakota had killed the Verendrye party, then been raging, there is no likelihood that such a journey would have been made to appease the anger of the French.

From these facts, and from the indications of the maps issued about the middle of the eighteenth century, it is safe to conclude that the tradition of the Dakota respecting their coming "from the north" was based on events that transpired between 1744 and 1763, and hence that the battle of Kathio took place some time before the peace inaugurated by De Lusignan. It is for this reason that the date of the battle of Kathio is given 1744 on the accompanying plate showing the distribution of the Ojibwa in 1852.

The traditions of the Dakota respecting their origin, their gods and their relations with them, grade into myths, and these into superstitions, many of which are unnatural, absurd and impossible. The body of their beliefs, based on such traditions, was therefore expressed in their religion, or "medicine," for which every Dakota had a profound respect, and which in many ways had an intimate connection with his personal existence, and entered into his daily conduct. All the domestic affairs of the Dakota, the commencement and the results of a raid against their enemies, the success of a hunt for deer or for buffalo, the progress of their crops, were supervised and determined by certain invisible "spirits," or wakan, which, however, resided in some of the facts and phenomena of nature. Their ideas of the relation subsisting between the objects which they worshipped and the powers which they were believed to exert for their good or their ill were vague and mystified, and probably were not susceptible of expression in any language, notwithstanding several attempts have been made to reduce their religion, or more properly their mythology, to some system. Their gods were in everything, animate and inaminate. They were polytheists of a most pronounced type. In the language of modern analysis, their gods

*History of the Ojibwa, Minn. Hist. Soc., vol. v, p. 157. Warren says that at the battle of Kathio the Dakota had not yet been blessed with the presence of white traders, and had not therefore the use of guns and powder; but Pennicaut says that in 1700 the eastern Sioux dominated the western Sioux because they had firearms. According to Hennepin himself, he and Du Gay were supplied with a gun, when, in 1680, they were permitted by the Dakota to descend the Mississippi in advance of the main party. †Macalester College Contributions, Series 1, p. 192. ‡Op. cit., p. 227.

were immanent in nature everywhere. But their apprehension penetrated no further than the visible object, and their worship was addressed entirely to the physical facts and visible phenomena of nature. That which is invisible, or the unknown cause which becomes manifest in visible effects, had to the Dakota no direct significance so far as related to his worship. His religious traditions were about tangible objects—such as the mammoth (Owanktayhee), their chief god, who was believed to inhabit the waters and in anger caused the drowning of missionary Thomas Longley at Traverse des Sioux, about the sun, the earth, rivers, trees, stones, certain other animals, lightning and thunder. These to him were wakan, and these he worshipped, and he also worshipped his individual fetich. Owanktayhee was the most powerful. He was the Neptune, or the Undine, of the Dakota, and a perpetual strife raged between him and the imaginary thunder-bird (Wakinyan), who flew with the clouds, and whose voice was the thunder. This strife culminated in fierce conflicts when thunderstorms disturbed the heavens. One of the recognized habitations of Owanktayhee was the falls of St. Anthony, and Hennepin related that the Dakota in passing there offered sacrifices to the falls, and Carver states the same of a Winnebago. The chief dwelling-place of the thunder-bird was the "head of the coteau des prairies," westward from Brown's Valley; his tracks could be seen imprinted on some of the erratic boulders of that place.*

From these chief gods all grades and kinds of power ranged downward to the turtles and the stones which the natural-minded worshipper invoked according as circumstances seemed to require.

Yet, the Dakota, while appealing to the sun or other tangible objects of nature, was impressed with the existence of something mysterious, which emanated from them. He did not discriminate. Whatever he could not explain he called "wakan," a word which did not mean "sacred" nor "spiritual." Anything that indicated power, whose source he could not discern, was *wakan*, and he was ready to reverence or even to worship. The guns of the Europeans, the stars and the seasons, expressed to the Dakota alike the element which is here referred to. Whenever the Dakota was surprised by something new, or saw something wonderful, whatever its nature, whether animate or inaminate, his feeling of mystery was embodied in the word *wakan*. In his dances, in his ceremonials, in his "medicine" prayers and in his dreams, the Dakota, in a way significant to himself, but impossible for him to understand, much less to express in language, was suffused with a sense of the mysterious elements which he everywhere supposed to emanate from the visible objects which he held to be *wakan*.

As to the existence of a supreme creator, the Dakota seem not to have had any idea. Rev. G. H. Pond, one of the missionary brothers, long a resident with the Dakota, has stated: "Evidence is wanting to show that the Dakota embraced in their religious tenets the idea of one Supreme Existence, whose existence is expressed by the term Great Spirit. If some of the clans at the present time [1866] entertain this idea, it seems highly probable that it has been imparted to them by individuals of European extraction. No reference to such a being is to be found in their feasts or fasts or sacrifices."† Rev. S. W. Pond, relating to the same subject, has said:‡ "There was hardly anything visible that some of them did not occasionally worship, but of such a being as the Creator and Preserver of all they had no knowledge."

Their chief religious traditions were frequently associated with definite geographical localities, about which interesting legends related the mythical doings of their gods. These legends were a part of their folklore and described the origin of the earth, the beginning of the race, the gifts of maize, tabacco, the calumet, bow and arrow, and the wild rice. Of these localities lying within Minnesota the most celebrated are the red pipestone quarry in Pipestone county, the falls of St. Anthony, the red rock below St. Paul, Carver's cave at St. Paul. As already stated, however, everything in nature about which, or at which, any unusual or memorable event took place, was thereafter held to be in some degree wakan, and was susceptible to veneration and some degree of worship.

Thus the Dakota was always impressed with the immediate influence of his gods, for they surrounded him in every tree, or gurgled in every stream, or moaned in every wind; they shone upon him from the sun and from the moon, they threatened him from the storm and fed him in every season as the year rolled on. He worshipped these visible or tangible objects, not thinking of any spirit or intervening agency, and not caring for the means or manner by which these gods might affect him.

*This strife has been poetically depicted by Lieut. E. L. Huggins in "Winona."

†Minnesota Historical Society, vol. ii, p. 217, 1866.

‡Minnesota Historical Society, vol. xii, p. 1834, published 1908.

'RED ROCK" IN 1909.

CELEBRATED SIOUX INDIANS OF MINNESOTA

1. TAH-O-YAH-TE-DU-TA 5th. **His Red Nation.**
Little Crow. Leader in the Great Massacre in 1862.

2. WAH-PA-A-SHA 3rd. **Standard.**
Wabasha, about 1858.

3. TA-MA-HA. **Standing Moose.**
The only Sioux faithful to the Americans in the war of 1812.

4. WAM-DE-TANKA. **Big Eagle.**
Chief at Black Dog village about 1858.

5. AN-PE-TU-TO-KE-CA. **Other Day.**
Rescued 62 persons from the Massacre in 1862.

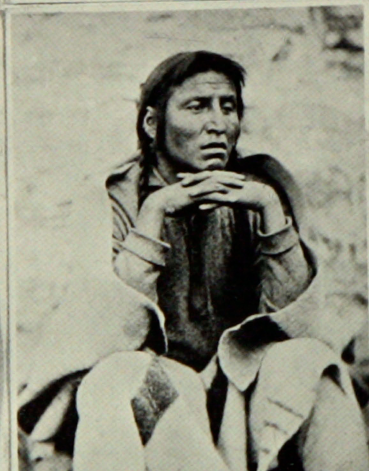
6. WA-KIN-YAN-WAS-TE. **Good Thunder,**
and wife, Winnebago chief, died, 1901, at Redwood Falls.

7. MAH-PI-YA-A-KI-CI-TA. **Soldier of the Clouds,**
and his wife, a daughter of Wabasha. Died, 1899, at Hastings.

8. MAH-PI-YA-WA-KON-ZE. **Spirit Warrior.**
"Indian John." Served as scout in 1862 an[d] had a pension from Congress; died, 1889.

9. WO-WI-NA-PE. **Who comes in sight.**
Son of Little Crow, captured by Gen. Sibley, 1863.

10. MA-ZA-SHA. **Red Iron.**
Friendly chief in 1862.



11. WA-KAN-O-ZHAN-ZHAN. **Medicine Bottle.**
Hung at Fort Snelling, 1865.

12. O-TA-DAN. **Plenty.**
Prisoner of Gen. Sibley, 1863.

13. SHAKOPEE, younger.
Hung at Fort Snelling, 1865.

14. PA-HAU-ZA-TAN-KA.
Great Scalper.

15. TA-WA-SU-O-TA. **Plenty Hail.**
Killed James W. Lynde, 1862.

16. CUT-NOSE.
Killed 18 women and children and 5 men; hung at Mankato.

CHAPTER VII

DAKOTA CHARACTER: DEATH AND BURIAL

Character. Of all the Indian stocks, probably the Dakota Indian, including in that term all the sub-tribes that belong to the Dakota stock, has produced fewer men pre-eminent for noble characteristics and more instances of pre-eminence for the ignoble traits of character, than any stock whose history is known, and whose acquaintance with the whites has been sufficiently long and intimate to warrant the formation of an opinion. The writer entered upon this investigation with a mind predisposed to favorable judgment of the Dakota, hoping to be able to remove from him the aspersions which traders and historians have so frequently cast upon him, or at least to prove that they were calumnious and unwarranted. He did not, indeed, expect to find justification for the high estimates which have been set forth in the character of Cooper's Uncas or George Elliott's Alsandro, for those characters exhibit the highest traits of human nature, but it was his belief that the Dakota, as an Indian, had received more than his share of severe criticism. After somewhat more than three years spent in the study of archeological and historical facts relating mainly to the Dakota, he has reluctantly abandoned that hope, and is compelled to admit that the Dakota had a character which was strong, virile and aggressive, but which, under the impulse of his aggressive disposition, was remorseless, treacherous, cruel, wholly selfish and revengeful. It is not intended to intimate that other tribes, say the Ojibwa, with whom the Dakota most frequently came into contact and comparison, did not also sometimes exhibit these repulsive traits. With the Dakota these are the traits that give him *pre-eminence amongst his equals,* like the valor of Agamemnon amongst his associate Greeks.

If there is anything that marks the Dakota as exceeding the other Indians, in that lower stratum of humanity which the Indians of North America occupied at the Columbian discovery and since, it is his treacherous disposition. It is a remarkable fact that the first event in which the Dakota people are said to have participated, though traditional, was one which exhibited their strongest characteristic. The Lenni Lenape, in their eastward migration, desired to cross the Mississippi river and to enter upon and cross the country of the Allegewi. After consulting with the Allegewi and having obtained their consent, a part of the Lenni Lenape crossed the river, when the Allegewi treacherously fell upon them and killed all they could,* thus inaugurating the great war which resulted in the overthrow of the Ohio dynasty of moundbuilders.† Within historic time the records of the intercourse of the whites and the Ojibwa with the Dakota are replete with similar acts of treachery, which are almost uniformly chargeable against the Dakota. Duluth, who had the first dealings with the Dakota at Mille Lacs, charges them with maltreating and robbing the French even "after they had seen me and received my peace presents, and been for a year always with Frenchmen, robbed them when they went to visit them." Therefore he rejected their proposals of the peace calumet.

According to Warren, in his History of the Ojibwa, it was a repeated act of violated hospitality on the part of the Dakota, that inaugurated, or at least renewed, the war which terminated in the expulsion of the Dakota from the region of Mille Lacs, and finally from the northern part of Minnesota.

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*In a former chapter of this work it is shown that the Lenni Lenape were Algonquian, and that the reasonable interpretation of this tradition makes the Allegewi of the Dakota stock, the western representatives of the moundbuilders of the Ohio region.

†See page 63. Traditional migrations of the Dakota stock.

"Five generations ago,† shortly after the Ojibways residing on the shores of lake Superior had commenced to obtain firearms and ammunition of the old French traders, a firm peace existed between them and the Dakotas, who then resided on the headwaters of the Mississippi and the midland country which lay between this river and the great lake.

"Good will existed between the two tribes, and the roads to their villages were clear and unobstructed. Peace parties of the Dakotas visited the wigwams of the Ojibways, and the Ojibways, in like manner, visited the tepees and earthen lodges of the Dakotas. The good feeling existing between them was such that intermarriages even took place between them.

"It appears, however, impossible that these two powerful tribes should ever remain long in peace with each other. On this occasion the war club had lain buried but a few winters, when it was again violently dug up, and the ancient feud raged more violently than ever.

"Ill-will was first created in the breasts of the two tribes against one another through a quarrel which happened between an Ojibway and a Dakota gallant respecting a woman whom they both courted. The woman was a Dakota, and the affair took place at a village of her people. Of her two suitors she preferred the Ojibway, and the rejected gallant in revenge took the life of his successful rival. This act, however, did not result in immediate hostilities; it only reminded the warriors of the two tribes that they *had once been enemies;* it required a more aggravating cause than this to break the ties which several years of good understanding and social intercourse had created between them, and this cause was not long in forthcoming.

"There was an old man residing at Fond du Lac of lake Superior, which place had at this time already become an important village of the Ojibways. This old man was looked upon by his people with much respect and consideration; though not a chief, he was a great hunter, and his lodge ever abounded in plenty. He belonged to the marten totem family. He was blessed with four sons, all of whom were full grown and likely men, 'fair to look upon.' They were accustomed to make frequent visits to the villages of the Dakotas, and they generally returned laden with presents, for the young women of their tribe looked on them with wishful and longing eyes.

"Shortly after the quarrel about the woman had taken place, which resulted in the death of an Ojibway, the four brothers paid the Dakotas one of their usual peaceful visits; they proceeded to their great town at Mille Lacs, which was but two days from their own villages. During this visit one of the brothers was treacherously murdered, and but three returned with safety to their father's wigwam.

"The old man did not even complain when he heard that their former enemies had sent his son to travel on the spirit road; and shortly after, when his three surviving sons asked his permission to go again to enter the lodges of the Dakotas, he told them to go, 'for probably,' said he, 'they have taken the life of my son through mistake.' The brothers proceeded as before to Mille Lacs, and on this occasion two of them were treacherously killed, and but one returned to the wigwam of his bereaved father. The fount of the old man's tears still did not open, though he blacked his face in mourning, and his head hung down in sorrow.

"Once more his sole surviving son requested to pay the Dakotas a peace visit, that he might look on the graves of his deceased brethren. His sorrow stricken parent said to him: 'Go, my son, for probably they have struck your brothers through mistake.' Day after day rolled over, till the time came when he had promised to return. The days, however, kept rolling on, and the young man returned not to cheer the lonely lodge of his father. A full moon passed over, and still he made not his appearance, and the old man became convinced that the Dakotas had sent him to join his murdered brethren in the land of spirits. Now, for the first time, the bereaved father began to weep, the fount of his tears welled forth bitter drops, and he mourned bitterly for his lost children.

" 'An Ojibway warrior never throws away his tears,' and the old man determined to have revenge. For two years he busied himself in making preparations. With the fruits of his hunts he procured ammunition and other materials for a war party. He sent his tobacco and war club to the remotest villages of his people, detailing his wrong and inviting them to collect by a certain day at Fond du Lac, 'to go with him in *search* for his lost children.' His summons was promptly and numerously obeyed, and nearly all the men of his tribe residing on the shores of the great lake, collected by the appointed time at Fond du Lac. Their scalping knives had long rusted in disuse, and the warriors once more were eager to stain them with the blood of their old enemy.

"Having made the customary preparations and invoked the great spirit to their aid, this large war party which the old man had collected left Fond du Lac, and followed the trail towards Mille Lacs, which was then considered the strongest hold of their enemies, and where the blood which they went to revenge had been spilt. The Dakotas occupied the lake in two large villages, one being located on Cormorant point and the other at the outlet of the lake. A few miles below this last village they possessed another considerable village on a smaller lake, connected with Mille Lacs by a portion of Rum river, which ran through it. These villages consisted mostly of earthen wigwams, such as are found still to be in use among the Arickarees and other tribes residing on the upper Missouri.

"The vanguard of the Ojibways fell on the Dakotas at Cormorant point early in the morning, and such was the extent of the war party that, before the rear had arrived, the battle at this point had already ended by the almost total extermination of its inhabitants; a small remnant only retired in their canoes to the greater village located at the entry. This the Ojibways attacked with all their forces; after a brave defence with their bows and barbed arrows, the Dakotas took refuge in their earthen lodges from the more deadly weapons of their emeny.

"The only manner by which the Ojibways could harass and dislodge them from these otherwise secure retreats was to throw small bundles or bags of powder into the aperture made in the top of each, both for the purpose of giving light within and emitting the smoke of the wigwam fire. The bundles, ignited by the fire, spread death and dismay amongst the miserable beings who crowded within. Not having as yet, like the more fortunate Ojibways, been blessed with the presence of white

†Warren elsewhere states that a "generation" in Indian chronology amounted to about 40 years. As he wrote in 1852, that would make the capture of Kathio two hundred years earlier, or 1652, which is manifestly far from correct, probably ninety years too early.

traders, the Dakotas were still ignorant of the nature of gunpowder, and the idea possessed their minds that their enemies were aided by spirits. They gave up the fight in despair, and were easily dispatched. But a remnant retired, during the darkness of the night, to their last remaining village on the smaller lake. Here they made their last stand, and the Ojibways following them up, the havoc among their ranks was continued during the whole course of another day.

"The next morning, the Ojibways wishing to renew the conflict, found the village evacuated by the few who had survived their victorious arms. They had fled during the night down the river in their canoes, and it became a common saying that the former dwellers of Mille Lacs became, by this three days' struggle, swept away forever from their favorite village sites. The remains of their earthen wigwams are still plainly visible in great numbers on the spots where these events are said to have occurred; they are now mostly covered by forests of maple trees. The Ojibways assert, as proof of this tradition, that whenever they have dug into these mounds, which they occasionally do, they have discovered human bones in great abundance and lying scattered promiscuously in the soil, showing that they had not been regularly buried, but were cut in pieces and scattered about, as Indians always treat those they slay in battle."

Flat Mouth, the old Pillager chief, in 1832, in an interview with Schoolcraft at Leech lake, charged that the "long knives"* did not keep their promises made in the treaty of 1825. They did not protect the Ojibwa from the Dakota, as promised, nor would they allow the Ojibwa to retaliate upon their enemies. He produced a bundle of sticks two inches long indicating the number of Ojibwa killed by the Dakota since that treaty, amounting to forty-three, and he indignantly returned all the medals which he had received from the Americans, holding them up by the strings, saying they were bloody, and that they wished the "long knives" to wipe off the blood, laying them at Mr. Schoolcraft's feet.

Lieut. Allen, in his report of the Schoolcraft expedition in 1832, p. 52,** in a few lines expresses the characteristic treachery of the Dakota, as related to him by the Ojibwa of Sandy lake, viz.:

"Mr. Schoolcraft held a council with them in which Gros Gueule complained much of the treachery of the Sioux, who, he said, had often, under the appearance and assurance of friendship, invited some of the Chippewas to their lands and villages to share the abundance of their forests, and when the latter had gone with this prospect, and to escape the poverty of their own hunting grounds, their entertainers had suddenly risen upon them and murdered them all. He hoped the government would interpose to check the Sioux and protect the Chippewas from their aggressions, as was promised at the treaties of Prairie du Chien and Fond du Lac."

A large number of instances occurring between 1832 and 1862 in which the Dakota flagrantly violated their peace promises, are historic facts, and need not be enumerated.

Bishop Whipple has shown† that the Dakota in Minnesota in 1862 had suffered numerous wrongs at the hands of the whites, and had not been paid the sums of money that had been promised them in treaty, and that these facts provoked them to fall upon the whites in a general massacre. That these provocations were not considered sufficient, even by the leaders of the Indians, to warrant bloodshed, is evident from the fact that Wabasha, and several other chiefs, refused to engage at first in the massacre, and entered upon the slaughter only after the upbraidings of their young braves, and after the massacre had fairly begun. The murder of a family of whites at Acton, some miles north of the Dakota reservation, was reported at the agencies, and boasted of by the miscreants. The smell of blood, albeit blood of the whites, roused the murderous instincts of the other braves, and as the excitement grew it incited a mob which in its frenzy hardly knew, nor cared, to what extremes of violence it led on. The knowledge that many of the white men were enlisted in the Union army and were absent, added fuel to the fire by augmenting the conditions which made easier the perpetration of a treacherous act.

Thus three important great events in the life of the Dakota stock, which resulted disastrously to them, are directly referable to acts of treachery of which they were guilty.

1. Their defeat in the Lenap' Allegewi war.
2. Their expulsion from northern Minnesota at and after the battle of Kathio.
3. Their removal from the rest of Minnesota after the massacre of 1862.

After a review of all the conditions and the atrocities of the massacre of 1862, a fit culmination in one bloody, awful holocaust of murder and rapine, of the events of the previous two hundred years, the impartial historian can hardly fail to coincide with Mrs. Harriet Bishop McConkey in her terse apostrophe:‡ *"Oh Treachery, Thy name is Dakota."*

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*The Ojibwa named the Americans Chemokomon, or *long knives*.

**Twenty-third Congress, 1st session, House of Representatives. War Department, 1834.

†"Lights and Shadows of a long episcopate."

‡"The Dakota War Whoop."

It may be possible to make law-abiding, civilized men and women of the remnant of the Dakota, but it will require several generations of patient training and forbearance.

Some extenuating facts might be mentioned which relieve in some degree the opprobrium of pre-eminence in treachery which the foregoing review casts upon the Dakota. His environment and education were different from those of the whites. A successful act of treachery was applauded instead of being condemned. Treachery was a virtue—especially if it brought about the purposes of the traitor, and if it failed in its purpose the act was lamented for its failure rather than condemned for its character. Success was the criterion by which were judged all the acts of a warrior. The moral element was seldom noted. The strength of the Dakota character gave him pre-eminence in other savage qualities, and rarely in the higher traits of human nature.

The Dakota now are taking on the forms of civilized society, and the improvement which they already manifest are encouraging and hopeful indications of what the future may witness.

Death and Burial. If a Dakota warrior died in battle and his body could not be carried away, he was left on the battlefield, but his body was set up and supported facing the foe. If death took place while on a journey the body, if it could not be carried away, was burned and the ashes were gathered up.* In other circumstances (except death from smallpox) the bodies of the dead were cared for with characteristic ceremony.

"As soon as a person had died, or while he was dying, his friends dressed him in the best clothes they could procure, putting embroidered moccasins on his feet, and when he was dead they wrapped the body in a blanket made fast by bandages wound around it. Often many blankets and other cloths were wrapped around, one over another. A coffin was procured if possible, generally from some white man. We made many for them, and they were required to be very large to contain the body with all the clothing that was wrapped around it. Some were buried when they died, but most of them were placed for a time on trees or scaffolds. In the region of the upper Minnesota river, I have seen them

DAKOTA BURIAL TREE. FORT BENNET.
From a photograph by *Mrs. L. J. Viven*

*Macalester College Contributions, 1st Series, p. 233.

wrapped in buffalo skins and fastened among the branches of trees, and it is not probable that the Dakota used coffins before they were acquainted with white men. At Lac qui Parle I have known one or two dead bodies to be left on trees till the enwrapping buffalo skins decayed and the bones fell to the earth. These were, however, rare cases of neglect, for it was the custom of the Dakota to bury their dead either immediately or within a few weeks or months after death."—*S. W. Pond, "The Dakota in Minnesota in 1834," Minn. Hist. Soc., vol. xii, p. 478.*

Mr. Pond was of the opinion that scaffold burial was practiced, and arose, from the necessity of preserving the bodies (in winter) until the ground was thawed out in the spring so that graves could be excavated for sub-surface burial, and that it was from "neglect" that corpses were left on the scaffolds too long, i. e., till the body, and even the cerements that enshrouded it, had decayed. If that be correct, it would not be reasonable to expect, under normal conditions, to find scaffold burial in the summer season, nor among those Dakota who inhabited southern latitudes where the ground does not freeze deeply.

Mr. E. D. Neill stated in 1853:*

"When anyone 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 longed to go and kill an Ojibwa. 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, who sit round 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 vent, as it would appear, to their grief. The corpse is not buried, but placed in a box on a scaffold some eight or ten feet from the ground. Hung around the scaffold are such things as would please the spirit if it were 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."

H. C. Yarrow has reported the observations of Dr. Boteler† as to the burial methods of the Otoe, on a reservation in Gage county, Nebraska, where the body was buried in a vault shaped like an inverted funnel, the top of which was covered with stout logs for protection. The Missouri buried in the same way. These tribes were of Dakota stock, and formerly of a more northern habitat, the Otoe having once occupied southern Minnesota. They were offshoots from the Winnebago.

Yarrow also says, of the Wapeton and Sisseton Sioux, now of South Dakota:

"Before the year 1860 it was the custom for as long back as the oldest members of these tribes can remember, and with the usual tribal traditions handed down from generation to generation, in regards to this as well as to other things, for these Indians to bury in a tree, or on a platform, and in those days an Indian was only buried in the ground as a mark of disrespect, in consequence of the person having been murdered, in which case the body would be buried in the ground, *face down*, head toward the south, and with a piece of fat in the mouth."

He then describes the well-known scaffold burial, without any mention of grave burial, or any exception on account of the severity of the season. These tribes formerly inhabited Minnesota, and were active in the massacre of 1862. The scaffold burial has latterly been replaced by grave burial under the influence of contact with civilized whites.

Col. P. W. Norris, late superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park, described, as quoted by Dr. Yarrow, a platform burial by the Crow Indians, where the platform, bearing the coffined body and decorated with weapons, scalps and ornaments, was enclosed in a lodge, 18 by 22 feet at the base, composed of buffalo hides, the burial having been made in the summer.

A similar burial on a low scaffold within a lodge was described by Gen. Van Vliet, observed by him among the Sioux in Wyoming and Nebraska.

Dr. Yarrow has given the detailed description of scaffold burial, written by William C. Cleaveland, of the Spotted Tail Agency, Nebraska, as practiced by the Brule, or Teton Sioux, who says: "It is also the custom, though not universally followed, when bodies have been for two years on scaffolds, to take them down and bury them underground."

Among the Blackfeet, scaffold, or tree burial was common for men, especially the chiefs, but the corpses of women and children were thrown into the underbrush or jungle, where they soon became the prey of wild animals.

*Minnesota Historical Society, vol. i, p. 294. Rev. Enos Stevens states, in his journal, that at Kaposia, while Dr. Williamson was there, in 1849, there was an extensive cemetery of scaffold burials. Schoolcraft has illustrated that which formerly existed on the top of Dayton's Bluff at St. Paul. At the east end of Cannon lake, in Rice county, the custom of scaffold burial was continued until it was prohibited by the whites. At several places along the Minnesota valley the bluffs were decorated by clusters of scaffold burials, one large one being a few miles below New Ulm on the north side. Occasionally an Ojibwa chief requested that his body be not interred but placed on a scaffold.

†First Report, Bur. Am. Eth., 1879-80, p. 96.

The burial customs of the Hidatsa and the Mandan are well known, their scaffolds having been for many years a conspicuous object and described by all visitors. It was said by the Indian agent at Fort Berthold, E. H. Alden, that "it would be bad medicine to touch the dead or anything belonging to him, Should the body by any means fall to the ground, it is never touched or replaced on the scaffold." The corpse, and the weapons placed on the scaffold along with it, were there to remain forever, no Indian ever daring to touch one of them.

Prof. Keating says, of the Red Wing Indians, in 1823:

"As they do not bury their dead, but dispose of them on scaffolds, they seem to be unacquainted with the ancient practice of interring." He also says of some scaffolds seen by him in July, 1823, at six miles above Carver, in Carver county: "After the corpses have remained a certain time exposed, they are taken down and interred. * * * An Indian who resided on the Mississippi, hearing that his son had died at this spot, came up in a canoe to take charge of the remains, and to convey them down the river to his place of abode; but on his arrival he found that the corpse had already made such progress towards decomposition as to render it impossible for it to be removed. He then undertook, with a few friends, to clean off the bones; all the flesh was scraped off and thrown into the stream, the bones were carefully collected into his canoe and subsequently carried down to his residence."

Keating also relates that, July 15, at about nine miles west from the Crescent, i. e., on the route from St. Peter to Swan lake,

"Upon a scaffold raised eighteen feet above the ground, and situated upon an elevated part of the prairie, the petrifying carcass of an Indian lay exposed to view. It had not been enclosed in a box, but merely shrouded in a blanket, which the wind and atmospheric influence had reduced to tatters. Fifteen horizontal black marks, drawn across one of the posts that supported the scaffold designated, as we were informed by Renville, that so many scalps had been offered in sacrifice to the deceased, by those who danced at the funeral."

This death may have occurred in the winter, and the body, as presumed by Mr. Pond, may have been placed on a scaffold owing to the difficulty of digging a grave, but it appears that there was no likelihood of its ever being removed and placed in the earth. Nothing more than the bones could have been given such entombment. These Indians were probably Sisseton or M'dewakanton, well known Dakota of the region.

Keating also mentions recent interments in some large tumuli, five feet high and thirty feet in diameter, at Lac qui Parle, "of a kind now much used by the Indians." * * * "In these the corpse is deposited in a very shallow excavation, or more frequently upon the surface of the ground, and stakes are placed over it, forming a sort of roof. These stakes are very necessary to protect the remains of the dead against the rapacity of wolves, who, if they were merely interred, would dig them up. In this case, notwithstanding the great strength of the stakes, the grave had been broken open and its contents scattered over the ground." This passage plainly shows that not all Dakota burials were on scaffolds, and coincides with Mr. Pond's statements.

Major Long, in his account of the Omaha, has this to say respecting death and burial:*

"When an Omawhaw dies his kinsmen and friends assemble around his body and bewail their loss with loud lamentation, weeping and clapping of hands. Ongpatonga, being once on a visit to St. Louis, observed a number of cattle gathered about a spot where one of their kind had been recently slaughtered, smelling the blood and pawing the earth; he said they behaved very like his own people on the death of a relative.

"They suffer the deceased to remain but a short time previously to interment, and often bear the body to the grave before the warmth of vitality is entirely dissipated. The body is enveloped in a bison robe, or blanket, which is secured by a cord. It is then carried to the grave on the shoulders of two or three men, and followed by the greater portion of the mourners, without any order. The grave is an oblong square, of sufficient length, and four or five feet deep. The body is placed in the grave and with it a pair or two of moccasins, some meat for food, and many little articles and comforts, the gifts of affection, to be used on the long journey which the deceased is supposed to be about to perform, in order to arrive at Wanochate, or town of brave and generous spirits. The grave is then filled with earth, and a small tumulus is raised over it, proportioned in magnitude to the dignity of the deceased."

The usages of the Omaha, according to the above, bear out substantially the opinion of Mr. Pond, since in the latitude of this burial it is not likely that the digging of an ordinary grave would be much impeded by frozen ground—and if frozen, still the subterrene interment was the custom.

At Fort Peck, in Montana, according to Dr. L. S. Turner, the Dakota "bury their dead in the tops of trees when limbs can be found sufficiently horizontal to support scaffolding on which to lay the body, but as such growth is not common in Dakota, the more general practice is to lay them upon scaffolds from seven to eight feet high and out of reach of carnivorous animals."

*Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, compiled by Edwin James, vol. i, p. 281, 1823.

In Gold Thwaites' translation of the *Relations of the Jesuits*, vol. 21, p. 199, is an account of the burial customs of the Hurons and of the Neutral nation, viz.:

"Our Hurons immediately after death carry the bodies to the burying ground, and take them away from it only for the feast of the dead. Those of the Neutral nation carry the bodies to the burying ground only at the very latest moment possible, when decomposition has rendered them insupportable. For this reason the dead bodies often remain during the entire winter in their cabins; and, having once put them outside upon a scaffold that they may decay, they take away the bones as soon as is possible and expose them to view, arranged here and there in their cabins, until the feast of the dead. These objects, which they have before their eyes, renewing continually the feeling of their losses, cause them frequently to cry out and to make most lugubrious lamentations, the whole in song. But this is done only by the women."

In volume 23 of the same work is Hierosme (Jerome) Lalemant's account of the feast of the dead, beginning on page 209, as witnessed among the Nipissiriniens by Fathers Pijart and Raymbaut, said to speak the Algonquian tongue, and to be nearest neighbors of the Hurons; viz.:

"Toward the end of summer these people turn their thoughts to the celebration of their feast of the dead; that is, to collect the bones of their deceased relatives and, by way of honor to their memory, to procure for them a more honorable sepulchre than that which had enclosed them since their death. This solemnity, among the nomad tribes up here, is accompanied by rites of some importance, differing much from those of our Hurons, which may be seen in previous relations;† and it may perhaps be interesting to learn some further particulars about them, which I shall set down here.

"The day was appointed, at the beginning of September, for all the confederated nations, who were invited thereto by envoys expressly sent. The spot selected for the purpose was at a bay of the great lake distant about twenty leagues from the country of the Hurons. Having been invited to attend, I thought that I ought to take advantage of the opportunity that God had given me to establish closer relations with these barbarians, so as to secure, in the future, better means for the advancement of His glory among them. The number of persons present was about two thousand.

"Those of each nation, before landing, in order to make their entry more imposing, form their canoes in line, and wait till others come to meet them. When the people are assembled, the chief stands up in the middle of his canoe and states the object that has brought him hither. Thereupon each one throws away some portion of his goods to be scrambled for. Some articles float on the water, while others sink to the bottom. The young men hasten to the spot. One will seize a mat, wrought as tapestries are in France; another a beaver skin; others get a hatchet or a dish, or some porcelain beads, or other article—each according to his skill and the good fortune he may have. There is nothing but joy, cries and public acclamations, to which the rocks surrounding the great lake return an echo, that drowns all their voices.

"When the nations are assembled, and divided, each in their own seats, beaver robes, skins of otter, of caribou, of wild cats and of moose, hatchets, kettles, porcelain beads, and all things that are precious in this country, are exhibited. Each chief of a nation presents his own gift to those who hold the feast, giving to each present some name that seems best suited to it. As for us, the presents that we gave were not for the purpose of drying their tears, or consoling them for the death of the deceased, but that we might wish to the living the same happiness that we hope to enjoy in heaven when they shall have acknowledged the same God whom we serve on earth. This kind of present astounded them at first, as not being according to their usages. But we gave them to understand that only the hope that we had of seeing them become Christians led us to desire their friendship.

"After that it was a pleasure characterized by nothing of savagery, to witness in the midst of this barbarism a ballet, danced by forty persons to the sound of voices and of a sort of drum, in such harmonious accord that they rendered all the tones that are most agreeable in music.

"The dance consisted of three parts. The first represented various encounters of enemies in single combat, one pursuing his foe, hatchet in hand, to give him the death blow, while at the same time he seems to receive it himself by losing his advantage; he regains it, and after a great many feints, all performed in time with the music, he finally overcomes his antagonist, and returns victorious. Another, with different movements, fences, javelin in hand. This one is armed with arrows; his enemy provides himself with a buckler that covers him, and strikes a blow at him with a club. They are three different personages, not one of whom is armed like the others; their gestures, their movements, their steps, their glances—in a word, everything that can be seen, is different in each one; and yet in so complete accord with one another that it seems as if but one mind governed these irregular movements.

"Hardly was this combat ended than the musicians arose, and we witnessed, as the second part, a dance on a large scale, first by eight persons, then by twelve, then by sixteen, ever increasing in proportion, who quickened or checked their steps according to the voices that gave the measure.

"The women then suddenly appeared, and danced the third part of this ball, which was as agreeable as the others, and in no wise offensive to modesty. The inhabitants of the Sault, who came to this feast from a distance of a hundred or a hundred and twenty leagues, were actors in this ballet.

"A pole of a considerable hight had been set in the ground. A Nipissirinien climbed to the top of it, and tied there two prizes—a kettle and the skin of a deer, and called upon the young men to display their agility. Although the bark had been stripped from the pole, and it was quite smooth, he greased it, to make it more difficult to grasp. No sooner had he descended than several pressed forward to climb it. Some lost courage at the beginning, others at a greater or less hight; and one who almost reached the top, suddenly found himself at the bottom. No one could attain the top. But there was a Huron who provided himself with a knife and some cord, and, after having made reasonable efforts until he reached the

†See Appendix for Bréboeuf's description of the feast of the dead among the Hurons.

middle of the pole, he had recourse to cunning. He drew his knife and cut notches in the tree, in which he placed his cord; then making a stirrup of it he supported and raised himself higher, and continued to do so until he attained the prizes suspended there, in spite of the hooting and shouting of the audience. Having grasped these, he slid to the ground and re-embarked to go to Quebec, whither his journey led him.

"This unfair conduct led the Algonquian captains to make a public complaint, which was deemed reasonable; and the Hurons taxed themselves for a present of porcelain beads to repair this injustice, which caused the souls of the deceased to weep.

"After this the election of the Nipissirinien chiefs took place. When the votes were taken, the chief captain arose and called them each by name. They made their appearance, clothed in their finest robes.

"When they had received their commissions they gave largess of a quantity of beaver skins and moose hides, in order to make themselves known, and that they might be received with applause in their offices.

"This election was followed by the resurrection of those persons of importance who had died since the last feast; which means that, in accordance with the customs of the country, their names were transferred to some of their relatives, so as to perpetuate their memory.

"On the following day the women were occupied in fitting up, in a superb manner, a cabin with an arched roof, about a hundred paces long, the width and hight of which were in proportion.

"Although the riches of this country are not sought for in the bowels of the earth, and although most of them consist only in the spoils of animals, nevertheless, if they were transported to Europe they would have their value. The presents that the Nipissiriniens gave to the other nations alone would have cost forty or even fifty thousand francs.

"After that the same women carried the bones of their dead unto this magnificent room. These bones were enclosed in caskets of bark, covered with new robes of beaver skins and enriched with colors and scarfs of porcelain beads.

"Near each dead body sat the women in two lines, facing each other. Then entered the captains, who acted as stewards and carried the dishes containing food. This feast is for the women only, because they evince a deeper feeling of mourning.

"Afterward about a dozen men with carefully selected voices entered the middle of the cabin and began to sing a most lugubrious chant, which, being seconded by the women in the refrains, was very sweet and sad.

"The gloom of the night conduced not a little to this mourning; and the darkness, lighted only by the flickering flames of two fires which had been kindled at each end of the cabin, received their wailing, and their sighs. The theme of the song consisted in a sort of homage paid to the demon whom they invoked, and to whom their lamentations were addressed. This chant continued through the night, amid deep silence, on the part of the audience, who seemed to have only respect and admiration for so sacred a ceremony.

"On the following morning these women distributed corn, moccasins and other small articles that are within their means or the products of their industry. Their chant—ever plaintive and interspersed with sobs—seemed to be addressed to the souls of the deceased, whom they sped on their way—as it appeared, with deep regret—by continually waving branches that they held in their hands, for fear that these poor souls might be surprised by the dread of war and the terror of arms, and that their rest might thus be disturbed. For, at the same time, the body of an army could be observed descending a neighboring mountain with frightful cries and yells, running around at first in a circle, then in an oval; and at last, after a thousand other figures, they rushed upon the cabin, of which they became masters, the women having yielded the place as if to an enemy.

"These warriors became dancers after this victory. Each nation in turn occupied the ball room, for the purpose of displaying their agility, until the Algonquian captains, who acted as masters of ceremonies, entered ten or twelve in a line, bearing flour, beavers, and some dogs still alive, with which they prepared a splendid feast for the Hurons. The Algonquian nations were served apart, as their language is entirely different from the Huron.

"Afterward two meetings were held; one consisted of the Algonquian who had been invited to this solemnity, to whom various presents were given, according to the extent of the alliance that existed between the Nipissiriniens and them. The bones of the dead were borne between the presents given, to the most intimate friends, and were accompanied by the most precious robes and by collars of porcelain beads, which are the gold, the pearls and the diamonds of this country.

"The second assembly was that of the Huron nations, at which the Nipissiriniens gave us the highest seat, the first titles of honor and marks of affection above all their confederates. Here new presents were given, and so lavishly that not a single captain withdrew empty-handed.

"The feast concluded with prizes given for physical strength, for bodily skill and for agility. Even the women took part in this contest, and everything was done with such moderation and reserve that—at least in watching them—one would never have thought that he was in the midst of an assemblage of barbarians, so much respect did they pay to one another, even while contending for the victory."

* * * * * * *

"In this gathering of so many assembled nations we strove to win the affections of the chief personages by means of feasts and presents. In consequence of this, the Pauoitigoueieahak [Sauteurs] invited us to go and see them in their own country. (They are a nation of the Algonquian language, distant from the Hurons a hundred or a hundred and twenty leagues toward the west whom we call the inhabitants of the Sault). We promised to pay them a visit to see how they might be disposed, in order to labor for their conversion—especially as we learned that a more remote nation whom they call Pouteatami had abandoned their own country and taken refuge with the inhabitants of the Sault, in order to remove from some other hostile nation who persecuted them with endless wars. We selected father Charles Raymbaut to undertake this journey, and as at the same time some Hurons were to be of the party, father Isaac Jogues was chosen that he might deal with them."

Then follows account of this trip to the Sault, as noted on page 518.

The foregoing is sufficient to show that the feast of the dead was not confined to the people of Iroquian stock, in the region east of lake Superior, but was also a solemn celebration observed by some, at least, of the Algonquian stock, viz.: the Nipissing and the Sauteur. It is to be presumed that by these people the custom was due to contact with the Huron-Iroquois. Radisson celebrated the feast of the dead in 1659 with the Sioux in Minnesota; see page 521; also the discussion of burial customs of the Ojibwa, in a later chapter. According to Mooney the Cheyenne continue the practice of scaffold burial, differing in that respect from their confederates the Arapahoe. They probably acquired it from contact with the Dakota in Minnesota.

Dr. Yarrow remarks:

"Tree burial was not uncommon among the nations of antiquity, for the Colchiens enveloped their dead in sacks of skin and hung them to trees; the ancient Tartars and Scythians did the same. With regard to the use of scaffolds and trees as places of deposit for the dead, it seems somewhat curious that the tribes who formerly occupied the eastern portion of our continent were not in the habit of burying in this way, which, from the abundance of timber, would have been a much easier method than the ones in vogue, while the western tribes, living in sparsely wooded localities, preferred the other. If we consider that the Indians were desirous of preserving their dead as long as possible, the fact of their dead being placed in trees and scaffolds would lead to the supposition that those living on the plains were well aware of the desiccating property of the dry air of that arid region. This desiccation would pass for a kind of mummification. * * * The American Indians are by no means the only savages employing scaffolds as places of deposit for the dead, for Wood gives a number of examples of this mode of burial."*

Dr. Yarrow quotes the description and illustrations of the scaffold burial of the Australians, and calls attention to the resemblances to the scaffolds of the American Indian.**

From a review of the foregoing, and in consideration of the statements of Roman† as quoted by Dr. Yarrow, respecting the Choctaw, a Muskogean tribe of the gulf region, and of Bertram†† concerning the Choctaw of Carolina, of Jones concerning the Natchez,‡ Morgan concerning the Iroquois,‡‡ and especially in consideration of the discoveries of "bundled bones" buried in some of the mounds that have been opened in Minnesota, and others where the bones were buried promiscuously, we seem to be obliged to admit that the description by the Jesuits Lalemant and Bréboeuf of the "feast of the dead" and the burial of the bones of relatives accumulated during periods of time more or less long, as witnessed by Carver at St. Paul, and by Hennepin at Point Douglas, would have applied generally, with but slight modification, to the Dakota of Minnesota prior to contact with the whites. The normal purpose of tree and scaffold burial, in that case, was not to escape the difficulty of grave digging in the winter, but to find a suitable and safe place of deposit of the dead till the decay of the flesh made it possible to obtain the skeletons freed from their fleshly integuments.

If the Dakota were, in their ancestral relations, neighbors of the Choctaw, and cognate with the Huron and Iroquois on the Atlantic and eastern gulf coasts, that would sufficiently explain the similarity of their burial customs even after generations of separation, and it would also satisfactorily account for the fact that the Dakota and Iroquois, of all the tribes that participated in the great northward post-Glacial migration, with only the foregoing exceptions, so far as known, preserved the custom of habitual tree and scaffold burial until historic times. Further, if the inclemency of the latitudes where tree and scaffold burial prevailed had been the motive for tree and scaffold burial, it ought to have been equally operative on the Algonquian tribes, for they were no more exempt from death in the winter season than the Dakota. The Algonquian, however, in general either found means for digging graves or building small huts for tombs for their dead, or they allowed them to remain frozen, under proper care, until the ground was thawed out.

It is probable that by most writers on the burial customs of the Dakota, too much emphasis has been placed on this method of burial. It is unique and striking, and has therefore been detailed at length, while the burials of the common individuals, probably more numerous than tree burials, and especially of women and children, have been unnoticed. Schoolcraft has said that the adjedatig, or grave post, for the dead, was common to the Sioux and the western Chippewa.§

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*Uncivilized races of the World, vol. ii, p. 774, 1874.

**First Annual Report, B. A. E., 1881, p. 167.

†Hist. of Florida, 1775, p. 88.

††Bartram's Travels, 1791, p. 516.

‡Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1873, p. 105.

‡‡League of the Iroquois, 1851, p. 173.

§History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, part I, p. 356.

PART IV

CHAPTER I

HISTORY. TREATIES. MISSIONS. RESERVATIONS.

Brief History of the Dakota. We shall exclude from this account everything that is sanctioned only by tradition. The early migrations of the Dakota, based on tradition, have been discussed in an earlier chapter. We shall also exclude that part of Dakota history which includes and follows the great massacre of 1862.*

1639. Jean Nicolet, an explorer and interpreter for the merchants of Quebec, four years after the death of Champlain, visited Green bay in 1634-35, and there met the Winnebago, with whom he made a treaty in the name of France, in an assembly of four or five thousand men. (Relation of 1642.) He related his discoveries to the Jesuit priest, Paul Le Jeune, and from the latter's "Relation" of 1640, as translated by Reuben Gold Thwaites, the following is quoted:

> "Sieur Nicolet, interpreter of the Algonquian and Huron languages for the gentlemen of New France, has given me the names of these nations, which he himself has visited for the most part in their own country," i. e., "In the neighborhood of this nation are the Naduessiu, the Assinipour, the Erinioua i (Illinois), the Rasaouakoueton (Mascouten), and the Pouutouatami."

It might be inferred reasonably from this that Nicolet visited the Mississippi river, and encountered there not only the Sioux, but also the Assiniboin. But after a careful and lengthened study it was sufficiently established by Butterfield that he went no further west than Green bay and the Fox river, and encountered there only the Winnebago and the Mascouten. So far as known, the first use of the word in European writings was by Paul Le Jenne, in his Relation of 1640.

1641. The zealous Jesuits, nearly always accompanying the licensed traders, were the reporters of what they discovered, though they were not usually the first to visit the new regions. The Relation of 1641 states that Jogues and Raymbault arrived at the outlet of lake Superior, where they met a band of Pottowattami fleeing from the Dakota, and were told that the latter "lived to the west of the falls about 18 days' journey, the first nine across the lake and the other up a river which leads inland, referring probably to a stream which interlocks with the headwaters of the river St. Croix." (Neill, p. 101.)

Of this visit to the falls of St. Mary's river, Shea has given an abbreviated account.† The best account, however, is the original "relation" of 1642, as translated by Gold Thwaites in vol. 23, pp. 224-225, as follows:

> "They found there about 2,000 souls, and obtained information about a great many other sedentary nations." * * * "Among others, a certain nation, the Nadouessis, situated to the northwest or west of the Sault, eighteen days' journey further away. The first nine days are occupied in crossing another great lake that commences above the Sault; during the last nine days one has to ascend a river that traverses those lands. Those peoples till the soil in the manner of our Hurons, and harvest Indian corn and tobacco. Their villages are larger, and in a better state of defense, owing to their continual wars with the Kristinons, the Irinions, and other great nations who inhabit the same country. Their language differs from the Algonquian and Huron tongues."

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*There are numerous works descriptive of the Minnesota massacre and the Indian war which followed it. The latest, and, in some respects, the most reliable, is that by R. I. Holcombe, in vol. ii of "Minnesota in Three Centuries," published in 1908. The military events of the massacre and of the expeditions of General Sibley are given in vol. ii of "Minnesota in the Civil War and Indian War," 1899. A "comprehensive history" of the Dakota has been published, 1904, in vol. ii of the Collections of the South Dakota Historical Society, by Doane Robinson.

†The Catholic church in Colonial days, p. 228.

The 2,000 souls seem to have been resident at the Sault, although there were present "a remote nation whom they call Pouteatomi, who had abandoned their own country and taken refuge with the inhabitants of the Sault in order to remove from some other hostile nation who persecuted them with endless wars." Nothing is said of the Nadouessi being that hostile nation, although that was probable.

1643. There is a map of New France dated 1643, by Jean Boisseau, reproduced by Reuben Gold Thwaites in vol. 23 of his translation of the Jesuit relations, "reduced from the printed original in the Lenox library," which shows lake Superior, though very much distorted, entitled "*Grand lac des Nadouessiou*," at whose eastern end is "Saut de Gaston," the early name of Sault de Ste. Marie. The lake extends east and west and has a large river "qui vient du Midy," joining it on the south shore. Champlain, in his map of 1632, had likewise shown this lake, with the same river, but he named the lake "Grand lac." There is, therefore, evidence that between the date of 1632 and 1643 the French had had considerable intercourse with the natives about the great lake, sufficient to warrant them in designating it *Lac des Nadouessiou*. That also indicates either that the Dakota dominated the shores of the lake at that date, or that the designation was intended to indicate the direction in which it was necessary to travel in order to reach the Nadouessi.

1646. Chouart (Groseilliers) returned to Quebec from lake Superior with specimens of copper.

Radisson and Chouart.

1654. In the Jesuit relations two nameless Frenchmen are said to have returned to Canada in 1656, after an absence of two years, bringing joy to the people by reason of the burden of furs which they brought. These were Radisson and Chouart, the latter often called Groseilliers. This was about four years after the expulsion of the Hurons from their country by the Iroquois. If we are to accept the implication of Radisson, this journey had occupied three years, and he had been apparently on the Mississippi river and had seen the country far toward the mouth of the Mississippi, to a latitude where he saw evidences of the Spanish. There is great difficulty, however, in accepting this assumed trip down the Mississippi, and Mr. Colin Campbell and Dr. Warren Upham have rejected it as fictitious.* If we consider, however, that Radisson nowhere states explicitly that he left the "sweet sea" on his first expedition, and that he relates what was "tould" him by some people that he met, we may perhaps attribute some of the discrepancies of his book as published, to his imperfect manner of narration. He perhaps imagined some things that he thought ought to go with the narrative, and also mixed his own observations with the facts told him—all written about ten years after the occurrence, and evidently by an unlettered writer. Again, he may have counted the seasons (i. e., the summers) as years. He started, August 6, 1654, he spent the summer of 1655 in the far west and returned in the summer (August) of 1656 (Sulte says 1657), making practically three summers on the first expedition, although, as the Jesuits counted it more correctly, actually only two years. The statement that "we found a barill broken as they use in Spaine," cannot be understood except by changing *we* to *they*, which would then be in consonance with the rest of the narration, and which may have been mistakenly copied from the original manuscript in the Bodleian library, prior to publication by the Prince Society. Again, Mr. Benjamin Sulte is of the opinion that the years 1654, 1655 and 1656 were spent by Radisson elsewhere than in the west, perhaps in an excursion in Nova Scotia. (Brower's "Minnesota," p. 76.)

First Western Expedition.

1654-1655. Radisson and Chouart, his brother-in-law, probably spent the year 1654-1655 in the western country, but, owing to the indefiniteness of the narration, it has been impossible to trace his route with certainty, and there have been different interpretations, but it is very likely that the view taken by Dr. Warren Upham, in his discussion of the travels of these explorers,† is more compatible with geographic and historic requirements than that which was entertained by Blakeley, which led the explorers to the north side of lake Superior, or that by Miss A. C. Laut, which (including the journey

*Minnesota Historical Society, vol. x, part 2, pp. 458-479, 1905.

†Minnesota Historical Society, vol. x, part 2, pp. 463-465.

of 1660-61) carried them across Dakota to near the Rocky mountains, or that of Sulte, which makes out that this expedition was not toward the west, but probably in Nova Scotia. Campbell first suggested that Isle Pelée, or Prairie island, was the place of residence of these explorers during 1655, but afterwards withdrew it.

It was during the summer of 1655, while Chouart remained at Prairie island, that Radisson made a grand hunting and exploring expedition which, according to Upham, was toward the southeast, reaching the country of the Illinois. Chouart "putt up a great deale of Indian corne that was given him." It is probable also that he aided the Hurons in raising the crop of 1655. He foresaw the need of a considerable food supply for the contemplated return the following summer to Quebec.

1656. In the spring the whole company, about 500, departed for Quebec, taking a supply of corn and many beaver pelts. This abandonment of Prairie island continued till 1695, when Le Sueur erected a trading post probably near the spot that had been occupied by these first explorers.

It appears, therefore, that the Mississippi river was discovered by these explorers in 1655, at the mouth of the Wisconsin, and that they ascended it to Prairie island, where they spent about a year. Mr. Upham's reasons for this interpretation of the narrative of the first western expedition are given concisely in Mr. Brower's volume, "Minnesota," p. 93, and can be repeated summarily as follows:

1. The nature of the country between Green bay and the Mississippi, by way of the Wisconsin, agrees with Radisson's narrative better than that along the route to Saganaga lake.
2. The Huron Indians are known to have been on Isle Pelée about this time.
3. It is a place where corn could be raised, the soil and the climate both being adapted better than the country along the international boundary.
4. Radisson distinctly states that he bade farewell to the Indians of Sault Ste. Marie and of the north, which he would not have done had he intended to go to the western and northern part of lake Superior.
5. Radisson's remark that the beaver, in the region where he wintered 1655-56, were less plentiful than "in the north part," implies that he was further south than in the preceding winter, instead of further north. The preceding winter had been spent about the northern shores of lake Michigan.
6. Returning from the scene of their winter sojourn of 1655-56, Radisson describes the route as first south and then north, i. e., down the Mississippi and then up the Wisconsin.

There is reason also to believe that Radisson's "ambassadors" sent to neighboring "nations", ascended the Mississippi and reached the Crees and Assiniboin, these being the tribes that "uses to goe downe to the french." Hence it is possible, and even probable, that the cargo of furs which went to Quebec that year, was gathered not only from the banks and tributaries of the Mississippi in Minnesota, but from as far north as the northern confines of the state. Still, whether Radisson and Chouart, or any of their "ambassadors," reached Mille Lacs, is subject of conjecture. If they did, they ascended the Mississippi as far as Hennepin, saw the falls of St. Anthony, and became acquainted with the people with whom they appointed a rendezvous for a council when they made their second expedition to Minnesota. The facility with which they selected the "convenientest place" for that council and feast of the dead, implies a knowledge of the routes of travel which extended into the country of the Dakota.

That Radisson and his brother-in-law heard about the routes to the Hudson bay, the "bay of the north," from the Cree or others, is indicated from the statement that they made no mention of it for fear that the wild men had told them a fib, and that they desired to make the discovery themselves before announcing it.

Second Western Expedition.

1658-59. Radisson and Chouart return to Minnesota as fur-traders, coasting along the south side of lake Superior, passing through northwestern Wisconsin, suffering famine and frost, and in the spring of 1659 meet in "the rendezvous at the convenientest place," with representatives of eighteen several nations, where, with games and athletic festivities, they celebrate the "feast of the dead," and make a treaty of friendship and trade with the Sioux of Mille Lac. The location of the "fort" constructed for this council was in the vicinity of Ann river, and Fish lake, in Kanabec county. This has been discussed in this volume on pp. 337-339.

1659. The celebration of the feast of the dead in the early spring at the place agreed on for a rendezvous, as above mentioned. Then took place a remarkable journey to the "beef nation," i. e., to the Sioux who lived by the chase of the buffalo, occupying seven days' travel, the visit with the Sioux continuing through six weeks. It is not possible to know precisely where they went, nor by what routes, since the particulars of the journey are not given, but it is clear that the Frenchmen were somewhere amongst the prairie Sioux—the Mascouten Nadouessi, who had their summer residence on the prairies and retired for the winter "towards the woods of the north." From this visit they passed directly to Chequamegon bay, where they had, the previous autumn, cached the larger part of their merchandise. They spent the winter of 1659-60 at their fort, surrounded by "at least 20 cottages full," during which, with the aid of "a wildman," the Frenchmen killed above 600 orinack, or moose, "besides other beasts."

1660. In the spring, according to the promise made to the Cree at the time of the breakup of the great rendezvous at Ann lake, as the ice began to vanish they made preparation to visit the north side of lake Superior, and the country of the Cree, first visiting a "fort" of the Ottawas which was on "la pointe." There was yet some snow on the ground, but the ice of the bay which they crossed was so softened that in the transit, with their sledges, they nearly lost all their merchandise, as well as their lives. They then crossed "amongst crums of ice" to the other side of lake Superior, making a sail of "fifteen leagues" in the night, where they were received with much "joy by those poore Christinos." Thus they landed again in Minnesota, probably at Agate bay.

From there they departed immediately for their great journey northward, hastening because of the length of the journey which they planned to make. No particulars are given of their coasting along the north shore of lake Superior, nor of the route northward to James bay. Only some general statements can be quoted that bear on the question of the validity of this trip to Hudson bay. We are to understand that by "great river" Radisson meant the Nipigon river.

Entering this river and reaching lake Nipigon, the Frenchmen had the choice of trading with the Alemipisauke, along the east of lake Nipigon, or of continuing northward to the region of the Cree, who were conducting them. Here Radisson makes a significant remark:

1. "The wild men that brought us defended us above all things, if we would come directly to them, that we should by no means land, and so goe to the river to the other sid, that is, to the north towards the sea, telling us that those people weare very treacherous. Now whether they tould us this out of pollicy, least we should not come to them first and so be deprived of what they thought to gett from us [I know not]. In that you may see that the envy and envy raigns everywhere amongst poore barbarous wild people as at Courts."

This can be understood to be a reference to the jealousy which the Cree felt against the Alemipisauki, or other Indians.* The Cree were desirous of making a direct northward passage of lake Nipigon toward the entrance of a river that leads to Albany river, instead of landing at the mouth of the Perrai (or Perry) river, which enters lake Nipigon from the east, these both being routes to James bay of Hudson bay. The mutual jealousy of the French and the English for the trade of the northwestern tribes later caused the erection of forts on lake Nipigon and elsewhere to intercept the canoes of the Indians and divert them to the desired route. It was the intention of this party of Cree to get the benefit of the merchandise brought in by the Frenchmen, although later they generally traded with the English of Hudson bay.

2. In returning to lake Superior, having spent the summer at Hudson bay, Radisson says:

"We went up another river to the upper lake."

It is a remarkable fact that there are three routes for canoe travel between lake Superior and Hudson bay, viz.: the Nipigon-Albany route, the Perrai-Moose route, and the Michipicoten-Moose route. We do not have data to enable us to judge which of the two last mentioned was the route of Radisson's return, but it is most likely that he reached lake Superior again at the mouth of the Michipicoten river, as that point subsequently became an important post of the Hudson bay company, a fact which indicates an original frequency of travel by that route.

It was like Radisson to omit the details of his journeys *en route*, but to give summaries of his observations of the countries visited. This is illustrated by the trip to visit the prairie Sioux made in the spring of the previous year, as well as by his trip to Hudson bay. It is not apropos at this place

*Some old French maps represent Nadouesseronons east of lake Nipigon, nearly to James bay.

to enter into the particulars of his observations at Hudson bay, but it seems necessary to remark that, in the arrangement of his manuscript, an error has been introduced, which can be corrected by transferring the words beginning, "The nation of the beefe sent us guifts," and ending, "This I cannot tel for truth but, told me," to the description of his visit to the Sioux at Ann lake.

Dr. Upham, in his able discussion of Radisson's journals, has rejected this trip to Hudson bay, as a fiction written, apparently, to influence European authorities favorably in a commercial project to exploit Hudson bay, but to the writer the account seems consistent with geographic facts and with the rapidity of canoe travel in the northern rivers and lakes under the guidance of the Indians.

Two other considerations should be mentioned in favor of the validity of this part of Radisson's journal.

1. He says: "There were above 400 Christinos' boats that brought us their castors," and, "There was not seene such a company to goe downe to the French," and, "The company that we had filled above 360 boats." It appears from this that the point of departure was on the north side of lake Superior, the country of the Cree, rather than on the south side. No such a party of Cree boats, laden with beaver skins, can be supposed to have started from any point on the south side of lake Superior.

2. Hennepin shows that this claim of Radisson to have discovered Hudson bay was not an invention made by Radisson in Europe. In his "Continuation of the New Discovery" (pp. 138-39) he says that he learned at Quebec, from Groseilliers himself, with whom he was often in a canoe, that he, that is, Sieur Desgroseliers Rochechouart, had discovered Hudson bay.

Menard and the fugitive Hurons

1660-61. Neill, giving account of Menard's few months amongst the fugitive Huron and Ottawa states that he arrived, in the company of Guerin and other Frenchmen, at a bay on lake Superior, which he named *St. Theresa*, where he remained the following winter (1660-61), and whence he departed, in response to a request from those Indians, to find them at their retreat on the upper waters of the Black river in Wisconsin, in August, 1661. In July, 1661, he wrote of the Dakota:

"I hear every day four populous nations spoken of. They are distant from here about two hundred 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." On the 10th of August he was lost in the wilderness. Later, according to Neill, his camp kettle was found in a Sauk's hand and his robe and prayer book in a Dakota lodge, where the latter were looked upon as *wakan*, or supernatural. From Shea's account it is apparent that Menard went as far as Keweenaw, and that he was lost on the route to the Noquet islands, in the mouth of Green bay.*

1662-63. According to Perrot, as interpreted by Mr. A. M. Goodrich, the Hurons, who were with the Ottawa at Chequamegon bay in 1662-66, made war on the Sioux and suffered a total defeat, only one man escaping. This battle took place amongst the rice lakes in Anoka or Chisago county. (Minn. Hist. Soc. II, 209-211; also manuscript, unpublished, of Mr. Goodrich, read before the Minnesota Historical Society.)

Allouez' account of the Sioux.

1665. Menard was succeeded in 1665 by Allouez, who established the mission of the holy spirit at La Pointe. He met, near Fond du Lac, Minnesota, some Dakota warriors, whom he thus describes:

"This is a tribe that dwells to the west from here, 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 (rye), 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, 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 deer skins well dried, and stitched together so 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."

*History of Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, p. 355.

Allouez arrived at La Pointe "at a moment when a grand council was being held to determine upon lifting the hatchet against the warlike nation of the Nadawessi," and succeeded in stopping the war at least temporarily.

1666-67. A part of the journal of Allouez, 1666-67, is as follows, as translated by Gold Thwaites, vol. 51, p. 53, in his edition of the "Jesuit relations:"

"Of the mission to the Nadouesiouek."

"These are people dwelling to the west of this place, toward the great river named Messipi. They are forty or fifty leagues from this place (Chequomegon ?) in a country of prairies, rich in all kinds of game. They cultivate fields, sowing therein not Indian corn, but only tobacco; while Providence has furnished them a kind of marsh rye, which they go and harvest toward the close of summer in certain small lakes that are covered with it. So well do they know how to prepare it that it is highly appetizing and very nutritious. They gave me some when I was at the head of lake Tracy, where I saw them. They do not use muskets, but only bows and arrows, with which they shoot very skillfully. Their cabins are not covered with bark, but with deer skins, carefully dressed, and sewed together with such skill that the cold does not enter. These people are, above all the rest, savage and wild—appearing abashed and as motionless as statues in our presence. Yet they are warlike, and have conducted hostilities against all their neighbors, by whom they are held in extreme fear. They speak a language that is utterly foreign, the savages here not understanding it at all. Therefore, I have been obliged to address them through an interpreter, who, being an infidel, did not accomplish what I might well have wished. Still, I succeeded in wresting from the demon one innocent soul of that country—a little child who went to Paradise soon after I had baptized it. *A solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini.* God will give us some opportunity to announce his word there and glorify his holy name, when it shall please his divine Majesty to show mercy to these people. They are well nigh at the end of the earth, so they say. Farther toward the setting sun there are nations named Karezi—beyond whom, they maintain, the earth is cut off, and nothing is to be seen but a great lake whose waters are ill-smelling, for so they designate the sea.

"Toward the northwest there is a nation which eats meat uncooked, being content to hold it in the hand and expose it to the fire, while beyond these people lies the North Sea. On this side are the Kilistinons, whose rivers empty into Hutston's bay. We have, besides, some knowledge of the savages inhabiting the regions of the south, as far as the sea; so that only a little territory and few people are left to whom the Gospel has not been proclaimed—if we credit the reports often given us by the savages."

Marquette comes in contact with the Dakota.

1669. In 1669, Allouez was succeeded by the renowned Marquette, who wrote:

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

"They lie southwest of the mission of the holy spirit, and we have not yet visited them, having confined ourselves to the conversion of the Ottawa. Their language is entirely different from the Huron and Algonquian; 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 from a wooden fork, as we would a child.

"All the lake tribes make war on them, but with small success. They have false oats (*folle avoine*), wild rice, use little canoes, and keep their word strictly. I sent them a present by an interpreter, to tell them to recognize 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, and to that of the Kilistino; and that he was already with the Outagamis, and that I was going this fall to the Illinois, to whom they should leave a free passage.

"They agreed; but as far as 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 those nations loved God as they feared the French."

1670-71. But, characteristically for the Dakota, as stated in the "relation" for the following year (1670-71), the Ojibwa were attacked at La Pointe by them and forced to abandon the place. Of this Marquette relates:

"There are certain people, called Nadouessi, dreaded by their neighbors, 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 lake toward the 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.

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*To understand this favorable judgment of the Nadouessi by Marquette, it should be considered that the Iroquois were constantly and proverbially enemies of the French.

It may be that the old Dutch map elsewhere reproduced (p. 27) was made to show "Iroqu ysen" westward from Green bay, in northwestern Wisconsin, because of the remark of Marquette concerning the Dakota: "These are the Iroquois of the west."

"They speak a peculiar language, entirely distinct from that of the Algonquian and Huron, 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 (La Pointe), 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 to leave the place, which, in fact, they did in the spring."

1670. Perrot leaves the western country for Montreal, accompanied by more than 900 Indians and four Frenchmen.

1674. More or less constant hostility continued for three or four years, when, in 1674, according to Neill (p. 808), having been defeated by their enemies, some Sioux warriors went down to Sault Ste. Marie to make a treaty of peace with adjacent tribes. A friend of the Abbe de Gallinée wrote that a council was had at the fort, at which the Nadouesioux sent twelve deputies, and the others forty.

"During the conference one of the latter,* knife in hand, drew near the,breast of one of the Nadouessioux, who showed surprise at the movment, when the Indian with the knife reproached him for cowardice. The Nadouessioux said he was not afraid, when the other planted his knife in his heart and killed him. All the savages then engaged in conflict, and the Nadouessioux bravely defended themselves, but, overwhelmed by numbers, nine of them were killed. The two who survived rushed into the chapel and closed the door. Here they found munitions of war and fired guns at their enemies, who became anxious to burn down the chapel, but the Jesuits would not permit it, because they had their skins stored between its roof and ceiling. In this extremity a Jesuit, Louis De Boeme, advised that a cannon should be pointed at the door, which was discharged and the two brave Sioux were killed."

Duluth and Hennepin in Minnesota.

1679. The next white man to set foot on Minnesota soil was Duluth, a free, unlicensed fur-trader, who penetrated as far as the "forty Sioux villages" whose central point was Kathio, at the south end of Mille Lacs. His report, made in 1685 to marquis of Seignelay, is printed in vol. I of the report of the Geological and Natural History Survey, p. 5.

Duluth's efforts to establish peace among the Indians of Minnesota were no less than those of Radisson and Chouart. He called a grand council of all the northern nations "at the extremity of lake Superior," on the fifteenth of September, 1679, and got their good will by means of presents. During the following winter, in order that the peace which they contracted might be lasting, he induced the nations to make reciprocal marriages, and to hold subsidiary meetings in the woods, which he attended. The tribes chiefly concerned were the Assiniboin and the Sioux.

1680. Hennepin is taken by the Dakota to Mille Lacs, and is rescued by Duluth while with the Indians he was on a buffalo hunt, returned to Mille Lacs, and afterwards is conducted to Mackinac. On his downward trip from Mille Lacs, accompanied by a single Frenchman, robbed by the Indians, ragged and hungry, Hennepin discovered the falls of St. Anthony. The painting on the walls of the governor's room at the state capitol, is an imaginary reproduction of the scene at the discovery by Hennepin, but a travesty of the actual event. The adventures of Hennepin and his party are also given in vol. i of the final report of the Geological and Natural History Survey, with reproduction of his map.

Tonti's account of Dacan's Expedition.

Tonti, the brave and faithful associate of La Salle, has given an account of this northward expedition of Hennepin, which differs remarkably from Hennepin's, chiefly in those respects which concern the doings of the party while in "captivity" with the Dakota in Minnesota. They extend greatly the area in which they claimed to have established Catholic missions, and give details of the source of the Mississippi. Following is a translation of Tonti's document so far as relates to Minnesota, from Bernard's collection, vol. v, printed at Amsterdam in 1720. It is entitled, "Relation de La Louisíane et du fleuve Mississipi."

*On p. 113 Neill states that the insult was offered by a Cree Indian brandishing his knife in the face of a Dakota chief who, fired at the indignity, drew his own stone knife from his belt and shouted the war cry, from which resulted a fierce conflict in which ten of the Dakota were killed and scalped and the mission house burned.

This being the situation at the Illinois, La Salle thought he ought to put into execution his plan of discovery. For this purpose he selected M. Dacan to make the exploration of the countries along the Mississippi toward the north. To accompany him he chose father Louis, Recollect, with four Frenchmen and two savages, furnishing them with arms and necessary supplies, and gave them the means of trading with the tribes which they might encounter. They embarqued the 28th of February, of the year 1680, on the Illinois river, and descended to the Mississippi. They continued their course up this river, 450 leagues toward the north, within seven leagues of its source, spreading their examination from time to time on one side or the other in order to become acquainted with the different nations.

This river rises in a large spring on the top of a hill which bounds a very beautiful plain, in the country of the Issati, at the 50th degree of latitude. At four or five leagues from its source it is so much enlarged by five or six rivers which discharge into it that it is able to carry a boat. The surrounding country is inhabited by many tribes, the Haneton, the Issati, the Oua, the Tintonha, the Nadouessan. By all these people Dacan was well received, and made some trade with them, taking several as slaves. He increased his party by several savages who volunteered, and deposited, at two leagues from the source of this great river, the arms of the king upon the trunk of a large tree in sight of all those nations, who recognized them as those of their prince and of their sovereign master. He also established several residences, one amongst the Issati, where several Europeans who joined him in his journey volunteered to live; another with the Hanetons, another with the Oua, and lastly one among the Tintonha, the people of the river.

Delighted with the docility of these people, and furthermore attracted by the great trade in skins, he advanced by land as far as the land of the Assenipoits. This is a lake of more than thirty leagues in circumference. This nation, entirely wild as it is, received him very kindly. He there established a habitation for the French, and another amongst the Chongascabes, their neighbors.

It will at once be noticed that Tonti's description of the source of the Mississippi accords with that of Beltrami of 1823. Tonti and Beltrami were both Italians, and Beltrami's description was based on an actual visit. He described a beautiful lake on the top of a hill, which he named lake Julia, still called L. Julia, near and north of Turtle lake, and this became known as the "Julian source of the Mississippi." There is no reason to assume, therefore, that Beltrami copied Tonti's description, and their substantial agreement seems to validate the description by Tonti. That description must have been obtained from Dacan (who was the same as d' Accault, the chief of the Hennepin party) from actual inspection, or from the Indians. The lake of the Assenipoits, in this instance, was probably the Red lake, although later, on most maps, it was the Lake of the Woods. The fact that the wide-extended flat lands visible from the moraine south of Red lake, in which the waters of Red lake lie (the valley of the glacial lake Agassiz) were mentioned in the Tonti description, shows that the description was not a fabrication.

Mr. A. J. Hill has commented on this account of Tonti, in vol. vii, at pp. 77-79 of the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, as follows, influenced by the assertion of French referred to below:

"This publication was very likely a piece of bookseller's hack work, and its account of the expedition differs widely from that given in the works of Hennepin himself and the La Salle documents. Still, the description of the source of the Mississippi has such suggestions of the actual truth as regards the grand topographical features of the country, the *hauteurs des terres* and the great plains of the Red river west of them, that it is more likely to have been derived from Indian sources, through the medium of Accault, or some other French voyageur, than to have been conceived entirely in the brain of a compiler in a Paris Grub street."

It has also been stated by French, in vol. 1, of the Louisiana Historical Collections, that this work was a spurious reprint of a document published first at Paris in 1679 with the title, "Derniers Découvertes dans l' Amérique septentrionale du Sieur de la Salle, par Chevalier Tonti, Gouvernor du Fort St. Louis aux Illinois." Owing, however, to the above mentioned coincidences, and to other internal evidence which cannot be rehearsed here, the writer is disposed to look with much favor upon the idea of the original authenticity of this document as a work of Tonti. It is well known that between Hennepin and Accault there was no entente cordiale, and that Hennepin would have been very prone to omit in his narrative the doings of Accault during their sojourn at Mille Lacs. Accault, as leader of the party, may have occupied himself with a trip up the Mississippi, and may have imparted to Tonti the essentials of his expedition. As Hennepin makes light of Accault's leadership, so this account, attributed to Tonti, but primarily from Accault, makes little or no mention of Hennepin. It should be remembered also that La Salle was dependent for knowledge of this expedition mostly upon Hennepin. Hence, it is also possible that prior to the publication of the so-called spurious "relation" of Tonti, Accault had imparted to Tonti facts as to the geographic features which he learned of during or after his expedition with Hennepin.

Fort Perrot.

1683. Nicholas Perrot established a post on the west side of the Mississippi river near the site of the city of Wabasha, but on the alluvial land at a lower level. It was about three and a half miles nearly east of the railroad station of Wabasha, and nearly opposite the mouth of the Buffalo river, at the north end of a large island. This was marked on some old maps as fort Perrot, and later was occupied by a French trader named Roques, when it was known by the Sioux as Tepeota, in English as Grand Encampment. The ruins of this post may have constituted what Carver saw, in 1766, and described as "ancient fortifications. Neill says that "During the winter of 1683 and 84 the party proceeded to visit the Sioux above the lake, but were met by a large delegation descending on the ice, who returned, and escorted the Frenchmen to their villages." Perrot seems to have maintained an alliance offensive and defensive with the Sioux while at this post, against the allied Algonquian tribes of Wisconsin, consisting of the Fox, Kickapous and Mascoutin. These tribes combined in an effort to surround the post and capture it by surprise, but were astutely rebuffed by Perrot without bloodshed; still, according to Neill,* "while Perrot went to New York one of the Sioux chiefs, with a hundred followers, attacked the fort, but the nation disclaimed the act and punished the perpetrators. As Perrot was about to depart, a French trader stated that he had lost a package. To discover the lost goods the following scheme was devised. The commander, ordering one of his men to bring a cup of water, but really filled with brandy, told the Indians that if the lost articles were not produced he would dry up their swamps and hiding places, and then immediately set on fire the brandy in the cup. The Sioux, terrified by what seemed to be the burning of water, and believing that he might set even a river on fire, organized themselves as detectives, and quickly found the missing property."

1688. Reference can be made to a description of the map of Franquelin, p. 29 of this volume, having the date 1688, for an account of the geographic distribution of the Dakota and their sub-tribes at this time. It embodies the discoveries of Duluth and Hennepin, as well as earlier explorers.

Perrot takes possession of Minnesota.

1689. The proclamation by Perrot taking possession of the area of Minnesota and adjacent territory for the French king, was during King William's war, and was dated May 8, 1689. It was issued at Fort St. Antoine, situated at the mouth of the Chippewa river, foot of lake Pepin, and was in obedience to special and personal orders from the governor of Canada. He had a considerable party of Frenchmen with him, and fur-trading was the principal object of his western visit. Its translation by Dr. E. B. O'Callahan, published in 1855 in the "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," is as follows:†

CANADA. BAY DES PUANTS.

Record of the taking possession, in his Majesty's name, of the Bay des Puants, of the lake and rivers of the Outagamis and Maskoutins, of the river Ouiskonche and that of the Missiscipi, the country of the Nadouesioux, the rivers St. Croix and St. Peter, and other places more remote, 8th May, 1689.

Nicholas Perrot, commanding for the king at the post of the Nadouesioux, commissioned by the marquis de Denonville Governor and Lieutenant General of all New France, to manage the interests of commerce among all the Indian tribes and Peoples of the Bay des Puants, Nadouesioux, Mascoutins, and other western nations of the upper Mississipi, 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 Nadouesioux, of Monsieur de Borie-Guillot, commanding the French in the neighborhood of Ouiskonehe on the Mississipi; Augustin Legardeur Esquire, Sieur de Caumont, and of Messieurs Le Sueur, Hebert, Lemire and Blein:

Declare to all whom it may concern that, having come from the Bay des Puants and to the lake of the Ouiskonches and to the river Mississipi, we did transport ourselves to the country of Nadouesioux, on the border of the river St. Croix and at the mouth of the river St. Peter, on the bank of which were the Mantantons, and farther up into the interior to the northeast of the Mississipi as far as the Menchokatonx with whom dwell the majority of the Songeskitons and other Nadouesioux who are to the northeast of the Mississipi, to take possession for, and in the name of the king, of the countries and rivers inhabited by the said tribes, and of which they are proprietors. The present Act, done in our presence, Signed with our hand, and subscribed by the Reverend Father Marest, Messieurs Borie-Guillot and Caumont and the Sieurs Le Sueur, Hebert, Lemire and Blein.

Done at the Post St. Anthony, the day and year aforesaid. These presents are in duplicate; Signed to the original. Joseph Jean Marest, of the Society of Jesus; N. Perrot, Legardeur de Caumont, Le Sueur; Jean Hebert, Joseph Lemire and F. Blein.

*Minnesota Historical Society, vol. ii, p. 92.

†*Minnesota in Three Centuries*, vol. i, p. 247, 1908.

This cold-blooded assumption of the ownership of a vast territory in the heart of North America, regardless of the consent of the "proprietors" thereof, and without the rendering of any compensation, was characteristic of the age, and particularly of the Spanish and French.

Examination of the Mississippi above the Falls of St. Anthony.

1690. This may be assumed to be the date of an exploration made by Le Sueur and Charleville up the Mississippi river above the falls of St. Anthony, as narrated by Du Pratz in his "History of Louisiana"; although in the proclamation of Perrot in 1689 it was declared that he, or some of his party, had penetrated "farther up into the interior to the northeast of the Mississippi, as far as the Menchokatonx." The proclamation was designed, so far as concerned the area of the state above the mouth of Rum river, to validate the King's arms established by Duluth and Accault at Mille Lacs, based on Hennepin's narration, and on the proclamation of Duluth. It was therefore a most desirable further step in geographic knowledge to explore the Mississippi itself above the mouth of Rum river. This would be likely to bring the French into contact with other Indian tribes, and particularly with the Tinthona, the Gens de la rivière of Tonti,* and with the Songasketons, and perhaps with others. The Sioux who were met by Le Sueur assured him of great difficulties and grave dangers should he penetrate to the source of the Mississippi; he turned back after ascending, according to the usual rough estimate, 100 leagues, and was informed that it would require travel of at least 100 leagues still further to reach the sources of the great river—"I say sources, because there are many of them, according to the report of the savages." According to calculation by Mr. Brower, Le Sueur ascended as far as Sandy lake.

The trade in "castors" may be assumed to have been very lively and uninterrupted during these years, but there are but scant records—almost no available records—concerning the region of the upper Mississippi and of Minnesota, until the establishment of the fort on Isle Pelée by Le Sueur.

The relations between the Dakota and the Algonquian people of Wisconsin were so warlike, and the French traders suffered so many losses, that that route to the Mississippi was practically abandoned for some years. In 1690, therefore, Le Sueur was commissioned to visit the Sauteurs at La Pointe in order to maintain peace between the Sioux and the Ojibwa, and thus keep open the route to the Mississippi by way of the Brulé and the St. Croix valleys, the original route traveled by Duluth, and later by Schoolcraft and Lieut. Allen; but in 1696 it was decided at Quebec that all posts in Wisconsin and Minnesota west of Mackinac should be abandoned, and the French forces should be withdrawn. It was a question between the governor of Nouvelle France and the governor of Louisiana whether the upper Mississippi was a part of Nouvelle France or of Louisiana. Le Sueur was denied the privilege of exploring and trading in the Minnesota valley by the former, but was commissioned by the latter.

Fort Le Sueur.

1695. Le Sueur built a fort, by order of Frontenac, near the close of King William's war, on Isle Pelée, an island in the Mississippi near the head of lake Pepin, which was designed, according to Charlevoix, to establish and to maintain peaceable relations between the Ojibwa and the Dakota. It was also "a centre of commerce for the western country, and many pass the winter here because it is a good country for hunting." The ruins of a European structure, probably the fort of Le Sueur, were discovered on Isle Pelée by Mr. J. V. Brower, in 1903. It was located near the southeast end of the island, on the right bank of the stream which is the outlet of Sturgeon lake, not far below the lake, and on the terrace. During ten or fifteen years this was a place of French trade.

The first of the Dakota to visit Montreal were conducted thither by Le Sueur, in 1695. They were a Sioux warrior and a squaw, and were accompanied by five Frenchmen and a party of lake Superior Indians. At that time peace reigned between the Dakota and the Ojibwa. This Dakota chief was Tioscate, a Mantanton from the mouth of the Minnesota river, and he died at Montreal after an illness of 33 days, before Le Sueur fulfilled his pledge to return him the next spring. When later, in 1700, Le Sueur built his fort on the Blue Earth river, his kindred fell into lamentation at the mention of his name.

*It is to be noted that Hennepin calls the Tinthona "gens de la prairie," and Tonti "gens de la rivière." These terms probably refer to the same people, and can be reconciled by reference to the description of Radisson, who declared that the "nation of beef," dwelling in summer on the prairies, retired in winter to the woods toward the north.

Tioscaté and the Ojibwa chief Chinguabe had an interview with Frontenac while at Montreal, and, according to Neill,* 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 Dakota 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 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 Dakota as his children on condition that they would be obedient, and that he would send back Le Sueur with him.

Tioscaté, 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 these arrows before you."

Having finished, a Dakota 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 Tioscaté 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 thither and bring with me the twenty-two villages whom he has just restored to life by promising to send them iron."

Fort L'Huillier.

1700. Notwithstanding the order by the authorities of Quebec, in 1696, to withdraw all French forces from the country west from Mackinac, Le Sueur went to France and obtained, in 1697, from the French government a license to continue exploration in Minnesota, especially with reference to certain copper ores which he said he had found on the Blue Earth river. This commission, lost by capture by an English ship, was renewed in France in 1698, but was revoked by special order of his majesty, Louis XIV, before it was put into execution, owing to complicated relations with the Dakota and neighboring tribes. Le Sueur again visited France, but returned in 1699, not to Quebec, but to Louisiana, where he found more favorable reception, the governor, Iberville, being his wife's cousin.

It is not necessary to rehearse the history of Le Sueur's copper mining enterprise. In October, 1700, he reached the point where he erected his fort. Its location has but lately been accurately ascertained, and a map of the locality is given in the present volume on p. 493. He was at once interviewed by a party of Dakota, who informed him that the country was owned by the Sioux of the west, that is, the Prairie Sioux, the Iowa and the Otoe, the last mentioned being a little further toward the southwest. They urged him to establish himself at the mouth of the Minnesota (at Mendota), where all the tribes could visit him without the necessity of passing through each other's territory. He declined to alter his plans, on the ground that it was too late in the season, influenced also by the desire he had to explore the "mines" which he had previously discovered on the Blue Earth, and which had been assayed by L'Huillier in 1696, in Paris. The Sioux of the east, however, the M'dewakanton, evidently were so incensed that they not only robbed two Canadians who were out hunting, but raised their guns against the fort itself. The Sioux of the west disclaimed responsibility for this overt act of hostility, pleading that they ought not to be made to suffer for the act of "a single village that had no good sense,"

*History of Minnesota, Fourth Edition, p. 149.

but promised still to repair the losses of the Canadians if they knew how. The negotiations with Le Sueur were conducted by the Mantantons and the Oujalespoiton, the latter apparently some of the Sioux of the west, who had not had trade with the French, but eagerly desired it. According to Le Sueur, they remained generally on the prairies between the upper Mississippi and the Missouri rivers, and lived entirely by the chase, thus resembling the "nation of the beef" visited by Radisson and Chouart. They must have had close relations with the Tinthona, of Hennepin, if they were not identical. They did not use canoes, nor cultivate the earth, nor gather wild rice. They lived in lodges of buffalo skins, which they transported with them, each lodge accommodating two or three men with their families.

It is apparent that Le Sueur planned to establish another great fur-trading center. He sent messengers to invite the Iowa and the Otoe to come and settle about his fort, since they differed from the Sioux of the west, and could be depended on to cultivate the soil and to furnish supplies to the French, and in default of getting these, he essayed to attract the Sioux of the west to form a village about the fort, and in that he was successful. The Sioux of the east, the M'dewakanton, also promised to come and establish themselves among the French the following summer, after they had gathered their wild rice. The latter also made satisfaction for having robbed the Frenchmen, giving Le Sueur 400 pounds of beaver skins. It is probable that the victims had been two of Le Sueur's men, since Penicaut states that one-half of the company were sent out to hunt, while the other half worked on the fort.

That Le Sueur apprehended the geographical and commercial advantages of the region in the center of which he established Fort L' Huillier, is evident from the fact of his choosing that point for a proposed great trading emporium, but also from the estimate which he furnished Iberville of the possibilities of the fur trade, viz.:

> "In four or five years we can establish a commerce with these savages of sixty or eighty thousand buffalo skins;* more than a 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 sou, two pounds of coarse hair at ten sou. Besides, from smaller peltries two hundred thousand livres can be made yearly."

There had been a fierce war, in the interval between the visits of Le Sueur (1695 to 1700), between the Mantanton Sioux and the Iowa on one side and the Mascoutin, Sauk, Fox and Kickapou on the other, and the "Saugiestas" had been defeated. This victory, however, had cost the Mantanton the lives of many of their warriors. They said to Le Sueur: "Behold the remains of this great village which thou hast aforetimes seen so numerous; all the others have been killed in war." Since 1683 Le Sueur had been in the western country, and there is no doubt but he had passed the village of the Mantanton, situated near the mouth of the Minnesota, a number of times. They had even entrusted him with their chief, Tioscaté, in 1695, to be taken to Montreal. They spoke with Le Sueur in friendly and positive terms.

After Le Sueur left Fort L' Huillier, in the spring of 1701, in charge of a garrison of thirteen men, including the commander, the Sauk and Fox Indians renewed their inroads on the Dakota, and these hostilities were extended against the French who were trading with the Dakota, on the plea that by such trade the Dakota were supplied with firearms and other contraband European articles. The war became general, and continued for several years, the Dakota, with characteristic non-fidelity, sometimes fighting against the Sauk and Foxes, and sometimes with them against the Ojibwa and French.

It was stated to be in consequence of these troubles that the establishment on the Blue Earth was abandoned by the French in the fall of 1701, who returned to Louisiana; and for nearly two hundred years the primeval silence and solitude covered the site.† Evidence of the imminent danger which threatened the fort's garrison was recently most convincingly brought to light by the discovery of the headless skeletons of seventeen adults buried together in shallow graves about three gunshots from the fort. According to Mr. Hughes, these were probably the skeletons of some Sioux and three Frenchmen who were ambushed by Mascoutin and Fox enemies, during some of their trading visits to Fort L' Huillier, buried by the soldiers of the fort. There may have been, however, more Frenchmen. Penicaut says the original party of Le Sueur comprised 25 persons, "in a single shallop," when they left the mouth of the Mississippi; half of them went hunting buffalo while the rest worked on the fort;

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*It was the special and personal concession to La Salle to trade in buffalo skins.

†Mr. Thomas Hughes has given an account of the discovery of the old site, in vol. xii, *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, pp. 283-285, 1908.

in the fall of 1700, seven French traders, of whom one was a "gentleman" of Le Sueur's acquaintance named D'Evaque, took refuge with them and spent the winter in their fort, making 32 in all. In the spring of 1701 they took 12 laborers and 4 hunters to the location of the copper mine, thus leaving 16, exactly one-half of their number, to guard the fort; having loaded their boat and two canoes, Le Sueur left D'Evaque in charge, "with 12 Frenchmen," in the spring of 1701; took with him 12 men to descend to the mouth of the Mississippi; that D'Evaque had been attacked, after Le Sueur left, by the Mascoutin and Fox, and had lost 3 French, killed; but that, notwithstanding the loss of 3 of his party, he arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi "with 12 Frenchmen who remained with him at Fort L' Huillier."

If these statements be carefully considered, it appears that there is some discrepancy by which ten men are not accounted for. Allowing that the party that returned with D'Evaque were 9 (after 3 had been killed), and that the party that returned with Le Sueur comprised 13 persons (including Le Sueur himself), the remainder of the 32, of which the garrison consisted during the winter, i. e. 10 Frenchmen, did not return. If it be considered that 6 of these were of the party of Canadian traders who, with D'Evaque, had been driven to the fort by the hostility of the Sioux, and who may have left the Le Sueur party without note being made of it, there are still 4 to be accounted for. It is evident, therefore, that in some way 7 of the French disappeared, and that the headless 17 skeletons may have embraced more than 3 French, which would render still more reasonable the suggestion by Mr. Hughes that the bodies were buried by the French of the garrison.

Minnesota abandoned by fur-traders.

After the abanondment of Fort L' Huillier, for about twenty years the Sioux had but little or no trade with the French. In this time was the Queen Anne's war between France and England, begun by the declaration of war by England in 1702. Two powerful inducements led the Canadian government to withdraw from all connection with the fur-trade in Minnesota, viz.: the continued hostility of the Algonquian tribes in Wisconsin, and the absorption of its warlike capabilities in hostile inroads upon the English colonies of New England.

With the curtailment of the fur-trade with the upper Mississippi, the French resolved to exploit lake Superior and the country further northwest. This led finally to the explorations of Verendrye, and renewed search for the route to the Pacific. It involved also renewed efforts to establish peace between the Sioux and the Cree.

Fort Beauharnois.

1727. As the French fur-traders withdrew from Wisconsin and Minnesota, the English advanced, and through friendly alliance with the Fox began to have such influence in the northwest as to threaten the exclusive French control of the Indian trade. As a means to circumvent the interests of the English, orders were given to establish a fort in the Sioux country. For this purpose Rene Boucher, Sieur de la Perriere, accompanied by two Jesuit priests, was despatched, with a considerable military contingent, to erect the fort which became known as Fort Beauharnois. The "Company of the Sioux," specially organized for this expedition, was granted the exclusive right of trading in the country of the Sioux, and "wherever the Sioux went in their hunting expeditions."* The fort was built on the low land of Point au Sable, on the west side of lake Pepin, near what is now Frontenac, in Goodhue county. The expedition had successfully passed through the country of the hostile Wisconsin Indians, probably by the aid of liberal presents, but the fort was hardly established before the same Indians began to show their hostile disposition in intercepting the traders that passed through Wisconsin to the fort. In October, 1728, the place was weakened by the departure of eleven men and father Guigas, who started for Canada by way of the Illinois, but were captured by the Mascoutin and the Kickapou, remaining prisoners during the winter, reaching Canada in 1729. The Company of the Sioux had but little activity, and seems to have been dissolved, but in 1731 a new company was organized, with almost identical terms. The new commandant was Linctot, and a new location was chosen, on higher ground, where they were welcomed by a large number of the Sioux, who established themselves in a village in the immediate vicinity. In 1733, on the defeat of the Fox and Sauk Indians by the French army under Villiers, the Sioux would not give them welcome on the west side of the Mississippi.

**Acta et Dicta*, vol. ii, p. 100.—F. J. SCHAEFER.

1735. Events that transpired during this year, the nature of which can only be surmised, seem to have changed the Sioux from friends to enemies. A few Winnebago who were camped near the fort informed the commandant of their changed "heart." The M'dewakanton Sioux, who at that time ranged from Mille Lacs to and beyond the Iowa line, began sudden and treacherous hostility against the French.

1736. In the spring an expedition was sent south, consisting of 54 warriors, and one that embraced 130 warriors, was sent north. The former captured and scalped two French travelers near the Illinois river, and on their return insultingly danced the scalp dance about Fort Beauharnois for four days, giving no information to the garrison. The Winnebago informed the French, and put them on their guard. The northern expedition resulted in the celebrated massacre of the Verendrye party, the details and location of which have lately been vividly portrayed by Rev. F. J. Schaefer.* There can hardly be any question that this sudden change was due to the equivocal relations which the French maintained toward the two Indian stocks. They were friendly to the Sioux, or claimed to be, at Fort Beauharnois, but furnished firearms to their enemies, the Cree, the Ojibwa and the Illinois. The tribes were not ranged, in this or in that party, strictly according to blood relationship, for the Assiniboin, a Dakota tribe, fought the other Dakota, while the Ojibwa, an Algonquian tribe, fought against the other Algonquian.

La Ronde was in charge of the post at "Chagouamigon," in 1736. He was a valiant soldier who had been with Iberville in Hudson bay, and had participated in the defeat of the English and the Dutch. For his fortitude and fidelity he was awarded the concession of that trading post in 1728. From his reports to governor Beauharnois important facts are derived relating to the massacre of the Verendrye party at the Lake of the Woods. He wrote, under date of June 28, 1736, to Beauharnois, as follows:†

"The war has been very extensive, and the Sioux have killed more than thirty persons. They have, nevertheless, sent two women Sauteux whom they had taken prisoners to ask for peace. Immediately I sent ten Sauteux, with two slaves, and loaded them with two thousand crowns worth of presents, in order that I might succeed in concluding peace. Fifty days after they left I embarked for the purpose of visiting places on the lake. I believe peace will be made between them. Pressure of business prevents my giving more details."

But on July 22, of the same year, he gives some of the particulars of the massacre of the Verendrye party:

"I had the honor to inform you of the attack the Sauteux made on the Sioux last year. I have yours noting that when I arrived at Chagouamigon I strongly censured the Sauteux for having fought the Sioux of the lakes, because it was the Sioux of the prairie who killed their chief. They replied, it was true, but that it was these who had killed the twenty-two Frenchmen in the north, and they wished to avenge their deaths. What these Indians say is perfectly true, for we have seen dials and several other things belonging to the Jesuit father, but not the chalice, which was thrown into the river by a woman because her child had died.

"I told the Sauteux it was necessary to make peace, otherwise they ran the risk of starving this winter. Eight days later, the Sioux sent a Sauteux prisoner to say to his people that notwithstanding they had been killed, they wished to make peace; and they had only to send five Sauteux and they would meet them half way. Only one decided to go, at my solicitation, but did not proceed to the meeting place, but wintered thirty leagues from Chagouamigon.

"In March, on information given me by two young men that their father had killed an elk fifteen leagues from the fort, and that I should send and look for it, I detailed my son and seven men to bring it in. Four hours later the Sioux party of one hundred attacked the wigwams of the Sauteux, killed four men and lost five, the chief being among the number. The fifteenth of April the Sioux sent back two men captured in the fight to ask the Sauteux why they had not come to the meeting place, as invited, and that it was because they had not that they attacked them. They now again demanded a meeting, and named the same chiefs. I sent off as soon as possible eight Sauteux and two slaves. They marched sixty days on the prairies without meeting the Sioux, and finding only their hiding place for beaver skins, and should have left their sign that they had been there."

It can be gathered from this that:

1. The Sioux that massacred the Verendrye party on the Lake of the Woods, June, 1736, were from the Mille Lacs bands.

2. The Sioux were at war with the Ojibwa as well as with the Cree.

3. The Sioux exchanged the sun dials and other articles captured from the French, with the French (or the Ojibwa) at Chagouamigon.

**Acta et Dicta*, vol. ii, pp. 114-133, 1909.

†Macalaster College Contributions, I, p. 192.

4. Probably from this date the French at Chagouamigon sympathized with the Ojibwa, and readily supplied them with more firearms against the Sioux. They sent a party of Ojibwa to Fort Beauharnois with news of the massacre at Lake of the Woods.

The Sioux remained at Mille Lacs at least till 1739.

1737. A party of 30 Sioux killed an Ojibwa, his wife and children, in the vicinity of lake Superior, in March. The Ojibwa in retaliation raided the Sioux at fort Beauharnois, and were befriended by the Winnebago. The French here must have seen the anomalous predicament in which their alliances placed them. They were friends of the Ojibwa at Chagouamigon, but if they abetted them they would encounter the instant hostility of the Sioux. If they aided the Sioux, who had the guiltiness of murder on their heads, they knew they would lose the friendship of the Sauteurs, the strongest allies they had amongst the Indians. As far as they could, they protected the Sioux from the Ojibwa, but without any open hostility against the Ojibwa. Most of the Sioux escaped in the night, but the Winnebago were so fearful of a return hostile visitation from them that they departed with the Ojibwa. It seems probable that the French fraternized with the visiting Ojibwa, and when the Sioux left their village at fort Beauharnois they carried with them no friendly feeling for the French. At least, through fear of being killed by the Sioux, after the officers had held a council, the fort was abandoned on the 30th day of May, 1737. The French military commander was Legardeur St. Pierre.

Battle of Kathio

1744. The retirement of the French from fort Beauharnois in 1737 left the theater of war without reporters. The fur-trade languished, or ceased. The Sioux began to regret their treatment of the French, especially as the Ojibwa, who had maintained their alliance with the French at Chagouamigon, and made successful war on them from that quarter, became more and more aggressive. It is probable that the battle of Kathio took place in 1744, or 1745, the result of which was the expusion of the Sioux from their ancient seats at Mille Lacs (see p. 532). This disastrous conflict so disheartened the Sioux that in 1746 they renewed their request for French traders, and the reopening of fort Beauharnois as a military post, which was refused by the authorities. Unlicensed traders, or "coureurs des bois," improved the opportunity to supply, in a measure, the lack of the Sioux, and they became so numerous that the Canadian authorities tried to compel them to return to Quebec.

There is much reason to believe that notwithstanding orders from Beauharnois, as well as from the French king, to refrain from taking sides among the natives with one tribe against the other, the French traders at Chagouamigon, after the massacre of 1736, were not scrupulous in distributing firearms and ammunition to the Ojibwa. The date of the decisive battle of Kathio is not well known. Elsewhere it has been shown (p. 529) that it preceded the peace that was inaugurated by De Lusignan in 1746. The Sioux had turned violently and apparently with considerable success against the French. Human nature, as displayed on the frontiers of the Northwest, would hardly be human if it did not neglect such orders and retaliate, at every favorable opportunity, against their new antagonists—at least so far as to freely supply arms to the Ojibwa. There is no knowledge of any Frenchman present at the battle of Kathio, but the persistence of the Ojibwa, for three days, in assault on the Dakota, is so unlike the warfare of the Indian, that it looks not only like the firearms and powder of the French, but very much like French valor.

Peace of Lusignan.

1746. De Lusignan was sent with authority to collect the law-breaking coureurs des bois and bring them to punishment, but on the route to Quebec they escaped from him at Mackinaw. De Lusignan had a double mission. Before licensed traders should again be sent to Minnesota, it was apparent that the war between the Ojibwa and the Sioux should be terminated. The time was ripe and the occasion was favorable. The penitence of the Sioux led them to bring to Lusignan nineteen of their young men bound with cords, who were guilty of killing three Frenchmen at the Illinois. The Sioux had been beaten and were humiliated; they made a formal peace with the Ojibwa, and on Lusignan's return to Montreal he was accompanied by four Sioux chiefs to solicit pardon for their young braves.

In volume x of the "Colonial Documents of New York," on p. 37, is the report of Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas, on the condition and military affairs of Canada, dated October 28, 1746, in which occurs the following passage concerning the "peace of Lusignan:"

"Sieur de Lusignan, who spent last year among this tribe, has meanwhile ordered these coureurs des bois to return. They gave him to understand that they were ready to obey and follow him; they even set out, but, either on reflection, or rather on learning that they would be arrested at Missilimakinac, they turned aside and abandoned Sieur de Lusignan. This officer brought with him this summer four Scioux chiefs of the Lakes and Prairies, who came down to solicit my pardon for 19 of their young men who had killed three Frenchmen at the Illinois. The chiefs delivered up these young men, bound and tied, to Sieur de Lusignan, on his arrival at their village, seemingly evincing sorrow for the fault they had committed. This nation behaved well during the winter, and made peace with the Puants, Wild Rice Indians, and the Sauteurs of the Point, with whom they had been a long time at war. Sieur de Lusignan obliged them to restore the prisoners they had made which produced tranquility among the nations inhabiting that post. As regards the lessees of the post, they have made no complaint to me of Sieur de Lusignan, who favored their trade by every means in his power. These lessees would have done a very profitable business had they not suffered from fire, whereby they have lost considerab y. The increase in the price of beaver has, however, indemnified them partly for that loss. We jointly report to you the arrangement adopted relative to that post, the lease of which has expired, and to the others that are in a like position."

The foregoing "post" must have been fort Beauharnois, since the French called that the "post with the Sioux," and had no other at that time. It would seem, therefore, that that fort was not abandoned as a fur-trading post, although the French soldiers and the Jesuit priest had lett it in fear of the Sioux in 1737.

In consequence of this peace, conditions were inviting for the renewal of trade relations with the Sioux. Therefore, in compliance with repeated petitions of the Sioux, fort Beauharnois was reopened by order of the governor of New France, in the summer of 1750, by Sieur Marin. It continued to be a frontier French post till 1755, and, though not included in the surrender of New France to the English, when Montreal fell in 1760, it was not known later as a military post, but as a fur-trading center, under French control, it must have been an important place for some years longer.

From 1746 to the surrender of Montreal in 1760, which was followed, in 1763, by the transfer of Canada to the British, but little is known of the condition of the Dakota in Minnesota. It is necessary to believe that, in the main, the Indians were not molested by the whites, but it is also necessary to believe that vagrant scouts of the fur-trade visited the villages and furnished them with many of the articles of civilization. There was no obstacle to the free exercise of all their aboriginal methods of existence. The feuds which were allayed by the peace of Lusignan soon sprang again into life, and the Dakota, forming a fast alliance with the Fox, waged constant war upon the Ojibwa. The French of Canada were in no condition to enforce the terms of the peace of Lusignan, as they were involved in a life-and-death struggle with New England, and in this struggle France and England were committed. The Canadian government summoned all the Algonquian tribes of the northwest to participate in that war, and almost without exception they complied with that summons. In the published list of their Indian confederates no mention is made of the Sioux, and of the Dakota stock only a few "Puants" and a few "Aoais" are named, the last being "from the western sea, who never before appeared in the country."*

1748. The Ojibwa not only drove the Fox from the region of the Wisconsin "rice lakes," but pressed hard and continually on the Dakota of Minnesota. Not long after the battle of Kathio, probably in 1746, the village at Sandy lake had been compelled to retire by the victorious onset of Biauswah, an Ojibwa chief. The place was occupied by a band of Ojibwa.

Further hostility, which resulted in numerous battles about the headwaters of the Mississippi, was so disastrous to the Dakota that they finally were compelled to abandon their hunting grounds, and their village sites about lakes Cass and Winnibagoshish. Their last rally for the preservation of their "fires" was made while they still held Leech lake, and from there as a centre three war parties were sent out simultaneously against the Ojibwa. This was about the year 1748. They summoned warriors from the different Dakota bands situated further south and west, with a firm determination to expel the invaders. One party proceeded against the Ojibwa at Sandy lake, one against those of Rainy lake, and one went toward the northwest, designed to strike not only the Ojibwa who had gathered in the region of Pembina, but any of their allies, the Cree or the Asinniboin, who were in the same region and who were equally enemies of the Dakota.

*Colonial Documents of New York, vol. x, p. 630.

These parties accomplished little, almost nothing. That which went against Rainy lake fought a severe battle and lost many brave warriors. They unexpectedly met a war party from Rainy lake, and returned defeated and dispirited to Leech lake. The site of this battle is not known, but it was probably somewhere in the valley of Bowstring river, in Koochiching county, and perhaps at Big Falls, where parties from either direction would be apt to make camp for several days.

The expedition against Sandy lake met another Ojibwa war party going against Leech lake. Some Ojibwa scouts were pursued by the Dakota to a small lake and were there encountered by the main body of the Ojibwa. On the banks of this lake the two hostile parties contended for half a day, when they both retired. This lake has since become known as "Cut-Foot Sioux lake," from the fact that a Dakota was there killed whose feet had been cut half off. From the location of this lake, north of lake Winnibagoshish, in Itasca county, it appears that neither party followed the direct route to reach its destination, which would have been by way of Leech Lake river, but pursued a roundabout course through lake Winnibagoshish and the Mississippi river above the mouth of Leech Lake river. The main settlement of the Dakota was doubtless on and about Otter Tail point, named "Mound point" by Mr. Brower because of the great number of aboriginal mounds found there, and in order to reach it by way of Leech Lake river it would be necessary for the Ojibwa to advance across the open lake, or by skulking along its shore, either of which would have exposed them to discovery by their enemies. At the same time the Dakota party, by making a well-known portage from the north end of Leech lake to the Winnibagoshish lake, not only avoided the exposure of crossing Leech lake, but had the advantage of descending the current of the Mississippi after leaving Winnibagoshish lake.

The third war party of the Dakota returned from the region of Pembina without finding any Ojibwa on whom to make reprisal for former inroads on the Dakota. Ten of their number, however, persisted in penetrating further within the country of the Cree and destroyed two wigwams of Ojibwa hunters, losing two of their own number.

The substantial failure of this warlike roundup against the Ojibwa was so significant, in the judgment of the influential men of the Dakota, that they determined to abandon also Leech lake; and consequently the bands of the Dakota, for a long time known in part as Chongaskabe and Tinthonha, and later as Sisseton and Titon, migrated further west and south, and built new "fires" about the upper waters of the Red and the Minnesota rivers. As these are probably the same Indians that by Radisson were said to have a summer residence on the prairies and winter cabins to which they retired in the woods, this movement was nothing more than the abandonment of their winter habitations and the adoption of their prairie sites as their all-year residence.

1750. At first the Ojibwa were cautious in occupying the abandoned sites of the fleeing Dakota, for the Dakota haunted the region and harassed their hunting parties, but gradually the Dakota became so far reconciled that they smoked the peace-pipe with parties of the Ojibwa and for short periods maintained peaceful relations with them. Their hunting parties were sometimes camped near hunting parties of the Ojibwa, and on those occasions the one-time antagonists would visit each other's camp, make mutual presents, restore captives and part again as friends, but each resolved to renew the war on the first occasion after the expiration of the peace-pipe truce.

1752. Further toward the northwest the Cree and the Prairie Sioux, or "Sioux de l'Ouest," were likewise at war. The Asinniboin were confederated with the Cree. Hostilities in the region of the Lake of the Woods interfered with the exploratory expedition of Jaques Legardeur de Saint Pierre. The exigencies of the war in Wisconsin, closing the route to the Mississippi and to the Dakota in that direction, the Canadian authorities devised a plan to circumvent the Fox by opening routes that should go to the south and to the north of them. La Marque de Marin was intrusted with an expedition to reach the Pacific by way of the Missouri, and Saint Pierre with another by way of Lake of the Woods and the Saskatchewan. The latter had had some experience with the Dakota at fort Beauharnois, where he had been in charge, but had abandoned that post in 1737 through fear of the Dakota, and in 1729, when stationed at Chagouamigon, he had "compelled peace" between the Cree and the Sioux. When, in the prosecution of this mission, he reached Rainy lake in 1750, he threatened the Ojibwa and the Cree that, unless they desisted from their hostile inroads upon the Sioux, he would be under the painful necessity of cutting off all French supplies. He had but little success, though he remained in the vicinity of lake Winnipeg for about two years, either in establishing peace among the Indians, or in finding any river "which led elsewhere than to Hudson bay." In July, 1752, the Dakota of the

prairies, or western Sioux, made an attack on the Cree, which not only negatived, for the time being, the efforts of Saint Pierre to establish peace, but put the Dakota of the region of the upper Mississippi in a state of fear lest the Cree should retaliate on them. Marin, the younger, in charge of the expedition by way of the Missouri, posted at fort Beauharnois, co-operated with Saint Pierre, and induced the M'dewaukanton and their allies of the eastern Sioux to approach the Cree with propositions looking to an alliance with the Cree against the western Sioux, promising to send several chiefs to hold a conference with Cree chiefs at Michilimakinak. The eastern Sioux at the same time sent back to the Cree two captive Cree who had been slaves with the River and Lake Sioux (i. e. the M'dewaukanton) for a long time, as a proof of their sincerity. The Sioux chiefs reached Michilimakinak, but by reason of some misunderstanding about the time or place of rendezvous they missed the appointment. The treaty of alliance, however, seems to have been made as planned, for Saint Pierre in 1753 stated: "I have no doubt that at the present moment these two nations are living in peace and uniting to go to war on the Prairie Sioux."

While these events were being enacted in the region of the sources of the Mississippi river, the M'dewaukanton and Mantanton were gradually concentrating on the Mississippi lower down. They rested for a time, in part, in the lower portion of the valley of Rum river, but eventually removed wholly to the Mississippi valley, extending from the lower reaches of the Minnesota to the mouth of the St. Croix and southward, even to the mouth of the upper Iowa river. As fugitives from Mille Lacs some of them remained in the region of wild rice, and confederated with the earlier occupants of the region now included in Anoka and Chisago counties.

It is not known whether, in their southward movement, they encountered the Iowa, but it is very likely that they found some obstacles to peaceable occupancy of their new home in the form of earlier proprietors. We have no other tradition than that they expelled the Iowa, who in 1679 were on the west side of the Mississippi at and below lake Pepin. It may be also that some Omaha were situated within Minnesota along the bluffs and tributary valleys of the Mississippi at this date.

Battle of Point Prescott.

1755. It was during this interval, between the peace of Lusignan and the surrender of Canada, that occurred some of the great battles between the Dakota and the Ojibwa. According to Warren, the peace was broken, on one occasion, because of a trifling incident.*

"It originated at a war dance which was being performed by the Dakota on lake St. Croix, preparatory to marching against some tribe of their numerous enemies toward the south.

"On occasions of this nature the warriors work themselves, by hard dancing, yelling and various contortions of the body, into a state of mad excitement; every wrong which they had suffered at the hands of their enemies is brought fresh to their remembrance for the purpose of 'making the heart strong.'

"Under a state of excitement such as is here described, a distinguished Dakota warrior shot a barbed arrow into the body of an Ojibwa who was dancing with the Dakota, intending to join them on the war trail against their enemies. Some of the old men who relate this tradition assert that the Ojibwa was part of Dakota extraction, and the fierce warrior who shot him exclaimed, as he did so, that he 'wished to let out some of the hated Ojibwa blood which flowed in his veins.' Others state that he was a full blooded Ojibwa who had married a Dakota woman by whom he had a large family of children; that he resided with her people and had become incorporated amongst them, joining their war parties against the different tribes with whom they were at enmity.

"The ruthless shot did not terminate his life, and, after a most painful sickness, the wounded man recovered. He silently brooded over the wrong so wantonly inflicted on him, for the warrior who had injured him was of such high standing in his tribe that he could not avenge himself on him with impunity. After a time he left the Dakota and paid a visit to his Ojibwa relatives on lake Superior, who received him into their wigwams with every mark of kindness and regard. He poured into their willing ears the tale of his wrong, and he succeeded in inducing them to raise a war party to march against the Dakota encampment on lake St. Croix.

"While this party was collecting at the bay of Shaugawaumikong, the avenger returned to his home and family amongst the Dakota, and amused their ears with anecdotes of his visit to his people's villages. He told them that a large party would soon arrive to smoke the pipe of peace with them. Fully believing these tales, the Dakota collected their scattered hunters, and sent runners to their different villages to invite their people to come and camp with them, in order to receive the expected peace party of the Ojibwa, and join in the amusements which generally ensued whenever they thus met in considerable numbers. The tribe (being the season of the year which they generally passed in leisure and recreation) gathered in large numbers, and pitched their camp on the south shore of lake St. Croix, near its outlet into the Mississippi.

*Minnesota Historical Society, vol. v, p. 165.

"The centre or main portion of their camp (which stretched for a long distance along the shore of the lake) was located at Point Prescott. A few lodges also stood on the opposite shore of the lake, and at Point Douglas.

"The Dakota, believing the reported peaceable disposition of their former enemies, became careless, and hunted in apparent security; they did not (as is usual when apprehensive of sudden attack) send scouts to watch on the surrounding hills for the approach of an enemy, and the Ojibwa arrived within a close vicinity of their camp without the least discovery. During the night the leaders of the war party sent five young men who could speak the Dakota language most fluently, to go and spy the lodges of the enemy, note their situation, and find out their number. The five scouts entered the encampment at different points, and, drawing their robes closely over their heads, they walked about unsuspected by the young Dakota gallants or *night walkers* who were out watching the lodge fires to flicker away in embers, in order to enter and in the darkness to court their sweethearts.

"After having made the rounds of the almost endless rows of lodges, the scouts returned to their party, and informed their leaders that they had counted three hundred lodges, when they became confused and could count no more. Also, that from the different idioms of their language which they had heard spoken in different sections of the camp, they judged that the distant bands of the Sisseton and Yankton Dakota were represented therein in considerable numbers; they also told of the general carelessness and feeling of security which prevailed throughout the camp.

"Having obtained this information, the Ojibwa, being strong in the number of their warriors, prepared themselves for battle, and, at the earliest dawn of morning, they marched on the sleeping encampment of the Dakota. They made their approach by a deep ravine which led through the high bluffs (which here bound the shores of the lake) on to the narrow prairie which skirts the water side, and on which were pitched the leathern lodges of the enemy. It is said that through the dim twilight the advancing warriors saw a woman step out of the nearest lodge, to adjust the door covering which a sudden gust of the rising east wind had thrown up; she stood as if a sound had caught her ear, and she listened anxiously, looking up the dark ravine, when she again entered her lodge. She must have heard the measured tread of the advancing warriors, but mistook it for the moaning of the rising wind, and the dashing of the waves on the sandy beach.

"Once fairly debouched on the sandy prairie, the Ojibwa lost no time in extending their wings and enveloping the encampment on the land side. When this movement had been completed in perfect silence, they gradually neared the lodges of their sleeping enemies, and as they arrived within the proper distance, and the dogs of the encampment began to sniff the air, and to utter their sharp, quick yelp, the shrill war whistle was sounded by the leaders, and suddenly the dread and fear-striking war whoop issued from the lips of hundreds of bloodthirtsy warriors. Volley after volley of bullets and arrows were fired, and discharged into the frail and defenceless tepees, and the shrieking and yelling of the inmates as they became thus suddenly startled from their sleep, made the uproar of the attack truly deafening.

"Completely taken by surprise, the warriors of the Dakota fought at a disadvantage; their women and children ran shrieking to the water's side, and hastily jumping into their narrow wooden canoes, they attempted to cross to the opposite shores of the lake. The wind, however, had increased in force, and, sweeping down the lake in a fearful gale, it caused the waves to run high, and in many instances the crowded and crank canoes filled with water and upset, launching the fleeing women and children into a watery grave.

"After a long and unavailing defence, such of the Dakota warriors as had stood their ground were obliged to retreat. Thirty of their number are said to have fled under a ledge of rock, where, being entirely surrounded, they were shot down one after another.

"This is one of the most successful war parties which the Ojibwa tell of. It is said that at each encampment on their return homeward, the scalps which they had taken, being each tied to the end of a stick three or four feet long, were planted close together in a single row, and an arrow, shot by a strong arm from one end of this row of human scalps, fell short of reaching the other extremity.

"One of their story-tellers, who in his youth had long remained a captive among the Dakota, states explicitly that on this occasion the Ojibwa secured three hundred and thirty-five scalps, and many more than this are thought to have perished in the water. But one captive is mentioned as having been taken, and the circumstances of his capture are such that the fact is always mentioned in connection with the tale relating the above important event in their history.

"It appears that during the heat of the battle two young Ojibwa lads who had accompanied their fathers on the war trail, entered a Dakota lodge which they supposed had been deserted by the fleeing enemy. They, however, found it to be occupied by a stout and full-grown Dakota warrior; he sat in the lodge in an attitude of sorrow, holding his head between his hands, and his elbows resting on his raised knees; his unstrung bow and full quiver of arrows lay at his feet, and his war spear stood planted before him. He did not even lift his head as the two lads entered, the youngest of whom immediately rushed on him, and being unarmed he attempted to secure him as a captive. The Dakota took him by the arm and gently pushed him aside. The brave little lad, however, persisted, and, calling on his older comrade to help him, they both fell on the Dakota and attempted to secure his arms. He pushed them easily away, and quietly resumed his former position, remaining thus till a number of Ojibwa warriors, attracted by the calls of the young lad, entered the lodge and secured him captive. He was given to the boy who first assaulted him, as his prisoner.

"When asked by an Ojibwa who could speak his language, the reason why he had acted so strangely, he replied that the evening before his father had scolded him without cause, and had heaped shameful epithets on him, under which he felt that he could not survive and be a tenant of his lodge. During the night he had dreamed of living amongst the Ojibwa, and early that morning he was preparing to leave his people forever, and seek a new home among their villages, when the attack commenced, and he determined to risk the chances of neutrality. He became a great favorite with the family into whose hands he fell, who adopted him as a relative, and when some time afterward, he was ruthlessly killed by a cowardly Ojibwa, blood was nearly shed on his account, and with great difficulty a fierce family feud prevented from ensuing in consequence."

It is evident that here, as at the great battle of Kathio, the Dakota were not well supplied with firearms, and that the Ojibwa had a great advantage. The listed armour of the captive Dakota, as enumerated, does not include the mention of a gun, and the thirty Dakota who fled to the shelter of an overhanging rock seem to have made no effective defence, but were shot down one after the other by the better armed Ojibwa.

Philander Prescott, in his "Reminiscences" (Minn. Hist. Soc. vol. vi, p. 488) gives a somewhat different tradition of this battle, and of the escape of one of the party who took shelter under the rock. His account is, however, tinctured with the miraculous, and illustrates how historic events become distorted in the traditions of the aborigine and gradually fade into the incredible tales of folklore.

1763. The English nominally took possession of that part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi, but they were slow to avail themselves of its opportunities for trade, while the French did not care to push their enterprise through that part of "Louisiana" which embraced Minnesota lying west of the Mississippi.

1767. Jonathan Carver found the Dakota bands situated along the immediate banks of the Mississippi river at war with the Ojibwa in 1767. His "plan" shows no Dakota resident on the east side of the Mississippi, but the "Naudowessie of the Plains" north of the Minnesota river, and the "Naudowessie country" embracing the area which now is included in the counties of Dakota, Scott, Rice, Le Sueur, Blue Earth, Waseca, Steele, Dodge, Goodhue, Wabasha, and perhaps parts of Olmsted and Winona. The Fox are represented near the Mississippi river below the mouth of the Chippewa, and the Sac next east of them. However, three "River bands" of Dakota are represented on both sides of the Mississippi between the mouths of the Minnesota and St. Croix rivers; and when Pike visited the region in 1805 some were still there. The Wabasha band had removed to the Upper Iowa river. From Carver's *Travels* much can be learned concerning the Dakota. It was by the persuasion of Carver that an embassy of chiefs and sub-chiefs from the "Nadowessies" of the plains visited "Michillimackinac" in 1767 for the purpose of a friendly interview with the commandant (Rogers) and returned safely, "greatly pleased with the reception they had met with." Carver does not give the names of any of this embassy.

Concerning the so-called "Carver grant," see page 53. The names of the chiefs who signed that celebrated document, May 1, 1767, at Carver's cave, are Hawnopawjatin and Otohtongoomlisheaw,* said to be living near the falls of St. Anthony. In 1821 it was confirmed by chiefs who signed the names Oukientangah, Tachachpitainche, Kachenobine and Chateau Houmans (Petit Corbeau, or Little Crow), at "Lac Traver." The deed was also confirmed in 1824 by Ecshtah-Humboh (Sleepy Eye). The confirmations of the first four named were sworn to by Kenneth McKenzie, of St. Louis, Mo., and Ramsay Crooks, of New York. Carver had heirs in England and in Vermont, and they gave quitclaim deeds, those in Vermont receiving fifty thousand pounds "in lawful money," in 1794, from Edward Houghton. The English heirs sold to Conly and Company, who, after spending "3,000 pounds sterling," abandoned the enterprise some time after the close of the War for Independence. Carver himself, who had received from the king, 1,373 pounds, 13 shillings and 8 pence for his "exertions and bravery," died in London in 1780.

Later the Mississippi Land Company acquired from Edward Houghton a perpetual lease or trust of all the rights of the Vermont heirs, and it appears to have been through the exertions of this company that the attention of the United States Government was directed to the claim. It was examined in 1821 and reported on adversely by the Commissioner of the Land Office and by a Senate committee of the Public Lands in 1823.

The valid objections to the grant seem to be about as follows:

1. The Dakota did not then, according to Carver's own map, own that portion which was located in Wisconsin, that being about nine-tenths of the whole.

2. The later Indians said they had no knowledge of such chiefs, and that among the Sioux of the East there were no such names.

3. There was no compensation ever rendered the Indians for the land.

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*Carver mentions these chiefs in the course of his descriptions, p. 356 (of the Dublin Edition of 1779), viz.: "Thus the great warrior of the Naudowessies was named Ottahtongoomlishcah; that is, the great father of snakes; *ottah* being, in English, a father, *tongoom* great, and *lishcah* a snake. Another chief was called Honahpawjatin, which means a swift runner over the mountains.

4. In 1763 the British Government had prohibited all private parties from purchasing land from the Indians.*

5. In the settlement by Carver with the king of England, and in the subsequent acts of the officials relating to Carver's journals and charts, and especially in the effort made by the King in 1775 to take possession of the tract and to colonize it, it appears plain that the British Government assumed the ownership of the title to the land.

6. By the treaty of 1783, at the close of the War for Independence, all lands owned by the British Government in the territory of the United States passed to the United States.

About the year 1766 an expedition was organized by the M'dewakanton for the purpose of attacking the Ojibwa. With them were some from the Warpeton, the Sisseton and the Ihankton, and the united party seems to have started from the vicinity of St. Paul, numbering several hundred warriors. They found only a single family. These they scalped, and returned with the exultations of victory, which they celebrated with the usual dancing and shouting.

Battle of Crow Wing.

1768. After the abandonment of Sandy lake a large Dakota war party of four or five hundred men made a detour about the upper lakes and valley of the Mississippi and, reaching Sandy lake while the warriors were absent, after a repulse by the Ojibwa continued their course down the Mississippi with thirty captive young women whom they had taken while they were picking berries. At the confluence of the Crow Wing with the Mississippi they were suddenly attacked by sixty Ojibwa who were intrenched on a high bluff on the east side of the Mississippi, about half a mile below the main mouth of the Crow Wing, in holes dug on the top of the bluff. The Dakota had landed on the west side for their morning meal, had danced about the scalps they had taken, had re-entered their canoes and had uttered their yells of triumph, but had been eagerly watched by the Ojibwa warriors from their entrenchments. As they floated past the Ojibwa they were surprised by a volley of bullets and barbed arrows, which were aimed chiefly at the full-plumed leaders, when, at the same moment, the captive women, under prior instruction from an aged squaw, overturned the canoes in which they were seated, which precipitated a confused struggle in the water. Their wounded were drowned, or were unable to assist in the righting of the canoes. Some who had been thrown into the water reached the opposite bank and assembled at about a mile below, with those who had escaped. Notwithstanding the loss of their bravest men, they resolved to go back and renew the fight, having noticed the comparatively small number of the Ojibwa. The battle lasted all that day, and was renewed the next morning, the Dakota digging counter holes or making embankments of earth and logs behind which they advanced so close to the Ojibwa that, on the exhaustion of the ammunition on both sides, the warriors fought hand to hand with clubs and knives. After a severe loss the Dakota withdrew and finally returned to their villages. It was soon after this battle that the M'dewakanton, who were then located in the valley of Rum river, and who feared that they would be visited by the Ojibwa in a similar raid in retaliation, left the Rum River country and moved to the Minnesota river.

1769. The next year the Dakota village situated on the left bank of the Minnesota a short distance above its confluence with the Mississippi, near the site of Bloomington, was the scene of another battle, result of a retaliatory incursion by the Ojibwa from Sandy lake. The Ojibwa numbered nearly two hundred. They found no Dakota between Sandy lake and Crow river, the north line of Hennepin county, but, leaving their canoes at the mouth of that stream, they crossed the county apparently by way of the valleys of Elm and Nine Mile creeks. The Dakota lost a large number of scalps, and the Ojibwa, under the leadership of Noka, returned triumphant to Sandy lake.

*The king's proclamation had these words: "We do strictly enjoin and require that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians, but if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased for us only, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie." Dated Oct. 7, 1763.

Battle of Elk river.

1772. The Ojibwa, in further retaliation for the loss of their women and children preceding the battle of Crow Wing, in the spring collected a war party of a hundred and twenty men and descended the Mississippi to near the mouth of Elk river, in Sherburne county. Here they encountered a large party of Dakota warriors under Little Crow the Elder, who were on the war path against the Ojibwa. In its reverses and successes the ensuing battle favored at first the Ojibwa and then the Dakota. The latter were in two bodies, and when the advance body, in a running fight, retreated about three miles, they were reinforced by the arrival of fresh warriors, probably under Wabasha or Shakpay, who had come across the country from the Minnesota river, and renewed the fight with great precipitancy, driving the Ojibwa to the cover of the trees which lined the banks of Elk river. By means of this shelter the Ojibwa sustained the onset of the overpowering force of Dakota. The latter resorted to digging holes in the ground as protection from the bullets of their enemy, and gradually approached the line of timber. Favored by a strong south wind, after losing many warriors, the Dakota set fire to the dry grass of last autumn, which furnished a flame that soon compelled the Ojibwa to abandon their shelter behind the oaks and seek safety in flight. They ran, through the flames and smoke, to the Mississippi, and took refuge on an island. The Dakota pursued eagerly over the burnt prairie on the windward side of the flames and smoke, but though some of their enemy were suffocated and burned in the fire, the most of them found a safe refuge on the island, as the Dakota thought it prudent to retire without making further attack; after a short respite both parties set out for their villages, about equally suffering from the fight.

Second battle of Elk river.

1773. The next year a larger Dakota war party, in ascending the Mississippi, met again a Sandy lake party of Ojibwa at the same place, and inflicted on them a great loss in the death of their chief leader. This time the Dakota were sheltered by trees and the Ojibwa dug holes in the ground two or three feet deep. The Dakota outnumbered the Ojibwa and had so much the better of the fight, which raged all one day, that in the night the Ojibwa silently retreated and left the field in possession of the Dakota.

It is not known who was the leader of the Dakota at these conflicts, but as the warriors must have belonged to the near vicinity of the Mississippi river, from Red Wing to the mouth of the Minnesota and thence upward along the Minnesota, there is no reason to doubt that the elder Wabasha bore a leading part. At this date he had his village not far from the mouth of the Minnesota, and there is also reason to believe that his village embraced the descendants of the Mantanton, who in 1700 had negotiated, through Wakantape, with Le Sueur as to the location of his fort. In that case also Tioscate, their former chief, was the venturesome warrior who had accompanied Le Sueur to Quebec in 1695.

Battle of St. Croix Falls.

1777. (1783?) Like the Dakota, the Fox made a final determined effort to drive back the encroaching Ojibwa. They had been compelled to yield the upper waters of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the Ojibwa, and had affiliated with the Sac for so long that they had renewed their strength and confidence. They determined on an aggressive war policy, and as the Dakota were smarting under the defeats administered by the Ojibwa during the previous twenty-five years, they easily persuaded the Dakota to unite with them. While ascending the St. Croix valley the allies were in the act of portaging their canoes about the falls of that river when they were met by a war party of Ojibwa, under the famous chief Waubojeeg, numbering three hundred men, gathered from all the villages in the lake Superior region, and from the Sandy lake and Mille Lacs villages in the Mississippi valley. The Dakota did not at first participate in the fight, but retired to an adjacent eminence at the request of their allies, "in order to see how quickly the Fox would gather the scalps of the Ojibwa." The battle was fierce and long, and was enacted in the defiles of the trap cliffs and all about their summits, and on the portage trail. By noon the Fox began to fall back, and finally to flee in confusion, but at this the Dakota came to their assistance, yelling the war whoop, and by their impetuosity drove the Ojibwa in turn to flight. The battle would have ended here in a complete victory for the allies had not a belated party of sixty warriors

from Sandy lake at this moment landed at the head of the portage. These rushed forward, checked the pursuit of the Dakota and Fox, allowing their friends to rally, and, after a short but severe contest, the allied tribes were again put to flight, and were forced over the rocks into the water. It was said that every crevice in the cliffs contained a dead or wounded warrior. This reverse put an end to the activities of the Fox against the Ojibwa and further reduced the prestige of the Dakota.

Before this time the English traders had begun an active fur-trade with the Indians of Minnesota, but it was mostly at La Pointe, Sault Ste. Marie and at Mackinac, and in this the Dakota bore but a meagre share. Some French traders remained for many years after the surrender of Canada, and even till after the war of the revolution. An English trader was stationed at the mouth of the Minnesota.

The First Wabasha.

The name "Wabasha" began to be prominent during the time of the English occupancy of Minnesota, and thereafter continued to play an important part in the history of the Sioux until 1863. The first we know of the first Wabasha is the account given by Schoolcraft of his birth, viz.:*

> "While the Sioux and Ojibwa were living in amity near each other, and frequently met and feasted each other on their hunting grounds and at their villages, a Sioux chief of distinction admired and married an Ojibwa girl, by whom he had two sons. When the war between these two nations broke out, those persons of the hostile tribes who had married Ojibwa wives, and were living in the Ojibwa country, withdrew, some taking their wives along and others separating from them. Among the latter was the Sioux chief. He remained a short time after hostilities commenced, but finding his position demanded it he was compelled, with great reluctance, to leave his wife behind, as she could not with safety have accompanied him into the Sioux territories. As the blood of the Sioux flowed in the veins of her two sons, neither was it safe for her to leave them among the Ojibwa. They were, however, by mutual agreement, allowed to return with their father. The eldest of these sons became the father of Wabasha.
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> "The mother thus divorced by the mutual consent of all parties, remained inconsolable for some time. She was still young and handsome, and after a few years became the wife of a young Ojibwa chief of Chagoimegon, of the honored totem of the addick, or reindeer. Her first child by this second marriage was Mamongazida, the father of Wabojeeg. In this manner a connection existed between two families of separate hostile nations, each of which distinguished itself for bravery and skill in war and council.
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> "Mamongazida generally went to make his fall hunts in the middle grounds towards the Sioux territory, taking with him all his near relatives, amounting usually to twenty persons, exclusive of children. Early one morning while the young men were preparing for the chase, they were startled by the report of several shots directed towards the lodge. As they had thought themselves in security, the first emotion was surprise, and they had scarcely time to fly to their arms when another volley was fired, which wounded one man in the thigh and killed a dog. Mamongazida immediately sallied out with his young men, and pronouncing his name aloud, in the Sioux language, demanded if Wabasha, or his brother, were among the assailants. The firing instantly ceased, a pause ensued, when a tall figure, in a war dress, with a profusion of feathers upon his head, stepped forward and presented his hand. It was the elder Wabasha, his half brother. The Sioux peaceably followed their leader into the lodge upon which they had the moment before directed their shots. At the instant the Sioux chief entered, it was necessary to stoop a little in passing the door. In the act of stooping he received a blow from a war club wielded by a small boy who had posted himself there for the purpose. It was the young Wabojeeg. Wabasha, pleased with this early indication of courage, took the little lad in his arms, caressed him, and pronounced that he would become a brave man and prove an inveterate enemy of the Sioux."

It would be interesting to know the name of the Dakota chief who was the father of the first Wabasha. If the lad Wabojeeg was, say, eight years of age when the above event took place, and if the battle of St. Croix falls (1777) where Wabojeeg was the Ojibwa leader, took place when Wabojeeg was 33 years of age, as has been calculated, the birth of Wabojeeg was about 1744. The young Ojibwa chief may therefore have been married to the Ojibwa widow about 1742, and the renewal of the war, say, two years earlier, or 1740. Hence the first Wabasha may have been born about ten years earlier, or 1730. If, however, Mr. Neill's identification is correct, he must have been born at least ten or twelve years earlier. In the "Macalaster College Contributions," first series, p. 213, in giving a sketch of "Pierre Paul, the Sieur Marin, commandant at Lake Pepin, Minnesota, A.D. 1750-1752," he mentions an incident which took place in 1740, in which Ouabashas (Wapashah) was a leading actor. As already related (p. 531) in 1736 a war party of Dakota had killed and scalped two French travelers near the Illinois. This preceded the abandonment of fort Beauharnois in 1737, and the cessation of trade with the Dakota. While Marin was carrying on an expedition against the Sac and the Fox in the country where this murder

*The American Indians, History, Condition and Prospects, 1851, p. 137.

had been committed, it seems that he had demanded that some Sioux warriors should be surrendered and should go with him to Montreal. He arrived at Montreal June 25, 1739, with two Sioux and a Winnebago. On the ninth of March, 1740, on his return to the Mississippi valley, he was visited, at the Rock river, by Wabasha and Ninsotin, with eight warriors, who presented another appeal for mercy. It seems that there was some delay in the return of the Dakota who had been sent to Montreal, and that the tribe was apprehensive for their safety, and that a number of them had been waiting for them at the portage of the Wisconsin. When they were informed by some Ottawa just landing from a canoe, in answer to their anxious questions, that their hostages sent the year before had been burned at Montreal, in their anger and ill-directed resentment they had tomahawked the Ottawa. Wabashaw said, in expiation for this slaughter, after reciting the facts:

"We have not come here with the idea of hiding anything from you, nor of excusing our people. We have come to deliver up our bodies. We are ready to submit to all the punishment we deserve. We beseech you to inform our father Onontio. This is all we have to say."

As the M'dewakanton were at this date still at Mille Lacs, this incident and its causes, show how widely the M'dewakanton ranged throughout the northwest. It also shows that Wabasha in 1744 probably was present at the battle of Kathio. Later he migrated, first to the lower valley of the Rum river, afterwards to the mouth of the Minnesota, then to the Upper Iowa river, and finally to Winona. There is reason to believe that his band were the "Mantanton," mentioned in 1700 by Le Sueur, and that these later became the band of Pinneshaw, or Pinchon, named from a French trader who in 1763 was located at, or near, the mouth of the Minnesota.

At a later date Wabasha, the first, performed a similar act of self devotion for the good of his people. It was soon after the British regime was inaugurated in Minnesota by the treaty of Paris, when a trader near Mendota, to which region now the M'dewakanton had retreated, was murdered (about 1761)* by one of his tribe. In consequence of this, and in consequence of the uncertainty of all Indian alliances about this time, all the traders who had for many years frequented the valley of the upper Mississippi were constrained to retire from the region. Pontiac was fomenting the Sac and all other Algonquian tribes to continue the war against the English. The French had no authority left, and the English had not yet arrived. It was a condition of doubtful confusion from which, in the eyes of the Indian and of the Indian trader, the issue was uncertain. Every man's hand, and especially every Indian's, was against every other's. In this state of quasi peace, it was dangerous to attempt to cross Wisconsin with goods, and almost as unsafe to pass through the tribes resident there without goods. In the consequent dearth of white man's supplies, the Dakota became poor, and starvation threatened. After a severe winter of suffering, the M'dewakanton decided, in a general council, to appeal to the English at Quebec for succor. A large party, including the guilty murderer, was dispatched to plead their necessities with the authorities, and to petition for the return of the traders. Wabasha was to conduct the expedition. In passing through the bloody ground of Wisconsin, however, the original number, which was 100, was reduced, by fear and desertion, to less than one-half, and when they reached Green bay every Dakota except six had turned back, including the prisoner who was in their charge. Here the fidelity of Wabasha was put to a severe test; undismayed by the faithlessness of his party, he determined to proceed to Quebec, and with his five companions he set out on the waters of lake Michigan. Arriving at Quebec, with a heroism which would do credit to the most enlightened of the whites, he offered to surrender himself for punishment for the offense committed at Mendota, only asking that his people should be received again into the good will and confidence of the English, and that trading relations should again be established. The English were struck with his noble bearing and his magnanimity, and readily granted all he asked, giving him medals for their seven village chiefs, of which one was hung about Wabasha's neck.† The bands that received these medals were probably parts of the M'dewakanton, and may be enumerated, with some uncertainty, as follows:

Wabasha's band, probably of the original Mantanton, located not far above the mouth of the

*This trader was probably the immediate predecessor of Penesha, who in 1762 had been allowed by Lieut. Gorell to trade at the mouth of the Minnesota. His Indian name was Pagonta, or Mallard Duck, and his real name, according to W. J. Snelling, was Provencalle.

†Mr. S. W. Pond says there were eight divisions of the M'dewakanton in 1834, but he names but seven, and likewise their chiefs to the number of seven.—Minnesota Historical Society, vol. xii, p. 321.

Minnesota, on the north side, later became known in part as Pinnesha's band, and when at Winona as Kiuksa, or Keoxa.

Shakpay's, or Six's, on the south side of the Minnesota, not far east from Shakopee.

Wakinyantanka's, father of the elder Little Crow, on the Mississippi, east side, below St. Paul.

Wamdetanka's band, or Big Eagle's, the Black Dog village, above Mendota, on the south side of the Minnesota, Tetankatane of Keating.

Tahtahgamane's, or Red Wing's, band, near the mouth of the Cannon river, whose chief was later Wacoota.

Taoapa, opposite Shakopee, on the west side of the Minnesota.

Wakantape's, or Weakaote, above Shakopee, on the east side of the Minnesota. This village was later known as Batture aux Fievres.

Of these the last two named are the most doubtful. They are known chiefly by the reports of Keating and Beltrami, in 1823, and at the time of Wabasha I may have resided elsewhere. In 1700, according to Le Sueur, Wahkantape was a chief of the Mantanton, and it is a reasonable presumption that he (or Tioscaté) was the divorced chief who was the father of the first Wabasha.

Wabasha was not alone in offering himself for his people, but such vicarious self-sacrifice was a trait which appeared in a number of other instances among the Dakota.

Little wonder that Wabasha, who had been succored by the English and wore an English medal, surrounded by English traders from whom his people derived great part of their support, during the war for independence should side with the English against the colonies. By this time the old trading posts had mostly been occupied by English traders, several of them being in the valley of the Minnesota, and within the Spanish jurisdiction. From there the English traders could with comparative impunity instigate the Indians to hostility against the Americans, and several of them did not fail to take advantage of their situation. Wabasha was recognized as a leading chief, and was in active hostilities toward St. Louis, having as interpreters Joseph Rocque and his son Augustin, the latter afterwards a resident for many years at Wabasha, just below lake Pepin. He was directed in his movements by orders from the commander at Mackinac, and in 1779, when at Prairie du Chien, awaited instructions whether he should attack the Sac and Fox for stopping Gautier, and "for listening to the rebels," i. e. to the Americans.

1780. Wabasha was leader of a thousand Sioux who in 1780 were destined to reinforce the English at Kaskaskia, and to attack settlements at St. Genevieve, Mo. While he stopped at Prairie du Chien he won the approval of the officer in charge of that post, who wrote: "Gen. Wabasha was well contented with his commission, and believe me, his warriors are nothing inferior to regular troops in regard to discipline in their own way, it being their first and principal care to examine their arms in the morning by drawing and drying their powder and always fresh load at sunset."

This movement was in consequence of an order from Sinclair, commandant at Mackinac, who had written as follows to Quebec: that he had sent to put the nation of the Sioux in motion, under their own chief, Wabasha, a man of uncommon abilities. They are a people undebauched, addicted to war and jealously attached to his majesty's interests. Their force is considerable and their situation very favorable from its proximity to the Mississippi. Mons. Roque, the king's interpreter for them, will probably attend Wabasha. I have ordered Mr. Key to act as their English interpreter and commissary. They are directed to proceed with all dispatch to the Natchez, and to act afterwards as circumstances may require, and, as I have pointed out more fully to Sieur Rocque, I shall send other bands as soon as I can with safety disclose the object of their mission."

On the conclusion of peace, in 1783, Wabasha was at Prairie du Chien, and in an assembly called for the purpose of announcing it to the Sioux and other tribes, he accepted the change in some ambiguous words, speaking to the British messenger who brought the news:

> "My father, I am content that the great chiefs on the other side of the greatest lake are for making peace. My father, we have resolved among us to send you bad men who have killed the whites, so that you may do with them as you will. My English father, you give us pleasure to have come upon our ground; our heart is joyful and content. It is you give us light. We will be quiet."

Wabasha had made several trips to Montreal, and owing to his position as a recognized ally of the British, with a considerable military force under his command, he rightly insisted that his reception should not be on a level with other Indian chiefs. On his arrival at Mackinac he wanted to be welcomed with the firing of cannon charged with ball instead of blank cartridges, and this was conceded by De

Peyster, the British commander at Mackinac, much to the wonder of some Ojibwa who were on a visit to the fort when one day Wabasha was thus honored.

"Maiden rock" became celebrated by the suicide of Winona, who belonged to the tribe of Kiuksa (Keoxa) in the time of Wabasha I.

"Wabasha did not, however, end his days in peace. The vile spirit of the fratricidal Cain sprang 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'dewakanton village, on the Hoka river in (Houston county. N. H. W.). It is said that the father of Wakuta was his physician, who attended him in his last illness. The Dakota will never forget the name of Wapashaw."* According to Alexander Henry the younger, he died Jan. 5, 1806, of cancer in the neck.† He was not mentioned by Lieut. Pike in his account of his visit at Prairie L' Aisle (Winona) Sept. 14, 1805, but was then still living, as he was alluded to by his son in a speech to Pike. He was probably debilitated by his disease, and living in retirement, having committed the chieftainship to his son.

1783. About the year 1783, at the end of the war for independence, a French trader barricaded himself, with a few Ojibwa, in a trading station at the point where the Partridge river joins the Crow Wing in the southeastern part of Wadena county. This was a dangerous situation, as the country was infested by hunting parties from the Dakota of the plains and from the Ojibwa of the region of Leech lake, and was still claimed by both tribes. A war party from the Dakota of the prairie (Wahpeton?) numbering about 200, armed with bows and arrows, attacked this post in the middle of the winter, while a portion of the garrison were absent trapping beaver. The Frenchman, with about twenty Ojibwa hunters, succeeded in defending the fort with their firearms during the day, and, having killed several of the Dakota (whereas the defenders had not lost a man) saw the assailants slowly retire, burying their dead by dropping them through holes cut in the ice of the river.

As the Dakota gradually withdrew from central Minnesota, in consequence of the advance of the Ojibwa and the aid of the French, the bands of Red Wing and Wabasha also came into collision with the Ojibwa in southwestern Wisconsin, where likewise the Dakota contended against not only the Ojibwa but also the firearms and example of the French traders. These bands probably laid claim to rights on the east side of the Mississippi, for their hunters pursued the abundant game of the numerous sheltered valleys of that region and always returned well laden with booty. It was recognized as a "road of war" for many miles east of the Mississippi. In 1837 the Dakota ceded to the United States all their lands east of the Mississippi. As it would be outside the purpose of this sketch to trace the history of the Dakota beyond the limits or Minnesota, either toward the east or the west, except in a very general way, the occasional conflicts of the Dakota in Wisconsin are here omitted.

1800. *Battle of Crow river.* We are indebted to Lieut. Pike for record of an important battle near the mouth of Crow river, on the east side of the Mississippi, in Anoka county, in the year 1800. As the band of Wabasha about this time abandoned the region of the mouth of the Minnesota, and as the evidence given by Pike indicates a defeat for the Sioux, it is quite likely that this battle so scared the Sioux that they dared not stay any longer in their exposed situation. The trail across Hennepin county from Nine-Mile creek, later called Oak Grove, on the Minnesota, was more feasible than the river route by way of Mendota and the falls of St. Anthony, and had been used by the Ojibwa under Noka in an incursion on the Dakota. This battle took place near the northern terminus of that trail. Opposite the mouth of Crow river Pike found a bark canoe cut to pieces with tomahawks, and the paddles broken; and a short distance higher up five more, and continued to see wrecks until he found eight. His interpreter, from the form of the canoes, pronounced them to be from the Sioux, and some broken arrows to be from the Ojibwa. The paddles were marked with the sign of men and women killed. He and his party inferred, from these circumstances, that the canoes had belonged to a party of Sioux who had been attacked and all killed or taken by their enemies. In the near vicinity he also passed several old Sioux encampments, all fortified, and found five litters in which sick or wounded men had been carried. He adds: "At this place a hard battle was fought between the Sioux and Sauteurs in the year 1800."

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*G. H. Pond, as quoted by Neill in History of Minnesota, p. 228.

†Elliott Coues' edition of Henry's journals, p. 273.

The Second Wabasha.

It was at some date between the conclusion of peace in 1783 and Lieut. Pike's visit, in 1805, and not long before the death of the first Wabasha, that the Dakota known as Wabasha's band removed to the upper Iowa river and later to "Wabasha's prairie," the plain on which the city of Winona now stands, and it was at the former place that the second Wabasha came to the chieftainship. He had lost one eye in playing lacrosse. He was low of stature, but was a wise and prudent man, especially in council, and strictly temperate as to drinking whiskey. Gen. Forsyth declared that he might say that Wabasha was the only man of the Sioux nation of this description. He also sided with the British in the War of 1812. He highly admired and appreciated the arts of civilization, and desired that his people might be benefited by them. He went aboard a steamboat on the Mississippi and listened attentively to an explanation of its making and its machinery. He visited Washington in 1824 with the Indian agent, Maj. Talliaferro. He was desirous that a mill be built at the rapids of the Chippewa river, as had been promised by the American government. He was called The Leaf, La Feuille, corrupted to Lafoy and to La Fye. Unless there be some mistake in the statement and map of Pike, in 1805 this sub-band of the M'dewakanton "resided at their village on the Upper Iowa river, above the Prairie des Chiens," and his map there locates a "Sioux village," while, at Prairie L'Aisle (Winona) no village is represented. Lieut. Pike was heartily welcomed by Wabasha, and was presented by him with a message to other Sioux residing higher up on the Mississippi, to inform them that Lieut. Pike was a "chief of their new father," i. e., of the president, and that he wished them to treat him with friendship and respect. After smoking, the chief spoke to the following purport:

> "That notwithstanding he had seen me at the prairie [du Chien. N. H. W.] he was happy to take me by the hand amongst his own people, and there to show his young men the respect due to their *new father*.* That when at St. Louis in the spring his father had told him that if he looked down the river he would see one of his young warriors coming up. He now found it true, and he was happy to see me. He knew the Great Spirit was the father of all, both the white and the red people; and if one died the other could not live long; that he had never been at war with their *new father*, and hoped always to preserve the same good understanding that now existed. That he now presented me with a pipe, to show to the upper bands a token of our good understanding, and that they might see his work and imitate his conduct. That he had gone to St. Louis on a shameful visit, to carry a murderer; but that we had given the man his life, and he thanked us for it. That he had provided something to eat, but he supposed I could not eat it, and if not, to give it to my young men."

To which Lieut. Pike replied:

> "That, although I had told him at the prairie my business up the Mississippi, I would again relate it to him. I then mentioned the different objects I had in view with regard to the savages who had fallen under our protection by our late purchase from the Spaniards. The different posts to be established. The objects of these posts as related to them; supplying them with necessaries, having officers and agents of the government near them to attend to their business, and above all to endeavor to make peace between the Sioux and the Sauteurs. That it was possible on my return I should bring some of the Sauteurs down with me, and take with me some of the Sioux chiefs to St. Louis, there to settle the long and bloody war which had existed between the two nations. That I accepted his pipe with pleasure, as the gift of a great man,† and a brother. That it should be used as he desired." I then ate of the dinner he had provided. It was very grateful. It was wild rye and venison, of which I sent four bowls to my men.

It may be true, as stated by Wabasha, above, that personally he had not engaged in hostilities against the Americans, but when he was met by Gen. Henry Whiting in 1820 he admitted that "many of his young men had been led astray" in the war of 1812. General Whiting described him as "a small man, with a patch over one eye, who nevertheless impressed everyone with respect, and whose profile was said to resemble that of the illustrious Conde." According to Whiting he was always accompanied by his pipe-bearer, and in council spoke sitting, unless in the presence of his great father at Washington or of his representatives at St. Louis. He deprecated war, whether among the Indians or between them and the whites.

Lieut. Pike held a council with some of the chiefs at the mouth of the Minnesota, and received from them a cession of land for military purposes nine miles square at the mouth of the St. Croix, and of another tract below the mouth of the Minnesota river and extending up the Mississippi nine miles

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*It was but recent that the country on the west of the Mississippi had been transferred to the United States.

†He is the chief of four bands.

on each side so as to include the falls of St. Anthony. The chiefs present at this treaty, as given by Pike, were:

(1) Le Petit Corbeau, signed the grant.
(2) Le Fils de Pinchow, do.
(3) Le Grand Partisan.
(4) Le Original Levé } "War chief, gave him my father's
(5) Le Demi Douzen } tomahawk, etc., etc."
(6) Le Beccasse.
(7) Le Bœuf qui marche.

Of these, numbered as above, No. 1, according to Riggs, was Chatanwakoowamani, Who-walks-pursuing-a-hawk. No. 2 was a son of Pinchon, a French trader whose gigantic and almost incredible exploits are recounted by W. J. Snelling in his "Tales of the Northwest;" and who, on the retirement of Wabasha with the most of his warriors to Iowa, was chosen chief of the remainder. His son, who signed the treaty, is probably the same as mentioned by Beltrami as Paniscihowa, and by Long in 1823 and named Takopepeshene. According to Coues he is also the same as elsewhere called Wyaganage by Pike (Way Ago Enagee, by Neill). No. 3 is known only here. Foster supposes him to have been a principal soldier (Minn. Hist. Soc. Vol. I, p. 380). No. 4, Standing Moose, is also called Tamaha (or Tahamie by Pike), was honored by Gen. Wm. Clark by a certificate (in 1814) of his fidelity to the American cause. He was a subordinate chief of Wabasha. When the rest of Little Crow's band in 1812 joined the British, with Renville and Dickson, Tamaha sided with the Americans, remaining faithful to his agreement with Pike. He wore a stove-pipe hat, and boasted that he was the only "American Sioux," as he had been in the American service under Gen. William Clark. He died in 1860, nearly 100 years of age. No. 5 was the father of the Shakpay of 1854. Keating speaks of "Shakpa" as chief of the village of Taoapa. No. 6. Le Becasse was Bras Casse or Bracassé, Broken-arm. Foster thinks his Sioux name was Wahkantahpay, which was also the name of a chief who in 1700 visited Le Sueur at Fort L'Huillier. "As late as 1825 he was still living at his small village of Wahpaykootans on a lake near the Minnesota some five or six miles below Prairie la Fleche, now Le Sueur." No. 7. Walking Buffalo, was Tahtawkahmahnee, a sub-chief of old Wabasha, also called Red Wing. From him the village at Cannon river was named. He was the father of Wahkootay, who in 1854 was chief at Red Wing, and had attended the elder Wabasha in his last illness.

Peace was established between the Dakota and the Sauteurs by Pike, and in a conference held at Prairie du Chien on his descent to St. Louis in April, 1806, with various Sioux chiefs, Wabasha first spoke in behalf of those present, acquiescing in the peace established, but in general they said they doubted the good faith of the Ojibwa, as they had had a long experience with them.

1815. The treaty of "peace and friendship" of July 19, 1815, between the "Sioux of the lakes," i. e., the Sioux who originally were denominated the "eastern Sioux," and who became gradually to be known, as they were mainly, the M'dewakanton (including the Mantanton) and the United States, was signed by:

Tatangamanee, Walking Buffalo (Red Wing).
Haisanwee, Horn.
Aampapa, Speaker.
Naceesagata, Hard Stone.
Haibohoa, Branching Horn.

An identical treaty, of the same date, with the same United States signers, but different witnesses, was signed by chiefs of the "Sioux of the St. Peters river," as follows:

Enigmanee, That flies as he walks.
Wasouikpoha, Falling hail.
Champisaba, Black war club.
Mahpiasaba, Black cloud.
Tataimaza, Iron wind.
Nonkanandee, Who puts his foot in it.

Similar treaties of Peace and Friendship were made with the other Dakota tribes.

A similar treaty dated June 1, 1816, between eight bands of Sioux, "composing the three tribes

called Sioux of the Leaf, Sioux of the Broad Leaf, and Sioux who shoot in the Pine Tops," at St. Louis, was signed by 41 Dakota, among which names are:

Talamanee, Marching wind (probably Wabasha).
Peneshon.
Eanggamanee, Runner.
Tatungascartop, Playing buffalo.
Tatanggamarnee, "Walking buffalo, or Red Wing."
Warseconta, Who shoots in the pine tops.
Otanggamanee, With a strong voice.
Warpearmusee, Iron Cloud.
Etoagungamanee, White Face.
Warchesunsapa, The Negro.
Hasanee, Buffalo with one horn.
Aearpa, Speaker.
Muckpasarp, Black Cloud.

An examination of these names shows how the Indian names were variously spelled and corrupted. Some of them can hardly be recognized.

These treaties were necessitated by the events of the war between the United States and Great Britain, then lately closed, in which the Dakota had generally taken part with Great Britain. To this course they had been instigated by the British traders, some of them the same men who had met Lieut. Pike in 1805 and had pledged fealty to the United States. The most influential of these were Robert Dickson, who was at the capture of Mackinac "with a strong body of Sioux Indians," probably Little Crow's men, Joseph Rolette, Sr., who was one of the "captains of the voyageurs," James and George Aird and Thomas G. Anderson, these being traders at the mouth of the Minnesota, on Pike island, where they had a store and log cabins. Co-operating with them were interpreters Joseph Renville and Francis Freniere, as well as traders Grignon Brisbois and Duncan Graham. All the Sioux who came into contact with these men, except Red Wing's band, made war on the Americans. Tamaha, as elsewhere mentioned, was probably, as he boasted, the only Sioux of importance who remained faithful to the Americans. Conspicuous among the traders were J. B. Faribault and Provencalle, who remained loyal to the Americans.

1817. By the time of major Long's ascent of the Mississippi in 1817 the band of Wabasha had removed to "Wapasha's prairie" (Winona), and on his arrival there the Indians hoisted two American flags and saluted him by firing several guns ahead of him. The cause of this migration is not known, but was probably in some way connected with the Sauk and Fox, who, having been beaten in Wisconsin, had migrated to and across the Mississippi into Iowa. By major Long the second Wabasha was accounted one of the most honest and honorable of the Indians. At this date, besides the band of Wabasha, there were Dakota Indians near the mouth of Little Iowa river, Winnebago at Prairie de la Crosse, Fox on the Little Iowa, and Sioux on lake Pepin, at the mouth of the Cannon and at "Grand Marais" (which was Kaposia, the village of Little Crow) on the east side of the river below St. Paul.

1823. When Maj. Long's land party reached "Wapasha's" village, the son of Wabasha II welcomed him with a remarkable display of gaudiness and dress, "which from its showy appearance imparted to him a character of foppishness. In his hair he wore two or three soldier's plumes; his moccasins of stained buckskin were tastefully puckered at the toes, and his breech-cloth was quite tawdry." At this time Wabasha II was estimated to be about 50 years of age. When the river party of Maj. Long reached the same place, about an hour after the departure of Maj. Long and the land party, the chief entered one of the boats and accompanied the Americans for some miles, to the vicinity of some war scouts that he had sent out to watch the Ojibwa on the east side of the Mississippi.

The treaty of August 19, 1825, Prairie du Chien, was signed by the following named Sioux:

Wabasha, Leaf.
Petitte Corbeau, Little Crow.
The Little, of the Wappitong tribe.
Tartunka-nasiak, Sussitong.
Sleepy Eyes, Sussitong.
Two Faces, Sussitong.

French Crow, Wappacoota.
Keejee, Wappacoota.
Tassega, Wappacoota.
Wamadetunka, Black dog.
Wanata, Yancton, he that charges on his enemies.
Red Wing.
Kokomako.
Shakope, The sixth.
Penision.
Etaseepa, Wabasha's band.
Wakauhee, Sioux band, rising thunder.
The Little Crow, Supetong.
Poehapa, Medawecontong, Eagle head.
Takwapa, Wappitong, medicine blanket.
Tenchzepart, His bow.
Masepulochastosh, Whiteman.
Letekarmunch, Buffalo man.
Wasaota, Supetong, A great of hail.
Oegahkoca, Crackling tract.
Maktowahkeark, Bear.

The same treaty was signed by Winnebagoes, Menominies, Chippeways, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Sacs, Foxes, and by Ioways.

1830. Treaty, July 15, 1830, Prairie du Chien, was signed by Sioux as follows (also other tribes):

Medewakantons.

Wabishaw, Red leaf.
Tchataquamanie, Little Crow.
Waumundetunkar, Great Calumet eagle.
Tacocoquipishnee, He that fears nothing ("Penishoua," in pencil.)
Wacoota, That shoots arrows.
Paytaw whar, Fire owner.
Etarzepah, Bow.
Teeahcoota, That fires at the yellow.
Tohkiahtawhaw, Who bites the enemy.
Nasiumpah, Early riser.
Ampatatohwah, His day.
Wahkeeahtunkar, Big Thunder.
Tauchawcadoota, Red road.
Tchawskesky, The elder.
Mauzauhautau, Gray Iron.
Wazeeomonie, Walking pine.
Tachawcooashtay, Good road.
Kieankaw, Mountain.
Mahpeaumansaw, Iron Cloud.
Etaychocaw, Half Face.
Anougénaje, Stands on both sides.
Houghawppaw, Eagle head.
Hooka mooza, Iron limb.
Hoatchaahcadoote, Red voice.
Watchuda, The dancer.

Also signed by Wahpahcootas (9), Sussitons (2), Iowas (10), Omaha (12), etc.

In a treaty made July 15, 1830, at Prairie des Chiens, the Medewakantonwan, the Warpekute, Warpetonwan and the Sissitonwan ceded to the United States the "neutral ground" lying in Iowa, receiving therefor an annuity of two thousand dollars for ten years, besides an additional present of

four hundred dollars worth of goods to Wabasha's sub-band, made in pursuance of a "convention" held with them in September, 1836, by Zachary Taylor, then colonel of the United States army and acting Indian agent. Again in November, 1836, Lawrence Talliaferro, by a "convention" held at St. Peter (Mendota), gave these tribes other goods to the amount of five hundred and fifty dollars on their also ratifying the said treaty.

Sioux Half-breed Tract.

It was by the treaty of 1830 that the Sioux half-breed reservation, on lake Pepin, along the west side of the Mississippi, was set off. Its boundary began at a place called the Barn (Sorin bluff, at Red Wing) below and near the village of the Red Wing chief, and running back fifteen miles; thence in a parallel line with lake Pepin and the Mississippi about thirty-two miles, to a point opposite Beef (or Bœuf, now the Chippewa) river; thence fifteen miles to the Grand Encampment, near the mouth of the Chippewa river. Such a tract, with those definitions, could not be laid off with exactness, since thirty-two miles would carry the southeastern corner of the reservation far beyond Grand Encampment, which was near Wabasha. The southwestern line of the reservation could have been only about twenty-six miles.

1832. In the "Black Hawk war" the M'dewakanton were allied with the United States forces against the Sacs and Foxes, under Wabasha, but their services were exerted mostly in exterminating certain remnants of the Sacs after disastrous battles with the troops. The Sacs had inspired a feeling of dread in the hearts of the Sioux by reason of numerous raids which they had made into Minnesota, and Wabasha's braves showed only cowardice so long as they were on the east of the Mississippi in Wisconsin, and all except six deserted the army and returned to their homes on the west bank of the Mississippi. After the defeat of the Sacs and Foxes at the mouth of the Bad Ax river, and when the fleeing fugitives had crossed the Mississippi into Iowa, reduced to a frightened remnant mostly of women and children, Wabasha fell upon them in great glee with a force of fresh warriors and slaughtered them at will. For this merciless and unwarranted destruction, Wabasha was not alone to be censured, for, as Black Hawk affirmed, Wabasha with his band of Sioux had been sent in pursuit by Gen. Atkinson.

A short time before the breaking out of the Black Hawk war, Wabasha's band were alarmed by inroads by the Sauk, of Iowa, who made an attack on a Dakota camp on Money creek, in Houston county. The Dakota valiantly repulsed them and rescued the daughter of the war-chief Wahkondeotah. The Dakota of Wabasha's band moved their principal encampment across the Mississippi, near Trempeleau, and it remained there until after the treaty of 1837, though their dances and spring gatherings were still held at Keoxa, i. e., Winona.

1834. Pond's sketch of the Dakota in 1834 affords the following condensed statement:

M'DEWAKANTON.

Villages.	*Location.*	*Chiefs or head men.*
Kiuksa	Winona ("below lake Pepin")	Wapasha (Wabasha II).
Remnicha	Red Wing	Wakuta (Shooter).
Kaposia	St. Paul	Wakinyantanka (Big Thunder).
Black Dog	Near Mendota (Oanoska of Long)	Wamditanka (Big Eagle).
Reyata Otonwa	Lake Calhoun (temporary)	Marpiyawichashta (Cloud man).
Pinisha	Nine-mile creek	Tachawcooashtay (Good Road)
Tintaton	Shakopee	Shapaydan (Six).
Tewapa (Taoapa of Long)	Eagle creek (near Hamilton)	Ruyapa (Eagle Head).

WAHPETON.

Swan Lake	Carver and St. Lawrence	Mazomani.
	St. Lawrence to Lac-qui-Parle	Ishtahkba (Sleepy Eye).
	Belle Plaine	Wakanhdioranki.
	Traverse de Sioux	Tankamani.
	Lac-qui-Parle	Inyangmani and Nompakinyan.
	Big Stone lake (and on islands)	Inkpa.

WARPEKUTE.*

Villages.	Location.	Chiefs or head men.
	Cannon river and Traverse des Sioux	Tahsahghee (Cane, of Ramsey).
	SISSITON.	
	Big Stone lake	Wakinyanduta.
	Lake Traverse.	
Tizaptani (Two Woods)	South of Lac-qui-Parle	Itewakinyanna (Thunder Face).
	IHANKTON.	
	Lake Traverse (and on islands)	Matotopa.

1836. Wabasha II died, with many of his people, of smallpox in 1836, at about the age of 63 years. His band was thus reduced to twenty-seven.

Wabasha III.

It was about coincident with the death of Wabasha II that, according to Gen. H. H. Sibley,† began the rapid decay of the Dakota. Through the treaty of 1837 the Dakota ceded to the United States all their lands on the east side of the Mississippi. By the terms of this treaty the Dakota were paid an annual sum either in money or in goods. "Ceasing gradually to rely upon their own efforts for support, they looked forward with more and more anxiety to the pittance annually doled out to them in money, goods and provisions, until they have become the miserable and dependent creatures frequently seen about our streets. The policy which has been pursued to secure the land of the Indian and then to offer him no inducement to improve his condition has been the bane of his race. Recourse to liquor, and other evil habits, are but the natural consequences of that system which drives from his home, interferes with his habits of life, and regards him as an outcast from the land of his fathers, without holding out to him any promise for the future."

Wabasha III seems to have signed the "convention" dated September 10, 1836, held by Z. Taylor, Indian agent, "with the chiefs, braves and principal men of the Sioux of Wabasha's tribe of Indians," as the following names are attached to that convention:

Sautabesay, Wabasha's son.
Waukaunhendeeoatah.
Nautaysahpah.
Maukpeeaucatpaun.
Hooyah, Eagle.

The treaty of October 15, 1836, was signed by Otoes, Missouries, Omaha, "Yankton and Santees," none of the Santee names being recognizable as belonging to the M'dewakanton.

A "convention" was held by Lawrence Talliaferro, Indian agent, with the "chiefs, braves and principal men of the Wahpaakootah, Susseton and Upper Medawakanton tribes of the Sioux Indians," on the 30th day of November, 1836. This convention confirms and cedes to the United States the reserved rights, if any, which may have remained in the said tribes to the lands "lying between the state of Missouri and the Missouri river," by the terms of article one of the treaty of Prairie du Chien, July 15, 1830. To the agreements of this convention were attached the following names:

Sussetons.

Esetahkenbah, Sleepy Eyes.
Kahemaadohkah, Male Rover.
Tunkah munnee, Great Walker.
Hohwhmunnee, Walking Crier.

Wahpaakootas.

Tahsauga, Cane.
Wahmaadee sappah, Black Eagle.
Skushhahnah, Moving Shadow.
Ahppaahohtah, Gray Mane.

Upper Medawakantons.

Wahkontunka, Big Thunder.
Wahmadeetunkah, Big Eagle.
Marcpeeahmahzah, Iron Cloud.
Kockomocko, Afloat.
Tahohunkpeesappah, Black Tomahawk.
Marcpeeweechastah, Chief of the Clouds.
Tahchunkwashtaa, Good Road.
Mahzah-hohtah, Gray Iron.
Pataheuhah, That holds the Five.

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*The word Warpekute, or Wahpekute, was sometimes abbreviated to Wacouta, as was done by Wamdetonka (Big Eagle) when in 1894 he rehearsed the events of the war of 1862, and his participation therein. (Minn. Hist. Soc. vol. vi, p. 384).

†Minnesota Historical Society, I, p. 461, 1856.

Some of these may be recognized under different spelling as signers of earlier treaties. The absence of the name of Wabasha III is to be noted. He resided at the village below lake Pepin until 1853, and then removed to the reservation on the south side of the Minnesota, near Redwood.

1837. The treaty September 29, 1837, Washington, ceding lands east of the Mississippi river, was signed only by the following, all M'dewakanton:

Tahtapesaah, Upsetting wind.
Wahkeahtunkah, Big Thunder.
Mahzah-hohtah, Gray Iron.
Tautungamunne, Walking buffalo.
Tahchunkashtaa, Good road.
Marepuah-nasiah, Standing Cloud.
Koimoko, Afloat.
Maupuwee-chastah, White man.
Maupuah-mahzah, Iron cloud.
Euhah-kaakow, That comes last.
Mahhuahpah, That shakes the earth.
Tahmahzah-hohwashtaa, Iron of handsome voices.
Wattchudah, The dancer.
Mahzahtunkah, Big Iron.
Maupokoah-munnee, That runs after the clouds.
Tahchunckdutah, Red road.
Wassonweechastishnee, Bad hail.
Hoeyahpah, Eagle head.
Annongenasiah, Stands on both sides.
Chauduskahmumee, Walking circle.
Teeohdutah, Red Lodge.

Of these, the first name was probably that of Wabasha III, notwithstanding the interchange of t for s, since it is known that he and others accompanied Agent Talliaferro to Washington, under orders from Gen. Henry Dodge, for the purpose of negotiating this treaty.

The signing and ratification of this treaty was as important to the few whites who then lived in the valley of the upper Mississippi as it was to the Dakota, but in an opposite direction. It gave access to a large tract of fine agricultural land, and to a vast region of forest, partly in Wisconsin and partly in Minnesota, in which grew a wealth of white and Norway pine, and upon these new domains the whites were not slow to enter. Wabasha III, as well as Red Wing and Little Crow, saw a rapid alteration in the face of the country over which they had been accustomed to hunt, and a rapid influx of strangers, who brought arts and manufactured articles of which they had formerly been ignorant. The first effect, by the operation of this treaty, of the free contact of civilization with Dakota barbarism, was too frequently seen in a disorderly clash of trade, a rush for settlement of the country, a chaotic state of educational ways and means, a suspension or over-riding of civil law, and in these irregularities the Indian was uniformly the loser. The existence of a nominal barrier, the Mississippi river, which was supposed to separate the Indian from the white man, did not prevent free intercourse between the different races, although it forbade the permanent settlement of the white man on the west side. The most vivid exemplification of the evil to which the Indian was subjected was in the sale of whiskey. The selling of ardent spirits to the Indian was under the ban of law throughout all the Indian territory. This treaty brought the legal whiskey-seller westward to the east bank of the Mississippi, and with the advent of easy whiskey came its attendant vices and crimes. This acute stage of the evils of free intercourse without adequate provision for the protection of the weaker, and especially the damaging effect of whiskey selling to the Indian, was continued without any mitigation until 1851, when by another cession of land the Dakota were moved further west.

1848. When the Winnebago were being transferred to Long Prairie, Wabasha III made trouble among them, which at one time threatened serious consequences. He represented that the land to which they were being taken was poor, and that they were certain to be slain by the Ojibwa, who would be their near neighbors on the east. He urged them to settle with him, and even sold them Winona prairie. It was only by the arrival of United States troops that the expedition to Long Prairie was

resumed peacefully. Wabasha was arrested and conveyed to Fort Snelling, but, as he smilingly predicted as he left on the steamboat, he was soon liberated and returned to his people.*

This removal of the Winnebago was in pursuance of a treaty signed in October, 1846, at Washington, by which the Winnebago ceded and sold to the United States all their lands, wherever situated, and in return were to receive $190,000 in money ($150,000 for their lands and $40,000 for their hunting privileges) and "a tract of country north of the St. Peter's and west of the Mississippi rivers, not less than 8,000 acres, which shall be suitable to their habits, wants and wishes." According to agent Fletcher, the tract was well selected, and the best location that could be procured for them west of the Mississippi river. A large proportion of the country was forest, abounding in game and valuable furs, and its numerous lakes and rivers were well stored with excellent fish. The Winnebago were well pleased with the location, and would have occupied it with entire satisfaction had they not been excited against it by false representations by interested parties.

1849. When the territory of Minnesota was established (1849) and the legislature defined the counties that were included in the area on the west side of the Mississippi, the name of Wabasha was highly honored. His name was given to all that part of the territory lying between the Mississippi river and a line drawn south from Pine Bend or "Medicine Bottle village," a few miles above Hastings, to the boundary line of Iowa, an area which is now divided into eight counties, and also includes a large part of Dakota county. At this time there were still seven recognized bands of the M'dewakanton, three of these being on the west side of the Mississippi river below St. Paul and four on the Minnesota river between Mendota and St. Peter, viz.: On the Mississippi, His red nation's (Tahoyahtedoota), The shooter's (Wacoute) and Red Leaf's (Wabasha); on the Minnesota, Horn whistling walker's (Hayeetchah'moomanee), Good Road's (Tatchankoowashtay), Six's (Shakopee), and at Black Dog, Gray Iron's (Mahzah-hohtah). Those on the Mississippi were M'dewakanton and the most of the original Mantanton (Wabasha's village at Winona prairie). Others on the Minnesota were of the Wahpeton, who also extended as far as Lac-qui-Parle, about two hundred miles above Fort Snelling.

Alexander Ramsey, ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, in his first report, dated October 13, 1849, embodying a statement by Dr. Thomas Foster, says that the distinction between the original bands, M'dewakanton and Mantanton, was lost after the change of residence from Mille Lacs, and are equally comprehended in the term M'dewakanton, or "people of the mysterious lake." The Warpekute were in general between the Wahpeton and the M'dewakanton, on the Cannon river and its upper waters, and probably on the upper Zumbro, and southwestward to the upper waters of the Blue Earth. The Sissiton were on the Minnesota from the vicinity of Mankato to Lac-qui-Parle, and southwestward to the James river in Dakota, covering the pipestone quarry, and the Yankton about lakes Traverse and Big Stone. The Titon were not so fixed as to habitation, but roamed over the western and southwestern parts of Minnesota and the eastern part of Dakota, and westward to the Missouri.

That there were no recognized exact territorial limits for the various tribes, or bands, is evident from the statement of Ramsey in his report as superintendent of Indian affairs for the Minnesota territory, to the effect that the Warpekute went hunting "in their own country," near the head of the Des Moines river, viz.:

"Shortly after assuming the duties of this superintendency, I was called upon to go through with the form of recognizing the new hereditary chief of the band, and of investing him with the emblems of his authority. He had brothers older than himself; but for some reason they were set aside by the braves, who had chosen the younger son for chief. Having none of the usual badges, or appropriate medals, as yet furnished me by the department, I substituted a soldier's medal, and a sword kindly furnished me by the Hon. H. H. Sibley, and, investing him with these, completed the ceremony of recognizing, on behalf of the United States government, *Wahmundeeyah cahpee* (Wamundiyakapi), or 'the war eagle that may be seen,' son of the 'Cane,' as chief of the Warpekute Dachotas."

The Inkpaduta band.

"I allude thus particularly to this, my almost first official act on arriving at the territory, because the after fate of the chief has thrown around the circumstance a melancholy interest.

"He was a young, fine looking, intelligent Indian; and after he departed for his residence with his people, a hundred miles inland, I heard nothing more respecting him until the latter part of July, when I was startled by the horrible intelligence

*Minnesota in three centuries, vol. ii, pp. 207-218; Report of Indian Agent J. E. Fletcher, Ex. Doc. No. 1; Second Session, 30th Cong.

that he and seventeen others of his band, men, women and children, had been massacred by a party of outlawed savages whom they encountered, when out on a hunting expedition, near the head of the Des Moines, in their own country and of course not expecting any attack.

"The hostile band is supposed to have consisted of Winnebagoes, Sauks and Foxes, and Pottawatomies—numbers of which Indians, renegades from their respective tribes, are still wandering in the northwest of Iowa and constantly committing depredations upon whites and Indians.

"Government should take measures to remove this band of murderers at once, before their numbers are increased through others of a similar stamp, from different tribes, being attracted to unite with them, when, growing bolder with impunity and greater power, they may commit outrages of a more serious and alarming character."*

This warning from Gov. Ramsey was terribly realized but a few years later in the "Spirit Lake massacre"—1857.

The Minnesota Dakota in 1851.

The following tabulation is based on the treaty signatures and on other sources, chiefly the newspapers and the publications of the Minnesota Historical Society.

M'DEWAKANTON.

Villages.	*Location.*	*Chiefs or head men.*
Kaposia, Grand Marais, Kapoga, Light-footed	Near St. Paul, W. side Miss. R. Formerly on the E. side Miss. River	Taoyateduta, His Scarlet People, Little Crow.
		Tatchanh'peesapa, Black Tomahawk.
		Wakeenyonwashtay, Good Thunder.
	Pine Bend	Wakanozhanzhan, Medicine Bottle.
Remnicha, Eambosandata (Hill, water, wood.)	Red Wing	Wacoute, Shooter.
		Mapeeyamaza, Iron Cloud.
		Tamazahowashtay, Good Iron Voice.
Wabasha's	(Wabasha ?)	Wabasha III, The Standard.†
		Wakanhendeeota, Many Lightnings.
		Makakaeeday, Who sets the Earth on fire.
Hayzatoton (Bad People) and Oyatasheeka	Eight miles from Fort Snelling, S. side Minn. R.	Tatchankoowashtay, Good Road.
		Tatayowoteenmanee, Roaring Walking Wind.
		Oyaytchanmanee, Track Maker.
Black Dog, Magayuteshni, formerly Tetankatane	Four miles above Mendota	Mahzahota, Gray Iron.
		Wasoomeetchashtshnee, Bad Hail.
		Oanketayhedan, Little Water God.
		Tcha-noon-paysa, Smoker.
Tintatonwan	Shakopee	Shak'pay, Six.
		Anogheemazheen, Stands astride.
		Hooyapa, Eagle Head.
Reyataotonwe	Oak Grove (Formerly at lake Calhoun)	Mahpeeneetchastay, Cloud Man.
		Weetchanhpee, The Star.
Weakaote		Hahakamaza, Iron Elk.
		Tatayh'mooheyaya, Whistling Wind.
		Tataynazheena, Little Standing Wind.

*According to Holcombe (Minn. in Three Centuries, vol. ii, p. 306) Wahmundee yahcahpee was killed by Sacs and Foxes. Governor Ramsey stated, at the making of the Mendota treaty, in 1851, that he had asked the President, custodian of moneys coming to the M'dewakanton from the treaty of 1837, to deduct from the annuity of the Sacs and Foxes $1,000, and pay the same to the Wapekute, for the relatives of Wahmundee yahcahpee.

†WABASHA III IN 1856.—He was a very old man, leaning on a long staff, eyesight poor, dressed in citizen's clothes, with a big medal in front of his vest. He would in build remind one of Col. J. H. Stevens, Rev. Chauncey Hobart or Abraham Lincoln. He seemed to be always alone, never appearing on gala days when they were having their dances. Looking back 53 years I would say that he was between 70 and 80 years of age at that time. [illegible]

WAHPEKUTE.

Villages.	*Location.*	*Chiefs or head men.*
	Upper Cannon Valley, to the Blue Earth	Hayeetchah'moomanee, Walking Whistling Horn.
		Tawotawaydoota, His scarlet Armor.
		Apayhote, Gray Crest.
		Mahpeenasheetcha, Bad Cloud.
	Faribault	Paypay, Sharp.
	SISSETON.	
	Swan lake and Traverse des Sioux	Eeshtahumba, Sleepy Eye.
		Oopeeyahendaya, Curly Head.
		Weetchanh'peetatoan, Star Face.
Chonkasketonwan	Lake Traverse	Eenyangmanee, Running Walker.
		Eeshtahumbakoashka, Young Sleepy Eye
		Mah'peeweetchashta, Cloudman.
		Anawangmanee, Goes galloping on.
	Gilfillan farm in Redwood county	Eetaykeenyan, Limping Devil.
	Mankato	Tanpaheeda, Rattling Moccasin.
	WAHPETON.	
	Little Rapids of the Minn	Mazasha, Red Iron.
		Yashoapee, Wind Instrument.
		Noanpakeenyan, Twice Flying.
	Lac qui Parle	Washtayda, Good, a little (or Good boy).
		Wakeenyanhota, Gray Thunder.
	Big Stone lake	Tapetatanka, His big fire.
		Mah'peeyah'nashkanshkan, Moving Cloud
		Wanapaya, Pursuer.
		Eetchashkanshkanmanee, Walks Shaking
		Tawakanhedaymaza, Metal Lightning.
		Mazakutemani, Metal shoots walking, or Little Paul.

1851. After the organization of the territory of Minnesota, although the territory embraced within its boundaries a large area, extending to the Missouri river, no other part of the present state of Minnesota could be occupied by the whites than that included between the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers, extending as far north as to the southern boundary line of the Ojibwa territory, which ran, according to the cession of 1837, from the junction of the Crow Wing river with the Mississippi to the north point of lake St. Croix, in Wisconsin, which was approximately the line between towns 43 and 44, north, through Pine county. All white settlement within the state was confined to this area. There was therefore a loud and persistent demand for the privilege of settlement on the west side of the Mississippi, and hence for the acquisition of the lands of the Dakota. At once Gov. Ramsey applied himself to this task. It is needless to state that the people were unanimous in aiding in this westward movement. The traders, the chief factors of the industry of the state, perceived in it the shortest way of collecting their claims against the Indians for goods advanced; the land speculators knew that it would open a wide door for almost limitless dealing in agricultural land; lumbermen looked longingly upon the pine forests of the upper Mississippi; farmers and all homesteaders had their plows ready for the soil, only awaiting permission to cross the Mississippi, and a numerous horde of vagrants, such as hover about the frontiers of civilization, rent the air with hazzahs for the encouragement of the politicians who were active in the initial plans. There was a hurried and sweeping plan formulated. The legislature of 1849, at the instance of Gov. Ramsey, petitioned Congress for the purchase, and the cession, of the lands west of the Mississippi, and it was less than five months after the arrival of Gov. Ramsey (i.e., in October, 1849) that the Sioux were summoned to treat for the surrender of their lands. The ensuing council failed, because but few of the Indians came.

That, however, was only a temporary check in the execution of what may be called, from the Indian's standpoint, a monstrous conspiracy, the final consummation of which was disastrous to both the Dakota and the whites. To the former it spelled extinction and to the latter expansion through the bloody path of massacre. It was sanctioned by the formalities of "treaty" in 1851. There was pitted the diplomacy and power of civilization against the simplicity, ignorance and hunger of a barbarous people. A shipload of provisions, including cattle, for feasting the Indians, had been sent to Traverse des Sioux. When promises and palaver failed, and the Indians refused to cede their lands for the payments that had been offered, and the council was about to break up without the desired results, the chiefs were informed by governor Ramsey, who "understood" the aborigine and his peculiarities, and also understood the persuasive effect of an empty stomach, that immediately the issue of further food would be stopped. That struck the chiefs with consternation, as they had brought with them their women and children, and they knew that there was no game in the region on which, in such an emergency, they could rely to prevent starvation. That was the final coup, and the chiefs, one after the other, made their "marks," giving assent to the first step to the final doom of their people. They literally sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. The fatal day was July 23, 1851. The following succinct account of the imposition of this injustice upon the Dakota, is by William W. Folwell, late president of the University of Minnesota.*

"Because the upper tribes were thought to be less opposed to a treaty and a cession, it was decided to begin with them, and those Indians were summoned to council July 1, at Traverse des Sioux. The commissioners and their party found on their arrival none but those there resident. It was not till the 18th that enough of the upper bands had come in to warrant negotiation. Meantime the disinclination of the Indians had been mitigated by the rations of pork, beef and flour dispensed by the commissary, and presents to reluctant chiefs. On July 23 the treaty was signed in duplicate. As the chiefs left the table they were 'pulled by the blanket' and steered to another, where they touched the pen to a third document, which later became notorious under the name of 'the traders' paper.' The upper Sioux by this treaty sold to the United States all their lands in Minnesota for $1,665,000, except a reservation twenty miles wide straddling the Minnesota river, from lake Traverse down to the Yellow Medicine river. The principal consideration was an annual payment of $168,000 for fifty years, of which $40,000 was to be in cash. The United States also engaged to expend $30,000 for schools, mills, blacksmith shops and like beneficial purposes, to remove the Indians to their new homes, and to provide them with subsistence for one year. A residue of $210,000 was to be paid to the chiefs in such manner as they should thereafter in open council request, to enable them to 'settle their affairs and comply with their present engagements;' in plain English, to pay the claims of the traders. The traders' paper amounted to an assignment in blank of this whole sum. The schedule of claims were not attached to the paper till the next day. On the question whether the chiefs who signed knew what they were doing, the evidence is conflicting. On August 5 a second treaty, ceding the same lands, was signed at Mendota. The reservation for the lower bands was also on the Minnesota river, extending from the upper reserve down to the neighborhood of New Ulm. Each of the two tribes agreed to pay traders' claims to the amount of $90,000. The lower Sioux were encouraged to conclude the bargain by a promise that $30,000, out of the $50,000 'education' fund, provided for in the treaty of 1837 and never paid, but allowed to accumulate, should be distributed, as soon as the treaty should be signed. The money was paid, and within a week it was in the hands of St. Paul merchants and whiskey-sellers; $10,000 or thereabouts went for horses. The commissioners congratulated themselves and the country on this magnificent purchase of a region larger than New York, at a cost of the 'sum paid in hand.' The annual payments promised would, they figured, be equalled by the interest from the lands.

"The treaties awaited the action of the Senate. Before that body convened, in the December following, representations were made to the authorities at Washington that a 'stupendous fraud' had been practiced on the Sioux. The upper Sioux, inspired by a trader attached to an interest adverse to the American Fur Company, which had not obtained recognition for its claims, were much excited. In December twenty-one chiefs resorted to St. Paul, where they represented to Agent McLean and Gov. Ramsey that their signatures to the traders' paper were obtained by fraud and deceit. They declared that their bands owed no such sums of money, but were willing to pay what sums a fair examination of the claims might prove to be just. The agent promised to report their protest and demands to his superiors, which he did. Governor Ramsey had only to assure the chiefs that as treaty commissioner he had nothing to do with the traders' claims. The money would be paid to their chiefs and braves, and it was for them to dispose of it as they thought proper. When the treaties were laid before the Senate in February, 1852, opposition to ratification at once sprang up, and long delay ensued. It was not any allegations of fraud and deceit which formed the ground of this opposition. It came from southern senators not willing to extend the area of settlement to the north, on which to build another free state. It was not till June 23rd that ratification was voted by a slender majority, and that not till after amendments were made, which opponents believed the Sioux would never agree to. In particular the senators cut out the paragraphs providing for the two reservations, and substituted a provision that the President should select new homes for the Minnesota Sioux outside the ceded territory.

"In August Governor Ramsey was authorized to obtain the consent of the Indians to the amendments. This was effected through persons influential among them and without calling general councils of the tribes. The consent of the upper Sioux, however, was not secured till after the execution of a power of attorney to Governor Ramsey, which they were allowed to believe 'broke' all former papers, that of the traders in particular. The money appropriated for immediate payments

*Minnesota, the North Star State. (American Commonwealth series), pp. 95-102, 1908.

became available so soon as the Sioux chiefs signed their ratifications, and Governor Ramsey was designated as disbursing agent and given a credit on the treasury for $593,000. The payments did not begin till November, and then with the lower Sioux. The Wahpekute chiefs gave no trouble, but signed their joint receipt for $90,000 of hand money, and a power of attorney to Mr. Sibley to receive the money and distribute it to their licensed traders. The seven M'dewakanton chiefs would not sign receipts till after they had been encouraged by the distribution of $20,000 in equal sums, deducted from the amount of traders' claims. Some minor enticements contributed. At 'the Traverse,' a fortnight later, a 'very evil and turbulent spirit' was manifest. The chiefs demanded the money 'for settling their affairs' to be paid to them. They would then decide, 'in open council,' how it should be distributed. Mr. Ramsey was firm, and held them to the terms of the traders' paper, which he considered an irrevocable contract. The local Sisseton were so riotous that a company of troops had to be summoned from Fort Snelling to keep them in order. After much delay and no little effort, he was able to obtain twelve signatures to a receipt for the money to go to traders, but only two of the names were those of old and well-recognized chiefs, and only one that of a signer of the treaty of 1851. The moneys thus secured to the traders, and some moderate gratifications to the half-breeds, were, with the exception of the $90,000 paid to the Wahpekutes, delivered by Governor Ramsey to one Hugh Tyler, a citizen of Pennsylvania holding powers of attorney. This gentleman distributed according to the schedules of the traders' papers, retaining by their consent $55,250, about 13½ per cent, as compensation for his services in securing the ratification of the treaties and for other purposes. * * * * *

"The gist of the matter is, that a treaty of cession was much desired by the people of the territory, and intensely by politicians and speculators. It could not have been long delayed. No treaty could have been made with these Indians without the active aid and intervention of the traders and the half-breeds. Such aid could be had only by paying for it. The device of allowing Indians to stipulate in treaties for the payment to traders of debts due them from individual Indians, as if they were tribal obligations, had long been practiced. But for the machinations of disgruntled parties desirous of being taken into the happy circle of beneficiaries, the scheme might have been worked as quietly and comfortably as usual. An old interpreter says of these treaties that 'they were fair as any Indian treaties.' Having undertaken to see that the traders and half-breeds should not go unrewarded for their indispensable services, Governor Ramsey stood by them to the end. The sums paid them were no robbery of the Indians. But for the fact that the treaties of 1851 were the beginning of troubles to be later treated of, they need not have taken so much of the reader's time."

These two treaties transferred to the United States about 30,000,000 acres of some of the best land on the face of the earth, from the ownership of about 8,000 Indians, the greater portion of which lay within the limits of the present state of Minnesota.

The treaties both made reservations for the natives, extending from lake Traverse southeastwardly to near New Ulm, in belts lying on the Minnesota river and having a width, on each side, of ten miles.

The Indian signers were, of the M'dewakanton and Wapakute:

Taoyateduta, His scarlet people, or Little Crow, and eleven "headmen," among these being: Tatchanh'pee sapa (His black tomahawk); Makanahotoanmanee (Whose tread makes the earth tremble); Wakeenyanwashtay (Good Thunder).

Wapasha (The Standard, or Red leaf) and five head men, among them being Wakanhendeeota (Many Lightnings); Makakaeeday (Who sets the earth on fire).

Wakootay (Shooter) and nine head men, among the latter being, Mahpeeyamaza (Metal Cloud); Tamazahowashtay (Good Iron Voice).

Mahpeemeetchashtay (Cloud man or Man of the sky), with nine head men, among the latter being, Ampayshota (Smoky Day); Hahakamaza (Metal Elk); Tatayh'mooheyaya (Whistling Wind).

Mazahota (Gray Iron), with five head men, and among the latter are Wasoomeetchashtashnee (Bad Hail); Oanketayheedan (Little water God).

Tatchankoowashtay (Good Road), with three head men, among these being, Tatayowoteenmanee (Roaring Wind that walks); Oyaytchanmanee (Track maker).

Shak'pay (Six), with seven head men, among these being Anogheemazheen (That stands on both sides); Hooyapa (Eagle Head); Tataymeena (Round Wind); Mazawamenooha (Gourd shell metal medicine rattle, perhaps corrupted later to Medicine bottle).

Hayeetcha h'moomanee (Horn whistling walking), with seven head men, among these being, Tawotawaydoota (His scarlet Armor); Apayhota (Gray mane or crest); Mahpeeyasheetcha (Bad Cloud).

The treaty with the Sisseton and Wahpeton was signed by thirty-five, viz.:

Eenyangmanee (Running Walker, or "The Gun").
Weetchanh'peetaytoan (Star face, or "the Orphan").
Eetaykeenyan (Limping Devil, or "Thunder Face").
Eeshtahumba (Sleepy Eyes).
Oopeeyahendaya (Extending his train).
Hoaksheedanwashtay (Good Boy).
Estaytchoka (Face in the midst).

Hayhahendaymaza (Metal Horn).
Ampaytoosha (Red Day).
Eeshtahumbakoashka (Sleepy Eyes, young).
Anawangmanee (Who goes galloping on).
Mahpeeweetchashta (Cloud man).
Tanpaheeda (Sounding Moccasin).
Eenkpa (The upper end).
Weeyoakeeyay (Standard).
Wakanmanee (Walking Spirit).
Eetaysha (That reddens his face).
Takaghay (Elk maker).
Wamaksoontay ("Walnut," or Blunt headed arrow).
Mazasha (Metal sounding).
Yashoapee (Wind Instrument).
Noanpakeenyan (Twice Flying).
Washtayda (Good, a little).
Wakeenyanhota (Gray Thunder).
Washeetchoonmaza (Iron Frenchman).
Tapetatanka (His Big fire).
Mahpeeyahnashkanschkan (Moving Cloud).
Wanapaya (The pursuer).
Eetchashkanshkanmanee (Who walks shaking).
Tawakanhedaymaza (His metal Lightning).
Eetaydoota (Red Face).
Henokmarpiyahdinape (Reappearing Cloud).
Tchanhedashkahotoanmanee (Moving, sounding Harp).
Mazakutemani (Metal walks shooting).
Akeetcheeta (Standing soldier).

An article in each of these treaties provides that the laws of the United States prohibiting the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors in the Indian country shall be in full force and effect throughout the territory ceded, until otherwise directed by Congress or by the President.

The article in each treaty which defined the respective reservations was stricken out by the Senate prior to confirmation, and in lieu thereof was added a supplemental article by which the United States stipulated to pay for the reservation land at the rate of ten cents per acre, the money resulting for such payment to be added to the trust-fund provided for by the treaty, and the Indians were to be removed to some place outside the cessions, to be designated by the President. These reservations had further a curious and vacillating treatment at the hands of the government. They were to be surveyed accurately for the purpose of measuring the land, but such survey was never made. Meantime the bands had been transferred to the reservations. The President permitted the bands to stay in the originally proposed reservations, and July 31, 1854, he was authorized to confirm these lands to the Sioux forever. He did not confirm them.

1858. Another treaty, dated June 19, 1858, introduced a new element of discord by making a distinction between the lands lying south of the Minnesota and those lying north, providing that the former shall be allotted in severalty to the heads of families, eighty acres to each, and that the latter shall be subject to investigation, i.e., to ascertain whether the Indians had any right to claim and occupy it. This distinction must have had some ulterior purpose, for the two reservations had been ordered alike by the treaties of 1851, and had had identically the same history. The treaty of 1858, like that of 1851, was made in duplicate, in identical terms, first with the M'dewakanton and Wahpakute and then with the Sisseton and Wahpaton.*

This treaty was signed by eighteen Dakota chiefs and braves, of the M'dewakanton and Wahpekute, viz.:

*"Indian Affairs," vol. ii (Treaties), 1904. Charles J. Kappler, pp. 781 and 785.

Wabashaw.
Chetanakooumonee (Little Crow).
Wasuhiyahidan.
Shakopee (Six).
Wamindeetonkee (Large War Eagle).
Muzzaojanjan (Iron Light).
Makawto (Blue Earth).
Hushawshaw (Red Legs).
Hinhanduta (Scarlet Owl).
Harakamuzza (Iron Elk).
Wukanojanjan (Medicine Light).
Tachunrpeemuzza (His iron war club).
Wakinyantowa (Owns the Tunder).
Chunrpiyouha (Has a war club).
Onkeeterhidan (Little Whale).
Wamouisa (The Thief).
Papa (Sharp).
Tataibomdu (Scattering Wind).

It was signed by the following representing the Sisseton and Wahpaton:

Muzzahsha (Red Iron).
Wamdupidutah (War Eagle's Scarlet Tail).
Ojupi (Planter).
Hahutanai (The stumpy horn).
Mazzomanee (Walking Iron).
Mazzakootemanee (Shoots Iron as he walks).
Upiyahideyaw (Chief of Lac qui Parle).
Umpedutokechaw (Other Day).
Tachandupahotanka (His Pipe with Strong Voice).

1860. The action of the Senate, after an investigation of the title of the Dakota to the reservations on the north side of the Minnesota, was taken June 27, 1860, in the form of a resolution, which declared that "said Indians possessed a just and valid right and title to said reservations, and that they be allowed the sum of thirty cents per acre for the lands contained in that portion thereof lying on the north side of the Minnesota river, exclusive of the cost of survey and sale, or any contingent expense that may accrue whatever, which by the treaties of June, 1858, they have relinquished and given up to the United States." On careful examination of the treaty of June 19, 1858, it is apparent that the Dakota relinquished no lands whatever to the United States. As already stated, that treaty had for its essential purpose the establishment of an unjustifiable difference of tenure between the lands of the reservation of the south side and those of the reservation on the north side, and provides for the determination of the validity of the title to those on the north side. It also provides that the Senate may determine how much shall be paid for the lands on the north side of the Minnesota. The Dakota did not relinquish their claim to those lands. They never accepted the valuation put on them by the Senate, and it was only by implication that they were presumed to be willing to surrender them to the United States. In the resolution reported and passed by the Senate June 27, 1860, after two years of waiting, the validity of the title of the Indians is declared to the reservations of both sides of the river, but that "they be allowed the sum of thirty cents per acre for the lands on the north side of the river, which by the treaties of June, 1858, they have relinquished and given up to the United States." It assumes that those lands were relinquished in 1858, but establishes their title in 1860, and proceeds to determine what shall be paid to the Indians, *nolens volens*. It also provides that any bona fide homesteaders who may have settled upon the reservation on the north side may each hold 160 acres by paying the United States one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, and that "when such settlements have been made on lands of the Indians on the south side of the Minnesota river, the assent of the Indians shall first be obtained, in such a manner as the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe, and that *the amount which shall be paid for their lands shall be paid into the treasury of the United States.*" With such deceit and jugglery, if the Dakota had been white men it is fair to presume there would have been war in 1860 instead of 1862.

"But for the treaty of 1858 the Sioux bands of the Dakota nation would have been a peaceable and thriving people, but the wrongs perpetrated by white men under that treaty mainly caused the murder of many innocent people in 1862. The Crow and his Indians realized their fate in 1858, at Washington, at the last treaty with the Government; they were as children led to the slaughter, no man seemed to care for them, and they became desperate. The young men could no longer be controlled, their lands were sold, and the traders got the proceeds through the connivance of men called respectable citizens by evil doers."—*Taliaferro*, in 1864.

It is needless to inquire whether these reservations were ever surveyed, as agreed, whether there were ever any evictions of Indians from the reservation on the north side of the Minnesota river and whether any homesteaders ever paid the United States for any of these Indian lands, for the massacre of 1862 swept over the reservations from lake Traverse to New Ulm, and by act of Congress 1863 all the treaty obligations of the United States toward these bands of the Dakota were declared annulled, the Dakota were removed entirely beyond the limits of the state, and the great conspiracy of 1851 was consummated and sealed, albeit in the blood of nearly a thousand of the whites.

As this historical sketch has, in a measure, been strung on the name Wabasha, it is interesting to know that to a treaty made April 29, 1868, at Fort Laramie, by generals William T. Sherman, William S. Harney, Alfred H. Terry, C. C. Auger and John B. Sanborn and others, the following signatures of chiefs and head men of the Santee band are appended, along with others of the Brulé, the Ogallalah, the Minneconjou, the Yanctonais, the Uncpapa, Blackfeet, Cutheads, Two Kettles and the Sans Arch, viz.:

Wapahshaw, Red Ensign.
Wahkootay, Shooter.
Hooshasha, Red Legs.
Owanchaduta, Scarlet all over.
Waumacetanka, Big Eagle.
Chotankaenape, Flute Player.
Tashunkemoza, His Iron Dog.

Also that to an unratified agreement made at the Santee Agency, October 17, 1882, the names of "Napoleon Wabasha" and Thomas Wakute are appended, along with eighteen others that are probably of Indians who have so far complied with the ways of English civilization as to change their names to William Dick, John White, Henry Jones, etc.

Reservations.

To the Sioux proper in Minnesota the term "reservation" had but a brief application. When they ceded to the United States in 1837 their lands on the east of the Mississippi, the retention of those lands on the west side could hardly be called a reservation. From time immemorial they had held undisputed control of it.

The only reservations which they ever knew of were those established by the treaties of 1851. These were stricken out of the treaties by the Senate, prior to ratification, and the President was authorized to select for them other lands, outside the area of the ceded lands, which the President never did. In 1854 the President was authorized to confirm these reservations to which the Dakota had removed, to the Indians forever, which the President never did. In 1858 a party of Sioux chiefs were taken to Washington by agent Joseph R. Brown, where they were hoodwinked into signing the treaty of that year which virtually destroyed the reservation of lands on the north side of the river, and concentrated all the bands in a strip ten miles wide on the south side, extending from lake Traverse southeastwardly to near New Ulm. They had not yet become established on this reduced reservation when they rose in anger and indignation against the whites and perpetrated the greatest massacre of whites by Indians known in the history of the country, and, on the first convening of Congress, this reservation was annulled, and the Dakota were expelled forever from the state of Minnesota.

The events that transpired during the short occupancy of these reservations by the Dakota, the acts of the agents of the government, the efforts of the missionaries, the intrigues of traders, politicians and others interested, the morose acquiescence of the Indians in the demands that were made on them, the preliminary meetings of the "soldiers' lodge," the delay of the annuities, and the relation of these to the opening of the war of the rebellion and the commencement of the massacre, were important and

exciting, and deserve to be fully elucidated, but the writer is constrained to forbear, and to close this brief sketch. This little space of time in the history of Minnesota has never been adequately discussed. It contains the focal point toward which converged causes and influences whose origins were further back and whose terrible and explosive effects were disgraceful and disastrous, and which could hardly be apprehended by the actors who were responsible for them.

Perhaps the most comfortable view that can be taken of the deplorable events that marked the termination of the rule of the Dakota in Minnesota, is that which is also the most philosophical, viz.: to ascribe them to Fate, or, to Providence—they were unavoidable and inevitable. The trend of the human race is upward. In the course of its evolution many transitory injustices have been suffered, for which, from one point of view, the perpetrators were censured, but for which from another they were thanked. As the lark, to perpetuate its own life, catches and devours the grasshopper, thus destroying his inferior, so the Northmen of Europe expelled the Dakota from his lands and appropriated them to his own use for his own aggrandisement. It has been the history of the world that might, right or wrong, has prevailed, and whether right or whether wrong, whether physical prowess or intellectual cunning, whether the cajolery of successive legal enactments or the slower competition of social and commercial intercourse, whether direct and sudden or indirect and circuitous, the result has been, in the long run, beneficial to the race. Thus historic events are so blended in the good and the evil which they cause that it cannot be seen which is the greater.

Life evermore is fed by death,
In earth and sea and sky;
And that a rose may breathe its breath
Something must die.—*Holland.*